## A foundation for understanding the construction of the European Union



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CENTRUM STOSUNKÓW MIĘDZYNARODOWYCH CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## LEARNING ABOUT EUROPE FOR ALL

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## Introduction

Today, in most schools in Europe, European issues still do not seem to have the place they should. Generally speaking, our education systems take a national view even though, in the countries that have become members of the European Union, people's lives are increasingly regulated by laws and programmes of European origin.

## Why should European issues be included in curricula?

There are two reasons:

- On the one hand, the 1992 Treaty of Maastricht instituted a new political entity for the Member States – the European Union. At the same time, the Treaty introduced European citizenship, specifying that, "Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union". Citizenship of the EU is additional to national citizenship; it does not replace it.

However this legal nicety is meaningless if citizens are not able to take full responsibility nor play an active part in public life. This requires a minimum amount of education and knowledge. Citizens must know their rights and duties. They should also have some idea (however rudimentary) of the institutional framework and the main rules and regulations that affect their everyday lives. Above all, they should understand the given objectives that were assigned in the construction of the EU and why the resulting organisations were set up. There cannot be democracy unless citizens are aware of the main issues. **People are not born citizens, conscious of their responsibilities; they become citizens. Europe needs this awareness from the part of all of its people.** 

- On the other hand, it is in the interest and to the benefit of European citizens to have a basic knowledge and understanding of what makes Europe tick. Whether they like it or not, whatever their feelings might be towards Europe, they now live in a European framework. They travel, work and get married in Europe. Whatever the sector of work, everybody is subject to European regulations. Everybody needs the appropriate education at school, from Year 1 to Year 12.

It is true that some centres of excellence (universities, prestigious colleges, private schools etc.) provide this education, or at least a minimum knowledge of Europe. There is, however, a risk of creating a social divide between those who receive a good education on European issues and can therefore evolve easily within the European framework, and those who are not so lucky. The lat-

ter know nothing about Europe and its cultures, do not understand what is sometimes referred to simply as *"Brussels"*, do not speak any other languages and seldom travel.

The European team (from Germany, Luxembourg, and Poland) at the 'Maison de l'Europe' in Paris are aiming to determine the essential knowledge that every European citizen should have. There is no question of interfering with either the school curricula or its teaching methods. These tasks are the responsibility of the relevant authorities in their respective countries. Instead, our task is to use the expected results then define what every citizen should know by the end of his/her schooling, regardless of the sectors, subjects or classes through which this knowledge may have been transmitted.

This document has been designed primarily for teachers and other people involved in the educational and social sectors in the widest sense of the term; whether or not they work within a formal teaching structure and whatever the subject they teach (history, geography, modern languages, literature, civic education, the so-called *"exact"* sciences etc.). It is up to them to see how, in their lessons or through other school and extracurricular activities, they can help to give their pupils the basic knowledge young people need if they are to become fully-fledged European citizens.

## The choice of priorities

The authors of this brochure decided to focus on three areas:

- 1 The history of Europe and the building of the EU
- 2 The values that form the basis on which the European project is founded
- 3 Living Europe to the full

It is a fairly unusual choice and may come as a surprise to some. We wanted to focus on the aspects that explain the reasons for things. In a short document, it is impossible to cover every topic so we have deliberately limited descriptions of European institutions and European achievements in the field of economics, law and politics to a minimum. It is easy to find this type of information in the many publications that have appeared to date.

On the other hand, we felt it would be useful to focus on the explanations and put things into perspective. Where do we come from? Where are we going? Experience has shown us that the thing which most annoyed citizens was not understanding the reasons behind the construction of Europe nor the reasons for the decisions and actions that have an impact on everyday life in Europe. How many times has it been said, *"I know nothing about Europe! What use is it anyway?"*.

1 – First and foremost History provides a means of distinguishing between Europe and the building of the EU. The origin of Europe dates back several hundred years and is defined mainly by its culture, way of thinking and the lifestyle of the diverse populations living on neighbouring territories who, over time, have grown closer together or been at war. The history of the European Union, on the other hand, dates only from the end of the Second World War, making it less than seventy years old.

Secondly, the historic approach explains the **point of the European project**. What are we trying to do by building this new Europe? What were the objectives in the 1950's? What are the objectives today? Some people rather hastily answer that, since the Treaty of Rome in 1957, we have been trying to build a great common market characterized by the free circulation of goods, services, capital and, of course, people. However, this purely economic vision is biased. By gaining a greater understanding of its evolution, we will be more aware of the real project for Europe which goes beyond economics to include every aspect of society.

The European project is a global project, modelled on a society where economic issues (the eco-

nomy remains an important component) along with social and humanitarian issues, co-exist. It is a way of defining the individual's place in society. Because of this, the European project naturally has a political dimension, in the noblest sense of the word. History allows us to understand why and how we have reached this point. It explains how this *"model"* is under threat and why it is so important to preserve it today.

**2 – The study of values** and, on a larger scale, culture, which characterise European thinking (sometimes referred to as *"European civilisation"*) is essential. It is based on ideas, ways of thinking and lifestyles that make up the European identity. It has taken centuries to forge this complex identity and is undergoing constant change. Even the fratricidal wars that have torn us apart throughout history and the totalitarianism seen in Europe in the 20th century have to teach us something.

Today, our role within the structure that we have created and that we call the European Union, is designed to determine whether, in a world undergoing such endless movement and change, we shall succeed in preserving these fundamental values, our culture in the widest sense of the term, what we might call our model of society.

**3 – We ask ourselves**, *"How can we live Europe to the full?"* In other words, what practical knowledge does the *"ordinary citizen"* require to live within this new European framework?

To answer this question, we have established a list of priorities:

- Knowing how to **play an active part in public life** in Europe. In a democratic society, a person is only a true citizen if he or she plays an active part in public life. There are already numerous mechanisms which allow for such individual involvement in European public life. Of course, you have to know about them before you can make use of them. For many years, the construction of the EU seemed to be restricted to a small group of experts. Without underestimating the quality of their work, the principles of democracy and the desire for efficiency, citizens as a whole are now required to feel involved and to use the means put at their disposal to ensure that their voices are heard.
- Knowing, in so far as it is possible, **the European organisations and institutions**. The aim is not to turn everybody into an expert in European decision-making procedures but to give everybody at least a basic knowledge of the system. The same applies to the policies implemented by the European Union in the areas of expertise delegated to it by Member States.
- Knowing about some of the achievements and certain European programmes and showing the practical use of the actions implemented by the EU. This is the case in programmes for young people through which they gradually learn new things e.g. cultures, languages and interesting working methods. All these actions and programmes eventually teach us to live together despite our differences.

This booklet will have achieved its aim if it helps to fulfil the wish expressed one day by Bronislaw Geremek, a great Polish intellectual and politician, *"We've made Europe; now let's make Europeans"*.

Catherine Lalumière - President, La Maison de l'Europe de Paris

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## Part One

## From the History of Europe to the Building of the European Union

The building of the European Union is a recent stage in the history of Europe. Although the idea had been in people's minds for a long time, the institutional dimension of European integration was not introduced until after the Second World War when a few particularly **enlightened and far-sighted** Europeans began bringing European States and people together in joint structures to encourage reconciliation, cooperation and the achievement of common objectives.

The building of the European community is the culmination of Europe's long history and the reasons and meaning of the project cannot be understood without understanding its origins.

For centuries, the history of Europe was marked by long-standing rivalries, endless conflicts and devastating wars.

In 1945, after the horrors of the First and Second World Wars, there was a total paradigm shift. People began to talk of peace, reconciliation, friendship and the implementation of common projects and aims within a European framework.

It was a considerable change and it profoundly altered the lives of Europeans and Europe's place in the world.

#### We shall look at the history of Europe from four distinct points of view:

#### 1 - Europe's Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian origins

This first point is a reminder of the contributions to the construction of a European civilisation made by the Greek and Roman civilisations, the great empires and the great monotheistic religions, especially Christianity in the Middle Ages. These origins still influence political, social, economic, religious and cultural aspects that shape the model of European society.

#### 2 - Europe, a perpetual melting-pot of cultures

The second point focuses on the rediscovery of ancient heritage. It shows the economic development that, in the 15th century, accompanied the spread of Europe's cultural influence. It also highlights the religious wars and the dynastic conflicts that tore Europe apart. It emphasises the circulation of the ideas of the philosophers of the Age of Enlightenment who theorised about the essential values of democracy, the Rule of Law, equality and individual liberty.

#### 3 - The age of nations and the by-products of nationalism

This third point accentuates the major changes in the Europe of the 19th century, when industrialisation provoked a break with the past based primarily on an agrarian economy. The Europe of Nation States became stronger; colonialism began to spread. The rise of nationalism and increasing tensions at the end of the 19th century led Europe to self-destruction in the first half of the 20th century with the two world wars in 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 and the barbarity of totalitarianism.

#### 4 - The paradigm shift: a new structure for Europe

The fourth point emphasises the link between the search for long-lasting peace and the idea of European unity based on equal States and free people. The movement towards European integration is formalised in 1948 at the Hague Congress, with the setting up of the Benelux Union and the launch of the Marshall Plan. The creation of institutions continues with the setting up of the Council of Europe in 1949, then in 1951 with the Treaty of Paris instituting the ECSC and finally in 1957 with the Treaties of Rome (Common Market and Euratom). This new European structure marks a paradigm shift – shared sovereignty overrides the balance of power between States. Europe's destiny is profoundly transformed as a result. The European Union is now at a crossroads. Quite apart from its economic and human importance, will it confirm its political weight at a time of globalisation?

## 1 - The origins of Europe

Europe has its origins in an ancient myth. Europe was the name of a Phoenician princess (Phoenicia is now the Lebanon) whom Zeus, the master of Olympus disguised as a white bull, is said to have kidnapped and taken to Crete. So a concept of East meets West lies behind the origins of the notion of Europe.

Since prehistoric times, the geographical area known as Europe has seen civilisations living at the same time or succeeding each other before dying out, among them the Celts, Greeks and Romans. Through them, Europe was impregnated with traditions and philosophies from Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Jewish civilisation and Christianity. Germanic and Slav migrations at the end of the ancient Roman times led to an unusual cross with the Greco-Roman heritage, the very source of European languages and nations. Europe's cultural and linguistic identity stems from these successive contributions.

## Greco-Roman roots

The word "Europe" is of Greek origin. Later, it acquired a geographical, political and cultural significance. At Charlemagne's court, clerks rediscovered the Classics and they described the emperor as "pater europae" (the "Father of Europe"). During most of the Early Middle Ages, the term "Europe" co-existed with the word "the West". The Western Roman Empire, which disappeared in 476 A.D, remained an essential benchmark during this period for all the princes and popes who aimed to establish their worldly power and restore unity among the "Western Europeans". Finally, the use of the adjective "European" became more commonplace in the French language at the beginning of the modern era. During the Age of Enlightenment, "Europe" became a subject of debate among leading writers and philosophers such as Emmanuel Kant, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Voltaire and Abbé de Saint-Pierre.

In addition to the awareness of the distance between Europe and Asia, not just in terms of geography but also in terms of perception of a particular civilisation, Athens created a political and social structure that has continued to be seen as a benchmark until the present day based on democracy, citizenship and reason-based philosophy thanks to Plato, Socrates and Aristotle. The separation of culture and religion, the emergence of notions of reason and progress in Greek philosophy and the city as a place for socialization and political decision making were among the other major contributions made by the Greek civilisation to Europe, even if Ancient Greece was marked by inter-city rivalry and citizenship was not granted to all. Women were excluded as were traders, slaves and foreigners living in a city other than the one in which they were born (*"metics*" or *"resident aliens*").

The geographical area of the Celtic civilisation, which did not have the written word, corresponded more closely to the boundaries of the European Union today. It was highly developed in the North and West of Europe but was gradually replaced by Roman colonisation and Germanic invasions. However, a few traces have survived through verbal tradition and are seen today in languages and folklore all over Europe.

The Romans adapted, generated and passed on the knowledge and skills acquired by the Greek civilisation. They transmitted progress particularly **through military campaigns** against the Celts and Germans in Central and Western Europe. They also provided the bases of our road and waterway networks, legal system and civil law in continental Europe, as well as territorial structure. Finally, they built countless similar buildings from Spain to Romania, in England and Germany and down to North Africa. The influence of Roman civilisation was visible beyond the regions conquered by the Roman Legions. Trade along the Amber Route to the Baltic Sea, for example, contributed to this state of affairs.

Greek heritage has also come down to us through Byzantium, the Eastern part of the Roman Empire and **the Arabs**.

Thanks to the **romanisation** of the provinces conquered over the centuries, the Roman Empire marked the first successful attempt at legal, cultural and economic integration. **In 212 A.D.** the Edict of Caracalla granted Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire regardless of their ethnic origins. This was a foretaste of the legal form of citizenship in Europe. Until modern times, Latin remained the basic language for intellectual and ecclesiastic discussion and the language used in legal documents.

## Mediaeval Europe and Christianity

Following the division of the Carolingian Empire between the three heirs of Louis the Pious in 843 A.D,the kingdoms of **Western Francia**, Lotharingia and Germania were created. In France, Spain and England, the king gradually imposed his will on the nobility and the ecclesiastical courts. In the German Holy Roman Empire, the feudal princes stood up to the Emperor by consolidating their lands and their powers. Italy saw the rise of principalities and towns that jealously guarded their independence (Venice, Florence, etc.), standing up to the Pope and the Emperor. While the independent towns and the Empire claimed to be based on the models of Ancient Greece and Rome, a centralised government gradually came into being in France and England.

Christianity became the official religion in the Empire in the **4th century under Constantine** and then spread throughout Europe. Owing to evangelisation, it underwent major expansion during the Middle Ages, deeply **influencing European civilisation**.

Christianity or, to be more precise, the recognition of the authority of the Pope in Rome, gave rise to the notion of a *"Western World"* in the Middle-Ages. In 800 A.D. Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the Western part of the ancient Roman Empire by Pope Leo III. He then engaged in violent military campaigns against some of the Germanic populace such as the Saxons who had not yet become Christians. His empire co-existed with two main civilisations, the Arab culture in Spain and North Africa and the Byzantine culture in Constantinople, where a more advanced level of economic and cultural development was enjoyed than in Latin Europe.

Monks, through their knowledge of writing and languages, maintained the link with these great cultures and, after the Fall of Constantinople, they ensured the circulation of the major works of Antiquity by diffusing copies they had made. They cleared forests and cultivated much of the land in Europe. They preserved the wine growing techniques of the Romans and perfected the Germanic methods of brewing beer. They also made use of medicinal plants in accordance with books written by the Ancients.

First the Benedictines then the Cistercians set up a network of monasteries stretching all over Europe, thereby establishing links between Ireland and Rome, Portugal and Poland. With the help of evangelisation, the monks also set up communities in Northern Europe, which previously had not been subjected to Roman influence and which had been deprived of any direct link with ancient civilisations. Christianity thus spread to the Slavic populous. During this period, cultural evolution and a feeling of belonging encouraged people to go on pilgrimages, to honour saints' relics and to worship the saints. Cultural routes established by the Council of Europe now enable people to follow the "Camino", the trail from Hungary to Santiago de Compostela, or to find out about the traditions linked to St. Martin of Tours which are still remembered every year by German children. These cultural and religious networks spread and circulated knowledge across thousands of kilometres at a time when roads were few and far between. The networks also fought against the so-called "external enemies" i.e. non-Christians. As illustrated by the violent conquest of Saxony by Charlemagne in the 8th century; others included the crusades in the Near East from the 11th to 13th centuries or the 'Reconquista' against the Arab kingdoms that ended in 1492 with the capture of Granada. The expansion of chivalrous orders, especially of the Teutonic Knights, in the pagan territories of Middle Europe (Prussia, Lithuania, Estonia etc), was another example of the crusading spirit that acted in the name of a "superior" Christian civilisation. From the 13th to the 15th centuries, the expansion of Christianity led to numerous acts of violence, a certain fanaticism and the pillaging of populations who crossed their paths.

In addition to its political dimension, mediaeval universalism was equally evident in the economic, social and cultural structure of society. If the Roman civilisation was marked by a form of urbanisation, the Middle-Ages were based more on a rural economy until the **13th century**. The mediaeval economy developed around certain towns on the banks of rivers or on seashores; they became commercial hubs. Others rose to importance thanks to the attractions of episcopal sees with their vast religious buildings and famous relics. The Roman and Gothic cathedrals were built by specialist artisans who worked together in guilds and spread their art to all four corners of the continent.

## 2 - Europe, a perpetual cultural melting-pot

Throughout the Middle Ages, knowledge and religion worked hand in hand. The first universities, founded with the Pope's permission, trained clerics. Within Europe, students and teachers enjoyed a particular status, spoke a common language (Latin) and travelled from one university to another between Salamanca in Spain, Oxford in England, the Sorbonne in Paris, Bologna in Italy and Prague in Bohemia etc.

Mobility was the rule rather than the exception. For this small group, the universities (from the Latin meaning *"universal schools"*) were privileged places for universal aspirations and allowed for the integration of an academic milieu owing to a teaching that went far beyond territorial boundaries.

Gradually, students and teachers created courses that lay outside the objectives set by the Roman Church, developing "secular" disciplines such as Medicine, Law and the Arts. The principle of "Credo ut intelligam" (I believe in order to understand) gradually gave way to "Intelligo ut credam" (I understand in order to believe). In the Orthodox world, universities came into being much later and were less commonplace. The University of Moscow, for example, was not founded until 1755.

Cultural influence went hand in hand with economic development. International trade developed and the Teutonic Hanseatic League was set up around the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. It was an association of trading towns founded in the 13th century and subject to identical rules. It was managed from Lübeck but extended from Cologne to Riga. It fostered the opening of *"counters"* in the ports of Bruges, London, Bergen and Novgorod. It thus dominated trade in this region until the beginning of the 16th century. In the South, the great mercantile families in Florence, Venice and, later, Nuremberg and Augsburg established trading links with the Ottomans and spread their branches to India and China (Marco Polo). Not only did they trade in goods; they also set up a banking system and began to provide finance for Kings such as Francis I of France and Emperor Charles V of Spain.

Three major events marked the arrival of modern times – the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492 and the Reformation. Thanks to another major event, the invention of printing, it also became easier to diffuse ideas.

## Intellectual and creative contributions

The Fall of Constantinople led to the end of the Byzantine civilisation and the collapse of it as the centre of orthodox religious life. Deprived of an intellectual and religious centre, Eastern Europe could no longer compete with Western civilisation. Moscow saw itself as the *"third Rome"* when, in the **15th century**, it became the new political and religious centre of orthodoxy. The exodus of Greek scientists to Italy led to the rediscovery and the diffusion of Ancient Greek culture on which the Renaissance was based.

Humanism, which placed people rather than religion at the centre of the universe, resulted from

the rediscovery of ancient texts by philologists. The writings presented an optimistic vision of the human being as having three independent dimensions (the soul, the mind and the body), making him capable of great individual achievements.

As a result, the genius of artists and their intrinsic value began to be recognised. From the **14th century** onwards, literature was no longer written solely in Latin but also in the national languages that were beginning to emerge. Among the writers of that time were Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. Intellectuals from all over Europe knew their works. Traces of them could be found two hundred years later in Shakespeare's sonnets. Italian culture influenced the whole of Europe. The German painter Albrecht Dürer travelled to Venice to study the Italian Masters. Meanwhile, French cuisine enjoyed great popularity thanks to the chefs from across the Alps who worked at the court of Catherine de Medici.

Located in Northern Italy and in the Netherlands, the mercantile towns, which were prosperous and which jealously guarded their freedoms, supported their artists. The papal court and the courts of sovereigns during the Renaissance competed with each other to attract the very best.

After a long period of prohibition by the Christian religion, banking developed and discoveries made by the Portuguese and Spanish seafarers paved the way for Europe's colonial expansion. This commercial and political domination was conducted under the guise of *"Christianisation"*.

With the great geographical discoveries and the establishment of colonial empires, the trade that had once focussed on the Mediterranean and Baltic seas went into decline. After the discovery of new trade routes to America and Asia, new powers emerged – Portugal, Spain and, later, France, England, Denmark, Sweden and Russia. Eastern Europe, with the notable exception of Russia, was not involved in colonisation because of its geographical position. Instead, it became a producer of agricultural products for markets in the West. For the same reason, these countries continued to uphold a feudal system and there was a certain degree of economic stagnation east of the River Elbe.

The countries of Western Europe spread their influence throughout the world and, as a result, enjoyed unprecedented economic development. They took decisions, directly or indirectly, that sealed the fates of people from other continents, leading to the African slave trade and the extermination of most of the native Americans.

Invented by Gutenberg in 1435, **printing** spread very quickly, leading to great upheavals. It contributed to a faster circulation of the written word and translations into national languages. Culture and scientific knowledge became more accessible. The father of Protestantism, Martin Luther, completed his German translation of the Bible in 1534 and asked people to read the word of God for themselves without using priests as intermediaries. This period also saw the beginnings of modern schooling; teaching was done in the **national language**. The view of the world fashioned by the Roman Catholic Church was shaken by the Reformation and by the scientific discoveries of men like Galileo or Copernicus.

Religious wars, dynastic wars and the birth of the modern State

The Renaissance saw the birth of nation States, national languages, religious conflicts and conflicts of identity. At the same time, it allowed for extraordinary cultural exchanges and the birth of a *"Literary Republic"* that extended far beyond national borders.

1492, the year in which Christopher Columbus reached America, coincided with the final victory of the "*Catholic kings*" over the Arabs in Andalusia and the end of the Reconquista in Spain.

After the expulsion of Muslims from Spain in the 16th century, the organization of pogroms and discriminations against the Jews, Muslims and even those (Jews or Muslims) who had converted to Roman Catholicism and their descendants, the **Religious Wars** erupted between Protestants and Catholics.

The motto of "cujus regio, ejus religio" ("as is the prince, so is the religion"), according to which subjects must take up their sovereign's religion, helped to pacify the continent but also caused massive movements of population, notably the exile of the Jews and Protestants from the Iberian Peninsula and from France towards the north and east. They also moved to some of the Ottoman territories. Much of the Jewish population and a significant number of radical Protestants found refuge in the Republic of Poland-Lithuania, the Protestant German principalities and in the Netherlands characterized for their tolerance owing to their national and religious diversity.

Thereafter, the Thirty Years War, in the territories of Central Europe that depended on the German Holy Roman Empire and that lay between the Baltic and the French frontier, was one of the major conflicts in modern Europe. Between 1618 and 1648, the Holy Roman Empire lost one-third of its population. Using religion as a cover for what was in fact a power struggle: The Kings of Sweden and France sought to weaken the all-powerful Hapsburgs who, at that time, reigned over the Netherlands, Austria and Spain. The kingdom of France even went so far as to sign an alliance with the Ottomans to achieve this goal.

The Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 marked the birth of international law. Lawyers such as Grotius and philosophers such as Leibniz and Pufendorf lay down the rules for international law, later developed by Abbé de Saint-Pierre and Emmanuel Kant in their writings on *"perpetual peace"*.

Weakened by the Thirty Years War and political division, modern Germany did not return to the coterie of great powers until the **18th century** with the rise of Prussia (Hohenzollern dynasty).

Again, these were wars between dynasties and not between people. Monarchies used two methods to extend their territories – alliances by marriage or the invasion of other principalities or kingdoms, generally legitimised by issues relating to inheritance.

Through marriages, much of Central Europe (e.g. Bohemia and Hungary) was integrated into the Hapsburg Empire. Italy, on the other hand, became the battlefield for a dogged fight between the French and the Hapsburgs for the domination of Europe.

These **rivalries between great dynasties of reigning monarchs** have marked modern history. After Venice and the Italian Republics in the 15th century, it was Hapsburg Spain that dominated Europe in the **16th century** since it had obtained considerable wealth from the discovery of America and its gold and silver mines. The King of France successfully fought this domination with the largest army ever seen at that time. As a result, in the **17th century**, all the courts in Europe ceased using the etiquette of the Spanish court and adopted the etiquette from the court of Louis XIV. For his part, the King of England, warred against Spain with his powerful Royal Navy and his privateers. In doing so, he gradually built a marine empire that was a forerunner of the Commonwealth.

The English Parliament, based on the tradition of the "magna carta" (1215), had its origins in a permanent meeting of clergy, the nobility and representatives of British towns and regions. Having been given greater power in 1679 with "habeas corpus", the Parliament established the rules for a Rule of Law destined to counterbalance any arbitrary actions taken by the monarch. British parliamentarianism was used as an example throughout Europe, mainly thanks to the writings of French philosophers during the Age of Enlightenment.

The Parliament of Poland-Lithuania, which envisaged equal participation by the King, Parliament and Senate in the legislative process, was based on similar traditions. As well as the States General of the United Provinces, which were proclaimed a Republic in 1588.

The German Holy Roman Empire had an equivalent institution in the Diet whose origins dated back to the 12th century. It consisted of prelates, princes and town representatives and it usually sat in Ratisbonne. However, it did not meet the criteria of modern parliamentarianism.

During the Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century, the king's "subjects" began to be considered as "citizens". The American Revolution in 1776 and the French Revolution in 1789 gave added impetus to this principle and republican ideas spread throughout Europe. For the first time, revolutionary France mobilised soldiers by "rising the masses" against monarchies in surrounding countries.

The German poet Goethe noted in his diary that the Battle of Valmy in 1792 marked the start of a new era (*"Hier und heute beginnt eine neue Epoche"*).

The battle was also a victory for the "*motherland*" threatened by armies consisting partly of mercenaries paid by foreign princes. The victory of revolutionary principles and universal values was thus related to the strength of national feeling against the enemy. Subsequent leaders of the revolutionary regime in France tried to export their political model and belief in emancipation throughout Europe and its colonial dependencies, supported by the Declaration of Human Rights and the Rights of the Citizen (1789).

Napoleon was both an embodiment and a rejection of this sentiment. On the one hand, through his numerous military successes, he gave Europe a civil law derived directly from Roman law -the famous "Napoleonic Code"- and was instrumental in the emancipation of the Jews and the birth of national feelings in Italy, Germany and Poland. On the other hand, at the same time, he aroused Spanish patriotism against the French occupying forces and the permanent expansion of the Napoleonic Empire. The whole of continental Europe was affected by the Napoleonic Wars, from Portugal to Russia (if only by the continental blockade).

Exiled to the island of St. Helena after his defeat at Waterloo in 1815, Napoleon dictated his memoirs to Las Cases. With the spirit of the Age of Enlightenment at the forefront of his mind, he declared himself to be in favour of the idea of Europe, putting forward the idea of a European university, the use of the Napoleonic Code as a European code, a single currency, the use of the same weights and measures throughout Europe and the introduction of European awards for science. However, this contrasted with his earlier attitude when, as head of the Empire, he had tried to unify Europe solely by force.

# 3 – The age of nations and the by-products of nationalism

The political revolution in the **19th century** was accompanied by, and fed on, the effects of the **economic revolution brought about by industrialisation**. England, France and Belgium were the first three States to be affected by this revolution. Thereafter, towns such as Manchester and industrial zones such as the Ruhr and Wallonia attracted an ever increasing numbers of workers.

The rural exodus began to change the countryside. Agricultural labourers left the villages to go and work in factories and mines, often in very bad conditions. There was a notable increase in the number of Poles and Italians in the factories of Northern Europe.

Progress in technology (the printing of newspapers then the creation of railways and the use of steamships and the telegraph) made communication easier. Thanks to the mechanisation of agriculture and the expansion of potato crops, the 19th century saw the end of the periods of misery or famine that had characterized everyday life in Europe during the previous centuries.

At the end of the 19th century, workers' movements were formed. Their claims ranged from simple reforms to proletarian revolution.

All the movements were organised on an international level. The leaders met each other. Political books were translated. Criticism of the capitalist economy by German philosopher Karl Marx and his colleague Friedrich Engels (expressed most clearly in the *"Communist Party Manifesto"* in 1848 and in *"Das Kapital"* in 1885) influenced the whole of Europe in a variety of ways.

## **Democracy** and nations

From the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, many people sought independence and national unity based on the ideas mooted during the French Revolution. It happened in Poland in 1830 and 1863, in Belgium and Greece in 1830, and in Italy and Germany in 1848. A general feeling of fraternity and solidarity, bound by a true European spirit, emerged amongst these nations fighting for democracy. In 1834, Giuseppe Mazzini founded the "Young Europe" organisation in Switzerland which had national sections in Italy, Germany and Poland. The French, Italians, Germans and Poles were only too willing to lend each other a hand. Mazzini dreamt of a Europe in which free "brotherly nations" would form a community. Fifteen years later, Victor Hugo declared his wish to see a "United States of Europe" during an international peace conference in Paris.

In the 19th century, France experienced significant immigration. Paris welcomed a large number of intellectuals from Central Europe, Spain and Italy. The repeated failures of the 1848 revolutions in Berlin, Vienna, Dresden and Poland also led to a large number of political exiles. As products of revolutions and wars of independence, the **new States** such as Italy and Germany cemented their national unity. Led by Prussia, for example, the Zollverein put in place the excise system and monetary union of Germany. This played a major role in the proclamation of the Second Reich in 1871. Stimulated by the industrial revolution, Germany actually had a larger population than France at the end of the 19th century.

In the Balkans, the period was marked by the gradual decline of the Ottoman Empire after Russian intervention helped Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Romania gain independence. After 1878, Austro-Hungary and Russia took the place of the previously dominant powers in the region. The idea of panslavism, promoting solidarity between all Slav peoples, gained popularity among the elite, led by Russia.

## The by-products of nationalism and imperialism

Throughout the **19th century**, European States competed with each other on every level, including military power. This is evident in the wars fought far from Europe in an attempt to extend colonial empires and, more especially, in the conflicts between European powers in the Balkans. Using a fairly unconvincing pretext, France declared war on Prussia in July 1870 and was defeated in Sedan on the 1st of September 1870. In January 1871, the German Empire was proclaimed in Versailles. Germany annexed Alsace and part of Lorraine. Forty-five years later, Europe was embroiled in the "*Great War*".

The First World War was a «European civil war».

The act that started the war was the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz-Ferdinand, in Sarajevo on 28th June 1914 by a Serb nationalist from Bosnia. The attack led to alliances that eventually opposed two coalitions of countries and took on a global dimension. The modernisation and improvement of weaponry (artillery, aviation, gas) caused damages and losses in human life on a scale never before seen (8 million deaths). This was the first *"total war"*. Major battles such as Verdun in 1916 (700,000 soldiers killed) remainded engraved in the people's memories and, in the post-war years, resulted in two diametrically opposed policies – a thirst for revenge and a desire for peace.

The entry of the USA in the war in 1917 ensured victory for the Allies. Europe suffered the consequences of this war throughout the first half of the 20th century: an economic decline accompanied by significant national debts and a political decline that resulted in dictatorships in almost every European country. Only a few countries were spared- such as the United Kingdom, France and Czechoslovakia.

The Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and 1920 imposed economic, territorial and military sanctions on the defeated countries (Germany, Austro-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria) that were, in many cases, considered to be unacceptable. The sanctions led to significant territorial changes to the map of Europe and the creation of new States (Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Austria).

The monarchy disappeared in Germany and Austro-Hungary, to be replaced by republics (Czechoslovakia) or authoritarian States (Hungary). Czarism also fell in 1917 as a result of the Russian revolution. Lenin seized power a few months later and established the first Communist State.

The Treaty of Versailles, which was supposed to ensure long-lasting peace in Europe, failed.

The League of Nations (LON) founded in 1920 and based in Geneva was unable to prevent the Second World War. Despite its universal purpose, it remained almost exclusively under

European influence because the USA refused to join, the USSR was excluded and the colonial system remained in place. Among its European members, some chose totalitarian systems shortly after it was founded. Mussolini seized power in 1922 and instigated fascism. This provided a benchmark for Hitler and other future dictatorships.

In 1929, the first global financial crisis hit the USA and subsequently affected the whole of Europe.

In 1933, after the electoral advances made by the Nazi Party, Adolph Hitler was appointed Chancellor by President Hindenburg, putting him at the head of the German government. Hitler soon took power into his own hands, banning political parties, persecuting minorities, setting up concentration camps for political opponents and establishing a racist regime.

After rapid rearmament which went against of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany annexed Austria in March 1938 and part of the Czech Republic in October 1938 before attacking Poland in September 1939 which triggered the Second World War. Following this military invasion, the United Kingdom and France declared war on Germany, putting an end to the *"appeasement"* policy they had implemented up to then in an effort to avoid a new military confrontation.

The results of the Second World War were horrifying for Europe and the world. Because of bombing raids over cities, summary executions, deportations and exterminations on a massive scale, the number of civilian victims exceeded the number of military victims.

Using the war as an excuse, the Nazi regime organised, in every region they occupied on the continent of Europe, the systematic extermination of people and groups designated as *"inferior"* by the regime. The victims, from all over Europe, were deported to death camps located mainly in the occupied territory of what is now Poland. Having set up Jewish ghettos, the Nazis decided, at the Wannabe Conference in January 1942, to apply the *"final solution"* to the Jewish problem. This led to the systematic extermination of millions of Jews and millions of other innocent victims.

The attitudes of other Europeans varied. Whilst some actively sought to help Hitler's victims, risking their lives; others remained totally passive. Then there were those who watched the tragedy of the Jews and other minorities with satisfaction, fed by a feeling of anti-Semitism and racism.

The development of forms of resistance against the occupation of Europe by the Germans and their allies, especially after 1941, further deepened the feeling of solidarity and encouraged support for a democratic culture, whatever country people came from.

The Soviets' involvement in the war was decisive in Europe. It contributed to an Allied victory. At the same time, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which had suffered painful losses as a result of military action and the brutality of the German occupation, found themselves after 1945, against the wishes of most of their citizens, under Soviet rule. After the Yalta Conference (1945), Soviet domination prevented these countries from being involved in the unification of Europe, a situation that was to last until 1989.

## 4 - A paradigm shift: a new structure for Europe

In the 1930's, the first concept of a European mind-set began to develop in the League of Nations where the future fathers of Europe met. Frenchman Jean Monnet worked there as an international civil servant and Belgian Paul-Henri Spaak became friends with Joseph Bech from Luxembourg. Frenchman Aristide Briand reached agreement with his German counterpart, Gustav Stresemann, on the Franco-German reconciliation.

In his speech delivered on 5th September 1929 to the assembly of the League of Nations and in his memorandum of 1930, Aristide Briand suggested the establishment of a *"federal link"* within a *"European community"*. He could foresee a European customs and excise union but hesitated on the means of limiting national sovereignty. The ideas discussed at the League of Nations were the direct source of the construction of Europe post 1945. The reconciliation process remained limited to the Western part of the continent. The League of Nations was dissolved in 1946 and its areas of competence transferred to the UN.

While numerous authoritarian and totalitarian regimes were being established in Europe, the most important being Stalin's USSR, intellectuals such as Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, Denis de Rougemont and Romain Rolland were seeking to design a European entity. In the inter-war years, they succeeded in spreading and maintaining the European idea among the economic and political elite but it did not at this point affect the general public.

While in exile in London and the USA certain Europeans, many of whom were closely involved in building the post-war Europe, began thinking about the future of Europe. The plan put forward in 1941 by General Wladyslaw Sikorski, Prime Minister of the Polish government in exile, was seen as the main diplomatic initiative. He foresaw a European community based on regional unions. His plan failed, mainly as a result of Soviet pressure. The signature of the agreement on the Benelux Union in London in September 1944 was the only real achievement during the war.

The relative unpopularity of the European idea during the Second World War could be explained by two factors – the discredit attached to the pacifist ideals of the inter war years, symbolised mainly by the failure of the LON, and the intensity of Nazi propaganda in favour of a New European Order, designed to encourage young Europeans to join up on the Eastern Front.

Contrary to this view, Resistance members in various different movements declared themselves in favour of a united democratic Europe. Among them were Frenchman Henry Frenay, Dutchman Hendrik Brugmans, Belgian Paul Struye, Italian Altiero Spinelli and German Helmuth Johannes von Moltke. Taking as their basis the 1941 Ventotene's Manifesto, the members of a circle of Resistants from several countries led notably by Altiero Spinelli, signed a manifesto in Geneva in 1944 in favour of a federal Europe. They then circulated the document as widely as possible. However, the project received little support from national Resistance movements.

Many of the pro-European Resistants came from the intellectual and cultural elite and in no way

represented a majority opinion in Resistance movements. The majority of their members were little inclined to consider a European entity. They were fighting mainly to remove occupying forces from their countries and re-establish national independence.

## Peace, prosperity and human rights

Europe became a battleground for American and Soviet influence after the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences where discussions focused on the borders of Poland, the occupying forces in Germany and the founding of the UN. The United Nations Organisation was actually founded at a conference in San Francisco in 1945, while the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in 1948.

European integration, limited to the Western part of the continent, began against the background of the Cold War and a fear of the gradual spread of Communism in Europe. As a result of this, it received support from the USA from 1947 onwards.

The Marshall Plan launched by the USA in 1947 proposed economic aid for Europe on condition that it showed political willing to achieve European unity. At the same time, it allowed for the setting up of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) in 1948 and the European Payments Union (EPU) in 1950. The EPU was a first step towards today's European monetary union.

The rejection of the plan by the USSR caused the long-lasting schism between Eastern and Western Europe. The Soviets answer to the OEEC was to bring the countries in which they exercised authority together under the umbrella of COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance). Founded in 1949, it included Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia. It initially started off as one Communist republic but it gradually spread to other Communist countries. In particular, it provided the USSR with justification for the exploitation of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe. It was dissolved in 1991, after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

In the military domain, the West set up NATO. The NATO Treaty was signed in 1949 on the initiative of the USA, creating a federation of most West European countries and Turkey with the USA at its centre. In response, eight Communist countries came together in 1955 under the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union's military instrument. Since the failure of the European Defence Community in 1954, a European army was never on the cards because most European countries remained linked to the Atlantic Alliance. This became more apparent after the former Eastern European countries became members of NATO in the 1990's.

The sponsors of the European idea came from all the main political groups – Christian, Liberal and Socialist. The main opponents of the European idea were to be found among the Communists, Ultraconservatives and Nationalists. However, the pro-European movement was split into Federalists who wanted immediate supranational integration and the Functionalists who aspired to gradual, pragmatic integration. It was the Functionalist trend that finally won the day.

The building of Western Europe began with confirmation of the values that so clearly marked the total break with the previous totalitarian regimes of Hitler and Mussolini, and Stalin in the USSR.

The creation of **the Council of Europe** in 1949, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 1950 and, most importantly, the setting up, for the first time in history, of a European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg marked the

start of the Western European countries' determination to work together, based on fundamental principles that became the basis for the building of the European community.

The three Western powers that subdivided the map of Germany into zones of occupation wanted to enable West Germany to integrate into the European democratic community. This is why the Federal Republic of Germany was set up in 1949. In return, the USSR decided to set up the Democratic Republic of Germany along Communist lines.

France's determination to **ensure long-term peace in Europe and a historic reconciliation with the Federal Republic of Germany** provided the basis of the Schuman Plan put together by Monnet. The plan led to the setting up of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951. The highly political, ambitious Pleven Plan to set up a European Defence Community (EDC) failed in 1954. The rejection of the EDC put an end to the project of a political Europe and, because of this, the pro-Europeans decided to relaunch the building of a European community based on economic integration.

In 1957, the Treaties of Rome (European Economic Community and EURARATOM) initiated the economic integration of Germany, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands into a European community.

From the outset, the treaties left the door open to other European countries wishing to join the community. This openness, which had also been part of the Marshall Plan, clashed with the Iron Curtain. The division of Europe into two blocks prevented the countries of Central and Eastern Europe from joining the movement to build a European community.

On the other hand, the countries of Western Europe gradually joined the group of the six founding countries of the EEC.

Not until 1989, a turning point initiated by the peaceful "Solidarnosc" revolution in Poland, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, was Germany reunified. These events also put an end to a divided Europe. While all the countries of Central Europe aspired to quickly join the Council of Europe then the European Union, their counterparts in the West feared for their own economic and social prosperity. The expansion of the European Union in 2004 was a strong political act that ended the injustices suffered by the countries in Central and Eastern Europe during the 20th century.

It was also a political choice for the future. A reunified, reconciled Europe could play a more important role on the world stage.

To clarify the criteria for membership of the EU, the European Council in Copenhagen reached a decision in 1993 on criteria by the same name. They were of a political order (stable institutions respecting the Rule of Law, democracy, human rights, diversity etc.), of an economic order (a stable, viable market economy that would be able to withstand the competition that would result from membership of the Single Market) and of an administrative order (the ability to integrate Community objectives in national legislation and to subscribe to the objectives of political, economic and monetary union). Moreover, the EU had to be able to integrate candidate countries from an institutional, political and budgetary point of view. These criteria are still used during current negotiations with potential new EU members.

During this period, South-Eastern Europe saw a return to historic conflicts that had been held at bay by the Cold War. The Wars of Independence in Yugoslavia (1991-1995), which involved Serbs, Slovenes, Croats and Bosnians, were still rooted in the nationalism of the 19th century. It was a shock for young people in Europe who had known nothing but peace since the end of the Second World War. The European Union took time to react to the new challenge but certain

Member States, in particular France, Germany and the United Kingdom, sought to limit the scope of the conflict despite initially having opposing points of view. The European Union thus realised the role that it had to play in ensuring the stability of the Balkan region.

## Conclusion: Europe at a crossroads

On the whole, the history of Europe has been mainly tragic for its citizens, even if it did lead to worthwhile exchanges and discussions in artistic and intellectual fields. People were frequently caught up in wars and invasions. Certain historians calculated that, until the 20th century, there was a war every seven years in Europe. In these conditions, **peace** was seen as an asset of inestimable value and a core reason for the creation of an organised Europe.

In the past, people often suffered famine at the same time as war. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, Europe had to import wheat. After 1945, products such as butter, sugar and coffee were distributed throughout Europe using a system of ration coupons. Little wonder that the launch of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in 1957 was welcomed so warmly. It was designed to maintain a price that was high enough to give farmers a decent income and establish self-sufficiency in food for Europe.

Likewise, the setting up of a European Common Market by the Treaty of Rome (1957) significantly increased the standard of living for people in Europe – admittedly not always fairly, either in time or space.

Since the 1950's, Europeans have set up organisations (The Council of Europe, UE, etc.) designed to end power struggles between States and replace them by on-going negotiations and shared sovereignty.

The decision-making process often seems long and hesitant in Strasbourg and Brussels but it is based on discussion and compromise.

The absence of war and self-sufficiency in food, however, are not enough to ensure a dignified life and a fair society. The guarantee of human rights, democracy and freedom of circulation has become the foundations of European policy. The Community method (i.e. replacing power struggles between States by on-going negotiations and shared sovereignty) is a paradigm shift that has changed Europe's destiny.

Today, Europe stands at a crossroads. A mere customs and excise union and an economic market do not require countries to share values or a political project. On the other hand, a political union, shared defence responsibilities and active citizenship cannot exist without these common values. These choices are even more important now that the world is undergoing profound change. Increasingly sophisticated technologies, borders that are no longer barriers, the emergence of new powers, demographic issues and the need for greater environmental protection have significantly changed the framework within which the European Union is developing.

## Part Two

## Building a European community and European values

History has helped us to understand why the rejection of nationalism, a philosophy that led to the tragedy of warfare, has encouraged Europe to implement a process of integration. However, the ideal of peace that has prevailed since 1945 is not reason enough to explain the objectives of a political construction. This desire depends on having confidence in the possibility of Europeans *"living together"* because they share a base of common values in spite of their diversities. This base is and will remain, an ideal, one might almost say a utopian idea because of all that it does not contain. However, it represents the Europeans' ability to give new life to the concepts of democracy, liberty, dignity and the Rule of Law, as pledged by the European Union in its Charter of Fundamental Rights.

Europe's identity is recognisable in its resonant set of values. They cannot be seen merely as a sum of parts; but as a harmony that is based on a conception of humanity.

The European identity is neither geographical, nor ethnic nor linguistic.

Despite the diversity of individual experiences, the values create a feeling of *"us"*: we Europeans share **a set of representations and ideas** that we consider to be important and desirable.

Part One, on the history of Europe, showed that cultural, social and political processes helped to form and develop shared values which feed the feeling of belonging to a community. Indeed, sharing a common history does not guarantee a desire to live together, and a reminder of history is not therefore enough to lay the foundations of true European citizenship.

Europe is also particular for its view of humanity, a **humanist view**, a confident, generous but demanding view that has enabled it to develop an amazing diversity. Europe is resolutely plural and it is unusual in its non-uniformity. This is how the *"Asian appendage"* as Paul Valéry called it, learnt to manage complexity. It became capable of mediation.

Emphasising the importance of values in the building of Europe is all the more meaningful given that most European citizenship is based on a joint desire to share a project – the political project of building a society which has to be based on sharing a certain number of fundamental principles.

#### The second section describes:

- 1 What are the values that are considered as some of Europe's major acquisitions, showing what makes them European and why they unite Europeans;
- 2 The importance of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, drafted in 2000 and amended in 2007, it is recognised by the treaties as having equal legal validity.

## 1-What values does Europe hold?

Since the beginning of the building of Europe after the Second World War, the founders emphasised their determination to reinforce respect for the values and principles that had been so ill-used by totalitarian and authoritarian regimes.

The values, which are listed below, were not established in 1945. They have built up slowly through the centuries as the entity we call *"Europe"* has developed. They are the result of many cultural and religious influences : Greek and Roman heritage, much of it passed on in Arab-Moslem philosophy; the Christian tradition with the links it has maintained with its Jewish origins; the Renaissance; the Reformation; the rationalism of the Age of Enlightenment and the positivism of the 19th century etc. All this is constitutes European thought patterns and lifestyle. It forms the common core of various cultures, arguably even of their *"civilisation"*.

In 1949, the statutes of the Council of Europe required Member States to uphold several of these fundamental values and, in 1950, the Council of Europe adopted the first major European text of the post-war period: **the European Convention on Human Rights**<sup>1</sup>. The solemnity of this text, the speed with which it was drafted and the date of its adoption reflect the importance that the founders of Europe placed on the statement of such principles. They established these concepts as a basis for the future.

The principles were recalled by Robert Schuman in his Declaration on the 9th of May 1950<sup>2</sup>, then (more briefly because by that time the values seemed to be self-evident) in the Treaty of Rome that set up the EEC and then again in later Treaties (Single Market, Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice).

The Treaty of Lisbon confirmed awareness of the need to clearly restate these values.

It specified that the European Union's values are those "of human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of people from minority groups. They are common to all Member States, in a society characterised by pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice and equality between men and women" (art.2 TFEU).

Respect for these values is a mandatory criteria for countries wishing to join the EU. Given that the values are written in the treaties, European institutions and Member States, when they apply EU law, are normally obliged to comply with them. This then gives competence to the European Union Court of Justice.

The main values are as follows:

## Freedom and responsibility, the foundation of democracy

Europe invented the ideas of citizenship and democracy in the days of Ancient Greece, which was then the cradle of civilisation<sup>3</sup>. Because citizens were free to exercise their powers of reasoning and sense of justice, they were capable of judgement and able to make appropriate political decisions. They were also capable of participating in city matters. This confidence in the ability of the people to make sound judgements, giving precedence to common good over individual interest, led to democracy. Such an invention was also based on the precept that, because citizens were free and responsible, they had the ability to set aside their family and social background and, through discussion with others, reach a conclusion on what was useful and what was damaging, what was fair and what was not fair for society. This being so, involvement in public life remains a fundamental principle for the exercise of democracy.

<sup>1.</sup> http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/fr/Treaties/Html/005.htm

<sup>2.</sup> Robert Schuman dans sa Déclaration du 9 mai 1950

<sup>3.</sup> Cf. the Chapter on "History"

## Solidarity, equal dignity for all, the rejection of exclusion

These values come to us from the notion that a person is forged by scholastic philosophy<sup>4</sup>. A person, unlike an individual human being, exists only through his relationships with other people. The notion of *"otherness"* becomes an absolute because a human being is a concept sufficient unto itself whereas a person has to open up to those known to him/her. To demand for hospitality, is almost utopian and is more often ignored than upheld, nevertheless it leads to a recognition of the values of solidarity, equal dignity for all, a rejection of exclusion and a search for fairness and social justice.

## Respect for the diversity of cultures and people

Although there cannot be respect for the person without acknowledging the universal rights of the individual, these rights alone are not enough to give a person an identity. It requires recognition of belonging to a specific culture. Although European civilisation can be proud of having developed universal human rights, it has also developed an amazing diversity of cultures for such a small geographical area. Moreover, traditionally within Europe, culture is intrinsically linked to well-being - the purpose for our actions. Any consideration of well-being is based on specific cultural values. Citizen involvement and social ties cannot develop in Europe if we forget the identity and history specific to each one of its populations.

Such values enable us to go beyond the abstract notion of individual liberty contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and accept that individuals only acquire an identity if they can live in a way that has a meaning for them. The values must enable us to avoid two excesses that constitute an on-going threat i.e. separatism, a synonym for the refusal of the universal, and egalitarianism, which is the enemy of cultural roots.

Europe does not have a monopoly on respect for human life. However, when we consider the requirements introduced by its current laws, it is clear that the **human being constitutes an absolute value** for Europe:

- A ban on the death penalty
- A ban on the carrying of weapons by citizens
- A restrictive approach to claims of self-defence

\* \*

Other characteristics deserve to be added to these mainly Humanist ideas e.g. respect for diversity, open-mindedness and a desire to learn about others. They have been features of the European attitude since the Antiquity and there is no doubt that they remain so today.

<sup>4.</sup> For example, St. Thomas Aquinas

## 2 - The European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights: a legal instrument to serve its values

The Charter is a summary of the values shared by EU Member States and, for the first time, it brings together in a single document all the traditional civil and political rights as well as economic and social rights.

Its aim is explained in the Preamble: "*it is necessary to strengthen the protection of fundamental rights in the light of changes in society, social progress and scientific and technological developments by making those rights more visible in a Charter.*"<sup>5</sup>

Having the same legal force as the treaties, it has acquired a binding legal effect over the institutions and Member States of the EU in the implementation of EU law. All the rights stated by the Charter may be invoked in national courts and in the European Union Court of Justice. It is now part of the major texts used in the building of Europe. As such, it should be taught in schools because every European citizen should know about it.

## Six main categories of rights defined by the Charter:

#### 1- Dignity

The first of these rights is dignity. This confirms the absolute value of each person, considered to be unique and irreplaceable. Such a concept forbids any authority to exercise absolute or damaging power over an individual:

- Right to life and banning of the death penalty,
- Right to physical and mental integrity,
- Ban on eugenic practices and reproductive human cloning (this would call into question the absolute value of each individual, seen as being unique),
- Ban on selling bodies etc.

## 2 - Freedom

This confirms the respect of the individuals personal beliefs, choice of lifestyle and the need for education in order to be able to exercise ones freedom:

- Respect for private and family life, rights for the family,
- Freedom of expression and information,
- Protection of personal data,
- Freedom of conscience, thought and religion,
- Right to education i.e. free provision of schooling, professional training and further education.
- etc....

## 3 - Equality

This category reflects a considerable advance in human rights in regards to the equal value of each individual:

<sup>5.</sup> Text of the Charter: http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:0389:0403:FR:PDF

- Right to non-discrimination on grounds of gender, race, ethnic or social origin, genetic characteristics, religion, wealth, disability, age, sexual orientation etc.
- Respect for cultural, religious and linguistic diversity,
- Equality between men and women with measures adopted in favour of the under-represented sex,
- Children rights,
- Right for the elderly to a dignified, independent life,
- Etc.

## 4 - Solidarity

If respect for diversity is one of the founding principles of Europe, unity is another, with its implicit requirement for solidarity. This category therefore underlines major advances in social rights:

- Workers right to information and advice,
- Protection in cases of unfair dismissal,
- Fair working conditions i.e. conditions that maintain the health, safety and dignity of the workers,
- Ban on children working until they reach the legal age to leave school,
- Right to parental leave,
- Access to services of general economic interest (i.e. public services),
- Protection of the environment,
- Consumer protection,
- Etc.

## 5- Citizenship

This relates to the implementation of real, active European citizenship thanks to:

- The right to vote to elect members of a European Parliament with its ever increasing powers, but also in the municipal elections
- The right to a European citizen initiative, enabling one million citizens in at least one-quarter of the Member States to call upon the Commission to submit a legislative proposal,
- The appointment of a European ombudsman,
- Etc.

## 6 - Justice

Introduction of laws to protect citizens against any injustice:

- Right of appeal,
- Presumption of innocence,
- Impossibility of serving two sentences for the same offence,
- etc.

This Charter is a manifestation of Europeans' ability to unite in recognising common values that support the building of a political Europe while respecting the diversity of individuals.

All the rights listed in it can be used by European citizens and must therefore be upheld by national judges and the European Union Court of Justice – EUCJ.

## Scope of the Charter

1) The Charter of Fundamental Rights is applicable to any **person** under the authority of the European Union, and not only to European citizens (except Section 6, which covers the rights

relating to citizenship and which only applies to citizens) ..

Note that the wording used is *"rights of the person"*. The authors of the Charter wanted to avoid the expression *"Human Rights"* which in some languages can be ambiguous with regards to women (i.e. In French 'les Droits de l'Homme')

2) The Charter applies to the acts of the EU's own institutions and agencies. Moreover, it applies to the acts of the Member States when they implement EU law.

Generally speaking, in all other cases, the acts of the Member States are covered by the Council of Europe's *"European Charter of Human Rights"* and therefore fall within the jurisdiction of the Court in Strasbourg.

In practice, however, the Charter will influence all the decisions taken by the EU and Member States. In fact, this is why the Treaty of Lisbon anticipates EU membership of the EUCHR so that the two legal documents (EUCHR and Charter) are interlinked and mutually strengthen each other.

3) Note that certain States (the United Kingdom, Poland and the Czech Republic) have decided not to abide by certain of the Charter's provisions. For reasons linked to their history, culture or specific interests, they have been granted certain waivers or the choice to *"opt out"*. However, the waivers are fairly limited in scope.

<sup>6.</sup> Note that States have opted out for different reasons and that their decisions relate to quite distinct points. In the case of the UK, the decision related to economic and social rights. Poland has not signed up to the rights of sexual minorities. And the Czech Republic has opted out to the provisions on property rights.

## 3 - A place for political decisions

Reading the previous section, you might imagine these values to be a smooth, coherent set of concepts underlining a clearly defined human ideal to which we would merely have to strive. In this ideal, however, there are a certain number of contradictions. Indeed the different values are mutually limiting, in order to prevent the abusive use of one of them to the detriment of another.

The contradictions are not obstacles; they are merely choices, decisions that we make depending on the time or the place. We should nevertheless be aware of them because these decisions form the basis on which Europe is building its model society. Here's an example:

## Dignity and freedom

"One person's freedom ends where another person's freedom begins". This is a well-known saying that clearly defines how the freedoms of different individuals living in the same society can coexist. However, this idea does not solve all the issues linked to the concept of freedom.

Apart from in relationships with other people, are there no limits? Can we do everything alone so long as we are not restricting anybody else's freedom? And what if there are several of us, all free and all in agreement?

This seemingly theoretical question does however require definite answers when the issues are, for example, racial comments, prostitution, blasphemy etc.

## Dignity is then seen as a concept that limits the use of individual freedom.

There is no clear definition of the concept of dignity. Generally speaking, it is an idea inherent to each individual, a quality specific to the essence of mankind, implying unconditional respect. However, it also implies that we cannot reject it. We are therefore not free to dispose of our dignity and we cannot invoke our concept of freedom if it impinges upon the dignity of another person.

It often implies choice. For example, when using freedom of speech, individuals go against human dignity. We then have to choose which of the two values is more important. This is a political choice that shapes the type of society in which we live.

# Is it more important to protect freedom of speech, even if individuals express hurtful opinions? Or is it more important to protect the individual sensitivity, at the risk of abusive censorship?

To sum up, the Charter of Fundamental Rights, like all the leading texts on principles and values, is on-going. There may be several ways of interpreting it. Not only can the respective weight of these values change in their relationship to each other, but the application of these major texts can vary. It is up to Europeans to decide whether these texts live or die.

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# **Part Three**

## **Europe as a Life Experience**

"All great historic events have begun as a utopian dream and ended as a reality". That is the opening sentence to Richard de Coudenhove-Kalergi's book, Paneuropa, published in 1923. At that time, this Austrian philosopher and geopolitics expert did not know that his suggestion, the unity of the continent of Europe, would be brought to fruition twenty-five years later and would continue to develop through a multitude of organisations that transcended and transformed the cultural, social, economic, legal, defensive and spatial realities of Europeans.

Supported by men and women as different as Konrad Adenauer, Aristide Briand, Winston Churchill, Alcide De Gasperi, Denis de Rougemont, Vaclav Havel, Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman and Louise Weiss, the union and cooperation between States and people in Europe was achieved through a large number of institutions. Some were set up to guarantee freedom and fundamental rights, like the Council of Europe (1949); or to ensure the free circulation of goods, capital and people, such as the European Coal and Steel Community (1952), the European Economic Community (1958) and the European Free Trade Association (1960). Others were designed to maintain peace and agreement between States, based on a common set of values. One such was the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1973), later renamed the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1995. The advance towards greater integration took a decisive leap forward with the creation of the European Union (EU) in 1995, whose aim was "*uniting in diversity*" all Europeans within a single economic, monetary and political entity which Jacques Delors called a Federation of Nation States.

The desire for European construction and cooperation was also formalised by the setting up of a number of regional organisations such as the Nordic Council (1952), the Benelux Treaty (1958), the Visegrad Group (1991) and the Council of the Baltic Sea States (1992). The crossborder cooperation agencies known as Euro regions have also had a part to play. The European Economic Area, which has included all the Member States of the European Union since 1994 as well as the countries that are members of the European Free Trade Association (except Switzerland), is part of Europe's response to economic globalisation. The sheer number and variation of European organisations reflect the difficulties involved in achieving unity. The first reason is the competitive nature of the projects - inter-State cooperation, federal States, or a federation of nation states. The second is the range of issues covered and public policies implemented – a free trade zone, a common area for freedom and fundamental rights, social and regional cohesion policies, a common agricultural policy, a cooperative aerospace industry etc. Moreover, the main treaties which aim to express the concept of European unity - the Treaty of London (creation of the Council of Europe in 1949), the Treaty of Rome (creation of the EEC in 1958), the Treaty of Maastricht (creation of the European Union in 1995) and the Treaty of Lisbon (confirmation of the EU's international role in 2009) - should not obscure the crises and failures along the way such as the rejection of the European Defence Community (1954) or the Treaty establishing a European constitution(2005).

All these stages in the construction of Europe are helping to create a destined community for all Europeans. Being part of this community means that we have to recognise what we have in common and what project is bringing us together, but it also implies the need for an active approach.

To achieve this, we have to learn how **European public life** operates. We have to acquire basic knowledge of the EU's institutions and **sectors of activity** and assess **what has been achieved** and what still remains to be done.

# 1 - Public life in Europe

It is the citizens who are building the European society of the future. However, a dynamic democracy presupposes that they are interested in public life and that they meet to obtain information, to understand issues, to institute debate and to influence political decision-making. European citizenship is a consecration of political, economic and social rights. It is one step above national citizenship.

### Representative, participative democracy

Being a European citizen means **exercising one's right to vote** and being able to stand as a candidate in two types of elections:

- local elections: any European citizen who has reached voting age is entitled to vote and be a candidate in local elections in his/her country of residence, subject to the conditions set by its respective country. For example, a Hungarian can vote to elect the mayor of the Cypriot town where he has taken up residence and can be a candidate in the town's local elections.
- elections for the European Parliament : any European citizen who has reached voting age can vote and be a candidate in European elections. Since 1979, EU citizens have elected politicians to represent them in the European Parliament every five years. Although they are elected nationally, Members of the European Parliament are still in transnational political groups. The European Parliament thus expresses the democratic will of some 500 million Europeans.
- The **Treaty of Lisbon** (which took effect in December 2009) introduced elements to encourage **citizen participation** in the democratic life of the European Community:
- Owing to the **citizens' initiative right**, European citizens can call upon the European Commission to submit a legislative proposal once they have collected one million signatures from at least a quarter of the Member States. The establishment of this right gives associations the ability to play an eminent role in the exercise of European citizenship.
- it recognised the importance of **consultation** and **dialogue** between organisations in civil society and EU institutions (particularly the European Commission).

Everyone living in the EU, regardless of whether or not they hold citizenship from one of its Member States, have common economic and social rights, notably through the Charter of Fundamental Rights adopted in December 2000 (see the Section on "Values").

- Social rights: every resident of a Member State can, for example, travel throughout EU territory to look for work, even after he/she has become unemployed. Residents are also entitled to the same health cover as a citizen of the Member State in which they are living.

Another example of this is that all women can benefit from the same advantages as men in their professional life with regards to training, salaries or fees, and have access to positions of responsibility. The exercise of these European social rights comes, however, with restrictions. Any citizen can be a civil or public servant in his/her State of residence but only in areas of employment that do not affect its sovereignty (justice, security, Army etc.). Moreover, a European citizen must also prove his/her ability to meet his/her own needs before settling in another EU State.

- Economic rights: any resident can buy something in any Member State and sell it in any other, without paying customs duty or being limited as to the quantity. Residents who are self-employed can set up businesses in any Member State. Any entrepreneur can establish subsidiaries anywhere in the EU where he/she considers that the conditions are right for the expansion of a business and can transfer unlimited capital to these subsidiaries. He/she can also borrow from a financial institution in another European State at locally-established rates. Economic operators are entitled to be treated without discrimination by the public authorities in any Member States when going about their professional business.

All the political, economic and social rights of any residents of the European Union can be defended in the EU Court of Justice. Any resident can file a complaint with the European ombudsman regarding administrative difficulties with European institutions.

All these opportunities in the Treaty of Lisbon allow citizens to be more closely involved in decision-making throughout Europe but they only really have an effect if they help to promote the European dimension within national democracies on a day-to-day basis.

## Civil society organisations

Civil society organisations (associations, movements, lobby groups etc.) add to the democratic vitality of the EU. They have significant room for manoeuvre and can take part in drafting and influencing decisions.

Mobilising players from civil society provides an opportunity to exchange national views on Community issues. The representatives of civil society are also specialists, experts in their field who explain what particular aspects owe to history, social and political traditions. Through its action, an organised civil society encourages the exercise of open democracy.

The associations working with youth and education, and the NGOs with a social, educational, environmental or cultural vocation are present in Brussels through European platforms which are in permanent contact with the European institutions.

Thus the European Commission frequently launches **public consultations** on a number subjects (e.g. consumer protection, mobility, environment, health etc.) before proposing new legislation. These consultations give rise to "*Green Papers*" then "*White Papers*", which take into account the recommendations that have arisen from these consultations.

When it mobilises on a given issue, civil society can therefore help to influence decisions. Environmental protection organisations and the chemicals industry lobby group were crucial in the case of the **REACH regulations** (a system of registering, testing and authorising chemical substances). This is one of the legislations that has arisen some of the greatest controversy in the history of the European Union. Industrial, unionist and environmental lobbies confronted each other over a considerable period of time to uphold their positions. Since being brought into effect in 2007, a European agency now monitors the marketing of chemical products and it is up to the industrialists to prove that their products are not dangerous.

#### A few websites about civil society organisations

www.forum-civil-society.org	Permanent forum of European civil society
www.youthforum.org	European Youth Forum
www.socialplatform.org	Platform for European NGOs in the social sector
www.beuc.eu	European consumers organisation
www.solidar.org	European and global network in the field of social justice
www.eapn.eu	European Anti-Poverty Network of associations fighting poverty and social exclusion

## Social partners

**Social partners** participate in social dialogue through their European federations: the European Trade Union Confederation, the employers' organisation *"BusinessEurope"* and the European Centre for Public Employers and Services of General Interest.

- the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), set up in 1973, represents most national confederations and trade union federations within the EU and in certain third party countries. It coordinates their work on a European level.

Other trade union structures operate under the aegis of the ESC e.g. Euro cadres, the European Federation of Retired and Elderly Persons (EFREP/FERPA), Uni Europa and a number of Inter Regional Trade Union Councils (IRTUC). *www.etuc.org* 

- BusinessEurope (The Confederation of European Business), founded in 1958 under the name of "Union of European Community Industries", represents employers' organisations in the EU and certain third party countries. www.businesseurope.eu

- European Centre of enterprises with public participation and of enterprises of general economic interest (CEEP), founded in 1961, represents the interests of public entities and public or private companies providing services of general economic interest. *www.ceep.eu* 

It was in 1985, with the launch of the bipartisan social dialogue between trade unions and employers promoted by **Jacques Delors**, then President of the European Commission, that social dialogue on a European scale developed into a real negotiating arena.

The treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam strengthened the position of social partners on the European stage and European social dialogue became an essential part of the **European social model**. Parental leave, part-time work and fixed-term contracts are examples of directives that have resulted from European social dialogue.

The Treaty of Lisbon strengthens the conditions relating to social dialogue. It recognises, for example, **the tripartite social summit on growth and employment which** brings together representatives from the European Commission, the European Council and social partners.

The European Economic and Social Committee, which represents social partners and civil society, and the Committee of the Regions composed of local politicians from various Member States, are also involved in social dialogue.

Given the importance of European legislation in the economic sector, the social partners, the Chambers of Agriculture and the Chambers of Commerce and Industry all have European delegates, as do major associations, leading companies, educational districts and research centres. In addition to these professional bodies or lobbies, any citizen can contact neighbourhood information centres that are run by institutions or associations.

## Local information centres and places for debate on Europe

The Youth Information Centres throughout Europe are linked through **Eurodesk** (*http://www.eurodesk-france.org/*), a network providing information on the possibilities offered by Europe to its young people.

The European Commission accredits and supports hundreds of **Europe Direct information centres** (http://ec.europa.eu/europedirect/index\_fr.htm) in all the Member States.

Some thirty centres known as 'Maisons de l'Europe' have been set up throughout France. They are coordinated by the 'Fédération française des Maisons de l'Europe' – FFME (*www. maisons-europe.eu*).

They provide information, host public debates, organise special events and educational events and, from time to time, give courses on Europe.

In France, there are many associations and think tanks focusing on Europe and working on a daily basis to explain and instigate debate on current European policies and issues. "La Représentation permanante de la France auprès l'Union européenne" lists the main ones on: www.rpfrance.eu/spip.php?rubrique174

"Le Mouvement Européen France" also lists member associations working to promote the building of Europe: http://www.mouvement-europeen.eu/-Associations-nationales-membres-

The French government and private sponsors support a comprehensive educational **website** on European Union news on: *www.touteleurope.fr*. Other European information sites that are also active such as: *www.euractiv.fr*, *www.cafebabel.fr* 

There is a **TV** channel specialising in European issues called Euronews (*http://fr.euronews. net/*). The Franco-German channel ARTE (*http://www.arte.tv*) also broadcasts a wide range of programmes on Europe from an intercultural perspective. Thanks to their correspondents in Brussels, Strasbourg and the main European capitals, numerous media outlets in Member States keep a permanent watch on European affairs.

# 2 - European organisations: The Council of Europe and the European Union

Europe has been in existence for a long time; it has a history stretching back several centuries. The **building of Europe**, however, i.e. the setting up of organisations that bring unity to States and bring European people together, is recent. It only dates back to the years which followed the Second World War.

Europe has not always been a peaceful, prosperous region and the success of the building of Europe deserves to be pointed out. It is an important legacy and we are responsible for it.

The determination to end the incessant conflict between Europeans led to the setting up of a number of organisations based on cooperation. Of these, the two most significant because of their general competence and their political dimension are the Council of Europe and the European Union, the latter undoubtedly being the most important and best-known of all the European organisations.

## The Council of Europe

Set up in 1949, shortly after the Second World War, this first European organisation<sup>7</sup> was designed to strengthen and protect the principles of a new Europe turning its back on war and all forms of totalitarianism.

It was an international, *"intergovernmental"* organisation because it took decisions only after unanimous agreement from each Member State. In 1950, it adopted the **European Conven**tion on **Human Rights**, a text of significant importance which sets out the principles of a democratic, humanistic Europe. The EU has had to adhere to the Convention since the Treaty of Lisbon came into effect.

The European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) is part of the Council of Europe but is independent, like any other Court. It was set up to apply the laws of, and ensure compliance with, the European Convention on Human Rights.

Its case law has had a considerable influence in Member States over the past sixty years. For example, it was behind the banning of the death penalty in European countries.

The Council of Europe also works to encourage cultural diversity, multiculturalism, inter cultural dialogue, the teaching of foreign languages, respect for minorities etc. It has helped to bring legal systems in the various Member States closer together, ultimately working towards aligning their legislation.

<sup>7.</sup> The Council of Europe should not be confused with the European Council which is an institution of the European Union. It brings together the Heads of State and Government of the EU's 27 Member States.

The Council of Europe has its offices in Strasbourg. In 2011, its membership included 47 States including the 27 EU States as well as Ukraine, Russia etc.

In regards to human rights, the European Union Court of Justice (cf. below) has always been careful to base its decisions on the case law established by the court in Strasbourg, even if it was not obliged to do so.

www.coe.int

## From ECSC to EU

Whatever the work undertaken by the Council of Europe, it remains an intergovernmental organisation. This is why the supporters of a united Europe deemed it appropriate, in 1950, to set up a more integrated organisation. They defined a supranational structure that would make it impossible to have a new war.

They began with the **European Coal and Steel Community** (ECSC), an idea first put forward by Jean Monnet and launched by Robert Schuman in his declaration of the 9th of May 1950<sup>8</sup>. The aim was to create a common market for coal and steel (two key resources of the economy of the day) mainly in order to control weapons production. It was premised by a principle set out by Robert Schuman: "Europe will not be achieved at a single sweep, nor through a sweeping overall construction; it will be achieved through concrete steps that begin by establishing de facto solidarity".

Even if the area of competence may seem fairly limited today, it was the first time that States (in 1951, Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) freely attributed part of their sovereignty to a supranational institution, the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community - the ancestor of today's' European Commission.

With a view to expand the relevant fields, and following the failure of a project for a European Defence Community (EDC), the European Economic Community was established by the Treaty of Rome in 1957. It reaffirmed the principle of political integration. However, the treaty was concerned first and foremost in setting up a common market that would later become a Single Market. Its purpose was to encourage the free circulation of goods, services, capital and people. As far as people were concerned, the signature of an agreement setting up the" *Schengen Area*" in 1985 made it simpler for people to travel from one Member State to another. On 1 January 2011, not all EU Member States were signatories of the agreement. Some, like the UK and Ireland, did not wish to sign, while others were not yet accepted (Bulgaria, Romania, Cyprus). On the other hand, some non-member countries (Norway, Iceland and Switzerland) had signed the agreement.

The process of integration continued with the adoption of several treaties by Member States:

- 1986: signature of the Single Act (date of effect: 1987)

The aim of the Single Act was to establish the Single Market. It also introduced new areas of competence.

- 1992: signature of the Maastricht Treaty (date of effect: 1995)

The Treaty of Maastricht creates the EU and divides its structure in **three pillars**. One supranational pillar - the European Communities - and two *"intergovernmental"* pillars - common foreign and security policy (CFSP) and cooperation between police forces and justice systems in combating serious crime (Eurojust).

- 1997: signature of the Treaty of Amsterdam (date of effect: 1999)

The Treaty of Amsterdam widens the EU's areas of competence and consolidates its social dimension. It gives greater powers to the European Parliament.

<sup>8.</sup> This is why Europe Day is now celebrated on 9th May.

#### - 2001 : signature of the Treaty of Nice (date of effect: 2003)

With the future membership of a dozen countries from Central and Eastern Europe in view, the Treaty of Nice's objective is principally to improve the working of the institutions. It was only partly successful.

#### - 2005 : failure of the Treaty to establish a European Constitution

Since many Member States are not satisfied with the Treaty of Nice, a Convention on the Future of Europe is implemented. In 2003, It leads to a draft of a European Constitution that is not adopted because France and the Netherlands vote against it.

#### - 2007: signature of the Treaty of Lisbon (date of effect: 2009)

After the failure of the Constitutional Treaty, an intergovernmental conference was convened to draft the Treaty of Lisbon, which included large sections of the rejected text.

The Lisbon Treaty is like all the previous treaties (with the exception of the Constitution which represented an entirely new text) a Reform Treaty: it is solely made up of amendments of previous texts. After ratification of the Treaty, these amendments were consolidated, that is to say, transposed in the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

The EU had 27 Member States<sup>9</sup> in 2011, after six successive extensions.

## European Union institutions under the Lisbon Treaty

The unusual institutional structure of the EU created by the various treaties that have followed the Treaty of Rome (1957), can be explained by the desire to reconcile the different objectives and interests of Member States. Furthermore various political and economic crises have sometimes hindered the progress towards a greater integration.

Following the order determined in the Treaty of Lisbon to describe the various institutions within the EU, we shall look at:

- the European Parliament,
- the European Council,
- the Council,
- the European Commission,
- the Court of Justice,
- the European Court of Auditors.
- the European Central Bank,

www.europa.eu

#### The European Parliament

The European Parliament (EP) is made up of of **MPs** elected by proportional representation and direct universal suffrage every five years by citizens in each of the Member States. The Treaty of Lisbon restricts the European Parliament to 750 members and one president (a total of 751 members) to avoid debates becoming impossible. This clause will apply from the next election onwards.

The groups that form within the EP after the European elections cover the full spectrum of political tendencies present in the EU. Thanks to the European Parliament, citizens are not only represented by their national governments on the Council but also by politicians chosen on the basis of their political affinities and not their nationality.

<sup>9.</sup> Member States by order of entry in the EEC and European Union: France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, 1973: Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom; 1981: Greece; 1986: Spain, Portugal; 1995: Austria, Finland, Sweden; 2004: Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Cyprus; 2007: Bulgaria, Romania.

Since its election by universal suffrage in 1979, the European Parliament's powers have continued to grow. For example,

- it shares legislative power on an equal footing with the Council. The ordinary legislative procedure (formerly known as the Codecision procedure) has become the generalized procedure. It covers most areas, not only the internal market but also areas concerning freedom, security and justice,
- it also shares budgetary powers on an equal footing with the Council, henceforth, on all EU spending,
- it approves or disapproves the European Council's choice of President of the Commission, it auditions future members of the Commission, accepts or rejects as a whole the new Commission,
- it can sanction the European Commission by a vote of no confidence , which, if approved, has to resign collectively.

The Treaty of Lisbon, which consolidated this process, also strengthens the role of national parliaments. They must comply with the *"principle of subsidiarity"*<sup>10</sup> under which the EU can only intervene in the areas in which it has greater efficiency than Member States. National parliaments can therefore contest European legislation based on this principle.

The challenge facing the European Parliament is to create a sense of trust between the EU and Europeans.

www.europarl.europa.eu

#### The European ombudsman

The post of European ombudsman was established by the Treaty of Maastricht. The first ombudsman was elected by the European Parliament in 1995 and, like the Parliament, the ombudsman has a 5-year mandate. His/her role is to act as an intermediary between a citizen and European institutions. Any company, association or other body having its statutory head office on EU territory can also call upon his/her services. *www.ombudsman.europa.eu* 

#### The European Council

The European Council brings together **Heads of State and/or Government**, in other words, the highest political authorities in Member States, its President and the President of the Commission. As specified in the Treaty of Lisbon, it *"gives the European Union the impetus required for its development and defines the guidelines and general political priorities"*. In fact, it does not have a legislative function. It is the Council of Ministers (cf. below) which deals with the legislation.

One major innovation was introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon: the creation of the function permanent **President of the European Council**. Appointed by the European Council under a system of a qualified majority for a period of two-and-a-half years, he can only hold office twice.

There is no hierarchy - The President of the European Parliament, the President of the European Council and the President of the European Commission all have an equal status.

The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, also instituted by the Treaty of Lisbon – shares with the President of the European Council the duty of representing the EU externally. This *"Minister of Foreign Affairs"* also holds the position of Vice-President of the Commission.

www.european-council.europa.eu www.european-council.europa.eu/the-president.aspx?lang=fr

<sup>10.</sup> Cf. section on the EU's areas of competence.

## The Council of Ministers

The Council was set up by the Treaty of Rome. Each Member State has one representative at ministerial level per Eu sector of activity. Its decision-making process by qualified majority will evolve. Currently, each member state has a certain number of votes, weighted according to its demographic and economic importance. A qualified majority is acquired with 255 votes out of a total of 345 and the majority of Member States. The Lisbon Treaty introduces a double majority system. A motion cannot be accepted unless it had received a favourable vote from 55% of the Member States corresponding to at least 65% of the EU's population. This system will be used from 2014, or 2017.

Unlike the European Parliament and the European Commission, the Council of Ministers allows Member States to express their points of view.

The Council

- adopts European legislation jointly with the European Parliament,
- adopts the EU's budget together with Parliament,
- concludes international agreements, coordinates the economic policies of the Member States,
- develops safety and Foreign policy.

The **Eurogroup**, headed by an elected president, brings together the finance ministers of the eurozone (euro area). Its decisions are finalized in the Economic and Financial Affairs Council.

Every six months, one EU Member State takes over the presidency of the Council of Ministers. This system gives every country a chance to play a major role on the European and international

stage.

www.consilium.europa.eu

#### The European Commission

Created by the Treaty of Rome, it is an institution unique in the world. The college comprises of 27 **commissioners from the 27 Member States** proposed by the States and invested by the European Parliament. Of the 27 individuals, the president of the European Commission is put forward by the European Council and, taking into account the results of the European elections, is elected by Parliament. The Lisbon Treaty allows for the number of commissioners to be reduced unless the European Council unanimously decides otherwise. This was the case in 2009 in order to meet with Irish concerns following a no vote in the Irish referendum on the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty.

Once appointed, the Commissioners express themselves and take decisions on behalf of the EU. This means that they do not represent their original country. Each one exercises a mandate with the assistance of the various Directorates-General.

The **High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy**, who holds the Office of Vice President of the Commission, shares with the President of the European Council the external representation of the EU. He conducts foreign policy, security and defense policy and chairs the Foreign Affairs Council.

The Commission's main tasks are the following:

- to further integration owing to its virtual monopoly of the right of (legislative) initiative,
- to ensure the correct application of Community law by the Member States,
- to monitor that companies abide by the rules of competition law and verify that national aid granted to companies is compatible with Community law,

- to implement the Unions budget, manage the structural funds and EU programmes,

- to represent the EU in international organizations.

www.ec.europa.eu

#### The European Union Court of Justice

Upholding the law is of particular importance in a process designed to eradicate authoritarianism and arbitrary decision-making. Rules create obligations, not only for citizens but also for Member States and for the EU itself.

The Court of Justice (the supreme judicial authority of the EU), which is based in Luxembourg, ensures effective and coherent implementation of the law.

It enjoys truly supranational power in its defence of the respect of European law and in its interpretation and application of treaties. Cases can be brought before it by a Member State, an institution, an individual or a corporation. It can also be consulted by national courts for the correct interpretation of a given EU decision or action.

Since it came into being in 1952, the Court has played an extremely important role in drafting European law based on the notion of general European interests. It has often been innovative, for example in its efforts to promote gender equality. It has also made a substantial contribution in the drafting of the law on competition.

www.curia.europa.eu

#### The European Court of Auditors

The Court of Auditors, established in 1975, monitors the execution of the EU budget. It examines the legality and regularity of all revenue and expenditure and ensures good financial management.

The Court documents its findings and recommendations in its annual report and its special reports, covering specific areas. On the basis of these reports, the European Parliament grants, pospones or refuses the discharge of the budget to the Commission. *www.eca.europa.eu* 

#### The European Central Bank (ECB)

Set up in 1998, it manages the single European currency, the Euro, introduced in 1999. By 2011, seventeen Member States had given up their national currency in favour of the Euro. Its independence is guaranteed by European treaties. However, the Treaty of Lisbon underlined, in 2009, that its main objective was to maintain price stability and, without prejudice to this aim, to support the EU's general economic policies in accordance with the principle of an open market economy in which competition is unrestricted.

The ECB should not be confused with the European Investment Bank (EIB) which was founded to provide loans to fund public and/or private projects useful to the economic development of the EU and its Member States.

## Consultative bodies

Without being recognised as *"institutions"* per se, two consultative bodies play a major role in the democratic life of the EU: - the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions.

### European Economic and Social Committee (EESC)

Set up in 1957 when the Treaties of Rome were signed, the EESC is a consultative body whose members, appointed for five years, represent employers, trade unions and interest groups. Together they make up the "organised civil society".

The Committee includes three groups – for employers, salaried workers and miscellaneous sectors.

Its main purpose is to fulfil a **consultative function** for the European Commission, European Parliament and Council of the EU with regard to political projects by making use of the expertise and practical experience of its members.

It can also express opinions on other topics, either on its own initiative or at the request of other EU institutions.

The EESC, which claims to be a melting pot for new ideas, is the leading place for socialisation between all the socio-professional categories in Europe. *www.eesc.europa.eu* 

#### Committee of the Regions (CR)

Founded by the Treaty of Maastricht in 1994, its aim is to bring local and regional bodies together in a decision-making process at EU level. Its members are the **heads of regional and local authorities**, appointed for five years by the EU Council using a system of qualified majority and whose names are put forward by the Member States.

The CR has to be consulted before making any EU decision on issues affecting local and regional powers e.g. regional policy, the environment, education and transport. It gives its opinions in the same way as does the EESC.

This body has a twofold purpose. It acts as a relay for the EU in local networks and it carries the opinions of politicians who are close to their constituencies back up to a European level. *www.cor.europa.eu* 

Most of the regions are represented in Brussels, individually or collectively, to defend their interests in European institutions.

# 3 -European Union areas of competence and decision-making processes

## The European Union's areas of competence

A complex mechanism divides the areas of competence between the EU and Member States. The Treaty of Lisbon introduced some important clarifications in this respect.

Generally speaking, there are three areas of competence:

#### Competence exclusive to the EU

These areas are, for example, the customs union, the common commercial policy or the monetary policy for the Member States in the Euro zone. The EU can legislate in these areas whilst Member States cannot unless mandated by the EU.

#### Shared competence

This is the case, for example, of the Single Market, the environment, energy, agriculture, freedom, security and justice. In these areas, the States can legislate like the EU. However, if the EU exercises its competence in a shared area, the States cease to do so and cannot begin taking action again until the EU has waived its rights in the matter.

#### Support

In the case of culture, tourism and education, for example, the EU intervenes to coordinate or complete the action of Member States, without harmonizing legislation.

The Treaty of Lisbon contains a comprehensive list for each category of competence. It also specifies **three major principles**:

#### The principle of attribution

The principle of attribution regulates **delimitation**. The EU can only intervene (notably in the sense of legislating or taking mandatory decisions) in those areas of activity that have expressly been **attributed** to it in treaties. However, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of areas, without always having made the necessary modification to the treaty.

In the same way, the Court of Justice has recognised that, when the EU has competence internally, it may also exercise this competence externally to give consistency to its policies.

Since the Treaty of Rome, **the EU's areas of competence have been extended** and its specific powers have been reinforced.

#### The principle of subsidiarity

This principle came into European Constitutional Law with the treaties of Maastricht then Amsterdam. It introduces the fact that the EU can only intervene if the objectives of a potential action cannot be satisfactorily achieved by the Member States and if an action at European level actually provides a better outcome. The Treaty of Lisbon strengthened this principle because of the power it granted to national parliaments to monitor compliance.

#### The principle of proportionality

It implies that EU action must not exceed, in form or in content, what is required of the treaty to achieve its objectives. The EU must not, therefore, adopt measures that are more restrictive and/ or more detailed than what is strictly necessary in order to achieve the objectives of legislation.

Last but not least, it is evident that, whatever the form or level of involvement, the European Union plays a role in almost every domain. Indeed, a certain number of specific policies have been established, such as the Common Agricultural Policy, the Social Policy, the Energy Policy etc. This booklet cannot describe them all in detail or the issues that each of them have been designed to overcome. Websites providing information on the EU include detailed documentation. The final appendix of this booklet lists the areas, with the exception of external action, in which the European Union intervenes and shows the scope of the EU's field of action.

## Decision-making processes in the European Union

Although it is important to know about the European institutions and the EU's fields of action, this is not enough to understand the mechanisms and principles that underlie the adoption of the varied decisions made on a daily basis.

Two types of logic, the supranational and the intergovernmental, co-exist at a European level. The Intergovernmental logic refers to decision-making that respects the principle of national sovereignty while the principle of supranationality corresponds to a representation of interests that exist beyond the national level. The way in which certain laws are adopted depends, among other things, on whether the issues are considered to be more supranational or more intergovernmental in character.

Over the years, an increasing number of sectors have been integrated and the Treaty of Lisbon helped to clarify the decision-making processes.

#### Ordinary legislative procedure

The idea of the ordinary legislative procedure, previously called the *"co-decision procedure"*, is based on absolute equality between the Council and Parliament. In this procedure, the Commission initially proposes a legislation which is put forth to the two institutions, who then reach an agreement on the final draft.

#### The budgetary procedure

In the budgetary procedure, Parliament and the Council decide in equal partnership on all the expenditures in the EU 's budget. However it is the Council that decides on its own resourses, after consulting Parliament.

#### The assent procedure

In the assent procedure, the European Parliament plays a less significant role than in the codecision procedure, although it remains far from negligible. This procedure requires Parliament to agree to the draft forwarded by the Council but it does not have the power to change it.

#### Consultation procedure

In the consultation procedure, Parliament's power is even weaker. It acts solely as a consultative body and there is no requirement to take its opinion into account.

## The open method of coordination

This method (MOC) has no legal basis. It corresponds to a purely intergovernmental process of coordination. It was introduced to enable Member States to coordinate certain policies without complying with restrictive standards.

#### Enhanced cooperation

The principle of enhauced cooperation was introduced in response to the challenges arising from the increasing number of Member States and the difficulty of reaching a compromise in areas that require unanimity. This mechanism can be used to establish cooperation in a specific area, even if all the States do not wish to participate. Enhanced cooperation develops within the institutions and is possible in all areas except those which fall within the exclusive competence of the EU. It is approved unanimously by the Council . It has been criticized because of the risk of dividing the EU but the underlining idea remains that cooperation will gradually attract States that were initially reticent

http://europa.eu/lisbon\_treaty/index\_fr.htm

# 4 - European Union Achievements

Building a political, economic and social Europe has resulted in a number of achievements that every European citizen can benefit from today. From agriculture to transport, from trade union law to healthcare and from consumer protection to cross-border payment methods, the list is long. Here are a few examples, from among the most representative of these achievements.

## Mobility and training

In the 11th and 12th centuries, a certain mobility already existed in Europe among tradesmen and students. Continuing with this tradition, the EU has developed programmes accessible to everyone, especially the young. They have been designed for school pupils, students, trainees, young volunteers, teachers, trainers and artists. They lead to a vocational qualification while developing an awareness of Europe that is difficult to acquire if one remains at home.

This general effort that is being made in Europe to improve the level of education found, in the **Bologna Process**, a framework within which we could develop. Launched in 1999, the process aims to promote exchanges between universities (students, teaching staff and researchers) and bring the university systems closer together by using common standards of reference. It has led to the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) and a common system of credits for courses of study, the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS). In all, it has promoted the widest possible mobility for students.

#### Erasmus

The European programme made famous by "L'Auberge espagnole", Cédric Klapisch's cult film ("Euro Pudding" or "The Spanish Apartment" in English), has lead, in just over twenty years, to more than two million European students moving away from their national campuses. In 2011, thirty-one countries were involved in the programme and it has contributed in innovating teaching and training methods, new services to assist students, as well as research and cooperation between universities and the business sector. Teachers and other staff in higher education establishments can also take advantage of the Erasmus programme. For many of those who have benefited from it, the exchanges help to develop a European citizenship that is still in its infancy. With "Erasmus Mundus", it has widened the horizon of European universities still more by attracting to Europe promising young minds from all four corners of the globe. http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc80\_fr.htm http://www.europe-education.fr/erasmus.php

http://www.europe-education-formation.fr/erasmus-mundus.php

#### Leonardo da Vinci

While Erasmus focuses on universities, this programme focuses on the needs of people involved in vocational training and education. It promotes work experience, apprenticeships or lifelong learning in other European countries. It has diverse objectives – improving personal skills, knowledge and abilities by spending a period of time in a foreign country and helping to achieve cooperation between training agencies on a transnational level.

http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc82\_fr.htm http://www.europe-education-formation.fr/leonardo.php

#### Comenius

This is the least well-known of the programmes but is far from the least important. Its aim is to initiate inter-cultural exchanges at primary and secondary school level for Europe's young people. As we know, we tend not to forget things learnt during our childhood. The programme is also designed for educational and teaching staff.

http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc84\_fr.htm http://www.europe-education-formation.fr/comenius.php

In the same way, the EU has set up a wide range of programmes to encourage training and learning about others. This is the case of **Grundtvig**, which provides adults of all ages with opportunities for lifelong learning, or **Youth in Action**, which aims to develop a sense of active citizenship in young people aged 13 to 30. **Youth for Europe, Youth in the World** and **European Voluntary Service** are among other programmes which form a part of the European Commission's plans to open cultural borders, an outcome of the old continent's history, by increasing the knowledge and understanding of young Europeans a little more each day. This is seen as as means of achieving their integration into the world of work and into society.

Moreover, participants in the the Youth in Action programme receive an individual certificate called **Youthpass**, that enables them to valorize the experience they have acquired through the validation of apprenticeship results.

http://ec.europa.eu/youth/youth-in-action-programme/doc74\_fr.htm http://www.youthpass.eu

#### **Europass**

This maximises a person's career path and skills (university studies, professional experience, language skills etc.), facilitating recruitment or on-going education. It can be used whatever the sector of society you are in: a school pupil, an apprentice, a teacher, an instructor, a salaried worker, a human resources executive, a head hunter, a job seeker etc. It is identical in 31 countries.

http://www.europe-education-formation.fr/europass.php

#### Citizenship

The Commission's "*Europe for Citizens*" programme is designed to give a concrete meaning to European citizenship. It relies primarily on the twinning of towns, which for a long time has played an important part in this respect. Again, it is a means of giving citizens a chance to interact and become involved in building a Europe that is constantly moving, opening to the world, united in its cultural diversity and drawing the benefits from this diversity. An ambitious objective: to forge a European identity founded on common values, history and culture that are already established. All the programmes relating to citizenship are supervised by the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA).

http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/index\_fr.php

#### Culture

The *"Culture*" programme focuses on projects and initiatives designed to enhance Europe's cultural diversity and develop its common cultural legacy through cross-border cooperation between stakeholders and institutions in the cultural sector.

To encourage cultural exchanges, the European Union has developed mobility programmes that enable artists and professionals in this sector to travel abroad with a view to widening the scope of their work, meeting new audiences, finding new sources of inspiration, developing their creativity, discussing their experiences and learning lessons from each other.

Over the past few years, the Culture Programme has been increasingly used in relation to issues of European citizenship. The Commission became aware that European citizenship would not exist unless there was a real feeling of belonging to the European Union. Such a feeling of belonging is based, among other things, on the awareness of common cultural roots, common values, shared ways of thinking and living, along with an acceptance by all of the cultural diversity that forms the very basis of European culture. The motto proposed for the European Union is *"United in Diversity"*. However, in the Europe 2020 strategy, the importance given to culture is being called into question.

http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc411\_fr.htm http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/

## Everyday life

Most of us pay little attention to it because everyday life quickly becomes banal, but over the years, the building of a European community has significantly changed the living conditions of an ever increasing number of people on the Old Continent. Here are a few examples of these improvements.

## Free circulation of people

Today it is possible to travel freely without having to show one's passport in twenty-two Member States of the EU, as well as in Switzerland, Iceland, Norway and Liechtenstein, as a result of the agreement signed in 1985 in the town of Schengen in Luxembourg. Business people and tourists from third party countries who have a visa to enter one of these countries can also then travel on to any of the others without having to go through Customs again.

## European health service card

With this card, medical expenses of a European will be covered in the same way as they are for local people with national health cover in any EU country being visited on holiday or for business. Approved by the European Council in Barcelona on the15th and 16th of March 2002, it has replaced the former pile of bureaucratic forms since the 1st of June 2004, encouraging people to travel throughout the EU for private or professional reasons.

#### Lower mobile phone rates for calls to other countries

Confronted by the European Commission, Council and Parliament, mobile phone operators decreased their rates by 60% on the 1st of July 2009 for calls to another EU country. Before this measure, a French national visiting Cyprus would pay approximately 6 Euros for a 4-minute call to France; now it costs no more than 2.40 Euros. As for SMS, the cost of *"roaming"* which was 80 centimes before, costs now a maximum of 11-centimes.

## Cheaper air travel

Launched at the end of the 1980's, the liberalisation of transport was a colossal task because the sector was either in the hands of national monopolies or subject to pricing regulations. The result of the liberalisation was spectacular in regards to air travel. There was an increase in the number of airlines and ticket prices plummeted, mainly due to the prices charged by *"low-cost"* carriers. However, The decrease in cost is not only because of ticket prices. Today's passengers are also guaranteed a full refund of their trip and/or accommodation if their flight is delayed or cancelled.

#### Single emergency phone number

Since 2000, in any EU country, people can simply dial 112 for help from either a land line or mobile, without having to dial the code for the country or town they are in. The call is free and the emergency switchboard operators speak English and are able locate the position of the person requiring assistance.

#### ATM withdrawals

Travelling all over Europe is tempting but if it costs more than in one's own country the idea is less attractive. Fortunately, since the 1st of July 2002, the cost of withdrawing money from an ATM and using credit cards is the same for national as it is for cross-border transactions, although currently this only applies within the Euro zone.

#### More attractive sports events

Since 1990, any European football team can use as many players from the EU as they wish. This decision was then copied by other team sports and, as a result, spectators at sports events in Europe greatly benefited from this new international, multicultural dimension.

All these concrete examples show the undeniable progress achieved through the actions of the European Union.

To give a fair view, though, we should also mention the initiatives that raised a number of protests. Among them are the sensitive issue of competition, the liberalisation of public services, various regulations in health and welfare etc.

We have to bear in mind that the European Union remains an organisation based directly or indirectly on universal suffrage. As such, it naturally reflects the political trends that result from citizen voting and that are expressed by the actions of parliamentarians and national representatives.

# Appendix 1 – List of internal policies and actions of the EU

# (Part III of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, art. 26 - 197)

Section I	The Single Market (art. 26 and 27)
Section II	The free movement of goods (art. 28 to 37) Chapter 1 – Customs union (art. 30 to 32) Chapter 2 – Customs cooperation (art. 33) Chapter 3 – Ban on quantitative restrictions between Member States (art. 34 to 37)
Section III	Agriculture and fishing (art. 38 to 44)
Section IV	The free movement of persons, services and capital (art. 45 to 66) Chapter 1 - Workers (art. 45 to 48)

	Chapter 2 – The right to set up a business (art. 49 to 55) Chapter 3 – Services (art. 56 to 62) Chapter 4 – Capital and payments (art. 63 to 66)
Section V	Area of freedom, security and justice (art. 67 to 89) Chapter 1 – General provisions (art. 67 to 76) Chapter 2 – Policies on border controls, asylum and immigration (art. 77 to 80) Chapter 3 – Judicial cooperation in civil cases (art. 81) Chapter 4 – Judicial cooperation in criminal cases (art. 82 to 86) Chapter 5 – Cooperation between police forces (art. 87 to 89)
Section VI Section VII	Transport (art. 90 to 100) Common regulations on competition, taxation and the rapprochement of legislation (art. 101 to 118) Chapter 1 – Rules on competition (art. 101 to 109) Section 1 – Rules applicable to businesses (art. 101 to 106) Section 2 – State aids (art. 107 to 109) Chapter 2 – Taxation provisions (art. 110 to 113) Chapter 3 – The rapprochement of legislation (art. 114 to 118)
Section VIII	Economic and monetary policy (art. 119 to 144) Chapter 1 – Economic policy (art. 120 to 126) Chapter 2 – Monetary policy (art. 127 to 133) Chapter 3 – Institutional provisions (art. 134 and 135) Chapter 4 – Provisions to specific to Member States in the Euro zone (art. 136 to 138) Chapter 5 – Transitional provisions (art. 139 to 144)
Section IX	Employment (art. 145 to 150)
Section X	Social policy (art. 151 to 161)
Section XI	European Social Fund (art. 162 to 164)
Section XII Section XIII	Education, vocational training, youth and sport (art. 165 and 166)
Section XIV	Culture (art. 167) Public health (art. 168)
Section XV	Consumer protection (art. 169)
Section XVI	Trans-European networks (art. 170 to 172)
Section XVII	Industry (art. 173)
Section XVIII	Economic, social and territorial cohesion (art. 174 to 178)
Section XIX	Technological and space research and development (art. 179 to 190)
Section XX	Environment (art. 191 to 193)
Section XXI	Energy (art. 194)
Section XXII	Tourism (art. 195)
Section XXIII	Civil defence (art. 196)
Section XXIV	Administrative cooperation (art. 197)

# Appendix 2 - Open-ended list of teaching aids per partner country

## The European Union

### 1. The European Union portal

The European Union portal has a page on teaching aids, listed according to age groups. The "15+ years" section, for example, provides a certain number of wall charts that can be downloaded (a map of Europe, a time-line), a slide show presenting the European Union, and a number of brochures published by the Commission which teachers can also order in hard copy form. http://europa.eu/teachers-corner/15/index fr.htm

### 2. The Council of Europe site

The Council of Europe site contains a comprehensive presentation of its work, divided into a number of individual topics (mission statement, members, history etc.). The presentation emphasises, in particular, the differences between the Council of Europe and the European Union institutions, comparing and contrasting the composition and role of each. An interactive quiz enables visitors to test their knowledge on the Council of Europe. http://www.coe.int/lbortal/web/coe-portal/home

#### 3. Central European Bank website (CEB)

http://www.ecb.int/ecb/html/index.fr.html

#### 4. European Parliament website

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/

#### 5. Website of the European Commission representation in France

The website of the European Commission representation in France contains a project called "Eurêkol" that was created by students for primary school teachers. Its aim is to help them to introduce their classes to Europe, based on six themes. Information is combined with fun activities

http://ec.europa.eu/france/activite/actions ecoles/eurekol fr.htm

#### 6. Website of the European Commission representation in Belgium

The website of the European Commission representation in Belgium has a page for young people containing a number of games (quizzes and crosswords on the history of the building of Europe, blank maps of Member States etc.). The European Commission representation in Belgium has also worked with the Prime Minister's office to develop a card game for young people aged 12+ to teach them about Europe through various subjects (geography, traditions, languages, films etc.). The game can be ordered online, free of charge.

http://ec.europa.eu/belgium/vouth/game/index fr.htm

## 7. Agenda Europe

Through this website, users can order or download the European diary and the corresponding teaching booklet designed by the Generation Europe Association in partnership with the European Commission. The two teaching resources designed for secondary schools aim to "*make pupils aware of their rights and duties as European citizens*" by stimulating debate on European subjects through texts and classroom activities.

http://www.europadiary.eu/?page\_id=609&lang=fr

## Germany

## 1. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung [

National centre for political eduaction] (mainly "Europe" topics or publications) http://www.bpb.de and the 16 Landesbildungsserver [Centres for political education in the Länder]/ ("Europe" topics or publications) http://www.bildungsserver.de/zeigen\_e.html?seite=450

## 2. Europa im Unterricht

[Europe in Teaching] http://www.europaimunterricht.de

## 3. Deutscher Bildungsserver

The education gateway site in Germany contains a large number of links to publications, projects and teaching aids on topics connected with Europe: In German *http://www.bildungsserver.de* In English: *www.bildungsserver.de*[start\_e.html

## 4. ASKO EUROPA-STIFTUNG

[ASCO Foundation for Europe], Europäische Akademie Otzenhauseng GmbH, FORUM EUROPA e.V., Stiftung Forum EUROPA: Ein Bildungsprojekt für Jugendliche. Handbuch für Multiplikatoren, [An education project for young people. Manual for Farmers] Schwalbach/Ts. 2008. ISBN 978-3-89974371-5.

### 5. Europaorientierte Inhalte zum Unterricht (European contents for teaching purposes)

http://www.eduvinet.de/

## 6. Freudenbergstiftung

[Freudenberg Foundation] under the subject http://www.freudenbergstiftung.de/index.php?id=502 Integrationsgesellschaft (integration society) or under Demokratische Kultur in Schule und Gemeinde (Democratic culture in schools and towns) :

http://www.freudenbergstiftung.de/index.php?id=504

## 7. Atlas of European values

(Atlas de valeurs Européennes / Atlas zu europäischen Werten) http://www.atlasofeuropeanvalues.eu/homepage.php?lang=de

## 8. Thematic portal: history of Europe/Themenportal Europäische Geschichte

http://www.europa.clio-online.de/

## 9. Active citizenship

(Citoyenneté active/ Active Bürgerschaft) : David Brixius: Active Citizenship, Expertise im Rahmen des Verbundprojekts im Forscher Praktiker Dialog; Heppenheim 2011 http://www2.transfer-ev.de/uploads/expertise\_active\_citizenship\_2010.pdf/

## 10. Democracy - Learning in Europe/ Demokratie - Lernen in Europa

www.schule.at/dl/demokratie-lernen\_in\_Europa\_Text.pdf

## France

## 1. Europe Chantier

Europe Chantier is a European programme designed to promote the development of European citizenship through the organisation of cross-border projects known as Euro-Chantiers (restoration of heritage sites, environmental work, artwork etc.). The website lists current and future projects and includes a list of the Europe Chantier agencies that monitor organisations wishing to host or take part in Euro-chantiers.

http://europe-chantier.crysalis.fr/index.php

## 2. The European Movement

From the European Movement website, you can download the "*Citizen's Booklet*", a document published by the Mouvement Européen-France in partnership with the Association Française du Conseil des Communes et Régions d'Europe (AFCCRE). This booklet, which has basically been written for younger readers, includes a certain amount of data about the European Union (history, symbols, institutions, youth programmes etc.). The booklet ends with an open-ended list of rights granted by European citizenship.

http://www.mouvement-europeen.eu/Le-livret-du-citoyen-europeen

## 3. Toute l'Europe

Toute l'Europe is a reference site for European news. It also deals with every aspect of the EU (politics, economics, social, historical and cultural dimensions) and passes on educational information about the workings and policies of the European Union. The site recently put up an entire page on the European Parliament: http://europarlement.touteleurope.eu/ that enables people to see the work of the M.E.P's or send them a direct message via twitter: http://www.tweetyourmep.eu/home/fr.

http://www.touteleurope.eu/

## 1 ... 1 .

## 4. French documentation

The French documentation website, a *"benchmark publisher and distributer"*, provides publications on the latest administrative, economic, social, political and international news. The site has an impressive library of European maps (members of the European Union, growth in Europe, European Neighbourhood Policy etc.):

http://www.ladocumentation francaise.fr/motcle/cartotheque-monde/europe.shtml

La Direction légale et administrative (DILA) which hosts the site also has an information centre (Centre d'information Europe Direct) with a certain number of online resources:

http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/europe-direct/index.shtml http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/

## 5. The Fédération Française des Maisons de l'Europe

The website for the Fédération Française des Maisons de l'Europe (FFME), the network of Maisons de l'Europe in France, offers an interactive adventure game called *"Tour of Europe"* to test your knowledge on Europe.

http://www.maisons-europe.eu/tour-d-europe-le-jeu-interactif

## 6. The French section of the European Youth Parliament

The website of the French section of the European Youth Parliament, is an organisation designed to "promote European citizenship to young people by stimulating their interest in the development of the European Union". It lists the EYP's activities and provides a certain number of information packs on mobility, year-long volunteering etc, specifically addressing young people. The site also has a section more particularly designed for teachers. From it, they can download "classroom kits

on creating Europe" designed to stimulate classroom discussions about European topics. http://www.pejfrance.org/

## 7. Easy Europe

Easy Europe is an association that aims to improve the knowledge of European mechanisms by setting up courses and special events for schools or any other organisations interested in the European Union. Several maps can be downloaded from the Easy Europe site (Member States, countries in the Euro zone, the Schengen area). They are particularly useful for instructors and teachers.

http://www.easyeurope.fr/decouvrez-l27europe.html

### 8. The New Europe

The New Europe is a think tank focusing on the Larger Europe and its neighbourhood. Although the association's activity is mainly centred around the publication of articles, it also has a European Parliament simulation program for senior high school students. http://www.nouvelle-europe.eu/stimulation-europeenne.html

#### 9. "Eduscol"

The "*Eduscol*" site run by the French Ministry of Education, Youth and Associations (MENJVA) is designed for professionals in education. It contains a set of teaching resources on Europe, classified by subject (history, economics, energy etc.). *http://eduscol.education.fr/cid47429/ressources-pedagogiques.html* 

### 10. Paris Education District

The Paris Education District site includes a *"Toolbox"* for teachers specialising in international and European action (ERAEI). In particular, the site includes the *"Euro-culture"* game, a game designed *"to use fun"* to awaken a *"desire for Europe"* among European citizens". The toolbox also contains recommendations for teachers on school trips organised in Europe. http://www.ac-paris.fr/portail/jcms/p1\_321353/boite-a-outils-eraei

## Luxembourg

## <u>1. Ena</u>

This is a multimedia reference on the history of Europe in six languages (French, German, English, Spanish, Italian and Dutch). It contains sound recordings, visuals and graphics dating back to 1945 on the main stages in the construction of the EU and the men and women who contributed to it.

www.ena.lu

#### 2. Europaforum

This website, run by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, provides factual and wide-ranging information on European news that is particularly of interest to the citizens of Luxembourg. It contains testimonials, results of studies, minutes of discussions, press conferences and files on particular topics.

www.europaforum.public.lu

#### 3. Cultural Routes

This website of the European Institute of Cultural Routes is part of the Council of Europe. The programme of cultural routes developed by the Council of Europe provides a means of *"reading"* the European values which emerge from the complexity of cultures and societies within Europe. It is based on topics that represent the European values which have become increasingly common to several European countries (it includes titles such as The Phoenicians, the Olive Tree, Mozart, St. Martin de Tours, Jewish heritage and migration). *www.culture-routes.lu* 

#### 4. Luxembourg Manual of Civic Instruction.

The manual of civic instruction is designed for Year 11 school children in Luxembourg. The first part deals with the institutions and political decision making procedures of Luxembourg. The second part explains the European institutions and their functioning. Graphs and illustrations are intended to explain more complex contents to students. Guidelines of research suggest to students how to deepen their knowledge and improve their skills in this area.

#### 5. Centre d'études et de recherches européennes Robert Schuman

The mission of the Robert Schuman Centre is:

- To promote knowledge about the history of the European unification
- and encourage research on the subject;
- To facilitate the publication of works of this nature;
- To organize conferences on issues concerning the Centre's activities as well as seminars and workshops for teachers, students and other people involved (eg journalistes. ..).

www.etat.lu/cere

#### 6. The European Museum in Schengen

#### Available on www.schengen-tourist.lu

The European Museum in Schengen, inaugurated on the 13th of June 2010 twenty-five years after the signature of the Schengen Agreement, is in Schengen, a wine-growing village at the point where Luxembourg, Germany and France meet, on the banks of the Mosel. This is where, on June the 14th 1985 on board the *"PrincessMarie-Astrid"*, the representatives of five EU Member States (Germany, France and the three Benelux countries) signed an agreement that foresaw the removal of customs posts for people crossing their internal borders. The document was called the Schengen Agreement. A permanent interactive exhibition covering an area of 200 sq. metres focuses on the history and meaning of the Schengen Agreement and attempts

to show visitors that the removal of customs controls for people at interior borders was the first stage in the implementation of one of the four fundamental liberties originally laid down in the Treaties of Rome in 1957.

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ISBN EAN 978-2-9540890-1-09782954089010 For a long time, European issues were not brought up in school programs at all. Over the years this situation has changed but only partially and in unequal ways depending on the education stream and country .Even today, the education stream and country. Still, today, the education of European issues at Union level, does not have the importance nor the place that it should.

However we cannot talk about true democracy if citizens do not know about and understand the main issues or have the necessary tools. This is why it is essential to give to all the young population the basic knowledge to active and inclusive European citizenship.

This text, written in the context of the program "*Europe for the citizens*" of the European commission, is the result of the collaboration of four European partners.

"*Ia Maison d'Europe*" (*France*), coordinator of the project, **the Cultural European Institute Pierre Werner** (*Luxembourg*), **the center for International Relation** (Pologne), **the german section of the European association of teachers** (*Germany*)), collaborated together to agree upon a common text. This text is thus the result of a collective work in which a unique compromise was met.

It is mainly addressed to intermediaries so that they may learn the basic elements...project, and then pass them on.

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