



**The Hague Summit 1969 in theoretical perspective: Completion, Widening and Deepening – A political science view**  
Prof. Dr. Jürgen Mittag (German Sport University Cologne)

# The Background I

- Historians such as Walter Lipgens and Claus Schönndube or Bernard Bruneteau and Pierre Gerbet, who have opened the floor for a historical view on European integration, **primarily examined the history of ideas and the conceptual foundations** of European integration
- Starting from Pierre Dubois, who in the 13<sup>th</sup> century called for a European noble council and thereby referred to the idea of a European confederation of nations, a large number of **ideas on European integration** has been identified
- Historical scholarship has focussed additionally on various **individual and collective actors**, illustrating their concepts structures and programmes, as well as also discussing the disputed motives European nation states have for co-operating with one another across borders (**Lipgens 1977, Milward 1992**).
- This merged with a phase towards the end of the 1970s, in which particular policy fields and the proceedings of **community treaties** were researched in basic monographs (Noack 1977, Küsters 1982, Weilemann 1983).
- Closely linked with the succeeding opening of archives was also the study of the development of European integration as a highly productive balancing act **between the member states**. The question of nation states interests continues to be relevant up to this day with regard to the central role played by the member states in negotiating European policies and certain bargaining constellations.

# The Background II

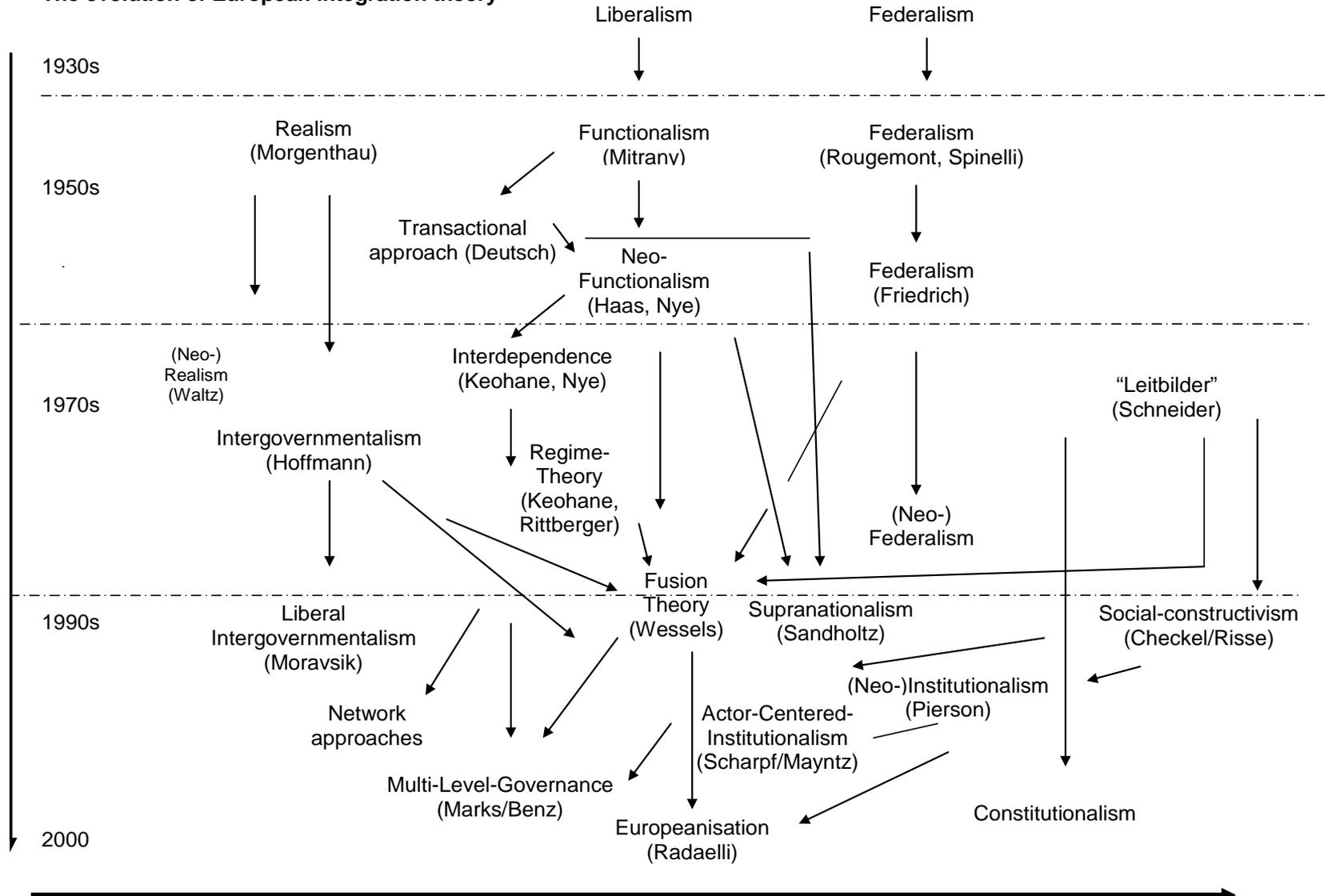
- Although there is **no coherent historical debate on the history of the European Union**, the controversy, who are the relevant trajectories of European integration thought are paradigmatic for the discipline
- The focus of integration history has been concentrated until now predominantly on the **motives of European integration**. It is reflected strikingly in the dichotomy between European “visions” and inter-state diplomacy
- In the last two decades, the analysis of European integration by historians however has become **more differentiated**
- Questions of **social and cultural history** have received attention: in particular the concept of **European memory/remembrance**
- Common or interdisciplinary approaches to European integration however remain little touched upon
- In particular, **theoretical approaches towards the history of European integration have played only a marginal role** (in historiography)
- Based on these considerations this presentation attempts to survey theoretical approaches from political science on European integration and to analyse their use - following the claim of Wolfram Kaiser for **more collaboration and historians and political scientists taking “mutual interest in their research”** (Kaiser 2008: 301).
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# Theories

- Theories will be understood not as “hard” images of reality, but rather more as “soft” systems of generally applicable statements
- It has to be kept in mind that any account to explain historical processes by theory is based on preconceptions and worldviews.
- As a general wisdom, theories carry four primary functions:
  - From the unmanageable abundance they help to screen available information that forms relevant considered elements (**selective function**).
  - Already this distinction between relevant and irrelevant demonstrates the value-laden nature of theories. Thereupon they contribute to the structuring of the filtered information and the orientation of reality (**organisational function**)
  - A third function involves the explanation of both the original proposed view as well as the establishing of causal correlations between the single empirical observations (**interpretative function**)
  - The acknowledgement of causal correlations of the constructed reality prompts eventually, scientists also, to develop rational-based forecasts with the hope of expected future developmental tendencies (**prognostive function**).

# Theories

## The evolution of European integration theory



# (Neo-)Federalism

- Federalism as an organisational principle aims at combining **unity and diversity** in the sense of Alexander Hamilton and others
- “Federalism is the theory or advocacy of federal principles for **dividing powers between member units and common institutions**”
- Unlike in a unitary state, sovereignty in federal political orders is non-centralized, often constitutionally, between at least two levels so that units at each level have final authority and can be self governing in some issue” (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2010)
- Federalism stands for **a qualitative step to a European federal state** (Rougemont, Spinelli)

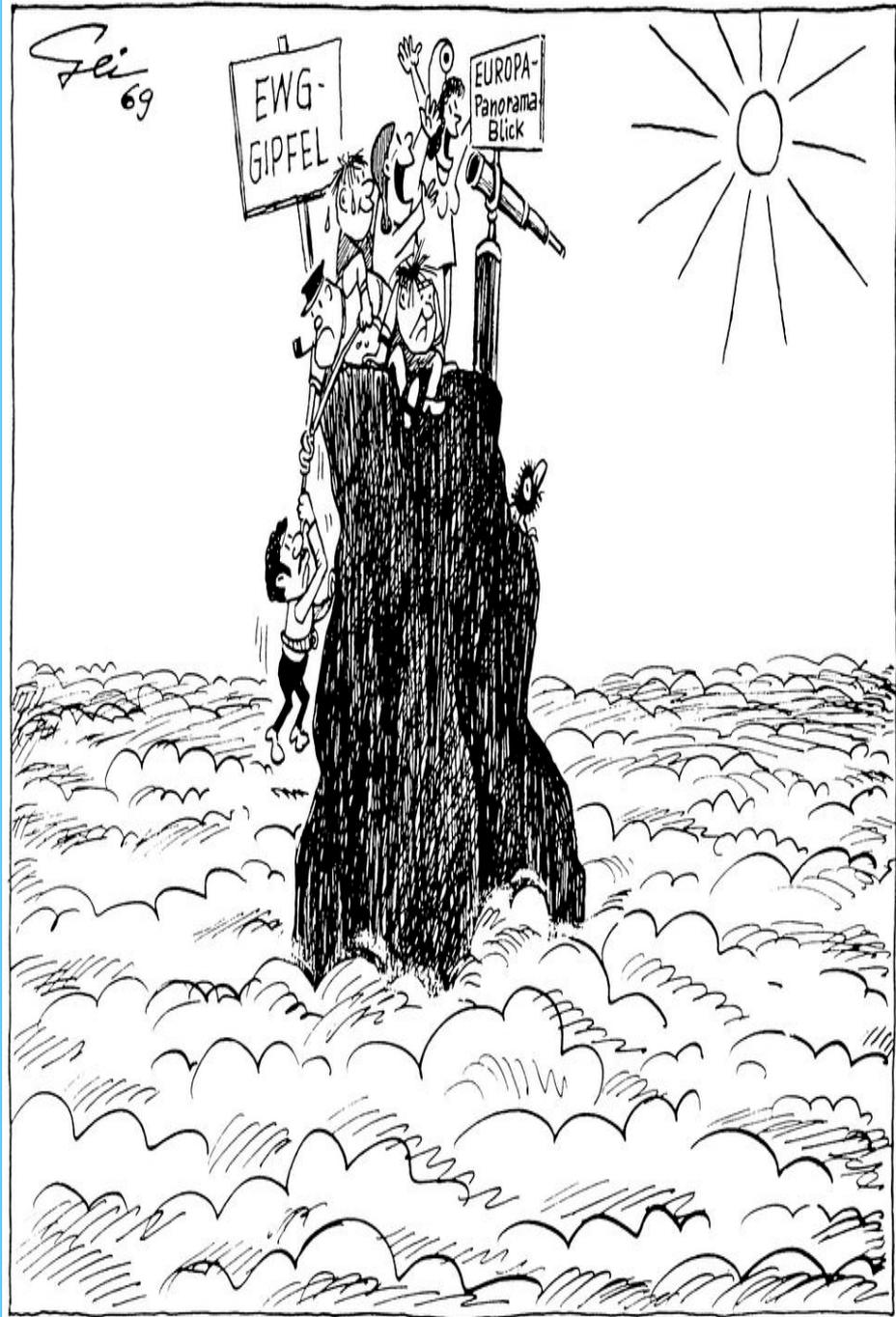
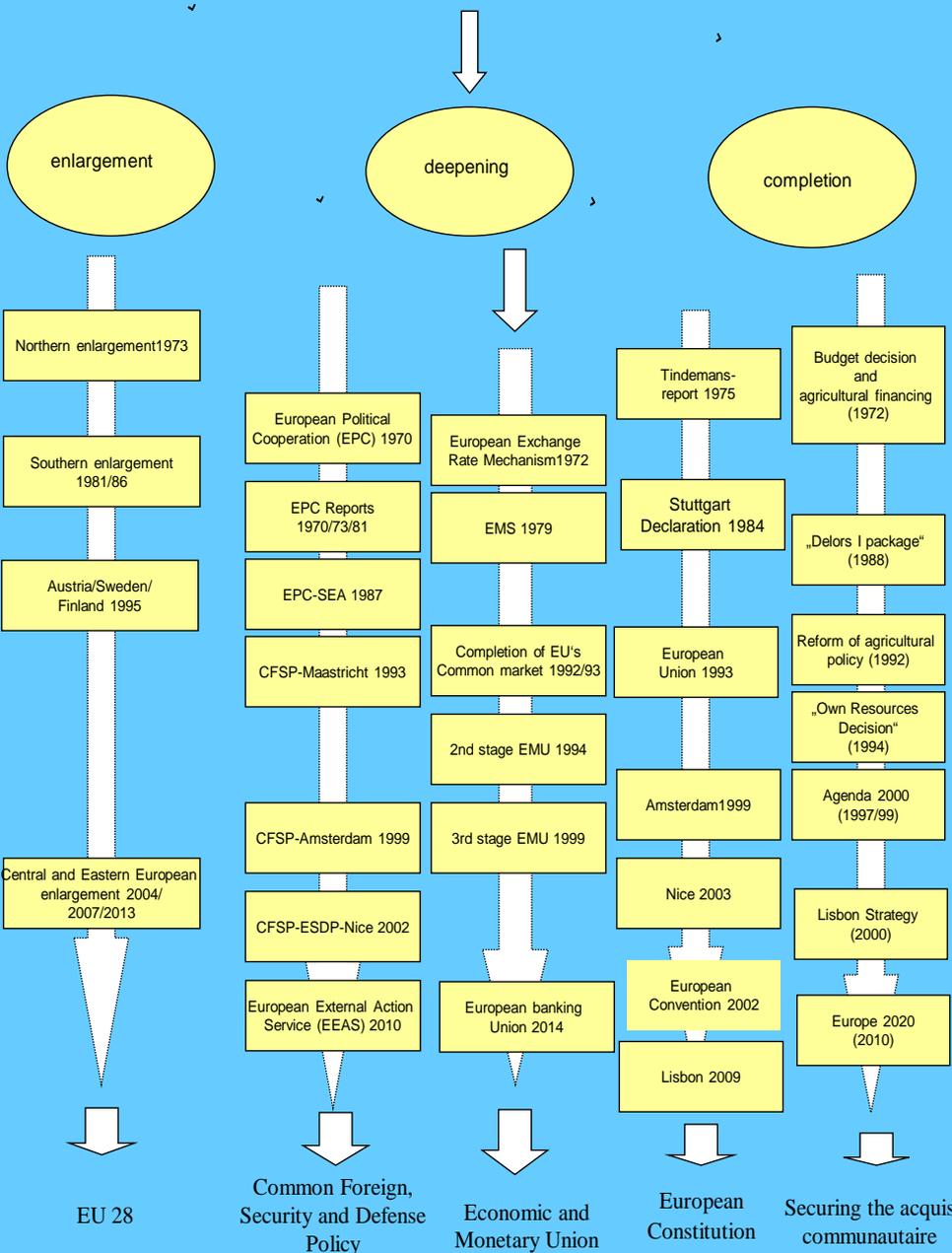
# (Neo-)Functionalism

- theory of international relations developed during **inter-war period**
- roots: liberal/idealist tradition > **Kant** > Woodrow **Wilson**
- Proposed to build a form of authority (agencies) based on:
  - economic welfare, gaining legitimacy, ideological opposition to strong international institutions
- functionalism is a pioneer in globalisation theory/strategy
- “The function (...) determines the political instrument suitable for its proper activity, and by the same means provides for its reform at every stage.” > **form follows function** > (Mitrany)
- “integration is the process whereby political actors (...) are persuaded to **shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre**, whose institutions possess (...) jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states”(Haas, 1958)
- main focus of Ne Functionalism is on the ‘factors’ that drive integration:
  - Interest group activity at the European and national levels
  - Political party activity
  - The role of governments and supranational institutions

# Intergovernmentalism

- Intergovernmentalism sees the integration process as a **series of bargains between sovereign states** pursuing their national interests (Hoffmann, 1966)
- “...arrangements whereby nation states, in situations and conditions they can control, cooperate with one another on matters of common interest. The **existence of control**, which allows all participating states to decide the extent and nature of this cooperation means that national sovereignty is not directly undermined.” (Nugent, 2006)
- no spill-over effect (neo-functionalism) but „**logic of diversity**“ (Hoffmann, 1966)
- **The intergovernmentalist versus neo-functionalist argument was a** hugely significant academic debate from the mid-1960s and onwards:
  - Intergovernmentalists sought to explain why the integration process had not proceeded as smoothly as its founders had hoped.
  - Neo-functionalism would see a decline in the importance and power of the nation states. Their objectives would be aligned by the political and market integration at a higher, supranational level.

# The Summits of the Hague 1969 and Paris (1972)



«Die Sonne!»