# **History of the European Union**

The "United States of Europe" were in the minds of many European writers, intellectuals, philosophers and visionaries of the last centuries.

In 1795, the German philosopher **Immanuel Kant** (who lived in today's Russian city of Kaliningrad) wrote in his essay "Towards heavenly peace" about a federation of European states for the purpose of securing peace; his objective was peace in the interior of European states, for which he proposed a voluntary federation.

The French author **Victor Hugo** wrote in 1849: "A day will arrive, where all nations of this continent, without giving up their particularities or their well-known individuality, will come together closely to a higher community and lay the foundations of the big European brotherhood. A day will arrive where there will be no other battlefields than the markets, which open for trade, and the spirit, which opens for ideas. A day will arrive where bullets and bombs will be replaced by ballot papers".

And in 1925 the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Aristide Briand**, said at the occasion of the Locarno Pact (Locarno is a little town on the Italian sea, where a peace pact has been signed): "In Locarno we spoke European, this is a new language, which has now to be learned".

In the first half of this century the European continent was the theatre of conflicts, which brought millions of dead humans and lots of destruction. For all of the centuries, Europe had a lot of bloody wars, only France and Germany for the period 1870 to 1945 fought three times. European leaders came to the conclusion that only economic and political integration can secure the peace between their countries. The vision of a new Europe, which would overcome antagonistic nationalism, finally emerged from the resistance movements, which had resisted totalitarianism during the Second World War.

In 1950 the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman proposed integrating the coal and steel industries of Western Europe, which led to the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 – the predecessor of today's European Union (see next chapter about his proposal in detail).

There were two main approaches for European integration in the years to come: the federalist and the functionalist ones.

- The main idea of the **federalist** approach is that local, regional, national and European authorities should cooperate and complement each other.
- The **functionalist** approach, on the other hand, favours a gradual transfer of sovereignty from national to Community level.
- Today, the two approaches have merged in a conviction that national and regional
  authorities need to be matched by independent, democratic European institutions with
  responsibility for those areas in which joint action is more effective than action by
  individual States:
  - o the single market,
  - o monetary policy,
  - o economic and social cohesion,
  - o foreign and security policy,
  - o employment policy,
  - o environmental protection,
  - o foreign and defence policy,
  - o the creation of an area of freedom and justice (internal policy)

## The European Coal and Steel Community (1952)

Initially the European integration activities were confined to the creation of a common market in coal and steel between the six founder members (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands). In that post-war period the Community was primarily seen as a way of securing peace by bringing victors and vanquished together within an institutional structure, which would allow them to cooperate as equals. There were four European institutions:

- High Authority, as executive arm towards the member states and their companies, with nine members
- Council, as a kind of legislative body
- Parliamentary Assembly, composed of delegates from the member state parliaments, and discussing and controlling the High Authority's activities
- Court of Justice

The treaty for this community expired 50 years after having come in power, in July 2002.

# **European Economic Community, European Atomic Community (1957)**

In 1957 the six founder members decided to create besides a European Atomic Community, for research in the utilisation of nuclear energy and other peaceful utilisations, and an economic community, built around the free movement of workers, goods and services. Customs duties on manufactured goods were abolished, and common policies, especially in agricultural policy and foreign trade policy, were to be established. The Treaty of Rome, in power since January 1958, is a generally formulated framework treaty, in contrast to the very detailed treaty for the European Coal and Steel Community.

#### **Fusion of the institutions (1967)**

While all three European treaties had from the beginning a common Parliamentary Assembly and a common Court of Justice, it was only in 1967 when a common Commission (as executive, and as successor of the High Authority) and a common Council have been established.

#### First enlargement (1973)

The success of the six founder members led Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom to apply for membership to the European Community (as it was called at this time). They were finally admitted in 1972 following difficult negotiations during which France, under President de Gaulle, used its veto twice, once in 1961 and again in 1967. This first enlargement, which increased the number of Member States from six to nine in 1973, was connected to a deepening of the Community's tasks; it was given responsibility for social, regional and environmental matters.

# **European Monetary System (1979)**

The need for economic convergence and monetary union became apparent in the early 1970s when the United States suspended dollar convertibility. This marked the beginning of a period of world wide monetary instability, aggravated by the two oil crises of 1973 and 1979. The establishment of a European Monetary System in 1979 helped stabilise exchange rates and encourage Member States to pursue strict economic policies, enabling them to

give each other mutual support and benefit from the discipline imposed by an open economic area.

## Second (1981) and third enlargement (1986)

The Community expanded southwards with the accession of Greece in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986, after these countries got rid of their dictatorships and transformed into a democratic system. In the 1970s and 1980s, the European Community began to play a more important role internationally, signing new agreements with the countries in the Southern Mediterranean as well as in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, which were linked to the Community by four successive Lomé Conventions (1975, 1979, 1984 and 1989), named after the capital of Togo in Africa. With the agreement signed in Marrakech in April 1994 between all the members of GATT and leading to the foundation of the WTO, world trade embarked on a new phase of its development. The European Union as the world's biggest trading partner became aware that working in a higher profile on the international stage should induce the aim of finding a common foreign and security policy in the international stage as one European voice and face.

#### Single Act from 1986

In the early 1980s world recession and internal wrangling on the distribution of the financial burden led to a stage of "Europessimism". This gave way, from 1985 onwards, to a more hopeful view of the prospects for revitalising the Community: On the basis of a White Book drawn up in 1985 by the Commission chaired by Jacques Delors, the Community set itself the task of creating a single market by 1 January 1993. The Single Act, signed in February 1986 and in force since July 1987, confirmed this ambitious target and introduced new procedures for adopting associated legislation, namely the abolition of the veto of member states in internal market policy questions and the introduction of a so-called "qualified majority" (with votes proportional, but not in a linear way, to the population of the member states). It came into force on 1 July 1987.

## **Maastricht Treaty (1991)**

The collapse of the Berlin Wall, followed by German unification on 3 October 1990, liberation from Soviet control and subsequent democratisation of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991, transformed the political structure of Europe. The Member States determined to strengthen their ties and negotiated a new Treaty, the main features of which were agreed at the Maastricht European Council in December 1991. The Treaty on European Union, which entered into force in November 1993, sets the Member States an ambitious programme:

- monetary union by 1999,
- new common policies,
- European citizenship,
- a common foreign and security policy
- and internal security.

# Fourth enlargement (1995)

On 1 January 1995, three further countries joined the European Union. Austria, Finland and Sweden expanded the Union with their specific characters and

opened up further dimensions at the heart of central and northern Europe. The Union of Fifteen now faced two major challenges:

- success in enlargement to include the ten countries of central and eastern Europe, Malta and Cyprus
- use of the dynamics of monetary union which, based on the creation of the Euro on 2 May 1998, should provide the economies of the Member States with better convergence and the conditions for permanent jobcreating growth.

## **Amsterdam Treaty (1997)**

Applying a review clause in the Maastricht Treaty, the Member States negotiated a further treaty, signed in Amsterdam in October 1997 (in force since May 1999), which adapted and strengthened the Union's policies and powers, particularly in judicial cooperation, the free movement of persons, foreign policy and public health. The European Parliament, the Union's immediate democratic voice, was granted additional powers, confirming its role as joint legislator.

### Nice Treaty (2000)

This treaty has been elaborated in December 2000, signed in February 2001 and entered into force in February 2003. Its main achievement is the institutional adaptation to the next, forthcoming enlargement of 10 new member states. One of the results of the Nice Summit Meeting was the unanimous adoption of the European Charter on Fundamental Rights, a more than 50 articles containing compilation of personal liberty, economic and social rights in the overall tradition of European law.

## Fifth enlargement (2004)

Since 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004, the EU comprises 25 Member States. The new ones are the three Baltic republics Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, then Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia as part of former Yugoslavia as well as Cyprus and Malta. For the Turkish part of Northern Cyprus there must be undertaken some transitional work, as the Greek Southern part has rejected a United Nation proposal of reunification of the island, while the North has approved the plan.

# **Next enlargements...?**

- Bulgaria and Romania are working on a further approximation of legislation and the enforcement of many EU legal acts; their accession to the EU is foreseen in 2007/2008.
- Croatia has obtained candidate status, and there will be negotiations opened in 2005. Croatia has a good chance to accede between 2007 and 2009.
- Macedonia has applied for accession in March 2004. The further preparations will however take several years.
- Turkey is working since several years very seriously to become a EU member. It is expected that in December 2004 the European Heads of State and Governments (European Council) will give green light to negotiations between the EU and Turkey, which will last several years.
- The other Balkan states (former Yugoslavia: Bosnia-Hercegovia, Serbia and Montenegro; Albania) or regions (Kosovo) are expected to submit

EU accession applications in the next years. It will take several years to work on these applications.

## (i) EU enlargements are possible for

- all European countries,
- who follow the criteria of a market economy oriented system, which can take actively part in the competition of the EU,
- a pluralist democracy, human rights, minorities protection and in general the rule of law.
- who commit themselves to a complete takeover of the achievements of the EU, including the European Monetary Union (the Europeans name these achievements in all languages in French "acquis communautaire")
- who obtain a favourable opinion of the EU Commission,
- who are approved by a unanimous vote of the Council,
- who are approved by the absolut3e majority of the European Parliament,
- who are approved by the existing Member States (in parliament or by referendum)
- whose accession treaty finally is ratified by themselves (in parliament or by referendum).

There is a clear tendency in favour of further enlargements: in all European countries there are substantial (but not always majority) groups lobbying for this objective. Furthermore, with its enlargement to 25 Member States, the EU has opted clearly for a pan-European vision. The EU does not force anybody to become its member, but the conditions formulated in a session of the European Council in Copenhagen/Denmark in 1993 and in the EU Treaty must be met.

# **EU Constitution (adopted on 18<sup>th</sup> June 2004)**

After an elaboration phase in a special conference, the so-called Convention, with European and Member States' Parliament members as well as EU Commission and Member States' governments participation, under the chairmanship of the former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, in 2002 and 2003, the governments of the EU were not immediately unanimously in favour of a draft Constitution for the EU, which should provide for a longer time for a legal framework. After discussions between December 2003 and June 2004, during a session of the European Council in Dublin/Ireland, the EU Constitution was adopted by Heads of State and Governments. With this Constitution, containing also a European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights, it is expected that for several years now the EU can be governed. It will be ratified in the next years and comes in power in 2007.

@ More information on the EU Website: <a href="http://europa.eu.int">http://europa.eu.int</a>. The EU website is among the most frequented in the world, with 70-90 million hits per month. It is run in all 20 official languages!

EU policies and administration mean a constant balancing of national and common interests, respect for the diversity of national traditions and the forging of a separate identity. They have been positively confirmed by the fact that

- there is a single market with free circulation for goods, services, capital and persons – with more persons than the United States and Russia together
- there is a common space without visa and border controls (with some exceptions) within the EU

- there is a common currency for the EU (with some exceptions), the Euro
- the 6 country EU from 1952/1957 has permanently grown to a 25 country EU in 2004 with more candidate countries working for accession.

# EU "Mega Project Cycles"

If one analyses the history of the EU,

- some big mega projects<sup>1</sup> can be seen, like Single Market, Monetary Union, etc.,
- and within these mega projects an acceleration within the last years –
  after many years where no decision could be undertaken, for example in
  the 1970s (except the introduction of direct popular election of the
  European Parliament).

Some of these mega project cycles can be defined – for the past, present and future:

## 1985-1993 EU Single Market

This project started for the EU already some years before 1985 (the dates indicated have to be seen as flexible; they represent only a rough frame). Although the Single Market has been finished by 1.1.1993, there were some fields in the Single Market, which had to be made perfect or brought up-to-date.

# 1985-2002 European Monetary Union

The European Monetary Union has started for many experts already in the middle of the 80s (even temporarily before, as concerns the plan of the former Luxemburg Prime Minister Pierre Werner from the early 70s), when a group of European Parliament members (across all political groups) founded a working group on European currency questions. Later followed the elaboration of a concept under the presidency of the President of the EU Commission, Jacques Delors (former French Minister for Economy and Finance), which ended with the Maastricht Treaty. In the Maastricht Treaty there is an exact timing for the introduction of the Euro. For companies and citizens the essential steps came after 1994, when the European Monetary Institute (predecessor of the European Central Bank, which opened in 1999) had been founded in Frankfurt/Main.

# 1989-2015<sup>2</sup> Company Cooperation

After the Single Market, from 1994, there was a not very visible start date of an unorganised wave of company cooperation. It became clear to every small and medium sized enterprise, around 15 million in the EU, that cooperation is a survival factor. This is particularly important for research- intensive companies, but also research institutions like universities. As there is no administrative drive for company cooperation and every company does what it deems as necessary, any quantification is impossible. Although there will be an open end, until 2015 most of all companies will be aware that there is an objective pressure towards cooperation, also in the new Member States.

# 1993-2015 EU Enlargement

<sup>1</sup> Here it is written of "mega projects" on EU level, because they all had to be transposed by national policies of the Member States or companies etc. ("projects").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> When there is an open end, it is mainly written "until 2015". This is the approximate realistic delay in which wholistic scenarios can be developed.

Since 1993 and the criteria set up at a Copenhague/Denmark summit for enlargement candidate countries, this subject had momentum until 1.5.2004, the date of the big enlargement for 10 countries. The finishing date 2015 defines itself as possible finishing date for some other enlargements, which might still come (Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the other Balkan countries, Turkey, but also some Western CIS countries like Ukraine or Moldova; this is at least the possibility).

## 2000-2015 E-Business and International Competitivity

This new subject – also unexpected by many economic agents – culminates in initiatives like "eEurope", and mainly business is concerned (although the state is called to go into eGovernment). The Commission has proclaimed the objective that by 2010 the EU is the most dynamic economic area in the world. The EU is not bad placed, in an international comparison, with electronic networks per company or capita. Like for company cooperation this subject is not very visible, as its acceptance is due to many uncoordinated and coordinated activities in business.

### 2000-2015 EU Constitution

With the Charter on Fundamental Rights, a discussion on the basic values of the EU has emerged, and with the Constitutional Convent there has been, since about 2000, a new quality of constitutional discussion in the EU. The Constitution being adopted by the European Council (EU Summit) on 18<sup>th</sup> June 2004, there will be an ongoing discussion on constitutional values in the EU. As ratifications in the Member States are ongoing now, the finality of this discussion is uncertain, as well as its duration. This "open end", as it is estimated now, could last until 2015.

From here on and at present, mega project mixes will appear, that is more mega projects at the same time and less one after the other (at least in the present political situation).

## 2002-2015 Common Foreign and Security Policy

The discussion became more and more intensive after events like the Yugoslavia conflicts in the 90s, the 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001 and the general antiterrorism activities on world level. But it is pending since decades in the EU ("economic giant – political dwarf"). Since the EU Constitution was to be taken serious, it became clear that a common foreign and defence policy should play, in the future, a more prominent part in the EU. But it will take a longer time to implement a real foreign and security policy.

# 2003-2015 Sustainability, Environment and Energy Policies, Hi Tech - Hi Touch Tendency - and a Partly Revival of the *Small is Beautiful Principle*?

Sustainability is a priority since some years ago within the EU, but also the United Nations. Business will still have to jump on this train. This catchword includes mainly environment and energy aspects, but has also relevance in EU relations with the Third World. In this context, some sociologic tendencies may be discussed: the growing need for an untouched environment, if people work in context with hi-tech, and maybe also a partly revival of the small is beautiful principle, which has been discussed in Europe in the context of "post-material society". Although this is no EU policy, the EU will have to react to other

voices in the dialogues it holds, and will have to cope with certain demands in this direction, which are also due to the information society. In this context, Europe might revise the topical shareholder value doctrines for public joint stock companies.

# 2003-2010 Industrial and Social Policy

In context with demographic pressure, the stability policy around the European currency Euro, relatively high unemployment figures in some parts of the EU and other social problems, industrial policy – under market economy aspects – and social policy seem to become one of the core subjects for the future, in particular as now there are several demands for social policy in the new EU Constitution.

# 2004-2010 EU Internal Security

Due to the general terrorist threat, internal security of the EU is emerging as an important subject. In 2004, a "Mr. Terrorism", a former Minister of Justice of the Netherlands, has been installed by the EU, still with small competences, but there is no doubt that these will increase. Already, police forces are cooperating in a larger deal. Until all weaknesses in this context will be deleted, and this in the new Member States too, it may take the years until 2010.

# Map of the European Union

(as per 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004)



On EU official maps, the names of the Member States are normally written in the language of each country.

#### The Language Problem in the EU

The EU follows the principle that every language, which is an official language of its Member States has an equal value. It was not a big problem to have, at the founding times, four languages (French, German, Italian, Dutch). But it is a problem today, with 25 Member States, to have 20 languages in the EU (in alphabetical order of the Member States in their own language):

- Czech
- Danish
- German
- Estonian
- Greek
- English
- Spanish
- French
- Italian
- Latvian
- Lithuanian
- Hungarian
- Maltese
- Dutch
- Portuguese
- Slovak
- Slovene
- Finnish
- Swedish

In simultaneous translations, for instance in the European Parliament, there are now 380 possible language combinations, and the EU has had serious difficulties to find interpreters from Maltese into Latvian or from Estonian into Slovak. Therefore many interpretations are made via a "relay language" (relay language English for Maltese-English and English-Latvian, for instance). All of the meeting rooms of the EU are equipped with electronic simultaneous language translation systems.

The EU has no real concept to curb languages – and it is not EU policy to do so. But for practical reasons, a lot of proposals are discussed at present (June 2004). One reads, not to write most of the EU papers longer than 15 pages (so that they are translated faster). Many meetings – not official ones – are held since several years in three to five major languages. All proposals to concentrate in the EU on one or two languages, have failed on the question which one(s). However one can say that a lot of internal meetings are now held in English, as this seems to be also a major easygoing language. On the other hand, the EU subsidises an office in Brussels called EBLUL (European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages), which takes care of minority languages within the Member States (for instance Breton in France, Welsh or Scottish Gaelic in United Kingdom, Slovene or Ladin in Italy, Danish or the Slavic Sorbic language in Germany, Galician in Spain etc.). The difficulties of the language issue in the EU are generally considered to be the result of the cultural heritage of Europe – something, which deserves a lot of attention, also in view of some "colonizing efforts" of the past.

# The Robert Schuman Speech from 9 May 1950

Although there were some attempts in the earlier decades of the 20th century, unfortunately without a big echo, the concrete history of the EU as such starts in 1950. On the 9 May 1950, the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, upon advice of his advisor Jean Monnet who was to become the first president of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community, made a historical speech.

This speech must be seen in the context

- of the reasons and the end of World War II,
- of the economic situation of the European states,
- of the upcoming Cold War between the Soviet Union and the West,
- the "Prague coup" in February 1948 facilitating the takeover of communism in Czechoslovakia,
- the Berlin blockade in June 1948,
- the first Soviet atomic bomb in September 1949,
- the first voices in the USA advocating a German rearmament,

The Council of Europe (see later information box) has been founded in this situation, however, none of the member states wanted to yield national sovereignty. The French government tried to act in a way, which was acceptable also to the French people.

# This speech was introduced by some very simple sentences:

"It is no longer a time for vain words, but for a bold, constructive act. France has acted, and the consequences of her action may be immense. We hope they will. She has acted essentially in the cause of peace. For peace to have a chance, there must first be a Europe. Nearly five years to the day after the unconditional surrender of Germany, France is now taking the first decisive step towards the construction of Europe and is associating Germany in this venture. It is something, which must completely change things in Europe and permit other joint actions, which were hitherto impossible. Out of all this will come forth Europe, a solid and united Europe. A Europe in which the standard of living will raise thanks to the grouping of production and the expansion of markets, which will bring down prices..."

Some new political principles were mentioned in the speech:

- Europe will not be all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built step by step, through practical achievements, which will first create real solidarity.
- The age-old enmity between France and Germany must be eliminated. Any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries, but it is open to all other European nations, which share the aims.
- Action must be taken immediately on one limited but decisive point: Franco-German production of coal and steel must be placed under a common High Authority.<sup>3</sup>
- The fusion of these economic interests will help to raise the standard of living and establish a European Community.
- The decisions of the High Authority will be binding on the member countries. The High Authority itself will be composed of independent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> the forthcoming European Coal and Steel Community, where the Commission was first named High Authority

persons and have equal representation. Its decisions will be enforceable.

This plan has been fully and wholeheartedly accepted by German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. Only ten days later a conference has been convened, with also Belgium, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands as participants.

The chairman of this conference, Jean Monnet, remembered in his memoirs the spirit of this conference:<sup>4</sup> "We are here to undertake a common task – not to negotiate for our own national advantage, but to seek it to the advantage of all. Only if we eliminate from our debates any particularist feelings shall we reach a solution. In so far as we, gathered here, can change our methods, the attitude of all Europeans will likewise gradually change".

To create something new and unique in international and European law, the negotiating partners had <u>to avoid the principle of unanimity</u> for national financial contributions, or the subordination of the executive to the representatives or the interests of national member states.

This was the birth of European Union law. EU law is something sui generis (Latin legal expression for "of its own kind"), something which was never there, not national, not international law – but "trans" national or supranational law<sup>5</sup>. EU law breaks national member state law. Therefore it can be said that any activity in context with EU law requires a high European social competence.

The text of the speech of Robert Schuman from 9 May 1950:

"World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.

The contribution, which an organised and living Europe can bring to civilisation is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations. In taking upon herself for more than 20 years the role of champion of a united Europe, France has always had as her essential aim the service of peace. A united Europe was not achieved and we had war.

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements, which first create a de facto solidarity. The coming together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. Any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries.

With this aim in view, the French Government proposes that action be taken immediately on one limited but decisive point:

It proposes that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organisation open to the participation of the other countries of Europe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> see Jean Monnet: Memoirs, London 1976, p. 323

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Transnational and supranational are sometimes used synonymously. In most of the literature however supranational means "on top of the level of nations" for state institutions, transnational for companies or private institutions.

The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims.

The solidarity in production thus established will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible. The setting up of this powerful productive unit, open to all countries willing to take part and bound ultimately to provide all the member countries with the basic elements of industrial production on the same terms, will lay a true foundation for their economic unification.

This production will be offered to the world as a whole without distinction or exception, with the aim of contributing to raising living standards and to promoting peaceful achievements. With increased resources Europe will be able to pursue the achievement of one of its essential tasks, namely, the development of the African continent.

In this way, there will be realised simply and speedily that fusion of interest which is indispensable to the establishment of a common economic system; it may be the leaven from which may grow a wider and deeper community between countries long opposed to one another by sanguinary divisions.

By pooling basic production and by instituting a new High Authority, whose decisions will bind France, Germany and other member countries, this proposal will lead to the realisation of the first concrete foundation of a European federation indispensable to the preservation of peace.

To promote the realisation of the objectives defined, the French Government is ready to open negotiations on the following bases:

The task with which this common High Authority will be charged will be that of securing in the shortest possible time the modernisation of production and the improvement of its quality; the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to the French and German markets, as well as to the markets of other member countries; the development in common of exports to other countries; the equalisation and improvement of the living conditions of workers in these industries.



To achieve these objectives, starting from the very different conditions in which the production of member countries is at present situated, it is proposed that certain transitional measures should be instituted, such as the application of a production and investment plan, the establishment of compensating machinery for equating prices, and the creation of a restructuring fund to facilitate the rationalisation of production.

The movement of coal and steel between member countries will immediately be freed from all customs duty, and will not be affected by differential transport rates. Conditions will gradually be created which will spontaneously provide for the more national distribution of production at the highest level of productivity.

In contrast to international cartels, which tend to impose restrictive practices on distribution and the exploitation of national markets, and to maintain high profits, the organisation will ensure the fusion of markets and the expansion of production.

The essential principles and undertakings defined above will be the subject of a treaty signed between the States and submitted for the ratification of their parliaments. The negotiations required to settle details of applications will be undertaken with the help of an arbitrator appointed by common agreement. He will be entrusted with the task of seeing that the agreements reached conformity with the principles laid down, and, in the event of a deadlock, he will decide what solution is to be adopted. The common High Authority entrusted with the management of the scheme will be composed of independent persons appointed by the governments, giving equal representation. A chairman will be chosen by common agreement between the governments. The authority's decisions will be enforceable in France, Germany and other member countries. Appropriate measures will be provided for means of appeal against the decisions of the authority.

A representative of the United Nations will be accredited to the authority, and will be instructed to make a public report to the United Nations twice yearly, giving an account of the working of the new organisation, particularly as concerns the safeguarding of its objectives.

The institution of the High Authority will in no way prejudge the methods of ownership of enterprises..."

① Today, the effects of the Schuman speech are often forgotten, as peace is self-evident for the Europeans in the EU, especially the young generation. In that, the EU has been absolutely successful. Never before in history there has been such a long period in Europe since World War II with peace between the countries of the EU – and there is nobody in these countries advocating conflicts between EU partners.

But for countries to join the EU, for instance from the Balkan, where still in the 90s there were civil wars and conflicts between majorities and minorities (former Yugoslavia), it is very topical, as peacekeeping is one of the major reasons for them to want to join the European Union.

# The Symbols of the European Union

## The 9th of May: Europe Day

Robert Schuman presented his proposal on the creation of a unified Europe on the 9th of May 1950, in order to promote peaceful relations between European countries.

Today, the 9th of May has become a European symbol (Europe Day, since a EU Summit Meeting in 1985) along with the single currency (the euro), the flag and the anthem, which identify the political, economical and spiritual entity of the European Union. Europe Day is the occasion for activities and festivities in the whole European Union. This day brings all its citizens closer to one another.

(i) Today, the 9<sup>th</sup> May is a EU institution holiday (but no holiday in the Member States). As there were too many national holidays in the EU administration, most of the holidays were excluded, except 24./25.12. (Christmas), 1.1. (New Year), Easter Sunday etc. However, in addition another holiday was granted, the 9<sup>th</sup> May. If – today with 25 member states – all national holidays would be valid also on EU level, most of the work days of a year would be free for the "Eurocrats" (that means: "European bureaucrats", mostly used by the concerned people in a certain self-irony). The 9<sup>th</sup> May is celebrated often as "day of the open doors" of the EU buildings in Brussels, where citizens can look at the offices, meet EU civil servants, get first-hand information, examine the offers of the canteens and bars etc.

### The flag of the European Union



Member States.

The European flag is not only symbol of the European Union but also of Europe's unity and identity. The circle of gold stars represents solidarity and harmony between the peoples of Europe. The number of stars means perfection, completeness and unity in ancient Greek mythology and has nothing to do with the number of EU

① In the first days of 1995, short after the EU was enlarged for Austria, Finland and Sweden from 12 to 15 Member States, a EU speaker had to deliver a speech at a German bank in the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen. Proudly, the Public Relations Manager of the bank welcomed him indicating on a flag with ... 15 stars, saying "We did our best to have already now the new EU flag designed by our advertisement department". This was wrong: the number of member states has changed, but not the number of stars.

Still in 2002, during the implementation of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the EU and Kyrgyzstan, a Kyrgyz printshop changed the number of stars on a paper pyramid with a calendar and the EU flag from 12 to 15, because besides there was written about the "EU of the 15". This has not been realised by the EU staff – and all the pyramids had to be destroyed and reprinted correctly!

The history of the flag starts in 1955, when there was only the European Coal and Steel Community, with six Member States. The Council of Europe in the

French city of Strasbourg had been set up several years earlier and was busily defending human rights and promoting European culture. The Council of Europe – a European equivalent of the Organisation of American States, or of the Organisation of African Unity (now: African Union) - was thinking what symbol to adopt for its own use (on the Council of Europe, see box below). After much discussion, the present design was adopted - a circle of twelve gold stars on a blue background. In various traditions, twelve is a symbolic number representing many things: It is the number of months in a year and the number of hours shown on a clock. But, as mentioned, here the circle of 12 stars is a symbol of unity.

The Council of Europe then encouraged other European institutions to adopt the same flag and from 1986 all EU institutions used it as well. The flag is the only emblem of the European Commission, the EU's executive, but other EU institutions and bodies can use an emblem of their own in addition to the European flag.

① Often the Council of Europe is mixed up with the EU Council. The Council of Europe, the oldest European organisation, has nothing to do with the European Union, although both cooperate closely. Today, all European democracies (45) are full members, including Russia. The Council of Europe has a kind of standing inter-parliamentary assembly, composed of Members of Parliament of the member states of the Council of Europe (the Members of European Parliament, in the EU, however are elected directly). It also has adopted a large number of legally binding conventions, e. g. in the fields of cultural policy or justice, including the European Convention on Human Rights, for which there is a European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, who made many very important decisions in the fields of human rights (for instance on the abolition of death penalty, on the duration of legal trials, on asylum right etc.). Any individual in a signatory state can go to this court, but only when there is no further possibility to go to a national court.

Further information: <a href="www.coe.int">www.coe.int</a>, on the treaties and conventions of the Council of Europe: <a href="http://conventions.coe.int">http://conventions.coe.int</a>, on the European Court of Human Rights: <a href="www.echr.coe.int">www.echr.coe.int</a>.

## The European Anthem

This is the anthem not only of the European Union but also of Europe in a wider sense. The melody comes from the Ninth Symphony composed in 1823 by Ludwig van Beethoven. For the final movement of this symphony, Beethoven set to music the "Ode to Joy" written in 1785 by Friedrich Schiller. This poem expresses Schiller's idealistic vision of the human race becoming brothers - a vision Beethoven shared.

The Council of Europe in 1972 (the same body that first designed the European flag) adopted Beethoven's "Ode to Joy" theme as its own anthem. Without words, in the universal language of music, this anthem expresses the ideals of freedom, peace and solidarity for which Europe stands.

The EU heads of state and government adopted it in 1985 as the official anthem of the European Union. It is not intended to replace the national anthems of the Member States but rather to celebrate the values they all share and their unity in

diversity. Today, there are many versions of this anthem, from historical instruments to heavy metal pop.

① If you read this text in an electronic version and want to listen to the European Anthem: Just click the following hyperlink for download from the Internet. You should have a RealOne Player on your computer.



High-quality recording (MP3, 849 KB)