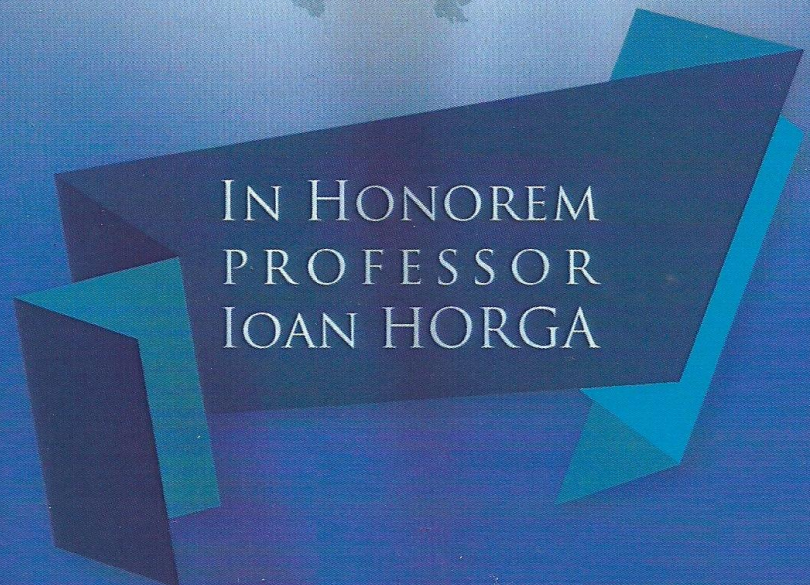


THE EUROPEAN SPACE

BORDERS AND ISSUES



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Borders and Issues

In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga

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Europe – Idea/Europe Integration Times. Spaces. Actors.

*Maria Manuela TAVARES RIBEIRO**

As historian Robert Frank wrote in 2001: “l’histoire de l’Europe n’est en aucune façon une histoire de certitudes; elle est l’histoire de la question européenne, l’histoire d’un questionnement que l’historien doit constamment renouveler”¹ [The history of Europe is in no way a history of certainties; it is the history of the European question, of a questioning that the historian must continue to ask at all times].

The relationship between Europe – idea – “thinking Europe” – and Europe-integration – “integrating Europe” over such a long period of time – from the 1919-1920 peace treaties to the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, allows us to examine the history of the European integration in an approach well beyond facts and institutions. It shows that the efforts of uniting Europe are not only embodied in the numerous achieved or failed attempts to give Europe some sort of political, economic or cultural architecture, but also raise complex ideological debates in various circles – of intellectuals, politicians, senior officials, industrialists, trade unionists, etc.. All this gives rise to a clash of projects.

Thinking Europe means to reflect about projects of political or economic unity for the old continent, and also about European order and European security from the end of the First World War to the end of the Cold War and to the imploding of the Eastern bloc; it is also about searching for the roots and specificities of the European cultural identity and to reflect about the fate of “European civilisation”, its decline or role in the rest of the world”. “Building Europe” means realising the European idea in the field of realities. This is a complex process in which various methods are used (federal, confederal, communitarian), governing more or less

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¹ Robert Frank, “Une histoire problématique, une histoire du temps présent”, vingtième Siècle. *Revue d’histoire*, juillet-septembre, 2001, n. 71, p. 89.

powerful drivers (quest for peace, search for prosperity, the preservation of national interests, the weight of public opinion) and involving many actors (experts, policy makers, pressure groups, economic resources, etc.)²

The time periods used to shape this brief analysis – 1919-1992 – are indicative of the richness and complexity of the 20th century Europe integration. In 1919, weakened by a civil war, Europe wondered about its decline and fate, which rests on a new order laid down by the peace treaties (Treaty of Versailles), seeing in the emergence of the League of Nations a new international organisation being called to become more and more ‘Europeanised’. 1992 pins down the end of a decisive period in the history of the European continent marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989), by the unification of Germany (1990) and by the dissolution of the USSR (1991). 1992 marks, in particular, the date of signature of the Maastricht Treaty, the difficult ratification of which caused a profound euro-pessimism trend at a time when the war in the former Yugoslavia further compounded in a community Europe unable to settle the conflict.

A historiographic account

According to archive documents, the history of European integration began in the late 1970s. Despite being a relatively new field of research, it has nevertheless produced many different historiographic works.

By making an account of this process, we have sought to summarise the various trends that enable the 20th century European unity narrative in the period under analysis.

Three main approaches stand out due to the order in which they appear in the historiographic field: first, a federalist-inspired narrative, the inter-governmentalist vision, followed by a more contemporary approach that sought to overcome the “models” and integrate the “social” dimension of the European integration process.

Let us then consider the first European integration narrative: the federalist approach.

What is the founding narrative of the pioneers of European unity?

The first works on European integration were not produced by historians, given that official document archives were not available at the time. So, these texts were produced by those who took the first steps towards European unity, filled with idealism and finalism, describing European unity as a historical need, while upholding the teleological vision

² Elisabeth du Reau, *La construction européenne du XXe siècle. Fondement. Enjeux. Défis*, Nantes, Editions du temps, 2007. Hélène Fréchet (coord. par), *Penser et construire l'Europe 1919- 1992*, Nantes, Editions du temps, 2007. Nicolas Beaupré, Caroline Moine (sous a direction de), *L'Europe de Versailles à Maastricht. Visions, moments et acteurs des projets européens*, Paris, Editions Seli Aslam, 2007.

of European integration. This desire, disseminated across many works published in the 1950s and 70s, deeply marked the overall interpretation of the European integration process.

Its actors often took the leading role in the European “mysticism” that characterised the old continent in the aftermath of the Second World War. Let us call to mind an important event: the “Congress of Europe” in The Hague, in May 1948, organised by the federalists – who were its mentors, facilitators and protagonists.

We take note of the most representative of these staunch federalists: Denis de Rougemont, Swiss, the author of *Vingt-huit siècles d'Europe. La conscience européenne à travers les siècles d'Hésiode à nos jours* (1961), Bernard Voyenne, French, who wrote *Histoire de l'idée européenne* (1964), and the Dutch Hendrik Brugmans, who published *L'idée européenne 1918-1965* in 1966. Brugmans (1906-1997) concedes: “Notre travail est un acte de foi, autant en Europe qu'en l'Histoire...”³. Denis de Rougemont, in turn, states: “L'Europe a exercé dès sa naissance une fonction non seulement universelle, mais, de fait, universalisante... Le vrai moyen de la définir, c'est de la bâtir... Et il s'agit bien moins de la délimiter dans le temps de l'histoire et l'espace terrestre, que de renouveler sans cesse le rayonnement de son génie particulier qui se trouve être, justement, universel”⁴. For these authors, European federalism had already gained a foothold for over several decades, and they blamed the gradual weakening of the nation state, which, in their opinion, led Europe to chaos during the Second World War.

As the idea was to “make Europe”, the Hague Congress in May 1948 was, in the eyes of the federalists, the biggest lost opportunity to give the old continent the bases of a federal organisation. Instead, the Council of Europe created in 1949, a symbol of a close intergovernmentalism, embodied by Great Britain, was immediately considered as hopeless.

Both the Schuman Plan (1950), embodying the genes of a European federation, and then the European Political Community project (EPC-1952-1953), of federalist inspiration, raised the hope of those who fervently advocated a federate Europe. This project, however, was affected by the rebuff of the failure of the European Defence Community (EDC-1954). It was then that a large number of federalists opted for a realistic and non-idealist path, supporting the emerging European Communities, as, for them, economic functionalism seemed to be the only way to achieve European unity.

³ Jean – Michel Guieu (et al.), *Penser et construire l'Europe au Xxe siècle*, Paris, Ed. Belin, 2006, p. 10-11, 16, 18- 20.

⁴ Denis de Rougemont, *Vingt – huit siècles d'Europe. La conscience européenne à travers les siècles d'Hésiode à nos jours*, Paris, Payot, 1961.

As a result of this, a hagiographic narrative of the early days of European integration is filled with the heroes of the federalist pantheon. Note how Jean Monnet, the precursor of federalism, announced in 1943 that he wished that the peoples of Europe would unite under a federation or a “European entity” rather than under European economic unity. However, he followed a different method and neo-functionalism became a prime driving force in the dynamics of European integration.

In the 1950s-1960s, some Anglo-Saxon political scientists took an interest in the development of Community institutions and theorised on the neo-functionalist method. Ernst B. Haas (1924-2003) conceptualised about this mostly pragmatic process introduced by Jean Monnet through the creation of the ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community). Haas, a young American political scientist, stayed in Strasbourg between 1955 and 1956 and in 1958 published his famous work *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950-1957*. He was the first to develop the theory that true political union is gradually built based on the common practice of technical competences (the *spill-over theory*).

Another author, León Lindberg, a follower of Haas, published in 1963 *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration*, in which he explains the neofunctionalist process, showing, however, that European integration is achieved primarily through the socialisation of elites and the involvement of interest groups⁵.

Federalism and historians

The federalists’ theories on the European integration process were also analysed by some historians, in particular in Germany and Italy. One of the first historians on European integration was Walter Lippens, a federalist militant and member of the *Europa-Union*, the German section of the Union of European Federalists (UEF). He was the first holder of the Contemporary History Chair (1976-1979) at the Florence European University Institute founded in 1972. The first volume of his work published in 1977, *Die Anfänge der europäischen Einigungspolitik 1945-1950* (*The early days of European integration policy 1945-1950*) analyses the period 1945-1950: the roots of European integration since the Second World War and the development of the European idea within the non-communist resistance movements and governments in exile. He was more interested in the history of ideas and thoughts about the federalist movements than in intergovernmental negotiations or the first institutional commitments to European unity.

⁵ Alice Cunha, *O Alargamento Ibérico da Comunidade Económica Europeia: A Experiência Portuguesa*, FCSH da UNL, 2013 (doctoral dissertation).

In a similar vein, Lippens also published a seminal collection of documents on the history of European integration since the Second World War, a task that was later continued by his follower Wilfried Loth. The purpose of the publication, however, was not fully achieved. He proposed to publish the key discourses, statements and documents, country by country, of the Resistance, of the militant movements for European integration, commented by professional historians. He published four volumes - *Documents on the History of European Integration (1939-1950)*, in 1986-1991, in which he emphasised the visible contrast between the various appeals to European integration and their poor influence on the actions of European leaders in the aftermath of the Second World War. These documents nevertheless explain the Schuman Plan and the beginnings of sector-wide European integration. In fact, this led to a shift in the approach to European integration in the 1980s.

The federalist approach is also strongly represented in Italy, where an influential school privileges the historians' understanding of the European integration process. This school is represented by Sérgio Pistone, a history professor of European integration at the University of Turin and a member of the *Movimento federalista europeo*, Ariane Landuyt and Daniele Pasquinucci, of the University of Siena, Daniela Preda of the University of Genoa, Piero S. Graglia (University of Milan) and also Corrado Malandrino (University of Eastern Piedmont), among others.

While the federalists produce historiographic works on the history of ideas, a certain number of historians base their research on archives to produce a discourse that emphasises the place and involvement of national governments in the European integration process.

The “realistic” discourse of the European integration

1. *The first analysts of “realistic” Europe*

As a reaction to the idealism represented by the federalist school, a number of teachers from the English-speaking world dwelt on the economic explanation and on the intergovernmental motives in the history of the European integration process.

The first university scholar to develop this theory is Stanley Hoffmann, a Political Science Professor at Harvard University. In observing the policy undertaken by Charles De Gaulle and the paralysis of the Community institutions (the “empty chair” policy), in his article entitled

“Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and Case of Western Europe”, Hoffmann proves that the Nation-State was still quite influential⁶

Among the historians, in the 1980s British historian Alan Milward suggests a “realistic” vision and goes on to explain that the creation of the European Communities does not stem from an ideal, but rather from the desire of nation-states to consolidate the bases of their legitimacy after the Second World War. Milward, a renowned expert in Second World War economic history, steered his research to the economic reconstruction of post-war Europe. Thus, in 1984, he publishes *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, showing that the American aid under the Marshall Plan American economic aid was not what saved Europe from the crisis in itself. He further explained that from 1945 on the reconstruction of Europe was underway, but nevertheless recognised the importance of the financial aid from the United States. He strongly criticised the federalist interpretation and stressed that the federalist movements had no role in a process led mostly by national interests. In his opinion, the new economic agreements in Europe introduced new forms of cooperation, both ambitious and pragmatic, instead of far too theoretical major political peace treaties as was the case after the First World War.

Milward used his later work *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* (1992) to reaffirm, giving justifiable reasons, his theory that the European integration is essentially an economic rather than a political process, and that we should therefore act on the classic diplomatic narrative of international relations. The author also stated that rather than weakening the Nation-State, European integration strengthened it. In a chapter suggestively entitled “The lives and teaching of the European Saints”, he explains that the so-called “Fathers of Europe” (Spaak, Schuman, Adenauer, Gasperi, Monnet) acted according to national interest. According to Milward, they viewed European integration as the most significant means to ensure the safety and prosperity of their country, of their national State. In the same line of reasoning, the British historian Frances Lynch (*France and the International Economy. From Vichy to the Treaty of Rome*, 1997) pointed out that France’s commitment in the Treaty of Rome was based more on economic rather than political determinants. The author grounded her studies on the French governmental and top administration discussions held between the end of the Second World War and the signing of the Treaties of Rome (1957), and on thorough research work done in French and British archives.

This intergovernmentalist discourse was also used by the American political scientist Andrew Moravcsik, a Professor at the Princeton

⁶ Stanley Hoffmann, “Obstinate or obsolete? The fate of the Nation – State and the case of Western Europe”, *Daedalus*, vol.95, n. 3, 1966, p. 862- 915.

University. In his work published in 1999, *The Choice for Europe. Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, the author explains why the EEC was a success. His theory is underpinned by two fundamental principles: on the one hand, that European integration is driven by the large nation-states that control the process; on the other hand, that the key driver of those states is not political but rather economic, and, more particularly, of a commercial nature. The author added that it is the trade relations and not the political, ideological or other economic relations that underlie the European integration process, which, in her opinion, strengthens more than undermines the states.

Although important, Moravcsik's study has some shortcomings: his research is mostly based on secondary sources, more on memories (of Alain Peryrefitte) than on archive documents. His work falls within a classic diplomatic narrative. In the same vein, John Gillingham, a professor at the University of Missouri, expert on the history of the ECSC, in his book *European Integration, 1950-2003. Superstate or New Market Economy?* (2003) presents his theory grounded on two key pillars: classic liberalism in economy and neoliberal institutionalism in political science. European integration is therefore associated with a clash between two economic models – a statist model and one more liberal model. According to Gillingham, market forces dominate the European integration process from the 80s. Although some of his ideas are appealing, the chronological study just scratches the surface and the methodology is not very objective, in other words, his work wavers between the history of ideas and the history of the decision-making process⁷ What is the importance of the French School of International Relations?

2. The French school of international relations

It is interesting to note that in the 1950s the history of international relations was deeply renewed in the French school much to the influence of Pierre Renouvin, who sought to overcome the classic diplomatic narrative in order to integrate the “deep forces” – “material forces” and “collective mentalities”. In the 1950s, Jean-Baptiste Duroselle studied, in the light of what he had learned from the American political science, the decision processes. That is, Duroselle was the first to conduct a historian's reflection on European unity. He did it at conferences, in articles, and in books. For example, he co-authored an article with Pierre Gerbet on “L'unification de l'Europe occidentale”, in *Encyclopédie Française*, t. 11. His work published in 1965, *L'idée d'Europe dans l'histoire*, was prefaced by Jean Monnet. In his

⁷ Jean-Michel Guieu (et al.), *Penser et construire l'Europe au XXe siècle*, Paris, Ed. Belin, 2006, 10-11, 16, 18-20.

famous book *L'Europe. Histoire des peuples*, dated 1990, Duroselle analysed all the factors that gave Europe some sort of unity, giving it the prominence of a true centuries-old civilisation community. Duroselle's arguments on the decision process gained a following in the field of international relations. His successor at Sorbonne, René Girault, launched an international research programme on the "power in Europe in three different periods: 1938, 1948, 1956-1958", which were, without a doubt, remarkable milestones. He also examined how the power of the large European states (Germany, France, United Kingdom, Italy) was perceived by the political, economic, military officials and by public opinion to better understand its decline and to identify what had replaced the nationalism and imperialism of the European nation-states. Three major colloquia were held in the 80s gathering more than one hundred European historians – Sèvres, in 1982, Augsburg, in 1984, and Florence, in 1987 –, that resulted in three publications which occupy a prominent position in the historiography of the European integration process⁸.

In the 1980s, the history of European integration gradually became a privileged field of research of historians of international relations, focused mainly on the role of decision-makers, of strategists, of diplomats, promoting the role of the National-State and national policies in European integration. The works of Pierre Guillen, Raymond Poidevin, Pierre Mélandri, and Maurice Vaisse are an example of this.

However, new prospects had opened up. Gérard Bossuat associated economic history to a history of the decision process and published his work in two volumes in 1992 on *La France, l'aide américaine et la construction européenne, 1944-1954*. For the period between the two world wars, the works of Éric Bussière (1992) and Sylvain Schirmann (2000) also crossed economic history with the history of international relations, emphasising the importance of economic resources. Other particularly relevant works were produced by Pierre Gerbert, *La construction d'Europe*, 1983, Gérard Bossuat, *Les fondateurs de l'Europe Unie*, 1994, and Marie-Thérèse Bitsch, *La construction européenne*, 1996, re-published several times to the present day. Their importance in international relations is manifested in numerous historians on European integration, for e.g., among others, the Italian historian Antonio Varsori, or, among the Germans, Wilfried Loth. All their works tend to demonstrate that nation-states and national decision-makers have a great deal of latitude in the complex game of international relations and of

⁸ René Girault, Robert Frank (dir), *La puissance en Europe, 1938- 1940*, Paris, Pub. de la Sorbonne, 1984. Franz Knipping, Joseph Becker (dir), *Power in Europe: Britain, France, Italy and Germany in a postwar world 1945- 1950*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1986. Nolfo, Emio (dir), *Power in Europe?*, vol. II, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy and the origins of the EEC, 1952- 1957, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1992.

the forces that shape them. This holds true for historian Georges-Henri Soutou who, inspired by the work of the American historian Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*, published in 1994, problematised the “European order” in the context of extensive research following the Vienna Congress. “European order” as being characterised by a mechanical balance of powers, but also by legal and diplomatic structures, and by a Community of values. Soutou referred to the originality of forms of cooperation between European states that developed before the formal process of European integration⁹

3. The Europe of the historians of European integration

In response to the historians who analysed, at local level, the history of their own countries, some university historians sought to interconnect their analyses and views, which enabled them to form lasting personal ties and, moreover, made it easier to set up institutionalised networks from 1982 on. This was the case of the Group of Contemporary History Teachers, encouraged by the Commission of the European Communities, which was formed after a major Colloquium organised by the Commission in Luxembourg. Its purpose was to encourage historical research on European integration. This network published a trilingual journal – in French, English and German – entitled *Revue d'histoire de l'intégration Européenne*, and has organised regular conferences for the advancement of historical research on the history of European integration, presenting some innovative approaches (vol. 33, n. 4, 2011).

This advancement is also explained by the opening of several archives. The findings of this research have been disclosed in several and extensive works.

4. Between the federalist school and the intergovernmental school

A new and ambitious school appeared between the intergovernmental school, which stressed the importance of member States, and the federalist school, mainly interested in Community dynamics. The aim of this new school was to interconnect the archive sources from the various member countries with those of European institutions. Hans Jürgen Küsters, Raymond Poidevin, Dirk Spierenburg and Piers Ludlow presented pioneering studies, and several doctoral theses were prepared at the

⁹ Steinert, M., Soutou, G.H., „Ordré européen et construction européenne XIXe – XXe siècle, *Relations internationales*, n. 90, 1997; Jean – Michel Guieu (et al.), *Pousser et construire l'Europe au XX e siècle*, Paris, Ed. Belin, 2006, p. 10-11, 16, 18-20. Sylvain Schirmann (et al.), *Penser et construire l'Europe (1919- 1992). Etats et opinions face à la construction européenne*, Paris, Editions Sedes, 2007, p. 7-11.

European Institute in Florence. In 1982, Hans Jürgen Küsters published his work *Les Fondements de la Communauté économique Européenne*, republished in 1990, which is a systematic historical study in which he outlined the entire negotiation and ratification of the Treaty of Rome in a multilateral approach, based mostly on private archive collections and interviews, without, however, having had access to the archives of the governments of the six EEC member countries.

Based on the ECSC archive, Raymond Poidevin and Dirk Spierenburg, a Dutch diplomat and former member of the ECSC High Authority, wrote a seminal work on the Paris negotiations (1950) to the merging of the Communities (1967), *Histoire de la Haute Autorité de la CECA*, 1993.

As the result of an European research programme and in response to a call from the European Commission, Michel Dumoulin (University of Louvain-la-Neuve) coordinated the production of a volume that describes the history of this institution since its early days, based on the evidence given by 120 protagonists of that time and on numerous written sources. Collective work entitled *La Commission européenne (1958-1972). Histoire et mémoires d'une institution*, 2007.

One of the key EEC common policies, the Common Agricultural Policy, was the subject of a doctoral thesis produced by the Danish Ann-Christina Knudsen, presented to the European Institute in Florence, supervised by Alan Milward. The Danish author conducted her research based on the archives of the EEC member countries and those of the European Commission, providing us a picture of the intergovernmental negotiations and of the mobilisation ability of the then European Commissioner for Agriculture, Sicco Mansholt, in her work *Defining the Common Agricultural Policy. A Historical Study*, 2003.

A comparative study based on documents issued by the EEC and various other European countries, by Piers Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s: Negotiating the Gaullist challenge*, 2005, served to show that the States continued to play a central role, even though their opinions were limited by Community rules.

5. *The transnational approach*

To tackle an approach more focused on government and national administrations, many studies were carried out to analyse the various non-state resources, but which were also aimed at European unity.

Thus, Laurence Badel emphasised (1999) the connection between French trade and free-market practices. Françoise Buger (2000) showed us how the French and German steel industries resumed their negotiations after 1945 and promoted European cooperation projects, rejecting the

ECSC's technocratic intervention. Marine Moguen (2002) studied the commonalities and differences between the French and German unions. In 2005, Francesco Petrini analysed the Italian General Confederation of Industry.

Note also the relevance of the seminar organised by the Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France du ministère de l'Économie et des Finances on *Milieus économiques et intégration européenne au xx^e siècle (2001-2004)*, attended by several researchers and directed by Éric Bussière, Michel Dumoulin and Sylvain Schirmann. One of the various collective publications that ensued was *Milieus économiques et intégration européenne au xx^e siècle. La relance des années quatre-vingt (1979-1992)*. The aim of these publications was to show how the various economic media, companies, employer associations, trade unions, etc., according to a national and transnational perspective, identified the different European economic models, the confrontation of which lies at the core of the dynamics of the European integration since its inception. These analyses and studies allow us to assess the existing opposition in the early stages of the European integration process between a free-market European model and the desire to create more contract-based and more organised forms of European cooperation¹⁰

In the political sphere, studies are characterised by having a transnational approach. We have, therefore, used comparative studies to analyse international cooperation, for e.g., those that deal with the relevance of Christian Democracy in Europe. Kaiser, for example, discussed in depth the weight of transnational networks, that is, of organised groups having a European vision in different countries.

This transnational analysis is expressed in the works and networks of intellectual circles. Note, for example, the case of historians Andrée Bachoud, Josefina Cuesta, Michel Trebitsch (2000), but also the religious circles (Philippe Chaunu, 2007).

Studies on senior officials, on administrative cultures and their European views have also been systematically analysed (Laurence Babel, S. Jeanesson, P. Ludlow, 2005). The military are also the topic of discussion, for example in the article by P. Vial et D'Abzac-Épezy, "Quelle Europe pour les militaires? La perception de l'Europe à travers la presse militaire (1947-1954)", *Revue Historique des Armées*, 1993.

In fact, pro-European militancy projects also appeared and were the subject of recent research work. They bring fresh ideas to our knowledge, in particular in respect of the period between the two world wars, as shown in

¹⁰ Eric Bussière, "Les milieux économiques face à l'Europe", *Revue d'histoire de l'intégration européenne*, vol. 3, n.2, 1997, p. 5, 9, 14.

the works of the following authors: Anne-Marie Saint Gille on *Panurope*, Geneviève Duchenne on Belgian Europeanism between the two world wars, Christophe Le Dréau on the pro-European movements in Great Britain, Claus Corneliussen on Heerfordt, Véronika Heyde on the resistance movements and the European concept, and Bernard Vayssière on the Union of European Federalists, among others.

Public opinion, identities and public space

Like the constructivist approach developed by political science and as in the theory of international relations, many historians problematised the issue of European integration based on “collective subjectivities and identities”. From this point of view, an international research programme on “identité et conscience européennes au xxe siècle” was enforced between 1989 and 1995, first at the instigation of René Girault, and then of Robert Frank. Both historians questioned the European image and the frailness of the “European feeling”. They created a vast network formed by dozens of researchers (180) who analysed comparative themes at transnational level. Among their findings, they show that the old and century-old European cultural identity does not automatically result in the European integration. In fact, it is the trauma resulting from the 20th century disasters that have helped shape a “European awareness”, that is, the need for the unity of Europe. The latter was vital in early efforts, but did not automatically transform into a new contemporary political identity. The feeling of belonging to the Community/European Union is very fragmented. It is worth emphasising the continuing national feelings. In this respect, we note the publications of René Girault and Gérard Bossuat, *Les Europes des Européens*, 1993; René Girault, *Identité et conscience européennes au xxe siècle*, 1994, Robert Frank, *Les identités européennes au xxe siècle*, 2000.

Historians have given particular attention to public opinion. Opinion surveys exist for the early days of the Community, but this assessment instrument only became a relevant source from the 1970s on – the Eurobarometer surveys. We can mention the studies by Christine Manigaud and A. Dulphy (2002). The same goes for the reflections of some historians, such as Robert Frank, Hartmut Kaelble, among others, on the reality and modalities of a European public space, i.e., a common space of references and public debates. While from this point of view culture is an important element, the experiences relate mostly to the elites. Even if the European public space should be regarded differently in relation to the national public spaces, historians reflect on the emergence of common spaces of reference for Europeans – the memory of war, European places of remembrance, common heroes of united Europe, European symbols.

In conclusion, even though the history of Europe – Europe integration – is relatively young, especially due to the belated access to archive, its production is nevertheless abundant, its approaches are numerous, and its written production is multinational and is constantly being renewed.

As we make this brief historiographic inventory of *Times, Spaces and Actors*, we note that historiography, strongly dominated by the 1945 cleavages, has to be classified according to major chronological periods: between the two world wars, during the Second World War, and the period from 1945 to 1992.

We conclude that the various historiographic trends and the wealth of historical production raised by the study of projects, of the European unity processes in the 20th century and of its actors have enabled us to confirm that far from being a linear process, the European integration process should be understood as unique changeovers between success and failure, of recoveries and of crises. It is an immensely rich and complex history filled with different ideas, times, spaces, actors and forms that have converged or clashed throughout the 20th and 21st centuries.

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