

UNIwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie  
Wydział Studiów Międzynarodowych i Politycznych  
Instytut Europeistyki

**Anara Jeenbekova**

Nr albumu: .....

Kierunek Europeistyka

Specjalizacja Euroculture

**WHAT IS LEFT OUT OF SCHUMAN DECLARATION AND MONNET METHOD  
IN FORGING OF AN EVER CLOSER UNION? THE MULTIPLEX CASE STUDY  
OF CRISES IN EUROPE**

Praca magisterska

Promotor: Dr. Grzegorz Pożarlik

Kraków 2016



## **Master of Arts Thesis**

### **Euroculture**

**Jagiellonian University (Home)**

**Palacky University (Host)**

**September 2016**

**What is Left Out of Schuman Declaration and Monnet Method in Forging of  
An Ever Closer Union? The Multiplex Case Study of Crises in Europe**

#### **Submitted by:**

First name and Surname: Jeenbekova Anara  
Jagiellonian University: ID 2011120471  
Palacky University: ID 80063378  
Contact details (telephone/email): jeenbekova@gmail.com  
+48661394097

#### **Supervised by:**

Jagiellonian University: Dr. Grzegorz Pożarlik

Palacky University: Dr. Karel Konečný

**Place, date:** Krakow, Poland, 30 September 2016

#### **Signature:**

**Jeenbekova Anara**



## **MA Programme Euroculture**

### **Declaration**

I, Jeenbekova Anara hereby declare that this thesis, entitled "What is Left Out of Schuman Declaration and Monnet Method in Forging of An Ever Closer Union? The Multiplex Case Study of Crises in Europe", submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within this text of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the bibliography.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Signed .....Jeenbekova Anara .....

Date .....September 2016.....

## Table of contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	5
<b>Introduction</b> .....	6
<b>Chapter I. Research design and methodology</b> .....	10
1.1. Defining the crisis.....	10
1.2. Case selection and methodology.....	12
1.3. Methodological challenges.....	14
<b>Chapter II. Schuman Monnet method in historical and institutional perspective</b> .....	15
2.1. Analysis of the institutional and historical context.....	15
2.1.1. The Schuman Declaration.....	18
2.2. The Monnet’s underlying vision versus Monnet’s method.....	20
2.2.1. The Monnet method.....	21
2.3. Shared sovereignty.....	25
2.4. Economic interdependence.....	26
2.5. Summary.....	27
<b>Chapter III. The debate on Europe’s <i>finalité</i> in the theoretical discussion of EU integration</b> .....	28
3.1. Approaches towards EU <i>finalité</i> – from deepening to widening.....	28
3.1.1. Process and a project.....	29
3.1.2. <i>Finalité</i> politique.....	31
3.2. Federalism.....	32
3.2.1. Confederalism.....	34
3.3. Neofunctionalism.....	35
3.3.1. The concept of spillover.....	37
3.4. Liberal intergovernmentalism.....	39
3.4.1. The concept of win-set.....	42
3.5. Interparadigmatic discourse.....	43
3.6. Conclusions.....	45

<b>Chapter IV. The legacy of Schuman Declaration in the reactions to the present day multiplex crisis challenges in the EU</b> .....	46
4.1. The European migration/refugee crisis.....	47
4.1.1. Conceptualization of the policy responses.....	47
4.1.2. The refugee crisis.....	49
4.1.3. European Commission versus member states/Dublin project.....	51
4.2. European security crisis.....	52
4.2.1. Terrorist attacks in Europe.....	54
4.2.2. Back to the European Army.....	56
4.2.3. Shared sovereignty pillar.....	57
4.3. British exit from the EU.....	58
4.3.1. The reactions of member states to the exit.....	60
4.3.2. Implications of the Brexit from the perspective of the Monnet method.....	61
4.4. Eurozone crisis.....	62
4.4.1. The economic interdependence in the context of Eurozone crisis.....	64
4.5. Comparative view and analysis.....	65
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	69
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	73

**List of Figures (in-text)**

Figure 1.....	22
Figure 2.....	23
Figure 3.....	33
Figure 4.....	49
Figure 5.....	50
Figure 6.....	55
Figure 7.....	66

## Abstract

The purpose of the research is to provide an interparadigmatic comparative analysis of Europe's *finalité* and legacy of Schuman Monnet method in light of the multiplex crises in Europe. The intensity of the occurring crises starting from the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community poses certain challenge for Schuman Monnet method as a source of inspiration and as a consequence of migration and security crises, Eurozone crisis and Brexit. The research is based on the hypothesis that in spite the fact that the historical, social, economic, political and organizational context has changed still there is an empirical evidence for Schuman Monnet method *modus operandi*. A wide range of theories that is articulated by scholars on the speculations about the further development of the EU *finalité* has revealed a structural tension between supranational and intergovernmental levels in its aspiration to continue the process towards an Ever Closer Union. As a result, the concept of crisis was embedded in the very process of the European integration as a natural process. Thus, the research aims to examine whether there is or not more continuity in a valid character of Schuman Monnet method as building the framework for binding crisis. The thesis employs the comparative multiple-case design and the qualitative method of analysis to link the current day discussion over the crises challenges with the principles and techniques built within the Schuman Declaration and Monnet method. The research results can be applied in furthering a discussion on the EU *finalité*.

Keywords: EU finalite, crisis, Monnet method, Schuman Declaration, European integration

Word Count: 21106

## Introduction

Throughout the last decades the European Union has achieved most part of its objectives which were envisioned by the founding fathers at the beginning of its creation. The various developments and events that took place ever since pushed the European Union to redefine not only its position inside of the Union but as well to review its place in the international arena. The biggest role in this revision of the positions played the variety of the events which pushed the Union to embody different treaties and agreements signed between the member states. As stated by Tony Judt in his magnum opus book “Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945” the “post-national, welfare-state, cooperative, pacific Europe was not born of the optimistic, ambitious, forward-looking project imagined in fond retrospect by today's Euro-idealists. It was the insecure child of anxiety.”<sup>1</sup> As such the European Coal and Steel Community was not created out of the cooperative willingness of the nation states to work with each other but out of the need of the nation states to survive in the new reality of the post Second World War. In addition, the move towards the process of European integration allowed the member states to address an imbalance of power emerged after the Second World War in an international politics. Thus, as such the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1950 was an opportunity for the nation states as the last straw towards creation of prosperous and peaceful affairs.

One of the issues that have affected the development of the integration process posed so called difficult situations that are termed in most of the academic literature as crises. Thus, the terms as ‘the crisis’ in and of Europe<sup>2</sup> overwhelmed the public discourse in recent decade as more crises situations unpack new crises that hit the European Union.<sup>3</sup> One of the traps in this process was labelled as a process of ‘failing forward’ to embark on the continuous circle of the decisions taken by the member states that does not bring them out of the vicious circles but just allows them to move forward

---

<sup>1</sup> Tony Judt, *Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945* (London: The Penguin Press, 2005), 6.

<sup>2</sup> As one of the examples the project “Europe/Crisis: New Keywords of ‘the Crisis’ in and of ‘Europe’” was initiated by the network of scholars in critical migration and border studies after the attack on Charlie Hebdo in Paris in January 2015 and prolonged in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in Paris on 13 November 2015. The aim of the project is to posit the dominant discourse surrounding the conjunctures of ‘Europe’ and ‘crisis’ from the distinctive critical point to engage in the theoretical dialogue and debate.

<sup>3</sup> New Keywords Collective, “Europe/Crisis: Introducing New Keywords of ‘the Crisis’ in and of ‘Europe’,” *Europe/Crisis: New Keywords of “the Crisis” in and of Europe*, 2016, accessed 5 June 2016, <http://nearfuturesonline.org/europecrisis-new-keywords-of-crisis-in-and-of-europe/>.

again towards failing situation.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the urge of member states to find the way out of the crises situations became the first issue to be decided on the agenda of the member states within the established principles and practices applied during the integration process. However, the situation is complicated due to the variety of approaches and concepts promoted by different member states in accordance with their national interests.

Moreover, the current day debates on the periphery and core Europe put the terms in a colloquial usage referring to the actual level of economic development that labels the Southern Europe and Central and Eastern Europe as ‘periphery’ while the Northern Europe as ‘the core’.<sup>5</sup> Such a representation creates the unequal position between member states in terms of its economic development especially at the supranational level that also triggers the issues of social development and political conduct of the policies at the national level. The difference within the European Union became more visible with the enlargement process during which in 2004 more nation states such as Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia entered the Union.<sup>6</sup> The adoption of the Lisbon treaty drew the ambitious perspectives for the further development of the European Union aiming “to enhance the efficiency and democratic legitimacy of the Union and to improving the coherence of its action”.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, along with the challenges that the Union has been facing more appeal emerged towards the move from the initial perspectives towards the new concepts. One of such concepts relate to the term of Europe ‘à la carte’ or ‘elastic solidarity’ that is repeatedly stressed by Central European leaders of Visegrad countries in statements related to the European solidarity.<sup>8</sup> The concept of Europe ‘à la carte’ is especially promoted by the leaders of Visegrad countries who do not share the view that common market should pass through the natural spillover of political solidarity.

---

<sup>4</sup> Erik Jones et al., “Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration,” *Comparative Political Studies* 1 (2015), 8, accessed 5 July 2016, doi:10.1177/0010414015617966.

<sup>5</sup> Maciej J. Grodzicki and Tomasz Geodecki, “New Dimensions of Core-Periphery Relations in an Economically Integrated Europe: The Role of Global Value Chains,” *Eastern European Economics* 54, no. 5 (2016), 377, accessed 20 April 2016, doi:10.1080/00128775.2016.1201426.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 378.

<sup>7</sup> Jean-Claude Piris, “Democracy,” in *The Lisbon Treaty: A Legal and Political Analysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 112.

<sup>8</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Poland, “Deputy Minister Konrad Szymański: We’ve Taken Another Step Towards Reaching a New Migration Agreement,” *They Wrote About Us*, September 17, 2016, accessed 20 September 2016, [http://www.msz.gov.pl/en/news/they\\_wrote\\_about\\_us/](http://www.msz.gov.pl/en/news/they_wrote_about_us/).



Therefore, the present focus of the thesis is to make a link between the variety of crises situations and the principles which were laid at the origins of the Union creation. Thus, the thesis seeks to connect the present day reactions and approaches towards the crises situations with the methods built within the Schuman Declaration and Monnet method in overcoming crises from the perspective of a continuous strategy used by member states in the process of forging of an ever closer union. The major objective of the research is to find out whether the Schuman Monnet method is still operational for contemporary EU facing multiplex crises. The second major research question of the thesis asks about what is left out of Schuman Declaration and Monnet method in construction of present day crises in the European Union. The complementary question seeks to research what is *finalité* of the EU according to the major theoretical discussion of the European integration and whether the *finalité* was central or marginal in understanding the logic of the integration process development. The major hypothesis of the thesis is that in spite the historical, social, economic, political and organizational context has changed still there is an empirical evidence for Schuman Monnet method *modus operandi*. To explore the above questions, the thesis employs the qualitative method of analysis along with the multiple-case study research design.

The current stage of the European integration process has been identified in the academic literature in different ways as every opinion is based on the particular approach towards the integration. However, the variety of debates and public discourses on the theme of discussion trigger traditional controversies instead of clarifying the *finalité politique* of the EU.<sup>9</sup> In spite of the variety of the academic literature published on the issue of European integration only few of the publications address the topic of the integration process from the purely theoretical perspective.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the current thesis tends to contribute as well to the scarcity of sources by providing the overview framework of the *finalité politique* discussion as per the major theories of the European integration. In addition, the research tends to construct the Monnet method in accordance with the basic principles used and as per the academic literature description to set it in the context of the empirical part discussion.

---

<sup>9</sup> Sedef Eylemer, "Revisiting the Debates on a Model of Integration for Post-Crisis Europe: Towards A Political Union or Just More Differentiation?," *Perceptions* 20, no. 4 (2015): 30.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Diez and Antje Wiener, "Introducing the Mosaic of Integration Theory," in *European Integration Theory*, ed. Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1.

The thesis is structured in four major chapters. The chapter one provides the research design and outlines the research methods used in the thesis. The methodological framework also defines the term of crisis and places the methods applied in the research within the context of wider academic discussion. The chapter two analyses the Schuman Declaration and Monnet method within the historical and institutional perspective to distinguish between the rationale of the vision and method application. The second part of the chapter two proceeds to the construction of the Monnet method around two pillars of shared sovereignty and economic interdependence. The chapter three explores the debate on Europe's *finalité* as per the theoretical discussion of the EU integration. The chapter discusses the interparadigmatic discourse on Europe's *finalité* to view how the different paradigms approach Schuman Monnet method of integration in accordance with the neofunctionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism, and federalism. The last chapter four of the thesis uses the empirical evidence of the multiplex crises in Europe to analyse the legacy of the Schuman Monnet method. The chapter illustrates the binding nature of Schuman Monnet paradigm in terms of decision making process and reactions to present day crises. The conclusion restates the main findings of the research and offers the new perspective of consideration of the Schuman Monnet method within the rationale of the European integration in terms of its legacy.

## Chapter I

### Research design and methodology

The chapter focuses on the methods used for the analysis of the literature and selection of the theoretical approaches used in the chapter three as well as the case studies employed in the chapter four. The chapter starts from the definition of the concept of the crisis as per the disciplines of social science such as sociology, international relations, security studies and European studies as well in the context of its application for the European integration process. The review then proceeds to explain the chosen way in which the concept of crisis was employed within the context of the present research. The second part of the chapter aims to explain the preference over the multiple-case study instead of the single case study in an empirical part of the chapter four. The methodology chapter also explains the structure and tools used in the research with the major focus that was made in each of the chapters.

#### 1.1. Defining the crisis

The definition of crisis is an ambiguous concept which involves different interpretations depending on the subject of study from various disciplines such as security studies, international relations, sociology, European studies. Hay distinguishes between several types of crises defined as singular or recurrent; momentary or enduring; linear or cyclical; destructive or creative; inevitable or contingent; pathological or regenerative; systematic or episodic.<sup>11</sup> The framework of the research highlights the most relevant in the EU context types of crises to employ the above typology of the crises to fit every case study into one of the described types. Thus, the chosen types relate differentiate between the singular or recurrent; momentary or enduring; linear or cyclical; inevitable or contingent crises types. The distinction between the other three types is omitted due to the irrelevance to the study questions of the research. Hence, as the coherent definition of the term is absent it comes to be difficult to apply the term of crisis to the certain discipline as the crises can be regarded as an emergency situation which requires the immediate measures or as an ongoing process inherent in the structure of the particular institutional framework. According to Hay the concept of

---

<sup>11</sup> Michal Natorksi, "In Times of Crisis: The Role of Coherence as a Social Convention in the European Neighbourhood Policy after the Arab Spring," *European Journal of International Relations* (2015): 2.

crisis may suggest the condition of rupture or breakdown that determines the moment of transformation and defines the crisis to a process in itself.<sup>12</sup>

Accordingly, the origin of crisis relates to the uncertainty that turns crises into ambiguous situations that require the sense making as being essential to the process.<sup>13</sup> On the other side, the major focus on the definition of the crisis in security studies presents the conflict situation or the state of uncertainty when two sides can not decide their further steps.<sup>14</sup> In this regard, the crisis poses an emergency situation when the decisions or actions should take place at once. According to Daniel Innerarity crises may pose as well the opportunities for the European actors to benefit from the crisis situations to promote integration process forward but at the same time crises remain to be “constellations of great uncertainty”.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the political actors can not rely on crisis situations in helping to bring the integration process forward.

However, in perspective of international politics the crises are entrenched in every day doings of diplomats, bureaucrats, and politicians at national and transnational settings.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, the crisis in definition of the international politics becomes an ongoing process that can be equalized to the every day routine. It should be taken into consideration as well that crisis can be presented as a “creative destruction” that leads to the *finalité politique* to remain unfinished.<sup>17</sup> In this regard, the pioneering dimension of Schuman Monnet project presents an open ended process from the very beginning of its establishment. It can be referred that the concept of crisis was embedded into it from the very beginning in spite of the approach for discussion as per the intergovernmental or supranational level. Hence, the research employs the concept of crisis in the framework of an ongoing process that was laid in fundamentals of the integration project due to dichotomy of the EU politics conduct as per the supranational and intergovernmental levels.

---

<sup>12</sup> Colin Hay, “Narrating Crisis: the Discursive Construction of the ‘Winter of Discontent’,” *Sociology* 30, no.2 (1996), 254, accessed 5 August 2016, <http://soc.sagepub.com/content/30/2/253.full.pdf+html>

<sup>13</sup> Sabine Saurugger, “Sociological Approaches to the European Union in Times of Turmoil\*,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, no. 1 (2016): 72.

<sup>14</sup> Barry Buzan et al., “Security Analysis: Conceptual Apparatus,” in *Security. A New Framework for Analysis* (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1998), 24.

<sup>15</sup> Daniel Innerarity, “Images of Europe around the Crisis,” *The European Legacy* 20, no. 1 (2015): 6.

<sup>16</sup> Michal Natorski, “In Times of Crisis: The Role of Coherence as a Social Convention in the European Neighbourhood Policy after the Arab Spring,” *European Journal of International Relations* (2015): 2.

<sup>17</sup> Klaus Eder, “The Crisis of Europe: A Case of Creative Destruction — Descandalizing the Crisis of Europe as an Experimental Case of Social Evolution,” in *Europe’s Prolonged Crisis. The Making or the Unmaking of a Political Union*, ed. Hans-Jörg Trenz, Carlo Ruzza and Virginie Guiraudon (New York: Macmillan, 2015), 286.

## 1.2. Case selection and methodology

The research employs the multiple-case study of four crises that were unfolding in the EU influencing the integration process development for a long period. These are the empirical cases that define the discussions at the EU level in terms of its *finalité* development. The comparative approach towards the multiple-case study would also be applied in the thesis as per the typology defined by Hay on crisis definition of four chosen types. The preference over the multiple case studies is given in this research because it offers more comprehensive view for comparison between the cases. In general, there are two key approaches to the case study methodology provided by Robert Stake as being intrinsic, instrumental or collective and by Robert Yin categorization of explanatory, exploratory or descriptive in addition to the differentiation between single, holistic case studies and multiple case studies.<sup>18</sup> According to Yin the case study brings the intensity to the study in general due to the “empirical enquiry which is used to understand a real-life phenomenon in depth, but such understanding encompasses important contextual conditions – because they were highly relevant to your phenomenon of study”.<sup>19</sup> On the other side Stake focuses on the intrinsic nature of the case studies that along with an instrumental case study allows analysing the unique situations.<sup>20</sup> The use of the collective case study method when more than one case is studied equals to the multiple case study. Both Yin and Stake approaches share the conceptual space in terms of the similarities that their approaches bring in relation to application of constructivism. The research design of the present thesis falls within the framework of Robert Yin’s categorization as the most relevant one to the analysis of the research questions.

The importance of case studies is that it brings the light to the theoretical discussion and allows for the comprehensive overview of the discussed issues. According to Yin the results can be generalized from either single or multiple designs stemming out of the theory.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the multiple case studies support the results by “replicating the case through pattern-matching, a technique linking several pieces of

---

<sup>18</sup> Pamela Baxter and Susan Jack, “Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers,” *The Qualitative Report* 13, no. 4 (2008): 547.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Yin, *Case Study Research. Design and Methods* (California: SAGE Publications, 2014): 18.

<sup>20</sup> Bedrettin Yazan, “Three Approaches to Case Study Methods in Education: Yin, Merriam, and Stake,” *The Qualitative Report* 20, no. 2 (2015): 137.

<sup>21</sup> Robert Yin, *Case Study Research. Design and Methods* (California: SAGE Publications, 2014): 18.

information from the same case to some theoretical proposition.”<sup>22</sup> Hence, the multiple case design is applied in the thesis to analyse the four cases that are constructed in academic literature and by media coverage as a crisis. The link between the four cases is also made as being divided to two major groups that link the migration crisis to the security crisis while the exit of the UK from the Union is linked to the Eurozone crisis. The comparative view between and within the cases is also applied in the research in the last subsection of the chapter four while the each of the subsections refer to the previous crisis in terms of its impact on the following crisis that is discussed in each of the subsections.

In addition, the selection of the cases as well as the analysis of each of the subsections is based on the results of the theoretical discussion as conducted in the chapter three of the *finalité* term as per the major theories that correlates with the Yin’s framework. The approach to the selection of theories is based upon the categorization provided by the leading scholars in the theory on European integration such as Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez. According to Wiener and Diez the European integration theories of federalism, neo-functionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism explain the integration in terms of its outcomes.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, the Wiener and Diez categorization of theories approach in the discipline defines their selection for the analysis of the three major theories in the chapter three as the basis on which the case studies in the chapter four are stemmed from corresponds to the Yin categorization of the case studies as being explanatory, exploratory or descriptive in nature.

The thesis also employs the qualitative research method towards the analysis of the empirical evidence related to sources of information. The value of the qualitative case study is that it ensures the exploration of the issue not only “through one lens, but rather variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood”.<sup>24</sup> Thus, analysis of the sources and literature is conducted in accordance with the qualitative research method. It should be noted that the research covers a wide range of the literature sources. Due to the nature of the research the sources include the academic literature of book published not only during the recent

---

<sup>22</sup> Zaidah Zainal, “Case Study as a Research Method,” *Jurnal Kemanusiaan* 9 (2007), 2, accessed 5 May 2016, [http://psyking.net/htmlobj-3837/case\\_study\\_as\\_a\\_research\\_method.pdf](http://psyking.net/htmlobj-3837/case_study_as_a_research_method.pdf).

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Diez and Antje Wiener, “Introducing the Mosaic of Integration Theory,” in *European Integration Theory*, ed. Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 20.

<sup>24</sup> Pamela Baxter and Susan Jack, “Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers,” *The Qualitative Report* 13, no. 4 (2008): 544.

decade but also those classic books from the discipline which were published at the earlier stages of the integration process.

Thus, the publication for certain books includes the dates as far as 1953 or 1984 as the consideration and references to the academic literature from the earlier dates are important to explore the major research questions. In addition, to the old books the research also considers the newly published editions of books and articles to correlate the concepts. Whereas the second and third chapters of the research focus more on the published academic literature and journal articles the sources for the analysis of the research questions posed in the last fourth chapter concerns as well the media articles which are posted online and at the official news websites. The recent press coverage of the issues raised by the research questions in the last chapter allows placing the concepts and theoretical approaches discussed in the previous chapters to the wider framework. Nevertheless, every subsection of the crisis situation in the last chapter is discussed as well within the framework of the major issues that play its role in *finalité* discussion as per the journal and few academic sources.

### **1.3. Methodological challenges**

There are several challenges in the research that should be defined. Thus, the coverage of the crisis development does not involve a particular period of discussion. The chosen dates and meetings that cover the crisis development in case studies were selected based on their relevance to the research question as within the *finalité* framework discussion of the theoretical framework provided in the chapter three. Hence, the research does not provide a detailed timeline of events, dates or meetings that took place in relation to the particular crisis development. In addition, the research neither focuses on the detailed historical development of the events that took place nor it aims to offer a comprehensive discussion of all the theoretical approaches developed on the theme of integration. Therefore, the inclusion of certain facts and dates are based on the overall framework of the thesis as per its major objectives.

## Chapter II

### Schuman Monnet method in historical and institutional perspective

“European unity is the most important event in the West since the war, not because it is a new great power, but because the new institutional method it introduces is permanently modifying relations between nations and men.” (Jean Monnet “A Ferment of Change”)<sup>25</sup>

The aim of the Chapter is to provide a framework for historical institutional analysis of Schuman Monnet method against the background of Schuman Declaration and academic literature discussing the elements of Monnet method. It should be noted that the Monnet method does not include a coherent definition but is articulated as a part of a broader rationale and line of reasoning providing references for various narratives on EU polity.<sup>26</sup> The context for distinction between the Monnet method and Monnet’s underlying vision concludes that the method remains unchanged while the vision is fluctuating based on the political directives and interpretations of the historical periods. The Chapter analyses the Monnet method in a context of academic literature and derives the two major cornerstones which compose the method such as shared sovereignty and economic interdependence. Therefore, the construction of the basic two pillars of the method builds the rationale for further analysis of the empirical part. Second part of the chapter places the Monnet method as a point of reference in the context of the treaties adoption which influenced the path of development of current challenges that the EU is passing through.

#### 2.1. Analysis of the institutional and historical context

The construction process of the long historical evolution of European integration is designated by ever growing interdependence between economic and political dimensions of the process. The origin of the establishment of the European Union in its present day form as an institutional structure is associated with the year of 1951, in particular, with the procedure for signing the Treaty of Paris that launched the European Coal and Steel Community. Even though the “long-standing dream, an increased

---

<sup>25</sup> Jean Monnet, “A Ferment of Change,” in *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, ed. Nelsen, Brent and Alexander Stubb (New York: Macmillan, 2014), 27.

<sup>26</sup> Wolfgang Wessels, “Revisiting the Monnet Method – A contribution to the periodisation of the European Union’s history,” in *Teilung überwinden. Europäische und Internationale Geschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michaela Bachem-Rehm, Claudia Hiepel and Henning Türk (München: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2014), 50.



intellectual agitation for unity in Europe” has been expressed throughout the centuries by European intellectuals the real basis for the process to turn into operative advanced only after the end of the Second World War.<sup>27</sup> The end of the war brought numerous destructions and losses for national economies of European countries that had to be urgently addressed by national governments. Therefore, a need to establish an ever lasting peace among nations in Europe became the primary concern after the devastating war along with the search for solution to sensitive issues of mutual control. The establishment of the cooperation for the unity of European states allowed avoiding a pending threat of Germany’s remilitarization and possibility for creation of a balanced system of power sharing to hold a control for the actions of the states.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community based on the cooperation out of practical purposes related to the advancement of economy provided at the same time leverage for the states over each other’s actions. As a result, the proposal for the economic integration brought a solution and opportunity for the Europe to avoid the reoccurrence of the conflict situation.

In political terms such an approach claiming for the unity of the European nations at the cost of their national sovereignty had the potential to cause the mistrust and become the issue for the discontent. However, the readiness of the governments of European states to accept the direction for reorganization was prompted due to the devastating costs of the wars following the economic depression and displays of politically radicalized cases of extremism.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the political attitude labelled the ideas and words related to the concepts of unity including ‘union’, ‘integration’, and ‘supranationalism’ as “panaceas for Europe’s ills” in spite of a radical nature of claims as it can be considered nowadays it was not atypical to the political spirit at the time.<sup>30</sup> The balancing between the advantages that the integration process may bring against the sacrifices that every state would need to take in terms of the national sovereignty was

---

<sup>27</sup> Derek Urwin, “The European Community: From 1945 to 1985,” in *European Union Politics*, ed. Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 16.

<sup>28</sup> Desmond Dinan, “How Did We Get There?,” in *The European Union: How does it Work?*, ed. Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 21.

<sup>29</sup> Thus, the economic crisis of the 1930s left the devastating effect on European politics which led to the rise of political extremism as one of the main causes of the Second World War. According to Klapsis there is a parallel to correlate the current day developments to the crisis situation of 1930s in terms of economic crisis that causes a political reaction which leads to the upheaval of far-right extremism. Antonin Klapsis, “Economic Crisis and Political Extremism in Europe: from the 1930s to the Present,” *European View* 13 (2014), 196, accessed 20 June 2016, doi: 10.1007/s12290-014-0315-5.

<sup>30</sup> Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union. An Introduction to European Integration* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 2010), 13.

rebalanced in favour of unity approach due to the overall political context in which the process was taking place.

The search for the diplomatic solution laid a foundation for the European integration in a post-war Europe proceeding from the political to economic benefits that put a mechanism into function. The interactive interdependence game which Gillingham describes through the approach of positive integration levelled at the exercise of state power along with a negative integration which employs the mechanism of the market rules is shaped not only by economic conditions but also by the historic dimensions.<sup>31</sup> As a result, the positive integration concedes to the negative one because the rules of the market do not require the constant change of the political factors which vary in its complexity. Similar to Gillingham, Scharpf emphasizes that the post war period did not provide a variance of possibilities for the capital owners due to the boundaries of territorial state and those of markets that pushed the progress of negative integration while the positive integration suffered from the lack of political legitimating.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, the positive integration came across the barriers which in present day terms can be characterized as the balancing between the maximization of national interests and increase of the regulatory capacities of supranational institutions.

Following the logic under which the regional integration may become possible Mattli derives such major factors as economic benefits and willingness of political leaders in the context of demand and supply framework of economic gains and national economic growth.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, the demand of the market to get gains as a result of exchange process leads to the national economic growth which in its turn provides the stick for the integration process to continue. The expectation for the achievement of higher economic gains generates the willingness of political leaders to favour the integration processes. According to Mattli the presence of the regional paymaster and institutional leader facilitates the process of integration and provides the impetus for further progression.<sup>34</sup> The case study of the EU in accordance with the Mattli analytical framework demonstrates that the major conditions necessary for the integration

---

<sup>31</sup> John Gillingham, "The German Problem and European Integration," in *Origins and Evolution of the European Union*, ed. Desmond Dinan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 56.

<sup>32</sup> Fritz Scharpf, "Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of European Welfare States," in *The Future of European Welfare. A New Social Contract?*, ed. Martin Rhodes and Yves Mény (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1998), 16.

<sup>33</sup> Walter Mattli, *The Logic of Regional Integration. Europe and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 17.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

occurrence in a post-war period were anchored in the common market that provided paradigm for the further development of a unification system.

### 2.1.1. The Schuman Declaration

Tensions that had been running throughout the post-war period among the European states required the reconsideration of the institutional structure. The organization of the distinctive institutional structure with a sound policy making was vital to ensure the proper function of markets.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, the pressure for the change demanded an elaboration of a new vision that clearly became expressed in the Schuman Plan designed by Jean Monnet. As stated in the plan “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.”<sup>36</sup> The Plan was presented to public by Robert Schuman, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs and welcomed by Chancellor Adenauer with the utmost vigour. The enthusiastic support of Adenauer can be demonstrated by his commitment not to resign even in spite of the failure of the plan for a European Defence Community announced by the French Prime Minister René Pleven as one of the first initiative steps towards the European integration.<sup>37</sup> For Schuman the support of Adenauer and his reassurance in the absence of a hidden motive such as to undermine the Germany’s market economy was an important step on the path of construction of Franco-German entente.<sup>38</sup>

Jean Monnet as the author of the plan became a long-standing advocate for unity approach while being at the same time a man with no party affiliation. Due to the support of Adenauer who believed that the Schuman Plan was “a decisive step to a close connection between Germany and France and thus to a new order in Europe that is based on peaceful cooperation” the implementation of the plan elaborated by Monnet became realizable.<sup>39</sup> Present day reference to Jean Monnet is well known as to the

---

<sup>35</sup> John Gillingham, “The German Problem and European Integration,” in *Origins and Evolution of the European Union*, ed. Desmond Dinan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 60.

<sup>36</sup> Robert Schuman, “The Schuman Declaration,” in *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, ed. Nelsen, Brent and Alexander Stubb (New York: Macmillan, 2014), 16.

<sup>37</sup> Bernard Vogel and Gunter Buchstab, “Konrad Adenauer and the European Integration,” An exhibition of the Archive for Christian Democratic Policy of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 2007, accessed 5 June 2016, [http://www.kas.de/upload/ACDP/GB\\_Katalog\\_KA.pdf](http://www.kas.de/upload/ACDP/GB_Katalog_KA.pdf).

<sup>38</sup> Sam-Sang Jo, *European Myths. Resolving the Crises in the European Community/European Union* (Maryland: University Press of America, 2007), 56.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

founding father of the European Union. To note, the strives for unification were widely expressed through various movements and projects such as the European Union of Federalists, the United Europe Movement, the International Committee for a Socialist United States of Europe, the European Parliamentary Union, the European League for Economic Cooperation and other.<sup>40</sup> Notably, the second set of talks between German Chancellor Angela Merkel, French President Francois Hollande and Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi to discuss the reverberations from the Brexit vote took place on the island of Ventotene where during the Second World War Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi drafted a Manifesto “For a Free and United Europe”.<sup>41</sup> The presence of the variety of movements as well as the continuing symbolical reference directed for the unification underlines the significance and practical side of the Monnet’s method that in spite of the multitude of proposed models succeeded among other attempts aimed to build a new political design.

The reference to Monnet is continuously present in all scholarly works and speeches which are related to the discussion of the issue of integration regardless of an attitude of the authors to Jean Monnet as a person and a public figure. Being undisputedly acknowledged as a founding father of European integration name of Jean Monnet became entrenched in a political imagination of the EU and legitimized a set of discursive and symbolic strategies in EU discourse.<sup>42</sup> Whenever the history of European integration is narrated it is impossible to escape mentioning the name of Jean Monnet. It should be noted that the source for the intellectual inspiration of the Monnet underlying vision was influenced by the work of David Mitrany “A Working Peace System” in which Mitrany deliberates on a solution to nullify all military conflicts between the nations. According to the vision of Monnet “the States of Europe must form a federation or a ‘European entity’, that would make them into which will make them a single economic entity.”<sup>43</sup> However, the vision of Monnet is not as explicit as it may seem

---

<sup>40</sup> Albert Weale, “European Environmental Policy by Stealth: The Dysfunctionality of Functionalism?,” in *Environmental Policy in the EU: Actors, Institutions and Processes*, ed. Andrew Jordan (London: Bath Press, 2005), 337.

<sup>41</sup> Isla Binnie, “Show of European Unity: Merkel, Hollande, Renzi Meet to Discuss Gameplan,” *The Reuters*, August 21, 2016, accessed 22 August 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-crisis-meeting-idUSKCN10W0CO>.

<sup>42</sup> Christoffer Kølvråa “The Father on Display: The House of Jean Monnet and the Construction of European Identity,” *Culture Unbound* 4 (2012), 763, accessed 15 May 2016, <http://www.cultureunbound.ep.liu.se>.

<sup>43</sup> Manoranjan Dutta, *The United States of Europe: European Union and the Euro Revolution* (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2011), 13.

from the first glance as it combines the perspectives which are regarded to be controversial.

## 2.2. The Monnet's underlying vision versus Monnet's method

There should be made a distinction between the Monnet's method and Monnet's vision in which the former is constructed by different scholars based on various elements according to the topic of discussion. While the method suggests the steps towards the achievement of the objective as a part of the proposed model, the vision serves as an umbrella that covers the cascade. Differentiation between the method and vision needs to be clearly stated as the using of the same notion will cause a confusion and distortion of the ideas. To some extent the ambivalence of ideas is overlapping due to the similar objective of realization the Europe's *finalité* model.

According to Puras the Monnet method is based on functionalism, economic integration and technocracy while the Monnet's underlying vision composes federalism, political integration and democracy.<sup>44</sup> Puras puts an emphasis on the two polar views of Europe as being divided along the lines of democracy and technocracy that labels the Monnet method as being an elitist in nature. The intellectual inspiration for the Monnet vision and method lays in the works of the other philosophers and political leaders. According to Pascal Lamy, former European Commissioner and Jacques Delors "Europe was built in a St. Simonian – technocratic – way from the beginning, this was Monnet's approach" but as Lamy adds St Simonianism is finished in a present day Europe because technocracy does not coexist with the democratic decision making.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, one of the most common elements of Monnet's method relates to the technocracy while it should be taken into consideration that the Monnet's vision of technocracy was not an end in itself but intended to be applied for achieving the democratic *finalité politique*. In his turn, another scholar David Marquand<sup>46</sup> regards the

---

<sup>44</sup> Adomas Pūras, "A Shape -Shifting Creature Dissected: Political Representations of Jean Monnet in European Studies," *Baltic Journal of Political Science*, no. 4 (2015): 121.

<sup>45</sup> John Erik Fossum and Agustín José Menéndez, "The European Union in Crises or the European Union as Crises?," *ARENA Report*, no.2, (2014), 217, accessed 22 May 2016, <https://www.sv.uio.no/arena/english/research/publications/arena-publications/reports/2014/report-2-14.pdf>.

<sup>46</sup> It should be noted as well that David Marquand firstly introduced the concept of democratic deficit in 1979 in his book "*Parliament for Europe*" to refer to the then European Economic Community. Before that the term of democratic deficit was figured out in the chapter "The Democratic Deficit" of the 1977 *Manifesto of the Young European Federalists* and in the 1973 work "*The Community is Working*" by Theo Sommer in which he refers to the democratic deficit in the Community of the Nine.

source of intellectual inspiration for Monnet to stem out of the Saint Simon's vision of "European polity that would be technocratic in method and 'social' in content."<sup>47</sup> Therefore, the European integration from the elitist perspective is entrenched in the concept of Europe that as noted by Delanty was a project aimed at closed circle of elites who would nurture the idea of belonging to a specific polity.<sup>48</sup> The ability for reaching the consensus quicker is another reason for the focus to be made on technocracy that allows proceeding with the decision making process in a smooth way.

The formation of the method is reflected in Monnet's belief that the integration should be promoted without the necessity for the wide explanations offered in public due to the inability of the latter to understand the complex ideas, and consequently to interfere into the process. In spite of Monnet's vision for democracy as noted by Puras he believed that "Europe's nations should be guided towards the super-state without their people understanding what is happening". The selective approach of targeting the circle of politicians instead of transparent system of decision making led to label the Monnet method as "integration by stealth".<sup>49</sup> Therefore, step by step the once launched process of integration would not be challenged due to the sceptic attitude of the public. Controversially, but such an approach is proved its rationality as examples of the negative outcome of referendums demonstrated the impediment towards the development of the integration process.

### 2.2.1. The Monnet method

Therefore, the major difference regarding the method relates to the tools with which the vision is turned into practice. Despite the difference in methods of achieving the objective the tools become the primary focus as the first steps on the way to the concluding part. In what follows the research analyses the elements that compose the Monnet method, corresponding to what Helen Wallace name as method of partnership while Wolfgang Wessels refers to as the trademarks. The figure 1 presents the graph of the Monnet trademarks to explain the major elements that compose the method among which should be emphasized the Franco-German cooperation as the force driving integration, the elite driven process of the decisions to be taken by closed doors, the

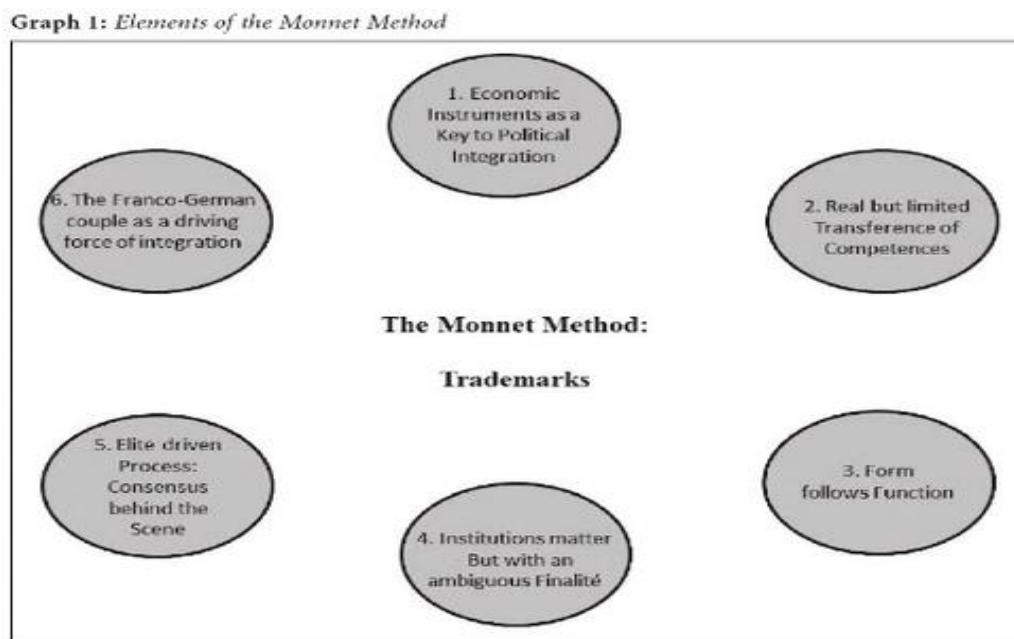
---

<sup>47</sup> Adomas Pūras, "A Shape -Shifting Creature Dissected: Political Representations of Jean Monnet in European Studies," *Baltic Journal of Political Science*, no. 4 (2015): 119.

<sup>48</sup> Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe. Idea, Identity, Reality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 143.

<sup>49</sup> Albert Weale, "Government by Committee. Three Principles of Evaluation," in *Committee Governance in the European Union*, ed. Thomas Christiansen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 161.

actual transference of competences in a gradual way and the use of the economic instruments as a step forward to the political integration.



The Figure 1. Elements of the Monnet Method.<sup>50</sup>

The correlation between the elements which is explained in the figure 1 reflects the process of the integration step by step initiated through the economic means and towards the political union through the delineation of elements around the Franco-German axis. Even though Wolfgang Wessels demonstrated in his graph the step process towards the implementation of the method the ‘Franco-German couple’ placed by him in the last turn should be emphasized as the fundamental basis of the integration process that Robert Schuman and Monnet delineated in the Declaration. Exposing each of the elements and deconstructing them in accordance with the theoretical analysis of the *finalité* discussion is important for understanding the process of the method construction through the delineation of the major two pillars.

On the other side, the Monnet method can be reflected in the discourse of the communication process between the Commission and the Council. As can be viewed from the figure 2 Hellen Wallace presents the Monnet method from the position of partnership and interaction that exists between the Commission and Council and their

<sup>50</sup> Wolfgang Wessels, “Revisiting the Monnet Method – A contribution to the periodisation of the European Union’s history,” in *Teilung überwinden. Europäische und Internationale Geschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michaela Bachem-Rehm, Claudia Hiepel and Henning Türk (München: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2014), 51.

engagement with the member governments and socio-economic elites. It is important to include the graph presented by Helen Wallace as it comes from the edition of the book published in 1996 that provides the background against which the present day steps in the cooperation process between the Commission and Council can be analysed in accordance with the major elements of Monnet method as presented in the figure 1 by Wessels.

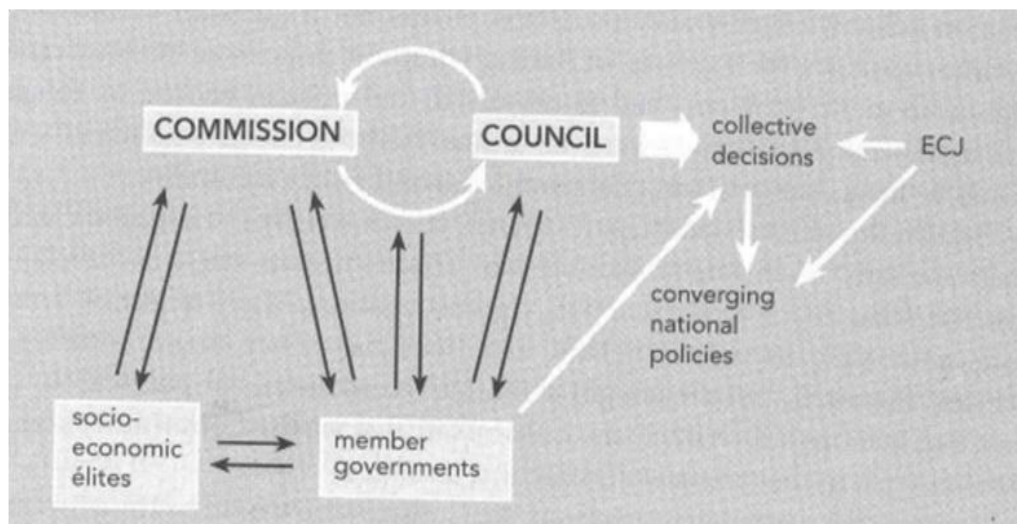


Figure 2. The 'Monnet' method of partnership.<sup>51</sup>

In broader terms both graphs add to the way of representation of the integration process and address the question of EU's *finalité* development despite of the difference. In spite of covering different aspects of the EU integration such as partnership and elements of the method both graphs underpin the integration model based on the Schuman Monnet strategy of collaboration and implementation. The first figure presented by Wessels is similar to Hellen Wallace's model<sup>52</sup> in terms of the emphasis put on the role that elites play in the socio-economic processes of integration. This element of an elitist, technocratic model ascribed to Monnet method labelled as the first institutional blueprint comprises the essential characteristic of Monnet's institutional

<sup>51</sup> Hellen Wallace, "The Institutions of the EU: Experience and Experiments," in *Policy-Making in the European Union*, ed. Hellen Wallace and William Wallace (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 43.

<sup>52</sup> To note, the model of the 'Monnet' method of partnership can be found only in the book *Policy-Making in the European Union* published in 1996 in the chapter edited by Hellen Wallace alone. The further publications of the book *Policy-Making in the European Union* do not include neither the Monnet method of partnership model nor the exact title of the chapter. Notably, the chapter by Hellen Wallace "The Institutions of the EU: Experience and Experiments" in which the model is discussed belongs to one of the most citable scholarly items both in articles and books about the European Union.



legacy which is ambiguous in its nature.<sup>53</sup> As both figure 1 and 2 shows the Monnet method comprises the approaches in which the integration process is grounded as well as reflect the ongoing views of the processes on the political and legal changes in Europe.

Consequently, the decision making process involving the EU member states is articulated within the parameters set by the regular use of the methods which determine the EU activities. In this regard, Joschka Fischer has been one of leading politicians and visionaries who underlined that the basis of the European integration comprises the Monnet method which determines the regulation processes within the EU that are formed due to the “inductive communitarisation”.<sup>54</sup> Hence, the institutional framework of the EU requires the division of the competencies between the supranational and intergovernmental levels. Therefore, the legacy of Monnet method is still considered in the working arrangements of the EU policy process even if it may no longer be the principal way in which integration is carried forward.<sup>55</sup>

As a result, the Schuman Monnet strategy enabled the flexibility in interpretations which were expressed by various scholars according to their theoretical favours and preferences. On the one hand, the Schuman Declaration can be read in terms of power politics game that turns it to the “narrowly-defined national interest” as articulated by Desmond Dinan while the other side argues about impossibility to avoid strategic manipulation for the sake of economic and political integration.<sup>56</sup> Whereas the first side blames the Declaration for being a disguise from the realities of the bargaining processes the second side admits the use of manipulation as a push towards integration. The common feature of both sides relate to their acknowledgment of the deceptive nature of the rhetoric applied for justification of the promotion of principles of the Declaration. In the following sections the research discusses the detailed analysis of key principles of Monnet method as being based on new type of rationality and shared interdependence linked very much to the economic interdependence.

---

<sup>53</sup> David Judge and David Earnshaw, *The European Parliament* (New York: Macmillan, 2008), 27.

<sup>54</sup> Joschka Fischer, “From Confederacy to Federation - Thoughts on the Finality of European Integration,” Speech by Joschka Fischer at the *Humboldt University in Berlin*, May 12, 2000, accessed 15 May 2016, <http://ec.europa.eu/dorie/fileDownload.do?docId=192161&cardId=192161>.

<sup>55</sup> Albert Weale, “Government by Committee. Three Principles of Evaluation,” in *Committee Governance in the European Union*, ed. Thomas Christiansen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 162.

<sup>56</sup> Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 53.

### 2.3. Shared sovereignty

The concept of sovereignty in the modern world stays a term of the utmost attraction to all countries despite their size and governing regime or commitment to the cosmopolitan trends of the post national models. The sovereignty signifies the autonomy of the state and its independence and distinguishes the four types defined by Krasner<sup>57</sup> among which is the Westphalian sovereignty that takes as a basic rule the exclusion of external actors from the territory of the state and does not involve the issues of control but of authority and legitimacy.<sup>58</sup> However, the focus of this sub chapter is on the period after the adoption of the treaty of Rome which introduced the principles of the shared sovereignty that are associated with post-Westphalian sovereignty. The treaty of Rome signed in 1957 by six countries of the core European states expanded the European Coal and Steel Community into the European Economic Community which strengthened the supranational principles and established by establishing four institutions of Commission, Council of Ministers, European Parliament and European Court of Justice.<sup>59</sup>

The concept of the shared sovereignty for Monnet comprised the “heart of the Schuman Plan” that was necessary means for goals achievement of bringing lasting peace, restoring Europe’s economic and political power as well as changing the relationship between the member state in a revolutionary manner.<sup>60</sup> The important feature of the shared sovereignty is that only national political authorities have the right to legitimize the shared sovereignty institutions which are based upon three preconditions of voluntary agreement, presence of international legal sovereign and modesty in the resources request.<sup>61</sup> With endorsement of the Maastricht treaty signed in 1993 the European Union was established along with its three pillars by creating the European citizenship and the principle of subsidiarity which defined the areas of jurisdiction under the EU and under the member states that would reduce any

---

<sup>57</sup> The other three types in addition to Westphalian sovereignty include international legal sovereignty based on mutual recognition, the domestic sovereignty that establishes the political authority within the state, and interdependence sovereignty which regulates the flow of information.

<sup>58</sup> Stephen Krasner, “The Case for Shared Sovereignty,” *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 1 (2005): 4.

<sup>59</sup> EUR-Lex, “Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, EEC Treaty - original text,” EU Law and Publications (2010), accessed 10 June 2016, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV%3Axy0023>.

<sup>60</sup> Brown Wells and S. F. Wells, “Shared Sovereignty in the European Union: Germany's Economic Governance,” *Yale Journal of International Affairs* 30 (2008), 31, accessed 26 May 2016, <http://yalejournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/083203wells.pdf>.

<sup>61</sup> Stephen Krasner, “The Case for Shared Sovereignty,” *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 1 (2005): 76.

interference from the side of the EU unless in emergency cases.<sup>62</sup> The establishment of the shared sovereignty became possible due to the principle of subsidiarity introduced by the Maastricht treaty which can be accounted as a great success of Monnet's vision and method of implementation.

#### **2.4. Economic interdependence**

The economic interdependence has been practiced in several political systems which aim at the regional integration. For instance, the Soviet system was based on the production of goods which were distributed among the republics in an interdependent manner. The principle of economic interdependence implies that the military conflicts might be reduced or nullified in case of the successful implementation of the principles. However, in case of the absence of the multilateral cooperation between the nation-states the economic interdependence may lead to the opposite effect.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, the creation of the appropriate conditions is an important factor for the implementation of the major principles of economic interdependence. In this regard the example of the European Union is a compelling one as it demonstrated how the cooperation at the supranational level can lead to the establishment of the permanent peace. Consequently, the Monnet's vision of the method implementation "enabled the EU to institutionalize conflict resolution to a degree only exceeded within states".<sup>64</sup>

The concept of interdependence was developed as well in detail in the theoretical analysis of the neofunctionalist theory that considers the step by step integration of spillover effect starting from the economy and subsequently resulting in the political integration as an essential premise of the theory. According to Swedberg the idea of industrial integration of pooling coal and steel production forms the essence of the Monnet method and provides the underlying rationale for all the further adopted treaties.<sup>65</sup> The Monnet method of economist's modus operandi can be articulated in the

---

<sup>62</sup> Bølstad Jørgen, and James P. Cross, "Not All Treaties Are Created Equal: The Effects of Treaty Changes on Legislative Efficiency in the EU\*," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, no. 4 (2016): 796.

<sup>63</sup> Harry Anastasiou, "The European Union as a peace-building system: Deconstructing nationalism in the era of globalization," *Journal of International Peace Studies* 12, no. 2 (2007): 34.

<sup>64</sup> James Sperling, "Introduction: Security Governance in a Westphalian World," in *European Security Governance: The European Union in a Westphalian World*, ed. Charlotte Wagnsson, James Sperling and Jan Hallenberg (New York: Routledge, 2009), 11.

<sup>65</sup> Adomas Pūras, "A Shape -Shifting Creature Dissected: Political Representations of Jean Monnet in European Studies," *Baltic Journal of Political Science*, no. 4 (2015): 121.

preambles of the treaties which expound on the principles of the economic integration.<sup>66</sup> Each of the preambles of such treaties as the treaty of Rome, Maastricht treaty, the treaty of Amsterdam and other emphasize the importance of the economic cooperation and establishment of the peace. Notably, the visions of the founding fathers including Jean Monnet are linked as the points of reference. Thus, the treaty of Maastricht can be cited as the rewarding result of the Monnet's efforts due to the establishment of an economic and monetary union under the treaty that led to the circulation of the euro currency as well as defined the convergence criteria.<sup>67</sup>

## 2.5. Summary

The second chapter provides the ground for the research of the thesis in the following aspects. At first, the chapter identified the rationale behind the development of the Schuman Declaration that helps to unfold the Monnet method as the next step. Second, the elements of the Monnet method and Monnet method of partnership were deployed in a comparative perspective to understand the handling of the concepts. Thus, the chapter also demonstrated how the elements that compose the various interpretations of the method can be integrated with each other through the exposure of similarities and differences in their approach of the integration process. The clear definition of different component parts of the Monnet method gathered throughout the variety of academic references and interpretations of the method was conducted for the construction of the pillars. Finally, based on the existing literature the chapter presented the two basic pillars of the Monnet method as the core principles to which the further referral throughout the third and fourth chapters will be made. Therefore, the chapter suggests that the Monnet method should be conceived in terms of the changing dynamics of the integration process but along the lines of the interdependent links that connect the reference to the paradigm in the mainstream theoretical explanations to which the thesis proceeds from here.

---

<sup>66</sup> John Mc Cormick, *Understanding the European Union* (Basingstoke: New York, 2010), 53.

<sup>67</sup> Christopher Alessi and James McBride, "The Eurozone in Crisis," *Council on Foreign Relations*, 11 February 2015, accessed 25 June 2016, <http://www.cfr.org/eu/eurozone-crisis/p22055>.

## Chapter III

### The debate on Europe's *finalité* in the theoretical discussion of EU integration

“When one has an idea and one knows that it is just and true,  
one has to realise it whatever it may cost until the end.”  
(Robert Schuman “Le Père de l’Europe”)<sup>68</sup>

The Chapter aims to provide an analysis of the major classic theories for the academic discussion of the European integration with regard of its reflections towards the EU *finalité*. The analysis of the chapter is conducted within a broader context of the EU historical and institutional development as discussed in the previous chapter two to highlight the rationale behind each theory. The interparadigmatic comparative discourse of Europe's *finalité* as per the theoretical approaches is important for the analysis of the legacy of Schuman Monnet method and subsequent treaties reform. Therefore, the chapter applies comparative approach towards different paradigms of the EU integration to view how they approach the link between Schuman Monnet institutional module and debate on Europe's *finalité* in the context of the mainstream theoretical discussion.

#### 3.1. Approaches towards EU *finalité* – from deepening to widening

The discussion of the European integration is linked to the conception of the EU *finalité* as every integration theory contributes its own genuine view to the discussion while the focus on the issue varies from theory to theory. Different visions of EU *finalité* vary depending on the context of discussion and historical time period that define the factors influencing the visions. The debate about the *finalité* discussion was intensified and provoked more interest from the side of the public and politicians after the delivery of the speech by German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer at the Humboldt University in May 2000. In his speech Fischer emphasized that the future of Europe should move towards European Federation with a transition to a “full parliamentarisation...based on a constituent treaty”.<sup>69</sup> The speech by Fischer caused various negative and positive responses from different scholars while the references to the speech remain numerous up to the present. The ongoing discussion proves the

---

<sup>68</sup> Margriet Krijtenburg, “Schuman's Europe: His Frame of Reference” (Thesis, Leiden University, 2012), 48, accessed 15 July 2016, <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/19767/01.pdf?sequence=13>.

<sup>69</sup> Joschka Fischer, “From Confederacy to Federation - Thoughts on the Finality of European Integration,” Speech by Joschka Fischer at the *Humboldt University in Berlin*, May 12, 2000, accessed 15 May 2016, <http://ec.europa.eu/dorie/fileDownload.do?docId=192161&cardId=192161>.

importance and actuality of the issues that Fischer raised in his speech that were developed into concepts.<sup>70</sup> In addition the success of the speech pointed and continues to point at the expectations of the public for the series of reforms as well as at deficiencies of those reforms after the implementation.

The subject of *finalité* raised number of discussions that are reflected as well in public speeches such as “Europe 2030” delivered by several pragmatic politicians among whom is British Foreign Secretary David Miliband. According to his speech delivered at the College of Europe the European Union should reconsider its vision of being a superpower which it will never be but instead the EU should become a “model power of regional cooperation” rebuilt under the cloud of pending threats that “provide a new *raison d’être* for the European Union”.<sup>71</sup> Such an approach provides the motivation for the unity of the EU due to the common dangers that reveal the vulnerability of the EU and the need to confront the challenges of outside world while solving the difficulties inside the EU. Accordingly, the narrative of the European integration process which is subject to constant construction and reconstruction determines the nature of the process and the view of *finalité*.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, the subject of *finalité* attains its value in relation to the integration process when considered in the context of historical conditions and political events or challenges.

### 3.1.1. Process and a project

There are two major views that construct the EU and characterize its *finalité* from two different angles that do not coincide but interdependent in its vision of the integration process. The conceptualization of the EU as a process and as a project is characteristic for the discussion of the EU identity that views both a process of ‘the

---

<sup>70</sup> For instance, Dr. Martin Kremer in the speech “*Preparing Europe’s Future: The Actuality of Joschka Fischer’s Berlin Speech*” highlighted the actuality of the public debate on Europe’s future with the contributions made by number of political figures among whom Jacques Delors, Jacques Chirac, Romano Prodi, Giuliano Amato, Guy Verhofstadt, Tony Blair and other.

<sup>71</sup> David Miliband, “Europe 2030: Model Power not Superpower,” Speech by the UK Foreign Secretary David Miliband at the College of Europe, Bruges, November 15, 2007, accessed 24 July 2016, <http://www.acronym.org.uk/old/archive/docs/0711/doc09.htm>.

<sup>72</sup> To note, the European Commission (as per the link <http://www.e-ir.info/2016/05/29/a-whig-history-of-european-integration/>) launched in April 2013 the “*New Narrative*” project to empower the artistic, cultural, scientific and intellectual communities for what Europe stands. The project led to the organization of events, online discussions and publication of the declaration “*The Mind and Body of Europe*” and a book “*The Mind and Body of Europe: A New Narrative*”. High participation in the discussions prolonged the project to the second phase to involve more young people.

what' and a project of 'the how' as comprising the EU identity.<sup>73</sup> However, the conceptualization of the EU as a project and identity is conducted along the lines of demands of politics and market. Thus, the EU as a project is built along the lines of political will and possibility to develop clear strategic objectives while the EU as a process prioritizes the commercial demands and focuses on regulatory frameworks.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, both visions require strong will that in a case of the project relates to a political willingness of the member states to adopt certain decisions while in the case of a process the economic benefits would define the further willingness to proceed.

Consequently, both definitions of the EU being a project and a process provide the value in the construction of the identity process and the determination of the EU's *finalité*. Accordingly, several scholars as Susana del Rio Villar stresses the relevance of both vectors but emphasizes the significance of the EU being a project for the capacity that it holds and as the "essential characteristic of its personality" through the discussion of the European supranational democracy and other themes related to the civil society of the EU.<sup>75</sup> Even though the book was written in regard of the issues raised during the European Year of Citizens 2013 the discussion of the organization of the democratic values and practices of the European integration links to the theoretical context of the liberal intergovernmentalism. Similarly, Heinrich Best and György Lengyel perceive the European integration as a project but based on elites' interests and networks that do not contradict to the interests of the population but on the contrary aims at the establishment of the peace and prosperity.<sup>76</sup> The definition of the European integration as an elite project traces back to the Monnet's vision of technocracy. However, the presence of elitist elements in the Monnet's vision is not aiming at the exclusive attitude towards the majority of population. In this regard, Checkel and Katzenstein present the integration process in conceptual meaning of Europeanization which in their construct is a project rather than a process.<sup>77</sup> Considering that the concept of a process is

---

<sup>73</sup> Daniela Chalanova, "Turn the Other Greek," in *Constructing and Communicating Europe*, ed. Olga Gyarmasova and Karin Liebhart (Zurich: Lit Verlag, 2014), 23.

<sup>74</sup> Jolyon Howorth, "What Europe badly needs is a "Grand Strategy," *Europe's World*, October 1, 2009, accessed 27 July 2016, <http://europesworld.org/2009/10/01/what-europe-badly-needs-is-a-grand-strategy/#.V9vS5fmLTIU>.

<sup>75</sup> Susana del Río Villar, *Europe: Project and Process: Citizens, Democracy, Participation* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2014), 31.

<sup>76</sup> Heinrich Best and et al., "Introduction: European integration as an elite project," in *The Europe of Elites: A Study into the Europeanness of Europe's Political and Economic Elites*, ed. Heinrich Best, György Lengyel and Luca Verzichelli (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 11.

<sup>77</sup> Jeffrey Checkel and Peter Katzenstein, *European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 19.

complementary to the discussion of the European integration in terms of a project, the *finalité* debate can be generated further in the framework of a project that supplements the underlying vision of Monnet method.

### 3.1.2. *Finalité* politique

Correspondingly, the notion of *finalité* can have many varying alternatives that focus on one aspect of the process. Hence, one of the basic terms includes the *finalité géographique*, *finalité économique*, and *finalité politique* that do not make the list to exhaust the variety of concepts. Each of the concepts targets the specific aspect that determines the frames of discussion such as the territoriality or economic factors. However, the conception of *finalité politique* is more sophisticated as it identifies the range of the features and perspectives for coverage relating to identity or legitimacy of the EU. According to Thomas Banchoff and Mitchell Smith the Maastricht ratification debates sparked the controversy of the issues concerning the legitimacy of the European integration project due to the lack of popular identification, lack of transparency of institutional democratic structure, and the lack in the levels of affective attachment.<sup>78</sup> In addition, the concepts of output and input legitimacy defined by Fritz Scharpf can be used by politicians as a trade-off between the two as well as to explain the inefficiency of the EU's performance by means of output legitimacy concept.<sup>79</sup> As a result, the *finalité politique* from the perspective of the legitimacy concern instigates the issues of the democratic deficit. In that case the attributes of the traditional debate would correspond to Joseph Weiler's 'no demos' thesis to deny the EU's possession of people component and an opposite position of the presence of demos in democratic institutions that favours the strengthening of the European institutions including European Parliament.<sup>80</sup>

Nevertheless, the argumentation of 'no demos' thesis does not encounter obstacles for provision of the solution as long as the intergovernmental cooperation would be facilitated between the member states. On the other side, the *finalités politiques* of the EU express clarity in declarations rather than in strategies implemented

---

<sup>78</sup> Thomas Banchoff and Mitchell P. Smith, *Legitimacy and the European Union: the Contested Polity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 1.

<sup>79</sup> Anne Britt Djuve, "Empowerment or Intrusion? The Input and Output Legitimacy of Introductory Programs for Recent Immigrants," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 11, no. 4 (2010), 404, accessed 5 June 2016, doi: 10.1007/s12134-010-0156-2.

<sup>80</sup> Richard Bellamy, "The Inevitability of a Democratic Deficit," in *Key Controversies in European Integration*, ed. Hubert Zimmermann and Andreas Dür (London: Macmillan, 2016), 64.



in practice constitute the dimension of values and goals which should be redefined with consideration of the rhetorical aftertaste.<sup>81</sup> Every taken redefinition should recognize the consequences of the impact that it leaves on the integration and the perception of EU's legitimacy. Therefore, the concept of *finalité politique*<sup>82</sup> is taken in this research as the basis of the analysis against which the following streamline theories will be discussed further.

### 3.2. Federalism

The federalist ideals invigorate the EU political visions up to the present day advocated by the political leaders starting from Altiero Spinelli Alcide de Gasperi, Walter Hallstein and Paul-Henri Spaak and other.<sup>83</sup> Thus, in comparison with other theoretical approaches federalism prefers to be described in most cases as a political movement. Nevertheless, the preference over the descriptive definition of federalism as a movement does not downgrade federalism as a theoretical approach. According to Burgess the federalism combines not only ideological form of a normative or “prescriptive guide to action” but also the philosophical extent of a “normative judgment” along with an empirical fact of a “living reality”.<sup>84</sup> In light of such a different representation of the meaning the federalism adopts the suitable context depending on the peculiarities of the political system. Thus, the principles that compose the federalism can not be just copied from one federal system to another but need to be placed in a wider context.

The inherent part of the discussion of the European *finalité* relates to the concluding remarks of the European polity to turn into federalism. In consideration of the fact that the supporters of federalism count as well the founding fathers including Jean Monnet, the federalism is among the most credible theories which continues to encounter the disapproval. As being aimed at the establishment of peaceful order after the Second World War federalism also includes the division of views on the certain ways of its implementation among the proponents of federalism. One of the old

---

<sup>81</sup> Furio Cerutti and Sonia Lucarelli, *The Search for European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 217.

<sup>82</sup> The reference throughout the thesis to the finality *politique* is made in its short French version as *finalité*. In case of the reference to the other forms of *finalité* the full version of the form will be typed.

<sup>83</sup> Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, “Introduction: Neofunctionalism and Its Critics,” in *Debates on European Integration. A Reader*, ed. Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (New York: Macmillan, 2006), 18.

<sup>84</sup> Michael Burgess, *Federalism and European Union: The Building of Europe, 1950-2000* (London: Routledge, 2000), 27.

critiques of Monnet method of ‘federalism by instalments’ relate to the lack of leadership as argued by Altiero Spinelli along with David Mitrany’s critique of a common fixation between the member states to be conducted without the interference into policies of each nation state.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, the argumentation of Mitrany can be addressed within the context of post national approach the Spinelli’s concern loses its claim as long as the EU institutional capacity strengthens at the supranational level. In William Riker’s construct the federal traits in the European Communities were laid from the very beginning that Finn Laursen demonstrates in terms of the autonomy provided in economic areas and exclusive competencies of the first pillar comparing to the second and third pillars which were intergovernmental or confederal.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, the EU achieved successes in implementation of its monetary policy that was possible due to the incorporations of the first pillar.

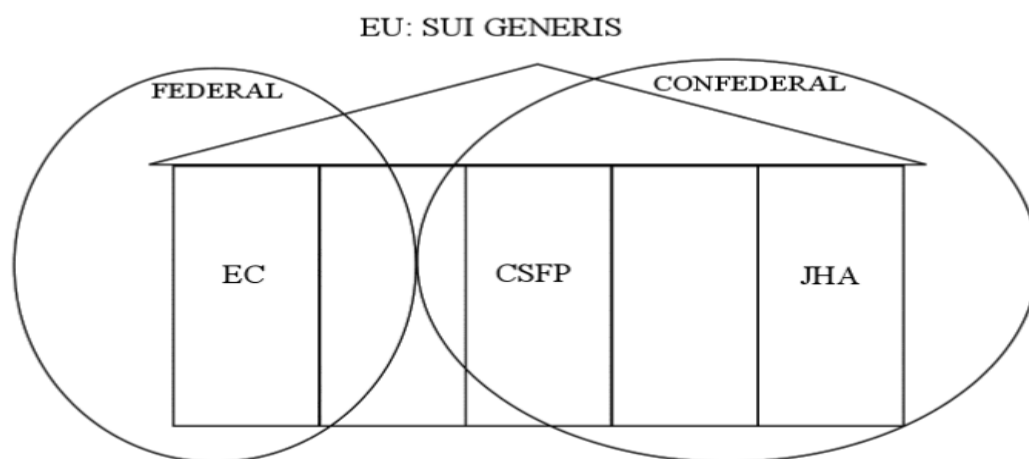


Figure 3. The Pillar Structure of the Maastricht Treaty<sup>87</sup>

As can be viewed from the Figure 3 of the pillar structure of the Maastricht treaty the European Economic Community renamed to the European Community possesses the federal elements while the second pillar of a Common Foreign and Security Policy and the third pillar of Justice and Home Affairs contain confederal elements. Thus, in accordance with the pillar structure the Commission obtained the autonomous role along with the European Court of Justice. As argued by Elke Cloots and Geert De Baere the character of the EU federalism contains the two Janus-faced

<sup>85</sup> John McCormick, “History and Ideas,” in *European Union Politics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2011), 19.

<sup>86</sup> Finn Laursen, “The EU and Federalism: Constitutional Equilibrium or Continued Federalization?,” in *The EU and Federalism*, ed. Finn Laursen (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011), 265.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

forms of the federalism being a federal governance structure for the member states as a technique and on the other side for the EU itself.<sup>88</sup> The opposite sense for the both sides of federalism reveal it at the level of member states as an instrument due to which the sub states would express their claims. Hence, the association of federalism with the EU itself provides the way for the EU to integrate the nations within Europe. Therefore, the two-way practice of federalism creates the complexities for its coexistence within the context of EU's *finalité* discussion. As a result, the uncertainty of the democratic legitimacy in the member states leads to the increase of positive expectations for the federalism to succeed at the EU level as the solution for the structural crisis at the member state level.

### 3.2.1. Confederalism

Even though the second and third pillars as per the Maastricht treaty can be described as confederal the term of confederalism is not welcomed in the discussion of the *finalité* process. According to Majone the context for the finality discussion of the Union “practically banned from the discourse” any options in regard to confederalism.<sup>89</sup> Such a vision might stem from the dangers of the realization of de Gaulle’s statement in 1960 of the plan with intention to absorb the Community system through an imposition of confederation principles.<sup>90</sup> Thus, a fear to repeat the mistakes of the past and intention to avoid any potential threats that might lead to the breakup of the Community system left an imprint on the further association of the consequences of confederalism. One of the last referrals to confederalism traces back to the 1989 year’s proposal of the French President Francois Mitterrand of a European Confederation which generated the image of a two-speed Europe with a nucleus member states surrounded by the less European states of new democracies.<sup>91</sup> In an attempt to bring the Eastern European democracies back to Europe Mitterrand, however, reconfirmed the Monnet’s vision of a core European states based around a Franco-German axis. Similar to Mitterrand, the Belgian Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt proposed to focus on the two circles of a

---

<sup>88</sup> Elke Cloots and et al., “Introduction: Federalism’s Janus Face,” in *Federalism in the European Union*, ed. Elke Cloots, Geert De Baere and Stefan Sottiaux (Oxford: Hart Publishing Ltd, 2012), 2.

<sup>89</sup> Giandomenico Majone, “Federation, Confederation, and Mixed Government: a EU–US comparison,” in *Comparative Federalism: The European Union and the United States*, ed. Anand Menon and Martin Schain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 136.

<sup>90</sup> Michael Burgess, *Federalism and European Union: The Building of Europe, 1950-2000* (London: Routledge, 2000), 79.

<sup>91</sup> Alistair Cole, *François Mitterrand: A Study in Political Leadership* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 154.

political core and confederation of countries that surround the core and which can easily join it in case of the willingness to commit to a hard work.<sup>92</sup>

In this regard, the federalist approach towards the integration and *finalité* discussion remains more widely used in comparison with the confederalism. Furthermore, the federalism retains its initial argument of states inability to guarantee the safety due to the lost capability over their political rights is still being relevant for political integration.<sup>93</sup> It can be stated that the modifications in the federalist vision of the EU's *finalité politique* was conducted in terms of changes in rhetoric rather than in the fundamental revision. In spite of omission made in the Maastricht treaty of the term 'federal goal' the substitutes were created thereafter among which is the well-known term of 'ever closer Union'.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, the process of the EU institution building and strengthening of the supranational institutions provides the feasibility for the prospects of federalists' view of the end point of integration process.

### 3.3. Neofunctionalism

The theoretical approach of neofunctionalism encompasses a variety of perspectives and circumstances that were formed under the impact of political events. The development of the theory became possible after publication in 1958 of the book 'The Uniting of Europe' by Ernst Haas which was followed by another work published in 1963 that equally contributed to the emergence of the theory by Leon Lindberg "The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration".<sup>95</sup> According to Ben Rosamond the broader intellectual context for the emergence of neofunctionalism served the behavioural revolution in political science that motivated scholarship to acknowledge the importance of studying political processes comparing to the earlier studies that focused more on constitutional and institutional aspects.<sup>96</sup> Thus, the elaboration of the theory within the broader context of new intellectual movement influenced the development of major assumptions and further acceptance by wider public.

---

<sup>92</sup> Guy Verhofstadt, "Forging 'United States of Europe' is key to the future," *European Voice* (2005), 2, accessed 28 July 2016, <http://www.politico.eu/article/forging-united-states-of-europe-is-key-to-the-future/>.

<sup>93</sup> John Mc Cormick, *Understanding the European Union* (Basingstoke: New York, 2010), 6.

<sup>94</sup> Nikola Petrović, "EU Ideology," *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 29, no. 1 (2016): 67.

<sup>95</sup> Jeppe Tranholm-Mikkelsen, "Neo-Functionalism: Obstinate or Obsolete? A Reappraisal in the Light of the New Dynamism of the EC," *Millenium: Journal of Interational Studies* 20, no. 1 (1991): 2.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

The theory contains various elements adopted from other earlier theories that place it between functionalism and federalism. Arne Niemann and Philippe Schmitter note that theory mainly departs from Mitrany's functionalism that led earlier scholars of neofunctionalism to define in the theory mechanisms of functionalism such as incremental change, learning processes and technocratic decision making while goals as taken from federalist view.<sup>97</sup> To note, the work of David Mitrany "A Working Peace System" had a significant impact for the development of functionalism as the work stands for the creation of international organizations driven by functional interests instead of national borders.<sup>98</sup> Such a mixture of combined elements makes the theory to be more adaptive and enables it to attract support from wider audience. Nevertheless, the major motive for creation of neofunctionalist theory served its disagreement with the basic propositions of functionalism related to its authoritative or idealistic approach and interest seeking political elite driven by neorealist logic of an external threat.<sup>99</sup> In spite of being similar to functionalism in its support of technocratic methods the theory of neofunctionalism focused not on fulfillment of tasks but on interests that could unite. Therefore, supranational institutions obtained more role in promotion of the common interests in accordance with the neofunctionalist framework.

The variation of focus made on certain EU institution over another one depends on the preference and argument of a particular scholar in the theory. Since the supranational institutions obtain more competencies the role of the 'high authority' or in other words Commission becomes of the utmost importance and expansion of competencies would be possible through the "recognition of spillover pressures".<sup>100</sup> In relation to the ambiguous issue of the EU being a project or a process both Haas and Lindberg agreed on integration as a process in which for Lindberg unlike Haas there is no endpoint.<sup>101</sup> However, the difference in opinions does not hinder to the development of the basic lines along which the theory builds itself. Key principles in neofunctionalist theory concern the notions of spillover that is divided to two major forms of functional

---

<sup>97</sup> Arne Niemann and Philippe Schmitter, "Neofunctionalism," in *European Integration Theory*, ed. Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 45.

<sup>98</sup> Mark F. Imber, "Re-Reading Mitrany. A Pragmatic Assessment of Sovereignty," *Review of International Studies* 10, no. 2 (1984), 104, accessed 30 July 2016, doi: 10.1017/S0260210500116110.

<sup>99</sup> Sabine Saurugger, *Theoretical Approaches to European Integration* (New York: Macmillan, 2014), 35.

<sup>100</sup> Catherine MacMillan, "The Application of Neofunctionalism to the Enlargement Process: The Case of Turkey," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47, no. 4 (2009): 791.

<sup>101</sup> Nikola Ilievski, "The Concept of Political Integration: The Perspectives of Neofunctionalist Theory," *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs* 1, no. 1 (2015), 6, accessed 30 July 2016, [http://e-jlia.com/papers/34928593\\_vol1\\_num1\\_pap4.pdf](http://e-jlia.com/papers/34928593_vol1_num1_pap4.pdf).

and political form and transfer of loyalty by elites involved in the process of integration which was described by Risse as ideational spillover in relation to the inclusion of citizens.<sup>102</sup> Both principles comprise the core of the theory discussion and lead to the establishment of the political community and were determined in general by its technocratic approach. For instance, the transfer of allegiances of citizens to institutions at supranational level would demonstrate the level of trust and support from the side of wider public that would progress due to the successful spillover.

### 3.3.1. The concept of spillover

Whereas the concept of transfer of loyalty did not develop into models of theoretical explanations the concept of spillover became central for the discussion of the neofunctionalist theory. In addition to the major two forms of political and functional spillover Arne Niemann identifies exogenous, social and cultivated spillover that in summary comprise the five interlinked forms with an innovative introduction of ‘countervailing’ forces to incorporate not only dynamics of integration but as well its disintegrative pressures.<sup>103</sup> In Niemann’s construct the traditional view of the political spillover as a shift of actors’ interests from national to European level is refocused at the interests at the European level while the original term of *engrenage* which describes the process of elite interaction and socialization in relation to the “social spillover”.<sup>104</sup> Therefore, the revision of the classical notions brings the refreshing outlook towards the concepts along with the fusion of the old and new elements. Thus, the description of the cultivated spillover is linked with the role of the supranational institutions performed by the European Commission. On the other hand, the pressures for the move of the functional spillover comprise the original goal along with an interdependent link while for the exogenous spillover the clear-cut indicators are coming outside in a form of a challenge.<sup>105</sup>

The varieties of forms of neofunctionalist theory indicate that the spillover presents not the only option for the development but just one of the alternatives. In his earlier work Schmitter denoted seven models among which the spillover was referred to

---

<sup>102</sup> Sabine Saurugger, *Theoretical Approaches to European Integration* (New York: Macmillan, 2014), 42.

<sup>103</sup> Arne Niemann, *Explaining Decisions in the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 53.

<sup>104</sup> Anand Menon, “Reformulating Neofunctionalism,” *European Political Science* 6, no. 4 (2007), 362, accessed 2 August 2016, doi: 10.1057/palgrave.eps.2210164.

<sup>105</sup> Arne Niemann, *Explaining Decisions in the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 62.

as a separate model while the new models<sup>106</sup> of spill-around that leads to the increase of the scope instead of the level and spill-back as the retreatment in either the scope or level of integration became widely spread among scholars.<sup>107</sup> The significance of the functional spillover was recognized and promoted at the earlier stage of integration process by Jean Monnet who understood the importance of the further actions. Therefore, the intellectual inheritance of neofunctionalism owes to Monnet and his idea of the gradual step by step process empowered neofunctionalist theory not only as an analytical framework that describes, explains and predicts but also as a “normative guide for action” which prescribes.<sup>108</sup> As a result the degree of influence that the neofunctionalist theory developed out of functionalist vision triggered the new directions in the debate on the EU’s *finalité*. In this regard, the Schuman Declaration served as a tool for the analysis of the further prescriptions. Thus, from the neofunctionalist vision the Monnet’s pragmatic method corresponds with the dictum of Haas that “functional integration requires pluralism” which leaves the integration process an open-ended situation.<sup>109</sup>

Consequently, the Monnet’s method in terms of its technocratic approach provides the basis for functional spillover and possibility for the transfer of loyalty at the European level. Such an approach of neofunctionalist theory construes the two logics on which the notion of spillover is based upon. The first expansive logic explores the way the integration in economic sector can cause the necessary conditions and pressures to proceed with integration to another sector while the second logic of deepening focuses on the particular sector.<sup>110</sup> Therefore, both logics are interconnected with each other as the expansion of integration to more new sectors would lose its purpose without the following deepening to strengthen the achieved results. However, the theoretical claim of neofunctionalism assumes that the *finalité politique* would be reached after the successful economic integration which in its turn would lead to

---

<sup>106</sup> As an example Sabine Saurugger in the book “*Theoretical Approaches to European Integration*” (2014, p. 42) highlights such forms as ‘spill-around’, ‘build-up’, ‘retrench’, ‘muddle-about’, while ‘spill-back’ and ‘encapsulate’ that were described by Schmitter as two separate forms are combined by Saurugger into one. Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni in the book “*Debates on European Integration*” (2006, p. 100) emphasizes two options of ‘spill-around’ and ‘spill-back’.

<sup>107</sup> Philippe Schmitter, “A Revised Theory of Regional Integration,” *International Organization* 24, no. 4 (1970), 846, accessed 4 August 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706154>.

<sup>108</sup> Arne Niemann and Philippe Schmitter, “Neofunctionalism,” in *European Integration Theory*, ed. Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 46.

<sup>109</sup> Dimitris Chrysochoou, *Theorizing European Integration* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2001), 54.

<sup>110</sup> Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 60.

political one. Strive for the imperfection provides the obstacle for the neofunctionalist theory to take into account the outside factors or obstacles towards the path of integration. Thus, the major critique of neofunctionalist theory relates to the assumed degree of ‘automaticity’ that would reduce the happening of a withdrawal due to the economic disadvantages.<sup>111</sup> However, such an approach proved to be inefficient as demonstrated the case with the stagnation period of 1960s and 1970s in the European integration process. The ‘empty chair crisis’ resulted in boycotting of Council of Ministers meetings in 1965 and preceding veto of British entry in 1963 initiated by French President de Gaulle set back the support for the neofunctionalist theory.<sup>112</sup> The weak side of the theory was revealed in its inability to explain the stagnation process of the integration and propose the solution for the further cooperation. The further perspective for the vision of the European *finalité* was questioned and required more detailed analysis. Thus, the ‘Luxembourg Compromise’ symbolized the end of the stagnation period but as well the need to search for the alternative theoretical claims that would shed light to the new angles of the complex process. The events that followed the ‘Luxembourg Compromise’ demonstrated the need to pay more attention for the position and powers of the national governments.

### **3.4. Liberal intergovernmentalism**

The way the neofunctionalism developed out of functionalism, the predecessor for the liberal intergovernmentalism was intergovernmentalism. Proposed as the critique of neofunctionalism the intergovernmentalism was based on the realist assumptions that viewed the state as rational actor. The foremost proponent of the intergovernmentalist theory has been Stanley Hoffmann who argued that there are other actors besides the national governments that play role in the ‘low-politics’ but still the national governments hold the leading role in decision making processes.<sup>113</sup> Such a vision takes roots from the notions of sovereignty and legitimacy that allows the national governments to take responsibility for carrying the tasks. Notably, the legal sovereignty and political legitimacy allowed the governments to have its say not only at the domestic level but also at the supranational level where the transfer of loyalty would

---

<sup>111</sup> Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, *Debates on European Integration. A Reader* (New York: Macmillan, 2006), 97.

<sup>112</sup> Stephen George and Ian Bach, “History,” in *Politics in the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 93.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.



take place only due to the willingness of the national governments. Therefore, the national governments acquired more power and from the perspective of intergovernmentalism could practice it for their own benefits.

However, the integration process required more sophisticated explanation from the side of scholars that was partly encapsulated in the theoretical discussion proposed by liberal intergovernmentalism. The need in the elaboration of the argument about the role of the EU institutions and their stake in the process demanded the revision of certain points to capture all the subtleties. In addition, the formation of the theory was taking place after the occurrence of the ‘empty chair crisis’ and of the ‘Luxembourg crisis’ with the following expansion of the union to new member states that expressed the resistance of the national governments for the transfer of powers at the supranational level.<sup>114</sup> Therefore, the theory of liberal intergovernmentalism occupied its niche among the traditional schools and strengthened its position due to the difference in approach. In spite of liberal intergovernmentalists’ rejection of claims for the grand theory the ‘parsimonious’ nature of liberal intergovernmentalism is granted due to its simplicity and lack of ambition for coherence as aimed by the traditional schools.<sup>115</sup> Thus, the application of multiple aspects collected from other schools into one theory allows the liberal intergovernmentalism to analyse the process of integration with consideration of various perspectives. Such a position provides the unique possibility for the theory to discuss the visions of *finalité* in terms of an elaborated approach collected from the recognition of various aspects by other theoretical schools.

However, the critique of the theory redirects the aspect of multiple considerations into a negative one that does not allow the theory to cover all aspects when it is considered only from one angle. In spite of being the most often cited and discussed approach the liberal intergovernmentalism does not satisfy all the reasons in regard to the complexity of the EU system that makes the theory one of the elements.<sup>116</sup> The lack of coherence in the liberal intergovernmentalist theory urges to consider all the

---

<sup>114</sup> Andrei Constantin, “Is the European Commission Too Powerful? Neofunctionalism and Intergovernmentalism Considered,” *Inquiries Journal* 5, no.10 (2013), 1, accessed 5 August 2016, <http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/773/is-the-european-commission-too-powerful-neofunctionalism-and-intergovernmentalism-considered>.

<sup>115</sup> Andrew Moravcsik and Frank Schimmelfennig, “Liberal Intergovernmentalism,” in *European Integration Theory*, ed. Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 67.

<sup>116</sup> Murat Coskun, “A Discussion of the Theories of European Integration: Does Liberal Intergovernmentalism Offer a Satisfactory Answer?,” *The Journal of Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences* 20 (2015): 388.

aspects of the process to avoid any misinterpretation. Thus, in case of scholarly focus only on one particular aspect of the theory would result in disregard of the other aspects that would change the meaning at which the liberal intergovernmentalist theory was aiming. According to Neil Nugent the theory entails a number of criticism which regards the selectivity of empirical references, the neglect over the constraints of the informal integration, insufficient attention to the ‘black box’ of the state as to consider other elements and, finally, the Commission’s role as facilitator that downplays its decision making role.<sup>117</sup> However, the weaknesses of the liberal intergovernmentalism demonstrate that the theory succeeded in it claims to add to the explanatory framework of the integration processes. The theory emphasizes the interconnectivity between the national and supranational levels and considers the needs of the national governments as being central to the EU decision making process.

The basic principles of the theory were developed by active proponent of the liberal intergovernmentalism Andrew Moravcsik. The main principles upon which the theory rests are that of “national preferences, substantive bargains, and institutional choice” which determine the domestic issues within the state to question the transfer of sovereign power of national governments to the supranational level.<sup>118</sup> These three points of discussion also comprise the major questions that Moravcsik analyses to decide upon the mechanisms that triggered the integration process. Consequently, the process of negotiation is defined in accordance with the bargaining principles upon which Moravcsik builds his argument. Furthermore, Moravcsik’s argument in terms of the two level game resonates with the concept of Putnam’s two level games theory which supposes that framework for the negotiations at international and domestic levels which is divided to stage one of bargaining with negotiators resulting in a tentative agreement and stage two of negotiations with domestic players for ratification.<sup>119</sup> Thus, the role of the chief negotiator at the stage one is more influential as the negotiator decides while at the stage two of domestic level estimates the force of the chief negotiator as per the followers. The Putnam’s division to the two level games provided the pattern for Moravcsik’s theory also in terms of the special condition those

---

<sup>117</sup> Neil Nugent, “Conceptualising and Theorising,” in *The Government and Politics of the European Union* (New York: Macmillan, 2010), 433.

<sup>118</sup> Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe. Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), 5.

<sup>119</sup> Oliver Ziegler, *EU Regulatory Decision Making and the Role of the United States* (Berlin: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2013), 44.

negotiations at the stage one should be approved by the stage two. Moreover, any revision of the results at the stage two would lead to the new negotiations at the stage one as the rejection at the stage two implies the rejection of results achieved at the stage one.<sup>120</sup> Therefore, the bargaining outcomes for the formation of the national preferences are determined by liberal intergovernmentalism as per the interaction between the negotiations taken at both national and supranational levels.

#### 3.4.1. The concept of win-set

Following the logic of the concept of win-set proposed by Putnam the ability of the governments to take the benefits of the negotiation process at the national level comprise the primary concern for the new round of negotiations at the international level. Therefore, the need of the agreement's ratification at the domestic level would result in the decrease of the international agreements that do not cause any divergence of opinions among domestic constituents.<sup>121</sup> The logic of the win-set reflects the concept of substantive bargains in which Moravcsik questioned the possibility for trigger of manipulative mechanisms for the distribution of information. Consequently, the outcomes of the negotiation processes in accordance with the substantive bargaining determines the further level of cooperation between the states that results in the formation of the approach to EU's *finalité*.

According to liberal intergovernmentalism the EU integration process can be presented along a series of rational choices which make preference formation to be "issue-specific" as per the economic sector and non-economic sector which favours concerns over calculations, while the interstate bargaining sets the asymmetrical approach and, finally, the institutional choice which counts two form of sovereignty delegation in a form of norms set up and the increase of powers of supranational institutions due to the extensive delegation of sovereignty.<sup>122</sup> In this regard the economic sector of the preference formation prioritizes the balanced approach to the all actors involved in the integration process. On the other side, the neglect of estimations based on a pure economic rationale by non-economic sector turns the discourse over the

---

<sup>120</sup> Robert Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization* 42, no.3 (1988):436.

<sup>121</sup> Oliver Ziegler, *EU Regulatory Decision Making and the Role of the United States* (Berlin: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2013), 45.

<sup>122</sup> Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe. Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), 139.

debatable issues to the area of priority. Thus, the outcomes of the integration process are determined based on the ability of the negotiating actors to come to a mutually beneficial collaboration. Consequently, the empowerment of the Commission and other supranational institutions empowers the EU institutions with more responsibility that would urge them to react promptly in challenging situations.

The major critique of the constant division of the negotiation processes between two levels relates to the scholarly revision of the levels' division. When considered from the perspective of the multilevel governance schemes the explanatory power of the liberal intergovernmentalism loses its applicability. The multilevel governance blurs the distinction between the domestic and international politics and instead focuses on links that interconnect domestic polities instead of a clear separation.<sup>123</sup> Therefore, the role of the national governments is understated in case of application of multilevel governance in comparison to the central role that national governments play in the liberal intergovernmentalist framework. Furthermore, the emphasis of the liberal intergovernmentalists on negotiations in a wider context of the bargaining process has been criticized for its neglect of the daily tasks fulfilled in politics conducted from day-to-day.<sup>124</sup> Thus, the assumptions of liberal intergovernmentalism about the preferences and bargaining process compose the essential condition under which the aspects of the integration process are shaped. In addition, the rationality of the choices of getting more benefits plays a key aspect in the decision making process of national leaders. Therefore, the clarity of the liberal intergovernmentalism in relation to the vision of the integration process and its *finalité* gets a comprehensive perspective only in case certain conditions that form the content of the theory are being observed.

### **3.5. Interparadigmatic discourse**

The comparative framework of the theoretical discussion with regard of the *finalité* definition provides the balanced view of the strengths and weaknesses of every approach. According to Derek Beach the adoption of the Lisbon treaty did not contribute to the search of the question of the endpoint of the debate about the future of Europe which turned the uncertainty into the characteristic feature of the integration

---

<sup>123</sup> Ian Bache, *European Union Regional Policy. Multi-Level Governance or Flexible Gatekeeping?* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd, 1998), 150.

<sup>124</sup> Derek Urwin, "The European Community: From 1945 to 1985," in *European Union Politics*, ed. Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 100.

paradox.<sup>125</sup> Following the logic, the further progress in terms of the transfer of competencies to the supranational level as per the classic community method of binding decisions may end up in a federal Europe in spite the idea is rejected by member states.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, the end process of *finalité* along the lines of federalism is not welcomed by member states but at the same time there is no agreed alternative except for the options. As a result, the EU suffers from the absence of the purposeful action that is approved by all the member states and would be mutually beneficial for all the involved sides. To note, the argumentation of David Mitrany discussed in the chapter in terms of federalism proves to work in this case when the member states can not find the solution suitable for all the sides.

Notably, the EU scholars incline towards the tendency to equalize the confederal model of governance with the intergovernmental one which is the terms of both opposites.<sup>127</sup> From the first perspective the Maastricht treaty demonstrated the federalism as the leading theoretical approach that can not be escaped from the context of the integration. However, the intergovernmentalist logic is not escapable either as the impact of the liberal approach under which the theory formulated itself pervaded the configuration of the discussions. With regard to the element of economic interdependence derived from the Monnet method as per the second chapter both neofunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism use it as the starting condition for analysis of the preferences of member states with a difference of expected outcomes.<sup>128</sup> Whereas the Amsterdam treaty placed parts of the third pillar into the first pillar the member states retained the exclusive control over the common foreign and security policy.<sup>129</sup> Consequently, the neofunctionalism would incline towards the strengthening of supranational institutions while liberal intergovernmentalism retains powers for the member states.

---

<sup>125</sup> Derek Beach, "A Stronger, More Supranational Union," in *Key Controversies in European Integration*, ed. Hubert Zimmermann and Andreas Dür (London: Macmillan, 2016), 57.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> Alberta Sbragia, "The Future of Federalism in the European Union," (Keynote Address delivered at the European Community Studies Association Canada Biennial Conference, "A Constitution for Europe? Governance and Policy Making in the European Union", University of Pittsburgh, the US, 27-29 May 2004).

<sup>128</sup> Thomas Risse, "Neofunctionalism, European Identity, and the Puzzles of European Integration," *Journal of European Public Policy* 12, no. 2 (2005), 9, accessed 20 August 2016, [http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~atasp/texte/haas\\_jepp\\_tr.pdf](http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~atasp/texte/haas_jepp_tr.pdf).

<sup>129</sup> Tanja Börzel, "Mind the Gap! European Integration Between Level and Scope," *Journal of European Public Policy* 12, no. 2 (2005): 218.

### 3.6. Conclusions

The third chapter enquired into the mainstream theories of federalism, neofunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism. At first, the research observed the *finalité* approach to observe the rationale of the starting point of departure for the discussion. It has been decided to treat the integration process in terms of a project that implies the *finalité* discussion of the continuous search for the endpoint. Second, the analysis proceeded to the view of theoretical value of mainstream paradigms in a way of their construction of the *finalité*. The thesis suggests that the perception of the *finalité* by every theoretical paradigm is linked to the initial modus operandi of Monnet method taken a point of departure as in case with federalism and neofunctionalism or proceeding to the perspective of the opposite as in case with liberal intergovernmentalism.

## Chapter IV

### The legacy of Schuman Declaration in the reactions to the present day multiplex crisis challenges in the EU

“These are tough, political times. This is the time, when the Europe our children will inherit is being decided on, day by day. That is why, first, we must be clear about our fundamental values: solidarity, freedom, human dignity, including the right to live free from fear.”  
(Donald Tusk, the President of the European Council)<sup>130</sup>

The Chapter aims to provide the analysis of the multiplex crisis situations that the EU faces to view if the Schuman Declaration along with the Monnet method still operational in the decision making processes of the EU. The chapter analyses the reactions of the member states, institutions, and the actors involved in the process to the crisis situations in a way of the logic that they follow in protection of their national interests. The special emphasis is built on the role that the European Commission plays in the process as a vanguard of the Monnet method. Thus, the logic that the leaders of the states follow to convince the member states of community of consensus for cooperation solidarity provides an added value in terms of what was compared to national interest as a platform for decision making process. The chapter focuses on four major ongoing crises situations that define the uncertainty of the *finalité* of European integration and which relate to the areas of migration, security, Eurozone and potential possibilities for the exit out of the Union. Therefore, the chapter four places the empirical evidence within the context of the second chapter of the Monnet method construction and the third chapter of the EU's *finalité* debate within the framework of the crisis definition as discussed in the first chapter. The case studies are grouped in pairs which include the discussion of the Brexit along the lines of the of the Eurozone crisis while the situation of migrants and refugee flows is linked to the situation over the security issues in light of the recent terrorist attacks. The challenging situations are linked between themselves in a causal way of not one established direction but as a two-way interdependent process. To note, the brief comparison within each pair is conducted along with a comparative view between the group of pairs.

---

<sup>130</sup> Donald Tusk, “President of the European Council to the European Parliament,” Speech by the President of the European Council to the European Parliament, Strasbourg, January 13, 2015, accessed 22 August 2016, [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/146578.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/146578.pdf).

#### 4.1. The European migration/refugee crisis

The increased migration flows to Europe causes the variety of responses from the different scholars and political leaders. Moreover, the uncontrolled flows of refugees aggravated the policy agenda of EU member states causing different reactions not only from political leaders but also from the public. In addition, the flow of illegal migrants increased in the EU causing the member states to turn to the radical methods for solving the situation. In this vein, there can be distinguished few drivers of the migration process that are based on the political, social, economic, demographic factors and the factor of environmental change.<sup>131</sup> The variety of these factors and in some cases the combination of several conditions at the same time drive the migration process. Thus, some of the cases may be triggered by discrimination or persecution while other cases would include the employment opportunities or seeking of education. One of the most difficult cases includes the exposure to the hazard situations determined by the ecosystem services. In response to the situation the EU Commission adopted the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility in 2005 as a strategic framework for the external relations of the EU. In 2011 the key objectives focused on the aspects of combating irregular migration and trafficking, promoting international protection and developing links between migration and development.<sup>132</sup> However, the EU's Global Approach to Migration and Mobility did not introduce the firm distribution key for refugees among the member states that complicates the decision making process of the member states in this regard.

##### 4.1.1. Conceptualization of the policy responses

Accordingly, the varieties of the policy responses were elaborated to deal with those situations. This subsection of the research conceptualizes few of those to frame the migration crisis in the context of the European integration. One of the most widely known responses relate to building fortress which leads to the securitization of migration that is based on exclusionary and repressive view of migrants and refugees.

---

<sup>131</sup> Mervyn Piesse, "Factors Influencing Migration and Population Movements," *Future Directions International* (2014), accessed 26 August 2016, [http://futuredirections.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/FDI\\_Strategic\\_Analysis\\_Paper\\_\\_Migration\\_and\\_Population\\_Movements\\_Part\\_1.pdf](http://futuredirections.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/FDI_Strategic_Analysis_Paper__Migration_and_Population_Movements_Part_1.pdf).

<sup>132</sup> EU Commission Report, "The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility," Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, 2011, accessed 27 August 2016, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=celex%3A52011DC0743>.



Thus, the Single Europe Act defined free movement and abolished the internal border controls which led to the necessity of strengthening the external border controls.<sup>133</sup> Therefore, the free movement of the Single Europe Act did contribute to the establishment of harsh border control that gradually turned the issue of migration being securitized. Another policy response was defined by Zolberg known as the policy of “walls and doors” which views the strengthening of border controls being an ineffective measure as every wall is imperfect and has a small door in it.<sup>134</sup> In this perspective the policy introduced by Huysmans of strengthening the border controls loses its effectiveness. It turns to be a matter of time for migrant and refugee flows to find a door in every perfectly built policy of based on defensive position.

Quite the opposite position is taken in regard of the migration is considered from the perspective of liberal democratic states. According to Gary Freeman the liberal states benefit from labour migration which makes them to adopt open policies to be expansive in terms of migrants.<sup>135</sup> Such a position turns the liberal states to be inclusive and opened for labour migration but at the same time selective towards the skills that potential migrants possess. In accordance with another position promoted by Hollifield the policy response of politics focused on rights based leads automatically to the tradeoff between the rights and numbers.<sup>136</sup> Thus, the improvement of conditions for migrants or refugees results in the decrease of state’s capability to accept more migrants or refugees. Finally, the approach of the “escape to Europe’ is also one of the most often applied by member states to justify the problems and issues with migrants and refugees.<sup>137</sup> In this approach the term of EU and the policies implemented at the supranational level become the one to blame for the inability of politicians to cope with the issues at the domestic level.

---

<sup>133</sup> Jef Huysmans, “The European Union and the Securitization of Migration,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38, no. 5 (2000): 758.

<sup>134</sup> Andrew Geddes, “Migration in European Governance: the Constitution of a Transgovernmental Policy Field,” in *Handbook of the International Political Economy of Governance*, ed. Anthony Payne and Nicola Phillips (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2014), 408.

<sup>135</sup> Gary Freeman, “Comparative Analysis of Immigration Politics: A Retrospective,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 55, no 12 (2011): 1549.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> Diego Acosta Arcarazo and Andrew Geddes, “The Development, Application and Implications of an EU Rule of Law in the Area of Migration Policy\*,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51, no. 2 (2013): 180.

#### 4.1.2. The refugee crisis

The renewal of the political debate on refugee crisis was caused by the massive influx of refugees and migrants to the EU in 2015. According to the statistical data in 2015 more than 911000 refugees and migrants fleeing due to the persecution and conflict situations from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq approached the European borders with around 3550 people dead during the long journey.<sup>138</sup> The exact numbers of the statistical data varies from source to source and does not provide the real situation as the numbers of migrant continue to increase from day to day. The routes which migrants and refugees were using relate to the preferred sea crossing from Libya to Italy, shorter one from Turkey to Greece, and more complicated one from Greece through the Balkans.<sup>139</sup> The high numbers of refugees flee from Syria that contributed to the occurrence of the refugee crisis in Europe. According to the Eurostat source the asylum applications in the EU increased rapidly by end of 2014 and 2015 years.

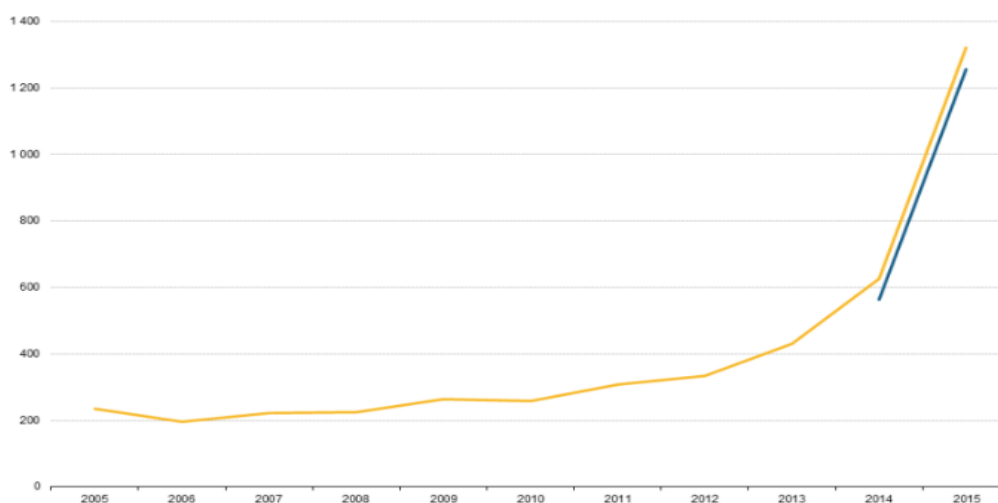


Figure 4. Asylum applications in the EU from 2005 to 2015.<sup>140</sup>

As can be viewed from the figure 4 the number of applications from 2005 up to 2013 follows the steady line without any rapid changes. However, the line goes up starting from the end of 2013 year. It is important to note that the number of first time

<sup>138</sup> Spindler William, "2015: The Year of Europe's Refugee Crisis," *The UN Refugee Agency Tracks*, December 8, 2015, accessed 28 August 2016, <http://tracks.unhcr.org/2015/12/2015-the-year-of-europes-refugee-crisis/>.

<sup>139</sup> Liz Sly, "8 Reasons Europe's Refugee Crisis is Happening Now," *The Washington Post*, September 18, 2015, accessed 29 August 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/18/8-reasons-why-europes-refugee-crisis-is-happening-now/>.

<sup>140</sup> Eurostat, "Asylum Statistics," Eurostat Statistics Explained, April 20, 2016, accessed 28 August 2016, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics).

applicants is accounted for 2014 and 2015 years as shown by the blue line in the graph. The search for coordinated solution triggered number of dormant problems associated with the Dublin system related to the rule of submitting applications in the country of the first entry and the practice of asylum shopping. Currently, the EU Commission seeks the ways to reform the regulations of the Dublin system to stop the practice of asylum shopping to let refugees move from one EU state to another one in search of the best suitable conditions.<sup>141</sup> However, the numbers of rejected applications exceed the number of granting the status of refugee as can be viewed from the figure 5.

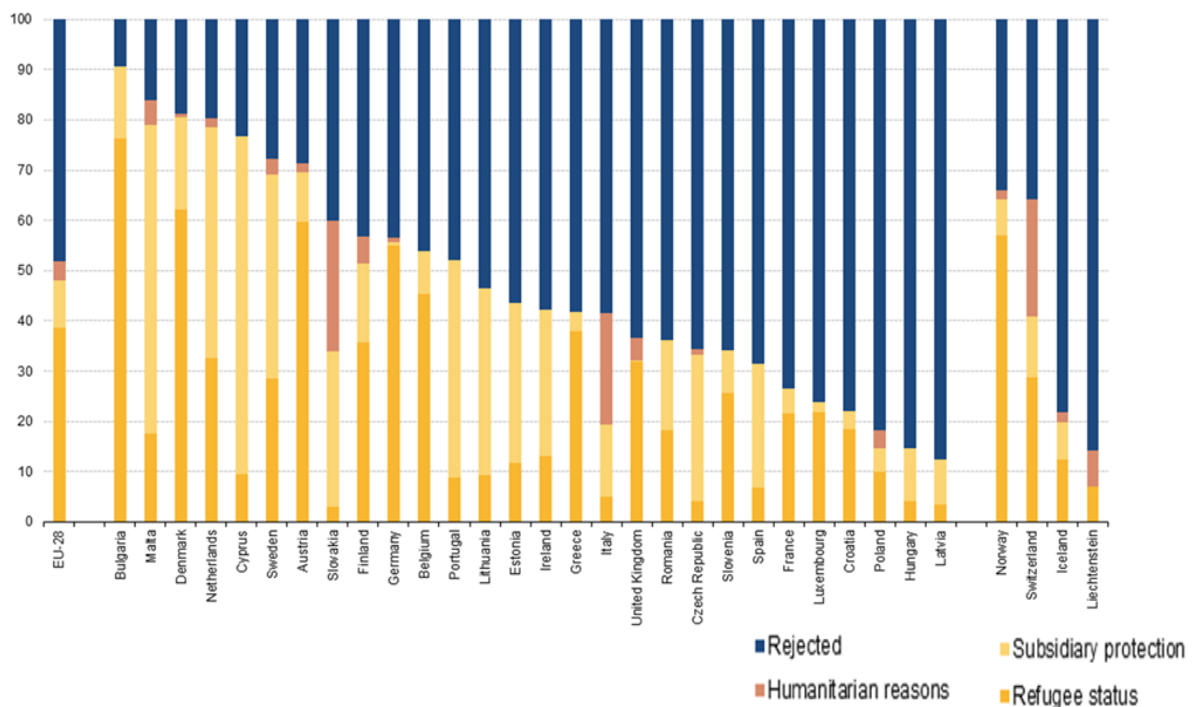


Figure 5. Decisions on asylum applications in 2015.<sup>142</sup>

According to the statistical data of Eurostat seen from the graph 5 the highest number of refugee status was granted by Bulgaria, Germany, Austria, Norway, Sweden and Denmark while the highest numbers of rejections were issued in Latvia, Hungary, Poland and Liechtenstein. Nevertheless, due to the huge influx all member states irrespective of the geographical location became prone to the refugee crisis that resulted in number of measures taken by the EU. Notably, the response from member states to

<sup>141</sup> Jacopo Barigazzi, “EU Aims to Stop ‘Asylum Shopping’ Commission Proposes Reforms for Dealing with Refugees,” *Politico*, September 4, 2016, accessed 29 August 2016, <http://www.politico.eu/article/eu-aims-to-stop-asylum-shopping-refugee-crisis/>.

<sup>142</sup> Eurostat, “Asylum Statistics,” Eurostat Statistics Explained, April 20, 2016, accessed 28 August 2016, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics).

the refugee crisis differed between the exclusionary measures and open liberal approaches.

#### 4.1.3. European Commission versus member states/Dublin project

Accordingly, when the leaders of several member states rejected the European Commission's proposal on binding quotas for sharing asylum seekers from Italy and Greece Martin Schulz stated that the failure to find a common solution should be blamed not for the EU but for some governments which "impede a joint European solution".<sup>143</sup> The focus of Schulz on the lack of cooperation coming from certain member states instead of the blame for the lack of the willingness of the EU on the whole demonstrates the emphasis in trust of power of the supranational institutions. The reference to the supranational level of sharing the responsibility can be cited as well in the response of German Chancellor Angela Merkel to the refugee crisis as a test of "whether we are capable of working together".<sup>144</sup> Similarly, the Swedish minister for migration Tobias Billström expressed the urge already in 2014 for the European Commission to take measures against those member states which refuse to take shared responsibility in acceptance of refugees.<sup>145</sup> The position of Billström is also supported by Merkel's ally the Swedish Prime minister Stefan Löfven.

On the other side the reply of Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban resents the proposed migrant quota plan being an 'absurd' which sets the exclusionary view on the migration issue.<sup>146</sup> However, the Prime Minister of Belgium and current leader of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Guy Verhofstadt who in response to Orban's stance underscored that "it is a European issue" not an issue of member states but "an issue of the whole European Union".<sup>147</sup> As can be demonstrated from the quote of Guy Verhofstadt the reference to the supranational decision making bodies in solving the challenging situations highlights the principles of the community method. It is

---

<sup>143</sup> Alasdair Sandford, "Martin Schulz Attacks 'Cynical' EU Governments Over Migrants," *Euronews*, August 29, 2015, accessed 30 August 2016, <http://www.euronews.com/2015/08/29/schulz-attacks-cynical-eu-governments-over-migrants-crisis>.

<sup>144</sup> Noah Barkin, "Refugee crisis suddenly Merkel's biggest challenge," *Reuters*, August 31, 2015, accessed 30 August 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-germany-analysis-idUSKCN0R00FZ20150831>.

<sup>145</sup> EurActiv, "EU countries must share responsibility for refugees, Sweden insists," *EurActiv Justice and Home Affairs*, March 10, 2014, accessed 31 August 2016, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/eu-countries-must-share-responsibility-for-refugees-sweden-insists/>.

<sup>146</sup> DeutscheWelle, "Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban calls EU migrant plan 'idiotic,' defends death penalty," *NewsGE*, May 20, 2015, accessed 31 August 2016, <http://www.dw.com/en/hungarian-prime-minister-viktor-orban-calls-eu-migrant-plan-idiotic-defends-death-penalty/a-18462379>.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

important to note that Victor Orban's policy is very much supported by all members of the Visegrad Group of the four countries of Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary which is often referred as V4. Thus, during the meeting in Prague on 8 June 2016 the prime ministers of the Visegrad Group countries adopted the Joint Declaration of the Visegrad Group Prime Ministers on the occasion of the summit which marked the end of the one-year Czech presidency of the Visegrad Group.<sup>148</sup> The Joint Declaration of V4 countries recognize that "an effective functioning of the Dublin system is a must" but does not encourage the mandatory system of redistribution of asylum seekers and invite the Commission and other member states to "pursue a more balanced and more realist take on Dublin system".<sup>149</sup>

However, it should be noted that the EU has no jurisdiction on admission rates of migrants as it is member states which decide on number of migrants or refugees to be admitted from outside of the EU.<sup>150</sup> This jurisdiction goes back to the principle of shared sovereignty the fundamental principle envisioned in the Monnet method. In addition, an appeal of proponents of liberal approach towards the migration and refugees' flows demonstrate the acting legacy of the Monnet method which is actively used by political leaders.

#### **4.2. European security crisis**

The governance system of the EU based on the interrelation of security and integration in the EU creates a peculiar system of interdependence. Therefore, the economic narrative of the EU in lights of the migration and refugee crises tends to be if not replaced but renewed with a security narrative which gradually moves to the centre of the present day discussions. The EU security is framed by the Common Foreign and Security Policy which includes the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) formerly referred to as the European Security and Defence Policy which by most scholars was perceived as a mark to pay closer attention on how these developments

---

<sup>148</sup> Office of the Government of the Czech Republic, "Joint Declaration of the Visegrad Group Prime Ministers," *The Visegrad Group*, June 8, 2016, accessed 1 September 2016, <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/documents/official-statements/joint-declaration-of-the-160609>.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Céline Chateau and Rosa Raffaelli, "Immigration Policy," *European Parliament*, September 2016, accessed 2 September 2016, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU\\_5.12.3.html](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_5.12.3.html).

would not discredit the Europe's status as a civilian or normative power.<sup>151</sup> Being the second pillar of the Maastricht treaty the Common Foreign and Security Policy reflects the collective self-perceptions and settles the terms of European policy discourse.

The realization of the European Security and Defence Policy came along the announcement of the French President Jacques Chirac and the British Prime Minister Tony Blair in 1998 at the Saint-Malo summit of the European Defence Initiative.<sup>152</sup> After the outline of the new policy framework in June 1999 in Cologne the European Security and Defence Policy was defined along the Petersberg tasks. The spectrum of the Petersberg tasks include the joint disarmament operations, conflict prevention and peace keeping tasks, humanitarian and rescue tasks and contribution to the fight against terrorism including by supporting third countries in combating terrorism in their territories.<sup>153</sup>

The tasks of combat forces in crisis management including peacemaking and post conflict stabilization included in the Petersberg tasks also became one of the widely discussed by the member states. In this perspective, the spillover from policy areas which relate to the traditional community method occurred with a shift from intergovernmental areas towards the supranational governance.<sup>154</sup> According to Hylke Dijkstra the operational process of the EU crisis management missions since the establishment of the Common Security and Defence Policy allowed the actors who traditionally did not have enough political power to increase it due to the specificity in their agenda setting strategies such as issue-framing or conflict expansion.<sup>155</sup> Therefore, it can be referred that the European Security and Defence Policy contributed much to the role of the supranational decision making at the EU level instead of the previously practice intergovernmental one.

---

<sup>151</sup> Sven Biscop and Norheim-Martinsen, "CSDP: The Strategic Perspective," in *Explaining the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy*, ed. Xymena Kurowska and Fabian Breuer (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2012), 63.

<sup>152</sup> Frédéric Mérand, "Social Representations in the European Security and Defence Policy," *Cooperation and Conflict* 41, no. 2 (2006): 134.

<sup>153</sup> Bastien Irondele and et al., "Public Support for European Defence: Does Strategic Culture Matter?," *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (2015): 375.

<sup>154</sup> Christian Kaunert and Sarah Leonard, "Introduction: Supranational Governance and European Union Security after the Lisbon Treaty - Exogenous Shocks, Policy Entrepreneurs and 11 September 2001," *Cooperation and Conflict* 47, no. 4 (2012): 426.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 427.

However, the imbalances created between the EU member states because of the financial crisis also have their impact on the commitments of the states to the CSDP as it directly affects the burden on national defense budgets which results in the urge for military reform at the national and European levels.<sup>156</sup> Therefore, the member states are in need to identify more clearly the areas of cooperation to avoid the detrimental impact of the other factors on defense expenditures. Nevertheless, the conceptual idea of the CSDP takes its roots from the post Second World War period when the first steps to the implementation of Monnet method for creation of the European Coal and Steel Community also symbolized the first steps towards the independent position of the Community in the international arena. According to General de Gaulle as well as other pro Europe socialists the European integration was a ‘third force’ to resist American and Soviet hegemonism that will allow Europe to come out of the shadow of two superpowers.<sup>157</sup> The united approach also signified the confrontation to the influences of communism and potential for the equal partnership with the United States in a longer term. Thus, the signing of the treaty of Brussels in March 1948 between Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the UK due to the threat from the USSR created a collective defence alliance to “make the European Defense Community a new and essential step toward the formation of a united Europe”.<sup>158</sup> That step consequently resulted in formation of NATO and the Western European Union. Therefore, the notion of security was laid form the very beginning of the Community creation not as being stated with clearness but as being implied in every further step towards integration.

#### 4.2.1. Terrorist attacks in Europe

The number of terrorist attacks in Europe increased during the last two years. According to the statistical data from Europol the number of attacks in 2015 counted up to two hundred eleven attacks with more than one thousand arrests out of which around ninety-four percent were found guilty which prevented the potential occurrence of the

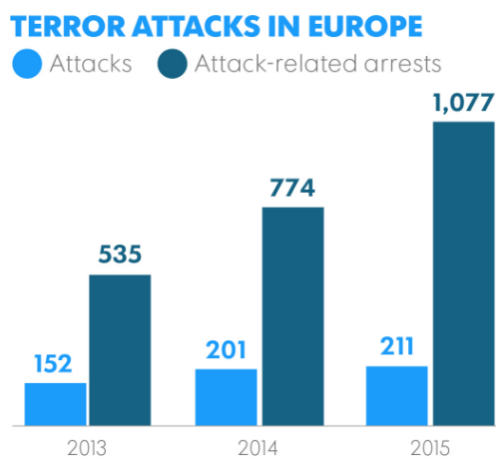
---

<sup>156</sup> Maxime Larive, *Debating European Security and Defense Policy: Understanding the Complexity* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 100.

<sup>157</sup> Robert Bideleux and Richard Taylor, *European Integration and Disintegration East and West* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 3.

<sup>158</sup> Josef Kunz, “Treaty Establishing the European Defense Community,” *The American Journal of International Law* 47, no.2 (1953), 276, accessed 3 September 2016., file:///D:/3rd%20Chapter/security/kunz1953.pdf.

attacks in Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Spain and the UK.<sup>159</sup> As can be viewed from the figure 6 the terror attacks are steadily increasing from year to year.



Sources: Europol's 2016 "European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report;" U.S. Commerce Department; U.S. Department of State;

Figure 6. The terror attacks in Europe from 2013 – 2015.<sup>160</sup>

The increasing number of the attacks in Europe as can be visualized in the figure 6 lead to the radicalization and search of member states for the new possibilities out of the situation. The urge for a change concerns the major EU institutions including the Council of the EU and the European Council. Thus, after the terrorist attacks which took place in Paris in January 2015 the heads of the member states hold an informal meeting in Brussels during which they stated that the “attacks targeted the fundamental values and human rights that are at the heart of the European Union”.<sup>161</sup> The terrorist attack in Paris became a cornerstone in further discussions of the issue of illegal migration and refugee influx. The response to the terrorist attacks in Paris caused a negative perception among the political leaders of the member states and public of the refugee image as a cover for the terrorists to cross the European borders. As stated by Slovenian foreign minister Karl Erjavec that migrants “with bad intentions” are hiding among the throngs of other which was supported as well by the Bavarian finance minister Markus Söder who stated that “the days of uncontrolled migration and illegal

<sup>159</sup> “Record number of EU terror attacks recorded in 2015,” *BBC News*, July 20, 2016, accessed 4 September 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-36845647>.

<sup>160</sup> Jim Michaels, “Analysis: String of Terror Attacks in Europe Likely to Continue,” *USA Today*, July 29, 2016, accessed 4 September 2016, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/07/26/analysis-string-if-terror-attacks-europe-likely-continue/87578584/>.

<sup>161</sup> European Council, “Informal meeting of the Heads of State or Government Brussels,” Statement by the Members of the European Council, February 12, 2015, accessed 5 September 2016, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/02/150212-european-council-statement-fight-against-terrorism/>.



entry can't continue just like that".<sup>162</sup> The statements similar to Söder's were appearing in the media reports and discussions calling for strengthening of borders and applying severe measures to protect citizens within the European Union. Another meeting in response to the attacks took place in Brussels on 20 November 2015 where the ministers called for finalizing a new borders regime which would require the European Commission to propose the changes to the Schengen rules to be endorsed by national governments and the European Parliament.<sup>163</sup> Nevertheless, the proposed changes aimed at the strengthening of the EU security system are directed to solve the short term problems but can not prevent the new one in a radical manner.

#### 4.2.2. Back to the European Army

The need for creation of the stronger means for the protection of the EU borders and security of citizens led to the reconsideration of certain principles to which the EU conformed up till present. Thus, already in 2015 the European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker revived the idea of a common EU army that "would show the world that there would never again be a war between EU countries" as well as "form common foreign and security policies and allow Europe to take responsibility in the world".<sup>164</sup> It is important to note the reference of Juncker to the common idea behind the European project such as the consolidation of peace among European states that is reflected in his justification reasons. Therefore, the European army would not only protect but also signify the achievement of the final stage of the EU process such as establishment of an ever lasting peace between the member states. However, the statement of Juncker caused different responses from other political leaders based on their vision of the *finalité politique* of the integration process. The Juncker's proposal was met with accusations of him of living in a "fantasy world" as stated by a conservative MEP Geoffrey Van Orden and concluded by a defence spokesman for the Ukip Mike Hookem that a "European army would be a tragedy for the UK".<sup>165</sup> As a

---

<sup>162</sup> Michael Nienaber, "Bavarian Ally Backs Merkel in Row over Refugee Policy," *Reuters*, November 15, 2015, accessed 5 September 2016, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-europe-migrants-germany-idUKKCN0T40G820151115>.

<sup>163</sup> European Council, "Response to Foreign Terrorist Fighters and Recent Terrorist Attacks in Europe," *Fight Against Terrorism*, July 15, 2016, accessed 6 September 2016, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/fight-against-terrorism/foreign-fighters/>.

<sup>164</sup> "Juncker Calls for EU Army, says Would Deter Russia," *World News*, March 8, 2015, accessed 7 September 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-eu-defence-juncker-idUSKBN0M40KL20150308>.

<sup>165</sup> Andrew Sparrow, "Jean-Claude Juncker calls for EU Army," *The Guardian*, March 8, 2015, accessed 4 September 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/08/jean-claude-juncker-calls-for-eu-army-european-commission-military>.

result the Juncker's initiative suffered a setback in the same manner as the Pleven Plan from 1950s. However, Juncker's fantasy statement was supported by German Defence minister Ursula von der Leyen who regarded the European army proposal as one of potential *finalité politique* for the future of Europe.<sup>166</sup>

Furthermore, in light of the Britain's exit from the European Union the question of the creation of the European army was reinforced in the agenda. Thus, in the speech delivered on 14 September 2016 in Strasbourg which is two days before the Bratislava informal meeting of 16 September 2016 Jean-Claude Juncker stated that "tolerance can not come at the price of our security" and highlighted that the issue of security was Commission's priority from the very beginning.<sup>167</sup> The emphasis of Juncker on the issue of security in his outline determines the agenda of the further area of attention in a reformative manner. The appeal of Juncker was not left misheard but echoed in the discussions of the leaders of twenty-seven EU member states at the informal summit in Bratislava. Among other proposals Viktor Orban's draw on a defence as a priority issue by stating that "we should start building a European army"<sup>168</sup> while French President Francois Hollande added that "Europe can move forward, must move forward with clear priorities that meet Europeans' expectations."<sup>169</sup> In addition, the issue of European army was directly raised during the five-nation gathering in Warsaw by the Eastern EU countries where Orban's request on army creation was supported as well by leftist Czech Premier Bohuslav Sobotka.<sup>170</sup>

#### 4.2.3. Shared sovereignty pillar

The creation of the European army takes its roots back not to the Pleven Plan, however, but to the vision of Jean Monnet. According to Monnet the Atlantic Alliance's

---

<sup>166</sup> Valentina Pop, "German Defense Minister Supports Calls for EU Army. Minister says the idea of a European army would be a 'long-term goal,'" *The Wall Street Journal*, March 20, 2015, accessed 7 September 2016, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/german-defence-minister-supports-calls-for-eu-army-1426865423>.

<sup>167</sup> The European Commission, "State of the Union 2016: Commission Targets Stronger External Borders," Press release, September 14, 2016, accessed 16 September 2016, [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-16-3003\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-3003_en.htm).

<sup>168</sup> Breitbart London, "Eastern European Leaders Call For EU Army At Summit With Germany," *Breitbart*, August 26, 2016, accessed 8 September 2016, <http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/08/26/eastern-european-leaders-call-eu-army-summit-germany/>.

<sup>169</sup> Yves Herman, "Bratislava summit shows Europe can move forward, Hollande says," *World News*, September 16, 2016, accessed 18 September 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-eu-summit-france-idUSKCN11M20V>.

<sup>170</sup> Adéla Denková and et al., "EU army? Much ado about nothing," *EurActiv*, September 5, 2016, accessed 18 September 2016, <http://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/eu-army-much-ado-about-nothing/>.

common defence effort would help to attain Western security, the vision that he pressed for acceptance in collaboration with Hervé Alphand, economic affairs director at the Foreign Ministry and French representative on NATO's North Atlantic Council.<sup>171</sup> In accordance with the draft of European army declaration of 1950 "the realization of an authentic European federalism and the revision of the Strasbourg institutions will be initiated from the start" that demonstrates the awareness of Monnet of political implications from the very beginning of his defensive initiative.<sup>172</sup> Therefore, the initiative on potential creation of the European army was laid in fundamentals of the integration process starting from the coal and steel project.

Consequently, the regulations of the issues related to the European security belong to the area of shared sovereignty according to the definition provided in the chapter two of the third pillar in the Monnet method discussion. Thus, in spite of the strengthening of power of supranational institutions the national member states still retain their powers over the issues relating to their national issues. However, the adoption of the European army may lead to radical changes in this perspective. The shift from the areas of purely intergovernmental decision making may occur towards the supranational level. The realization of the proposal on European army creation would apparently reveal more problems which are currently hidden between the member states. On the other side, the successful implementation of the proposal on European army creation would signify the level of unification to reach its highest peak which may be termed as a successful achievement of so long searched *finalité politique* envisioned by the founding fathers.

### **4.3. British exit from the EU**

As an outcome of the security and migration crises the following situation of Brexit put in a difficult situation not only the UK but also the other member states of the European Union. Thus, on 23rd June 2016 took place the long awaiting referendum in the UK to vote whether to stay in the Union or leave decided upon the last option of leaving and setting out the procedure as per the Article 50 of the treaty on European

---

<sup>171</sup> Renata Dwan, "Jean Monnet and the European Defence Community, 1950-54," *Cold War History* 1, no.1 (2000): 145.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

Union which followed the resignation of the British Prime Minister David Cameron.<sup>173</sup> In spite of the variation of responses to the referendum outcome between the countries the common outlook was that of regret and shock about the leave of the UK. The referendum outcome implied the reconsideration of all the existing agreements between the UK and the European Union which were signed during the last decades. Moreover, it meant the complete revision of the not only the UK's stance in the political arena but also of the European Union's. In addition, the exit of the UK out of the European Union may result in a profound reorganization of the practices between the member states both at the supranational and intergovernmental levels. From now on, following the exit the European Union can take decisions without being blocked by the UK's vote which in a long term may contribute to more unification.

Nevertheless, the review of the existing models based on differentiation which consist the essential part of the EU integration process may acquire different practices. In general, there are three idiosyncratic groups of member states that were identified in the academic literature such as a group of Anglo-Scandinavian member states that denies the EU's centralization, the Franco-German group for which the integration is promoted through the 'core Europe' approach, and finally, the Central and East European member states' group which is concerned about their status within the European Union.<sup>174</sup> Such a variation of attitudes within the EU as divided per groups also create the difficulty towards development of a united approach of all member states of the European Union in further negotiation processes triggered by the Brexit. Out of the three groups the one that matters for the EU in further negotiation process with the UK is the Franco-German alliance that also comprises an essential content of the plan as per the Schuman Declaration.

In this regard, the Franco-German stance towards the Brexit creates the opportunity for other member states within the EU to define their points in negotiations of agreements with the UK. There are two potential scenarios for the development of the Brexit that can be discussed from the liberal intergovernmentalist perspective and neo-functionalist stance. As was defined in the chapter three the liberal

---

<sup>173</sup> Alice Foster, "EU referendum 2016 aftermath: All the key dates: When will Britain leave the EU?," *Sunday Express*, July 20, 2016, accessed 9 September 2016, <http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/644178/EU-referendum-dates-European-Union-Brexit-David-Cameron-Brussels>.

<sup>174</sup> Thierry Chopin and Christian Lequesne, "Differentiation as a Double-Edged Sword: Member States' Practices and Brexit," *International Affairs* 92, no.3, (2016): 533.

intergovernmentalism values the role of the nation states in decision making processes that influences the preference formation and bargaining strategies. On the other side, neo-functionalism places more attention on the supranational level that values more the decisions taken by supranational institutions rather than those at the national level. Therefore, from the intergovernmentalist perspective the end for European Union would not advance even in spite of the exits from other member states as far as the governments of member states are willing to continue integration process. According to Anton Pelinka the consent of national governments for re-nationalization would save the European Union from disintegration provided the will from each member state to keep integration as such.<sup>175</sup> Hence, the disintegration process can be avoided from the liberal intergovernmentalist perspective as it is in the power of nation states to decide upon the further steps. However, the interpretation from the perspective of neofunctionalism does not present an optimistic future as the series of exits would imply the demise of the European Union. As the national governments are considered as secondary actors in comparison to the intergovernmentalism in terms of being “secondary to the inbuilt logics of the process named after Jean Monnet” the crisis situations are regarded as a possibility for deepening or as the beginning of the end.<sup>176</sup> Therefore, according to the logics of neofunctionalism the exit of the UK from the EU would pose a serious challenge for the further definition of the *finalité politique*.

#### 4.3.1. The reactions of member states to the exit

The exit from the UK is an issue of two sides of one coin as it may lead to the end of the European Union or help the member states to realize the importance and benefits of the Union. Thus, the scenario of potential exit from the European Union by other member states was one of the most commonly referred to in the media coverage due to the radical statements of the Eurosceptic politicians from member states. The framework of discussions for the potential exit started far earlier of the actual referendum. According to the announcement of the Czech Prime Minister Sobotka on 23 February 2016 the Czech Republic “will follow Britain out of EU” that is based on some facts of hostile public opinion as three-fifths of Czechs lack satisfaction with the

---

<sup>175</sup> Anton Pelinka, “Is EU Disintegration a Credible Scenario?” The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies, May 31, 2012, accessed 16 September 2016, <http://wiiw.ac.at/is-eu-disintegration-a-credible-scenario--dlp-2570.pdf>.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

European Union.<sup>177</sup> Thus, the far right leader of the Netherlands Freedom Party Geert Wilders stated that the “Dutch populations deserves a referendum as well”<sup>178</sup> which echoed the statement by the Danish leader of the right-wing Danish People’s Party Kristian Thulesen Dahl who stated that “Danes should, of course, have a referendum on whether we want to follow Britain or stay in the EU.”<sup>179</sup>

The call for the withdrawal from the EU by right-wing parties across Europe was also supported by a moderate claim of limited withdrawal mainly from the European Monetary Union by the National Front in France whose leader Marine Le Pen questions “whether Europe is ready to rid itself of its illusions, or if the return to reason will come with suffering”<sup>180</sup> along the German Alternative für Deutschland party’s European spokesman Franz Wiese stated that after the party enters the German parliament “‘Dexit’ will be at the top of our agenda.”<sup>181</sup> It should be noted that the position of Eurosceptic parties in Germany and France do stay only for a limited withdrawal from the EU in comparison with other right-wing parties of member states. Thus, the variations of the discussions for the potential exits from the European Union lead to the possibility of disintegration of the European Union.

#### 4.3.2. Implications of the Brexit from the perspective of the Monnet method

Nevertheless, the first reactions to the evolving crisis came in a series of meetings of the European leaders. Thus, on 28 June 2016 the leaders of the EU’s member states gathered for the first time in Brussels to discuss the implications of the Brexit on their policies and ask for the clarification from the Prime Minister of the UK

---

<sup>177</sup> Matthew Holehouse, “Czech Republic ‘will follow Britain out of EU,’” *The Telegraph*, February 23, 2016, accessed 10 September 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/czechrepublic/12170994/Czechs-will-follow-Britain-out-of-EU.html>.

<sup>178</sup> Alice Foster, “What is Nexit? Will the Netherlands Leave the EU Next?” *Sunday Express*, July 27, 2016, accessed 10 September 2016, <http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/693569/Nexit-will-Netherlands-leave-EU-next-Dutch-referendum-impact-Brexit-Britain-independence>.

<sup>179</sup> Alice Foster, “What is Dexit? Will Denmark leave the EU next?” *Sunday Express*, August 26, 2016, accessed 11 September 2016, <http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/695496/Dexit-what-is-Denmark-exit-will-Denmark-leave-the-EU-referendum-Brexit-impact-Europe>.

<sup>180</sup> Marine Le Pen, “Marine Le Pen: After Brexit, the People’s Spring Is Inevitable,” *The New York Times*, June 28, 2016, accessed 11 September 2016, [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/28/opinion/marine-le-pen-after-brexit-the-peoples-spring-is-inevitable.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/28/opinion/marine-le-pen-after-brexit-the-peoples-spring-is-inevitable.html?_r=0).

<sup>181</sup> Richard Wheatstone, “Far-right German party demands ‘Dexit’ vote - but can’t get national referendum because of HITLER,” *Mirror*, June 28, 2016, accessed 12 September 2016, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/far-right-german-party-demands-8305718>.

David Cameron.<sup>182</sup> According to the statements of European Council President Donald Tusk there will be no “single market a la carte” reiterated by Juncker and Merkel on the line that the access to the single market depended on the respect towards the four principal freedoms.<sup>183</sup> It is important to note that the meeting in Brussels of twenty seven member states was preceded by the meeting on 25 June 2016 of foreign ministers of the six founding countries of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg in Berlin.<sup>184</sup> The meeting of foreign ministers of six founding states manifests the symbolic attachment to the initial ideas and principles of the European Coal and Steel Community. As reiterated by German Chancellor Angela Merkel in one of her speeches Germany has “a particular interest and a particular responsibility” for the European unity due to its historical role.<sup>185</sup> Therefore, the attachment to the original roots of the European Union unfolds the loyalty to the methods and principles designated by Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman in the Declaration.

#### 4.4. Eurozone crisis

It can be clearly stated that the undisputable question which the potential exit of the UK out of the European Union may bring relates to the further reconsideration of the relations of member states position in terms of the Eurozone. The Eurozone creation was a long term process that has been rooted in the approach of Monnet method based on the second pillar of the method as defined in the chapter two. The establishment of the modern Monetary Union and euro currency takes its origins from such momentums of the EU as adoption of the Single European Act of 1986, the Maastricht treaty signed in 1992 and the Lisbon treaty signed in 2007. Thus, the adoption of the Single European Act in 1986 with the entering date into force as per 1 July 1987 put a deadline for the completion of the internal market through the use of the ‘qualified majority voting’ in the Council along with the ‘co-operation procedure’ for the decision making assigned to

---

<sup>182</sup> Catherine Hardy, “EU Leaders Gather for the Post-Brexit Summit in Brussels,” *Euronews*, June 28, 2016, accessed 12 September 2016, <http://www.euronews.com/2016/06/28/eu-leaders-gather-for-the-post-brexit-summit-in-brussels>.

<sup>183</sup> Susanne Lynch, “Analysis: EU Leaders Left to Deal with Fallout from Brexit,” *The Irish Times*, June 29, 2016, accessed 13 September 2016, <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/analysis-eu-leaders-left-to-deal-with-fallout-from-brexit-1.2704256>.

<sup>184</sup> Euronews, “EU Foreign Ministers Demand Quick Divorce from Britain,” *Euronews*, June 25, 2016, accessed 13 September 2016, <http://www.euronews.com/2016/06/25/eu-foreign-ministers-demand-quick-divorce-from-britain>.

<sup>185</sup> Francois Lenoir, “Shocked EU Leaders Search for Answers as Britain Votes to Leave,” *Reuters*, June 24, 2016, accessed 14 September 2016, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-eu-reactions-idUKKCN0ZA24E>.

the Parliament.<sup>186</sup> Later, the adoption of the Maastricht treaty signed on 7 February 1992 with entering date into force as on 1 November 1993 enlarged the scope of the EC by assigning the creation of a single currency.<sup>187</sup> Lastly, the adoption of the Lisbon treaty in 2007 with enter into force as per 1 December 2009 displayed many elements from the Constitutional treaty but being based on a different structure can be seen as an ambitious consensus.<sup>188</sup> In addition, the Lisbon treaty determined the status of the European Central Bank as an official institution and identified the framework of actions that can be taken on monetary policy as limited to the Eurozone members. On the other side, the process of the Single Market was devised as a ‘supply-side measure’ due to its advantage of not posing the controversial political issues as it objected for economic growth through the stable prices and stable monetary policies.<sup>189</sup> Thus, the formation of the European Economic Community contributed to introduction of a variety of stabilizing techniques within the Union such as the euro currency while the adoption of treaties gradually moved the development of the EU towards the deepening of its integration in terms of economic interdependence.

In spite of the warnings from renowned economists that the Europe is not an ‘optimal currency area’ the leaders of the core European states proceeded towards the establishment of the Economic and Monetary Union as each saw its own way of development.<sup>190</sup> For example, for the former President of the European Commission the Economic and Monetary Union meant a further deepening of the market while for the President of France François Mitterrand the monetary union was meant to diminish the influence of German Bundesbank and the German Chancellor Helmut Kohl saw in it the way for Germany’s integration to Europe.<sup>191</sup>

In this vein, the Werner and Delors Report occupy special position for the in the process of establishment of an economic and monetary union. Thus, the Werner Report suggested creating a centre of decision for economic policy to supervise over the ten-

---

<sup>186</sup> Jean-Claude Piris, “Democracy,” in *The Lisbon Treaty: A Legal and Political Analysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 8.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> Jerzy Buzek, “State of the Union: Three Cheers for the Lisbon Treaty and Two Warnings for Political Parties,” *JCMS* 49 (2011): 8.

<sup>189</sup> Martin Holmes, *European Integration. Scope and Limits* (New York: Macmillan, 2001): 77.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> Peter Hall, “The Euro Crisis and the Future of European Integration,” *The Economic Foundations of the European Project* (2016), 50, accessed 16 September 2016, [http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/hall/files/hall2016\\_insrchofeur.pdf?m=1462047943](http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/hall/files/hall2016_insrchofeur.pdf?m=1462047943).



year process for establishment an economic and monetary union as divided in three stages to reach the irreversible convertibility of the currencies in member states among the other objectives.<sup>192</sup> However, the plan was suspected and did not develop fully into practice according to the discussed objectives. Nevertheless, the report by the then President of the European Commission Jacques Delors has been more successful. The Delors Report offered the institutionalist approach and employed many intellectual underpinnings from the Werner Plan such as the realization by stages, the transfer of powers to the supranational level, and political will in addition to the separation of the monetary unification to that of political integration that defined its success.<sup>193</sup> It is the last adaptation of the Delors Report which distinguished between the monetary and political integration that make it applicable to the context of changing situations within the European Union. Thus, the intergovernmentalist approach rooted in the Report helped the national governments to be in charge of the implementation process and do not put all the responsibility and blame on the supranational institutions.

#### 4.4.1. The economic interdependence in the context of Eurozone crisis

The Eurozone crisis occurred in an unfolding of several events that challenged the financial systems and institutions of not only the EU market but also at the global stage. Thus, in September 2008 the global financial crisis came with the collapse of the Lehman Brothers global bank that brought down financial systems at the global level causing the multiple causes.<sup>194</sup> The financial crisis affected as well the European markets that resulted in several actions from the side of political leaders. Thus, the exceptional measures under the support of the former European Commission President José Manuel Barroso were applied that resulted in a plan of two hundred billion euros' stimulus within the Stability and Growth Pact to boost European growth as agreed by the leaders.<sup>195</sup>

---

<sup>192</sup> Elena Rodica, "The Werner Report and the Delors Report," *CVCE* (2012), accessed 8 May 2016, [http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2012/4/5/72dae01a-6f2f-4b00-8caa-ba66db14dcac/publishable\\_en.pdf](http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2012/4/5/72dae01a-6f2f-4b00-8caa-ba66db14dcac/publishable_en.pdf).

<sup>193</sup> Dimitros Syrakos, "A Reassessment of the Werner Plan and the Delors Report: Why did they Experience a Different Fate?," *Comparative Economic Studies* 52 (2010), 585, accessed 2 July 2016, <file:///D:/3rd%20Chapter/delor.pdf>.

<sup>194</sup> "Crash Course," *The Economist*, September 7, 2013, accessed 29 August 2016, <http://www.economist.com/news/schoolsbrief/21584534-effects-financial-crisis-are-still-being-felt-five-years-article>.

<sup>195</sup> European Commission, "The Commission Launches a Major Recovery Plan for Growth and Jobs, to Boost Demand and Restore Confidence in the European Economy," *Recovery Plan*, November 26, 2008, accessed 3 August 2016, [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-08-1771\\_en.htm?locale=en](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-08-1771_en.htm?locale=en).

In the further events development should be highlighted the 2010 year when the EU report identified severe irregularities in the accounting procedures of Greece that urged the Eurostat to address the Greek government “its institutional weaknesses” with further introduction of “proper checks and balances”.<sup>196</sup> Nevertheless, the collapse of the Economic and Monetary Union was unavoidable not only due to the Greek bailout but also due to the possibility of an exit situation that would question the commitment of the EU to support the euro currency and help out the member states which are in trouble. Thus, the credibility of the EU in its intentions to build an ever closing Union based on economic interdependence resulted in the impasse to find a solution in crisis situations such as on the example of Greece.

Furthermore, the principle of economic interdependence defined by Monnet method tests as well the general condition of the European Union member states to stick to the liabilities without encouraging of the exit for the failed member states. In other words, the Eurozone crisis is another situation to test and maintain the ‘de-facto solidarity’ as indicated in the Schuman Declaration.<sup>197</sup> However, according to Georgiou the speculations over the euro are of crucial importance to the capitalists from the core European countries that “they would rather come to bitter compromises that the edifice of European integration built over the last few decades crumble.”<sup>198</sup> Therefore, the interests of the capitalists in the member states that belong to the core Europe exceeds the unprofitable decisions that they take to keep the integration process to which they have contributed and with the legacy of which they still coordinate their policies.

#### **4.5. Comparative view and analysis**

The comparison between the groups of the discussed crisis situations is conducted in terms of their use of the Monnet method and with regard of further implications for the *finalité* process. Therefore, the comparative framework employs the categorization by Hay of the crisis types as per the figure 7 defined below. The categorization of the multiplex crises from the empirical part of the chapter four is

---

<sup>196</sup> “EU Casts Doubt on Greece Economic Figures,” *BBCNews*, January 13, 2010, accessed 27 July 2016, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8456216.stm>.

<sup>197</sup> Askoka Mody, “A Schuman Compact for the Euro Area,” Brussels, Bruegel Essay and Lecture Series (2013), accessed 10 July 2016, [http://bruegel.org/wp-content/uploads/imported/publications/essay\\_schumann\\_compact\\_1.3\\_01.pdf](http://bruegel.org/wp-content/uploads/imported/publications/essay_schumann_compact_1.3_01.pdf).

<sup>198</sup> Christakis Georgiou, “The Euro Crisis and the Future of European Integration,” *International Socialism* 128, October 14, 2010, accessed 18 May 2016, <http://isj.org.uk/the-euro-crisis-and-the-future-of-european-integration/>.

correlated to the crisis types as defined by Colin Hay. There are seven descriptions of crises by Hay as defined along the lines of singular or recurrent; momentary or enduring; linear or cyclical; destructive or creative; inevitable or contingent; pathological or regenerative; systematic or episodic. The thesis offers its own comparative compilation of the empirical evidence with the theoretical approach correlation based on the crisis types analysed by Colin Hay. Thus, the four types of the crises are chosen as the most relevant for the discussion of the thesis such as singular or recurrent; momentary or enduring; linear or cyclical; inevitable or contingent. These four types are correlated to the four crises analysed in the chapter four. To note, the subsection of the comparative view omits the description of each of the crisis types as the conceptual review was already provided in the subsection 1.1. of the first chapter.

		<b><i>Type of crises</i></b>		
<b>Brexit</b>	Singular	Recurrent	<b>Migration, Security, Eurozone</b>	
	Momentary	Enduring		
	Linear	Cyclical		
<b>Brexit +Eurozone</b>	Inevitable	Contingent	<b>Migration +Security</b>	

Figure 7. Four crises correlation with four crisis types.<sup>199</sup>

As can be viewed from the table the security, migration and Eurozone crises fall into the same category of crisis type of being recurrent, enduring and cyclical. The development of events of the security, migration and Eurozone crises demonstrated that there is no single and coherent approach to resolve the situation except for the short

<sup>199</sup> Sources: Own compilation on the basis of crisis typology elaborated by Colin Hay in the article “Narrating Crisis: the Discursive Construction of the ‘Winter of Discontent’,” *Sociology* 30, no.2 (1996).

term alleviation of the situation. The enduring nature of these crises can be demonstrated through the development of the political decisions taken by the national governments from the intergovernmental perspective. Therefore, the rejection of the Constitutional treaty as a result of Dutch referendum led the former German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder comment that the situation “must not become Europe's general crisis”.<sup>200</sup> However, as the current day development of the situation shows the absence of the coherent constitutional framework puts the obstacles for the EU in number of issues as well as impede the decision making process from the immediate response to the challenging situations. In this regard, the negative attitude of Visegrad countries towards the allocation system of refugee quotas also prevents the EU from the prompt reaction towards the migration crisis. Respectively, the hesitation on proposals for the European Army establishment is partially entailed due to the absence of the coherent constitutional framework. As a result, the challenges related to the migration, security or Eurozone crises situations remain to be recurrent, enduring and cyclical in nature.

On the other side, as illustrated in the figure 7 the situation related to the exit of the UK out of the Union can be described as a situation of a potential crisis which is singular, momentary and linear in its nature. Nevertheless, the description may change depending on the further development of the situation that as was discussed in the subsection 4.3.1. of the chapter four can cause other exits out of the Union which would turn the crisis into the enduring one. However, another scenario for development is possible taken that the exit of the UK and its following regret over the decision would demonstrate the value of the Union to other pessimistically tuned member states of the European Union. In addition, the several petitions submitted to change the voting outcome of the referendum with a demand for organization of a new one to prevent Brexit bring positive expectations.<sup>201</sup> However, in the framework of this comparative view the Brexit along with Eurozone crisis is put on the left side of the table as being an inevitable crisis. In addition, both situations are interconnected with each other which imply that the completion of Brexit would inevitably affect the Eurozone and result in a new crisis situation. To compare, the security and migration crises are placed on the

---

<sup>200</sup> Yves Logghe, “Dutch Say 'Devastating No' to EU Constitution,” *The Guardian*, June 2, 2005, accessed 10 August 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/jun/02/eu.politics>.

<sup>201</sup> Lizzie Dearden, “Brexit: Petition Demanding Change to EU Referendum Rules to Force Second Vote Passes 700,000 Signatures,” *Independent*, June 25, 2016, accessed 26 June 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-petition-eu-referendum-rules-change-force-second-vote-poll-turnout-government-london-a7102421.html>.

right side of the table as being contingent. The proposal of the European leaders to strengthen security in light of recent terrorist attacks leaves the positive expectations for the further progress in the matter. However, the inability of the European Union to agree on a common decision concerning the allocation of migrants and refugees may lead to the inevitable escalation of the crisis.

## Conclusion

The employment of the framework for the analysis of the current legacy of the Schuman Monnet method uncovers the open challenge that the method encounters during the process of the European integration. The enlargement of the European Union to more member states led to the creation of their own groupings within the Union. The major motive for member states to unite in accordance with the similar interests is triggered by the ambition to have a weight on equal terms with the biggest member states of the European Union like Germany or France. In regard to the input politics the Eurozone crisis revealed the problems related to the democratic legitimacy that does not allow the national governments to have other alternatives in terms of crisis resolving. Thus, the national governments have to sacrifice their input politics in favour of output policy solutions which are directed throughout the process of technocracy.<sup>202</sup> As a result, during the process of integration the groups of the member states such as Visegrad countries tend to obtain more status and strengthen their positions within the Union.<sup>203</sup>

As was demonstrated from the Joint Declaration of the Visegrad countries the V4 views an issue of the obligatory share of quota system on reallocation of refugees as a controversial project. Such a position creates an open challenge to the Schuman Monnet method as the Visegrad countries seem to advocate the idea of Europe ‘à la carte’. Thus, the reallocation of refugees is promoted to be conducted based on economic, organizational and financial capacity of each member state instead of the imposed algorithm of distribution. In addition, the Bratislava informal meeting of the twenty-seven heads of the states demonstrated the promotion for the concept of ‘flexible solidarity’ as a guiding principle in the conduct of the migration policy.<sup>204</sup> Hence, the context of the present migration and refugee crisis accentuated along the other crises of Eurozone, the UK’s exit from the Union, and security creates the advocating for the ideas of elastic or flexible solidarity to be applied that challenges the further

---

<sup>202</sup> Vivien Schmidt, “In the Light and Shadow of the Single Currency: European Identity and Citizenship,” in *The Single Currency and European Citizenship. Unveiling the Other Side of the Coin*, ed. Giovanni Moro (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 167.

<sup>203</sup> Csaba Törő and et al., “Visegrád: The Evolving Pattern of Coordination and Partnership After EU Enlargement,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 66, no.3 (2014): 365.

<sup>204</sup> Solon Arditis, “Flexible Solidarity: Rethinking the EU’s Refugee Relocation System after Bratislava,” The London School of Economic and Political Science Blog on European Politics and Policy, September 16, 2016, accessed 18 September 2016, <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2016/09/21/rethinking-refugee-system-after-bratislava/>.

reinforcement of the Monnet method. The standing up for the Europe ‘à la carte’ poses a contradiction towards the aims and values of the European integration as envisioned by Schuman Monnet method at the earlier steps of integration.

As defined by Michal Gierycz the key moments in the European integration process development involved the return to values which do not concern much the economic side but have the conceptual meaning as can be identified from the Schuman Declaration or preamble of the treaties.<sup>205</sup> Therefore, the constant involvement around the values pushes to reconsider the legacy of the values and principles as defined in the original documents related to the establishment of the European Union. In this vein, the Schuman Declaration which coined the Monnet method presents the particular value and legacy as being discussed during the thesis. The analysis of the multiplex crises within the theoretical framework of the three major theories of discussion of federalism, neofunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism revealed few similarities but also demonstrated that there is no single approach to the discussion of *finalité politique*.

The discourse of the theoretical approaches was embedded in the encompassing process of the integration as per the founding principles and concepts that every theory holds. According to Adenauer “European unity was a dream of a few people. It became a hope for many. Today it is a necessity for all of us... necessary for our security, for our freedom, for our existence as a nation and as an intellectual and creative international community.”<sup>206</sup> The well-known quote of Adenauer that he messaged in support of the Schuman Plan holds a significant relevance even for today. Even though times changed as well as the issues in concern of security, definitions of concepts that determine the notion of freedom and nation still suits the framework of the European polity. It is a belief supported with rationalistic statements and constructive attitude that the European community can overcome all the challenges when it stays united in spite of all the controversies and difference. Therefore, in spite of all the moderations the pertinence of Schuman Plan and Monnet method can be traced throughout every attempt of the integrative initiatives and responses to crises situations.

---

<sup>205</sup> Michal Gierycz, “Axiology of European Union and the Challenges of the Integration Process,” in *European Union - Present and Future*, ed. Wojciech Gizicki (Lublin: Publishing House of Catholic University of Lublin 2009), 12.

<sup>206</sup> Ronald Granieri, “Brexit, Europe, and the EU’s Passion Deficit,” *Geopoliticus, The FPRI Blog*, June 27, 2016, accessed 15 July 2016, <http://www.fpri.org/2016/06/brexit-europe-eus-passion-deficit/>.

Nevertheless, there are few issues which can be raised concerning the consideration of the proposal on European army creation in the framework of the Monnet method conceptualization. It is not yet clear whether the decisions on army deployment would take place at intergovernmental or supranational levels. In addition, it is not yet decided if the principle of shared sovereignty still be applicable and whether the member states would be able to retain the certain areas in decision making process as a priority of national interests. Moreover, would the creation of European army signify the reach end of the integration process as a result of the successful implementation of Monnet method from the gradual step by step functional integration towards a *finalité politique* so much envisioned by Monnet. However, in spite of the disputable moments the renewal of the discussion in present day signifies the undeniable value of the Monnet method.

In addition, the reaction towards the outcome of referendum in the UK expressed in a symbolic meeting of foreign ministers representing the founding states reflected the intention to hold to the core member states of Europe in spite of the challenges. On the other side, the meeting tended to demonstrate that as far as the member states that comprise the core of the founding states stay united the Brexit as well as other potential exits from the EU do not pose a danger for disintegration of the project. Thus, the vision of Monnet on the European entity proves to hold its claim for still possessing its legitimate value to help member states to overcome crises situations. In this regard, the Lisbon Treaty epitomizes the pragmatism and ‘constructive ambiguity’ at the heart of the Monnet method.<sup>207</sup>

Consequently, the multiplex character of recent crises in the EU following the way the EU and member states responded to challenges confirm that Schuman Monnet method is still being relevant. That can be demonstrated from the empirical evidence in approaches that the EU member states are trying to deploy to overcome the existing crises including Brexit. The situation has been complicated in the recent years with the emergence of the ever deeper fragmentation that affected Europe in terms of the

---

<sup>207</sup> Umbach Gaby, “EU-CONSENT 2005-2009. Four Years of Research on EU Deepening and Widening. Evidence, Explanation, Extrapolation,” in *Analysis and Assessment from a Discovery Tour of the European Union Wider Europe – Deeper Integration? Lessons Learned from the EU-CONSENT Network*, ed. Wolfgang Wessels (2005-2009), accessed 14 September 2016, [http://www.eu-consent.net/library/EU-Consent2005-09\\_condensed.pdf](http://www.eu-consent.net/library/EU-Consent2005-09_condensed.pdf) page 20.



division between the lines of the core and periphery Europe.<sup>208</sup> Thus, the enlargement process of 2004 and subsequent enlargements expanded the European Union to the new member states. Nevertheless, the six founding countries of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg continue to comprise and be referred to as being the core Europe. In this regard, the Schuman Monnet method still retains its relevance and appeal to the member states which originally joined the European Coal and Steel Community in 1950. Nevertheless, in spite of the changing and difficult times the Schuman Monnet method continues to retain its relevance from time to time as long as other member states join the European Union. Therefore, the multiplex character of the existing crises in the EU confirms that the Schuman Monnet vision of integration process continues to attain its appeal and relevance.

---

<sup>208</sup> Simona Guerra, "Euroscepticism and the Next Enlargements," in *Central and Eastern European Attitudes in the Face of Union* (New York: Macmillan, 2013), 137.

## Bibliography

Acosta Arcarazo, Diego, and Andrew Geddes. "The Development, Application and Implications of an EU Rule of Law in the Area of Migration Policy\*." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51, no. 2 (2013): 179–93.

Anastasiou, Harry. "The European Union as a peace-building system: Deconstructing Nationalism in the Era of Globalization." *Journal of International Peace Studies* 12, no. 2 (2007): 31-50.

Ardittis, Solon. "Flexible Solidarity: Rethinking the EU's Refugee Relocation System after Bratislava." The London School of Economic and Political Science Blog on European Politics and Policy. 16 September 2016. Accessed 18 September 2016. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2016/09/21/rethinking-refugee-system-after-bratislava/>.

Alessi, Christopher and James McBride. "The Eurozone in Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*. 11 February 2015. Accessed 25 June 2016. <http://www.cfr.org/eu/eurozone-crisis/p22055>.

BBC News. "Record number of EU terror attacks recorded in 2015." *BBC News*, 20 July 2016. Accessed 4 September 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-36845647>.

Bølstad, Jørgen, and James P. Cross. "Not All Treaties Are Created Equal: The Effects of Treaty Changes on Legislative Efficiency in the EU\*." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, no. 4 (2016): 793–808. doi:10.1111/jcms.12349.

Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde. "Security Analysis: Conceptual Apparatus." In *Security. A New Framework for Analysis*, 21-47. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1998.

Beach, Derek. "A Stronger, More Supranational Union." In *Key Controversies in European Integration*, edited by Hubert Zimmermann and Andreas Dür, 49-56. London: Macmillan, 2016.

Baxter, Pamela, and Susan Jack. "Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers." *The Qualitative Report* 13, no.4 (2008): 544–59. doi:10.2174/1874434600802010058.

BBC News. "Record number of EU terror attacks recorded in 2015." *BBC News*, 20 July 2016. Accessed 4 September 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-36845647>.

Binnie, Isla. "Show of European Unity: Merkel, Hollande, Renzi Meet to Discuss Gameplan." *The Reuters*, 21 August 2016. Accessed 22 August 2016. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-crisis-meeting-idUSKCN10W0CO>.

Banchoff, Thomas and Mitchell P. Smith. *Legitimacy and the European Union: The Contested Polity*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Bellamy, Richard. "The Inevitability of a Democratic Deficit." In *Key Controversies in European Integration*, edited by Hubert Zimmermann and Andreas Dür. 63-71. London: Macmillan, 2016.

Burgess, Michael. *Federalism and European Union: The Building of Europe, 1950-2000*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Best, Heinrich, György Lengyel, and Luca Verzichelli. "Introduction: European integration as an Elite Project." In *The Europe of Elites: A Study into the Europeanness of Europe's Political and Economic Elites*, edited by Heinrich Best, György Lengyel and Luca Verzichelli, 1-14. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Biscop, Sven and Norheim-Martinsen. "CSDP: The Strategic Perspective," in *Explaining the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy*, edited by Xymena Kurowska and Fabian Breuer. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2012.

Bache, Ian. *European Union Regional Policy. Multi-Level Governance or Flexible Gatekeeping?* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd, 1998.

Coskun, Murat. "A Discussion of the Theories of European Integration: Does Liberal Intergovernmentalism Offer a Satisfactory Answer?" *The Journal of Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences* 20 (2015): 387-395.

Checkel, Jeffrey and Peter Katzenstein. *European Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Cole, Alistair. *François Mitterrand: A Study in Political Leadership*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Chrysochoou, Dimitris. *Theorizing European Integration*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2001.

Cloots, Elke, Geert De Baere, and Stefan Sottiaux. "Introduction: Federalism's Janus Face." In *Federalism in the European Union*, 1-11.

Céline Chateau and Rosa Raffaelli. "Immigration Policy." *European Parliament*, September 2016. Accessed 2 September 2016. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU\\_5.12.3.html](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_5.12.3.html).

Constantin, Andrei. "Is the European Commission Too Powerful? Neofunctionalism and Intergovernmentalism Considered." *Inquiries Journal* 5, no.10 (2013). Accessed 5 August 2016. <http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/773/is-the-european-commission-too-powerful-neofunctionalism-and-intergovernmentalism-considered>.

Chalanova, Daniela. "Turn the Other Greek." In *Constructing and Communicating Europe*, edited by Olga Gyarmasova and Karin Liebhart, 19-53. Zurich: Lit Verlag, 2014.

Chopin, Thierry, and Christian Lequesne. "Differentiation as a Double-Edged Sword: Member States' Practices and Brexit." *International Affairs* 92, no. 3 (2016): 531–45. doi:10.1111/1468-2346.12608.

Cerutti, Furio and Sonia Lucarelli. *The Search for European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Dearden, Lizzie. "Brexit: Petition Demanding Change to EU Referendum Rules to Force Second Vote Passes 700,000 Signatures." *Independent*, 25 June 2016. Accessed 26 June 2016. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-petition-eu-referendum-rules-change-force-second-vote-poll-turnout-government-london-a7102421.html>.

Dwan, Renata. "Jean Monnet and the European Defence Community, 1950-54." *Cold War History* 1, no.1 (2000): 141-160.

Dutta, Manoranjan. *The United States of Europe: European Union and the Euro Revolution*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2011.

Dearden, Lizzie. "Brexit: Petition Demanding Change to EU Referendum Rules to Force Second Vote Passes 700,000 Signatures." *Independent*, 25 June 2016. Accessed 26 June 2016. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-petition-eu-referendum-rules-change-force-second-vote-poll-turnout-government-london-a7102421.html>.

Dinan, Desmond. *Ever Closer Union. An Introduction to European Integration*. Basingstoke: Macmillan 2010.

Dinan, Desmond. "How Did We Get There?" In *The European Union: How does it Work?*, edited by Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb, 23-47. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Diez, Thomas and Antje Wiener. "Introducing the Mosaic of Integration Theory." In *European Integration Theory*, edited by Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, 1-22. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Denková, Adéla, Aline Robert, Georgi Gotev, Jakub Šimkovic, and Krzysztof Kokoszczyński. "EU army? Much ado about nothing." *EurActiv*, 5 September 2016. Accessed 18 September 2016. <http://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/eu-army-much-ado-about-nothing/>.

Eylemer, Sedef. "Revisiting the Debates on a Model of Integration for Post-Crisis Europe: Towards A Political Union or Just More Differentiation?" *Perceptions* 20, no. 4 (2015): 11-36.

European Council. "Informal meeting of the Heads of State or Government Brussels." Statement by the Members of the European Council, 12 February 2015. Accessed 5 September 2016. <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/02/150212-european-council-statement-fight-against-terrorism/>.

Fossum, J. Erik and Agustín José Menéndez. "The European Union in Crises or the European Union as Crises?" *ARENA Report*, no.2, (2014), 1-637. Accessed 22 May

2016. <https://www.sv.uio.no/arena/english/research/publications/arena-publications/reports/2014/report-2-14.pdf>.

Eder, Klaus. "The Crisis of Europe: A Case of Creative Destruction — Descandalizing the Crisis of Europe as an Experimental Case of Social Evolution." In *Europe's Prolonged Crisis. The Making or the Unmaking of a Political Union*, edited by Hans-Jörg Trezz, Carlo Ruzza and Virginie Guiraudon, 270-290. New York: Macmillan, 2015.

EU Commission Report. "The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility." Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, 2011. Accessed 27 August 2016. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=celex%3A52011DC0743>.

Geddes, Andrew. "Migration in European Governance: the Constitution of a Transgovernmental Policy Field." In *Handbook of the International Political Economy of Governance*, edited by Anthony Payne and Nicola Phillips. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2014.

Grodzicki, Maciej J., and Tomasz Geodecki. "New Dimensions of Core-Periphery Relations in an Economically Integrated Europe: The Role of Global Value Chains." *Eastern European Economics* 54, no. 5 (2016): 377-404. doi:10.1080/00128775.2016.1201426.

Gerard Delanty. *Inventing Europe. Idea, Identity, Reality*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.

Gillingham, John. "The German Problem and European Integration." In *Origins and Evolution of the European Union*, edited by Desmond Dinan, 60-91. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Hay, Colin. "Narrating Crisis: The Discursive Construction of the 'Winter of Discontent'." *Sociology* 30, no.2 (1996): 253-277. <http://soc.sagepub.com/content/30/2/253.full.pdf+html>.

Judt, Tony. *Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945*. London: The Penguin Press, 2005.

Judge, David and David Earnshaw. *The European Parliament*. New York: Macmillan, 2008.

Jones, Erik, Daniel Kelemen, and Sophie Meunier. "Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 1 (2015): 1-56. doi:10.1177/0010414015617966.

Jean-Claude, Piris. *The Lisbon Treaty: A Legal and Political Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Innerarity, Daniel. "Images of Europe around the Crisis." *The European Legacy* 20, no. 1 (2015): 1-11. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10848770.2014.984981>.

Kølvraa, Christoffer. "The Father on Display: The House of Jean Monnet and the Construction of European Identity." *Culture Unbound* 4 (2012): 747-765, Accessed 15 May 2016. <http://www.cultureunbound.ep.liu.se>.

Klapsis, Antonis. "Economic Crisis and Political Extremism in Europe: From the 1930s to the Present." *European View* 13, no. 2 (2014): 189–98. Accessed 20 June 2016. doi:10.1007/s12290-014-0315-5.

Larive, Maxime. *Debating European Security and Defense Policy: Understanding the Complexity*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Mc Cormick, John. *Understanding the European Union*. Basingstoke: New York, 2010.

McCormick, John. "History and Ideas." In *European Union Politics*, 9-165. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2011.

Mc Cormick, John. *Understanding the European Union*. Basingstoke: New York, 2010.

Monnet, Jean. "A Ferment of Change." In *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, edited by Nelsen, Brent and Alexander Stubb, 21-29. New York: Macmillan, 2014.

Mattli, Walter. *The Logic of Regional Integration. Europe and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Moravcsik, Andrew. *The Choice for Europe. Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Nugent, Neil. "Conceptualising and Theorising." In *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, edited by Neil Nugent, 419-443. New York: Macmillan, 2010.

New Keywords Collective. "Europe/Crisis: Introducing New Keywords of 'the Crisis' in and of 'Europe'." *Europe/Crisis: New Keywords of "the Crisis" in and of Europe*, 2016. Accessed 5 June 2016. <http://nearfuturesonline.org/europecrisis-new-keywords-of-crisis-in-and-of-europe/>.

Niemann, Arne. *Explaining Decisions in the European Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Natorski, Michal. "In Times of Crisis: The Role of Coherence as a Social Convention in the European Neighbourhood Policy after the Arab Spring." *European Journal of International Relations* 3 (2015):1-25. doi:10.1177/1354066115599043.

Pūras, Adomas. "A Shape -Shifting Creature Dissected: Political Representations of Jean Monnet in European Studies." *Baltic Journal of Political Science*, no. 4 (2015): 110-126.

- Río Villar, Susana. *Europe: Project and Process: Citizens, Democracy, Participation*. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2014.
- Rosamond, Ben. *Theories of European Integration*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.
- Krasner, Stephen “The Case for Shared Sovereignty.” *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 1 (2005): 69–83. doi:10.1353/jod.2005.0013.
- Guerra, Simona. “Euroscepticism and the Next Enlargements.” In *Central and Eastern European Attitudes in the Face of Union*, edited by Simona Guerra, 121-138. New York: Macmillan, 2013.
- Moravcsik, Andrew and Frank Schimmelfennig. “Liberal Intergovernmentalism.” In *European Integration Theory*, edited by Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, 67-87. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Putnam, Robert. “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games.” *International Organization* 42, no.3 (1988): 427-460.
- Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette. “Introduction: Neofunctionalism and Its Critics.” In *Debates on European Integration. A Reader*, edited by Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 89-103. New York: Macmillan, 2006.
- Laursen, Finn. “The EU and Federalism: Constitutional Equilibrium or Continued Federalization?” In *The EU and Federalism*, 265-273.
- Majone, Giandomenico. “Federation, Confederation, and Mixed Government: a EU–US comparison.” In *Comparative Federalism: The European Union and the United States*, edited by Anand Menon and Martin Schain, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 121-149.
- Gierycz, Michał. “Axiology of European Union and the Challenges of the Integration Process.” In *European Union - Present and Future*, edited by Wojciech Gizicki. Lublin: Publishing House of Catholic University of Lublin 2009.
- Granieri, Ronald. “Brexit, Europe, and the EU’s Passion Deficit.” *Geopoliticus, The FPRI Blog*. 27 June 2016. Accessed 15 July 2016.  
<http://www.fpri.org/2016/06/brexit-europe-eus-passion-deficit/>.
- Gaby, Umbach. “EU-CONSENT 2005-2009. Four Years of Research on EU Deepening and Widening. Evidence, Explanation, Extrapolation.” In *Analysis and Assessment from a Discovery Tour of the European Union Wider Europe – Deeper Integration? Lessons Learned from the EU-CONSENT Network*, edited by Wolfgang Wessels, 14-41. 2005-2009. Accessed 14 September 2016.  
[http://www.eu-consent.net/library/EU-Consent2005-09\\_condensed.pdf](http://www.eu-consent.net/library/EU-Consent2005-09_condensed.pdf)
- Krijtenburg, Margriet. “Schuman’s Europe: His Frame of Reference.” Thesis, Leiden University, 2012. Accessed 15 July 2016.  
<https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/19767/01.pdf?sequence=13>.

Fischer, Joschka. "From Confederacy to Federation - Thoughts on the Finality of European Integration." Speech by Joschka Fischer at the *Humboldt University in Berlin*. 12 May 2000. Accessed 15 May 2016.

<http://ec.europa.eu/dorie/fileDownload.do?docId=192161&cardId=192161>.

Miliband, David. "Europe 2030: Model Power not Superpower." Speech by the UK Foreign Secretary David Miliband at the College of Europe, Bruges. 15 November 2007. Accessed 24 July 2016.

<http://www.acronym.org.uk/old/archive/docs/0711/doc09.htm>.

Howorth, Jolyon. "What Europe badly needs is a "Grand Strategy." *Europe's World*. 1 October 2009. Accessed 27 July 2016.

<http://europesworld.org/2009/10/01/what-europe-badly-needs-is-a-grand-strategy/#.V9vS5fmLTIU>.

Verhofstadt, Guy. "Forging 'United States of Europe' is Key to the Future." *European Voice* 2005. Accessed 28 July 2016.

<http://www.politico.eu/article/forging-united-states-of-europe-is-key-to-the-future/>.

Saurugger, Sabine. *Theoretical Approaches to European Integration*. New York: Macmillan, 2014.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Poland. "Deputy Minister Konrad Szymański: We've Taken Another Step Towards Reaching a New Migration Agreement." *They Wrote About Us*, 17 September 2016. Accessed 20 September 2016. [http://www.msz.gov.pl/en/news/they\\_wrote\\_about\\_us/](http://www.msz.gov.pl/en/news/they_wrote_about_us/).

EUR-Lex. "Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, EEC Treaty - Original Text." EU Law and Publications, 2010. Accessed 10 June 2016. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV%3Axy0023>.

George, Stephen and Ian Bach. "History." In *Politics in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Tusk, Donald. "President of the European Council to the European Parliament." Speech by the President of the European Council to the European Parliament, Strasbourg, 13 January 2015. Accessed 22 August 2016.

[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/146578.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/146578.pdf).

Piesse, Mervyn. "Factors Influencing Migration and Population Movements." *Future Directions International* 2014. Accessed 26 August 2016.

[http://futuredirections.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/FDI\\_Strategic\\_Analysis\\_Paper\\_\\_Migration\\_and\\_Population\\_Movements\\_Part\\_1.pdf](http://futuredirections.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/FDI_Strategic_Analysis_Paper__Migration_and_Population_Movements_Part_1.pdf).

Sly, Liz. "8 Reasons Europe's Refugee Crisis is Happening Now." *The Washington Post*, 18 September 2015. Accessed 29 August 2016.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/18/8-reasons-why-europes-refugee-crisis-is-happening-now/>.



Eurostat. "Asylum Statistics." Eurostat Statistics Explained, 20 April 2016. Accessed 28 August 2016. [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics).

Barigazzi, Jacopo. "EU Aims to Stop 'Asylum Shopping' Commission Proposes Reforms for Dealing with Refugees." *Politico*, 4 September 2016. Accessed 29 August 2016. <http://www.politico.eu/article/eu-aims-to-stop-asylum-shopping-refugee-crisis/>.

Sandford, Alasdair. "Martin Schulz Attacks 'Cynical' EU Governments Over Migrants." *Euronews*, 29 August 2015. Accessed 30 August 2016. <http://www.euronews.com/2015/08/29/schulz-attacks-cynical-eu-governments-over-migrants-crisis>.

Barkin, Noah. "Refugee Crisis Suddenly Merkel's Biggest Challenge." *Reuters*, 31 August 2015. Accessed 30 August 2016. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-germany-analysis-idUSKCN0R00FZ20150831>.

Börzel, Tanja. "Mind the Gap! European Integration Between Level and Scope." *Journal of European Public Policy* 12, no. 2 (2005): 217–36. doi:10.1080/13501760500043860.

EurActiv. "EU countries must share responsibility for refugees, Sweden Insists." *EurActiv Justice and Home Affairs*, 10 March 2014. Accessed 31 August 2016. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/eu-countries-must-share-responsibility-for-refugees-sweden-insists/>.

DeutscheWelle. "Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban calls EU migrant plan 'Idiotic,' defends death penalty." *NewsGE*, 20 May 2015. Accessed 31 August 2016. <http://www.dw.com/en/hungarian-prime-minister-viktor-orban-calls-eu-migrant-plan-idiotic-defends-death-penalty/a-18462379>.

Office of the Government of the Czech Republic. "Joint Declaration of the Visegrad Group Prime Ministers." *The Visegrad Group*, 8 June 2016. Accessed 1 September 2016. <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/documents/official-statements/joint-declaration-of-the-160609>.

Foster, Alice. "What is Nexit? Will the Netherlands Leave the EU Next?" *Sunday Express*, 27 July 2016. Accessed 10 September 2016. <http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/693569/Nexit-will-Netherlands-leave-EU-next-Dutch-referendum-impact-Brexit-Britain-independence>.

Foster, Alice. "What is Dexit? Will Denmark leave the EU Next?" *Sunday Express*, 26 August 2016. Accessed 11 September 2016. <http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/695496/Dexit-what-is-Denmark-exit-will-Denmark-leave-the-EU-referendum-Brexit-impact-Europe>.

Le Pen, Marine. "Marine Le Pen: After Brexit, the People's Spring Is Inevitable." *The New York Times*, 28 June 2016. Accessed 11 September 2016. [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/28/opinion/marine-le-pen-after-brexit-the-peoples-spring-is-inevitable.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/28/opinion/marine-le-pen-after-brexit-the-peoples-spring-is-inevitable.html?_r=0).

Wheatstone, Richard. "Far-right German party demands 'Dexit' vote - but can't Get National Referendum because of HITLER." *Mirror*, 28 June 2016. Accessed 12 September 2016. <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/far-right-german-party-demands-8305718>.

Hardy, Catherine. "EU Leaders Gather for the Post-Brexit Summit in Brussels." *Euronews*, 28 June 2016. Accessed 12 September 2016. <http://www.euronews.com/2016/06/28/eu-leaders-gather-for-the-post-brexit-summit-in-brussels>.

Lynch, Susanne. "Analysis: EU Leaders Left to Deal with Fallout from Brexit." *The Irish Times*, 29 June 2016. Accessed 13 September 2016. <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/analysis-eu-leaders-left-to-deal-with-fallout-from-brexit-1.2704256>.

Euronews. "EU Foreign Ministers Demand Quick Divorce from Britain." *Euronews*, 25 June 2016. Accessed 13 September 2016. <http://www.euronews.com/2016/06/25/eu-foreign-ministers-demand-quick-divorce-from-britain>.

Lenoir, Francois. "Shocked EU Leaders Search for Answers as Britain Votes to Leave." *Reuters*, 24 June 2016. Accessed 14 September 2016. <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-eu-reactions-idUKKCN0ZA24E>.

Niemann, Arne and Philippe Schmitter. "Neofunctionalism." In *European Integration Theory*, edited by Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, 45-66. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Jerzy Buzek, "State of the Union: Three Cheers for the Lisbon Treaty and Two Warnings for Political Parties," *JCMS* 49 (2011): 8.

Martin Holmes. *European Integration. Scope and Limits*. New York: Macmillan, 2001.

Hall, Peter. "The Euro Crisis and the Future of European Integration." *The Economic Foundations of the European Project*, 2016. Accessed 16 September 2016. [http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/hall/files/hall2016\\_insrchofeur.pdf?m=1462047943](http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/hall/files/hall2016_insrchofeur.pdf?m=1462047943).

Rodica, Elena. "The Werner Report and the Delors Report" *CVCE* (2012). Accessed 8 May 2016. [http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2012/4/5/72dae01a-6f2f-4b00-8caa-ba66db14dcac/publishable\\_en.pdf](http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2012/4/5/72dae01a-6f2f-4b00-8caa-ba66db14dcac/publishable_en.pdf).

Syrakos, Dimitros. "A Reassessment of the Werner Plan and the Delors Report: Why did they Experience a Different Fate?" *Comparative Economic Studies* 52 (2010). Accessed 2 July 2016. <file:///D:/3rd%20Chapter/delor.pdf>.

"Crash Course." *The Economist*, 7 September 2013. Accessed 29 August 2016. <http://www.economist.com/news/schoolsbrief/21584534-effects-financial-crisis-are-still-being-felt-five-years-article>.

European Commission. "The Commission Launches a Major Recovery Plan for Growth and Jobs, to Boost Demand and Restore Confidence in the European Economy." Recovery Plan, 26 November 2008. Accessed 3 August 2016. [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-08-1771\\_en.htm?locale=en](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-08-1771_en.htm?locale=en).

"EU Casts Doubt on Greece Economic Figures." *BBCNews*, 13 January 2010. Accessed 27 July 2016. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8456216.stm>.

European Council. "Informal meeting of the Heads of State or Government Brussels." Statement by the Members of the European Council, 12 February 2015. Accessed 5 September 2016. <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/02/150212-european-council-statement-fight-against-terrorism/>.

Michaels, Jim. "Analysis: String of Terror Attacks in Europe Likely to Continue." *USA Today*, 29 July 2016. Accessed 4 September 2016. <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/07/26/analysis-string-if-terror-attacks-europe-likely-continue/87578584/>.

Nienaber, Michael. "Bavarian Ally Backs Merkel in Row over Refugee Policy." *Reuters*, 15 November 2015. Accessed 5 September 2016. <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-europe-migrants-germany-idUKKCN0T40G820151115>.

European Council. "Response to Foreign Terrorist Fighters and Recent Terrorist Attacks in Europe." Fight Against Terrorism, 15 July 2016. Accessed 6 September 2016. <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/fight-against-terrorism/foreign-fighters/>.

World News. "Juncker Calls for EU Army, says Would Deter Russia." *World News*, 8 March 2015. Accessed 7 September 2016. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-eu-defence-juncker-idUSKBN0M40KL20150308>.

Sparrow, Andrew. "Jean-Claude Juncker calls for EU Army." *The Guardian*, 8 March 2015. Accessed 4 September 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/08/jean-claude-juncker-calls-for-eu-army-european-commission-military>.

Pop, Valentina. "German Defense Minister Supports Calls for EU Army. Minister says the idea of a European army would be a 'long-term goal.'" *The Wall Street Journal*, 20 March 2015. Accessed 7 September 2016. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/german-defence-minister-supports-calls-for-eu-army-1426865423>.

The European Commission. "State of the Union 2016: Commission Targets Stronger External Borders." Press release, 14 September 2016. Accessed 16 September 2016. [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-16-3003\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-3003_en.htm).

London, Breitbart. "Eastern European Leaders Call For EU Army At Summit With Germany." *Breitbart*, 26 August 2016. Accessed 8 September 2016. <http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/08/26/eastern-european-leaders-call-eu-army-summit-germany/>.

Herman, Yves. "Bratislava summit shows Europe can move forward, Hollande says." *World News*, 16 September 2016. Accessed 18 September 2016. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-eu-summit-france-idUSKCN11M20V>.

Foster, Alice. "EU Referendum 2016 Aftermath: All the key dates: When will Britain leave the EU?" *Sunday Express*, 20 July 2016. Accessed 9 September 2016. <http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/644178/EU-referendum-dates-European-Union-Brexit-David-Cameron-Brussels>.

Pelinka, Anton. "Is EU Disintegration a Credible Scenario?" The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies, 31 May 2012. Accessed 16 September 2016. <http://wiiw.ac.at/is-eu-disintegration-a-credible-scenario--dlp-2570.pdf>.

Holehouse, Matthew. "Czech Republic 'will follow Britain out of EU.'" *The Telegraph*, 23 February 2016. Accessed 10 September 2016. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/czechrepublic/12170994/Czech-s-will-follow-Britain-out-of-EU.html>.

Kunz, Josef. "Treaty Establishing the European Defense Community." *The American Journal of International Law* 47, no.2 (1953). Accessed 3 September 2016. <file:///D:/3rd%20Chapter/security/kunz1953.pdf>.

Kaunert, Christian, and Sarah Leonard. "Introduction: Supranational Governance and European Union Security after the Lisbon Treaty - Exogenous Shocks, Policy Entrepreneurs and 11 September 2001." *Cooperation and Conflict* 47, no. 4 (2012): 417–32. doi:10.1177/0010836712464592.

Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni. *Debates on European Integration. A Reader*. New York: Macmillan, 2006.

Mody, Askoka. "A Schuman Compact for the Euro Area." Brussels, Bruegel Essay and Lecture Series (2013). Accessed 10 July 2016. [http://bruegel.org/wp-content/uploads/imported/publications/essay\\_schumann\\_compact\\_1.3\\_01.pdf](http://bruegel.org/wp-content/uploads/imported/publications/essay_schumann_compact_1.3_01.pdf).

Georgiou, Christakis. "The Euro Crisis and the Future of European Integration." *International Socialism* 128, 14 October 2010. Accessed 18 May 2016. <http://isj.org.uk/the-euro-crisis-and-the-future-of-european-integration/>.

Logghe, Yves. "Dutch Say 'Devastating No' to EU Constitution." *The Guardian*, 2 June 2005. Accessed 10 August 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/jun/02/eu.politics>.

Sbragia, Alberta. "The Future of Federalism in the European Union." Keynote Address delivered at the European Community Studies Association Canada Biennial Conference. "A Constitution for Europe? Governance and Policy Making in the European Union". University of Pittsburgh, the US, 27-29 May 2004.

Scharpf, Fritz. "Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of European Welfare States." In *The Future of European Welfare. A New Social Contract?*, edited by Martin Rhodes and Yves Mény, 155-178. Houndmills: Macmillan, 1998.

Schuman, Robert. "The Schuman Declaration." In *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, edited by Nelsen, Brent and Alexander Stubb, 15-17. New York: Macmillan, 2014.

Sam-Sang Jo. *European Myths. Resolving the Crises in the European Community/European Union*. Maryland: University Press of America, 2007.

Sperling, James. "Introduction: Security Governance in a Westphalian World." In *European Security Governance: The European Union in a Westphalian World*, edited by Charlotte Wagnsson, James Sperling and Jan Hallenberg, 1-17. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Risse, Thomas. "Neofunctionalism, European Identity, and the Puzzles of European Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 12, no. 2 (2005): 1-20. Accessed 20 August 2016. [http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~atasp/texte/haas\\_jepp\\_tr.pdf](http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~atasp/texte/haas_jepp_tr.pdf).

Djuve, Anne Britt. "Empowerment or Intrusion? The Input and Output Legitimacy of Introductory Programs for Recent Immigrants." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 11, no. 4 (2010): 403–22. doi:10.1007/s12134-010-0156-2.

Petrović, Nikola. "EU Ideology." *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 29, no. 1 (2016): 1–70. doi:10.1080/13511610.2015.1082460.

Tranholm-Mikkelsen, Jeppe. "Neo-Functionalism: Obstinate or Obsolete? A Reappraisal in the Light of the New Dynamism of the EC." *Millenium: Journal of Interational Studies* 20, no. 1 (1991): 1–22. doi:10.1177/03058298910200010201.

Imber, Mark F. "Re-Reading Mitrany. A Pragmatic Assessment of Sovereignty." *Review of International Studies* 10, no. 2 (1984): 103–23. Accessed 30 July 2016. doi:10.1017/S0260210500116110.

Saurugger, Sabine. "Sociological Approaches to the European Union in Times of Turmoil\*" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, no. 1 (2016): 70–86.

Brown, Wells and Samuel F. Wells. "Shared Sovereignty in the European Union: Germany's Economic Governance." *Yale Journal of International Affairs* 30 (2008): 307–21. Accessed 26 May 2016. <http://yalejournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/083203wells.pdf>.

MacMillan, Catherine. "The Application of Neofunctionalism to the Enlargement Process: The Case of Turkey." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47, no. 4 (2009): 789–809. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2009.02005.x.

Menon, Anand. "Reformulating Neofunctionalism." *European Political Science* 6, no. 4 (2007): 361–66. doi:10.1057/palgrave.eps.2210164.

Ilievski, Nikola. "The Concept of Political Integration: The Perspectives of Neofunctionalist Theory." *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs* 1, no. 1 (2015): 1-14. Accessed 30 July 2016. [http://e-jlia.com/papers/34928593\\_vol1\\_num1\\_pap4.pdf](http://e-jlia.com/papers/34928593_vol1_num1_pap4.pdf).

- Schmitter, Philippe. "A Revised Theory of Regional Integration," *International Organization* 24, no. 4 (1970): 836-68. Accessed 4 August 2016. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706154>.
- Huysmans, Jef. "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38, no. 5 (2000): 751-77. doi:10.1111/1468-5965.00263.
- Freeman, Gary. "Comparative Analysis of Immigration Politics: A Retrospective." *American Behavioral Scientist* 55, no. 12 (2011): 1541-60. doi:10.1177/0002764211409386.
- Mérand, Frédéric. "Social Representations in the European Security and Defence Policy." *Cooperation and Conflict* 41, no. 2 (2006): 131-52. doi:10.1177/0010836706063659.
- Irondele, Bastien, Frédéric Mérand, and Martial Foucault. "Public Support for European Defence: Does Strategic Culture Matter?" *European Journal of Political Research* 54, no. 2 (2015): 363-83. doi:10.1111/1475-6765.12090.
- Robert Bideleux and Richard Taylor, *European Integration and Disintegration East and West*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Schmidt, Vivien. "In the Light and Shadow of the Single Currency: European Identity and Citizenship." In *The Single Currency and European Citizenship. Unveiling the Other Side of the Coin*, edited by Giovanni Moro. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.
- Törő, Csaba, Eamonn Butler, and Károly Gruber. "Visegrád: The Evolving Pattern of Coordination and Partnership After EU Enlargement." *Europe-Asia Studies* 66, no. 3 (2014): 364-93. doi:10.1080/09668136.2013.855392.
- Urwin, Derek. "The European Community: From 1945 to 1985." In *European Union Politics*, edited by Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, 15-31. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Vogel Bernard and Gunter Buchstab. "Konrad Adenauer and the European Integration." An exhibition of the Archive for Christian Democratic Policy of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (2007) Accessed 5 June 2016. [http://www.kas.de/upload/ACDP/GB\\_Katalog\\_KA.pdf](http://www.kas.de/upload/ACDP/GB_Katalog_KA.pdf).
- Weale, Albert. "European Environmental Policy by Stealth: The Dysfunctionality of Functionalism?" In *Environmental Policy in the EU: Actors, Institutions and Processes*, edited by Andrew Jordan, 336-355. London: Bath Press, 2005.
- Weale, Albert. "Government by Committee. Three Principles of Evaluation." In *Committee Governance in the European Union*, edited by Thomas Christiansen, 161-171. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

William, Spindler. "2015: The Year of Europe's Refugee Crisis." *The UN Refugee Agency Tracks*, 8 December 2015. Accessed 28 August 2016. <http://tracks.unhcr.org/2015/12/2015-the-year-of-europes-refugee-crisis/>.

Wessels, Wolfgang. "Revisiting the Monnet Method – A contribution to the periodisation of the European Union's History." In *Teilung überwinden. Europäische und Internationale Geschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Michaela Bachem-Rehm, Claudia Hiepel and Henning Türk, 49-63. München: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2014.

Wallace, Hellen. "The Institutions of the EU: Experience and Experiments." In *Policy-Making in the European Union*, edited by Hellen Wallace and William Wallace, 37-68. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Yin, Robert. *Case Study Research. Design and Methods*. California: SAGE Publications, 2014.

Yazan, Bedrettin. "Three Approaches to Case Study Methods in Education: Yin, Merriam, and Stake." *The Qualitative Report* 20, no. 2 (2015): 134–52. <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR20/2/yazan1.pdf>.

Zainal, Zaidah. "Case Study as a Research Method." *Jurnal Kemanusiaan* 9 (2007): 1-6. Accessed 5 May 2016. [http://psyking.net/htmlobj-3837/case\\_study\\_as\\_a\\_research\\_method.pdf](http://psyking.net/htmlobj-3837/case_study_as_a_research_method.pdf).

Ziegler, Oliver. *EU Regulatory Decision Making and the Role of the United States*. Berlin: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2013.