

Miodrag Bozovic



*The European Union and
Cosmopolitan Democracy*

An Idea for Peace



The cover:

The Smrikve coat of arms is highlighted on a background of sky and clouds, illuminated by the sun, itself represented by the symbol of the Smrikva Bowl.

This book is dedicated to a place called Smrikve. Located near the City of Pula, it is the place where Mate and Milka Bencic settled down with their family. Smrikve is a Mediterranean plant, which in English is called juniper.

Founded in 1996, the Smrikva Bowl is an annual international children's tennis tournament taking place in Smrikve. This tournament was born with the vision of promoting values that reach beyond all frontiers – that are cosmopolitan values. Children, sports and music are part of the cosmopolitan world.

The Smrikva Bowl symbol was designed in 1996. It represents a tennis ball and a stylised tennis racket. In it some may see the letter "S", for Smrikva, while others can make out the line we see when we rotate a tennis ball. The birth of this symbol is inspired by modern Spanish art and the city of Barcelona.

Carved in wood in 1999, the Smrikve coat of arms is a mosaic of symbols.

The green shield with a yellow cross is the city of Pula coat of arms. Pula is found in Istria, in Croatia. In its buildings and foundations we can still see the many civilisations that have lived there, during its over three thousands year history.

The second symbol we come across is the symbol of the Smrikva Bowl, already represented as the sun in the cover. The tennis ball in the coat of arms once again becomes the sun, the fountain of life. Above the sun we can see the wings of a seagull, which in symbolic terms represent freedom. Looking closely at the coat of arms we can see that these wings are traced by the golden line above the sun.

The shape of the coat of arms has two meanings. The first is linked to the shape of Istria, at the bottom tip of which are found the City of Pula and Smrikve. The second meaning is found in the shape of a heart. Love is the cosmopolitan value *par excellence*, as far as people and humanity are concerned. Many forces have driven human energy over time: ideology, religion, hate, but the purest has always been love.

An additional message is worth noting. The shadow in the coat of arms is not a realistic reflection, given the position of the sun. On the contrary this shadow represents the passage of time; like the time dimension we find in Picasso painting. The sense of time in the cover also signifies the importance of intergenerational responsibility. Every person is born without knowing anything about life on this earth. It is the responsibility of every generation to learn, to understand and to preserve all that each of us is born with, so we can try to improve upon it before leaving this earth. Intergenerational responsibility alone will allow future generations to enjoy the beauty of life, the sunsets and the seasons of the earth.

The background picture of sky and clouds comes from my desire to show people the sky of Pula, which especially in spring and summer fills up with puffy clouds. The sky turns into a blue meadow full of lots of white sheep. The clouds also represent our thoughts and emotions which come and go and must not tie people down, but should be left to flow... as life flows. These clouds also remind me of the stories my father once told me, of the great fun he had flying his airplane just above the clouds. From a plane the earth seems so small, as do so many human problems.

Other symbols shall be left to the eye of the beholder.

Smrikve, 2005

Miodrag Bozovic

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**THE EUROPEAN UNION AND
COSMOPOLITAN DEMOCRACY**

An Idea for Peace

“The Art of Loving”, Eric Fromm

He who knows nothing, loves nothing.

He who can do nothing understands nothing.

He who understands nothing is worthless.

But he who understands also notices, loves, sees...

The more knowledge is inherent in a thing, the greater the love...

Anyone who imagines that all fruits ripen at the same time as the strawberries knows nothing about grapes.

Paracelsus

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ABBREVIATIONS

ECB	European Central Bank, Frankfurt
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Community, Brussels, Luxemburg, Strasbourg
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg.
EEC	European Economic Community
Council of Europe	45 European Member States, Strasbourg.
European Council	European Union Heads of State or Government along with the President of the European Commission.
CSCE (now OSCE)	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Vienna.
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States, Minsk and Moscow.
EFTA	European Free Trade Association, Geneva.
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
Europol	European Police (EU Body), Amsterdam.
GATT (now WTO)	General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, Geneva.
EMI	European Monetary Institute
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Brussels.
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris.
OEEC (now OECD)	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, Paris
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Vienna.
EP	European Parliament
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
EMS	European Monetary System
EU	European Union, Brussels, Luxemburg e Strasbourg.
EMU	European and Monetary Union
WEU	Western European Union, Brussels.
WTO	World Trade Organization, Geneva.

PREMISE

Premise

“Why this idea?”

In the premise the author usually explain the reasons for choosing a particular topic. My motivations are deep and complex since they are... my life.

This thesis is the outcome of deep personal reflection which began in Pula, Istria (Croatia), in the former Yugoslavia, at the end of the 1980's to the beginning of the 1990's. The questions I constantly asked myself during this period were:

- Could it have been possible to avoid the Balkans tragedy of the 1990's?
- What could have been done to prevent the war?
- What are the elements which triggered this tragedy? Such a vicious conflict started off under what were relatively tranquil circumstances for me, a young eighteen-year-old who rejected the nationalist sentiments that steered the war because I was son of two conflicting nations.

To this day I don't think I've found any sure answers, since it's always hard to find certainty in social behaviour, but I believe I've discovered many important elements to answer my questions, which I will return to throughout my thesis. In fact it is from my contemplation over the Balkan Wars that this very thesis - on the European Union as model for peace and Cosmopolitan Democracy - was born.

At the end of the 1980's I was finishing off my last years of Scientific high school and Conservatory of Music. Playing the accordion, guitar and piano gave me the opportunity to travel. As a young lad I travelled all over ex-Yugoslavia and, with the orchestra, I was also given the chance to visit some Western European countries. I played concerts in France, Switzerland and Italy, and was very attracted by the beauty and culture I came across and experienced in these countries. Coming back to Pula I would admire our magnificent Arena and all the relics left behind by the ancient Romans, Venetians and Austrians and felt seduced by a culture and civilization which we still live and breathe today. I knew that Michelangelo had come to Pula to study the static of *Porta Gemina*, one of the most beautiful doors to the city still existing from the Roman Period. I knew that even Dante had cited Pula in his Divine Comedy, but I had no idea that throughout history many people were forced to abandon our city. The cemetery - found on Mount Giro, one of Pula's seven hillocks - is a mosaic of Slavic, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian, Jewish, Gypsy names and a place where one can still become cosmopolite.

When the city became the most important military port in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, many military families migrated there and ever since, at every change of regime, just as many people were forced to leave. Along with the military personnel and other service staff who had to leave with every change of government, were also their families, and most importantly their children, who had grown up loving this city, because it was "also" their city.

Even my father¹, a military pilot in the ex-Yugoslavian army, did service in Pula after completing high school in Mostar² and the Airforce Military Academy in Zadar³. My father was captivated by both Istrian culture and the City of

¹ Native of Serbia-Montenegro.

² The ex-Yugoslavian pilot school was in Mostar, in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

³ The Academy was in Zadar, in the Republic of Croatia.

Pula. Here he fell in love with my mother and decided to get married. My mother's family, a numerous and wealthy Istrian family, helped my parents build a future together.

My maternal grandfather was our family pillar. He loved the land and especially the vineyards, so he invested any extra money in land. Nevertheless, when my parents asked him for some terrain to build a tennis court not only did he accept, he also uprooted part of his heartfelt vineyard. In the mid-1980's my mom brought an old tennis net home and a new era began for us. My parents decided to build a tennis court and dedicate themselves to tourism. Even we were becoming small entrepreneurs. My grandfather decided to support my parents' decision, since his insight also told him that tourism would lead to a better future. In that first period our tennis court was the only one to be found on the whole western coast of Istria, between Pula and Rovigno, and not far away from our court a new tourist village Barbariga was found. Barbariga was a place mostly frequented by Slovenian entrepreneurs.

Our clients were on the rise and thanks to night lighting, our courts were busy 22 hours a day. You could only find a spot free between 4 and 6 in the morning. Often at four-thirty in the morning my father and I would finish watering the courts and after two hours of rest he would get right back to work, even greeting our early morning clients. Dad was a pilot, and one of our rituals was to wake me up with the roar of his MiG – 21's engine. He would soar over my room at a low altitude and if I opened the window fast enough I could see the good morning greeting he gave me by flapping his plane wings.

I really enjoyed our activity. I had the feeling that we were building something. In three days we were able to earn as much money as a factory worker's monthly salary. It was during this period, in long conversations with Slovenian entrepreneurs, that I developed my desire to understand how the market economy and business world worked. I started to grasp that a private

market could be fun for people and that it could also be a means of unifying them.

That first tennis court financed the development of two more courts. One spring afternoon remains firmly impressed in my memory. My father and I were setting up the nets around the new tennis courts, the sun was setting above the pine forest behind our house, when I mentioned, for the first time, that I wanted to go to the West to study business⁴. I told him I had heard talk about Harvard, the best business school in the world. He answered: "...go, if this is your wish ..." and added: "...everything that your mother and I have built could go up in smoke one day ... an earthquake could take away all the comforts you now enjoy...it's only fair that you seek your independence and your own future". His words were as a prophecy. In just one year's time Yugoslavia's civil war had sparked and a particular earthquake was about to shake-up our family.

A few months after talking to my dad about going to Harvard I discovered Bocconi, the Italian Harvard. Going to Bocconi in Milan was a more realistic choice.

At the beginning of 1991 I began private Italian lessons. I recall that Olga, my teacher, a very distinguished lady, said to me: "But Miodrag, are you really sure you want to go to Bocconi? It's the best business school in Italy and it's not easy to get admitted. Your Italian isn't at a good level yet. Try to think about a second choice in case your admissions test doesn't go so well". But I believed, my strength of will was great, I was sure of my "only" choice, and I kept telling myself that it was vital to get in: I would have even studied 24 hours a day to pass the exam and I knew was going to make it. To improve my chances that summer I decided to take an Italian course at the University of Urbino.

⁴ Yugoslavia was nearer to a socialist economy with a self-governing model. As young as I was, I had the feeling that this economic model had a weak future for the times ahead.

In May 1991 I made my last trip abroad with the orchestra. We went to France, to an international competition, and on the highway we passed near Milan. I said to Lili, my friend from Pula I had met in the world of music, that I was going to come to this city to Bocconi University and she believed in me. Lili continued to believe in me and this gave me strength during the darkest days of the war. I remember that we gazed naively from the bus to see if we could make out Milan's Duomo. Today this brings a smile to my face: my Italian was still pretty starchy and I was talking about Bocconi as if I were already a student, without any certainty of enrolling.

In 1990 and 1991 Yugoslavia's mass media was doing its best to create a climate of national hate across the country. Zagreb and Belgrade television had each taken a share of the population for themselves and began to convince their listeners not to trust one another. It took just a few months to infect the public with nationalism, the most terrible virus in contemporary Europe. At first the people didn't think that television could divide the various ethnic groups living in the country. I was one of these people and I still am since, fortunately, I was saved by my enrolment in Bocconi University.

At first glance the Balcan tragedy looked something like a bad movie, a bit boring and full of dated scenes for the period in which they were being staged. I never thought that Yugoslavian people would have been forced to live out this film for many years to come. Once the reel got rolling the young independent republics, founded on nationalism, blocked the public from leaving the cinema. The people had to play the protagonist in the latest Balcan horror. After a few months the nationalist virus began to truly disseminate itself throughout civil society. Little by little the people, by hearing the same things every day and separated from each other by stagnant national divisions, convinced themselves that maybe the "others" were indeed "different". After just six months some people were already gearing up to fight for their personal identity and all the preconditions for the tragedy had been created. The film was

about to begin, the lights were shutting-off and the exit doors were closed.

I didn't know that Balcan History was torn by nationalism. I only knew of Tito's Yugoslavia, characterised by slogans of peace, brotherhood and unity. This is how my parents educated me. I was good at school and was taught to help your neighbour. I was taught not to discriminate against people for the colour of their skin, not to mention their blood type. I was always taught to make people out for what they do. After the start of the Balcan conflict my grandmother often said "Istrians do not recognise guns nor knives, but just work" and she divided people into those who worked, that should be respected, and the "*niškoristi*⁵".

Even our country was involved in the democratization process during this period, just like in the rest of Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Ex-Yugoslavia was beginning a process of "vertical" democratization. Using the democratic tool of the right to vote, nationalists put civil society under a tough test. A sea of nationalist primitivism flooded our civil society, in a sort of universal downpour. Just some isolated areas of civilness remained. The virus wasn't treated at its inception and so it was able to provoke hundreds of thousands of victims and millions of refugees. Only a long period of peace and prosperity will help the deep wounds of our civil society to heal.

The entry of the Balcan Countries into the European Union will be like the day the dove brought Noah an olive branch to reveal to him that the waters had retreated and that life on earth could begin again.

I didn't share Balcan nationalist ideas and I wouldn't accept that democracy meant creating a ethnically "clean" or "pure" nationalist state. Everything I had learned in the past was considered wrong and I was confused. I couldn't understand

⁵ A popular Croatian word for people who sponge off of the work of others.

why it was all wrong. After years my doubts were justified. “Nationalist democracy” was just the beginning of a long journey that led towards a needless tragedy, towards many nationalist states which only today, after so many deaths, are starting little by little to apply democratic rules and to respect human rights.

I never imagined that people could judge each other for something we cannot choose, like our nationality. We do not choose where we are born, we do not choose our name and we should not be judged and discriminated against for these things. Nationalism was a new discovery for me, unearthed in 1990, that I never accepted. I feel very fortunate to have come to Milan, on September 21st 1991, and that from that day on I was able to experience this tragedy from the outside: despite leaving my heart in Pula because of the earthquake that was devastating our family.

In August 1991 I was in Urbino. At the time Yugoslavia, Croatia in particular, was already turning into chaos. When the course in Urbino finished I moved straight to Milan: back home they told me it was better not to pass by Pula since it was already hard to move from one city to the other. I was able to do the Bocconi admissions test and I was very happy for that. On September 12th I was on my way back to Pula, which I had not seen since the beginning of August.

Pula had changed. Even though the Arena was still there, magnificent, immense and white, fear was felt in the air. Of the hundreds of friends and acquaintances I once had in Pula, I found myself with my family and a handful of friends. I felt very bad about the situation since I cared about everyone around me and I always committed myself to being impartial towards each and every friend or acquaintance. These were the values my parents had always taught me.

At the time my father was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Yugoslavian Federal Aviation and Vice-Commander of the

Pula's Airforce Base. Our family was receiving daily death threats and my mother hadn't slept for months.

I still vividly remember that as soon as I got home I went to say hello to my grandfather, who was walking from the vineyards towards the house. Leaning on his "*rankun*"⁶ and looking seriously at me he said, worrisome: "Why have you come home? Here awful things are about to happen, you should have stayed in Milan". I sensed that I was going to be away from Pula for a long time⁷ and for me every moment was precious.

They shot at my house during those days. The threats were serious, I remember the children's cries of fear. I was astonished to realise with my mind of how life can lose its value in moments like these. Resignation and desperation take wind. I have this feeling every time I see a conflict on television. It took me months to regain the love for everything I had loved before the war. Just a few days breathing the terrible climate of Pula were enough for me to wish I were a foreigner or that I could live in Switzerland⁸ so that I would never have to live through another war.

My last night in Pula, it was September 20th 1991, we slept at my grandparents' house. That night I was only able to say goodbye to my father over the phone. As we exchanged a few choked words, I didn't know that I wasn't going to see him for over a year nor what was going to happen in that year. It was dark. At the time we had two dogs. I realised that only Prince the larger dog was with us that night and that Dina, a young puppy, was left home alone. I wanted to go get her, but my mother told me to leave her there, that nothing was going to

⁶ Istrian word for the staff farmers use in the fields.

⁷ My insight was right, from the moment I left Pula on September 21st 1991 I had to wait until Easter 1994 to see my home again.

⁸ Since its foundation in 1291 the Helvetic Confederation has been based on the democratic system, equality and independence. The choice of neutrality has allowed it to steer clear of the great European wars.

happen. I knew my mother was afraid that I would go off into the night, towards home by myself, but I felt bad leaving Dina alone. In the end I went to get her. She was such a sweet puppy that when she kissed you she made a cute sound with her tongue that made everybody laugh. A few days later someone poisoned her; she was just a puppy and had nothing to do with the war and the stupidity of men.

At 5:30 a.m. on September 21st 1991 I got ready to leave for Milan. It was still dark. My grandmother gave me a pair of scissors⁹ that I needed. I gave a goodbye kiss to grandad who was still in bed. This was the last time I saw him: not even two months later he was struck by a heart attack. He couldn't bear what was happening to his family.

There were two cars in the courtyard, one was my uncle's and the other my aunt's. I remember my uncle driving ahead of us to prevent the police from stopping us. I had a permit in my hand, which I've kept to this day, to leave the city for study purposes, but in that period there was little room to move, especially for our family, because of my father's work. Personal rights and the law are hardly ever guaranteed during wartime.

When I left my grandparents' courtyard my mother said: "See you for All Saint's Day". I had the feeling that much more time would have passed.

I had another friend who was sleeping over at my house in those days. Of the hundreds of teenagers I knew in the city he was still a friend. The morning I left he had worked the night shift and made it to the courtyard just a few minutes after I was gone. The road was a bit wet and as he tried to reach our car he did a tailspin. I wasn't able to say goodbye to him that day, but I

⁹ Ten years later, I had to leave grandmother's scissors in an airport. With the security measures that were imposed after the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001 we couldn't bring scissors on a plane.

think of him often. Every time I read the last paragraph¹⁰ of *Esilio* by Enzo Bettiza I see his smile.

That morning I left for Milan from the Trieste train station. My sister couldn't sleep at home, not even my father was at home and my mother, that same night, had a nervous breakdown. She hadn't slept for over two months and she lost the ability to speak and to recognise people due to the mental stress. My grandfather asked dad to bring my mother and sister to a safe place since the situation was becoming too difficult. My father accepted his advice and transferred my mother and sister to Belgrade¹¹. My mother was admitted to the psychiatric hospital.

Yugoslavia's disintegration was accelerating and my father was assigned his last military mission. He was ordered to remain in Pula during the withdrawal of federal air and armed forces to ensure that everything ran smoothly. At the end of the day Istria was able to maintain peace. This success was due to a series of factors. It was due to its multi-ethnic population, Istrian culture, the wisdom of a small group of courageous politicians who refused to accept the nationalist cause, and to my father.

On November 5th 1991, one day after my mother's birthday, my grandfather died of a heart attack. Even though my mother wasn't feeling much better, my father decided to take her to Pula for her last goodbye to grandad. Dad knew how attached they were to each other and he felt that if he hadn't brought her, then when she got better she would never have forgiven him.

¹⁰ *Esilio* (Exile) by Enzo Bettiza (page 466): The fishing boat, crushed by the weight of that escaping humanity, took off the shore anchors and directed the prow towards Bari. Till the last moment I was looking at my friend who was standing on the embankment and never waved his hand. He was becoming ever tiny, more fragile, vanishing. When he reduced to a grey dot in the sky-blue, I understood that my exile was starting.

¹¹ The capital of ex-Yugoslavia.

A few weeks after the army's withdrawal from Istria my father joined my mother and sister in Belgrade. Yugoslavia no longer existed. For my sister, who was far from home with a mother who didn't even recognise her, the pain was so unbearable that words can't describe. The doctors told my father that in Belgrade mom would never have gotten better and that she had to stay in Pula near her family. In that instant my father decided to leave the army and to return to Pula with the family, giving up his right to a pension. He chose his family. It was December 1991.

I was in Milan. The first few days were difficult but after a week I was helped by some of Lili's friends. Thanks to her I met Mr. Dante¹² and his family. Lili's dad and Mr. Dante met in Sardinia during the Second World War. They had shared the same tent for five years. This Milanese family became a second family to me. They made it possible for me to totally concentrate on my studies and helped my family in Istria come back to life.

I got to Italy with one-million six-hundred-thousand Lire¹³ and had no idea how long this money was going to last. But I do remember having a very strong desire to make it. During my Italian course, in Urbino, I read a book on the life of *Federico di Montefeltro* and was left awestruck by his strength of will. For him nothing was impossible if you put your mind to it.

A few days after my family returned to Pula, my father was arrested as civilian. It was January 1992. During my first phone call to the family, no one wanted to tell me that dad was in jail. I asked to speak to him and they told me that he was busy outside doing house chores, they didn't want to tell me the truth. After a few days I received a call from my cousin, who told me that dad had been arrested, but that he had a good lawyer and that everything would be ok. I was tranquil. I was convinced that what they did to dad would never have happened in Croatia.

¹² Mr. Dante and his family helped me to complete my studies.

¹³ Equivalent to 826 euro.

I thought that in the 1990's certain things could never occur in a civilized country. I was wrong.

My father was imprisoned in the Pula jail for four months. Then, without trial, an order arrived from Zagreb to transfer him from Pula to the Zagreb jail. He was transferred, without any notice to the family, to the Kerestinec concentration camp, located in an ex-military barracks in Zagreb. They transferred him because of a decision made in Zagreb to expell him from Croatia and exchange him as a prisoner of war, despite that he was arrested as civilian. During this period the whole family was subjected to mistreatment and humiliation.

The Ministry of Education denied my sister, now back in Pula, the possibility to go to school in her hometown. She was only able to go back to school after our lawyers' intervention. My mother went back to Pula's psychiatric ward. For many years grandma and my mom's family became our family pillars.

My father was in jail, my mother in the psychiatric ward, to my sister was denied the right to attend school. We also knew that some people wanted to occupy our home that was built by my parents' sweat and tears. It's thanks to the strength of my grandmother and my mother's family that our tale did not turn into the story of so many refugees from Pula and Istria, who were forced to abandon their homes forever. When I read Enzo Bettiza's book *Esilio* (Exile) I felt a deep suffering because in his writing I saw my family suffering. The only difference was in the year: it was 1991 rather than 1945.

The stories of refugees around the world are so similar. They leave everything behind and only carry suffering in their hearts, together with the memory of the places they were born and raised, a memory which nothing can take away from them, not even time.

My father stayed in the concentration camp for nine days. Those nine days were sufficient enough to turn his body into a "suit of blood" and his face into a "mask of blood". At home

he's still got the piece of paper he kept in his shirt pocket during those nine days. He kept a daily diary on that piece of paper. He described what was happening to him in miniscule letters because the paper was small and he had no idea of how long they were planning to keep him locked up. The bloodstains on its folds are witness to his imprisonment (see photograph 1).

The first day, as soon as dad set foot in the camp, they started torturing him. He was beaten because he had a Croatian name, because his mother had a Serbian name, he was beaten even because he had some small Croatian change in his pocket and his torturers wanted to show him that he didn't need this money any more.

Throughout his military career dad met many people and taught many pilots how to fly. In pilot training you need to conquer and build a trusting relationship. When I was small he also taught me the significance of trust. For my father trust was everything in a relationship and I also believe this.

Many years ago I had just started spending time at our elementary school library and reading my first books. One day he asked me if I had already read the book I borrowed and I said yes. I even told him that I would have exchanged it the next day.

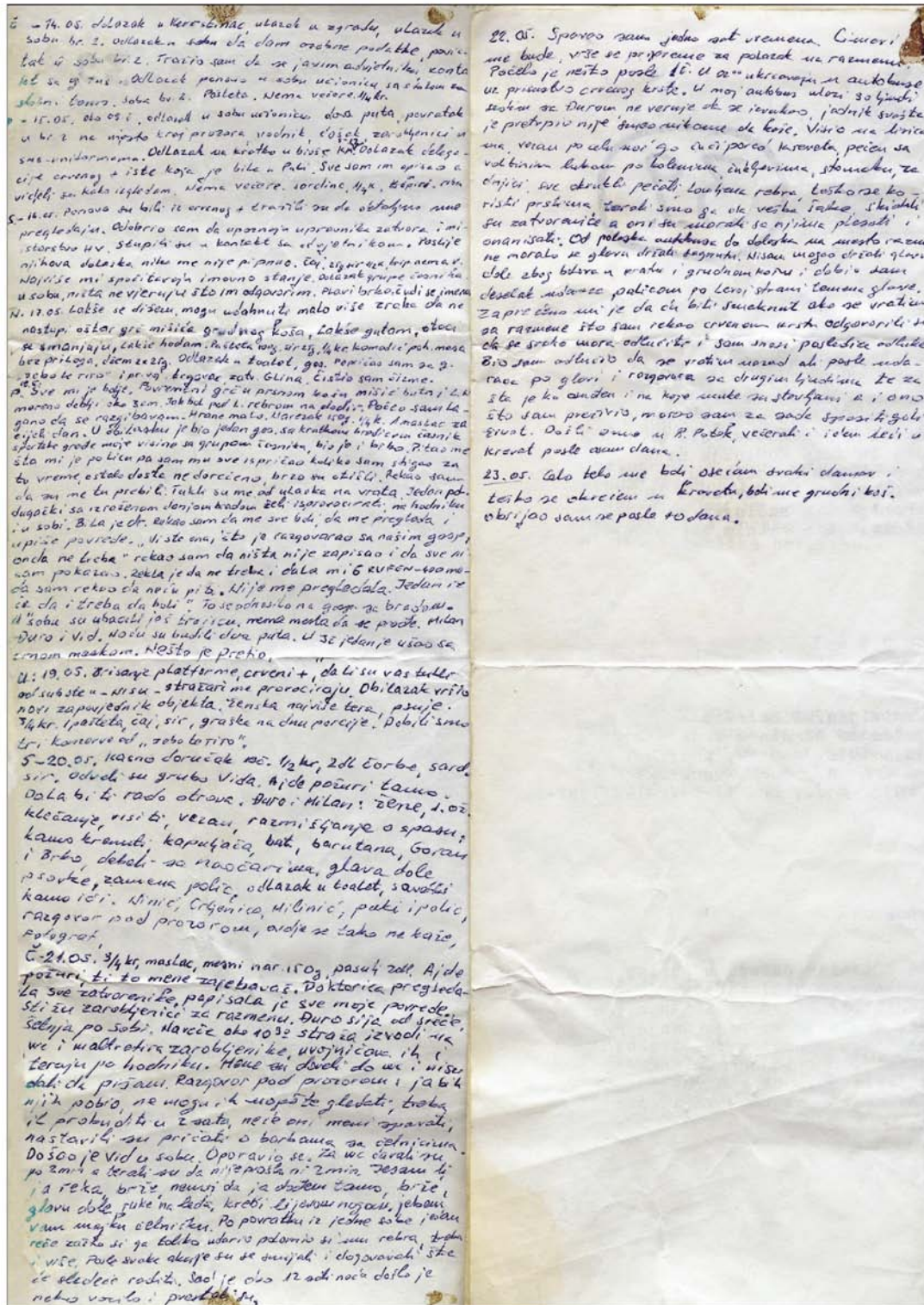
The next day he asked if I had exchanged the book. To tell the truth I had forgotten to and told him that I would have done it the day after.

The next day I forgot it again and he, once again, asked if I had exchanged the book. Out of embarrassment for having forgotten again, I told him that I had indeed exchanged the book!

His next question, which I didn't expect, was to show him the new book. I had to tell him the truth, that I had never returned the book and that I had forgotten again. My father then told me that I lied to him and that I had jeopardized his trust in me. He explained me that if one day someone were to accuse me

of something I didn't do he may not believe me even if I will be the one to tell the true.

Photograph 1. My father's Concentration Camp Diary (May 14th – 23rd, 1992).



These words were enough to teach me the significance of trust and what it means to betray it. It takes a lifetime to build and it can be destroyed in a second.

At the beginning of the torture, my father tried to establish human contact with the young men of the military police. He tried to develop trust but this task was too hard. These young men had been infected by the nationalist virus and hate for some time. Since dad was a gymnast in his younger years he tried to reach their hearts with the human touch. He walked on his hands and asked the military police if they were able to do the same. He challenged them to a push-up contest. He asked how they could find pleasure in beating him when they were in six and he couldn't even defend himself.

He asked if he could speak to a General he knew before the war and who indirectly was one of their commanding officers, but they answered that their orders were to kill people like him and that he shouldn't ask to speak to anyone. They were all armed and all he could do was couch down near the corner of the room to get as few blows as possible. He couldn't defend himself, any resistance would have been a pretence to kill him.

My father told the guards that he would report everything that happened to him in prison to anyone who came through for an inspection. At that point, in order to frighten him, they took him into a larger room where about thirty civilians were staying and began beating everyone savagely, indiscriminately. After beating them the guards asked: "did anybody hit you?" and their collective response was: "no sir".

The group that tortured him the first day was made up of six soldiers and towards the end of that day one of them brought him a piece of bread and a beer. This was a great victory for my dad, who continued to believe in people. Something human was awakening. At least one of them had shown him their human side.

The next day, the commanding officer substituted everyone who had beaten my father on the first day with new soldiers and, after another day of torture, which lasted hours and hours, his strength was diminishing. There were already thirteen points on his body where the flesh was oozing out of his skin. His head was bleeding due to repeated pistol blows and because as they tried to strangle him they shattered a window with his head. It was even hard to breathe, since after so many repeat blows they broke his ribs and any effort to inhale provoked such intense pain that he began to lose his senses. During his affliction he told his young torturers that in a few years they would have trouble sleeping and would have nightmares full of white mice. He told them that they would dream about everything they were seeing with their eyes.



Robert Conquest¹⁴ was right when he wrote that torture is a worst crime against humanity than killing.

As soon as we found out that dad had been transferred to the Kerestinec concentration camp in Zagreb, our lawyers were able to send the Geneva Red Cross in for a medical checkup (see photograph 2).

The Red Cross went to the camp to seek him out but the prison guards, not knowing that the Red Cross was looking specifically for my dad, had hidden him away, because he was unfit to be seen. He was taken towards a forest, followed by a person with a machine gun. My dad didn't know anything about the Red Cross visit so at that point he thought they might have decided to kill him. It was the first time they had taken him to the forest. Awhile later, at the specific request of the Red Cross that was there to see my dad, he was brought back to the prison and the Red Cross doctors examined him. They described all his wounds on a human body outline.

¹⁴ The great Stalinism reporter.

Photograph 2. Certificate, Geneva Red Cross

	COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS
AGENCE CENTRALE DE RECHERCHES CENTRAL TRACING AGENCY	
Référence: HRZ-006318	Zagreb, 27.05.1994
P O T V R D A C E R T I F I C A T E	
Kojom se potvrđuje da je <u>BOZOVIC (LJUBIVOJE) TOMISLAV</u> Which confirms that <i>family name (father's name) first name</i>	
Rodjen <u>02.02.1950</u> u <u>Brdjanima</u> Born on <u>02.02.1950</u> in <u>Brdjanima</u>	
Registriran od delegata MKCK dana <u>16.03.1992</u> Was registered by ICRC delegate on <u>16.03.1992</u>	
U mjestu zatocjenja <u>PULA, zatim KERESTINEC</u> In detention place <u>PULA, zatim KERESTINEC</u>	
Redovito posjecivan od <u>16.03.1992</u> do <u>19.05.1992</u> Regularly visited from <u>16.03.1992</u> to <u>19.05.1992</u>	
Osloboden dana <u>22.05.1992</u> pod zastitom MKCK Was released on <u>22.05.1992</u> under the ICRC auspices	
<p>Marguerite Pillonel Delegat za zatoczenja Tracing Delegate for Detainees</p> 	
19, AVENUE DE LA PAIX - CH - 1202 GENÈVE - TÉLÉPHONE: (022) 734 60 01 - TÉLÉGRAMME: INTERCROIXROUGE - TÉLEX: 414228 - TÉLÉFAX: (022) 733 20 57 - CHÈQUES POSTAUX: 12-5527-8	

As promised he told everything to the Red Cross and pointed out others who had been tortured, but were too afraid to say so, and asked the Red Cross to examine them as well. The

Red Cross people asked him if he was sure he wanted to denounce his torturers and they explained that they were unable to protect him. He said yes and reported all the abuse he experienced and witnessed directly: elderly women who were humiliated and forced to take their clothes off in front of the men, who in turn were forced to masturbate; people handcuffed to the ceiling with the tips of their toes just barely touching the floor; people tortured by electric shock; people who, due to repeated blows, had bootprints on their skin.

These experiences forced me to reflect on what human rights, torture, State sovereignty, the reluctance to interfere in internal State affairs really means. I was struck by the impotency of all the reputable NGO's, like the Red Cross and Amnesty International, who condemned the atrocities but were unable to win over the sovereignty of barbarity and cruelty.

Before the end of the 9th day in the concentration camp a list arrived and everyone was asked to sign up for a prisoner swap. My father decided to sign to stay in Croatia, explaining that he wanted to live with his family and that he desired not to be exchanged as a prisoner of war. His wish wasn't granted and that morning he was hauled on a bus and taken to the place where the exchange was to take place. On the bus he repeated that he didn't want to be exchanged and in response he was hit on the head by a police club. When they got to the exchange site his prison companions dragged him out of the bus and telling him: "boy try to save your neck now...if you turn back darkness will overcome...if you don't have anywhere to go come to our home and we will take care of you...".

My father once told me that when he saw the number of people swapped that morning it was likely that his deportation had given many people the chance to go home. He was pleased to know that thanks to his own exile he had helped them go back home.

It was the end of May 1992 when, for the first time, after five months of silence, I heard my father's voice. I called him

from a telephone booth in Bocconi's student residence. I remember him saying in a painful voice: "...they broke my spirit...I don't see the way how to come home anymore...", it was the first time hearing my father say that he was wounded. He had never exposed any weakness. He's the type of person who always reassures others. I remember one morning when I was small. I was about six years old, we were laying on the bed and I was tormented by thoughts of death, when I asked him: "Daddy... do we have to die?". And he, with reassuring tranquility answered: "No!", and I felt calm. After awhile he explained that he wasn't afraid to die because in any case he would continue to live inside of me.

After a short stay in the Belgrade Hospital, he met up with me in Milan in August 1992. A year later he moved to Trieste to be closer to the family. This way, every week, for seven and a half years, mom went to see him in Trieste. Mom was able to fight all those years thanks to her inner strength, love, the help of her family and her desire to see dad come home, but above all thanks to scientific progress in the pharmaceutical field.

January 13th 2001 was the day Dad returned home to Pula. Exactly nine years had passed since that day of his arrest on January 13th 1992.

Throughout those nine years I tried to help dad return home, but it was above all my mother's strength of will and love that worked.

This thesis summarizes some of the thoughts I've developed over the last fifteen years and most of all reflects upon the challenge of peace in a European context. The Balcans are a product of European History and many European ideas have spread across the Balcans and throughout the world. Although many of these ideas have been distorted outside of their European context, today Europe continues to work on a much greater project for peace that could become a model for other populations to follow.

During my second year at Bocconi I discovered Investment Banks and thought that they could be a useful tool for getting to know the business world, important international institutions, and for meeting people who could help my father come home. I knew I needed top marks and an international experience to enter into this world. So I dedicated myself to graduating from Bocconi with top grades; and in 1995 I left Milan as an exchange student at Barcelona's ESADE¹⁵ University, returning at the end of 1996 as CEMS¹⁶ Master student. At the end of the day I succeeded: I graduated on a Friday and the next Monday I started working in the world of Investment Banking.

My family in Milan and Bocconi taught me the basic values that I had also learned from my grandparents and my parents: that you have to strive hard with all your might to achieve anything. I learned that the continuous work of many generations is needed in order to create wellbeing and, as I imagined, I had proof that poverty and economic strife are the catalysts of war.

I learned another important thing from Mr. Dante: the importance of experience. I remember that when I couldn't see any future for my country and my family, he said: "Don't you worry Mimi¹⁷, in time everything will work itself out, you'll see". He had lived through Fascism and knew that all regimes had to fall sooner or later and in his opinion the situation that developed in ex-Yugoslavia was unsustainable in the long-term, because it was based on foundations which could not be maintained in our contemporary world.

When I began studying political science, and mostly history, I was able to understand his thoughts. Sadly, he passed away before I was able to share my new thoughts with him.

¹⁵ Escuela Superior de Administración y Dirección de Empresas.

¹⁶ Common European Management Science. This program was born in the mid-1980's thanks to a European Community initiative.

¹⁷ My nickname.

In my search for experience I decided to do the CEMS Master in international management, whose mission is to create pan-European managers. I learned my first notions on the Council of Europe, the European Union, human rights and democratic systems in Barcelona, at ESADE University. I learned that respect for human rights and a democratic system are the preconditions for entering into the European Union and this pleased me right away. At ESADE I thought up the idea of presenting my father's case to the Council of Europe. A few friends at ESADE helped me translate the dossier into different European languages and professors of European Law and Politics got me in touch with the appropriate people from Spanish administration, who helped to present the case to the Council of Europe. It was presented as a human rights violation case. Croatia had just become a member of the Council of Europe.

I vividly recall another event at ESADE which is worth mentioning, since later on I talk about European Union expansion. In fact, we were discussing European Union expansion and the professor asked the whole class if it were advantageous to expand the Union, or if it would be better to improve upon the existing structure. I was the only one who said it was important to open up the EU to new countries, motivating it with the need for stabilization and peace throughout the Continent¹⁸. During this period I understood that the people who first built Europe were those who had seen and experienced the horrors of both World Wars firsthand, and who were dedicated to European integration in order to heal the deep wounds and ensure that peace stabilize itself as firmly as possible. The people who will be responsible for continuing the integration process have lived in peacetime and they must understand that, even in today's orderly Europe, nationalist ghosts are not

¹⁸ At the time I still wasn't registered in the Faculty of Political Sciences in Milan, but I was already thinking of a possible thesis on the pacification of ex-Yugoslavia, an embryo of this current thesis on Cosmopolitan Democracy.

defeated for ever and that peace is not a conquer that last forever.

I started working and my hopes were fulfilled: I was able to talk about and get many people involved in dad's case. In 1998 the bank I was working for sent me to New York, where through some friends I was able to deliver my father's dossier to an important person in the American government.

I had already decided to register in the Faculty of Political Sciences at the *Università degli Studi di Milano*, not knowing exactly what answers I would have found to my questions nor what I would have learned. Today I'm convinced that these studies were very important and that I was able to find many answers to my questions in Western history, culture and philosophy. I owe a heart-felt thanks to my Professor Alberto Martinelli¹⁹ for the encouragement, and for conceding me the full liberty in the development of this thesis.

Another contributing factor in the development of my ideas comes from my one-year participation in "Young Leaders" in Milan's *Studio Ambrosetti*. This experience was also made possible thanks to the bank that sent me to participate in the group. I had the opportunity to share and compare my ideas with important people in the international political community and most importantly with colleagues and professors, whose questions and challenges stimulated this research and reflection.

On January 13th 2001 my father was able to return home. My ideas helped, but the true merit goes to my mother's love, courage and strength of will, together with the courage of several Croatian politicians who were not afraid to support a

¹⁹ My thesis Professor in Political Science.

human rights case during the most fragile moments in Croatia's democratization process.

Today it is 2005 and my wish, now that my father is a free man, is to draw a picture of these ideas – the fruit of personal experience and research and firmly tied to the theme of pacification across the European Continent – in the hope that we are not so far from starting a new worldwide process.

Ideas of peace and values will always be part of modern thought, especially in light of the difficulties we face in today's international climate with the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the war against terrorism. Values should be the chosen means for confrontation with today's totalitarian tendencies. Human rights, liberal democracy and minority rights are the greatest achievements of civil society. It has taken centuries of war and destruction to earn some of these victories and modern Europe is likely the most emblematic illustration of the great human efforts that have been made to achieve peace in a historically complex setting, where all too often the answers have been found in the tragedy of war.

Milan, April 2005

Miodrag Bozovic

To Smrikve

INTRODUCTION

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND COSMOPOLITAN DEMOCRACY

Introduction

The drama of Europe sits in the fact that a lack of clearly defined and commonly shared and accepted rules leaves the Continent at a high risk of facing atrocious conflicts. Despite almost half a century of “complex”²⁰ peace another typically European war erupted in Europe, the war in ex-Yugoslavia.

This war, a witness to the atrocities, devastation and human pain caused by hundreds of thousands of deaths and millions of refugees, should first of all make think “civilized” Europeans. Unfortunately, the victory of peace is never permanent, especially within the European Continent. Europe’s complex history has generated many viruses and those viruses could awake and infect our communities at any time.

Even in the face of actual conflicts I still hear many people say: “It’s 2005 ... how could people still fight over ethnicity or religion ...”. I used to ask myself the same question at the beginning of the war in ex-Yugoslavia. The only difference was that the year was 1991. Even then we asked ourselves how it could have been possible. We now count 2005 years since the birth of Christ, but if we take a moment to think we realize that the oldest person on earth is just over 100 years old. This is the life of each human being and every year someone turns 10, 20, 50 or 70 years old. We represent the civilization: our experiences and our memories, our knowledge, and what each of us will be able to teach those who follow. The civilization is inexorably tied to the circle of life. It is the circle of life which

²⁰ We can define it as “complex” due to the relative balance which existed between the two superpowers (U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) during the cold war.

charge human beings with responsibility and renders us fragile but at the same time renders us immortal.

This is an important concept. Today we live an average of about 80 years. What we call civilization is mostly made up of the human knowledge we have accumulated until today, which our institutions pass onto future generations. Books represent the greatest human memory that can help us understand what we see combined with cumulated personal experience of our daily lives. But given life's brevity it is very easy for people to ignore these issues and lose sight of our human knowledge. It takes just a few generations to lose this great heritage. We have gotten used to rapid technological progress, but social and civil progress is slower and more complex. Humans learn throughout their whole lifetime, from books and school, but we mostly learn from our personal experiences. The same goes for a terrible experience like war. After millenniums of wars, we have yet to discover a common system, shared by all humans, which could guarantee peace and avoid human conflicts.

The general definition of war, acknowledged for some time now, is that war is the final outcome of politics, or failure, of the political process. The use of force is justified when all other political instruments fail. All the wars and deaths caused proves that politics has failed many times. Almost every generation has been touched by one or two great political failures. But if it's fair for civilization to assert that we are the civilization, it's also fair for politics to assert that we are the politics, especially in democratic society.

Throughout history those who have lived through the pain of war have almost always tried to find ways to avoid repeating the same experience. The European Union can be defined as a modern outcome of a political search for peace. We must also never forget that the United States has contributed greatly to this process. Together with the USA, Europe had wise leader

founders such as: Robert Schuman²¹, Konrad Adenauer, Paul Henri Spaak and Alcide De Gasperi – who have all experienced two of the most horrific wars in human history – to set the foundations for today’s European Union.

What we today recognize as the European Union has its roots in the Second World War of 1939-1945. In fact European integration was borne to ensure that the massacre and destruction, for which Europe sadly became the 20th century champion, are no longer repeated.

20th century Europe experienced almost 70% of all war provoked deaths across the globe. This statistic is even more frightening if we consider that Europe at the time made up less than 15% of the world population.

The greatest devastation of human lives and resources of the last century was due to three huge tragedies:

- World War I (1914-1918), over 19 million dead;
- World War II (1939-1945), over 35 million dead;
- The Soviet Regime (1917-1953), 50²² - 60²³ million dead.

It’s estimated²⁴ that of a total 110 million worldwide deaths between 1900-1995, 43 million civilian and 31 million military deaths took place in Europe; these statistics refer solely to war related mortality (see Appendix D). To these numbers we need to add civilian deaths in the U.S.S.R., which are estimated to be an additional 50 – 60 million people between 1917 to 1953.

²¹ May 9th 1950, then French Minister of Foreign Affairs Robert Schuman proposes the idea of European integration.

²² Source: Davies

²³ Source: Discovery Channel

²⁴ Source: Sivard

The magnitude of this 20th century disaster is greater than that of any other century. The 19th century witnessed 19 million deaths, the 18th century 7 million, the 17th century 6 million and the 16th century 2 million. It's clear that industrialization and modernization decoupled the self-destructive power of the Western world.

The questions I will try to answer throughout this thesis are mostly related to the issue of peace and security in Europe. I will try to understand whether longterm peace in Europe is possible, what rules can help build and maintain existing peace and primarily what threats must we guard ourselves from.

Through a series of geographical maps we'll first go over Europe's complex history and assess some of the elements that make up the European identity. Thanks to integration Europe has reached the highest level of a multicultural civilization, yet at the same time it has experienced some of the most atrocious episodes of cruelty in history²⁵.

Before addressing the specific problems of the European Continent, part two reviews Western philosophical thoughts on the topic of peace. We'll go over the views of selected philosophers who have studied and analyzed the problem of peace to help us understand how today we continue to raise the same questions on the issue.

²⁵ Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*: "..., every state, or its ruler, desires to establish lasting peace in this way, aspiring if possible to rule the whole world. But the nature wills otherwise. She employs two means to separate peoples and to prevent them from mixing: differences of language and of religion. These differences involve a tendency to mutual hatred and pretexts for war, but the progress of civilization and men's gradual approach to – greater harmony in their principles finally leads to peaceful agreement. This is not like that peace which despotism (in the burial ground of freedom) produces through a weakening of all powers; it is, on contrary produced and maintained by their equilibrium in liveliest competition."

The following chapter looks at what some personalities in the contemporary history have done to address the peace problem at the political level.

The fourth chapter recaps the historical path towards European integration from the establishment of the first communities till today. We will see how Europe's complex history induced politicians to seek an alternative path to political Union. Half a century later we still haven't reached that target although we have certainly laid some solid ground for achieving this goal in the future.

Chapter five ponders existing and potential tensions which continue to jeopardize peace across the Continent. Two important themes will be analyzed: the problem of nationalism and the issue of wellness and wellbeing. Peace is the key theme of this thesis because the objective of EU integration should be to prevent conflict and to generate and spread wellbeing. Wellbeing and economic development are a direct product of peace. Without peace it is impossible to improve the general wellbeing of everyone. At the same time a decline in wellbeing improporionately increases the conflicts eruption probability.

The final chapter talks about European Union integration and expansion from a political-economic perspective. Inspired by a respect for the rules guiding civil order, Cosmopolitan Democracy represents the most complete and comprehensive modern day idea for achieving lasting peace.

The notion of Cosmopolitan Democracy as a value and cornerstone for building lasting peace is based on an premise, which finds proof in modern history, i.e. that war has never been fought between two liberal democracies. If this continues to hold true, as liberal democratic values continue to spread, civil society should expand and as an outcome we should expect more peace in the world. This does not mean that current social structures are perfect and that they don't require improvement, rather it means that a solid basis already exists for making incremental changes instead of radical ones.

The principal rules that characterise Cosmopolitan Democracy are:

- Political: human rights respect, respect for minority rights and a democratic institutional order;
- Economic: the principal rule entails respect for the regulations within a free market economy;
- Religious: religion is separate from politics and, like the economy, it remains an integral part of society's private sphere and must never be a reason for conflict within a Cosmopolitan Democracy²⁶.

²⁶ Religion has existed in all societies under different forms. The majority of people who practice, feel and experience a religion also tend to define it based on their personal perceptions and experience. In this way it's easy for us to believe that all fruits ripen at the same time as strawberries and thus we know nothing about grapes, to quote Paracelsus. Globalization and new technologies allow human interactions which just a few decades ago were unheard of. Today human beings are more and more in contact with people having different cultural and religious backgrounds. Gandhi once said: "To me the Bible is a religious book like the Gita and the Koran... The various religions are like roads, one different from the other, but they all meet at the same point. It doesn't matter whether we come from different paths, if we all meet at the same destination?"

In a meeting of "Young Leaders" the Italian writer Luciano De Crescenzo made a beautiful observation on science, philosophy and religion. He said that science tries to prove the answers; whereas in philosophy the answers are relative to death, so many questions and problems get tiny; instead in religion one must simply have faith in the answers.

I would like to close my observations by citing Anthony Giddens on Wilson's definition of what religion is not. This in order to avoid any cultural prejudices and traps and to have an idea what those who have grown up in other societies may believe in: "What religion is not?". In the first place, religion should not be identified with monotheism (belief on one God only). The majority of religions affirm the existence of many gods... In some religions gods are completely inexistent.

Secondly, religion should not be identified with moral prescriptions that orient the behavior of its believers ... The idea that the gods are interested in how we behave on this earth is completely alien to many religions....

Thirdly, religion does not necessarily need to explain the origins of the world...

Fourthly, religion shouldn't be associated with the supernatural... Confucianism suggests accepting the natural harmony in the world, not to uncover the truths which resides beyond it.”

CHAPTER I

CHAPTER I

CULTURAL INTEGRATION AND THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

I 1. Introduction

Knowing the historical and cultural evolution of the European Continent is important for understanding today's society. The simplest way to review history is to use several geographics maps. Maps will help us rationalize and trace Europe's complex historical and cultural path. We will also see how history made certain geographic areas more vulnerable to the war outbreak.

Kant said that nature relied on two factors to prevent populations from mixing and these were language and religion, but he also argued that cultural progress and greater agreement on principles could lead towards harmony and peace. This reflection about of Cosmopolitan Democracy as an idea for peace is based on the same assumption because only progress, culture and shared principles can lead towards lasting peace between people.

Geography is the primary factor determining Europe's cultural development. Like every continent, Europe is a child of history and geography. It's the smallest of all the continents surrounded by the seas, which created favourable conditions for the development of navigation and commerce. Ancient populations were already capable of crossing over Europe within the lifetime. Roman history reveals that a Roman general could fight military campaigns on foot or horseback in as far away places as Gaul²⁷, Germany, Spain and Roman Britain²⁸.

²⁷ Modern France.

²⁸ Refers to those parts of the island of Great Britain controlled by the Roman Empire.

European mountain ranges²⁹ were easily surmountable. Since antiquity Europeans have benefitted from a vast network of land³⁰, river and maritime routes that allowed them to move from one part of the Continent to the other.

The original dividing up of Europe was determined by natural river basins, all of which were navigable (Map 1). The Rhine, Rhone and Danube respectively reach the Mediterranean Sea, the Atlantic Ocean and the Black Sea. To the East the basins of the Dnestr, Dnieper and Don Rivers flow into the Black Sea whereas the Volga flows into the Caspian Sea along The Urals. The Ural Mountains represent a natural geographic frontier between the European and Asian Continents.

In fact looking back at Map 1 we can see that Europe represents the extreme western part of the Eurasian Continent and that only the Mediterranean separates Europe from Africa. The three continents have reciprocally influenced each other throughout history through wars and cultural invasions. An interesting anecdote is that Asia is also important in the legend that tells us how the European Continent was named.

The name Europe comes from Greek mythology. Later we will see that the Greeks have given many gifts to Europe. It's been suggested that the legend describing genesis of Europe's name dates back to the end of the 8th century B.C.

The legend tells of a Princess that came from Asia with a god. At Tyre, on the Asian banks of the Mediterranean, in today's Lebanon, lived a Princess named Europa. She was the daughter of King Agenore.

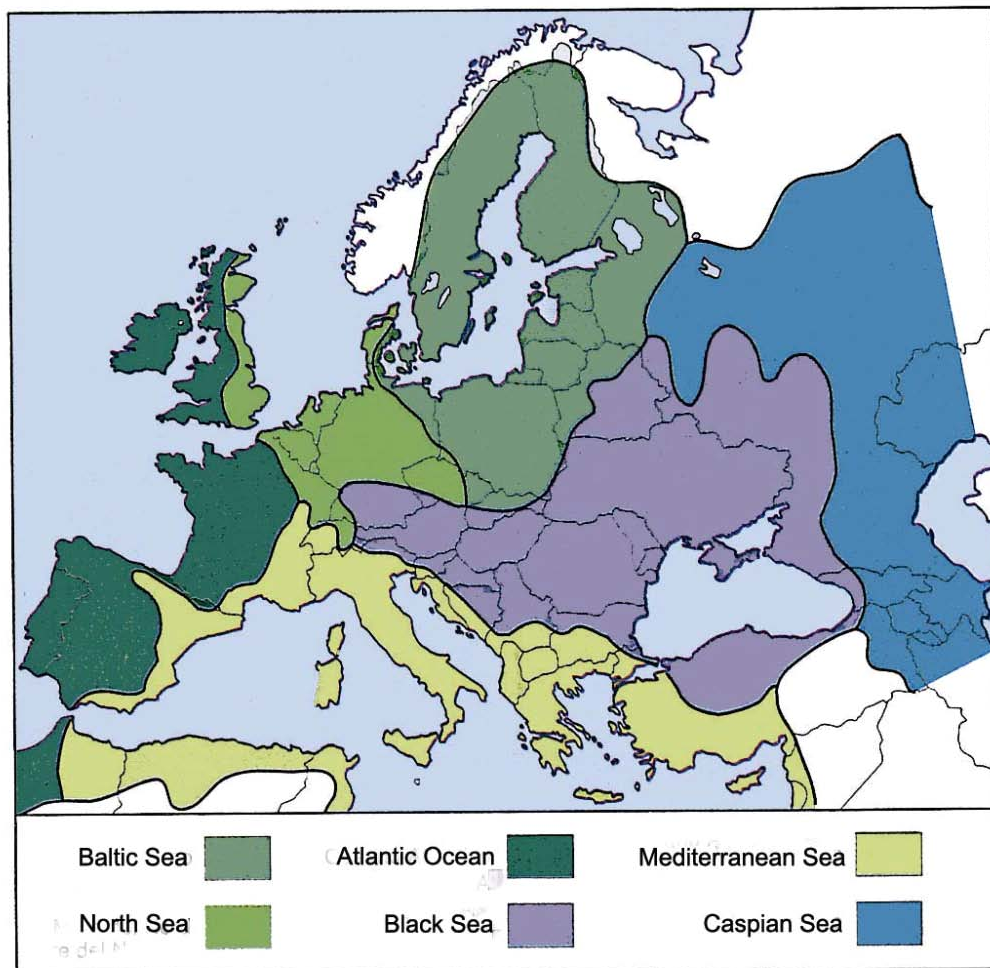
One night the princess had a dream of two lands that took on the shape of two women, and they were arguing over her. One, the land of Asia, wanted to keep Europa for herself, but the other, the land on the opposite banks, wanted to take her away at sea by order of Zeus, King of the gods.

²⁹ The Alps, Pyrenees and Carpathians.

³⁰ The Romans were great road builders.

When she woke up the next morning the princess went to gather flowers at the edge of the sea when a bull, as powerful and magnificent as a Boškari³¹, emerged from the waves and convinced the princess to ride on his back. When she was on the bull's back he flew up to the sky, it was Zeus who had taken the shape of a bull. Zeus led her to the great Greek Island Crete and made love with her. This is how Europe got its name.

Map 1. European Water Divisions and Hydrographic Networks



From this legend we can say that Europe has maintained both of her qualities as a Princess, worthy of love, and that of a myth, a Utopia. It's a lovely story which is still waiting to turn

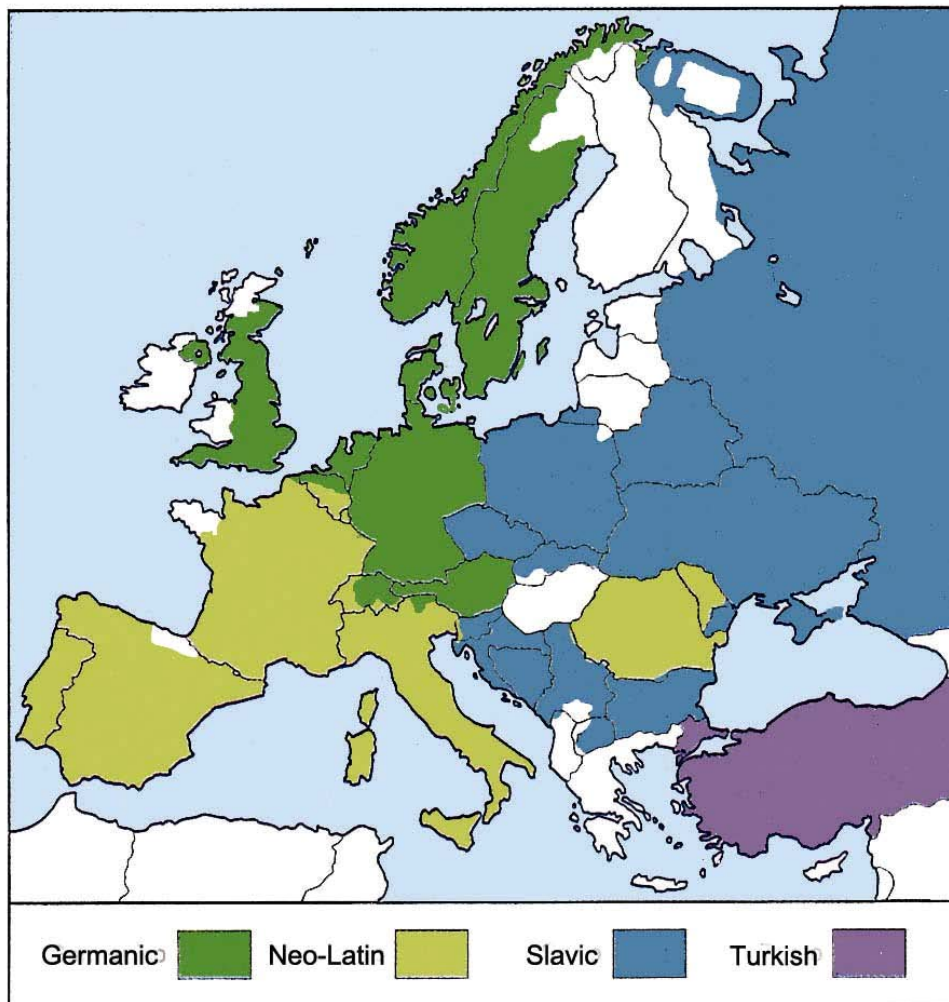
³¹ One of the most beautiful and ancient breeds of European cattle. Native to Istria, grey-white in colour, an ox can weigh over 1300 kilograms.

into a reality and the European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy can be seen as a part of this journey.

Since ancient times Europe was settled almost everywhere thanks to its temperate climate and the fertile terrain. The Continent's uniqueness also lies in its steady economic, historical and cultural development since Greek times; a period which covers over three thousand years.

Hydrographic and historical conditions were critical to the formation of the four most important European linguistic groups: Neo-Latin, Germanic, Slavic and Turkic (Map 2).

Map 2. Contemporary Linguistic Groups.



Language is even more important to Europe's historical and cultural journey than geography because language was one of the building blocks of modern day nationalism across Europe. We will discover that nationalism emerged from the reaction of German philosophers, mostly Fichte³² and Hegel, to the Napoleonic invasions in their country. Initially they were both sympathetic to the French Revolution, but after Napoleon invaded Germany they lost their enthusiasm and developed the concept of the nation, which in time transformed itself into nationalism; and for which many lives have been lost over the last two centuries.

Going back to our previous observations on Kant, another important historical product which has both unified and divided people is religion. Later we will see how religious rifts arose over the centuries.

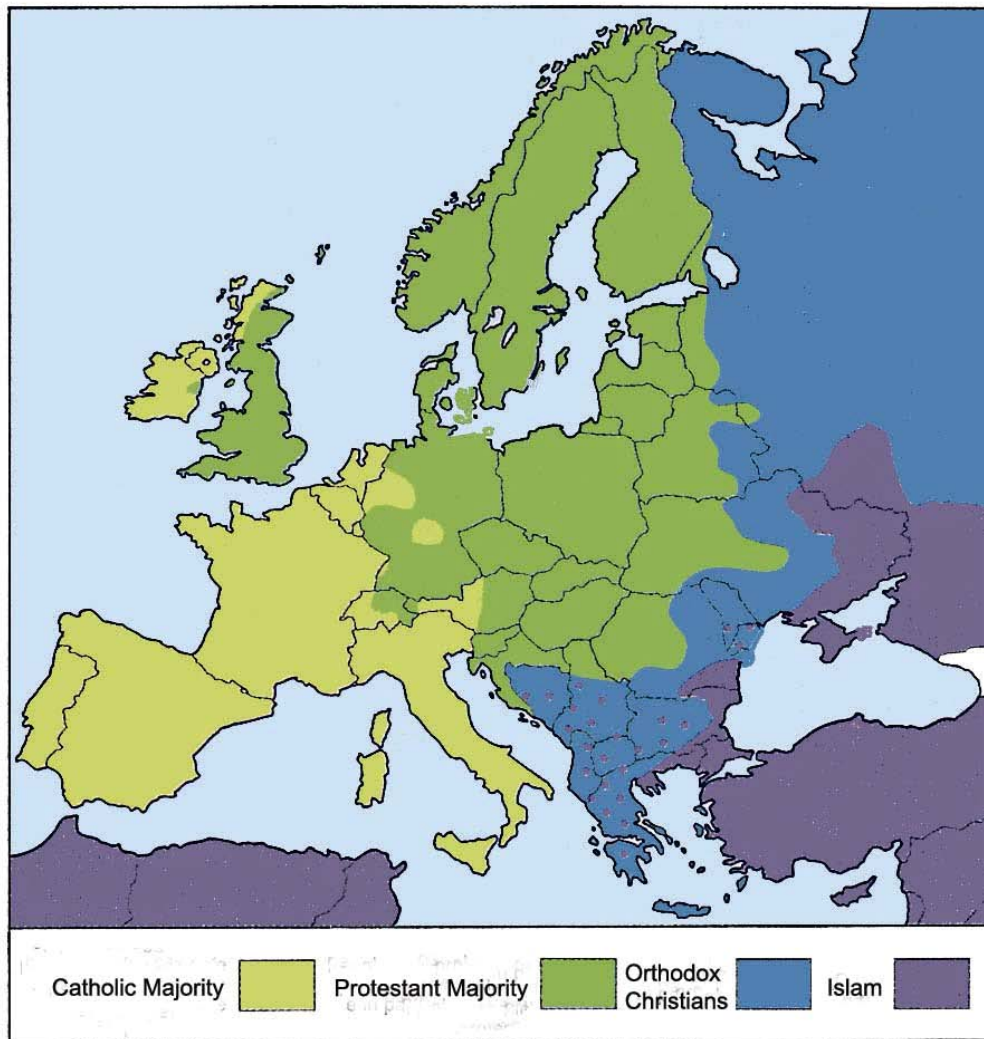
If categorized on the basis of religion Europe can be divided into four areas: Catholic, Protestant, Christian-Orthodox and Muslim (Map 3). Looking at the map it is worth noting that ex-Yugoslavia is found smack in the point of intersection of the four religious areas. Religion and nationalism are no longer the sole cause of war, perhaps they never were, but for the longest time they have been used as its instruments.

Religion³³ has doubtlessly been crucial in creating divisions between Western and Eastern Slavs. Whereas the rifts between Catholics and Protestants reinforced the Latin-Germanic division.

³² Addresses to the German nation, Fichte, 1808. Fichte argued that geography does not distinguish a population, since people can build a country anywhere, but rather a spiritual element is the determining factor: language. Language, he asserted, is not just a means of communication, it is also an instrument through which consciousness builds our spirituality.

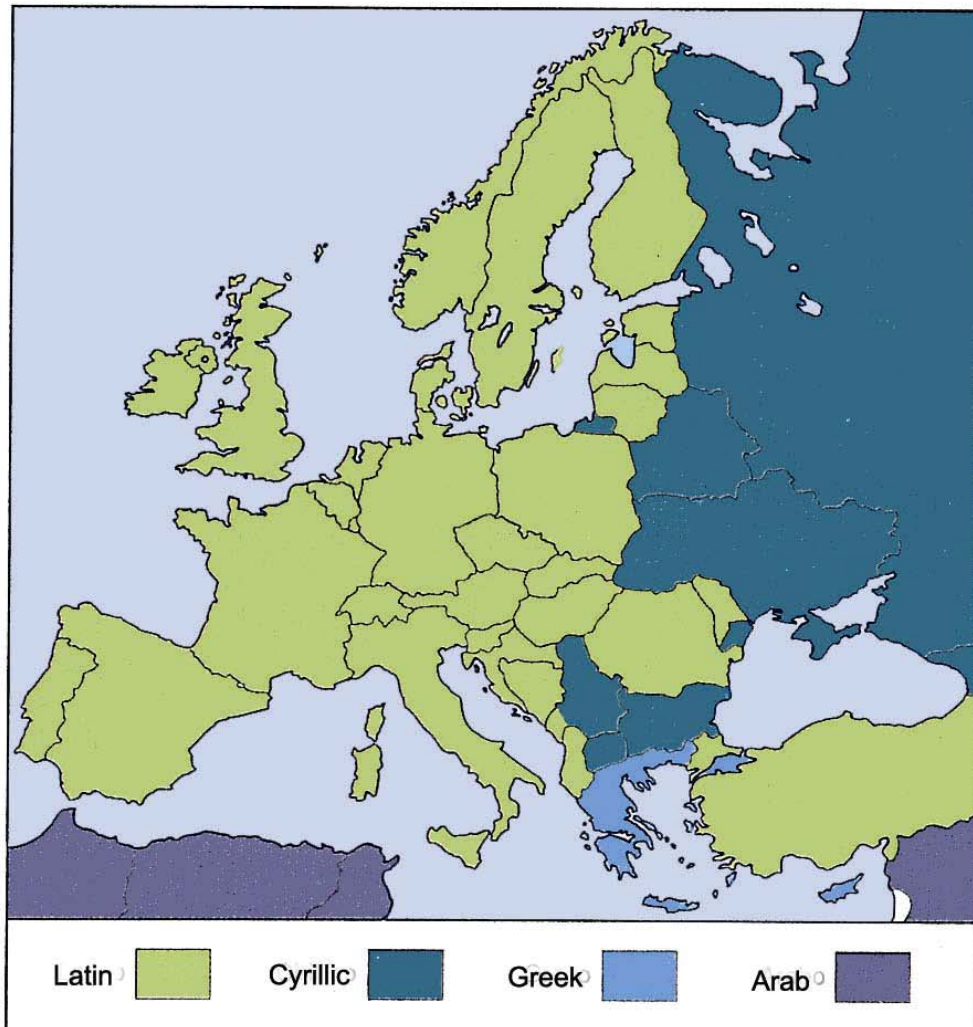
³³ Poland's decision to recognize Rome's authority in 996 was followed by the Magyars in 1001 and later by other Western Slavic populations.

Map 3. Religious Areas in 1560.



The Language Map below illustrates Europe's subdivision into 3 linguistic regions: Latin, Greek/Cyrillic, Arab (Map 4).

Map 4. Contemporary European Linguistic Regions.



From the four maps above we can see the development of four cultural regions (see Figure 1): in the north-west, mainly Germanic and Protestant; south-west, mainly Latin and Catholic; north-east, mainly Slavic and Orthodox and in the south-east mainly Turkish-Arab culture and Muslim religion.

Figure³⁴ 1. Principal linguistic and religious affinities and divisions.

NORTH - WEST	NORTH - EAST
Linguistic group: GERMANIC, Neo-Latin Religion: PROTESTANT, Catholic	Linguistic group: SLAVIC, Turkish Religion: ORTHODOX, Muslim
SOUTH - WEST	SOUTH - EAST
Linguistic group: NEO-LATIN Religion: CATHOLIC	Linguistic group: TURK, Slavic, Neo-Latin Religion: MUSLIM; Orthodox, Catholic

The only one of these four great “frontiers” to have been reduced by European Integration is the north-west Germanic-Protestant and south-west Latin-Catholic frontier. EU expansion (May 1st 2004) towards Eastern European Countries represents a key development for reducing cultural barriers between the north-west and south-west cultures on the one hand and the north-east on the other, a process which in part already began 1000 years ago.

We will see that Europe’s greatest challenges remain the pursuit of closer ties with Russia on the north-east front and Turkey to the south-east. Leading these two big countries closer to the principles that guide civil society in a Cosmopolitan Democracy would constitute two important steps for Cosmopolitan Democracy.

In order to repair existing fractures, the European Union also faces the immense challenge of building trust in common

³⁴ Source: Michael Emerson. The uppercase words refer to the most numerous categories within the same area.

values and addressing the fears towards a common language and religious diversity.

The civil society values that characterize a Cosmopolitan Democracy should become European values and in large part they already are. A second language, preferably English, should be taught to all European children. Religions should represent the cultural and spiritual richness of all European people and may become a spiritual gift within the private life of each individual.

The Continent's complex history makes it difficult to define the European identity. A brief walk through history will help us understand the roots that continue to shape European culture and today's way of living and thinking. Our cultural roots are found in ancient Greece and Rome, in Christianity, in modernity³⁵, but these elements still aren't enough to define the European identity. The true driving force behind this identity are becoming the values and gains of today's Europe and a project for the Europe of tomorrow. Respect for human rights is a key pillar of the European project. The search for peace has led to the creation of today's European Union, which is founded on respect for individual and human rights. After centuries of building nations and inventing ideologies we are going back to the people and tapping into the energy of individuals to create a new common project that can help bring more peace and greater prosperity for everyone; and hopefully for non-Europeans as well.

I 2. Greek Culture

The whole Western world, and in particular Europeans, owe much to Greeks. Western thinking and behaviour is

³⁵ The discovery of science, technology, market economies and capitalism, representative democracy, the Nation-State.

embedded in ancient Greece, also known as the Classic Period. Democracy³⁶ and “peoples’” equality before the law are probably the most important inheritance we’ve got from the ancient Greece. The Romans were the first to spread this culture across the Western world and in fact later we will talk about Greco-Roman culture. Today almost all European countries have democratic systems, but since Greek times democracy has seen long periods of regression across the Continent and has often been forgotten and repressed. Today almost every country in the world acknowledges the validity of respecting individual and human rights, which is a direct product of our humanist culture.

We can also thank the Greeks for the development of rational thought, which in a certain sense opened the door to industrialization and the growth of general wellbeing. The ancient Greeks were the first great European scientists³⁷ and philosophers³⁸. They mostly taught Europeans to believe in human potential; to be humanists. Let’s not forget that the ancient Greeks invented the Olympic Games, which in and of themselves represent cosmopolitan values. I have thought a lot about who since today could live without borders? Athletes, musicians and children came to my mind. Sports, music and children have always been part of the cosmopolitan world.

During the Classic Age the Greeks founded colonies in southern Italy and Sicily, and left behind a great architectural legacy of their civilization³⁹. The Roman Empire expanded much more extensively and just like the Greeks the Romans left great remains of their civilization⁴⁰ in every land they

³⁶ Word means ‘rule by the people’.

³⁷ Euclides, Pythagoras, Archimedes etc.

³⁸ Socrates, Aristotle, Plato etc.

³⁹ For example: Taormina’s Greek Theatre, the Temples of Agrigento etc.

⁴⁰ For example: the Arena of Pula, in Istria; Roman Theatre at Nimes, in France; Imperial Baths at Trier, in Germany; in Great Britain the remains of Hadrian’s Wall, a 117 km long defense fort; in Tunisia, the Amphitheatre of El Djem; aqueducts, roads etc.

conquered. Apart from the historical monuments remaining from these and other periods that followed, the real legacy is a common European Civilization which is mostly made up of cultural elements⁴¹.

We will see how great artistic styles like Romanic, Gothic, Baroque and Romanticism spread all across Europe. Unfortunately for centuries the concept of a Cosmopolitan Europe was kept segregated and restricted to more educated and cultured *élite* circles. Although history has often tried to put in exile Cosmopolitan sentiment it has never been able to cancel it. In end, in our hearts, we're all a little athletes, a little musicians and a little childlike⁴².

The return to the Classics can be seen in numerous periods of Western history. In the history of Western Civilization the word "*renaissance*" has a precise meaning which is the "rebirth" of ancient Classic culture. When we speak about the renaissance it means to go back to the roots of Western Civilization. There was a renaissance in the 8th and 9th centuries, one in the 12th century and, the most famous of all, the renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries called the Italian Renaissance.

The classics influenced not only Europeans in the European Continent but also those who went in the Americas. The values brought to the United States are Western values, European. It's good enough just to glance at the architecture of Washington D.C., the Capital of the United States. Washington's architecture reflects classicism, but also the democratic thought that returned to Continental Europe through Wilsonian idealism is also a classical outcome that war-infected Europeans had hidden away in the closet for centuries.

Overwhelmed by centuries of war the Europeans could only see the trees⁴³ whereas the Americans, far away from these

⁴¹ Many words have a common origin; for example, the Latin name Rosa has been preserved in many European languages.

⁴² Like *The Little Prince* by Antoine De Saint-Exupéry.

⁴³ Conflicts and Wars for supremacy.

conflicts, were able to climb the mountain in tranquility and rediscover the beauty of the forest⁴⁴. In the last century they came down from the mountain twice to invite Europeans to rediscover the beauty of the forest from the mountaintop and today Europeans are very passionate about what they've rediscovered.

The rational approach and the belief in human capacity are the legacies of that period which in various ways continue to shape the culture of all Europeans.

I 3. Romans and Christianity

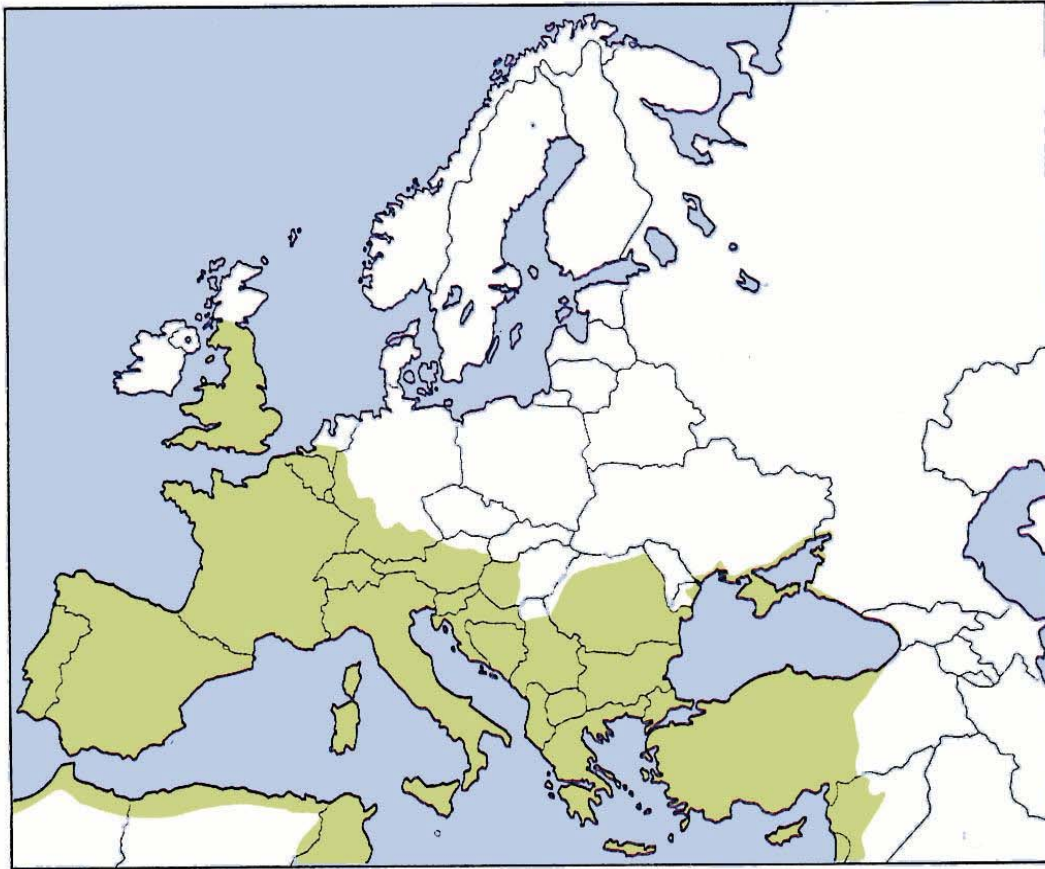
Politics quickly began to redraw the Map 1 that was shaped by natural water boundaries. The first example of this change is found in Map 5. As mentioned above the Romans spread Greek culture across Europe. The natural division created by the Alps and the Pyrenees was overcome for the first time in 120 B.C., when the Romans founded one of their Provinces in Southern Gaul.

Over the centuries the Romans conquered the Iberian Peninsula, Gaul (modern day France), Great Britain, Western Germany and countries located between Greece and modern day Hungary, which in those days were called Illiria, Dacia and Panonia. This was the first Europe. Romans spoke the same language⁴⁵ and had only one army. In 212 A.D. the Emperor Caracalla declared that all free men in the Roman Empire were to be given full Roman citizenship. This was the first ever European Citizenship in history.

⁴⁴ Freedom and democracy.

⁴⁵ Latin.

Map 5. The Roman Empire, 100 A.D.



Christianity was another novelty that greatly influenced Europe's historical and cultural developments. Judaic-Christian cultural elements are part of European culture. The Romans worshipped various gods but new religions from the East quickly captured human interest. One of the divinities, worshipped by the Jewish, became the Christian God whom, according to believers, embodied into a human-God named Jesus. Jesus died crucified in Jerusalem around 30 A.D., during Emperor Tiberius' reign. He was also called Christ, which means God's Anointed⁴⁶ One.

After persecuting the Christians, the Emperors declared Christianity the official religion of the Empire in the 4th Century. These were hard times for the Empire and Christianity was

⁴⁶ "Anointed" means Consecrated by Unction, a ceremony where a sign is made on the forehead with a sacred liquid, water or oil.

promising Resurrection to the faithful after the Judgement Day and this faith appealed to the people. New spiritual leaders emerged on the European scene. They organized following a precise gerarchical order⁴⁷. This gerarchy was often used as a basis for the society organization and as help to the political government.

Greek was spoken in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire and a crisis within the Empire shifted power to the East. Emperor Constantine established his own Capital in Constantinople, modern day Istanbul. In this part of the Empire the Christian Church, whose official language was Greek and not Latin, did not depend on the Pope but on the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was declaring the true heir of the Christian faith, hence the name Orthodox Christians.

The Latin-Christian Church, which aims to be Universal (this is the meaning of Catholic), continued to move further away from the Greek-Orthodox Christian Church until the final official split in 1054. This created a significant religious fracture. Throughout the Medieval Period the remaining pagan communities were converted to Christianity by the Church of Rome to the West and by the Church of Constantinople to the East.

The crisis and disintegration of the Western Roman Empire was partly due to an economic crisis and partly to new populations invasions. In the 4th and 5th centuries these new peoples, considered barbarians, occupied with force peripheral areas of the Roman Empire. The majority of these groups came from the same ethnic family. The main ones were Germanic, progenitors of the Germans, and the Gauls, ancestors to the French. The new inhabitants didn't get rid of the culture of the "Romanized" populations, instead they assimilated it and Latin

⁴⁷ Priests and Monks were under the authority of the Bishops. The Bishop of Rome was the most important authority and became the supreme leader of the Church, the Pope.

continued to be the official language. This turned out to be one of Europe's greatest fortunes⁴⁸.

Despite adopting Roman culture and their conversion to Christianity, the Barbarians were politically split and fought wars between themselves. The leaders of these populations called themselves kings and their territories became kingdoms, which was the first step towards the formation of today's modern European States. For example, the King of the Franks Clovis I left Tournai, in presentday Belgium, to conquer Soissons, force the Visigoths back to Spain, destroy the Burgundian⁴⁹ Reign and finally choose Paris as his Capital. Clovis converted to Christianity which in Medieval Europe was seen as the entranceway into civil society.

Greek philosophy, Roman law and Judaic-Christian culture were the key elements leading Europeans towards modernity. Rationality and the belief in human capacities were crystalized through modernization. The mind-set that drives people to believe in their personal capacities and in progress came from these roots. The rational approach led to several Western Renaissance⁵⁰ periods, the Enlightenment, science, capitalism and the market economy. The belief in human capacities led Europeans to discover new lands and inspired the birth of the American "spirit of the frontier" that is willing to go further and doesn't fear the challenge of new discoveries.

⁴⁸ This was also of good fortune for Pula in 1991. I am convinced that a great contribution to maintaining peace in Istria was due to the cultural assimilation of previous inhabitants of the Peninsula.

⁴⁹ From which the French Region of Burgundy derives its name.

⁵⁰ Of which the Italian Renaissance is the most important.

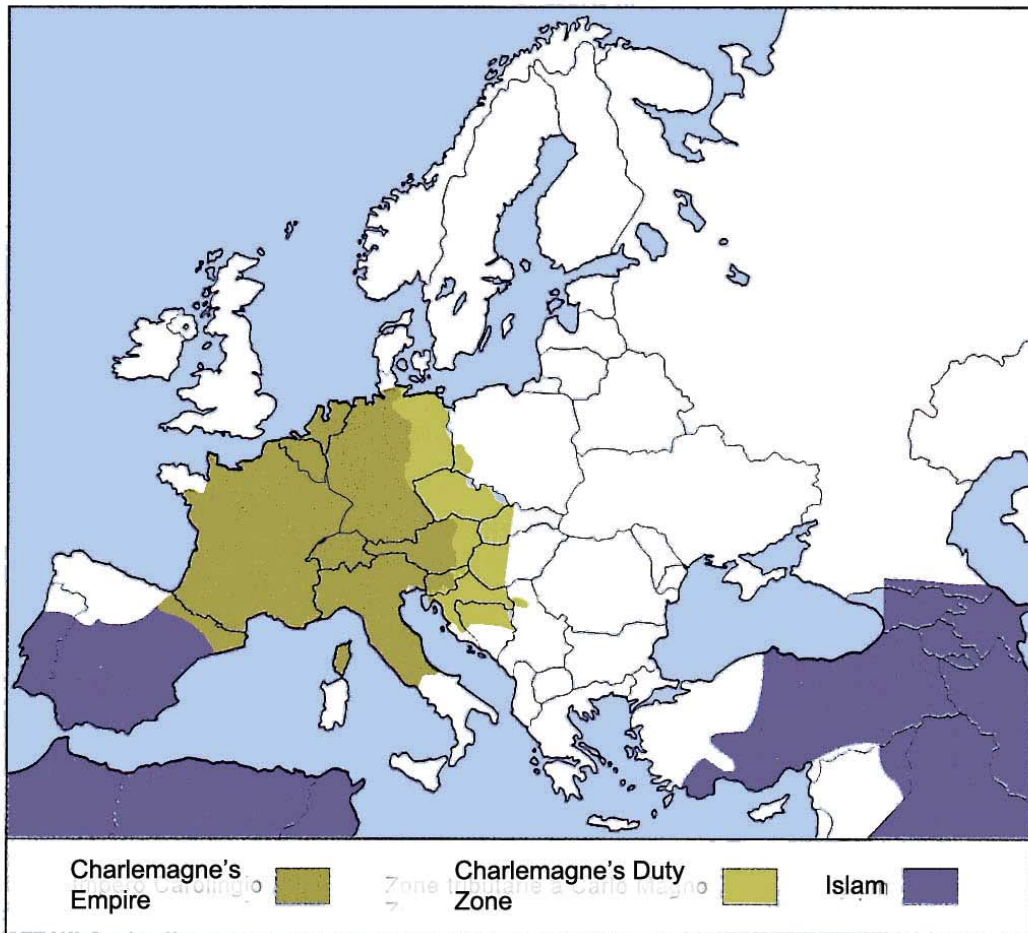
I 4. *Charlemagne*

During the 8th and 9th centuries the Carolingian Dynasty spread Frankish dominion into Gaul, Germany and Italy. On Christmas Day 800 A.D. Charlemagne had the Pope crown him Holy Roman Emperor and in so doing created a regime of theocratic kingdom that united Western Christians. It's common to talk about this period as the first European Renaissance, that was linking Christianity with its rediscovered Roman culture thus giving Europe it's first draft of a common civilization. Charlemagne and his successors called Frank, Italian, Spanish, Germanic, Anglo-Saxon and Irish intellectuals to join the King's Court.

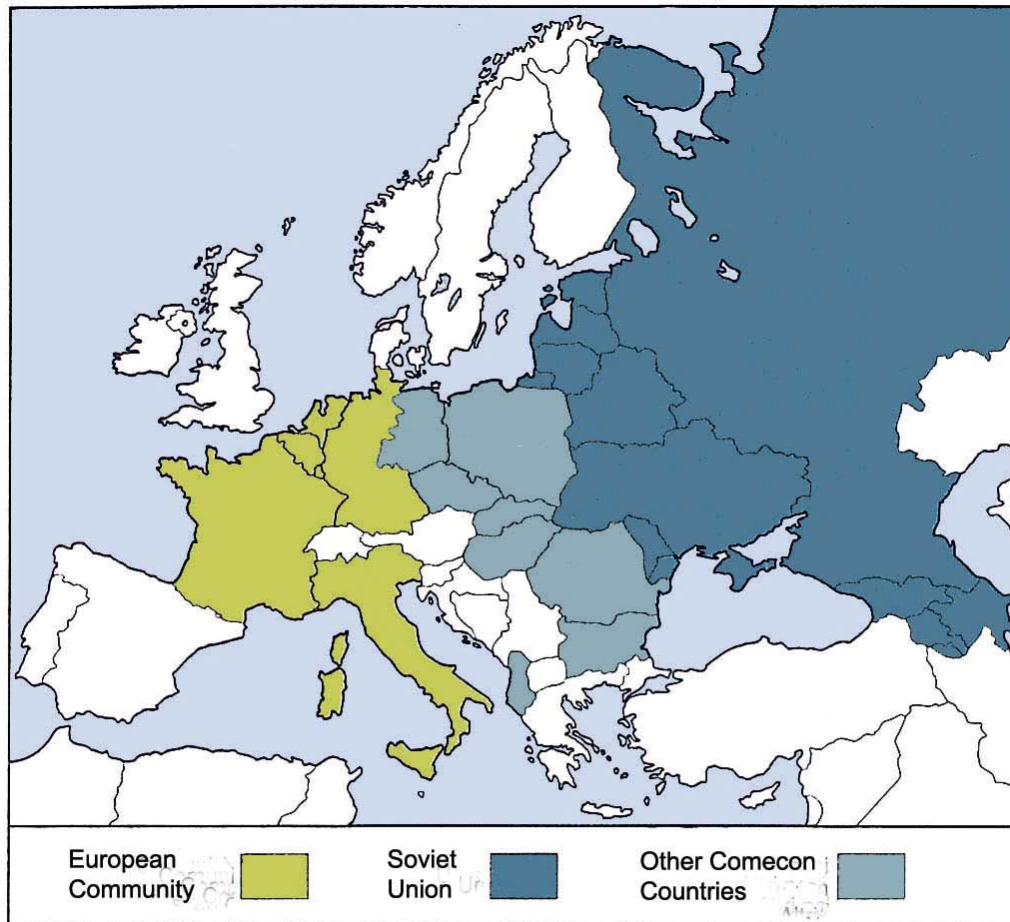
The spirit of unification in Western countries was favoured by Arab advancements in conquering the Iberian Peninsula. The Arabs introduced a new culture that was highly influenced by the Muslim religion. Charlemagne's soldiers are said to have stopped Arab advancements into the central of the Continent. The poem "The Song of Roland" narrates the death of Charlemagne's nephew, who died in 778 during the Battle of Roncevaux Pass in the Spanish Pyrenees. On an epitaph of a courtier who died in the same battle is written: "The Italian weeps him, the Frank's heart is torn, Aquitania and Germans are in mourning". These words could represent a second example of European citizenship despite of a newly rising religious rift in Europe.

It's interesting to see the similarities between Charlemagne's Empire, that is the Holy Roman Empire of 800 A.D., the territories of the Six founding members of European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952 and the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1958 (Map 6 and Map 7).

Map 6. Charlemagne's Empire in 800 A.D.



Map 7. The European Community, the Soviet Union and Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) in 1958.



A part of stopping the Arab's, Charlemagne's Empire contributed to further separate Western and Eastern Europe. Charlemagne is famed for saving and indirectly helping developments in European art because he favoured the representation of God, the Saints and human figures in paintings and sculptures, a custom which is not allowed in the Jewish and Muslim religions.

I 5. Waves of New Populations and Islam

After the barbarian waves of the 4th and 5th centuries new populations were Christianized between the 9th and 11th centuries. In 996 A.D. the frontier between the north-west and the north-east shifted deeply towards the west when Mieszko, the first Polish sovereign, placed his Ducacy under the authority of the Holy See. Other central Europeans, among which the Magyars, followed his lead. In 1001 King Stephen was crowned King in the name of Rome.

Eastern Germans, Hungarians and some Slavic populations like the Polish, Czechs, Slovaks and Croatians became part of Christian Latin Europe. The last to Christianize were the Prussians and Lithuanians. On the Eastern front the largest Slavic group, the Russians, followed by Balcan Slavs like Bulgarians and Serbians, became part of Greek Christian Europe. This fracture still hasn't totally healed. As we'll see by the historical alliances of the last few centuries this rift is easily identifiable.

The Normans descended into France from Scandinavia and named Normandy after themselves. In the 11th century they conquered England. Part of this group advanced all the way to Southern Italy where they founded the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily where they mixed with the local populations.

The south-west and south-east areas experienced the greatest changes in Christian and Islamic regimes. This area hosted big flows of populations that later on influenced European history.

From the death of Mohammed, the prophet of Islam, in 632, already in 738 Islam had reached France via Spain. We saw that Charlemagne stopped this advance and defended Western culture. Some centuries later, specifically in the 11th century, it was the Roman Church that incited Christians to attack Palestine, the cradle of Christianity. The Crusades, as these "missions" into sacred lands have been called, lasted two

centuries and contributed to further deep religious fracture between Christians and Muslims.

Islam remained in Spain for 700 years, until 1492⁵¹. Meanwhile in Eastern Europe, during the 15th and 16th centuries, the Turks were able to overcome the Byzantine Empire. The Ottoman Empire started to expand and in 1453 Constantinople was taken over and rebaptized under the name of Istanbul.

Later on the Turks conquered Greece and a large piece of the Balcans: present day Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and ex-Yugoslavia. In 1683 they reached the doors of Vienna but Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi helped to stop their advancement. The Turks left the lands they conquered in Eastern Europe only in the 20th century after the fall of the Empires.

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey made big step to get closer to the West and made a radical strategic changes towards Westernization. In 1928, under Ataturk's government, Turkey became a lay state. He changed the alphabet and introduced major reforms. These reforms improved general wellbeing and allowed Turkey to join NATO in 1952. In 1987 Turkey asked to join the European Union. The debate over Turkey's entry into the EU is currently underway but several problems have yet to be resolved. The preservation of a lay state, ongoing improvements with respect to human and minority rights and the safeguarding of democracy are all factors favouring Turkey's entry into the EU. This step would offer key proof of the validity of the European model and would be a huge success for Cosmopolitan Democracy. A sincere effort by both parties is necessary. International conditions following the terrorist attacks in New York ought to convince the West to dedicate more attention to Turkish efforts.

⁵¹ When Christians from the Iberian Peninsula conquered the Kingdom of Granada.

Le condizioni internazionali createsi in seguito all'attacco terroristico di New York inducono l'Occidente a dedicare maggiore attenzione agli sforzi compiuti dai turchi.

I 6. *Russia*

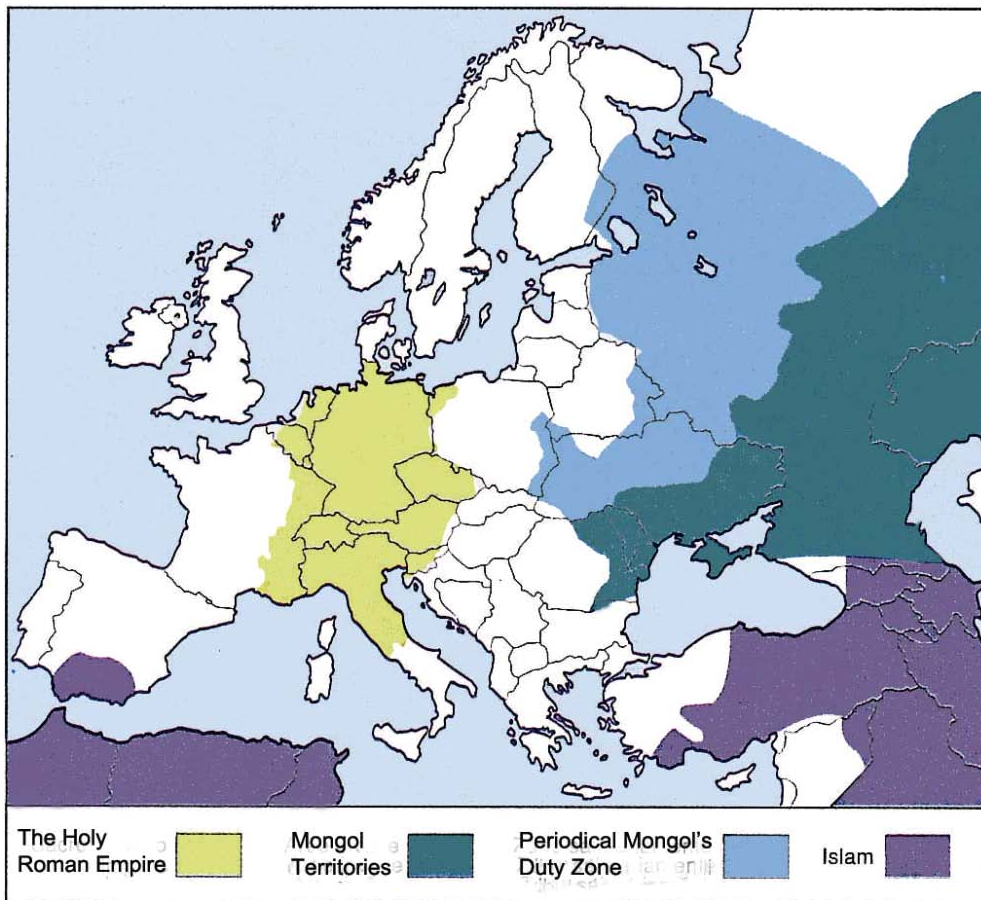
The north-east and south-east rift is even deeper. Orthodox Russia had to face first the Mongols and then the Ottaman Turks. By the first half of the 7th century Muslim expansion had already spread beyond Arabia to Caucasus and by 710 all the way to Central Asia. Siberian Turks converted to the Muslim religion and brought it all the way to the centre of the Mongol Empire, as far as today's Tatar Republic.

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries Islam was the main obstacle to the Russian Empire's expansion in both Caucasus and Central Asia. Islam remained the religion of the Tatars to the west to the Urals. When Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Empire in 1453, Moscow took the guiding role of the Orthodox Church.

To this day Russia sees Turkey as a threat to its sphere of influence in Central Asian and the Caspian Sea regions. The Turks have a clear business advantage in these areas due to greater cultural affinities with the people living there.

On the other hand Orthodox Slavs became more isolated from the West when they were forced to succumb to the Mongols, who took over Kiev in 1240 and sacked most of Russia between the 13th and 15th centuries (Map 8).

Map 8. The Holy Roman Empire and Mongol Territories, 13th Century.



As soon as it entered the international scene Russia imposed itself with incredible speed. In 1648 Russia didn't even bother to send a representative to the Peace of Westphalia, but by 1750 onwards Russia participated in every significant European war. By the Congress of Vienna in 1815 Russia had become the most powerful country in the European Continent and by the mid 20th century was already one of the two world superpowers, although it didn't have the fortune of living the Westernization phenomenon. It's likely that Napoleon and Hitler would have been able to found universal empires if they hadn't been stopped by Russia's heroism.

As opposed to the Western European States, Russian didn't consider itself a nation, but rather a cause that went

beyond geopolitics and was pushed by faith and the unity within its army. This social mission and the search for security debounced easily into domination since the Empire continued to expand incessantly. To capture that visionary mission it is useful to quote Katlov's interpretation of Russia as the 3rd Roman Empire: "The Zar is more than the heir to his ancestors, he is the successor to the Ceasars of Easter Roman Empire, to the Church founders and its Councils which established the authentic Christian faith. After the fall of Byzantium Moscow affirmed itself and the greatness of Russia began".

After a period of Westernization, starting from Peter the Great until the Revolution in 1917, the cultural gap between north-west and north-east increased yet again during the Soviet Revolution. After the Second World War, Stalin pushed the frontier further towards the West (see Map 7), thus re-uniting the Western and Eastern slavic world. As soon as Communism collapsed, Western Slavs took the path of the union with the West. After Turkey, Russia is the second key to Cosmopolitan Democracy and European Union.

Throughout history, if contested, Russia often took time before reacting. This was the case against Great Britain for the major part of the 19th century, against Austria after the Crimean War, against Germany after the Congress of Berlin and against the United States during the Cold War. Russia is still getting over the chock of the fall of Soviet Union and is observing current events attentively. Many ex-Soviet block countries have joined the European Union. The Ukraine will soon decide whether to join and Russia has already declared that it will accept any decision made.

Russia borders the European Union to the West and China to the East. It has announced a joint Russian-Chinese military exercise in 2005. This move demonstrates its search for moderation with all the superpowers but also signals that other powers shouldn't take advantage of its current weakness. Understanding Russia and bringing it closer to the European

Union is one of the EU's most important challenges for the future.

I 7. *Western Europe*

We have seen how various populations converged towards the European Continent and how key divisions, which we reviewed in the first part of the Chapter, developed over time. By going back to the roots of Western Europe, which today guides the peace process across the Continent, lets try to better understand the elements that favoured this development and why it's possible to talk about a European Culture.

During the Medieval Period, from the 5th – 15th centuries, Europe developed a form of political-economic organization called feudalism and had a Church that dominated all of Western Europe. In feudalism the nobles, or fuedal Lords, exercized their power over leaders of weaker noble houses, the vassals and masses of peasants in territories called feuds. Loyalty to the Lords in exchange for their protection was the cornerstone. Two clearly defined gerarchies formed the basis of social organization. One was secular and the other was spiritual, the Church. Within the Church structure the Pope became the supreme authority, followed by Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops and Parish Priests, who governed the ecclesiastical territories divided into archdioses, dioceses and parishes. The two social structures mutually supported each other many times throughout history.

The process of urbanization also began during Medieval times thus many cities were built in this period. During the 12th and 13th centuries a new profession was born – the merchants. The most famous came from Florence, Genoa and Venice but even in the north the Flemings and Germans organized a large merchant association, the Hanseatic League.

During this period another process began to mark the course of human history; the time started to lose its sacredness. The Medieval sense of time was based on the cyclicity of the seasons, on long periods of prayer, somewhat like in native American civilizations. However scientific developments and modernization took time away from *Mother Nature*. It's worth noting that this process of change in the significance of time began with a divergence between the Church and the emergent merchant class. The Church prohibited usury, which was thought to be a mortal sin, but during the 12th century money became ever more important in the exchange of goods.

The controversy over usury and profit originates in the problem of the use of time. For the merchants time was a crucial factor and they were affirming that "time was money". The Church contested this by saying that time only belongs to God and that it is a gift given to the people by God in order to prepare themselves for salvation. The Church finally surrendered and the merchants' victory opened the door to a monetary economy, which to this day is still one of the key social forces moulding human energy.

We mustn't forget that in the 13th century the Benedictine Monks radically changed the concept of time after inventing a strict daily calendar and the mechanical clock. Saint Benedict stressed the importance of steady work and for him idleness was considered the enemy of the soul. The Benedictines, like the merchants, considered time a scarce resource and used the bell to signal the hours of the day. To ensure the completion of fixed tasks⁵² they invented the mechanical clock. The planning of time wiped out the concept of spiritual time and created secular time.

⁵² St Benedict Rule – chapter XLVIII - of the Daily Work: "Idleness is the enemy of the soul; and therefore the brethren ought to be employed in manual labour at certain times, at others, in devout reading. Hence, we believe that the time for each will be properly ordered by the following arrangement; namely, that from Easter till the calends of October, they go out in the morning from the first till about the fourth hour, to do the necessary work, but that from the fourth till about the sixth hour they

Towards the end of the Medieval period another colossal change that forever marked Western development was the creation and codification of the laws governing private property. The establishment of private property led to the birth of the capitalist marketplace and the Nation-State, whose one of the key functions is to protect the property rights of its citizens.

Cities became the centres of the arts and culture where the first Universities were founded⁵³. At the time University professors and students were not bound by borders. We can define them the third European citizens within European culture. Universities also became huge book production centres and the basis of future development.

The same as teachers and students who travelled Europe to teach and learn, also the Arts didn't recognize any frontiers. Towards the year 1000 Romanesque architecture spread throughout Europe, succeeded by Gothic-style architecture in the 12th century.

On the political front, throughout the 13th and 14th centuries almost all European fuedal lords were supplanted by more powerful kingdoms and principalities. The power of Kings was based on the service of the Crown. The Crown possessed an abstract and sovereign power that today is known as State Sovereignty. Assemblies consisting of nobles, clergy and the bourgeoisie were also formed to control the power of the Kings. England and France called these assemblies Parliaments and in Spain they were called the *Cortes*. Only the English Parliaments were truly able to fulfill their functions.

England, France, Spain and Portugal were the better organized States. Whereas in Italy and Germany another

devote to reading. After the sixth hour, however, when they have risen from table, let them rest in their beds in complete silence..."

⁵³ Oxford, Cambridge (England); Salamanca (Spain); Coimbra (Portugal); Prague (Czech Republic); Krakow (Poland); Bologna (Italy, famous for Law); Salerno (Italy, famous for medicine); Paris (France, famous for theology) etc.

organizational model prevailed. Italy saw the development of city-states known as Duchies. Five principle Italian States (Venice, Florence, Milan, Naples and Rome) emerged during the 15th century. They were surrounded by smaller yet equally important Duchies like Urbino⁵⁴, Mantova, Ferrara etc. The city-state model was also predominant in Germany, such as in Cologne, Frankfurt and Nuremberg. Italy and Germany were among the last countries to achieve national unification.

16th century Europe was governed by over 500 different states. Four centuries later, in 1900, thanks also to the rise of the Nation-State model and the industrial revolutions, almost all of Europe was subject to just 25 national States. Today, after the information and communications revolutions and the further compression of time and space, the European Union is tracing the way towards a single territory without borders.

I 8. The Renaissance, Discovering America and Religious Wars

During the 14th and 15th centuries a new artistic movement flourished by returning to classics in the search of a propulsive stimulus; it was the period of the great Italian Renaissance. Starting from Florence under the Medici family leadership, the trend quickly spread across Europe. Some of world's most celebrated works of art originated in the Medici Court. In fact great artists like Brunelleschi, Sandro Botticelli⁵⁵, Leonardo da

⁵⁴ The Duke Federico da Montefeltro, an able Prince and patron of the arts, developed the Court of Urbino. The famed painter Piero della Francesca and architect Luciano Laurana were among the Duke's personal artists.

⁵⁵ Painted: The Birth of Venus, Primavera, Adoration of the Magi, Madonna of the Magnificat...

Vinci⁵⁶, Raffaello⁵⁷ and Michelangelo Buonarroti⁵⁸ worked there.

The great *Salone dei Cinquecento* in Florence's *Palazzo Vecchio* helps us understand the major changes that occurred in politics and city government during the Renaissance. We can understand how numerous families representing the City's true driving force managed and organized the government. Many had interests in city government affairs. Florence's *Gran Consiglio* (Grand Council) was made up of 1500 members, one-third of which was allowed to take turns in governing the City.

The Italian Renaissance wasn't only inspired by classic Latin or Roman culture but also by Greek culture, since many Byzantine intellectuals had fled to the West after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Humans were again at the centre of knowledge and culture. A spirit of tolerance was in the air, as witnessed by the writings of Erasmus of Rotterdam. This Dutch humanist who lived and taught throughout Europe tried to reconcile the Classic world view with the Evangelical spirit and, in honour of his European University spirit, many University exchange programmes today carry his name.

Two other important events left their mark on European history at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. The first is tied to Europe's discovery of the Americas and the second is the religious rift between Catholics and Protestants.

Europe's discovery of the Americas in 1492 led the strongest European powers to compete in the conquest and colonization of the New World. These important geographic discoveries increased the desire for knowledge and helped drive the Renaissance. The new flow of precious metals like silver and gold put much more money into circulation.

⁵⁶ Painted the famous Mona Lisa, La Gioconda; The Last Supper; Annunciation...

⁵⁷ The Athens School...

⁵⁸ Painted the Sistine Chapel, sculpted the Statue of David in Florence...

The Spanish and Portuguese occupied South and Central America as well as southern parts of North America while the French, English and Dutch took over the eastern parts of North America (see Map 9).

Map 9. Europeans in the Americas



When the first Europeans arrived the American Continent counted about 60 million inhabitants. Just one century after the first invasions the Native population was reduced to 1 million. Diseases and wars exterminated many indigenous peoples and brought an end to some great civilizations⁵⁹. Those who survived were forced to adopt European habits and the Christian religion. The *Capitulaciones* helped take over the new lands but the problem of scarce labour supplies quickly emerged. In order to exploit the land the slave trade from Africa to Americas began and continued until the mid-19th century. The mutual ties and influence between Europe and America was important then and is important to this day. Relations between the two Continents has more times influenced European history⁶⁰ over the last two centuries.

With it's Independence in 1776 the United States became the first "democratic" nation in the world. However the slave trade problem was addressed only after the end of the American Civil War of 1861-1865, when slavery was abolished⁶¹.

American independence also sparked rebellions in Latin America and led to the process of decolonization, which in the rest of the world took almost two centuries to come to an end. We musn't forget that American intervention in both World Wars and in the last Balcan War was crucial to restoring the ancient classic heritage of democracy in Europe and the Balcans. By founding the Council of Europe and the European Union on democratic values, democracy has come back home to Europe.

Further evidence of how the classics influenced the young American nation can be seen from the architectural style of its

⁵⁹ Aztec, Mayan and Inca.

⁶⁰ a) decolonization first began in the Americas; b) American intervention was key to ending both World Wars; c) when the USA became the leading world power it influenced both the European and global balance of powers.

⁶¹ The deep wounds caused by slavery in American society still haven't fully healed.

Capital Washington D.C., as already indicated at the beginning of this chapter. The young French engineer Pierre Charles L'Enfant interprets the separation of powers enacted in the American Constitution by placing the residence of the President at a clear distance from the Congress and Supreme Court buildings. A striking distinction of this architectural style is how it indubitably evokes the grandeur of the ancient Greek temples.

Even the American Dream, that inner force that has driven American societal energy over the last two centuries, is largely a European product that was transplanted into the American heartland in the 18th century. The Protestant Reformation played a significant role in forging this dream. The Protestant Ethic was conceived in Europe but many supporters of The Protestant Ethic migrated to America, where they fused Protestant religious values with Enlightenment concepts of science, private property rights and capitalist market relations to generate what we define the American Dream.

The first pilgrims who landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620 truly believed that God had liberated them from their European oppressors. Just before disembarking John Winthrop, their spiritual leader, declared: "For we must consider that we shall be a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us, so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a byword through the world ...". This spirit has continued to mould the American dream. Among the industrialized nations the United States continues to be mostly devoted to God. Despite the division between religion and state, a large majority of Americans are very dedicated to God in their private lives. John Winthrop and the Puritans, along with the other Protestant sects that followed them to America, were the most rigid followers of reform catechism. The further religious waves that sought asylum in order to preserve the purity of their faith has kept America's religious flame alive. The belief that they are a chosen people has helped build the sense of faith that American people have in

themselves. America's natural geographic separation from Europe enhanced its sense of protection and this also played a role in people's belief in the American dream; Americans sense of hope and infinite enthusiasm. Cynicism, skepticism and pessimism are still foreign to the American spirit.

The true force behind the American Dream is its search for answers to two fundamental human wishes: the search for happiness in this world and hope for salvation in the other. The first wish entails perseverance and faith in oneself, whereas the second requires a deep faith in God. The strength comes from offering human beings the opportunity to seek happiness and wellbeing in both worlds. In the American Declaration of Independence Thomas Jefferson declared that every individual has the right to life and liberty, but also the right to search for happiness.

Now let's go back to the second issue facing European integration at the turn of the 16th century and which is tied to the Protestant reforms that divided Western Christians into Catholics and Protestants.

Western integration was clearly obstructed by the great rift between Papal powers in Rome and Avignon at the end of the 14th century and by The Protestant Reformation, a movement kickstarted in Germany by Martin Luther (in 1517) and later developed in Geneva through John Calvin and via the Anglican movement (see Map 3). In fact corrupted behaviour among the Roman clergy of the time that strayed too far from the Gospel word of love and fraternity led some Christians to break away from the Roman Catholic Church. The leaders of this movement, Luther and Calvin, no longer recognised the Pope's authority, the cult of the Virgin Mary and the Saints nor medieval theology. They referred back to original Biblical teachings and in doing so rejected monastic vows and allowed priests to marry. Reformation theologians fought against Papal authority within the Church and told their followers that the Bishops, being sinners like everyone else, were incapable of

acting as intermediaries between God and the faithful. Luther, Calvin and their successors affirmed that the clergy's interpretation of the Bible was no more valid than that of any Christian and that the relationship between God and every individual is a strictly personal one. Luther believed that the only truly infallible word is found in the Bible and that God's will could only be understood by reading. According to Luther everyone is alone in the face of God. The Reformation attempted to make everyone equal in the eyes of God through a direct relationship between the individual, their faith and God.

Religious feuding culminated in the Thirty-Year War which in 1648 was brought to an end with the Peace of Westphalia. The Peace of Westphalia is a very important Treaty because it resolved the problem in favour of religious pluralism and, for the first time in international law, it formally recognised the sovereignty of territorial States.

Protestantism won over in Northern Europe⁶² whereas Southern Europe⁶³ remained predominantly Catholic. Protestant reformers successfully convinced followers that industriousness and sacrifice were the paths to salvation. Calvin opposed the Catholic doctrine that salvation can be found through good works and confession because for Calvin God cannot be corrupted in exchange for a place in paradise. In fact the Peace of Westphalia recognized different Christian streams and guaranteed territorial rulers "sovereign authority" in the geographic areas under their control. From this point onwards the right of other countries to intervene in matters of "internal State affairs" was limited.

As discussed earlier in the chapter, today's separation of Church and State has helped to reduce this rift. The separation of Church from State is a *conditio sine qua non* (an essential ingredient) for building a cosmopolitan civil society. It

⁶² Scandinavia, The Netherlands, England.

⁶³ Spain, Italy and Portugal.

represents a pillar for fostering and developing a Cosmopolitan Society and Cosmopolitan Democracy.

The Treaty of 1648 recognised that the world was made up of independent States, each of which was sovereign with respect to its internal affairs. Every State was equal to the others and no authority was superior to them. The States were allowed to protect their interests through diplomatic means and they maintained, where deemed necessary, the freedom to recourse to the use force in order to solve eventual disputes. The basic elements of this treaty remained valid until the end of the World War II.

Europe got divided into States and for the last four centuries has oscillated between periods of civil war and unstable peace. The breadth of the 20th century disaster is notably greater to any other century: over 70 million people died as a direct result of wars. As mentioned in the Introduction, 19 million people died in 19th century conflicts, 7 million over the 18th century, 6 million in the 17th century and 2 million during the 16th century.

After the 16th century it happened continuously, that almost seemed to be a law of nature: that is, when a single State became powerful it sought to impose its dominion over the important part of Europe. Every century a dominant country emerged whose force, will, intellectual and moral capacities were so powerful that it was able to mould and shape the international system according to its own values. The world order has changed several times over the last few centuries and a number of European-born ideas have dominated global diplomacy.

Continental Europe has lived through many wars and conflicts and no country or institution has ever been able to unify it. The European Union is trying to eliminate the desire of single states to abuse of their power by creating the system. Prior to the establishment of the European Union many practical ideas for maintaining peace and stability across the Continent

were conceived in Europe. Many of these concepts are now part of the legacy of international relations.

The system of the balance of powers took shape in the 16th century following the final collapse of medieval universality aspiration. Universality was a mix of Roman Empire and Catholic Church traditions. Those inspiring towards universality viewed the world as a mirror of the Heavenly Reign. It was in this spirit that the feudal states of Germany and Northern Italy were united under the Holy Roman Empire, as shown in Map 8.

A sole Emperor was to rule over the secular world and a sole Pope was to rule the Universal Church, just like a sole God reigned over heaven. Despite that they were part of the Universal Church, France, England and Spain didn't recognise the authority of the Holy Roman Empire. In the 15th century the Hapburgs, who had a permanent hold over the Imperial Crown, also secured the Spanish Crown vis-a-vis marriages of convenience, and for a brief period the Emperor was able to turn his universal aspirations into an actual political system.

This was the dream of Charles V, the last Emperor, and Philip II in the 16th century, when Spain had a huge colonial empire in the Americas and in Europe it ruled present day Germany, Austria, Northern Italy, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Western France, Belgium and Holland. The Imperial European hegemony project was reconfigured as Papal authority weakened after the Reformation. The Reformation gave new political and religious freedoms to rebellious Princes thus reducing the religious universality.

The end of the concept of universality coincided with the birth of new ideas such as “national interest” (*raison d'Etat*) and the “balance of powers”. National state interests substituted the medieval concept of universal morality, whereas the balance of powers supplanted the concept of a universal monarchy with the idea that every State, by pursuing its own national interests, would contribute to security and progress.

At the time communications and the means of transportation were greatly inferior to today, so these ideas developed with a lesser force than the force developed when Nation States and ideologies were born. The State got steadily stronger and more capable of mobilizing its own forces and human energy. Century after century human destructive capacities increased exponentially.

Two dynasties contended for Europe domination in the 17th century: the French Bourbons⁶⁴ and the Austro-Hungarian Hapsburgs. Prior to the era of the Sun King, a very able nation leader was Cardinal Richelieu. He inspired French politics during the reign of Louis XIII. After his death Richelieu left France with such a great legacy that allowed France to dominate the Continent for almost two more centuries.

Richelieu introduced a modern approach to international relations based on the Nation State and guided by the national interest as the supreme goal. As religious barriers became weaker following the Reformation, France took advantage of the post-Reformation rivalries that emerged between neighbouring states. Cardinal Richelieu⁶⁵ was a Prince of the Church who realized that the disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire would have increased French security and the possibility of expanding its borders to the East. He was the first person to apply the concept of national interest in favour of his own country.

The Cardinal's primary political objective was to block the Hapsburg's dominance across Europe, but in the end the legacy he left allowed his successors to stabilize French hegemony in Europe for two centuries. After these ambitions failed with Napoleon the balance of powers emerged as a system to regulate international relationships. The Cardinal was able to take advantage of a unique historical opportunity that most of his

⁶⁴ Mostly with Louis XIV, the Sun King.

⁶⁵ Prime Minister of France from 1624 to 1642.

contemporaries were unable to understand nor share. Now let's try to understand exactly what Richelieu foresaw.

In 1648, at the end of the Thirty Years War, Germany had lost almost one-third of its population. During and after this tragic war the Cardinal adopted the principle of national interest in French foreign affairs, an approach that was later adopted by the other European states. Richelieu placed national interests above religious ones. He was afraid of the Empire since the union between the Hapburgs and Spain had left France completely surrounded and the fact that they were Catholic nations was of lesser importance to him.

For the sake of national interest Cardinal Richelieu was ready to ally himself with the Protestant Kings and thereby take advantage of the internal schism taking place within the Universal Church. On the other hand Richelieu's historical rival, Emperor Ferdinand II, believed that his mission was to carry out God's will. For a sovereign that was attached to such absolute values it was unthinkable for him to compromise his contractual position with God. The Cardinal treated Ferdinand's faith as a strategic challenge and took advantage of the situation in favour of French national interests. Richelieu's final goal was to eliminate France's encirclement, diminish the Hapsburg's power and prevent the growth of a great power along French borders, in particular towards its German borders.

We must also remember Richelieu because he left behind a very different world from the one he had found. He traced a path that France would follow for the next three centuries. He gave France the opportunity to become the most powerful country in Europe for over two centuries, which is exactly the opposite experience of the Central European states. A possible reason for the start of the Thirty Years War could lie in the Hapsburg's efforts to unify Germany, but the failure of this plan led to the division of the Holy Roman Empire into over three-hundred kingdoms.

After the war Richelieu's doctrine on the *raison d'Etat* (national interest) became a guiding principle throughout European diplomatic circles. It's clear that the foreign affairs policies being practiced to defend France's national interest on the one hand and the 300 kings who were all free to develop their own foreign affairs strategy were not comparable with each other. Germany didn't develop a national political culture until Bismark completed the unification process in the 19th century.

The Sun King Louis XIV totally took advantage of the Cardinal's political legacy and began to use France's power to conquer others, which in turn caused the formation of an anti-French alliance.

History has repeatedly proven that when a country tries to dominate its neighbouring countries through the use of force a coalition is generally formed to try to resist the aggressor. After the Sun King the same thing also happened to Napoleon and Hitler.

In Richelieu's world the national interest represented the highest value and the governor's responsibility was to pursue state expansion and act in order to achieve greater glory. The stronger countries tried to dominate the weaker ones, who in turn allied themselves in an attempt to resist. If they were able to resist a balance of powers emerged, otherwise the dominant country became hegemonic. The principle objective behind the balance of powers was to prevent individual States from achieving hegemonic power and thus maintain the international order. The true purpose of this system wasn't to avoid conflicts but to contain them.

The creation of States pacified European populations internally, but industrial progress in communications and mobility allowed hidden problems in State relations to emerge in the absence of a shared international system.

In the 18th century dominion passed into the hands of the English, whose naval fleets were already dominating global seas. England became the arbiter of European politics and its foreign affairs strategy was explicitly oriented towards maintaining the balance of powers. England perfected the idea of the balance of powers that would shape European diplomacy for the next two-hundred years to come.

The brainchild behind this strategy was King William III of England, who was born in Holland. As a young lad William III suffered the menace of Louis XIV, the Sun King, and when he became King of England he did everything he possibly could to halt the ambitions of his French counterpart, mostly by forming anti-French alliances⁶⁶.

For William of Orange the national interest consisted of maintaining the balance of powers within Europe to prevent any single force to become dominant across the Continent. History would prove that from this period onwards Holland's independence became a bastion of English foreign affairs policy. King William knew that if Louis XIV had taken over Belgium, Holland would have quickly lost its independence and French hegemony across the Continent would also have put England at risk. William's goal was to play a balancing role between the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons to keep up the balance of powers. Given the fact that Austria had been the weaker part since Richelieu's days, for a long time England continued to side with the Hapsburgs.

After the French Revolution, Napoleon attacked the rest of Europe to spread republican ideals in the name of the universal principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. He almost succeeded to establish a European Confederation centred on France. At the end of the day the counter-revolution bent France back to earlier concepts of universality. It's worth noting that in

⁶⁶ The anti-French alliance, the greatest ever coalition formed against a single State in modern-day Europe, was made up of Sweden, Spain, Savoy, Austria, Saxony and the Dutch Republic.

1807 Napoleonic France controlled a territory equal in size of today's Twenty-five European Union member states territory. At the time only Russia stood in the way of Napoleon and the French domination of Europe. Napoleon's project, like Hitler's one, failed.

In the 18th century two other nations grew to become key global arbiters in 20th century diplomacy. In 1776 England lost one of its most important American colonies and the United States of America was born. On the other hand, in Eastern Europe, the Czar Peter the Great⁶⁷ began modernizing Russia. Russia suscitated ambivalence among Westerners, a reaction of both fear and hope which is still felt to this day. In Russia everything depended on the Czar and the autocracy behind his institutions made him even more dreadful.

Another point worth noting is that in 1804 Russia's Czar, Alexander I, presented to William Pitt the Younger, British Prime Minister and enemy of Napoleon, an idea for universal peace and a proposal to reform of all existing Constitutions. The States would have declined from settling international disputes with war and used arbitrations instead. In a certain sense Alexander I may have been fascinated by Kant's essay on Perpetual Peace. His proposal preceded American President Wilson's idea that liberal institutions are a precondition for peace. A few years later Alexander I accepted the concept of an international order based on the balance of powers, the exact opposite political concept. Despite its opposite nature, the new European order will be based on some common principles that helped to maintain a relatively stable international order for one-hundred years.

After Napoleon fell Europe developed a new international order based on the balance of powers. The long standing peace

⁶⁷ As a young lad Peter the Great learned shipbuilding by working in Holland's naval shipyards.

that prevailed after the Congress of Vienna⁶⁸ of 1815 can be attributed to the balance of like-powers that blocked the possibility of overthrowing the established order and to the shared common values between key players. Sharing the same values strongly limits aspirations to overturn an existing order, whereas powers that are privy of legitimacy can provoke a trial of force that could, sooner or later, topple the order. Since the concept of self-determination had not yet set foot in Europe⁶⁹, Statesmen adopted the Pitt Plan without worrying about extracting ethnically homogeneous States from the territories retrieved from Napoleon. For the British, the balance of powers was valid to the degree in which participating States would commit to the roles assigned to them in the overall project.

This brief review of the principles that regulate key international relations is important for understanding how every generation finds itself addressing the problems of their day and have to find solutions on their own. The most complex situations repeat themselves whenever the order changes. Thanks to today's technology, the time-space compression could bring the European issues and its past problems to a global level of today.

The key players at the Congress of Vienna saw that the stability of Central Europe depended on dismantling the work carried out by the French Cardinal in the 16th century. In addition to strengthening Germany, the Ambassadors at Vienna decided that peace would be more secure and enduring if France ended up satisfied more than humiliated. In fact the humiliation faced by Germany after World War I was one of the errors committed by the people that formulated the Treaty of Versailles. Germany's rejection of the post WWI order led to

⁶⁸ Prince Metternich negotiated for Austria, Prince Hardenberg for Prussia, Foreign Minister Talleyrand for France, Czar Alexander I for Russia and Foreign Secretary Castlereagh on behalf of Great Britain.

⁶⁹ The principle of self-determination became important after Woodrow Wilson in the 20th century.

the Second World War of the 20th century as we will see onwards.

The Quadruple Alliance, comprised of Great Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia and the Holy Alliance made up of Austria, Prussia and Russia, were the expression of the new international order and a shared sense of legitimacy. Legitimacy involves the acceptance of an authority without the use of force, whereas the lack of legitimacy leads any dissent to a trial of force. The Quadruple Alliance was created to ensure geopolitical security at a time when France was viewed with fear, as would occur with Germany under Bismarck. Instead, the Holy Alliance that united the conservative monarchs against the Revolution was formed to secure internal order. For Metternich, aside from his belief in these values, the Holy Alliance was an opportunity to commit the Russian Czar to support the legitimate governments and was a means of preventing unilateral actions. Metternich⁷⁰ felt that the French Revolution and its republican institutions were dangerous and unpredictable thus his preference was the institutionalization of traditional values. Shared values and the equilibrium this generated granted Europe a long period of relative peace.

During the 19th century Metternich's Austria recreated the Concert of Europe and in doing so added another hundred years to the life of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But Bismarck's Germany together with Napoleon III would reshift this balance and reduce European diplomacy to a cynical power policy game, which led Europe straight to the war. This was exactly the kind of power struggle that Metternich was trying to avoid. Metternich was so successful in convincing his allies of how dangerous revolutionary mottos were to the system that distracted both Russia and Prussia from the strategic opportunities they could have exploited. For Metternich moderation was a practical necessity and a philosophical virtue.

⁷⁰ The son of the Governor of Renania, Metternich came from a cosmopolitan culture and thought of Europe as his true homeland. He moved to Austria at the age of 17.

In his instructions to an Ambassador of the Austro-Hungarian Empire he once wrote that was more important to reduce others' pretenses than to insist on our own... because in proportion we'll get much more since we'll be asking for little. This philosophy allowed him to manage the delicate balance of powers for an entire generation. He transformed Russia, which he feared, into an ally that shared the same conservative interests and Great Britain, which he trusted, into a last resource for the protection of the balance.

British public opinion wasn't ready to accept a European government, just like Americans were reluctant to accept the League of Nations one-hundred years later. The people didn't feel threatened and it was difficult to convince them of the value of participating in this kind of order. Like Wilson, Foreign Minister Castelereagh believed that security was a collective issue and that after a war the new international order should be protected by the active participation of the members of the international community. Castelereagh took his own life for his inability to reconcile his own convictions with Britain's internal politics.

Metternich was deposed in 1848 and his successors let themselves get caught up in the emerging power politics trends that led to the dismantling of the international order and the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Crimean War of 1854 was the first time that the great powers were in war with each other since the Napoleonic period. The conflict was incited by Napoleon III, who in 1852 persuaded the Turkish Sultan to name him the guardian of Christianity within the Ottoman Empire, a role traditionally reserved to the Russian Czars. Austria proposed a compromise solution which would have given both France and Russia a role in the matter, but Great Britain encouraged Turkey to declare war on Russia.

The true causes of the war were more complicated and reflected the political aspirations of Russia, France and Great

Britain. Russia was pursuing its lifelong dream of conquering Constantinople, France sought to end its isolation by breaking up the Holy Alliance and England hoped to stop Russia from conquering the Straits.

Austria waged war against Russia and this brought to the end the Holy Alliance. By following this path Russia and Austria clashed on the future of the Balkans. Revolutionary ideas and the rebirth of nationalism was the beginning of the end of the multiethnic Austrian Empire. Five years after the Crimean War Cavour expelled Austria from Northern Italy with the help of the French. Five years after that Bismarck beat Austria in a war for German domination. Diplomacy was soon based on pure force and although peace reigned in Europe for another fifty years it was a very fragile period, where decade after decade political tensions multiplied and armaments race intensified.

A new power emerged, it was Bismarck's Germany. On the other side in the power game England continued to pursue its national interests. Palmerston used to say: "We have no eternal Allies and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and these interest it is our duty to follow". The English were convinced that England had more to lose than to gain from alliances and this stance became known as the "Splendid Isolation". Great Britain's only interest in Europe was to maintain the balance of powers thus freely choose the disputes it wanted to intervene in. The English didn't believe, as opposed to Wilsonians, that spreading democratic institutions would have increased the chances of obtaining peace.

In the 19th century Great Britain was the first industrialized nation. It's naval fleet dominated the seas and internal affairs were serene. As we saw above, British diplomacy helped preserve peace in Europe while Metternich's system disintegrated. English policy was very pragmatic and directed towards maintaining the balance. England had fought many wars to stop France from weakening Austria and this remained a

key British goal all the way to the end of the 19th century. Austria was seen as a useful counterweight against Russian expansion towards the Straits as well as a valuable counterweight against French expansion. After 1848 the fear that Germany could have dominated the Continent led to a shift in British foreign policy. In this scenario, for the first time ever, Austria, a German ally, was seen as an adversary to British interests. The English were always shifting their weight to the weaker side to preserve the balance of powers within the Continent and ensure that no single country became dominant.

In the 20th century Europeans, for the first time, no longer determined international affairs. Instead the United States exerted more and more influence in the international arena. Historically American political thought has swung between non-intervention and intervention, but both schools, as we'll see in chapter three, have the common belief in a global order founded on democracy, the free market and international laws.

Getting back to Europe and Westernization we can see that with all the wars fought and the deep political and social changes it went through, for centuries Europe was the font of culture and ideas⁷¹. Every time a population, a city or a new scientific discovery created the energy to move the whole Europe.

In the 17th century Europe went through deep political changes, traditional powers like Spain and the small Italian States entered into crisis and, as we saw from the maps, new nations emerged in a scene that spread beyond the oceans.

⁷¹ The 16th century and the first half of the 17th century are known as the Spanish "Golden Age", the period of Cervantes and his famous works like *Don Quixote*, *Don Giovanni* and of the great painter Velázquez. Over the 17th and 18th centuries Italy, and Rome in particular, maintained the lead in the fine Arts, whereas English philosophy marveled the Continent during the 18th century.

At the beginning of the 17th century cities like Rome and Turin began to sprout a new artistic style known as Baroque⁷². Turin, Genoa, Naples, Palermo, Salamanca and Prague are important Baroque cities. Italian culture and style spread across Europe right when Italy found itself at the margins of great international commerce⁷³. Once again Europe graced us with the works of great masters like Gian Lorenzo Bernini⁷⁴, Caravaggio, the Dutch painter Pieter Paul Rubens, France's Nicolas Poussin, Spanish painter Diego Velasquez, Venetian composer Antonio Vivaldi and German composers J.S. Bach and Handel.

19. Modern Science and the Industrial Revolution

We musn't forget that modern science was also invented in Europe. Since the Renaissance Period free-minded thinkers criticized religious beliefs, in some cases even at the cost of their lives⁷⁵. It was the return to men, to humanism, that gave science and rationalism the opportunity to develop and thereby

⁷² Something bizarre: this was the significance of its Portuguese derivative "Barroco", which means irregular pearl.

⁷³ The importance of Mediterranean trade decreased and sea powers like Venice began to suffer the effects of these great changes.

⁷⁴ Created the colonnade of Saint Peter's Basilica and the "Fountain of the Four Rivers" in Rome's Piazza Navona.

⁷⁵ It was known since the Medieval Period that the world wasn't flat but no one challenged Ptolemaic system, which in line with the Bible and sustained by the Church theorized that the earth was motionless at the centre of the universe. The Polish astronomer Copernicus (1473-1543) discovered that the planets didn't rotate around the earth but around the sun and that even the earth rotated around the sun. Out of fear Copernicus only published his theory when he felt he was near death. The Italian Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), the true founder of physics, went further. He built a telescope that proved Copernicus' theory and argued that the laws governing the universe do not depend on supernatural forces. Galileo was condemned by the Pope and forced by the Courts of the Inquisition to abandon his theories.

help philosophical thought free itself of religion and political power.

From the 15th century onwards science⁷⁶ developed through observation, mathematics, theoretical analysis, empirical evidence through experiments. Halfway through the 18th century The Enlightenment became an important conquest of European thought that spread across the whole Continent.

We once again find a Cosmopolitan Europe made up of scientists who get together and share their ideas and discoveries. From this spirit a great collective initiative was born under the direction of the French philosophers Diderot and Alambert, who with a group of European philosophers and scientists created Encyclopedia, or a systematic dictionary of the sciences, arts and crafts. The Encyclopedia was published in 17 volumes between 1751 and 1772 and in fact illustrated all of Europe's modern scientific achievements up until that period. This Enlightenment leap led to new ideas of progress that fascinated Europeans, who in turn spread them across the globe.

A great breakthrough that revolutionized the energy world was Denis Papin's⁷⁷ discovery of steam force. James Watt later invented a coal steam engine and soon after the use of energy became the pillar of Western growth and development.

Historically human labour and wood have been man's primary sources of energy. Wood was like petroleum is today, it was used for many purposes. In the 14th century wood became scarce in Western Europe and it were the new energy sources and scientific discoveries that allowed development and spread wellbeing.

⁷⁶ The passion for science and new discoveries of this period can be admired in the works left behind by a genius like Leonardo Da Vinci.

⁷⁷ He was French and lived between 1647 and 1714. Due to his Protestant beliefs in 1685 he was forced to exile into England where he invented the pressure cooker. This invention utilizes steam pressure to move a piston within a cylinder.

In the Medieval Period people started using water and windmills to harness energy. The discovery of steam allowed humans to decouple their productive capacities. Wood was replaced by coal when it became more economical and feasible to extract it from the earth. These discoveries led to modern industrial developments. The steam engine was the driving force behind the 1st and 2nd industrial revolutions and allowed for important developments in sea and train⁷⁸ transportation. After almost ten-thousand years of economic development based on human, animal, wind and water power, the use of steam represented a huge qualitative leap in the exploitation of natural resources. Time-space compression accelerated due to these new discoveries. The invention of trains and the telegraph broke down the age-old barriers of time and space that, since the fall of the Roman Empire, had kept European people relatively isolated from each other.

The capacity to control and direct energy for human needs led to greater progress, civilization and wellbeing of a population. Looking back in time we can say that energy caused the rise and fall of civilizations. Human labour was the main source of energy until machines were invented. Slave labour built the pyramids and the Great Wall of China. In the first few centuries of the Christian period, almost 20% of Roman populations were enslaved.

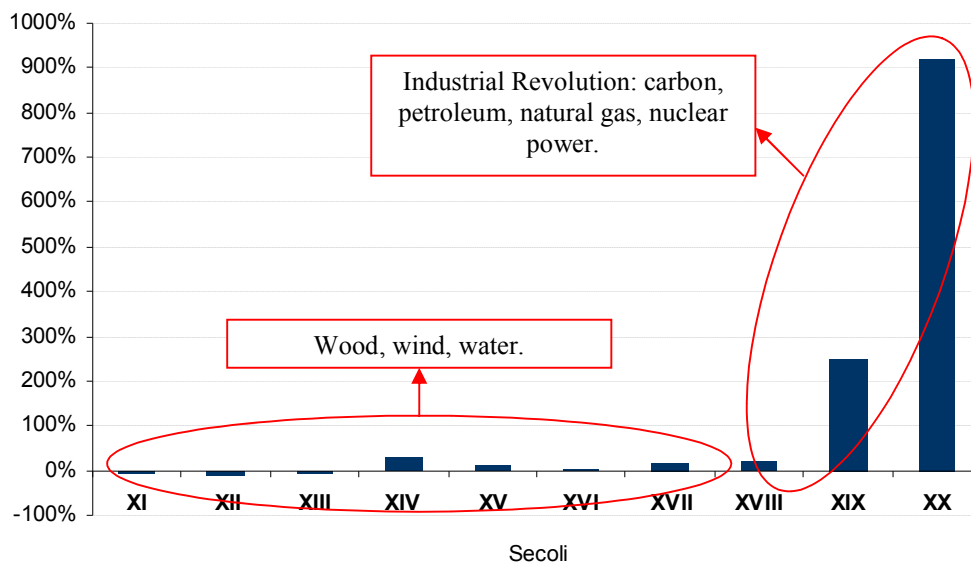
In fact great civilizations distinguish themselves from more simple societies by their capacity to accumulate, manage and transform great quantities of energy. In ancient times religious changes were able to mobilized human energy towards continuous changes in the societies. Today modern ideologies play a similar role to religion in the mobilization of human energy. The theory that great societies risk falling when the flow of energy halts or slows down is very plausible. This concept is very important for understanding the importance of today high dependence of developed countries on oil.

⁷⁸ Locomotives were fed by carbon.

For over one-hundred years oil, natural gas and coal have been the main sources of energy. These combustible fossil fuels have helped multiply human wellbeing⁷⁹ over the last century. The problem is rooted in the fact that to this day these sources still cover 85% of our worldwide energy needs.

In the 20th century the United States became the most powerful industrial nation in the world mostly due to its rich petroleum deposits. Likewise, Great Britain's hey days were in large part due to its vast coal deposits.

Graph 1. Real Gross National Product Growth: Year 1000 - Year 2000.



Source: J. Bradford DeLong. Cornucopia, the Pace of Economic Growth in the Twentieth Century, Cambridge 2000, p.35.

⁷⁹ The United States has been the most developed industrial country in the world for over a century. Despite the fact that Americans represent just 5% of the world's population, today they consume about 25% of worldwide energy production. Every year the average American consumes 3650 kg of petroleum, 2132 kg of natural gas and 2335 kg of carbon. Youngquist has calculated that on a daily basis the average American uses the amount of energy equivalent to 58 slaves working nonstop 24 hours a day.

When energy is scarce and found in an exclusive location it can easily become a source of conflict. It's worth noting that the European Union took shape when France and Germany decided to share in the management of coal and steel. In the 20th century petroleum became to the internal combustion engine⁸⁰ what coal was to the steam engine.

In the concluding chapter we will return to the importance of the energy problem in our contemporary world. Today energy remains a significant geopolitical problem. In just six weeks we now consume the amount of petroleum used in one whole year in 1950. Scientists agree that fossil fuel or hydrocarbon reserves are depleting. Many 20th century geopolitical conflicts and tensions were rooted in petroleum and many believe that the challenge of the future is to find new sources of abundant and clean energy. This is not just a European or Western challenge but a global challenge. If we don't find a substitute for petroleum our Western economy and society face the risk of entropy and decline. A revolution in clean hydrogen or clean fusion would create global geopolitical and social change. Building a true model of Cosmopolitan Democracy would become way less Utopian.

In just a few generations the industrial revolutions have produced immense societal changes. Material values have replaced spiritual values. Theology has been replaced by ideology and faith has left room to reason. Seasonal time has been put in second place to a linear time. Personal relations governed by trust have been replaced by contracts. The sacred has lost reverence to the useful. Freeing of our spirit has become less important than following our personal destiny and love for Christ has been put into question by love for ourselves. Wisdom has been displaced by knowledge, scientific methods and new discoveries.

⁸⁰ In 1885, Karl Benz and Gottlieb Daimler assembled the first internal combustion engine on their horseless cart. Whereas the American industrialist Henry Ford thrust petroleum and automobiles into a new era.

I 10. *The French Revolution and the Birth of the Nation*

At the end of the 19th century Europe was the protagonist of two others extraordinary events that influenced the whole Continent, not to mention the rest of humanity. They are the French Revolution and the birth of the concept of the nation.

On June 17th 1789, Third Estate deputies challenged the authority of King Louis XVI by founding their own national assembly and requesting a Constitution. A few months later France adopted the “Declaration of the Rights and Man and Citizen”⁸¹, which asserted the concept of liberty and stated, among else, that: “The principle of any sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation. No body, no individual can exert authority which does not emanate expressly from it (Article III)”. The French Revolution⁸² radically transformed our governing system and society as a whole. The monarchy - which governed by divine right that was passed on from generation to generation through dynastic heritage - was abolished and the Republic was born. From that moment onwards sovereignty belonged to the nation. The citizens, that is the people who shared similar life experiences and were tied by a common past and future, became the nation.

For the first time in history the citizens, the nation and the State were united in a single governing body. From this point onwards the state was to be governed for the people and by the people. The French people were called the nation and a deputy assembly was elected to govern it and to abolish the feudal regime. One of the key factors driving the revolution was the permanent rift between the emergent capitalist classes and the monarchy. The deputies proclaimed a new Republic and

⁸¹ No man can be tortured, investigated or arrested for his opinions etc.

⁸² Two huge modern ideological manifestos emerged in that period: The French Declaration (liberty, equality, fraternity) and the Constitution of the United States of America (The Right to Life, Freedom and the Pursuit of Happiness). The UN Charter and Declaration of Universal Human Rights followed suit over 160 years later.

declared that it would be based on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. At the time, the only other Republic to be founded on the concept of liberty was the United States.

Two-hundred years later, with the fall of communism, these human rights have become the patrimony of all Europeans. Today the respect for human rights is a basic value in current European Union developments.

The Council of Europe's "European Convention on Human Rights" (Rome, 1950) is an admissions test for all countries that wish to join the EU. Nowadays only the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) in Strasbourg can win over State sovereignty to protect the rights of individuals within countries that have signed the Convention. Respect for human rights is the fundamental pillar for building Cosmopolitan Democracy. Brilliant ideas should also be put into practice, although it's not always possible the first time around.

A great deal has been written about the French Revolution. It was a major break from the past. It was indeed a revolution and the meaning of that word changed since 1789. What's worth remembering for all the great political reforms of bad government that have taken place in history is a keen observation by Tocqueville⁸³, who writes: "...experience suggests that the most dangerous moment for an evil government is usually when it begins to reform itself. Only great ingenuity can save a prince who undertakes to give relief to his subjects after long oppression. The sufferings that are endured patiently, as being inevitable, become intolerable the moment it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable."

The initial revolutionary euphoria was followed by the years of the Terror. The most intransigent revolutionaries took

⁸³ Tocqueville's mother and father were imprisoned during the Jacobin Terror.

power and sent their adversaries to the guillotine. They also attacked religion and the Catholic Church which later on turned many followers hostile to the revolution. On the other hand the Revolution granted to Jews and Protestants civil rights.

Three years after the Revolution began, in 1792, the revolutionaries declared war against the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, and then against England and Holland. The European powers were mostly frightened by revolutionary ideas that threatened the foundations on which their power was based.

The war helped the French Revolution permeate into almost every European country. On the one hand the Revolution sought open its doors to the oppressed, but on the other wanted to satisfy French ambitions of grandeur. The end of Napoleon Bonaparte's war also saw the end of Cardinal Richelieu's era, where France sought to dominate the Continent and the new German era began. The revolution led to new social fracture with progressive revolutionaries opposed against reactionary counter-revolutionaries. These divisions created the modernday political currents of "left" and "right".

When Napoleon took over power in France he was greeted by some European countries and sympathizers as a liberator⁸⁴, but soon enough the entire Continent was allied against him. The Napoleonic Wars gave rise to German nationalism. Nationalism spread across Europe and became the cause of many conflicts between nations. Nowadays the integration of German and Latin people depends on relations between Germany and France. Later we will see that over the last four centuries both countries have made devastating attempts to achieve total hegemony. In addition we will see that to this day the ideas behind the Revolution are still not fully enjoyed across humanity. The principles now make up part of the European Union heritage, but only after suffering two terrible European civil wars that transformed into World Wars and thanks the persistence of the United States.

⁸⁴ In Poland, Dalmatia and Naples.

Looking at the Map we can see that the Napoleonic Empire was almost able to reunite the whole Western Christian world, dividing Europe into three regions: the Napoleonic Empire, the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire (Map 10). As we saw when we compared Chalemagne's Empire and the EU's Six Nations, it is interesting to see how the Napoleonic Empire almost coincides with today's European Union borders after the last EU expansion on May 1st 2004 (Map 10, Map 11).

Europe inherited the Napoleonic Code from Napoleon, but he mostly left us with a rise in German national consciousness that provoked three additional conflicts between France and Germany: in 1871, 1914 and 1941.

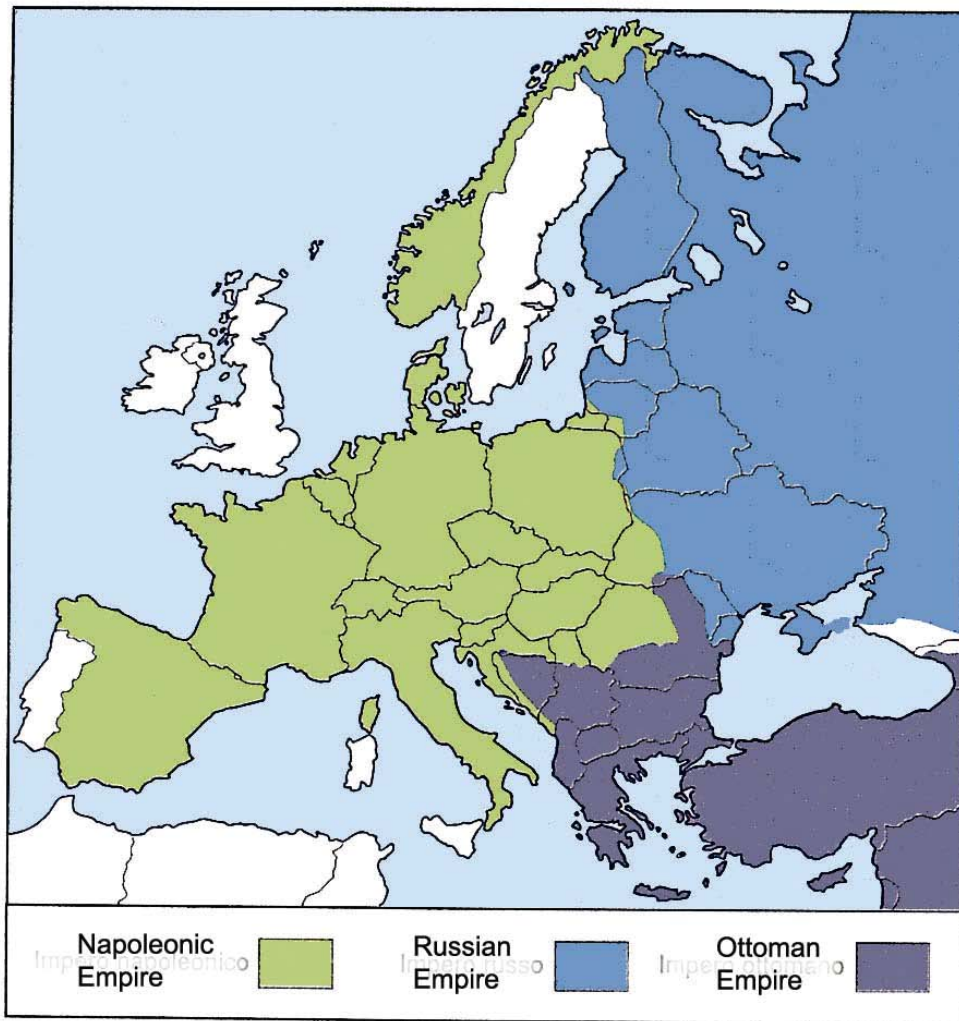
History has often shown us that many ideas developed within a certain context to achieve specific goals and after generations they ended up obtaining the opposite effects to their original intent. Just spreading an idea without ever truly understanding it almost always ends up distorting the concept. This is the sense behind intergenerational responsibility. Every generation has a responsibility to understand and address the problems of their time.

The last two European wars were characterised by a great destructive force that was rooted in the industrial revolution, which had first developed in England and later spread throughout the whole Continent. As mentioned above coal and iron were the primary materials used to move machines and help industry take-off. Cotton manufacturing gave birth to the textile industry. The discovery of coal's vast utility gave rise to mining communities in the English Midlands, in France's Lorena⁸⁵ district and in Germany's Ruhr region. As mentioned earlier new trends in communications came about with the invention of the steam engine. For almost a century the rail system was the

⁸⁵ Since they held the key to a country's powerbase these regions saw major battles between France and Germany during the 1st and 2nd World Wars. It is worth noting that Schuman was born in Lorena, the most tormented region of the 20th century.

measure of a country's industrial development. At the end of the 19th century electricity and the internal combustion engine appeared on the scene. The latter invention allowed the use of gas and petroleum as a new source of energy.

Map 10. Napoleonic, Russian and Ottoman Empires in 1812.

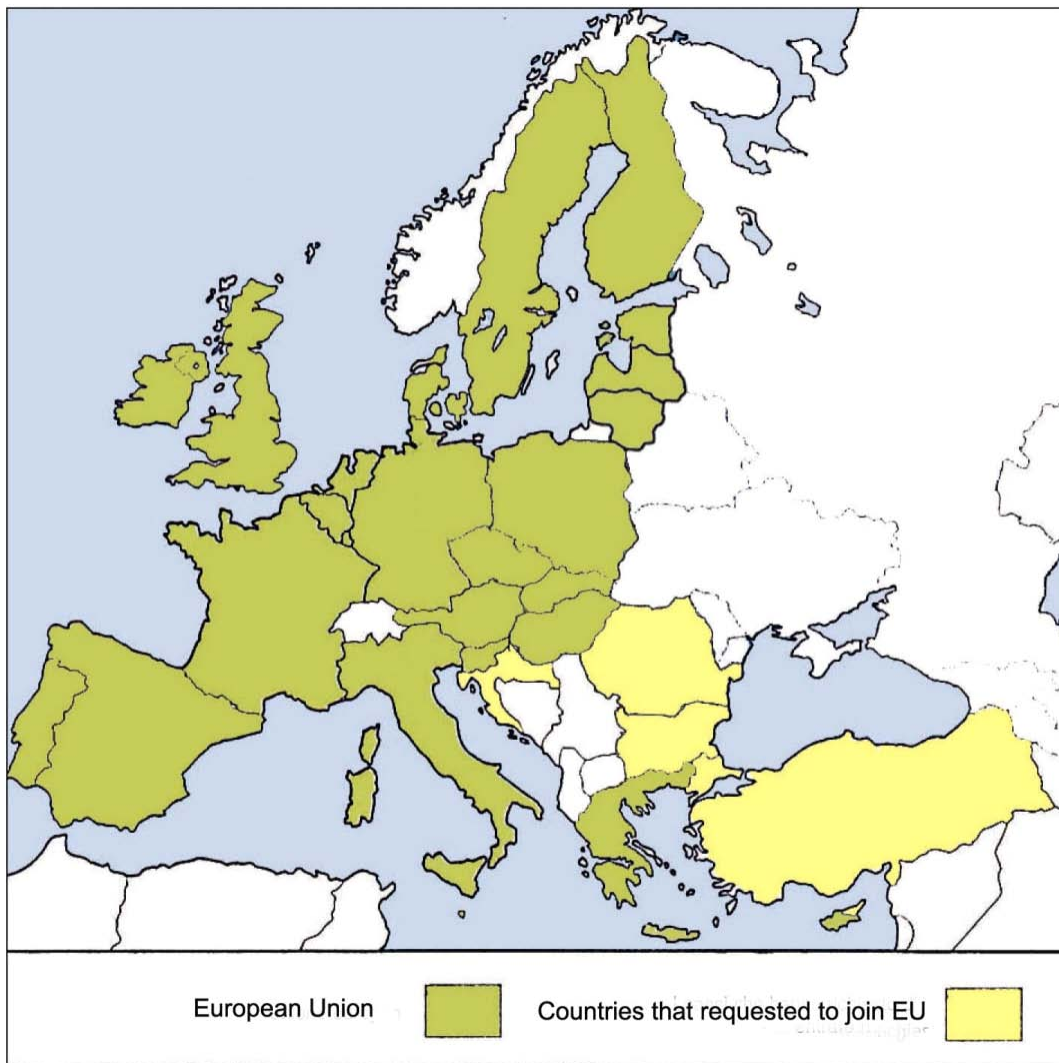


Art and culture saw the rise of yet another great artistic movement at the start of the 19th century, the era of Romanticism. It was a movement that had already been paved by Jean Jacques Rousseau, who praised the love of liberty. Many other eminent masters of this period greatly contributed to Europe's unique cultural heritage: the English poet Byron, Russia's Aleksander Puskin, France's Victor Hugo, German

musicians Beethoven, Schubert, Schuman, Chopin from Poland, Hungary's Liszt and Italy's Verdi.

Napoleon left Europe with the legacy of national consciousness, which began to develop among different populations over the 19th century. Nationalism advanced along two tracks. The first led to the concept of self-determination and the right to independence, whereas the second led towards nationalism, which became one of Europe's most destructive socio-political diseases of the last two centuries.

Map 11. European Union Members States (2004).



Every modern nation-state has tried to invent its own foundation myth. As the world became more and more secular, Nation-States tried to consolidate a new powerful image of a population that shared the same noble past and was destined for future grandeur. The road to immortality was no longer guided by faith but by loyalty towards the nation and the State. In exchange for obedience to its authority the State was to guarantee the right of everyone to protect their own property and to sell it in a free marketplace. As a sign of State loyalty citizens were expected to make the extreme sacrifice of giving up their lives for their country. The State promised citizens an utopian future in order to obtain their loyalty. Later we'll see that the concept of nationalism became rather obsolete and a source of conflict among modern States.

The Congress of Vienna established a new international order. In 1830 the French Revolution introduced a more liberal regime. Belgium broke away from Holland. Greece split from Turkey. In 1848 national revolutions broke out across Europe. France proclaimed a new Republic while in Italy the Five Days of Milan signified the start of a revolt against Austrian occupation. With the help of the French the Italians kicked the Austrians out of Milan and Venice and on March 17th 1861 the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed. In 1871, following the war with France, the various German States unified under a single State governed by the King of Prussia, who proclaimed himself Emperor of Germany.

I.11 After the Congress of Vienna

After the fall of Napoleon Europe lived almost a century of peace. This peace was based on a balance of power and autarchy. The Congress of Vienna⁸⁶ was dominated by the very powers that had defeated Napoleon. Austria's Minister

⁸⁶ Of 1815.

Metternich became a symbol the new European political order (Map 12).

With the help of England in role of external arbiter, the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Prussian monarchs dominated Europe during the Restoration period. Napoleon's vanquishers wanted an authoritarian Europe that didn't grant freedom and liberty of its people. However preceding Wilson in a fundamental concept, Metternich sustained that common justice was indispensable for international peace and order.

The 1848 Revolutions failed and that same year Prince Metternich also left the international scene. The collapse of the system built and managed by Metternich led to almost three decades of localized conflicts. The Crimean War of 1854 was followed in 1859 by the war of Piedmont and France against Austria, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and finally the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. A new European balance of power emerged that no longer faced the moral constraints of Metternich's system.

The engineers of the new balance of power without limits were Napoleon III⁸⁷ and Germany's Otto von Bismarck⁸⁸. Napoleon's nephew abolished the French Republic, proclaimed himself Emperor under the name Napoleon III and together with Bismarck helped to destroy the order established by the Congress of Vienna. The word *Realpolitik* replaced the concept of the *raison d'Etat* (national interest) but without really changing its meaning.

Napoleon III and Bismarck ignored Metternich's system of sustaining legitimate crown rulers in the interest of stability. They also ignored that State relations must be determined by government consensus and failed to censor out nationalist and

⁸⁷ Napoleon III was against Metternich's system because he believed it was created to limit France.

⁸⁸ Bismarck didn't agree with Metternich's system because it reduced Prussia to a second rate member of the German Confederation.

liberal slogans in the interest of the Empires. In *Realpolitik* national relations were mostly determined by pure force.

In the end Napoleon III achieved the opposite of his goals. He threw Europe into chaos without obtaining any advantages for France and also made Italian and German unification possible. He tried to dismantle Metternich's system because he thought that the old order isolated France but thirty years later, at the end of his reign, France found itself even more isolated.

Despite that foreign policy was his true passion, during his reign Napoleon III achieved better internal outcomes for the country. He promoted the industrial revolution, founded credit institutions and transformed Paris into a metropolis. Napoleon III understood only too late that Vienna's international order was the best guarantee of French security and that he would have to choose between Richelieu's politics of keeping Central Europe divided or spreading Republican values across the Continent. He didn't realize that self-determination and the republican crusades would have led to German unification.

The creation of a German Confederation was in origin a defensive strategy rather than an offensive one. By attacking the Vienna system Napoleon turned a defense barrier into a potentially aggressive threat to French security. The alternative to a German Confederation was a unified Germany.

Napoleon III was hesitant to collaborate with Austria even though this was important to French stability and security. In 1859 he allied with Piedmont in the war against Austria. After the occupation of Nice and Savoy, Great Britain distanced itself from France. When he backed the Polish Revolution of 1863 he distanced also Russia from France. This decision accelerated the French Emperor's isolation. Napoleon III made a tactical error when he pushed for national self-determination because he didn't imagine that this strategy would have led to the creation of a German nation, that in turn would preclude any French dream of dominating the Continent. He also backed the Austro-

Prussian War of 1866 because he was convinced that Prussia would have lost, but he was wrong.

Adolphe Thiers, future French President and dedicated republican, foresaw Prussia's dominance in Germany in his May 1866 discourse to the nation. He said that he expected to assist to a return to the Empire of Charles V, whose once capital of Vienna will become Berlin... and he questioned in his discourse to the nation if France, after battling for two centuries to stop this to happen, will just sit and watch?. Using the pretext of the right of independence of the German States, Thiers pushed for French opposition to Prussia's politics. He stated that in the name of the independence of the German states, in addition to his own as well as in the name of the European equilibrium, which was the interests of all Europeans... there was an attempt to mock the term European equilibrium... and he concluded with the question "What does European equilibrium mean if not European independence?".

Prussia won the war and after deposing Crown rulers in the battled States it was clear that Prussia had abandoned the idea of legitimate rule as a principle of international order. The war of 1866 almost led to the unification of Germany and France found itself ever more isolated. Bismarck waited for the first opportunity to finish the task. The opportunity arose in 1870 when he successfully induced Napoleon to declare war on Prussia. German unification was declared on January 18th 1871 in the Versailles Hall of Mirrors.

As mentioned Napoleon III thought that Metternich's system was unjust for France. He successfully disbanded the Holy Alliance by dividing Austria and Russia during the Crimean War, but he was unable to turn this into an advantage for France. Up until 1871, as the new order formed, the situation was chaotic. At the end of this reshuffling Germany emerged as the most powerful force on the Continental scene and pure force became the basis for international politics.

Metternich's system was based on three elements: the European balance of powers, an internal German balance between Austria and Prussia and a system of alliances based on the unity of sharing conservative values. Bismarck changed this system. He saw Austria as an obstacle to Prussian growth. He believed that the Holy Alliance was unnecessary for maintaining strong ties with Russia and felt that the diplomatic tactics of Napoleon III were a strategic opportunity rather than a threat.

Bismarck's politics represented a return to the principles of Cardinal Richelieu, who despite being a Cardinal of the Catholic Church still opposed himself to the Sacred Roman Empire if vital for the national interests of France. Despite his conservative tendencies Bismarck disassociated himself from his mentors⁸⁹ whenever their principles of legitimacy hindered Prussia's freedom of action. For Bismarck *Realpolitik* required flexibility and the ability to exploit any available option without ideological roadblocks. What was lacking in Richelieu's days were the elements characterising modern times, like industrialization, which notably increased State military power.

Bismarck did not view the Universe as a mechanical equilibrium but as a flow of particles that create an apparent reality. He believed in Darwin's theory of survival of the fittest. He was as moderate in ending wars as he was astute in planning and winning them. As soon as Germany reached the confines it thought necessary to maintain its security it took a prudent and stabilizing approach in foreign policy. Bismarck's successors were not so sharp in managing *Realpolitik* and soon found themselves depending on an excessive use of military force.

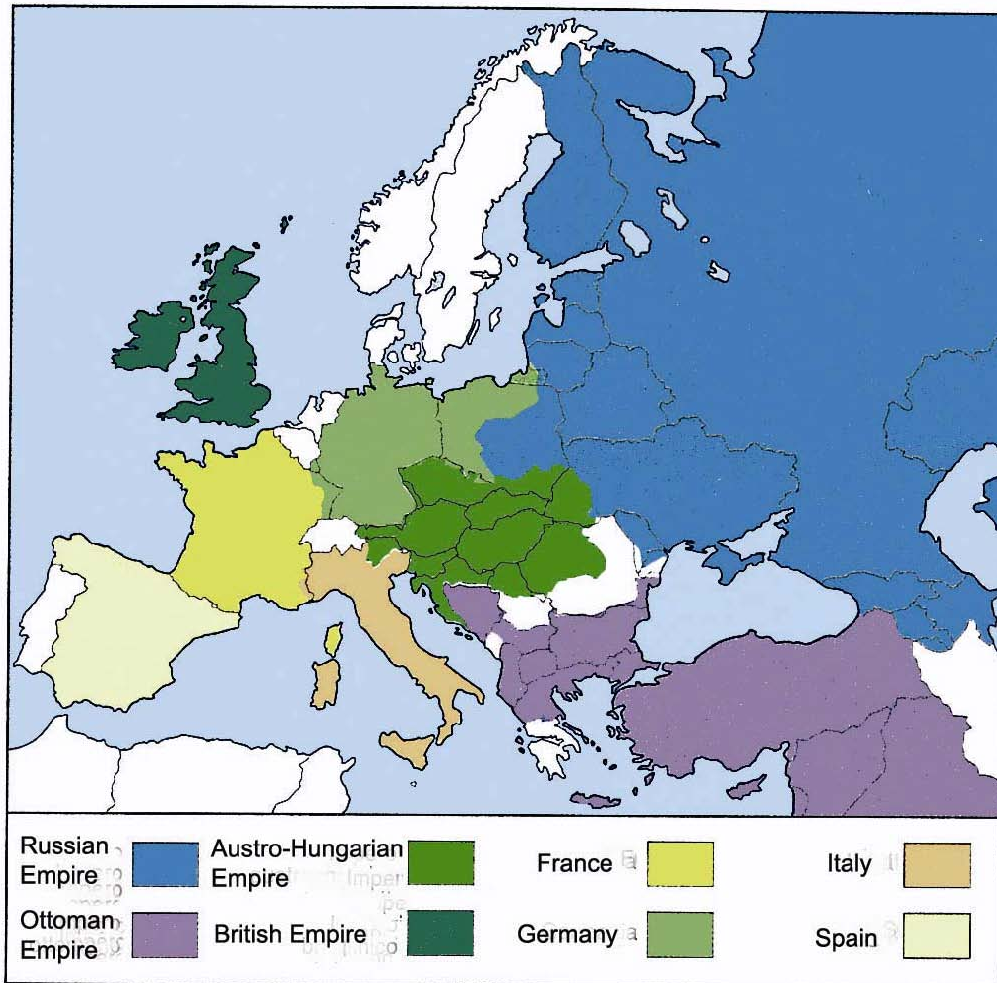
⁸⁹ Leopold von Gerlach, military strategist of the King of Prussia to whom Bismarck owes his first diplomatic mission, his entry into Court and his whole career, did not share the idea that a strategic advantage justifies the abandonment of principles. In 1860 the break became irreparable. In the Franco-Piedmonts war against Austria Gerlach thought it was necessary to side with Austria, for fear that Napoleon III would have followed the path of Napoleon I. Instead Bismarck saw Austria's expulsion from Italy as an opportunity to expel Austria from Germany as well.

The arms race led Europe towards worldwide conflicts. The dismantling of Metternich's philosophy of checks and balances did not lead to a more stable political system. This is an important consideration since it also demonstrates that the sharing of common values is crucial for maintaining the stability of the international political system.

Germany unified thanks to a diplomatic approach that needed many adjustments. However the structural problems not only remained, they actually intensified with Prussia's victory in the war against France. Germany's annexation of Alsace-Lorraine produced an irreconcilable antagonism between France and Germany that lasted until the end of the Second World War and the beginning of Franco-German reconciliation at the heart of the European Union.

Without doubt Bismarck established a country that marked European history over the last century, but it is just as emblematic and dangerous to obtain great victories through the capabilities of a single individual without successfully institutionalizing these capacities. It is not easy to find people in every generation with the extraordinary talent and capacities for managing situations of a highly complex nature. The legacy of Napoleon III became a strategic paralysis for France whereas Bismarck was able to create a Germany that survived two World Wars and the Cold War. The legacy Bismarck left to the Germans can be compared to the heritage Cardinal Richelieu left to France and President Wilson gave to the United States.

Map 12. Imperial Balance of Power in 1871.



The balance of powers, the authoritarian systems and colonial politics were the base of peace across the Continent throughout the 19th century until the break of the First World War, but it was a precarious peace with many structural risks.

After Bismarck Realpolitik faced a dangerous regression. German foreign policy, based on power comparison and national interests, provoked an arms race and led to the break out of new forms of nationalisms. The Balkans were particularly sensitive to these forces. Good sense would have discouraged the growth of nationalist sentiments in this part of Europe and would have objected the establishment of a permanent Austro-Hungarian enemy: Russia. With a unified Germany the Austro-

Hungarian Empire had no choice but to expand towards the Balkans. The slow disintegration of the Ottoman Empire helped worsen the situation, as the great powers began to fight over the sprawls of this dissipating Empire.

With the end of the Metternich system no common ideological bond was left to place limits on the ever more bitter conflict taking place between Russia and Austria over the Balkans or between Germany and France over Alsace-Lorraine, whereas Great Britain continued to practice its policy of “Splendid Isolation”.

Up until 1890 Bismarck was the great architect of the balance between nations. He wanted peace for the newly founded German Empire, but in the absence of moral ties between the European States his task became immense and complex. He tried to keep Russia and Austria far away from France, which he considered an enemy⁹⁰. He tried to prevent Austrian hostilities from legitimizing a Russian offense, while on the other hand he tried to mitigate Russian aggravation towards the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He tried to maintain a good relationship with Russia without irritating Great Britain. Realistically Bismarck’s *Realpolitik* was managed on a very thin line and the fragile balance of power stood ground on personal charisma rather than on a common moral reasoning. Just after Bismarck left the scene Europe paid the consequences.

⁹⁰ In 1873, he successfully established the “League of the Three Emperors” (*Dreikaiserbund*), an alliance between Germany, Russia and Austria (similar to the Holy Alliance). The Balkan crisis proved that these ties were insufficient in the face of the contrasting national interests between the allies.

I 12. *The Weight of the Colonies*

We have seen that after the discovery of the American Continent, from the 16th century onwards France, England, Spain, Portugal and Holland began to colonize the Americas. After almost three centuries of colonization, between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries the Americas found themselves completely dominated by Europeans. The American War of Independence against England sparked the first great decolonization.

Despite this the European idea of colonization remained alive and strong. The Russian Empire continued to expand to the West, towards The Ukraine, as well as eastwards, towards Asia (in the conquest of Siberia) (Map 13). In the 19th century the main victim of colonization was Africa (Map 14), which got divided up between France, England, Belgium, Portugal and Italy⁹¹. The Berlin Congress of 1871 established the partitioning of Africa between the European powers, but it was also supposed to settle the Balcan crisis. In Asia European conquests continued. The French occupied Indochina while the English took over India, where in 1876 Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of the Indies.

Decolonization was a long and difficult process for Europeans to accept, just as the return to a democratic system was long and arduous. In both cases as far as Continental Europe is concerned, as for England in the case of colonialism, the merit in large part goes to the United States. Wilson brought the concept of peoples' self-determination back to Europe after the First World War; although in practice, as we will see in Chapter three, the idea created many incongruencies and problems in Europe.

After the Berlin "Memorandum" of 1876 and the London Protocol of 1877 Russia declared war against Turkey. The

⁹¹ As the most newly-born nations of the day even Italy and Germany wanted to share in the conquest of the colonies.

Treaty of Saint Stephen, which involved the creation of the Great Bulgury, was of great concern to westerners, in particular for Great Britain and Austria. The treaty gave Russia the possibility of controlling the Straits, which was unacceptable to Britain, as well as Russian authority over the Balcan Slavs, of great concern to the Austrians.

Bismarck was convinced by other European State leaders to host a Conference in Berlin, since it looked like the Balcan crisis was about to spark a Europeanwide war. The Congress was preceded two weeks earlier by a separate meeting between Great Britain and Russia, where their major divergences⁹² were leveled out. This way the risk of a general breakout of war had already vanished by the time the Berlin Congress began.

Bismarck's diplomatic strategy created a series of alliances⁹³. He encouraged French colonial expansion to divert the France away from Central Europe and to engage France in controversies with competing nations, in particular Great Britain. His calculation proved to be exact. France and Great Britain risked war in Egypt and Morocco; France and Italy were at ends with each other over Tunisia; and Great Britain continued to oppose Russia's position in Constantinople and Central Asia⁹⁴. To avoid conflicts with Great Britain Germany steered clear of colonial expansion until the mid-1880's.

⁹² The "Great Bulgaria" created by the Treaty of Saint Stephan was subdivided into three new entities: an independent area, a Turkish area and an area controlled by the European Commission. Russian territory gains in Armenia were reduced whereas in a separate agreement Disraeli's Great Britain supported Austria's occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and guaranteed the Sultan integrity of Asian part of Turkey, in turn, from Turkey, Great Britain obtained a naval base in Cyprus.

⁹³ In 1879 he formed a secret pact with Austria in an attempt to contain Russian expansion; in 1882 he convinced Italy to join the bilateral German-Austrian alliance and formed the Triple Alliance. In 1887, he convinced Austria and Italy to sign the "Mediterranean Agreement" with Great Britain.

⁹⁴ In Afghanistan and Northern China.

Gladstone's entry onto the scene in place of Disraeli helped bring a quick end to the Bismarck era. Bismarck's approach was incompatible with the age of mass public opinion. Gladstone saw foreign policy as the Americans did after Wilson, based on ethical standards. Gladstone laid the path that Wilson later followed when he declared that there could be no difference between the private good and public good.

During an assembly Gladstone underlined that Christian principles and respect for human rights, as opposed to the balance of power and national interests, should guide British policy, stating: "Remember the rights of the savage, as we call him. Remember that the happiness of his humble home, remember that the sanctity of life in the hill villages of Afghanistan, among the winter snows, is as inviolable in the eye of Almighty God, as can be your own. Remember that He who has united you together as human beings in the same flesh and blood, has bound you by the law of mutual love, that... is not limited by the boundaries of Christian civilization."

Gladstone's nomination prevented England from keeping the balance in the Balkans and across Europe in general. The new status quo stripped Bismarck bare of his security network and he became ever more dependent on Russia and Austria. The Bulgarian crisis of 1885 distanced Russia from Germany and in 1887 Alexander III refused to renew his pact with the League of the Three Emperors. Bismarck's last attempt to manage Russia was through the bilateral Reinsurance Treaty, which was supposed to guarantee neutrality between Russia and Germany in the case of war with other countries, except in the case that Germany attacked France or Russia attacked Austria.

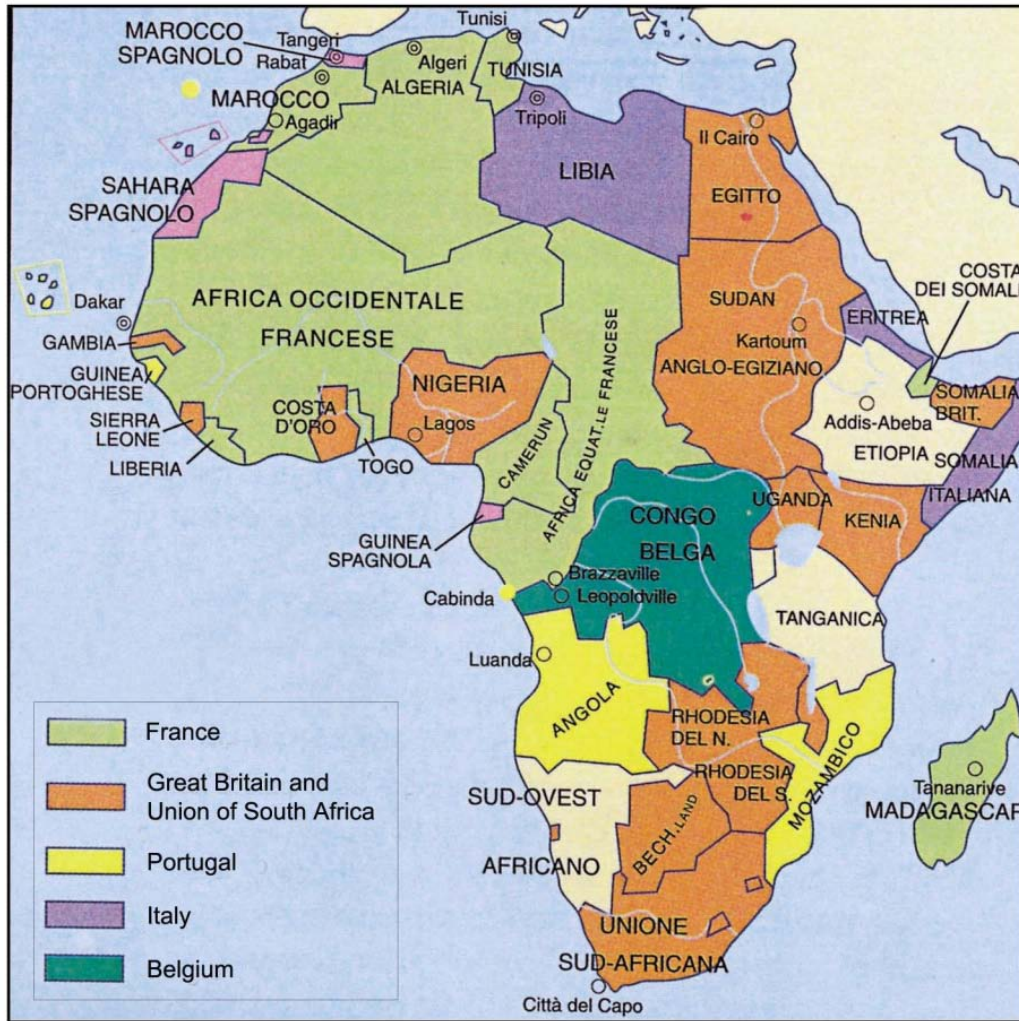
Map 13. Europeans in Asia (19th century).



When Bismarck left the scene⁹⁵ in 1890 the influence of the balance of powers was diminishing and Europe veered towards the two biggest civil wars in its history. The system of power balances was able to maintain the independence of States but not peace. As we have already seen the concept of an “equilibrium” was born as a reaction to the failed medieval aspirations of a Universal Empire and after the formation of a multitude of new States. By pursuing the national interests (*raison d’Etat*), Europeans found themselves involved in many wars, in the aim of preventing the rise of a dominant power and the re-establishment of a European Empire.

⁹⁵ The Emperor William II fired Bismarck.

Map. 14. Europeans in Africa (19th – 20th century).



Germany soon became a European problem. Bismarck's successors were unable to maintain the fragile equilibrium and they didn't understand that the more power they demonstrated the more they encouraged the formation of coalitions hostile to Germany. Germany was a young country and none of the ideals at the root of some of the great modern nation-states were present in Bismarck's creation: Great Britain was founded on traditional freedoms, France on universal liberties and the French Revolution, Austria on Universalist Imperialism. Bismarck's Germany was an offspring of Prussia, whose existential goal was to increase its own power base, but this goal was insufficient for identifying the national interest.

In 1890 the first diplomatic decision made by William II, after firing Bismarck, was to reject the Czar's offer to renew the Reinsurance Treaty. With this move the Kaiser began to dismantle one of the most important pieces in the complex mosaic of alliances designed by Bismarck. Germany wanted to run a simple⁹⁶ and transparent policy. Germany wanted to assure Austria that an alliance was a top German priority and in the end Germany saw the Reinsurance Treaty as a barrier to stipulating an alliance with Great Britain.

The Germans didn't expect that the end of the Reinsurance Treaty would have opened the door to a new Franco-Russian alliance. In fact just one year later France and Russia signed a friendly understanding that guaranteed reciprocal diplomatic support. Three years later the two countries signed a military agreement of mutual assistance in the case of aggression on the part of Germany or its allies.

It was the end of the Balance of Powers and diplomacy left little room and space to the arms race and military escalation. For the satisfaction of building a naval fleet to its military stock Germany even added Great Britain to its growing list of adversaries. In 1908 Great Britain joined the Franco-Russian alliance, giving rise to Triple Entente. This represented the final end of the Balance of Powers.

Diplomacy as the "art of compromise" had reached its end. Germany became as isolated as France when it was most powerful. The Kaiser's moves united three nations, that were once adversaries, into a coalition against Germany. Having reduced the diplomatic playing field the only way to mold the power equilibrium was through arms escalation or war. The Triple Entente on one side were at odds with Germany and Austria on the other. The lack of trust among people, and to use a Wilsonian expression even among States, is a general

⁹⁶ The new German Chancellor Caprivi said that he was not able to keep contemporary eight balls in the air as Bismarck.

precondition for a potential conflict at the first opportunity that arises.

Every European problem became a trial of force. In 1908 an international crisis occurred because of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For thirty years following the Berlin Conference, Bosnia and Herzegovina had been under Turkish rule, with local autonomy and an Austrian administrative system. In 1908 Austria decided to take possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina by executing a secret agreement that had been signed at the Berlin Conference. This decision was made more out of spite against Serbia, and hence Russia, than for concrete political reasons. The decision further disturbed the frail equilibrium and gave to the respective Balcan clients the opportunity to windward the national interests (*raison d'Etat*) of the great European nations. Germany allied itself with Austria while Russia watched in humiliation, since neither Great Britain nor France were ready to enter into war for a Balcan issue. With this move Germany proved that it had a short historical memory. Half a century earlier Bismarck had forecasted that Russia would have never forgiven Austria for humiliating Russia during the Crimean War, but just fifty years later Germany was making the same mistake. Today the European Union should avoid committing unfair moves against Russia.

Germany began to challenge France in Africa. In 1913 Germany tried to take control of The Dardanelles and this step definitively broke relations with Russia. Lack of trust and power struggles led Europe towards civil war and the rest of the planet was thrust into to its first ever worldwide war.

I 13. *The Birth of Ideologies*

19th century Europe also saw important developments in historical research and philosophy, new art styles were born, science⁹⁷ continued to prosper and political ideologies were seeded. German thought prevailed in the philosophical field and we surely can't forget philosophers like Kant, Fichte and Hegel. Whereas the authors like Dostojevski and Tolstoj the Russian romance novel became a hit across European literary circles. In arts Impressionist⁹⁸ movement prevailed, soon followed by the Nouveau Art and Liberty trends, whereas early 19th century art movements took the shape of cubism⁹⁹, futurism¹⁰⁰ and surrealism.

In 19th century political ideologies appeared on the European scene: liberalism, socialism and marxism inspired many people to organize themselves in order to achieve these ideas in society.

Ideologies and religions, together with love and hate, are the greatest catalysts of human energy. Many people have written that the fall of the U.S.S.R. also represented the end of political ideologies but this is a very unlikely theory. The circle of life and human desire and need to believe in something make the end of ideologies unlikely. Here below is a brief introduction to the world's major ideologies.

Liberalism generally leads to a democratic regime and in most European countries it has introduced democratic elections of the parliaments. The economic factor is another important

⁹⁷ Louis Pasteur discovered microbes and the rabies vaccine; James Faraday made important discoveries in the field of electromagnetism; Guglielmo Marconi made the first long-distance message from Italy to Canada through electromagnetic waves; Sigmund Freud invented psychoanalysis, etc.

⁹⁸ For example: England's William Turner, France's Edouard Manet, Claude Monet, Edgar Degas, Pierre-Auguste Renoir.

⁹⁹ Spain's Pablo Picasso and George Braque from France.

¹⁰⁰ Such as Italians Filippo Tomaso Marinetti and Umberto Boccioni.

aspect of liberalism, wherein economic laws regulate economic life on the basis of a liberal market forces driven by supply and demand needs.

Instead socialism is ideologically opposed to economic liberalism. The goal of socialism is to develop a society based on social justice and equality. At the end of the day, thanks to industrialization and the overall increase in wealth created over the last few centuries, liberal democratic regimes have been able to redistribute some of their wealth and have come closer to the goals sought by socialism.

Marxism represents an extreme form of socialism. The German Karl Marx believed that the struggle for material goods and class conflict represents a historical social evolution law. The goal of Marxism was to achieve a society without social classes through social revolution and authoritarian government headed by proletarian dictatorship.

The Marxists, under Lenin's leadership, took power in Russia in 1917. Stalin transformed the Soviet Union into a field test of the most extreme and totalitarian form of Marxism, based on a totally State run economy and Communist Party rule. The fall of the Soviet Union is proof of the project's failure, but the worst "witness" proof of the failure comes from the 50-60 million deaths caused by the Stalinist regime. Every historical attempt to radically and rapidly change a society have failed.

Another scientific theory that influenced the development of ideologies like racism and anti-semitism is Charles Darwin's evolution theory¹⁰¹.

After the fall of communism there was talk of the end of ideologies. Ideologies should be transformed into ideals, into positive models that we work to achieve. All radical attempts to change humans and society have failed, but this does not mean that people will no longer try again in the future.

¹⁰¹ The animal species evolves through the natural selection and survival of the fittest.

In the war against terrorism religion is once again being used as a tool for creating group cohesion within the different religions. We have already written that religion should not be a dividing element in civil society but rather a cultural element in the private lives of each individual. Today Europe is a great area of peaceful dialogue but the rest of the world is a little less so. In the next few decades The European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy project could try to improve ties with Russia and Turkey and thus build the preconditions for civil society to win the challenge against modern totalitarian regimes that influence our every day lives.

Marxist thought set roots in Russia, but as we have seen Russians consider themselves heirs to the Eastern Roman Empire. Democracy set roots in America and came back home to the Europeans who invented it. Today the ideas are much more fluent and soon diverse cultures will be allowed to mould. Western cultures could discover the fascination behind Eastern cultures and viceversa. Without doubt there are common elements in many cultures and the civil society should be built starting from those basis.

I 14. The 20th Century: Two World Wars and a Great Project for Peace

In the 20th century Europe was twice the center of conflicts which began in Europe and later spread worldwide, causing a great number of deaths and destruction.

The First World War was just a question of time. As we have seen, the war mechanism was already in place as early as in 1894, when Russia and France agreed to mobilize themselves if any member of the Triple Entente took up arms for whatever reason. Foreign policy abdicated the throne to war strategies.

The spark struck in Sarajevo, on June 28th 1914. The heir to the Hapsburg throne, Franz Ferdinand, paid for the 1908 invasion of Bosnia and Herzegovina with his life: he was killed by a young Serbian. Ferdinand's assassination raised the stakes of the match and the apocalyptic war machine was ready to be turned on. There would have been a possibility of avoiding war, if only the crown leaders had the possibility of dialogue between them. The irony of fate would have it that the wife of the Archduke was not of royal blood, so no European monarch showed up at the funeral. If Europe's leaders had only taken the opportunity to meet and exchange their ideas, it is likely that the parties would have agreed that a terrorist act wasn't worth entering into a European civil war.

On July 5th William II¹⁰² met the Austrian Ambassador and encouraged him to a rapid action against Serbia. The next day German Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg confirmed the Kaiser's and Germany's commitment to Austria. Russia interpreted this decision as a German manoeuvre to eliminate Russian influence in the Balkans and to humiliate Serbia, Russia's historical ally.

On July 28th 1914 Austria declared war against Serbia and the same day Russia began military mobilization. On July 29th Germany requested Russia to demobilize. On July 30th the Czar ordered general mobilization of its forces and the next day Germany declared war against Russia.

Germany and Russia entered into war without having a real disagreement between them. The Czar decided to defend Serbia even at the risk of war because he felt that if he had withdrawn, Russia would have lost its prestige in the Balkans forever. Instead for decades Germany had been planning military strategies that included an imminent military attack against France and Kaiser was unable to convince military officers to move mobilized forces from France to Russia. To respect their original military plans on August 3rd 1914 the

¹⁰² A few days later the Kaiser left for a cruise in Norway and likely had no idea that a European war was about to start.

Germans declared war against France. That same day Germany invaded Belgium and the day after Great Britain declared war on Germany. The mechanism generated by the Nation-states over the previous ten decades was able to cast all the major European powers into war in less than one week.

The First World War, 1914-1918, involved France, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy¹⁰³ and Russia¹⁰⁴ against Germany and Austria-Hungary. When the United States joined the allied forces the outcome of the war was determined and Germany and Austria-Hungary were defeated (Map 15). In reality both sides won and lost at the same time. Germany defeated Russia and weakened France and Great Britain. It was only thanks to the intervention of the United States that the Western allies were able to claim victory.

The event in Sarajevo escaped from the control of the monarchs since no one was willing to surrender, especially because every country remained loyal to their formal obligations under the treaties rather than defending the common good. What was missing in Europe was a system of commonly shared values, like back in the days of Metternich, or rather the more cynical but flexible diplomatic approach of Bismarck and Richielieu.

The war didn't break out because of a violation of the treaties but rather because all the parties observed them to the letter. Under the Metternich system it is clear that Russia would have accepted Austria's request over Serbia for the assassination of a Crown heir to the throne, but at the time of the incident in Sarajevo "Crown legitimacy" no longer constituted a political obligations among governments.

¹⁰³ From 1915.

¹⁰⁴ After the October Revolution of 1917 Russia abandoned the war.

Map 15. Europe After World War I (1914-1918)



In fact, the great European powers were able to turn a marginal Balcan crisis into a worldwide conflict. A dispute over Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia led to the invasion of Belgium, leaving Great Britain with no choice but to mobilize. After this war Europe definitively began to lose its role as world leader in international relations.

19 million people lost their lives in World War I. The Austro-Hungarian Empire disappeared and three¹⁰⁵ of the four dynasties that entered into war were overthrown. The Czarist Empire was conquered by the Bolshevichs whereas Germany was punished by the Treaty of Versailles, which gave rise in the 1930's to the Nazi dictatorship.

In Chapter Three we will look into more detail American President Wilson's role and ideas that were not accepted by the

¹⁰⁵ The Austrian, Russian and Germany dynasties.

Allies in the Versailles Treaty. Only after the Second World War, which was even more terrifying for its worldwide victims, did European leaders accept Wilson's proposals. Wilson despised the concept of the Balance of Powers and considered the practice of *Realpolitik* immoral. His vision of a world order embraced concepts of democracy, collective security and self-determination, all of which had never found home in the European International order over the previous centuries. The European leaders were not ready for such a change. European diplomacy was based on a non-peaceful assumptions that ruled between States and for Europeans it was the propensity towards war that had to be limited and controlled. This was a Hobbesian idea of the State, where alliances were created on the basis of concrete objectives and not in order to defend an abstract model of peace.

The main principals of all European political systems over the last few centuries was to correct political borders to the advantage of the Balance of Power, whose needs prevailed over the needs of the people. In fact, the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was stalled by Great Britain and Austria precisely for fear that the Empire's breakdown would lead to the creation of many small nations and weaken the existing equilibrium.

Wilson didn't share these thoughts and believed that self-determination didn't cause war, but rather the desire to repress self-determination did. He also believed that it was not the lack of equilibrium between forces to provoke conflicts but the desire to maintain it at all costs. The American President wanted to establish peace based on collective security measures thus he proposed the idea of the League of Nations, an international institution that could have monitored eventual peace violations. This was a wise but difficult idea to apply considering Europe's historical background and even American public opinion was not ready for such an important step.

Unfortunately Germany, which wasn't invited, and Russia, out of choice, were not present at Versailles. France had participated back in the days of the Vienna Congress despite having been defeated. The Germans had hoped for a more lenient peace treaty and when the peace conditions were made public the Germans spent the next twenty years trying to abolish it. Leaving Russia and Germany, the two most powerful nations in Europe, out of the Versailles negotiations could in no way have led to a peace to end all wars. In fact the great leaders at the time created the perfect armistice that would lead them straight to the Second World War.

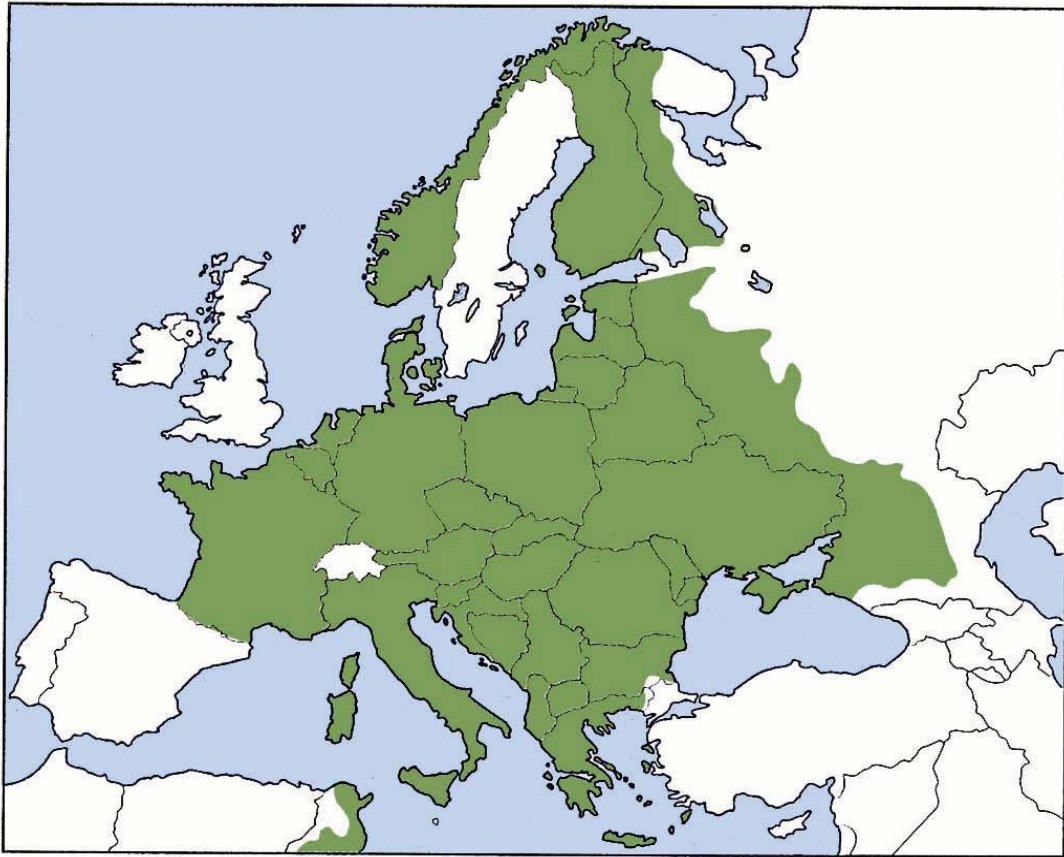
The Great Depression of 1929 and the tough conditions imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles stalled from the birth weak European democracies that had begun to form after the First World War and in just a few years autarchic regimes took over power in almost all of Europe. The most significant were Italian Fascism under the leadership of Benito Mussolini and German Nazism under Adolf Hitler, which led many central-eastern European countries to adopt Nazi or Fascist ideology.

Hitler's brief empire (Map 16) represented a horrible experience for the whole humanity and set the foundations for a reconciliation between France and Germany. We mustn't forget that the Second World War brought an end to a long era of European leadership in the world policy. Since this period the traditional divisions between France and Germany have been reduced through a series of unifying efforts, starting from De Gaulle and Adenauer all the way to Chirac and Schroder, as we shall see in detail in Chapter four.

The German invasion of Poland on September 1st 1939 triggered the Second World War. Germany's earlier invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia wasn't enough to spark the war, but with the invasion of Poland Hitler lost any credibility and England and France declared war against Germany. The war began as a clash between the Democratic nations and the Nazi

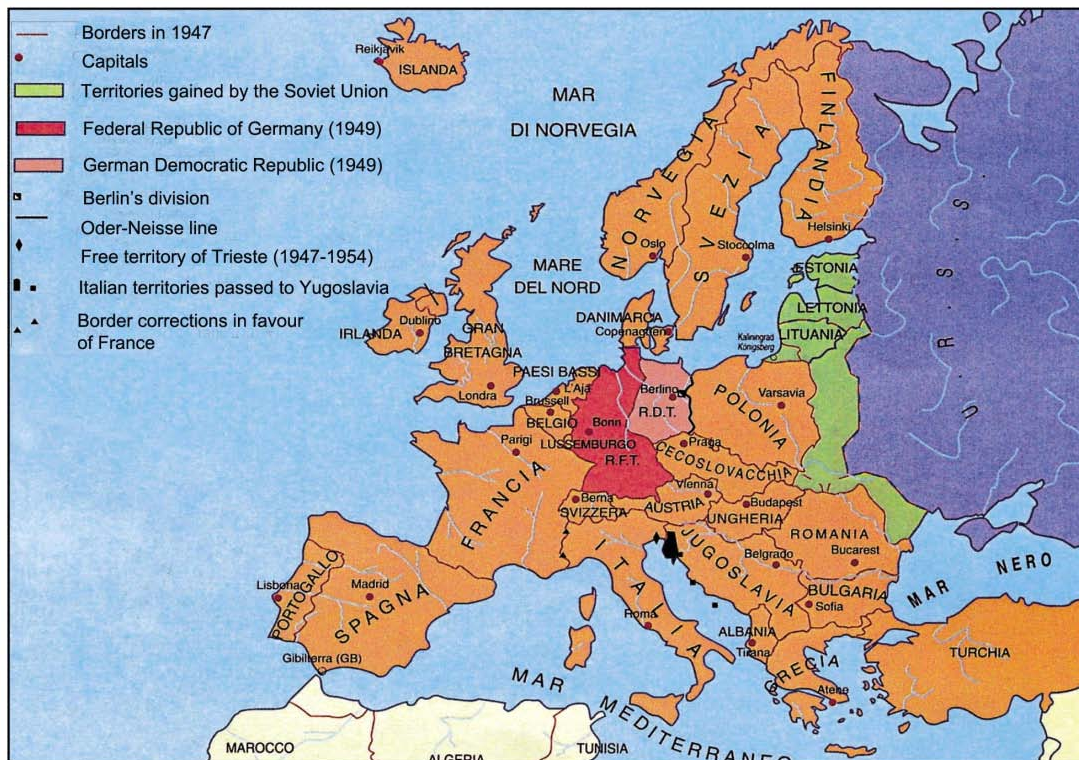
dictatorship. Yet with *Blitzkrieg* Germany also invaded The Netherlands, Denmark and Norway. France surrendered just a few days later. At the moment of the Hitler Empire's maximum expansion only England remained unoccupied. Sweden and Switzerland remained neutral during the war whereas Spain and Portugal did not participate, although their political regimes were in favour of Germany.

Map 16. Maximum Expansion of Hitler's Empire, 1939-1945.



Like Napoleon, Hitler wanted to take over all of Europe and subject her to German rule and Nazism. In 1939 Hitler signed a Non-aggression Treaty with Stalin which included the partitioning of Poland. In 1941 both Russia and the United States joined the war against Germany and de facto made Hitler's victory impossible (Map 17).

Map 17. Europe After World War II (1939-1945).



It is important to remember that Europe invented the Concentration Camps where political prisoners were held and where countless numbers of innocent victims of Nazi racism were deported during World War II. Between 1942-1943 the Nazis decided to exterminate everyone who was imprisoned for racial reasons, starting with the Jews¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁶ Since antiquity, after the Roman's destroyed Jerusalem in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.C. the Jews founded many communities in Europe, mainly in urban centers. The Christian Church condemned the Jewish Religion but despite this European Christians and Jews lived peacefully together during the first millennium. From the end of the 12th century European Jews became victims of persecution. A number of monarchs expelled them from their kingdoms. (eg. Kings of England, France, Spain and Portugal). Jews were recognized as equal citizens only after the French Revolution. Theories of racial purity created immense hostilities against Jewish people during the 20th century and led to one of the most grave crimes against humanity: the murder of millions of Jews in concentration camps and gas chambers during the Second World War.

Sadly similar to the Nazi concentration camps were the Soviet work camps in Siberia, where tens of millions of people died. In the 1990's concentration camps were set up again in Europe, on the Balkans, and this should make every European citizen think about it.

Today our respect for human rights in Europe is in large part due to the sad experiences of the two world wars. The latest Balkan war ought to teach us how thin – and short in terms of time – is the line that separates a peaceful life in common from a barbaric one and how easy it is to revive nationalist ideologies when some basic civilisation rules are not respected.

Chapter Four will provide a detailed analysis of Europe's evolution after World War II. We will see how Europe divided at the start of the Cold War and examine the creation of the European Union to pacify the deep fractures that still exist in many parts of Europe to this day. We will also probe into the new Europe after the collapse of Communism.

We have already seen through the previous Maps that only the North-West and South-West division may be considered overcome where eventual problems are solved inside the civil society. The situation on the other fronts still has to change but models like the European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy could favour the expansion process to increase EU member states from 25 and to include all current members of the Council of Europe. In just a few decades Europe could grow to up to 800 million inhabitants.

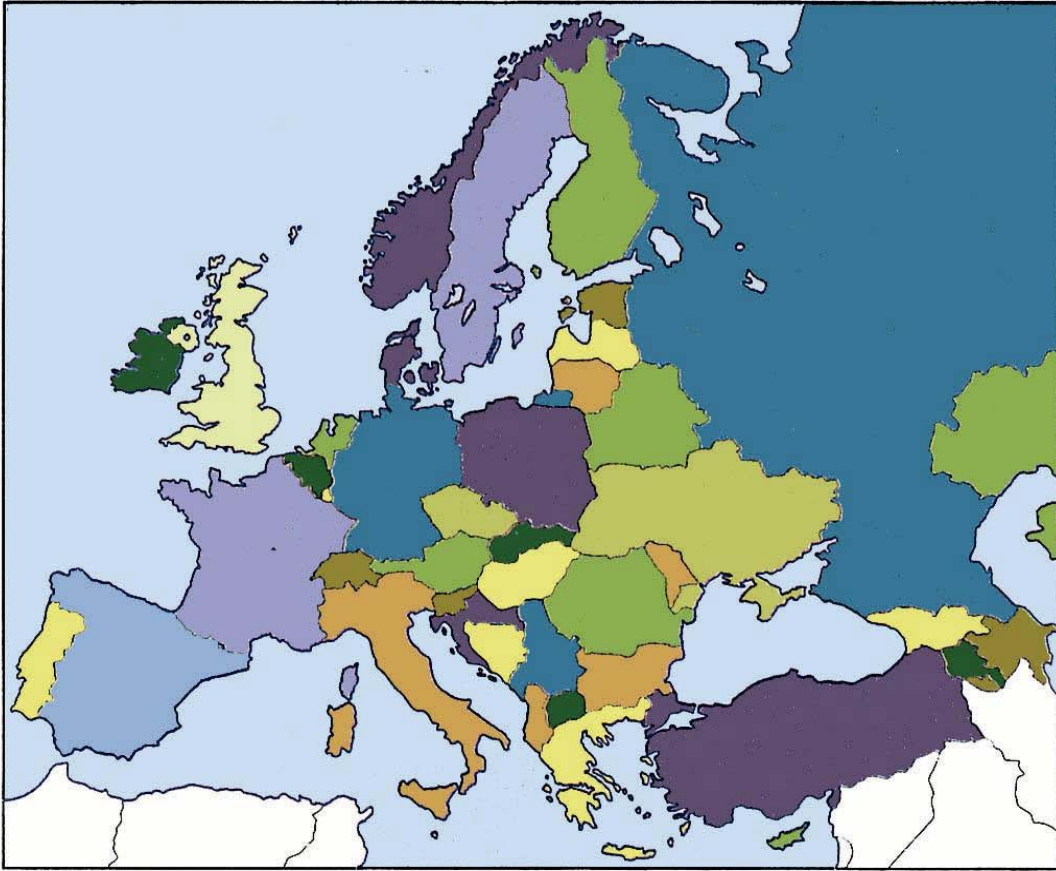
An emblematic case of this historic tale is ex-Yugoslavia, the only intersecting point of the four north-west, north-east, south-west and south-east quadrants. Past tensions, repressed under Tito's Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, exploded like a volcano during the 1990's. The volcano's explosion was caused by a small group of nationalists and further provoked by religious sentiment when the original justification for the tension, which was mainly economic, proved insufficient to incite people to go to war.

A final observation must be made on Europe's nucleus and periphery. The only European nucleus from the start to the end of this millenium was that of Charlemagne. Since then this nucleus has seen many efforts to establish great hegemonic empires, among which the most recent attempts were made by Napoleon and Hitler. Just a few great countries, which from a geographic point of view make up part of the European periphery, were able to defend themselves against these invasions: Great Britain, Turkey and Russia. Having avoided total occupation seems to influence the post-war behaviour of a country, especially in the case of Great Britain. The countries making up the nucleus, be they invaders or the invaded, seem to be more inclined towards total integration.

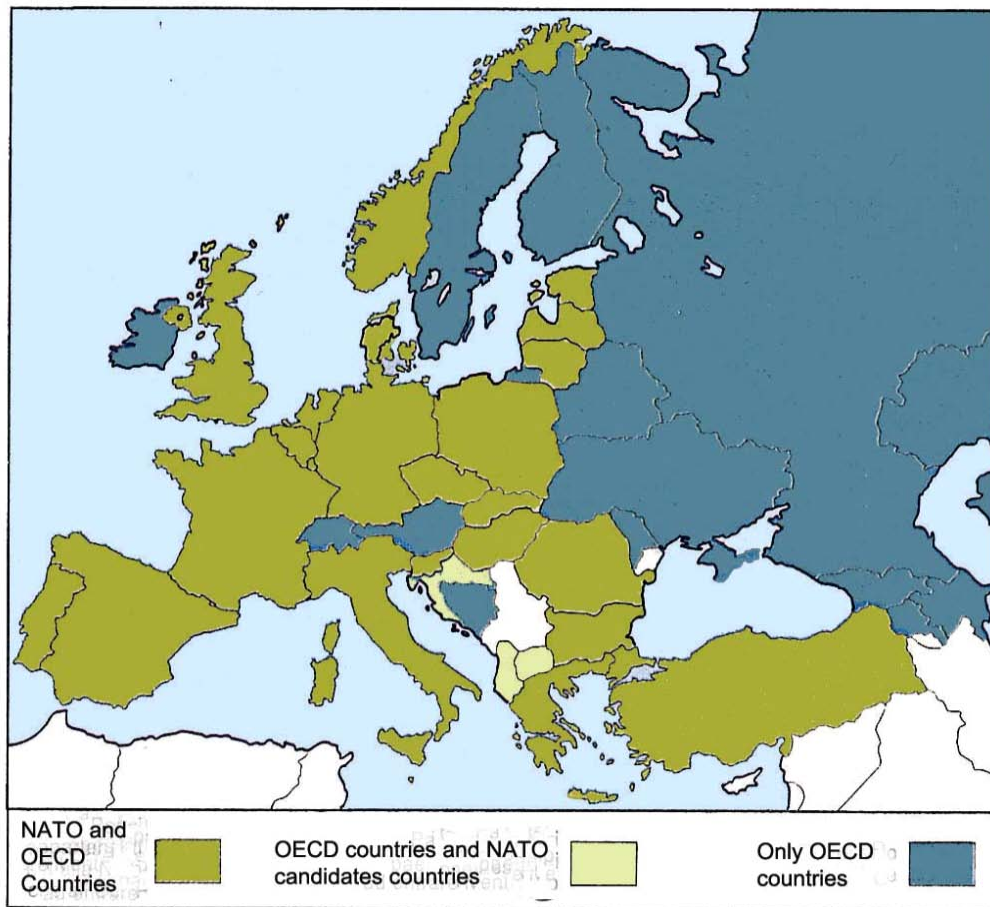
The next two Maps show the boundaries of today's European Nation States (Map 18) and the current make-up of Nato's European member states (Map 19). Instead Map 20 presents Europe's borders after EU expansion in 2004. Currently all European countries of the continent, with the exception of the Holy See and Belarus, make up part of the Council of Europe and all the States, without exceptions, are OECD members (see Appendix A)

The 20th century will be analyzed in more detail in the chapters to follow. The main goal of this Chapter was to introduce and describe some of the historical divisions and complexities which influence Europe to this day and which the European Union is working hard to address.

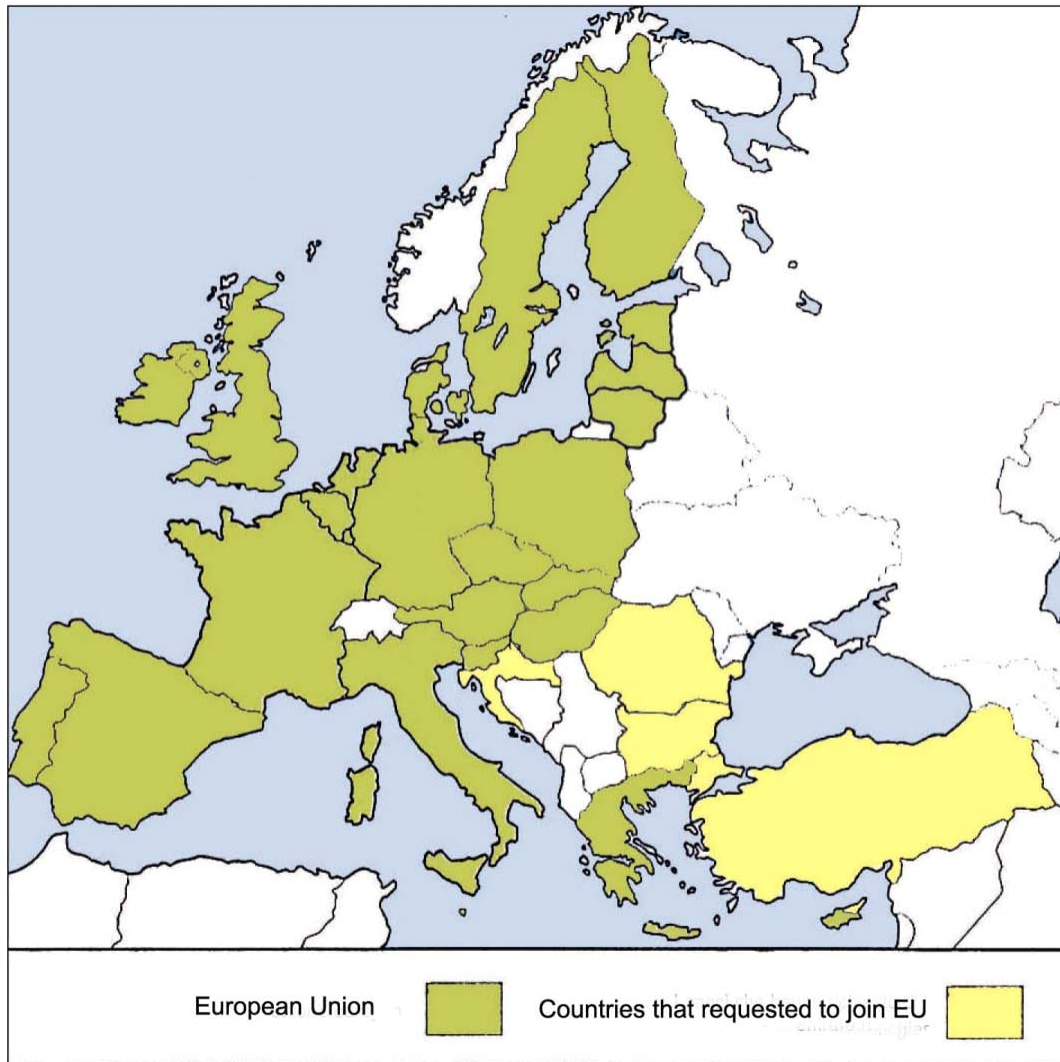
Map 18. European States in 2005



Map 19. NATO's European Member States



Map 20. European Union Member States in 2004



I 15. The European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy

Our knowledge of history is very important for understanding the complex and delicate evolution of Europe. When we consider that children, sports¹⁰⁷ and music are already

¹⁰⁷ We know that the Greeks used to interrupt wars for the Olympics and how important sports was in ancient Greece. In 1894 Pierre de Coubertin

part of our cosmopolitan world we must also consider our history.

Without yet knowing the history the large majority of children¹⁰⁸ don't fight but usually play with other children even if they don't speak the same language. This should make us think that the barriers Kant described as barriers which divide people, language and religion, are not natural barriers but rather a construct of man. It has been proven that children do not have these problems and this means that as people grow up they learn to divide themselves from others. Culture and civil society should not allow this to happen. As we grow up it is impossible not to make questions about the past but the past should not become a weight.

Visiting the Uffizi in Florence, Paris's Louvre, il Prado of Madrid, the National Gallery of London and other great European museums we realize that our civilization is no longer just European but a worldwide one, given that Europeans spread themselves across the globe over the centuries. This culture do not belong only to Europe but to the whole humanity. Asians and Americans nurture a deep admiration for European history and culture, just as Europeans are curious about other parts of the world.

European history is particularly complex and it is important to know and understand the past in order to develop positive traditions and to avoid repeating the mistakes and crimes of the past. History can be easily manipulated and shouldn't be a weight but rather should serve to the progress, so that humanity and civilization can count more years than the life of a man.

from France revived the Olympic games. The Olympic games overcome all the barriers built by man.

¹⁰⁸ Sadly there are over three-hundred thousand child soldiers around the world and many of them are less than ten years old. Every day over thirty thousand children die of curable diseases. These children are the responsibility of all humankind.

Europe has freed itself from the weight of colonization, achieved democracy, increased wellness and reconciled two countries that had troubled Europe for centuries. Today Europe should look towards achieving political unity and should seek to share its common values with other countries.

European political unity must be built on European culture, civilization and values. Europe shares a huge common heritage and all European populations can be proud of having contributed to European history. Ancient Greece and Rome, Judaic-Christian roots, Islam, Humanism, Baroque, The Enlightenment, Romanticism up until this very day, all make up part of our common European cultural heritage, that should be recognized in the cosmopolitan aim of the respect for the men.

The greatest achievements of European civilization which are the foundation of The European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy are inspired from the ideas behind the French Revolution, from philosophy which has led us to respect human rights, rights of women, childrens and minorities. For centuries humans have been struggling to understand how to better organize the life in a society. These values and a commitment to progress must be protected and passed on to future generations so that Kant's project for perpetual peace can truly become part of the future of humankind. The creation of the European Union already represents an important step in this direction. The greatest human achievements are often nurtured by a vein of ingenuity and in this historical period the European Union needs a project to believe in.

Culture conditions the mind to see the world in a certain way and leads to new discoveries, which are then conformed to the ideas people have about things. Our Institutions and the world surrounding us are rooted in culture and it is also for this reason that the first chapter was dedicated to the cultural roots and history of the European Continent. Jean Monnet, one of the leading figures in the movement for European integration, knew full well that culture represents the wellspring of vision and

imagination and in the 1960's he made a beautiful observation: "If the European development process could start from scratch, then culture would be the best starting point". The approval of the European Constitution, with the heart of which dedicated to universal human rights, could help the inauguration of that Europe of culture.

The European identity is a mosaic of different identities. It represents a mix of cultural backgrounds briefly reviewed in the Chapter. However the historical rivalries between European populations could be re-ignited by the spirits of war and blow apart this mosaic. The fractures still exist and European integration is far from being completed. This is why the cultural heritage should be tied in a new project future oriented where all citizens and populations could recognize themselves. Europe's great historical complexities can only be simplified through this new European project which is to be built on foundations ever more universally recognized in the world. Human equality, freedom, respect for reason, the central role and the inviolable and inalienable rights of each individual in society, respect for law are just some of the ingredients in the mosaic.

A fitting conclusion to this Chapter is the Preamble of the Treaty that establishes a European Constitution, signed in Rome on October 29th 2004. This Preamble reflects the meaning I wish to communicate to my readers in Chapter one and embodies the key elements of the cultural mosaic that European history has forged over the centuries and on which future generations can build a new European identity:

"DRAWING INSPIRATION from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law,

BELIEVING that Europe, reunited after bitter experiences, intends to continue along the path of civilisation, progress and prosperity, for the good of all its inhabitants, including the

weakest and most deprived; that it wishes to remain a continent open to culture, learning and social progress; and that it wishes to deepen the democratic and transparent nature of its public life, and to strive for peace, justice and solidarity throughout the world.

CONVINCED that, while remaining proud of their own national identities and history, the peoples of Europe are determined to transcend their former divisions and, united ever more closely, to forge a common destiny,

CONVINCED that, thus “United in diversity”, Europe offers them the best chance of pursuing, with due regard for the rights of each individual and in awareness of their responsibilities towards future generations and the Earth, the great venture makes of it a special area of human hope,

DETERMINED to continue the work accomplished within the framework of the Treaties establishing the European Communities and the Treaty of European Union, by ensuring the continuity of the Community *acquis*,

GRATEFUL to the members of the European Convention for having prepared the draft of this Constitution on behalf of the citizens and States of Europe...”

TABLE 1. EU and NATO Member Countries; New Entries into the WEU, Council of Europe and OSCE (2004).

	EU	WEU	NATO	Council of EUROPE	OSCE
<u>EU Members Countries</u>					
1) Belgium	1952	1954	1949	1949	1973
2) France	1952	1954	1949	1949	1973
3) Germany	1952	1954	1955	1950	1973
4) Italy	1952	1954	1949	1949	1973
5) Luxembourg	1952	1954	1949	1949	1973
6) Holland	1952	1954	1949	1949	1973
7) United Kingdom	1973	1954	1949	1949	1973
8) Denmark	1973	Observer	1949	1949	1973
9) Ireland	1973	Observer	-	1949	1973
10) Greece	1981	1995	1952	1949	1973
11) Portugal	1986	1988	1949	1976	1973
12) Spain	1986	1988	1982	1977	1973
13) Austria	1995	Observer	-	1956	1973
14) Finland	1995	Observer	-	1989	1973
15) Sweden	1995	Observer	-	1949	1973
16) Czech Republic	2004	Associate	1999	1993	1993
17) Hungary	2004	Associate	1999	1990	1973
18) Poland	2004	Associate	1999	1991	1973
19) Slovakia	2004	Part.Ass.	2004	1993	1993
20) Slovenia	2004	Part.Ass.	2004	1993	1992
21) Estonia	2004	Part.Ass.	2004	1993	1991
22) Latvia	2004	Part.Ass.	2004	1995	1991
23) Lithuania	2004	Part.Ass.	2004	1993	1991
24) Cyprus	2004	-	-	1961	1973
25) Malta	2004	-	-	1965	1973
<u>Countries requesting entry in EU</u>					
Bulgaria	Requested	Part.Ass.	2004	1992	1973
Romania	Requested	Part.Ass.	2004	1993	1973
Turkey	Requested	Associate	1952	1949	1973
Croatia	Requested	-	Requested	1996	1992
<u>Other Western European Countries</u>					
Iceland	-	Associate	1949	1950	1973
Norway	-	Associate	1949	1949	1973
<u>Other Balcan Countries</u>					
Macedonia	-	-	Requested	1995	1995
Albania	-	-	Requested	1995	1991
<u>Honorary Europeans</u>					
Canada	-	-	1949	Observer	1973
USA	-	-	1949	Observer	1973

Source: Appendix A.

CHAPTER II

CHAPTER II

THE PEACE AS TARGET

II 1. *Premise*

This Chapter will review philosophical and political concepts that support the theory of Cosmopolitan Democracy as an idea for peace and as a reconciliation tool. Two philosophical questions can help us to better understand the fundamental ideas behind this research and reflection:

- Why people live in society¹⁰⁹?
- Is it possible to achieve perpetual peace by putting together some basic elements that make up the civil society¹¹⁰ in which we live?

We will also look into the thoughts of philosophers who were more skeptical or “realistic” about the challenge of peace. They are realistic because as we look back into history unfortunately we find that mankind has always fought wars.

Before adopting any theory we must always analyse the historical context and the personal experience of the philosopher. There are many cases in which the philosopher’s personal traumatic experiences were the true catalyst and basis behind their reflections. These unique situations often cause people to reflect on their own existence or in general on the society in which a person lives¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁹ Le più importanti riflessioni sull’organizzazione della società occidentale ci arrivano da Hobbes, Locke e Rousseau.

¹¹⁰ The best contribution, valid to this day, comes from Kant.

¹¹¹ There are many examples where a philosopher’s personal experiences influenced their works and thoughts: Rousseau’s biography clearly reveals the spark that pushed him to write the Social Contract; for

This is a very important consideration since it is also valid for people involved in politics. It isn't a mere coincidence that De Gasperi, Schuman and Adenauer, all of whom directly experienced the atrocities of the Two World Wars, are the very people who sought to find a way to ensure that the same atrocities would never be repeated in the future.

Now lets look into the questions and ideas that these great philosophers left behind.

II 2. Why people live in society?

II 2.1. Thomas Hobbes

Let's begin with the issue Hobbes¹¹² raised in his famous 1651 publication called Leviathan. The key question Hobbes

Tocqueville it is difficult to quantify exactly how much his mother and father's sufferance during the French Revolutions influenced the philosopher, but it is clear that this experience certainly had an impact; we can't be sure that Fichte would have written his Addresses to the German Nation if Napoleon hadn't invaded his country.

¹¹² Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679), English philosopher. Was a tutorial instructor in various noble families. As Charles Stuard's tutor, in 1640 he followed the Court in exile in Paris during the Cromwell dictatorship. During his 92 years of life he had the opportunity to meet Galileo Galilei in Italy and Cartesio in France. Hobbes is most famous for Leviathan (1651), an opera that describes political absolutism doctrine with sublime clarity. At the time his ideas provoked suspicions of heresy; likewise his attempt to base the authority of the State on exclusively rational grounds was interpreted as a call to atheism. In 1660, after the restoration of the Monarchy he moved to London to tutor his disciple Charles II, who granted Hobbes a lifetime pension. In 1662, in order to defend himself from the accusations that he wrote Leviathan to support Cromwell's dictatorship he wrote Considerations Upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners and Religion. With the Leviathan as its main target, in 1667 the House of Commons passed a Bill that took measures against Atheists. King Charles II took Hobbes under his personal protection under the condition that the philosopher would never again publish. Historians

tries to answer is whether humans join society because of instinct or due to need?

In contrast to the traditional Aristotelian theory that views society as a product of a primordial instinct, Hobbes sustained that human beings are not born with an innate social instinct, as opposed to the animal world. Hence according to Hobbes natural love does not exist between human beings; rather there simply exists a mix of fear and reciprocal need that, if unregulated by the State, leads to an uncontrollable violence and abuse of power within society.

Precisely because the contract founding every human society is an artificial construct, according to Hobbes, State absolutism, sovereignty and power are necessary in order to ensure that the personal interests of individuals do not predominate across society. Only by recognizing ourselves as subjects of an external authority, like the State, can humankind successfully abolish any form of mutual animosity.

Hobbes' line of reasoning is based on the premise that in their natural state human beings will always be at war with each other.

As we can see from the following excerpt, in order to explain his theory Hobbes compares human society with that of ants and bees:

“It is true, that certain living creatures, as bees, and ants, live sociably one with another, (which are therefore by Aristotle numbered amongst political creatures;) and yet have no other direction, that their particular judgments and appetites; nor speech, whereby one of them can signify to another, what he thinks expedient for the common benefit: and therefore some man may perhaps desire to know, why mankind cannot do the same. To which I answer:

speak of the English period between 1640-1660 as an era full of every kind of injustice. We have to keep in mind that Leviathan was conceived in this context.

- First, that men are continually in competition for honour and dignity, which these creatures are not, and consequently amongst men there ariseth on that ground, envy and hatred, and finally war; but amongst these not so.
- Secondly, that amongst these creatures, the common good differeth not from the private; and being by nature inclined to their private, they procure thereby the common benefit. But man, whose joy consisteth in comparino himself with other men...
- Thirdly, that these creatures, having not, (as man) the use of reason, do not see, nor think they see any fault, in the administration of their common business; whereas amongst men, there are very many, that think themselves wiser, and abler to govern the public, better than the rest...
- Fourthly, that these creatures though they have some use of voice, in making known to one another their desires, and other affections; yet they want that art of words, by which some men can represent to others, that which is good, in the likeness of evil; and evil, in the likeness of good...
- Fiftly, irrational creatures cannot distinguish between injury and damage, and therefore as long as they be at ease, they are not offended with their fellows, whereas man is then most troublesome, when he is most at ease...
- Lastly, the agreement of these creatures is natural; that of men, is by covenant only, which is artificial..."

In the above citation we see some of the factors that Hobbes believes characterize humankind: competition for respect and honour, which can easily lead to envy and even degenerate into war; and speach (which Kant and Fichte define as language) that the easily manipulate reality or our perception

of reality... We have already mentioned how in certain respects even Kant felt that nature uses two means, religion and language, to divide people. Kant strongly believed that culture and civil society are the key instruments for overcoming divisions between populations.

During the 17th century the Social Contract theory was backed both by philosophers supporting absolutism (Hobbes) as well as by those who favouring liberalism (Locke).

The theory of the Social Contract sustains that human desire to join society is neither a natural nor an instinctive act, but rather is the outcome of a social pact, or in other words of an original contract that put an end to the human natural state, which for Hobbes was a state of war.

The theory of absolutism has been attributed to Hobbes. This political theory is in direct contrast to liberal democratic theory that will be described later, but it is important to remember that Hobbes developed his theory around 1640-1650, during the English Civil War, a period which is recognized by historians as an era full of every kind of injustice.

The principles behind absolutism can be summarized into the following points:

- inseparable sovereign powers which only responds to a single institution (man or assembly of men);
- the duty to obedience of subjects;
- the authority of the State over the law; a sovereign is not tied to any social contract with their subjects who, instead, stipulate a negative contract, thereby depriving themselves of any personal freedoms whatsoever;
- banning of tyrannicide and every form of rebellion, even when the monarch goes against the interest of his subjects;
- the merger of political and religious authorities.

Hobbes' quest for societal order clearly represents an effort to end the internal hostilities that the war had brought to English society during that period.

In *Leviathan* Hobbes also writes: "The only way to erect such a common power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of foreigners and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that by their own industry, and by the fruits of the earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly is, to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon one assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by pluralità of voices, unto one will:

which is as much as to say, to appoint one man, or assembly of men, to bear their person; and every one to own and acknowledge himself to be author of whatsoever he that so beareth their person shall act, or cause to be acted, in those things which concern the common peace and safety; and therein to submit their wills, every one to his will, and their judgements to his judgement.

This is more than consent, or concord; it is a real unity of them all in one and the same person, made by covenant of every man with every man, in such manner as if every man should say to every man: I authorise and give up my right of governing myself to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition; that thou give up, thy right to him, and authorise all his actions in like manner.

This done, the multitude so united in one person is called a Commonwealth, in Latin, *Civitas*. This is the generation of that great Leviathan, or rather, to speak more reverently, of that mortal god to which we owe, under the immortal God, our peace and defence.

For by this authority, given him by every particular man in the Commonwealth, he hath the use of so much power and strength conferred on him that, by terror thereof, he is enabled to

form the wills of them all, to peace at home, and mutual aid against their enemies abroad.

And in him consisteth the essence of the Commonwealth; which, to define it, is: one person, of whose acts a great multitude, by mutual covenants one with another, have made themselves everyone the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all as he shall think expedient for their peace and common defence.

And he that carryeth this person is called sovereign, and said to have sovereign power; and every one besides, his subject.

The attaining to this sovereign power is by two ways. One, by natural force: as when a man maketh his children to submit themselves, and their children, to his government, as being able to destroy them if they refuse; or by war subdueth his enemies to his will, giving them their lives on that condition. The other, is when men agree amongst themselves to submit to some man, or assembly of men, voluntarily, on confidence to be protected by him against all others. This latter may be called a political Commonwealth, or Commonwealth by Institution; and the former, a Commonwealth by acquisition. And first, I shall speak of a Commonwealth by institution.”

Hobbes did not believe that men was a social being thus he believed that men was respecting the law and other people security only when was afraid by the power exercised by the State. Strongest was the State fewer disorders were made by the people. People stay in peace only if controlled and threatened by the absolute State, also named by Hobbes a Mortal God or Leviathan. According to Hobbes, to have peace people need to give up their individual liberty.

Before moving onto Locke's observations on why people live in society it is important to remember that:

- Leviatano was written in the mid-17th century and the phenomenon of the time-space compression¹¹³ had not yet reached today's levels, the industrial revolution had just begun; Hobbes was seeking a solution to a problem that affected a very restricted geographic area and from this perspective we have to look at his conclusions, which reflected an English problem of that era.
- Secondly, the most important aspect of our discussion is the search for peace, which Hobbes also tries to resolve in his works¹¹⁴. In fact the challenge of internal peace and the possibility of defending society against external aggression is a key issue to Hobbes.

In another passage from Leviatano he writes: “And because the condition of man... is a condition of war of every one against everyone, in which case every one is governed by his own reason, and there is nothing he can make use of that may not be a help unto him in preserving his life against his enemies; it followeth that in such a condition every man has a right to every thing, even to one another's body. And therefore, as long as this natural right of every men to every thing endureth, there can be no security to any man, how strong or wise soever he be, of living out the time which nature ordinarily alloweth men to live. And consequently it is a precept, or general rule of reason: that every man ought to endeavour peace, as far as he has hope of obtaining it; and when he cannot obtain it, that he may seek and use all helps and advantages of war. The first branch of which rule containeth the first and fundamental law of nature, which is: to seek peace and follow it. The second,

¹¹³ Today information travels in real time and people move about at 1000 times the speed with respect to Hobbes' days.

¹¹⁴ ...From Leviathan: “THE final cause, end, or design of men (who naturally love liberty, and dominion over others) in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves, in which we see them live in Commonwealths, is the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out from that miserable condition of war which is necessarily consequent... to the natural passions of men...”

the sum of the right of nature, which is: by all means we can to defend ourselves.”

To conclude let's look into another passage: "Justice and injustice are none of the faculties neither of the body nor mind ... They are qualities that relate to men in society, not in solitude... The passions that incline men to peace are: fear of death; desire of such things as are necessary to commodius living...". Living a comfortable life can be seen as the increase and maintenance of wellness and wellbeing. In the first Chapter we saw that many Empires fell due to their incapacity to maintain wellness and wellbeing. We have also seen that the search for wellness for just a small minority of people or for a limited geographic area often causes war.

Many other excerpts would be worth citing to explain this search for peace from a man who lived during wartime but loved peace because he knew about it. Leviathan was a product of its environment and this is the main reason why I dedicated this section to this great English philosopher, despite the clear limitations of absolutism in our contemporary world.

To this day Hobbes' sentiments are still valid to those people who have tried to live peacefully but instead have found themselves in a state of war. They would even be willing to accept the condition of absolutist peace just to stop war. But after achieving peace humans desire more, humans desire freedom. Locke's thoughts on the matter will help us understand this new social condition and evolution.

II 2.2. *John Locke*

The life of John Locke¹¹⁵ is closely tied to developments that took place during the second English Revolution, which ended in 1689 with William of Orange's instatement to the throne and the establishment of a liberal regime. Locke's political merits are great: he was the first theorist of modern democracy, a prophet of a clear separation between Church and State and a preacher of tolerance.

The political concept developed by Locke in direct opposition to Hobbes' theory of absolutism has become the founding theory of modern democracy. The key principles behind the theory can be summarized as follows:

- the social contract is not stipulated between citizens alone, as asserted by Hobbes, but also between citizens and the State;
- the goal of the State is to protect the fundamental rights of the individual (liberty and private property), a pact that already pre-existed in the pre-social state of nature;
- the State is not above the law but is required to respect it;
- citizens reserve the right of protest, when a State institution violates the inalienable rights of the individual.

Let's go back to Locke's ideas on why people live in society. In direct opposition to Hobbes, Locke sustains that the formation of society should not be viewed as a traumatic nor artificial event that goes against the solitary and aggressive natural instincts of the individual, but on the contrary an

¹¹⁵ John Locke (1632-1704), English philosopher. His political militancy on the liberal side led him to Holland to organize forces in support of William of Orange, whose rise to the throne determined Locke's success in life. His most important work, *Two Treatises of Civil Government*, was written in 1690.

accomplishment of a fundamental human need for socialization. In Locke's *Two Treatises of Civil Government*, written in 1690, we find the following idea: that social organization is a natural instinct, that a stable relationship exists between the family and the State, and finally that both the family and the State are founded on contractual obligations.

Before entering into a deeper analysis of Locke's thoughts, it is important to note that in our thesis of search for peace via Cosmopolitan Democracy their both visions, Hobbes' and Locke's, offer valuable inputs. They can be seen as two world visions born in two distinct periods but both of these ideas represent facets of the human condition.

Hobbes' theory can be associated with a wartime period, when a person lives in a condition of war he or she sees the world through lenses colored with pain, destruction and in that condition a search for peace is desperate. Humans who are familiar with both peace and war prefer peace. In order to interpret Hobbesian theory correctly we need to consider the period in which *The Leviathan* was written.

On the other hand Locke's theory is to be associated with the human condition in a state of peace. In a state of peace human beings desire something much greater, desire freedom. It was the search for freedom during the peace time that was based on a new hypothesis that in their natural state people do not necessarily find themselves in a state of war.

History has taught us that both of these conditions have been part of human history and so both can be defined as a "state of nature". Fortunately today we also know and believe in civil society and this thesis fundamentally tries to understand whether from our experiences humans are now capable of maintaining and improving upon peace and of living in a peaceful state.

We can certainly see that both conditions are still observable around the world, however civil society has the

important role of rendering perpetual the conditions that make humans sociable.

Keeping these thoughts in mind let's look at Locke's answer to another question. Locke asks himself whether a citizens who participates in a social group are also required to give up their individual rights?

In answering the question and in direct opposition to Hobbes, Locke formulated the fundamental principles of liberal democracy.

According to Locke, the State, which was created to protect the natural rights of citizens, cannot act on the contrary and negate these same rights. In addition, to protect citizens from abuses of power a division of powers is required: those who create laws cannot be the same people who are responsible for ensuring they are upheld. Finally, for Locke private property is an undeniable natural right.

To clarify these concepts let's look at a few passages from "Two Treatises of Government": "The reason why men enter into society, is the preservation of their property; and the end why they choose and authorize a legislative, is, that there may be laws made, and rules set, as guards and fences to the properties of all the members of the society: for since it can never be supposed to be the will of the society, that the legislative should have a power to destroy that which every one design to secure by entering into society, and for which the people submitted themselves to legislators of their own making; whenever the legislators endeavour to take away and destroy the property of the people, or to reduce them to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people, who are thereupon absolved from any farther obedience..."

... And because it may be too great a temptation to human frailty apt to grasp at power, for the same persons who have the power of making laws, to have also in their hands the power to

execute them, whereby they may exempt themselves from obedience to the laws they make...

... Therefore in well order'd Commonwealths... the legislative power is put into the hands of divers persons who duly assembled, have by themselves, or jointly with others, a power to make laws, which when they have done, being separated again, they are themselves subject to the laws, they have made...

... Therefore 'tis necessari there should be a power always in being, which should see to the execution of the laws that are made, and remain in force. And thus the legislative and executive power come often to be separated."

We can summarize the above thoughts as follows:

- private property is a natural inalienable right;
- no State can impede the exercising of this right;
- citizens have the right to rebel against a State that negates their right to private property;
- the division of powers is essential for democracy.

Before moving onto other issues we should remember that over the last three centuries English society has always set the standard for civil society and many of Locke's ideas were an inspiration base to these developments. Even to this day the aspects characterising a civil society have a great deal in common with the ideas proposed by Locke.

Another problem Locke addresses, which is very important to today's global challenge of Cosmopolitan Democracy, is the relationship between Church and State. Locke address this relationship in "Letters Concerning Toleration". Even though almost three and a half centuries have passed since

their publication¹¹⁶, some passages are still relevant to ensure a well-organized modern civil society.

His starting point is related with religious tolerance. According to Locke religious tolerance is based on both faith and rational arguments. For this reason the State must detach itself from the religious beliefs of its subjects. At the same time must be open and tolerant to all religions practiced in its territories. Locke continues with an observation that it is necessary to separate the Church from the State and faith from the politics.

The State should have the sole role of organizing civilian life and guaranteeing the natural rights of every individual: “The commonwealth seems to me to be a society of men constituted only for the procuring, preserving, and advancing their own civil interests. Civil interests I call life, liberty, health, and indolency of body, and the possession of outward things, such as money, lands, houses, furniture, and the like.

It is duty of the civil magistrate, by the impartial execution of equal laws, to secure unto all the people in general and the every one of his subjects in particular the just possession of these things belonging to this life...

... I say, first, no opinions contrary to human society, or to those moral rules which are necessary to the preservation of civil society, are to be tolerated by the magistrate.

Another more secret evel, but more dangerous to the commonwealth, is when men arrogate to themselves, and to those of their own sects, some peculiar prerogative covered over with a specious show of deceitful words, but in effect opposite to the civil right of the community...”.

The choice of including just a few extracts is deliberate since some of Locke’s ideas have been surpassed by modern civil society, but it was important to have another look at those

¹¹⁶ They were written in 1659.

issues that remain valid to this day and that offer us the opportunity to build a more complex civil society than the one Locke lived in.

The reduction of the time-space ratio and globalization entail new problems of integration between very diverse cultures and render the organization and maintenance of civil society much more complex. If we lack a sharing of those common values that are at the foundation of a civil society, then even globalization and the shrinking of the time-space continuum – thanks to technological developments – can turn into a source of conflict. Today the politics and diplomacy should start to fulfill the space created by the technology.

We will not get into Rousseau's ideas on why people live in society but we will reflect on some of his thoughts published in *The Social Contract*. For many Rousseau's theories were the inspiration behind the French Revolution whereas for others they reflect a global critique of modern society¹¹⁷. In this case Rousseau's personal experience¹¹⁸ had a great impact on his

¹¹⁷ My belief is that it was mainly a critique of modern society.

¹¹⁸ “To know well a character, should be distinguished what it has got from the nature, how was formed, which events influenced its development, what complex of secret fondness shaped it and how the character change to produce contradictory and non expected results. What apparently is seen is not that a mere part of what it is: it is the apparent effect which internal structure is hidden and usually very complicated.” Here Rousseau (1712-1778) himself tells us how important it is to understand the world in which he lived and the experiences that formed him in order to truly understand his works. His relationship at a young age with Madame Eléonore de Warens, who helped him get closer to Parisian high society. His frustration with not being able to fully integrate into high society led him to write his greatest masterpiece “*The Social Contract*”, where he rejects the high society and becomes its most critical and keen observer.

At thirteen years of age another experience that undoubtedly marked his life was his apprenticeship period under the Master engraver Abel Du Commun. Of that period Rousseau writes: “My master's tyranny rendered insupportable that labour I should otherwise have loved,...”. In fact it is not just mere coincidence that “*The Social Contract*”, Rousseau's most

works. Reading the biography of such a sharp analyst of pre-revolutionary French society it is hard not to feel sympathy for the ideas he proposed, but we must always consider the historical and social context in which they were written. It is clear that Rousseau's reflections on the Social Contract had a huge impact on modern European political developments.

Rousseau's ideas first inspired Robespierre to instill The Terror, the most cruel years of the French Revolution. Later his arguments offered a justification of authoritarian State doctrines and in the end they sustained a whole range of 20th century Totalitarian State practices across the Marxist-Leninist and Nazi-Fascist spectrum.

For Rousseau the common good cannot be found by simply adding up individual desires, because adding up many selfishness you do not get altruism nor a civil awareness. Hence for Rousseau building a voluntary universal love for the common good implies changing the nature of human beings. Social rules must be internalized and lived as an ethical responsibility and not as an obligation imposed by the cohabitation.

All attempts to change the human nature, in just a few years, have turned into totalitarian and tyrannical regimes. By not taking the saying "every cloud has a silver lining" to heart, these regimes have caused grave damages to humanity. What we do understand by reading Rousseau is that he detested tyranny and terror. In fact it is difficult to believe that he would have agreed with those who have since used his ideas and concepts as a tool to found totalitarian regimes and repress the personal liberty and freedom, so dear to Rousseau.

We have seen that the thoughts of every philosopher are conditioned by the historical period in which they lived and by their country of origin. We have also seen that when we try to

famous work, begins with: "Men is born free, and everywhere he is in shackles..."

understand the why people live in society the subject of peace always comes up. Freedom becomes important above all when the peace has been achieved.

Wars have almost always accompanied man throughout history and to this day wars are taking place in many parts of the world. The basic methods that humankind has successfully conceptualized in modern and contemporary history have helped many parts of the world to achieve internal peace and security through the foundation of States, but almost always the peace within the State did not result in the peace between the States. As demonstrated in Chapter one, by providing the total number of victims in the conflicts, industrialization and industrial progress have made terrifying the human self-destruction capacity. The problems that great philosophers tried to resolve centuries ago are many times more important in this age.

People argue over many different things. They argue about power, money, richness, religion, identity, justice, nationality, differing opinions and for many other things. Over time States have been able to build and unite these individual forces and when the States and Nations entered into conflicts a destructive capacity was so great as we saw in the introduction. Religion and ideologies have often been used to mould this energy. By wanting to believe in human goodness it is obvious that knowledge, the exchange of ideas and dialogue reduce the chance of conflict. To clarify the relativity of different opinions it is useful to cite a verse uttered, Udana, from the life of Buddha on the litigiousness of the monks.

A group of monks approached the Blessed One, prostrated themselves, sat down to one side, and said to the Blessed one: “At present, revered sir, there are a number of priests and contemplatives, wanderers of various sects, living around

Savatthi. And they are of various views... saying: “Dharma¹¹⁹ is like this!... Dharma is like that!”.

“Monks, the wanderers of other sects, are blind, unseeing. They do not know what is beneficial, they do not know what is harmful. They do not know what is Dharma, they do not know what is not Dharma. Not knowing what is beneficial and what is harmful, not knowing what is Dharma and what is not Dharma, they are quarrelsome... saying: “Dharma is like this!... Dharma is like that!”.

Once there there was a certain king in this very Savatthi. And that king addressed a man: “Come now, my good man, bring together all those persons in Savatthi who have been blind from birth”.

“Yes, your majesty”, that man replied, and after gathering together all the blind people in Savatthi, he approached the king and said: “All the blind people in Savatthi have been brought together, your majesty”.

“Now, my man, show the blind people an elephant”.

“Very well, your majesty”, the man replied to the king, and he presented an elephant to the blind people, saying: “This, blind people, is an elephant”.

To some of the blind people he presented the head of the elephant, saying: “This is an elephant”. To some he presented an ear of the elephant, saying: “This is an elephant”. To some he presented a tusk... the trunk... the body... the foot... the hindquarters... the tail... the tuft at the end of the tail, saying: “This is an elephant”.

Then, monks, the man, having shown the elephant to the blind people, went to the king and said: “The blind people have been shown the elephant, your majesty. Do now what you think

¹¹⁹ The learning or the ultimate and transcendent truth.

is suitable”. Then the king approached those blind people and said: “Have you been shown the elephant?”.

“Yes, your majesty, we have been shown the elephant.”.

“Tell me, blind people, what is an elephant like?”.

Those blind people who had been shown the head of the elephant replied: “An elephant, your majesty, is just like a water jar.” Those blind people who had been shown the ear of the elephant replied: “An elephant, your majesty, is just like a winnowing basket.”. Those blind people who had been shown the tusk of the elephant replied: “An elephant, your majesty, is just like a plowshare.” Those blind people who had been shown the trunk replied: “An elephant, your majesty, is just like a plow pole.”. Those blind people who had been shown the body replied: “An elephant, your majesty, is just like a storeroom.” Those blind people who had been shown the foot replied: “An elephant, your majesty, is just like a post.” Those blind people who had been shown the hindquarters replied: “An elephant, your majesty, is just like a mortar.” Those blind people who had been shown the tail replied: “An elephant, your majesty, is just like a pestle.” Those blind people who had been shown the tuft at the end of the tail replied: “An elephant, your majesty, is just like a broom.”

Saying: “An elephant is like this, an elephant is like that! An elephant is not like this, an elephant is like that!” they fought each other with their fists. And the king was delighted (with the spectacle).

Even so, monks, are those wanderers of various sects blind, unseeing... saying: “Dharma is like this!... Dharma is like that!”.

Then, on realizing its significance, the Blessed One uttered on that occasion this inspired utterance:

“Some priests and contemplatives,
Are deeply attached to their own views;

People who only see one side of things
Engage in quarrels and disputes.”

When humans argue they can harm one another but when States fight they can cause a much greater harm. If we become slaves to just one learning or idea we risk seeing life from only one angle and missing the forest from the trees. In a Cosmopolitan society the factors which were at the root of past conflicts should become the basis of future richness, if we only find the courage to win over the fear of what is different and unknown. What we need is a great will to knowing and learning.

Human beings have been unable to create the perfect institutions for organizing and managing society and have always looked for solutions to improve upon the human condition and to avoid conflicts. Often peace occurs because of the ability of unique individuals, as we saw in Chapter one. However this kind of peace represents a limit for civilization, since as soon as the person passes away their successors are often unable to manage the legacy they inherited and, on the contrary, have often contributed to the breakout of new conflict.

A philosopher who developed a theory – which in recent history has been the guiding light of many efforts to address this issue – for human beings to reduce or completely avoid conflicts was Immanuel Kant.

Let's take a deeper look into some of Kant's ideas, which in certain respects represent a construction based on the foundations set by Hobbes and Locke. By playing with concepts of state sovereignty and bringing them to an even higher level we find a logical and theoretically valid road to peace. In end the Cosmopolitan Democracy and civil society can be seen as the rooftop of this house by avoiding the risk that bringing sovereignty to high we get an absolute monolithic State, where its subjects live in peace but without liberty.

II 3. *Is Peace Possible?*

II 3.1. *Immanuel Kant*

Many schools of thought exist on the problem of peace and war¹²⁰. As a peace theory Kant's ideas are clearly more in line with the thesis of Cosmopolitan Democracy.

The question Kant tries to answer in relation to the problem of peace is under what condition can perpetual peace be achieved across the world?

Kant believed that in order to achieve global peace all the world's nations should unite under a single federation of free States and establish, at a worldwide level, international laws founded on a liberal republican constitution.

Despite the unavoidable antagonism existing in human relations, perpetual peace and a peaceful coexistence between people are possible and can be achieved when the principles of social justice already enacted in individual free States are spread to the international level.

All of these ideas, which are the building blocks for the logical construction of Cosmopolitan Democracy and peace, will be reviewed at the end of this chapter. Let's first try to understand some of the pieces underlying Kant's theory.

¹²⁰ Heraclitus (540-480 B.C.) use to say that war was the father of everything; Machiavelli (1469-1527) wrote that there are moments in which cruelty is necessary and times in which mercy is the better option; instead Voltaire (1694-1778) affirmed that universal irony was useful against fanatics; for Hegel (1770-1831) war represented the health of the people; even early 20th century futurists considered war an essential act that offers the ultimate opportunity for social and cultural innovation against any form of residual and retrograde conservatism; even Freud (1856-1939) addressed the problem of peace in his famous debates with Einstein; Kant (1724-1804) wrote the most interesting theory on the topic, *Perpetual Peace* (1795).

In his *Metaphysics of Morals* we discover that for Kant the problem of peace should never remain a mere theoretical debate: "Hence the question no longer is as to whether perpetual peace is a real thing or not a real thing, or as to whether we may not be deceiving ourselves when we adopt the former alternative, but we must act on the supposition of its being real. We must work for what may perhaps not be realized, and establish that Constitution which yet seems best adapted to bring it about (mayhap Republicanism in all states, together and separately). And thus we may put an end to the evil of wars, which have been the chief interest of the internal arrangements of all the States without exception. And although the realization of this purpose may always remain but a pious wish, yet we do certainly not deceive ourselves in adopting the maxim of action that will guide us in working incessantly for it; it is a duty to do this".

With this Kant declares that peace must be the guiding force of politicians. Hence despite admitting that antagonism and aggression are elemental and therefore inevitable features of our human psychology, Kant had total faith in utopian peace, just like some 20th century politicians¹²¹ did, as we shall see in the following chapter. Kant sustains that civil wars cannot exist in a State of Law capable of safeguarding the fundamental principles of social equality, individual freedom, the representation and division of powers: all elements characterizing today's liberal democracies.

Let's look at some excerpts from "Perpetual Peace" to clarify Kant's ideas: "A state of peace among men who live side by side is not the natural state (*status naturalis*), which is rather to be described as a state of war: that is to say, although there is not perhaps always actual open hostility, yet there is a constant threatening that an outbreak may occur. Thus the state of peace must be established, for the mere cessation of hostilities is no guarantee of continued peaceful relations, and unless this guarantee is given by every individual to his neighbour – which

¹²¹ W. Wilson, F.D. Roosevelt, J.B. Tito, Mahatma Gandhi, etc.

can only be done in a state of society regulated by law – one man is at liberty to challenge another and treat him as an enemy.

The only constitution which has its origin in the idea of the original contract, upon which the lawful legislation of every nation must be based, is the republican.

It is a constitution, in the first place, founded in accordance with the principle of the freedom of the members of society as human; secondly, in accordance with the principle of the dependence of all, as subjects, on a common legislation; and, thirdly, in accordance with the law of the equality of the members as citizens. It is then, looking at the question of right, the only constitution whose fundamental principles lie at the basis of every form of civil constitution. And the only question for us now is, whether it is also the one constitution which can lead to perpetual peace.

Now the republican¹²² constitution apart from the soundness of its origin, since it arose from the pure source of the concept of right, has also the prospect of attaining the desired result, namely, perpetual peace. And the reason is this. If, as

¹²² Instead according to Hegel a republic of humanity could never exist, since a spirit of humanity does not exist, but only the spirit of the populations. Before reviewing the rest of his discourse we must note that Hegel was born in Stuttgart in 1770. At first supportive of the French Revolution, after The Terror he ended up taking a decidedly conservative stance like Fichte. Hegel reasoned that only at the national State level there is a united form of spirituality, a typical way of being between different populations and a love for these differences that leads to the concept of patriotism. He also believed that the only factor uniting human beings as a species is biological determination, with little spiritual implications. Thus political independence can occur solely at the national State level, but since in their natural condition nations are not born with a pact between them, then war is the only means to address their differences. Hegel concludes with the notion that war is not just inevitable but that it is also necessary for the spiritual wellbeing of populations, whose cohesion is reinforced in the face of a common enemy. These thoughts are to be considered regressive in today's international context.

must be so under this constitution, the consent of the subjects is required to determine whether there shall be war or not, nothing is more natural than that they should weigh the matter well, before undertaking such a bad business. For in decreeing war, they would of necessity be resolving to bring down the miseries of war upon their country. This implies: they must fight themselves; they must hand over the costs of the war out of their own property; they must do their poor best to make good the devastation which it leaves behind; and finally, as a crowning ill, they have to accept a burden of debt which will embitter even peace itself, and which they can never pay off on account of the new wars which are always impending.

On the other hand, in a government where the subject is not a citizen holding a vote, (in a constitution which is not republican), the plunging into war is the least serious thing in the world. For the ruler is not a citizen, but the owner of the state, and does not lose a whit by the war, while he goes on enjoying the delights of his table or sport, or of his pleasure palaces and gala days”.

If we take some of Kant’s ideas and extend the concept of the republican word to the concept of liberal democracy we come very close to the notion of Cosmopolitan Democracy as an idea for peace.

The vision of Cosmopolitan Democracy as a tool for peace is based on the premise that to this day a war has never been fought between two true liberal democracies. From these grounds we obtain that an increase in the number of countries that share liberal democratic values should decrease the probability of war. Later we will see that the European Union model represents concrete proof of the validity of this thesis. Only time will tell its final outcome, however the successful outcome of this model is fundamentally tied to the capacity of building a civil society. If this model works in time we will have the grounds and the historical proof that Kant’s vision of perpetual peace can be achieved.

In the next chapter we will see that throughout history many ideas reflecting Kant's "pure" model, like European Federalism, have been put on the table to achieve peace across the Continent; however national differences have always impeded their development. Europeans have taken another road to heal its wounds and I believe that Kant would have been happy to see the strides taken by the European Union and the possibility to create the Cosmopolitan Democracy in Europe, which in the end is simply a vast civil society made up of many smaller civil societies with multiple levels of decision-making powers.

The European Union certainly has many elements that follow Kant's line of thinging, but unfortunately we must always remember that many wars had to be fought, the last two of which were the absolute worst in history, before Europeans took this line of reasoning.

Hobbesian conditions in fact pushed Europeans to take the route of establishing a European civil society.

Before moving onto chapter three, which goes over the hands-on peacebuilding efforts of key 20th century political figures, it is important to note that although they mainly focused on the European problem, almost all of their endeavors were of global worth and importance. Let's look at some of Freud's ¹²³ observations on peace as a completion of this paragraph.

Freud believed that aggression is one of man's basic instincts, but he also thought that the development of civilization imposed greater self-control of this instinct. Self-control however, is not the fruit of man's pacification process, but pure inner self-repression; and civilization is not the solution of all evils, but the lesser evil. This observation is very similar to a

¹²³ Debate between Freud and Einstein. In 1932 the League of Nations gave Freud the task of organizing a debate between prestigious cultural protagonists on a topic of his pleasure. Freud chose the topic of peace.

famous saying by Churchill, who stated that democracy, in all its defects, is a lesser evil than totalitarian regimes.

For Freud, logic has it that even civilized human beings can fall prey to their aggressive instincts. However this does not imply that we must simply give up on our commitment to peace, rather it is important to understand that although the goal abolishing war is feasible, it can only be achieved over a long-term period and, according to Freud, only as an outcome of a slow process of human evolution and maturity.

We should have faith in human progress, as Freud pointed out, but we should also be aware, as history has taught us, that it just takes one or at most two generations to destroy huge efforts achieved during the slow pace of human evolution and maturity. This brings us back to our initial thoughts, when we discussed that the brief life of every human being makes the path towards human civilization progress full of uncertainties.

Modernization and the establishment of universal education has helped to reduce the chances of human regression but we still have no guarantee that these achievements will last forever. Peace and civil society must constantly be nurtured and cultivated. The average human lifespan is limited and in most cases the time needed to learn and understand our world takes a whole lifetime, but as soon as people become wiser their life ends. The complexity of society continues to increase and so the risk of entropy is greater than in the past. The risk that these complexities will lead us to merely see the trees rather than the splendour of the whole forest grows day by day.

In the next chapter we will see how some of the great political figures of the early 20th century and beyond addressed the issue of peace from a political angle, starting from American President W. Wilson, to A. Briand, R. Coudenhove-Kalergi, A. Spinelli, F.D. Roosevelt, J.B. Tito, M. Ghandi, J.F. Kennedy and J. Carter, all the way to experience of the European Union and the Council of Europe.

The European Union can be defined as one of the greatest achievements in the last few centuries for achieving peace across the European Continent. International relations, economic developments and the establishment of new institutions were the forces that led to this outcome.

Although we will not address the issue in detail, it is important to remember that President Jimmy Carter established the world's most important human rights observatory within the US State Department, a decision which continues to influence the development of the Cosmopolitan Democracy worldwide. This is a great gift to civilization because respect for human rights is a fundamental piece of the civil society mosaic. Without respect for human rights we can't even begin to talk about a civil society.

CHAPTER III

CHAPTER III

SEARCHING FOR PEACE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY

III 1. *Premise*

We will start by looking at how American President W. Wilson tried to build worldwide peace through his solution to the European peace dilemma. Although Wilson's proposal to establish the League of Nations, the predecessor of the United Nations, wasn't successful, but that idea gave to various European leaders the opportunity to build on its guiding principles new ideas leading in the same direction.

We will recall Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi¹²⁴, Aristide Briand¹²⁵ and Altiero Spinelli. The development of their ideas had to wait until the end of the Second World War and were of inspiration to the peace plan of yet another American President, F.D. Roosevelt, who was finally able to bring forth the United Nations project. Even after Roosevelt's death, the American Administration pressed and helped Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer, Alcide De Gasperi and Paul Henri Spaak to put the basis for the peaceful integration of Europe.

The Cold War and the split of the world into two major spheres of influence, together with the global decolonization process made Europe lose its worldwide political leadership and created a political void across the "third world". Tito, Nasser and Nehru tried to fill that void by establishing a Non-Aligned Movement. The Non - Alignment sought to influence the two major political blocks through a process of rapprochement. The objectives established by the Movement were the third world development and worldwide peace.

¹²⁴ Austrian Count, who in 1923 published *Pan-Europa*, that proposed a Federation of European States.

¹²⁵ French Prime Minister through the end of the 1920's.

Without question the United States influenced mostly the 20th century international relations. No other Republic in the world had been founded in order to guarantee and preserve liberty. Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt's idealism greatly influenced American public opinion to believe in a possibility of change. The two schools of thought, missionary and isolationist, crossed paths many times throughout American history, but both believed that the United States possessed the best form of government and that human beings could achieve worldwide peace by abandoning traditional diplomacy and by respecting democracy and international law.

The United States made its debut into world politics with their participation in the First World War. Since their entrance in international relations the USA has demonstrated its firm conviction in its ideals. In fact all of the most important 20th century international agreements reflect American values: the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the United Nations Charter all the way to the Helsinki Final Act. Currently a new world order is in motion since, as we will see in the final chapter, for first time in history the United States is unable to isolate itself from the world, nor is it able to dominate it. Historical experiences are helpful but insufficient to tackle this new world order. Those who take the path that leads often walk their path alone for a long time. Researchers analyse international systems but statesmen create them. Historians can choose an argument and eventually change the script if they mistake their interpretation. But as Henry Kissinger once wrote, the statesmen is not allowed this luxury since history will judge them for their ability to maintain peace and to manage the change.

The United States helped Europe conquer the two biggest totalitarian regimes of the last century: Fascism and Nazism on the one hand and Communism on the other. Both of these regimes were European offspring. 20th century American thought was largely moulded by Wilson. Wilson understood that

his country's isolationism could only be surpassed by appealing to the exceptional nature of its ideals. These ideals greatly influenced Western society in the second half of the 20th century and were successful in overcoming Soviet communism. With the breakdown of the communism it seemed that there was no more enemy to battle, but this situation didn't last too long since as George Bernard Shaw once said: "There are two tragedies in life. One is not to get your heart's desire. The other is to get it."

The International situation seemed to be solved but instead today is full of doubts and uncertainties because the new path is being traced and in many can't see it. People were used to old dichotomies, the Cold War, and without understanding the new route just sit and wait. It's been said that Wilson's idealism is not enough but for sure it helps, and most of all it helps Cosmopolitan Democracy. Now let's have a look at how and why...

III 2. *Wilsonian Ideas and the League of Nations*

The First World War began as conflict of nations and can be defined as the nth European civil war. The war was triggered by the assassination of the Austrian Archduke in Sarajevo¹²⁶, but this was just a pretext since, as mentioned in chapter one, the conditions for war between European countries had already been ripening for some time in the heart of the Nations. Against the Pan-German dream mostly Latin countries rose up, followed by England and finally the United States.

At the time the English Empire counted 405 million inhabitants whereas Europe numbered 105. England and the United States realized a union of people representing different nationalities, values and religions, all living together.

¹²⁶ Gavrilo Princip, a Bosnian of Serb origin, killed the Austrian Emperor.

The Anglo-American involvement in the war was mainly for security reasons. Both countries wanted to create the conditions to prevent future European and global conflicts.

The First World War was a struggle for democracy against autocracy, against protectionism, against everything that the European Continent had been based on. European countries, under their nationalist flags, cooperated in creating continuing conflicts of interest. It was the era of the Balance of Powers so artfully managed by Metternich. In the Bismarck era the system transformed into the Politics of Power but as soon as Bismarck left the scene this model collapsed and Europe found itself caught up in another war.

Wilson was convinced that the Balance of Powers scheme was responsible for the First World War and believed that spreading American principles of freedom and democracy around the world could contribute achieve peace. These were revolutionary ideas with respect to traditional diplomacy of the Old Continent.

The American approach to global affairs was a product of its history. The Republic of the United States was founded on principles of liberty. The USA used the Balance of Powers as a tool to reinforce its own independence and to increase its own territories. It mostly manoeuvred between Great Britain and France by using its neutrality as a negotiating tool. Various relevant American historical figures have proven that they believed in the ideals on which their Republic was founded.

It is with this spirit that James Madison condemned war as the root of all evils, taxes, military forces and other tools that lead the majority to live under the dominion of a few. George Washington was against American involvement in European affairs since the oceans offered the US a natural shield of protection and because rather than offering any kind of advantage, permanent alliances would have simply dragged the US into conflicts that Americans were judging as an outcome of

cynic European government methods. Washington's ideas often resurface during periods of American isolationism.

Americans believed in a world in which the States act as partners rather than competitors and they were not making differences between the morality of the State and individual morality. Thomas Jefferson once said: "I have but one system of ethics for men and for nations – to be grateful, to be faithful to all engagements and under all circumstances, to be open and generous, promoting in the long run even the interests of both". In addition, the USA believed that European wars were also due to excessive State powers which deny values of human dignity and freedom. The American spirit is much closer to Locke's concept of the human state of nature than to that of Hobbes. Thomas Paine wrote: "As war is the system of Government on the old construction, the animosity which Nations reciprocally entertain, is nothing more than what the policy of their Governments excites to keep up the spirit of the system... Man is not the enemy of man but through the medium of a false system of government". By uniting Jefferson and Paine's ideas we come to the implicit conclusion that wars must not be fought between democratic states, which is one of the founding principles of Cosmopolitan Democracy.

The entrance of the United States into the international relations arena with this values shook all that European diplomacy considered obvious. It overturned the European idea that the balance of powers through individual state interests leads to harmony between nations and challenged the belief that security needs prevail over civil law; to use the words of Nicolò Machiavelli that the ends justify the means.

Wilson had already traced his new project during his first State of the Nation address on December 2nd 1913. His plan for a new world order was based on two main pillars:

- on universal laws, rather than on the search for equilibrium between states; and

- on trust between nations rather than prevarication of one nation to the other.

Wilson's idealism represented a synthesis of the above mentioned intellectual values in which historical American leaders believed in. Americans believed they had a duty to export these values once they entered the international relations arena. The two pillars became trust and universal laws.

As a result of the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 the US faced no State rivalries throughout the whole Western hemisphere and in 1885 the America took England's place as the most powerful country in the world. The first opportunity to begin to shape the international system on American values was presented when the US entered the First World War.

Wilson had a tough time convincing Americans to join the war when they didn't even feel threatened by it. It was hard for him to explain and difficult for his public to understand international problems since Americans felt protected by the vast oceans surrounding them. There's a saying that a leader who limit his role to the needs of their own public is condemned to stagnation, yet if he try to go beyond he risks being misunderstood and standing alone. Instead Woodrow Wilson was able to trace the path that later on became the school of thought of American foreign policy for the whole 20th century. Americans believed that their country's strength lied in its founding principles and in spreading and putting liberty into practice. Wilson understood that American isolationism could only be beat by appealing to their values.

As we'll see Wilson believed that peace depended on the spreading of democracy, where Nations are judged with the same ethical criteria as individuals and national interest means adhering to a system of universal laws. Wilson in fact formulated the concept of the League of Nations. With the League of Nations peace was to be maintained thanks to collective security, as opposed to system of alliances. These

ideas were innovative at the time and to this day many pieces of the puzzle seems to be missing.

It was in this context and with these political ethic at heart that the American President launched his idea of the Federation of Nations. He believed that nothing could be achieved by one population defeating another, since the defeated would always search for revenge. Wilson believed that multilateralism and international institutions offered a true opportunity for reducing the risk of war between countries. Later in time President Roosevelt also used multilateralism and international institutions as the foundation of his politics. Although Wilson was unable to convince Americans of the benefits of the League of Nations, his principles were valid and President Roosevelt persevered on the plan and founded the United Nations.

Actually, Wilson's doctrine was without precedence even for the fact that it claimed that United States' security was directly tied to the security of all humankind. Wilson declared that the United States could not remain indifferent to or estranged from anything that is of interest to all humanity. As mentioned above, Wilsonian ideals reflected American thought as far back as the days of Jefferson and transformed these values into a sort of ideological mission. Wilsonian principles can be summarized as follows:

- The American mission transcends day to day diplomacy and obliges the USA to act as a lighthouse of freedom for the rest of the world;
- Foreign affairs policy in democracies is morally superior because the people have an innate love for peace;
- Foreign policy must reflect the same ethical principles as individuals;
- The State does not have the right to claim an own moral.

In 1916 Wilson suggested that Europe establish a European Federation, which he believed was essential for ensuring long-term peace throughout the Continent. In fact the League of Nations was essentially an American concept. The US President proposed a movement for peace calling for: “a universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world...”.

As a kick-start, in January 1917 Wilson backed American entry into this “universal association of nations” and proposed the Monroe Doctrine as a practice model: “the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people... I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power...”.

Wilson had true faith in his plan and believed that Europeans would have also backed his ideas for their pure intrinsic validity, but he had no idea of the psychological complexities behind the people that had experienced war and peril for centuries. Living in fear and lacking trust brings people closer to Hobbes than to Locke.

From a letter written to Colonel House in April 1917, after the US joined the war, we can see that Wilson had so much faith in his ideas that he would have applied great pressure on Europe in order to sustain his plan: “When the war is over we can force them to our way of thinking, because by that time they will... be financially in our hands“. A similar concept was applied at the end of the Second World War with the adoption of the Marshall Plan.

On January 8th 1918, in front of a joint session of Congress, Wilson presented the US peace programme. The

programme had fourteen points¹²⁷ and was subdivided into two key parts. The first eight points were considered obligatory in that they had to be adopted: open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, arms reductions, removal of worldwide trade barriers, international arbitration of all colonial disputes, the reconstruction of Belgium, the evacuation of Russian territory and the foundation of the League of Nations. The last point stated: “A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike“. This point, together with all the others - in which diplomatic secrecy was abolished, disarmament was sanctioned, colonial issues were addressed and all the territorial gains achieved in the war were cancelled – had the overall objective of establishing a higher Council of European States. The Council was supposed to become the highest governing body and appeal court in addressing European conflicts.

The remaining six points were supposed to be adopted: the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine Region to France, the autonomy of various ethnic populations within the ex Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, the reorganization of Italian borders, the evacuation of the Balkans, the internationalization of the Dardanelles, and the establishment of an independent Poland with access to the sea.

In fact in his famous fourteen points Wilson declared to Europeans that from that moment onwards the international system would no more be based on a balance of power but on the self-determination of populations, that security would not depend on military alliances but on collective security and that diplomacy would not be managed secretly but through transparent agreements.

¹²⁷ As we will see many Wilson’s points will be included in the Atlantic Charter prepared by Churchill and Roosevelt in August 1941.

After the war the fourteen points didn't work out. Europeans weren't ready to follow a new path and after Wilson left the American political scene even the United States failed to approve US entry into the League of Nations. The historical fears and mistrust between European States won the race and democratic institutions didn't survive for long after the end of the First World War. The European peace process lacked solid foundations to build upon.

American leaders have often taken their values for granted and at the time no other society had ever sustained that ethical principles should be applied to international relations just like in individual relationships. This concept is in direct contrast to Richelieu's national interest (*raison d'Etat*) or Bismarck's *Realpolitik*. The United States opposed the use of force and sustained that the prevention of war is not only a diplomatic affair but also legal.

America was unable to fully understand the security issues afflicting Europeans, historical dynamics and wars. In fact as discussed at the beginning of Chapter, the two different approaches to foreign policy, the American and the European, were largely determined by subjective and historical circumstances. The United States faced no power threat whatsoever and the concept of the Balance of Powers was inconceivable to Americans. Not having understood that, or having understood all too well, helped in the birth and development of the modernday European Union.

European diplomacy was a fruit of its own history. As seen in part in the first Chapter, when the medieval dream to create a universal empire dwindled many nations of like powers emerged. In these circumstances either a single state is able to expand to the point of dominating others, thereby creating an empire, or no single state truly dominates. The only means of stopping more aggressive international members from dominating everyone was to create alliances and build a system based on the balance of powers. Seen as a lesser of all evils, the

final objective was not peace however, but rather to reduce and moderate conflicts. A system based on balance of powers has rarely existed throughout history. Instead empires have typically ruled throughout human history. The empires have tendency to be a system and they do not need balance of powers. In certain respects the European Union is becoming a sub-system within the global order.

The only examples of political systems applying balance of powers originated in Europe. For example the Greek city states, the city states of the Italian Renaissance Period and the State system that emerged following the Westphalia Peace Treaty of 1648 were all based on balance of powers. In 1815, following the Congress of Vienna, Europeans once again applied the balance of powers method in an attempt to adopt a new international order based on common values and legal covenants. A century later Wilson talked about trust and universal laws. At the end of that century the balance of powers transformed itself into the politics of power, which led the European Continent towards worldwide conflict.

With the war Europe lost its international hegemony and the United States became the leading world power, but Wilson immediately affirmed that the new world order was no longer going to follow the European rules, which he deemed responsible for the catastrophe: “The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace, or only for a new balance of power?... There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace”.

In his London speech of December 28th 1918 Wilson condemned the balance of power as follows: “They fought to do away with an old order and to establish a new one, and the center and characteristic of the old order was that unstable thing which we used to call the “balance of power” – a thing in which the balance was determined by the sword which was thrown in

the one side or the other; a balance which was determined by the unstable equilibrium of competitive interests... The men who have fought in this war have been the men from free nations who were determined that that sort of thing should end now and forever”.

In his speech to request authorization to enter the war Wilson explained that the war had an ethical foundation and goal of creating a new and more equal international order: “It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts – for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free”.

Through the concept of collective security, regardless of the power of each single nation, Wilson believed that the establishment of equal rights between Nations was a precondition for maintaining peace.

Wilson explained to the world the reasons for American entry into the war through four key points: “These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:

- The destruction of every arbitrary power¹²⁸ anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world...;
- The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of

¹²⁸ This was a battle between democracy and autarchy.

that settlement by the people immediately concerned¹²⁹, and not up on the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery;

- The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct towards each other by the same principles¹³⁰ of honour and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed..., and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right;
- The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion...”.

Earlier we saw that the First World War was a war of opposition between two ideals: the values of liberty and democracy on the one hand versus autocratic and totalitarian principles on the other. What was clear even at the time was that freedom and democracy were necessary for peace in Europe.

Wilson proposed to defend the international order by means of a moral consensus between those countries desiring peace and proposed the League of Nations as the mediating authority. He believed that if the people had been properly informed the war would never have occurred and at a Peace Conference of February 14th 1919 Wilson declared that a

¹²⁹ The principle of national self-determination and the free international trade.

¹³⁰ In large part these are the same principles on which Cosmopolitan Democracy and civil society are founded: human rights, minority rights and the establishment of democratic institutions.

League of Nations, comprised of countries whose objective was to achieve peace, could resolve conflicts without resorting to war. He said that with this instrument we can count on: “moral force of the public opinion of the world”.

In reality we have seen that to this day collective security has been unable to safeguard peace. Every time positive objectives are sought huge roadblocks have been encountered in achieving global consensus. A common global political strategy is still lacking. We still lack universally accepted and shared values and in a globalized world where the time-space continuum is ever more compressed due to technology, these gaps represent important obstacles to peace. To this day we still find players who do not play by the same rules of the game. Many countries would like to participate in the world championships, but without shared rules the risk of arguing is very high.

France and Great Britain avoided the topic of war objectives with the idealist Wilson given their fear of a German victory. However at the end of the war their true perplexity towards their American ally and Wilson’s idealism emerged.

France’s fear of Germany was particularly alive. The French fear and vulnerability was masked under their intransigence. So when the United States did not approve their participation to the League of Nations the French sense of insecurity and intransigence towards the Germans further increased.

As already noted in Chapter 1, excluding Germany and Russia from participating in the Treaty of Versailles guaranteed that the new international order would be short-lived. Wilson was aware of the new situation even before the Treaty had been signed and put all his hopes in the League of Nations. In February 1919, when the Covenant of the League of Nations was made public and four months before the publication of the Versailles Treaty, Wilson said to his wife that he was sure that once the League of Nations is found it will be able to solve and

correct inevitable errors of the Treaty they were concluding. Wilson's hope was that the new body could have corrected the inequities of the Versailles Treaty and lead to peace. Wilson believed in the moral strength of world public opinion. He had the vision but the times and the means were not up for the challenge. Even the United States was not ready to commit itself to such a cause. France asked for the establishment of an international army and Wilson already knew that the US Senate would never have ratified a permanent military obligation. The American Constitution only allows the US Congress to declare war, thus an alliance or treaty signed by the US Government has no binding power.

Well aware that he could not depend on a permanent US military commitment Wilson returned to his ideas on collective security and moral oaths. Having no other alternative Wilson stressed that an international army was unnecessary since the constitution of the League of Nations would establish a climate of trust between all nations of the world. Unfortunately trust is not bountiful after centuries of war. In a split second humans can sometimes burn what has taken a lifetime to build. The same holds for relations between institutions or between nations, which at the end of the day are run by people. In Europe suspicion was much stronger than trust and this is likely why Wilson strongly insisted on open diplomacy. Transparency and open diplomacy could be seen as only means of building the trust that was missing.

The American position worried France, which put the pressure on to divide up Germany. At that point Wilson and Great Britain offered France a pact that guaranteed the Versailles Treaty in case Germany violated it. This guarantee was short-lived. When the US Senate failed to ratify the Versailles Treaty Great Britain took advantage of the situation to cease its commitments as well. All the while France's fears further increased. When the US failed to ratify the treaty France was in great need of a military alliance with Great Britain, but the British didn't believe that French fears were totally valid and

they actually started to look at Germany as a counterweight to France. This was an erroneous calculation. It is likely that the British favoured German entry into the community of nations, as had occurred with France during the Vienna Congress, or rather they viewed Versailles as an unfair treaty and so decided not to ally themselves with France.

The United States decided not to participate in the League of Nations, Germany was expelled and the USSR¹³¹ opted out on its own. The Treaty of Mutual Assistance of the League of Nations also failed to find the support needed since the countries cited above didn't participate, but also because with colonies in each and every continent Great Britain would have had to intervene just about everywhere. With these foundations collective security was bound to fail.

The Versailles Treaty required Germany to cede Southern Silesia to Poland, Eupen-et-Malmedy to Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine to France and to abandon its colonies. With the signing of the treaty, France still feared that Germany would not linger in a permanent state of weakness and in the end their fears came true.

As we will see in Chapter five the principle of self-determination was difficult to apply, especially in central Europe and the Balkans, and resulted in the forced movement of many populations. In the end dividing up the Austro-Hungarian Empire forced the same "free" populations to live under new foreign regimes. The States that emerged after the breakdown of the Empire were weaker than the divided Empire. As observed from the maps in Chapter one, Yugoslavia was created in a place where all the historical fractures in Europe were intertwined: the Eastern and Western Roman Empires, the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, Latin and Cyrillic writing. Croatians and Serbians, once the same population and the pillars of ex-Yugoslavia, had for centuries been living under

¹³¹ The USSR did not participate in the Versailles negotiations since it had already signed its own peace treaty with Germany.

different political systems. British fears over the instability of the area proved to be accurate.

On March 25th 1919 the British Prime Minister Lloyd George wrote Wilson about what would occur after the signing of the Treaty: “I cannot conceive of any greater cause of future war than that the German people, who have certainly proved themselves one of the most vigorous and powerful races in the world should be surrounded by a number of small states, many of them consisting of people who have never previously set up a stable government for themselves, but each of them containing large masses of Germans clamouring for reunion with their native land”.

With respect to the new international order that had emerged after the Vienna Congress, the failure of the Versailles Treaty was due to the substantial lack of every element seen in the Vienna Congress model. The peace achieved following the Vienna Congress was based on three key points: peace of all the victors with post-Napoleonic France, a balance power and a shared sense of legitimacy between nations. None of these features were to be found in the Versailles Treaty.

Reconciliation was not achieved. Actually Article 231 of the Treaty, the famous “War Guilt Clause”, pointed the finger at Germany as being solely responsible for the outbreak of the war. Paradoxically, both France’s vulnerability and Germany’s strategic advantage increased after Versailles. France was weak, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had broken up and Russia would sit and watch for quite awhile. There was no chance of rebuilding the equilibrium and the Anglosaxon countries renounced to guarantee the new order. The stability of the Continent was in the hands of France, which was too weak to guarantee it on its own, whereas a humiliated Germany fell back on nationalism and rearmament and made full gain of the geopolitical advantages derived from the Treaty of Versailles. Just two decades after the death born Treaty Europe found itself in the middle of a second war.

Hindsight clearly tells us that post-war Germany should have been alleviated from the harsher conditions set out in the Treaty and its power counterbalanced by a French-British alliance, as suggested by Churchill. Churchill proposed an alliance subject to the only condition that France change its attitude towards Germany and accept with loyalty British aid and friendship policy towards Berlin. Unfortunately mistrust won the game. The French feared Germany too much whereas British public opinion was suspicious of French tactics. Crushed by the weight of its obligations under the Versailles Treaty, Germany overthrew the democratic institutions and walked the path towards autocracy and dictatorship. Meanwhile the German trail led many European countries towards Nazism.

The economic conditions of the post-war Germany worsened year after year. The burden of German war reparations was unreasonable and became a pretext and weapon for German revisionists. Adding more interest to a client with an already unbalanced debt-earnings ratio only leads to either bankruptcy or defiance. The Hitler Regime emerged after weaker attempts to recuperate Germany had failed. In 1922, Germany and the USSR established diplomatic relations renouncing to reciprocal claims. They also granted each other preferred nation status.

Lord Acton's writings, published over a century ago, reveal the limits of a Nation State that transformed Europe's vision into a Eurocentric ideal which allowed many countries to buy into the German path: "Connected with this theory in nothing except in the common enmity of the absolute state, is the theory which represents nationality as an essential, but not a supreme element in determining the forms of the State. It is distinguished from the other, because it tends to diversity and not to uniformity, to harmony and not to unity; because it aims not at an arbitrary change, but at careful respect for the existing conditions of political life, and because it obeys the laws and results of history, not the aspirations of an ideal future. While the theory of unity makes the nation a source of despotism and revolution, the theory of liberty regards it as the bulwark of self-

government, and the foremost limit to the excessive power of the State. Private rights, which are sacrificed to the unity, are preserved by the union of nations...

...The presence of different nations under the same sovereignty is similar in its effect to the independence of the Church in the State. It provides against the servility which flourishes under the shadow of a single authority, by balancing interests, multiplying associations and giving to the subject the restraint and support of a combined opinion. In the same way it promotes independence...

...Liberty provokes diversity, and diversity preserves liberty by supplying the means of organisation. All those portions of law which govern the relations of men with each other, and regulate social life, are the varying result of national custom and the creation of private society....

...The diversity in the same State is a firm barrier against the intrusion of the government beyond the political sphere which is common to all...

...The co-existence of several nations under the same State is a test, as well as the best security of its freedom...

...The combination of different nations in one State is as necessary a condition of civilised life as the combination of men in society...

...Where political and national boundaries coincide, society ceases to advance, and nations relapse into a condition corresponding to that of men who renounce intercourse with their fellow-men...

Christianity rejoices at the mixture of races... It was the mission of the Church to overcome national differences. The period of her undisputed supremacy was that in which all Western Europe obeyed the same laws, all literature was contained in one language, and the political unity of Christendom was personified in a single potentate, while its

intellectual unity was represented in one university. Out of the medieval period... come forth a new system of nations and a new conception of nationality. In pagan and uncultivated times, nations were distinguished from each other by the widest diversity, not only religion, but in customs, language, and character. Under the new law they had many things in common; the old barriers which separated them were removed, and the new principle of self-government, which Christianity imposed, enabled them to live together under the same authority, without necessarily losing their cherished habits, their customs, their laws. The new idea of freedom made room for different races in one State. A nation was no longer what it has been to the ancient world, - the progeny of a common ancestor, or the aboriginal product of a particular region, - a result of merely physical and material causes, - but a moral and political being; not the creation of geographical or physiological unity, but developed in the course of history by the action of the State. A State may in course of the time produce a nationality; but that a nationality should constitute a State is contrary to the nature of modern civilisation...”.

In large part many postwar world developments, among which also the European Union, have helped to create the United States. Wilson’s idealism became a beacon of light and forged new hope, but another European civil war and worldwide conflict had to happen before the idea could really take shape. The League of Nations was not highly successful but Roosevelt’s work that followed in the footsteps of Wilson created a new international order whose principles still represent a firm foundation on which to build the future.

We have yet to achieve Wilson’s goals but over the last eighty years there have been many attempts to follow his path. We are still a long way from achieving worldwide public opinion, but on many issues it already exists this type of public opinion. Peace, the environment, hunger, disease are all becoming topics of global public interest.

The League of Nations and the United Nations, after the World War II, in many crisis have often been ineffective and have lacked the necessary instruments to generate peace, but without doubt the UN remains a highly effective forum for worldwide debate. We have seen that if Sovereigns attended the funeral of the Prince heir-at-law of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and if they had the possibility to talk to each other maybe the First World War would have been avoided. The League of Nations without the US, Germany and USSR could not have been successful. Even the UN, although it gathers the majority of the existing states in the World has not been successful in many occasions to prevent the wars and have a shared views on the aggressions. World has always been divided. What past experiences teach us is that sharing of values and sharing the common values that belong to the humanity are the pre conditions for the UN to be able to successfully carry on its mission.

The first part of this analysis reveals the complex factors impacting upon every historical period and generation of people. The wars and developments accompanying humans in their history have staged different and somewhat new problems for each and every generation. No situation is perfectly the same although many historical similarities exist. Having directly experienced the latest war in ex-Yugoslavia I realized something that could seem obvious to the reader: that is, that I've heard the most sensible answers and most brilliant analysis about the war from people who had not studied a lot but whose sons were fighting on the front lines. I think this is what Wilson had in mind when he talked about world public opinion. In September 1918 he once said that according to him the opinion of the man from the street was more simple and more direct than the opinion of the people that were "in charge" to take decisions. The mistake of the people "in charge" is to believe that they can still play power games and ask for the payment to the simple man if things go wrong.

Talking to simple soldiers or people who were forced to travel on tractor carts for days on end to places they had never seen really makes you think about the war. Makes you think about the moment when the tractor stopped at some unknown destination with nothing to eat and with no people around with whom one has grown up. Years later, the smiles of these people still bear in their eyes the weight of that experience. If they were to vote for or against the war I guess it is clear what their choice would be.

Shared values like human and minority rights and a democratic system are the leading elements in Cosmopolitan Democracy and because of a fact that in a Cosmopolitan society people had to chose between the war and peace we would arrive to Wilsonian public opinion. At the end of the 18th century Kant wrote: “If... the consent of the subjects is required to determine whether there shall be war or not, nothing is more natural than that they should weigh the matter well, before undertaking such a bad business. For in decreeing war, they would of necessity be resolving to bring down the miseries of war upon their country. This implies: they must fight themselves; they must hand over the costs of the war out of their own property; they must do their poor best to make good the devastation which it leaves behind; and finally, as a crowning ill, they have to accept a burden of debt which will embitter even peace itself, and which they can never pay off on account of the new wars which are always impending”. This historic quote confirms the theory and the starting point of our reflection that the war will rarely break out between two democratic nations if the citizens have to decide on it. If this premise continues to be true than the third pillar, for the organisation of the society, should remain: democracy and individual freedom.

It seems that the main external factors threatening European society today are still associated with certain facets of fundamentalism, which infers totalitarianism, be they manifested in old-style of nationalism (Autocratic Nationalist State) or Islamic fundamentalism. These are always two

opposite ideals: liberty and totalitarianism. To win over these conflicts through values, people should not stop to believe in values of human dignity, freedom and also in human goodness.

III 3. The Search for Peace in Europe between the Two World Wars

The search for a utopian Europe and the debate on the crisis facing European Civilization crossed paths between the two World Wars. During this period many efforts were made to avoid another world war through the creation of a unified Europe: European Federalism emerged in promise of a just and peaceful future; whereas new concepts endorsing the spiritual and psychological regeneration of Western culture circulated across many European countries.

One of the most important European movements of this era was inspired by Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi. In 1923 (Vienna) the Count published “Pan-Europa”, which proposed a Federation of European States¹³² founded on economic and political cooperation. Parts of the “Pan Europa” organization were soon established in many countries. Sigmund Freud endorsed the pan European mission and was among those who worked to award the Nobel Prize to Coudenhove-Kalergi in 1931.

The Pan-European idea wasn't lacking in contradictions: while it recognized the right to self-determination of small European nations it retained a colonial and imperialistic vision. The project proposed that the European Federation merge together with their colonies so as to share their profits of exploitation. Eurocentrism and racism were evident in the founder's distinction between “civilized white races” and “primitive black races”. Coudenhove-Kalergi also had a vision

¹³² Great Britain and Russia were excluded from the project.

of regenerating European culture by reformulating the relationship between European men and women, wherein women should have manifested their commitment to peace through acts of public good.

The honorary President of the “Pan-Europa” Association was Aristide Briand, the French Prime Minister. In September 1929 Briand presented a Federation Plan between European populations to the League of Nations Assembly. The proposal gave priority to economic issues and was supported by German Chancellor Gustav Streseman.

In 1930 Briand published his Memorandum on the Organization of a Regime of European Federal Union, which asserted the “moral Union” of Europe, the subordination of economic issues to political ones and the strong ties between the future federation and the League of Nations. The plan gained little support among the twenty-seven European states, at the time also members of the League of Nations. It actually encountered a limit in the weakness of the League of Nations and in German political developments. On the same day that the European Commission in Geneva was voting on one of its resolutions, it was September 14th 1930, German elections increased Nazi representation in the Reichstag from 12 to 107.

With the failure of the Briand Plan Europe lost an opportunity to find an alternative to World War II for the reorganization of the Continental political landscape; wherein Europe would have had an important role for itself as a third world power, rather than ending up divided among two opposing zones of influence.

Although it took a few decades, American President Roosevelt would be the leader to follow in Wilson’s footsteps, but even this time the project wasn’t totally successful.

III 4. *Franklin Delano Roosevelt*

The last crack at creating an autocratic European power, with the goal of halting the decline of the Continent and preserving worldwide power, was that of Hitler. Hitler's failure was mostly due to the fact that after his attack of the USSR, and the USA.'s intervention alongside Great Britain, he found himself fighting against the whole world. The intervention of the United States and its Wilsonian principles opened the door for the rebirth of democracy in Western Europe, the birth of the United Nations and the creation of a number of international bodies that are the heart of the international world order to this day.

The American involvement in the Second World War came about gradually. A philosophy of non-intervention prevailed due to historical reasons and for the recent memory of World War I and the failures of the post-war period. In August 1935, in light of the first European crisis, the American Congress passed the first "Neutrality Act", which prohibited American citizens from selling or transporting arms to any warring country and from offering loans to any party involved in the conflict.

The abandonment of isolationism was a difficult process for the USA. American public opinion was against any form of the US involvement in European affairs. The Europeans were still paying off their debts from the First World War and a law of 1934 banned loans to any country that had outstanding debts from the previous war. The general public believed that Great Britain still possessed great wealth but the Americans soon understood that their presumptions were unfounded.

The Americans were disappointed by the results of the First World War and the position of isolationists and internationalists didn't differ much in that period. Both groups were against interventions within the Western hemisphere and against participating in acts of coercion of the League of Nations. Both backed disarmament conferences and

international principles to resolve disagreements through peaceful measures, such as the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

Sixty-two nations signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing to war as an instrument of their national policy, however the United States had no mechanism for putting the Treaty into practice. Just like Wilson, Kellogg hoped in the public opinion. He thought that if all the nations would have accepted the renunciation of war as an instrument to solve international disputes the world would have done a big step forward. It would have created the world public opinion and united important world moral forces to supervise the holly commitment made by the signing of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy thus making more difficult another world conflict. But as the conflict get near and especially as Hitler rose to power, Roosevelt understood that Europe's grave condition would also threaten the welfare and security of the United States.

Throughout the 1920's the USA fell short of its commitment to safeguarding the Versailles Treaty, an approach which also became the psychological underpinning of American public opinion. During the international crisis of the 1930's the US condemned various acts of aggression but failed to take any countermeasures. In 1931, following the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, Roosevelt invented his own form of sanctions, wherein any territories gained through the use of force were refused to be recognized. Eleven months after Hitler's rise to Chancellor, on December 28th 1933 in his discourse to the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, Roosevelt appealed to public opinion as a remedy to totalitarian tendencies and war: "It is but an extension of the challenge of Woodrow Wilson for us to propose in this newer generation that from now on war by governments shall be changed to peace by peoples". At the time Germany had already abandoned the Conference on Disarmament and refused to return to the negotiation table.

In March 1936 the North Rhine-Westphalia was re-armed and for the Americans this violated both the Versailles and the Locarno Treaties, but it did not infringe the 1921 Bilateral Agreement between the US and Germany. Up through the invasion of Poland Hitler continued to conquer with force and threat new territories challenging democracies and justifying himself through the legal auspices of the treaties and, in part, through the theory of self-determination. Lloyd George's predictions of 1919 were coming true and Roosevelt understood that the dictatorships were launching the challenge mostly against the United States and Great Britain. The Japanese offensive in China and the establishment of the Rome-Berlin Axis raised Roosevelt's concerns to a global level. In his "Quarantine Speech" held on October 5th 1937 he stated: "...It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease". The American President still had to convince his own country that global events were threatening the values and security of the United States and in that same period he told an ex-advisor to Wilson that time was needed to explain to the people that for us will be more dangerous to close the doors and windows in the case of war instead of going to the street to calm down the disorders with our strength.

In March 1938 the USA did not react to the *Anschluss* of Austria to Germany. This time Hitler used the concept of self-determination to challenge the European democracies. The Austrian crisis ended with a meeting in Munich and from that moment on Roosevelt was more than convinced that Nazism also represented a direct threat to the United States as well as to European democracies. Roosevelt was aware that he had to build a bridge between his ideas and the common sense of the people, but he also knew that he had to make decisions and had to be ready to walk the path alone before the society would be

ready to follow in his footsteps. A true leader knows to take responsibility for its own decisions.

In October 1938 Roosevelt tried to bypass the Neutrality Acts by suggesting that the French and British set up airplane assembly plants in Canada, where the US would supply the required components. The plan failed for logistical reasons. A few months later in his State of the Union Address Roosevelt declared Italy, Germany and Japan aggressor States. In March 1939 the Nazi's occupied Prague. A month later the American President declared: "the continued political, economic and social independence of every small nation in the world does have an effect on our nation safety and prosperity".

Roosevelt knew that technology and industrialization would have reduced the space continuum and that the world was transforming itself into a single entity. He was convinced that any obstacle to this process would have reduced the overall wellbeing of people and that Americans could no longer thrive under their splendid isolationism. He was also convinced that younger generations would have to look beyond America and would have to find new ways of bridging the gaps and creating harmony between the Old World and the New one.

After the invasion of Poland and Britain's declaration of war against Germany, two days later, on September 3rd 1939, Roosevelt knew he had to find a way of supplying arms to France and Great Britain. They were the last bastions of democracy in Europe.

On November 4th 1939 Congress approved the fourth Neutrality Act. This time the Act allowed warring countries to purchase arms and munitions from the United States, under the condition that they were paid in cash and transported through their own ships or those of a neutral country. Since British ships controlled the Atlantic the neutrality factor was a purely technical issue. The Americans hoped that material support would have been enough to defeat Hitler. After the fall of France, on June 10th 1940, Roosevelt formally abandoned

neutrality and sided with Great Britain. The American President considered Hitler the antithesis of all the values on which American society was founded.

On December 7th 1940 Churchill wrote Roosevelt a letter summarizing Great Britain's position on the European conflict. In his conclusion to the letter Churchill hinted that he needed more help from the Americans: "...I do not believe the Government and people of the United States would find it in accordance with the principles which guide them, to confine the help which they have so generously promised only to such munitions of war and commodities as could be immediately paid for. You may be assured that we shall prove ourselves ready to suffer and sacrifice to the utmost for the Cause, and that we glory in being its champion. The rest we leave with confidence to you and to your people, being sure that ways and means will be found which future generations on both sides of the Atlantic will approve and admire".

On December 29th 1940, in one of his famous Arsenal of Democracy fireside chat, Roosevelt stressed that American security depended on the survival of England: "We must be the great arsenal of democracy".

Just like Wilson's dilemma a few decades earlier, it wasn't easy for Roosevelt to convince the public opinion that the war was necessary in order to defend a lifestyle and a way of thinking. Roosevelt fell back onto Wilsonian principles, highlighting the USA's exclusive mission as a beacon of freedom for humanity, the ethical superiority of a democratic foreign affairs policy, the fact that private and public morality cannot be separated, the importance of open diplomacy and the need for multilateral solutions to achieve international consensus, as ratified by the League of Nations.

Great leaders are often alone in their mission and this solitude originates in their capacity to forecast events that their contemporaries are unable to see. Roosevelt proved himself capable of raising American faith in progress after the great

economic crisis of 1929. Despite that he was unable to restart the economy for the next decade, he was able to inspire American faith in the future. Without faith there is no future. People build the future and if they believe in it then they can get it. If people are afraid of the future then the future will be unpleasant and if they don't believe in the future then they will have no future.

We are our future and Roosevelt was able to inspire faith in a country in serious crisis. It is fundamental to understand how crucial personal charisma and trust are to mould energy in a democratic society. Roosevelt gave hope to a country that had lost it. He had vision, he understood the needs of the day and, most importantly, he was constructive protagonist of his time.

On March 11th 1941 the American Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act which authorized the President to "...sell, transfer title to, exchange, lease, or otherwise dispose of, to any such government whose defence the President deems vital to the defence of the United States any defence article". The passing of this Act implied that Germany was considered the greatest threat in world politics. Great Britain and in particular it's naval fleet were judged to be vital elements of American defence against Nazi aggression.

The Lend-Lease Act, the neutrality agreement between Japan and the USSR and Hitler's decision to attack the USSR made Hitler and Germany unable to condition other initiatives.

On June 22nd 1941, the day Hitler began his attack against the USSR., in code Operation Barbarossa, the Americans decided to give aid to the Soviet Union¹³³ as well. A few weeks

¹³³ July 7, 1941: Stalin became Chief Army Commander and called on the whole country to fight, together with all the other enemies of Germany, for the independence and democratic freedom of the people. Stalin transformed the Red Army into a huge army of liberation and in doing so he was able to obtain such great prestige that the victory over the Nazi's was able to obscure, for years thereafter, the crimes committed by Stalin during his regime.

earlier, on May 27th 1941, Roosevelt declared the state of emergency over the American radio waves: “We will not accept a Hitler-dominated world. And we will not accept a world, like the postwar world of the 1920’s, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can again be planted and allowed to grow. We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression – freedom of every person to worship God in his own way – freedom from want – and freedom from terror”. Roosevelt had the same goals as Wilson: to create a world community based on democratic ideals as the best assurance of international peace and security.

Despite its total dominance over Europe, after attacking the USSR, Germany found itself fighting the whole world alone.

At the end of July 1941 Roosevelt sent Harry Hopkins, one of the President’s most faithful advisors, as envoy to Moscow. Hopkins’ visit and the aid promised to Stalin represents the turning point in American and British wartime relations with the Soviet Union.

From August 9th to 13th 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met aboard the US heavy cruiser USS Augusta to discuss world politics and lay down their war strategies. On August 14th, in the Atlantic Charter, they announced to the world the key principles that united the two nations during and after the war. In these principles we can clearly see the Wilsonian ideals that were discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

The Atlantic Charter illustrates that the two countries were in no way seeking territorial expansion or territorial adjustments that “do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned”; that they wanted to restore the right to self-government to those who had lost it; that they desired free and equal access to trade and to the primary goods needed to ensure economic development and an improvement in workers’ conditions; that “after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny” they hoped for a secure and peaceful world free of fear and need. Finally, they wished to abandon the use of force as means of

resolving international tensions. National self-determination was to become the pillar of a new world order.

On September 4th 1941 an American military vessel was sunk by a German submarine and one week later the USA was fighting at sea against the Axis powers. In July of that year, following the Japanese attack in Indochina, the Americans revoked their trade agreement with Japan and stopped oil supplies to the country. The Japanese surprise attack on the USA was just a question of time. On December 11th 1941, just four days after Japan's attack on December 7th 1941 over Pearl Harbour, Hitler declared war against the United States. This war declaration allowed Roosevelt to concentrate American war efforts against Germany.

On January 1st 1942 Roosevelt and Churchill made another public declaration, it was the first Declaration of the United Nations. The United Nations Declaration was a sort of manifesto on the struggle against the Axis powers and Japan wherein two clear commitments were made: to fight the war with every available resource and to cooperate with other signatories of the Declaration without signing separate treaties or armistices. Later on this Declaration became the founding document of the future United Nations Organization. The real value of the document consisted in prevention of unilateral decisions.

The Allied war strategy remained steadfast throughout the war. Germany was the first enemy to defeat. The problem raised by the Americans was the world order after the war. Soon after entering the war the Americans already began to think about what kind of order they wanted at the end of the war. The US Secretary of State Corell Hull proposed the creation of an Advisory Committee on Post-war Foreign Policy. Many constructive elements of the post-war order were inspired by this committee.

The Committee proposed idea to develop a preliminary project for the establishment of an organization to substitute the League of Nations: it was the United Nations Organization. The

founding principle behind the idea was the longterm commitment between the war allies through the theory of “The Four Policemen”. The Four Policemen were Great Britain, the United States, the USSR and China. The Four Policemen were to take part in a steering committee whose role was to safeguard peace against potentially subversive forces. Roosevelt’s WWII objectives were similar to Wilson’s during the First World War: to instate an international order based on international harmony rather than on the Balance of Powers. The American President was in favour of collective security, but with the formula of “The Four Policemen” he tried to correct the error experienced in the 1920’s when a coercive mean was missing.

The reason for the system’s failure was the lack of common values between the parties. There was a ideology barrier and of a different vision of the world which would later lead humanity into the Cold War era. Today only China must join the roster to make Roosevelt’s project come to life. We are now much closer to achieving globally shared values. The USA, European Union and Russia have all accepted the rules of democracy and human rights that are the mainstay of Cosmopolitan Democracy and China could come close behind. A United Nations reform establishing four or five main security and peacekeeping forces is much more feasible today than in Roosevelt’s days.

Alongside this new security system, the Committee proposed the development of a new monetary and trading system that would reduce the chances of seeing a repeat situation of the post-World War One economic crisis. An International Trade Organization was proposed, which was later replaced by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a less ambitious project.

The International Monetary Fund was also founded to resolve the problem of the international monetary liquidity. In July 1944, in Bretton Woods (New Hampshire), a longterm agreement was established known as gold exchange standard.

This new organism was open to all UN member states. The goal of the Fund was to manage international monetary crisis and the heart of the system was based on the USA's commitment to accept a fixed dollar rate (set at 35 dollars per gold ounce).

The creation of the UN, the International Monetary Fund and the GATT represented the USA's strong commitment to post-war developments. It's likely that Roosevelt's death (in part just like Wilson's illness and Congress' non-ratification of the law approving American participation in the days of the League of Nations) prevented his plan from being achieved in full. The ideological divisions in American and Soviet world views would have been difficult to overcome even if Roosevelt had survived the period, however the dialogue that sprung between Roosevelt and Stalin significantly influenced wartime and post-war developments.

The great war conferences began in October 1943 all the way to August 1945. The protagonists of these meetings were Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill:

- October 8th – 30th 1943, Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs¹³⁴ in Moscow;
- November 22nd – 26th 1943, Conference between Americans, British and Chinese in Cairo;
- November 28th – December 1st 1943, the Teheran Conference between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin;
- October 9th – 19th , the bilateral Conference between Churchill and Stalin, held in Moscow;
- February 1st – 11th 1945, the Yalta Conference between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin;
- July 17th to August 2nd 1945, the Potsdam Conference between Stalin, Truman and Churchill¹³⁵.

¹³⁴ Molotov (USSR), Eden (UK), Hull (USA).

The creation of “sphere-of-influence” was a gradual process that began before the Moscow Conference. Perhaps the origins can be found in the Italian precedent, since it became the Soviet *modus operandi* and justification for managing and maintaining, under their sphere-of-influence, all the territories that had been freed by the Red Army.

There’s no doubt that the three key players had very different ideas on how to resolve the Second World War. Roosevelt envisioned new institutions capable of governing a global order, whereas Stalin and Churchill tended to see things from the European outlook of the politics of power. These differences already began to emerge at the Moscow Conference. The Soviets were disturbed by the way the Anglo-Americans had handled negotiations with Italy and Russia had no intention of ever finding itself in front of *fait accompli*.

At the Moscow Conference Eden and Molotov were more absorbed in the situation in Poland and Yugoslavia whereas the Americans continued to focus on Roosevelt’s Grand Design and the global institutions behind the post-war new order. In November 1943 the Secretary of State Cordell Hull emphasized America’s position: “...there will no longer be need for spheres of influence, for alliances, for balance of power, or any other of the special arrangements through which, in the unhappy past, the nations strove to safeguard their security or to promote their interests”.

The Anglo-American meeting held in Cairo with Chinese President Chang Kai Shek was mostly a Roosevelt initiative to develop the concept of a new world order based on The Four Policemen. Roosevelt, mostly due to his personal dislike of de Gaulle, preferred China to France within The Four Policemen.

The decisions made by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at the following Teheran Conference highly influenced events

¹³⁵ Who in the final stages was replaced by Clement Attlee.

throughout the rest of the Second World War and, in part, future post-war developments. At the time of the Teheran meeting the Battle of Stalingrad had already been won. Total victory was almost a sure bet and the chances of a separate peace agreement was highly unlikely. At the military level it was agreed that the “Second Front”¹³⁶ would open by May 1st 1944 and that the USSR would declare war against Japan three months after the end of the war in Europe.

On the political front, Roosevelt insisted on the importance of establishing the United Nations Organization¹³⁷, based on a longterm agreement between the four main powers of the day. Stalin and Roosevelt had no difficulty agreeing on issues of peace, the United Nations and the struggle against colonialism.

The three great leaders also discussed important matters like Poland and Germany. With respect to Poland, Churchill agreed that the Soviets could keep the territories acquired in 1939, which in fact corresponded to the political borders proposed by British Foreign Minister Lord Curzon back in 1919. In compensation Poland was to extend its Western borders, to the detriment of Germany, by about 200 kilometres. It was also taken into consideration the idea that post-war Germany would be under English and Soviet influence, since America intended to withdraw its troops at the end of the war.

So-called “minor” issues were also brought to the table: for Stalin the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States was out of discussion; Finland’s 1940 border was to be restored; aid would be provided to Iran and to Tito’s Partisans; and Britain committed itself to the liberation of Greece. Very little of these discussions found room in the final announcement, with the

¹³⁶ Upon his return from the Conference Roosevelt declared that Generals Marshall and Eisenhower would lead the Allied troops.

¹³⁷ A few months after the Conference, in Dumbarton Oaks Washington (August-September 1944), the Statute of the new universal organization laid out.

exception of general commitments on planned military landing in France.

During the October 1944 bilateral conference between Churchill and Stalin in Moscow, Churchill indicated on piece of paper, as he himself recollected, the degrees of influence that the two powers ought to have had in the post-war Balkans. In reality, this basic scheme simply summarized a much more complex political process that the British diplomacy had been involved in for months. Churchill was afraid of the sovietization of the Balkans and Europe in general. In Hungary and Yugoslavia¹³⁸ therefore he wanted equal degrees of influence between Moscow and London. Instead in Romania Churchill proposed a split of 90% for the Soviets and 10% for the Western Europeans, whereas the opposite amounts were proposed for Greece. In Bulgaria the USSR was to benefit from a 75% chunk and the westerners would settle for 25%. However since the exclusion of any Soviet control of Italy had raised grave discontent in Moscow, Churchill wanted to avoid Stalin's repayment for the Italian precedent.

In the end Yugoslavia's post-war independence was not the outcome of the Moscow talks. Rather, it was achieved thanks to its own Partisans movement that freed the Balkans from German occupation.

The Yalta Conference was needed in light of Hitler's nearing defeat. In February battle ground outcomes gave the USSR control over Poland¹³⁹ and large part of the Balkan

¹³⁸ Yugoslavia's post-war independence was not related with the Moscow talks. but was achieved thanks to Tito's Partisans liberation of the country.

¹³⁹ It was already clear at the time that Moscow intended to turn Poland into a satellite territory. The Soviet's not intervention in the Warsaw Insurrection of August 1944; the execution of thousands of Polish military officials, found buried in mass graves in Katyn (the Germans were first accused of these killings); and Moscow's recognition of the Lublin Committee as an interim government of Poland are all factors that

Peninsula. The Red Army had already surpassed 1941 frontiers and the USSR was capable of enforcing unilateral political control over Eastern Europe. The lack of an existing post-war agreement when the war outcomes were still uncertain precluded any chances of improving peace conditions. If key issues are not addressed when war outcome are still crystallizing, the strongest power usually sets the conditions at the peace table. Huge effort is required in order to change the status quo once again. This was last Roosevelt's Conference, he died a few months after Yalta.

At Yalta the leaders agreed to call the Conference that would launch the United Nations Organization. The technicians left to the politicians some delicate decisions such as the number of USSR representatives in the United Nations Assembly. Stalin requested that all USSR Republics admit a representative. A compromise was reached by allowing Byelorussia and The Ukraine to join as founding States, a decision which later raised strong internal Western opposition for having been too lenient towards Stalin.

The second addressed issue was related with the UN Executive Body to be founded, the Security Council, whose role was supposed to be to take resolutions on behalf of the United Nations. The goal was to create a system that prevented the Security Council from taking decisions in opposition to any one of the five permanent member states¹⁴⁰. Reached agreement gave veto powers to all permanent members. In practice no Council vote would be valid if any permanent member state was against it. The United Nations Statute also raised the problem of colonialism but at the end of the day the issue was only addressed in part. It was agreed that the countries that were still not independent would have been administered by the UN, also known as United Nations Trust Territories.

signaled that Stalin would have not accepted important changes and discussions about future of this country.

¹⁴⁰ USSR, China, USA, Great Britain and France.

In terms of Roosevelt's Great Design the UN turns out to be the most important outcome of the Yalta Conference. Upon the President's return to the US, on February 29th, he expressed his great personal satisfaction to the American Congress using the following words: "I think the Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common round of peace. It spells, it ought to spell the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients that have been tried for centuries, and have always failed. We propose to substitute for all these a universal organization in which all peace¹⁴¹-loving nations will finally have a chance to join".

With respect to Germany, the idea of splitting up a country was abandoned in favour of establishing four areas of occupation¹⁴². War reparations were also raised. However the Polish context was more complicated to resolve and Western Europeans found themselves in a fait a compli situation. Stalin's transformation of the Lublin Committee into an interim government was difficult to accept because the defence of the government in exile was a mater of principle for Western democracies, but for Stalin Poland was already a symbol of the USSR's new powers and represented a security cushion against Germany. The Red Army already controlled Poland, hence the only post-war concession the Western democracies got out of Stalin was the formation of a provisional national unity government, which even Polish emigrants could participate in, on the grounds that they were sincere and democratic.

¹⁴¹ The Charter of the United Nations was approved at the San Francisco Conference between April 25th – June 26th 1941. The most important political innovation is found in Article 1, which defined the primary responsibility of the United Nations: "Maintain international peace and security".

¹⁴² The Soviet zone, the French zone situated within the Anglo-American zone.

The promise of free elections was a dominant concept in the Declaration of Liberated Europe, a paper signed by the three great leaders which defined a general political strategy that the winning countries promised to apply, wherever their armies may have reached. The paper set out reciprocal consultation, denazification, but mostly set the rules to ensure that every European State could establish free democratic institutions. In substance they agreed on establishing governments that are represented by the people through free democratic elections.

Finally, Stalin presented a series of requests for the intervention of USSR in Japan.

Towards the end of the war Roosevelt became very irritated with Stalin's tactics. Stalin had old style *Realpolitik* in his mind and was approaching the situation as European state leaders would have done in previous centuries, when the victors expected to collect the spoils of the defeated. Nevertheless Roosevelt tried to maintain his commitment towards cooperation with the Soviets. The most important thing for him was to defeat suspicion and to create a climate of trust. On January 20th 1940 in his last inaugural speech to Congress Roosevelt cited Emerson to affirm his beliefs: "The only way to have a friend is to be one". Trust between people is a much more important value than treaties or contracts. If trust is lacking, no contract or agreement can oblige people or nations to live in cooperation and harmony. History has taught us that harmony between nations often depended on the personal relations between leaders.

Roosevelt believed in the personal relationship he developed with Stalin, a feeling Churchill never shared with the Soviet leader. When Churchill explained his reasons for siding with Stalin he claimed: "If Hitler invaded hell I would make at least a favourable reference to the devil in the House of Commons".

Roosevelt sought Stalin's trust by distancing himself from Churchill. Confiding to his old friend and advisor Roosevelt

once recalled the details of when he nicknamed Stalin “Uncle Joe”. It was the moment when he thought that he had broken the ice and gained a bit of trust from the “Man of Steel”: “Winston got red and scowled, and the more he did so, the more Stalin smiled. Finally, Stalin broke out into a deep, hearty guffaw, and for the first time in three days I saw light. I kept it up until Stalin was laughing with me, and it was then that I called him “Uncle Joe”....From that time on our relationship were personal... The ice was broken and we talked like men and brothers”.

Roosevelt’s Yalta Conference Report to Congress highlighted the United Nations agreement but said very little on the future of Europe and Asia. The hope he had in the United Nations was very similar to Wilson’s hope on the League of Nations just twenty-five years earlier. He stated that this Conference: “...spells, it ought to spell the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients that have been tried for centuries, and have always failed. We propose to substitute for all these a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join; And I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this conference as the beginning of a permanent structure of peace...”.

Stalin was a master of *Realpolitik* and Churchill knew this from the beginning of the war. Nevertheless the British leader didn’t have the power to impose his will on the Americans, who continued to remain faithful to Roosevelt and Wilson’s idealism. The Americans refused European diplomacy as a matter of principle. Stalin once confided his opinion on the war to Milovan Djilas, one of Yugoslavia’s Communist leaders: “This war is not as in the past; whoever occupies a territory also imposes on it his own social system. Everyone imposes his own system as far as his army can reach. It cannot be otherwise”. In April 1945 Churchill asked Eisenhower, Commander in Chief of the Allied Forces, to take Berlin, Prague and Vienna before the arrival of the Red Army, but the American Military Chief of

Staff didn't want to take into consideration his request. Instead in a letter Eisenhower told Stalin that the Allied troops wouldn't pass Dresden and for Stalin this gesture was a free political gift.

At the final Conference in Potsdam two of the three great leaders were substituted. Roosevelt had passed away¹⁴³ and was replaced by President Truman, whereas Churchill lost the British federal elections during the Conference and was replaced by Clement Attlee. The political climate had changed in Potsdam. Although important decisions were made they only put the finishing touches on the agreements reached in Yalta. Moreover, during those days another important event happened that definitively put an end to the Second World War and jumpstarted a new world era: the explosion of the first American Atomic Bomb.

Roosevelt was no longer around and the idea of The Four Policemen was facing similar problems to Wilson's earlier concept of "collective security" of twenty-five years ago. The times were not ripe. The four protagonists didn't have the same world vision. America itself wasn't ready to accept the consequences of the project, which entailed intervention anywhere that peace was threatened. Even Roosevelt repeated that the responsibility of European reconstruction and stabilization would have been a duty of the British and Soviets. Just after the end of the war the Americans were forced to change their ideas on the danger of sovietization of Europe. At the end of the day the tensions between Russia and the USA did not come about for a lack of understanding or communication between Moscow and Washington, but were instead due to the very different way of viewing the outside world. The British were unable to contain the Soviets and in order to avoid a repeat of the 1920's they once again resorted to "sphere-of-influence", which the American President had tried to avoid throughout the whole war. In order to re-establish equilibrium America reconstructed Germany and Japan and found itself in a Cold War with the Soviet Union that lasted over forty-five years.

¹⁴³ Roosevelt passed away on April 12th 1945.

The period between autumn 1945 and the summer of 1946 burnt any hopes that the institutional path, on political and judicial fronts, and the multilateral route, at the economic-financial level, could become the basis of rebuilding a new international order. An era of bipolarism and Cold War took the place of multilateralism. When, on March 12th 1947, the Truman Doctrine was declared, the President used traditional Wilsonian principles to motivate the struggle between two lifestyles: “One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedom”.

Roosevelt is remembered in history as the President that guided American through its two greatest crisis: the economic crisis of 1929 and the Second World War. He made various steps forward with respect to Wilson but the rest of the world didn't share in total his vision. The world found itself divided into two ideological fronts, the Cold War established a new international order and Western Europe attained democracy. Today the Cold War is over, the war against terrorism is still on and Russia has decided to adopt democratic values. Of the original Four Policemen, in 2005, only China remains in the stands, however after the country's economic reforms it is likely that political reforms will slowly be implemented. Cosmopolitan Democracy could be closer to becoming a real world project rather than just an eutopian ideal.

In the next chapter we will see why Europe must commit itself to a global project and what has changed in the Continent over the last sixty years since Roosevelt's death and since Schuman, Adenauer and De Gasperi lit a torch of hope for the European Union.

Kennedy's Grand Design also had the Wilson and Roosevelt's seeds, but the project did not find fertile ground in a Europe marked by the politics of General de Gaulle. The times were still not ripe, Europe was divided into two blocks and security issues were viewed very differently than today. Thanks to the end of the Cold War the conditions for attempting, for the fourth time, to create international peace and stability have greatly improved. Europe is more united and is working on a momentous project. As mentioned in the premise, today's totalitarian tendencies mustn't impede project developments since the very values on which this project is based are the best means for challenging new totalitarian regimes. The European Union must begin to take responsibility for international stability and security.

In the next chapter let's take a look at how Europeans, thanks also to the ideological foundations reviewed in this chapter, defeated their general mistrust of each other and began to cooperate together in the creation of the European Union.

CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER IV

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

IV 1. *Premise*

It is useful to look back at the basic motivations that led Europe towards economic and political union. It is evident that European project was not based on the sole practical utility, but on human ideals, longterm cultural and moral interests that represent today's European Union and civil society base.

As shown in geographic maps, the hardest part of this process is to overcome centuries of historical divisions. Over the last few centuries the concept of the nation-state has been the greatest cause of war and the strongest dividing force between people. The 20th century witnessed the most extreme degenerative forms of the nation-state idea. In many countries the idea of the nation deteriorated into nationalism. The pain and destruction of the First World War wasn't enough to find the road to peace, and Europe had to experience an even more atrocious civil war before laying the first stone of today's European Union. The last Balkan Civil War represents the latest recurrence of this social disease.

The failures preceding the most recent phase of European integration, that began after the Second World War, were mainly caused by problems of mistrust between nations and the fear of being dominated.

Looking back into Europe's past we see that a Cosmopolitan Society has existed for some time now. It has existed in a civil society, in a free economy, art and science but during hard times was lacking political foundations. International relations based on the ideals of the Nation-State became obsolete and burdensome and in end led to the Second World War.

As we have seen, many centuries ago the foundation of the State was useful for establishing internal peace and security,

however industrialization led to a great time-space reduction among people. The new States found themselves facing the same problem that humans faced in Hobbes' state of nature, with the difference that the Leviathan State became strong and powerful, but it was not speaking a language that his neighbours could understand and the new neighbours were soon much closer to each other than any County in Hobbes's era. This new situation led some philosophers, Kant in particular, to seek new theories for eliminating conflicts within the State and among the States. Kant was not alone in this approach. The theoretical contexts were different, some found solace in Catholic doctrine, others sought solutions in the development of international law, whereas some others thought that internationalization itself could represent a solid theoretical base. All these elements were signs that for centuries exist a need to find a new model for the international relations that could avoid the recourse to war as the only solution of conflicts.

There was little agreement between the parties and the vision of internationalism was soon identified with the class struggle. Whereas on the opposite side of the fence the concept of the nationalist sentiment was growing: and in the post-Napoleonic War period Germany became its greatest advocate. In this "conflict" of ideas one should search for the political causes of the forty years of "armed peace" and the outbreak of the First World War. The State cultivation of nationalism imposed by the sword became the common European political instrument throughout the whole 19th century until the first half of the 20th century. It was the politics of the Balance of Power, the arms race and the belief in the unavoidableness of war that led Europe towards two great tragedies. As we shall see in the next chapter, these tendencies contaminated other parts of the world as well, especially in Eastern Europe, which too often saw its borders change with the ensuing mass movement of populations, all in the name of the Nation-State.

The roots of evil in Europe lie in the principles of the Ethnic State. This principle represents an extreme, totalitarian

form of the doctrine of self-determination, which from a national perspective sustains the idea that only a homogeneous population represents the only legitimate foundation of a sovereign State. The history teaches us that we must reach beyond this model.

As seen in previous maps, Europe is characterized by a mix of different linguistic and religious groups. Any attempt to create ethnically homogenous States will inevitably lead to new States with some minorities inside of it and, as a consequence, homogeneity could only be maintained through barbarian practices, which were frequent in Europe during the first half of the 20th century and were still seen in the Balkans in the 1990's. The violation of minority rights occurs in many ways: from the exiling of populations, oppression and the physical annihilation of minority groups, to more subtle techniques such as the banning of ethnically mixed marriages, political and workplace discrimination and by creating a hostile climate and negative public opinion against minority groups.

It is also important to highlight that no objective nor shared ideas exist on what exactly comprises a nation¹⁴⁴. If national homogeneity is used as the criteria for defining a nation then any change in State borders could be justifiable and we would only succeed in destroying every form of human civility. In fact the main purpose of this study is to overcome the divisions by elements that can unite people. The sharing of common basic values can become the stepping stone to achieving a civil cohabitation between people with different cultural backgrounds.

We have already mentioned that during the formation of modernday Western European States the concept of national self-determination helped Europe surmounting the feudal system, to create much larger States and to pacify populations

¹⁴⁴ A nation is usually defined on the basis of the following characteristics: language, culture, religion and customs.

internally within the State, however today the concept of national homogeneity has a solely regressive function.

Examples of this regressive form of nation-state can be seen throughout Central and Eastern Europe, but the most recent case in point is found in the Balkans. Amidst the ideological crisis facing communism and the end of the Cold War, the principles of the Ethnic State became the key source of legitimizing political power in the Balkans. When we later address the problem of the Ethnic State, which was the true catalyst of the last War of the Balkans, we will see how local politicians decided to enter into a dangerous campaigns based on nationalist propaganda.

Without a doubt, the European Union project, together with the Council of Europe, have the capacity to overcome the problem of nationalism that has turmoiled for many times the European Continent throughout its history. Western European integration represents one of the most significant attempts to overcome these historical dilemmas.

From previous geographic maps we saw that since the formation of the European nation-states to the end of the Second World War, Western Europe has been able to throw into confusion the whole world on a number of occasions due to French-German animosities. The recent 1990's conflict in the Balkans used to occur in Western Europe not many years ago. The ethnic cleansing reached its peak of horrors in the Nazi "factories of death" - concentration camps. These horrible events occurred for the last time just sixty years ago, in the same Western Europe that we today consider as a civil and peaceful society.

The process of European integration following the Second World War was founded on the French-German reconciliation efforts. A big change graced Western Europe, which became conscious of the destructive forces of nationalism, also thanks to the collapse of the politics of power of the nation-states and thanks to the American policy that established a political-

military protectorate over Western Europe. The United States led the post-war European reconstruction through the Marshall Plan, under the condition that nationalism be overthrown. In order to achieve, through supranational integration, a new territory for all European nations respecting various minority groups living outside the national borders, the choice to gradually diminish the importance of national borders was selected.

We shall see that during its development the European Union has been able to overcome dictatorships in Greece, Spain and Portugal. In addition, its latest expansion has helped disseminate liberal democratic principles and respect for human and minority rights in Central and Eastern European countries. Despite all of this success however, a wound remains open in the Balkans, where the democratization process is slow and remains open the challenge of establishing closer ties with Russia and Turkey.

IV 2. Pre-World One Ideas for a Unified Europe

The advent of sovereign States was a progress for Europe, thus the monopoly of force gave the central authorities the opportunity to eliminate feudal anarchy. These circumstances paved the road for liberal, democratic and social developments, wherein the modern state with his control over force played the crucial role of internal peacekeeping.

The development of absolute state sovereignty represented the final crisis in the universal authority of the Catholic Church and of the Empire. Although this situation put an end to feudal anarchy within the European states, it also contributed to a general state of international anarchy.

An effective tool for governing the European state system, the balance of power method often blocked the most powerful

States from their attempts at achieving total hegemony over other states, however the system was unable to fully impede the outbreak of periodic wars throughout Europe. The destructive power of these wars increased in time as each sovereign nation reinforced its military capacities. War therefore became a serious threat to European progress. A Democratical Cosmopolitan Europe can only be achieved through common values and principles. Currently, the European Union values are human rights, respect for minority rights and respect for democratic rules and regulations. This model has the historic opportunity to become, through the expansion of member states, an attraction pole and a valid contributor for the international peace and security.

Prior to the French Revolution European Unity was conceived as a unity of principles and not as a union of the people. Kant was the first to challenge this situation. He was the first to establish a link between the development of a republican regime within the State and the need to overcome anarchy in international relations. Kant understood international anarchy created obstacles for the development of liberal democracy. He also understood that if priority was given to security issues then authoritarian systems would reign. Today's European Union must build unity by creating a union of the people through shared principles and values.

Kant was the first to develop the idea of a people's federation in his work "Perpetual Peace". Since perpetual peace implied the elimination of international anarchy, Kant believed that the union of all European people was an excellent starting point for achieving unity for all humankind.

Kant's project gained little progress throughout the 19th century because the growth of modern nation-states and the expansion of European colonialism set the stage for the outbreak of nationalism. Nationalism exasperated the divisions between Europeans. National ideology represented modern nations as pure blood based communities thus putting the idea of a

common European culture into crisis, as we shall see in chapter five.

IV 3. The World Wars Era

Germany's struggle for hegemony was the leading thread behind the last two European Wars¹⁴⁵. The destructive force behind these wars was rooted in the fact that they were fought by modern nation-states that are not just capable of producing more effective weapons, they are also skilled in mobilizing all societal forces to sustain war efforts.

The two wars weakened Europe and brought its autonomy in the international arena to an end. After the Second World War the European system was absorbed within a new world order founded on a USA – USSR bipolar balance. In addition, an accelerated crisis throughout the colonial empires weakened ties between the European powers and their colonies, thereby triggering the need for the Europeans to develop reciprocal economic relations.

The goal of achieving European unity only became a concrete possibility after the Second World War. Having broken out just a few decades after World War One, the Second World War was a warning that traditional diplomatic mediation and balance of power strategies were not sufficient for pursuing a long term peace but a new path should be followed, already laid out by President Wilson after the end of the First World War, based on an association between diverse populations and by reducing the State sovereignty. The link between economic crisis and the last war induced the countries to try to establish a long term peace by creating an international economic order founded on cooperation between the States.

¹⁴⁵ Whereas France's struggle for hegemony was the driving force behind European conflict between the 1600's and 1800's.

The two wars demonstrated to Europeans that peaceful cooperation between Nations was necessary for the future survival of European autonomy. This awareness created three key veins of thought that have substantially influenced the European integration process to this day:

- Federalism (federalist);
- Functionalism (functionalist);
- Confederalism (confederative or unionist).

We mustn't forget that support for post-war European integration was nourished by the fear of communism and by the USA's objective to counterbalance the strength of the USSR. This in fact helps us to understand why the first tangible project initiatives for the future of Western Europe originated in the United States. The United States suggested the path of economic integration as a base for the future political integration. The Americans believed that the broadening Europe's economic markets would ensure European wealth and prosperity and that the placing limits on national sovereignty through the establishment of federal institutions would guarantee peace. As we shall see, one of the key goals of the Marshall Plan was precisely to constrain Europeans to think in a cooperative manner.

IV 4. Key Concepts Developed as premise to the Integration

IV 4.1. Federalism

Europe's federalist currents were led by key advocates like Luigi Einaudi, the English Federalist school as well as Italian

Federalists¹⁴⁶ led by Altiero Spinelli. The movement used the Federalist precepts as an axis point to explain the causes behind the European crisis in the period between the two World Wars and for the indication of the possible solutions.

In his 1918 critique of the League of Nations, Luigi Einaudi sustained that the most critical limiting factor of the League was the fact that it had been founded on principle that maintained absolute state sovereignty. For the federalists absolute state sovereignty was the main reason why state violence was so frequently used as a recourse for resolving international conflicts. European federal unification model was founded on the idea that the malice of that period was rooted in the crisis of the European nation-state.

Federalists believed that a federal system had to be instated by transferring the responsibility of foreign politics, defence and monetary politics as well as strategic political-economy industries to a supra-national entity in order to achieve democratic and efficient European unification. In addition, a common government, parliament and court of justice were required.

Instead functionalism was a more pragmatic approach since it sought to start by resolving problems of a technical nature with a consequent gradual reduction of national sovereignty.

¹⁴⁶ The Italian Federalist movement was born through the dissemination of a Manifesto for a Free and United Europe (“Manifesto per una Europa libera e unita”), written in 1941 on Ventotene Island, where many antifascists had been exiled. In 1943, Altiero Spinelli founded the European Federalist Movement (“Movimento federalista europeo” - Mfe) in Milan Italy.

IV 4.2. *Functionalism*

This stream of thought is very important because it is the inspiration behind the foundation of the European Community. Although functionalist¹⁴⁷ and federalist theories have a common vision of eliminating absolute state sovereignty through supra-national integration, the two schools of thoughts differ for the fact that in order to overcome national opposition, functionalists deem that international cooperation in a variety of progressively more important sectors or functions must take place gradually.

Jean Monnet¹⁴⁸ knew well the specialized organizations that had been created in order to amalgamate Allied economic and military resources during the two World Wars. After the war these entities were dismantled, but Monnet realized that the same methodology could be applied during peacetime periods.

The method proposed by Monnet placed a number of public administration duties into the hands of pan-European administrative bodies, which received common directives directly by the member States through specific treaties and other intergovernmental decision-making processes. Monnet was not a simple technician, but the one who understood what would have worked in order to lead Europe towards unification during

¹⁴⁷ David Mitrany, Romenian economist, set the foundation for this theory through experiences observed in international organizations of a highly technical nature, such as the International Postal Union and the International Red Cross. According to Mitrany, the integration of human activities above and beyond the State level can be efficaciously achieved through the creation of technical institutions (and not political ones) equipped with clearcut administrative and economics functions, whose goal is to resolve specific or specialized problems facing the international community.

¹⁴⁸ Jean Monnet, French economist and financier (1888-1979). Vice-Secretary to the League of Nations (1919-1923), Monnet was one of the leading advocates of Europeism and is mostly his merit the creation of the Schuman Plan, which led to the development of ECSC, whose first President was Monnet himself (1952-1955). At the end of the 1950's he founded an Action Committee for the United States of Europe.

that period. At one stage Monnet stated: “Europe has never existed... we must genuinely create Europe...”. By this he meant that the people themselves had to become aware of being European, a highly valid point even to this day.

In practice Monnet’s idea was to turn those national political issues that had often caused conflicts between countries, such as the French and German rivalry for coal and steel, into common political strategies. Coal and steel were in fact the most important primary goods of the period and represented the roots of industrialization. Later we will see that the functional approach became the key method for achieving European integration.

IV 4.3. *Confederalism*

Confederalism is based on the concept of intergovernmental cooperation. This system does not place actual limits on state sovereignty, rather it allows national governments to achieve shared objectives in areas of common interest.

It’s not just a mere coincidence that among its key advocates we find some of Europe’s most famous state leaders like Winston Churchill, Aristide Briand and Charles de Gaulle.

Confederalism deserves the merit of giving birth to the first European-centred initiatives between the two World Wars. All these initiatives were born during Europe’s darkest moments in a desperate attempt to prevent the dramatic circumstances that were to follow.

Inspired by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, who had founded the Pan-European movement in 1923, the first confederalist initiative was Briand’s Plan for a European Union, which the French Prime Minister presented to the League of

Nations Assembly in 1929. However, after being boycotted by a fascist Italy and by Great Britain, the Assembly ultimately failed after the fall of the Weimar Republic.

A second important initiative was the proposal for French-British union launched by Winston Churchill on June 16th 1940, when France was about to fall into the hands of Hitler's advancing troops. This idea was inspired by Jean Monnet and the Federal Union movement. The proposal was more advanced with respect to Briand's plan, since it entailed the establishment of common institutions in the areas of defence, foreign affairs, economics and finance, as well as the formal association of the two parliaments and a common citizenship. Churchill's scope was to reinforce French resistance against Nazi aggression. Nothing came of the proposal but three years later, in 1943, Churchill proposed the establishment of a Council of Europe Council, which turned out to be a prototype of the confederal body founded in 1949.


Founded in Great Britain in 1947 and chaired by Churchill himself, the United Europe Movement represents the most important confederalist group of the post-war era. From 7th till 10th of May 1948 the association organized the Congress of Europe in Hague, whose participants included some of Europe's most prestigious political leaders of the day, among which J. Monnet, R. Schuman, A. De Gasperi, K. Adenauer, P.H. Spaak. One of the most successful achievements of the Hague Congress was the establishment of the Council of Europe, officially founded in 1949. Another important outcome was the founding of the European Movement, which has united all pro European Unity associations under a single umbrella group since 1948.

To better understand the evolutionary process behind European integration from the post-war period until today we will review key developments across the decades:

- 1950's: economic integration kicks off, fail of the attempts for political unification, progress of the economic integration thanks to the Treaties of Rome;

- 1960's: establishment of the common market and a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP);
- 1970's: failure of the first project for Economic and Monetary Union, Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark join the integration process, direct elections of the European Parliament;
- 1980's: from European Parliament project on European Union Treaty to the Single European Act (SEA) and from the expansion to Greece, Spain and Portugal till the fall of the Berlin Wall;
- 1990's: from a single market to a common European currency and expansion to Austria, Sweden and Finland;
- 2000 - 2004: European Union expansion to Central and Eastern European countries.

IV 5. 1950's; Economic integration kicks off, fail of the attempts for political unification, progress of the economic integration thanks to the Treaties of Rome

1950's	
	<p>1947 – Marshall Plan.</p> <p>1948 – Treaty of Brussels and opening session of Hague Congress.</p> <p>1949 – NATO signing agreement in Washington D.C..</p> <p>1950 – Schuman Declaration; Pleven propose the EDC.</p> <p>1952 – The Six signing of ECSC in Paris.</p> <p>1954 – The French reject EDC; founding of WEU.</p> <p>1955 – Messina Conference.</p> <p>1957 – Treaties of Rome institute the EEC and EURATOM (EAEC).</p> <p>1958 – EEC and EURATOM enter into vigor.</p>

The end of the Second World War saw the development of a new international political cycle dominated by a bi-polar system. In this new system the European States lost their autonomy and became satellites of the superpowers. Some States within the same power block were obliged to collaborate with each other for the first time in their history.

European unification only took place within this panorama when the United States pressured the European States within its sphere of influence to move in the direction of unity. In fact The Marshall Plan, launched in June 1947, laid out European Cooperation as a key condition for receiving economic aid.

In March 1948 Great Britain, France and the Benelux countries signed an agreement for military cooperation known as the Treaty of Brussels¹⁴⁹, which represents the precursor to

¹⁴⁹ The agreement for military cooperation, renamed the Western European Union (WEU) was extended to West Germany and Italy in 1955, to Spain and Portugal in 1988 and to Greece in 1995.

the Atlantic Alliance established in 1949. Security has always been a key element for guaranteeing economic development throughout the ages.

In April 1948, under the will of the United States, the Organization for European Cooperation and Development (OECD) was created. The task of this organization was to distribute Marshall Plan aid to Western European countries and to ensure cooperation between them selves.

In May 1948 the International Committee of the Movements for European Unity took the initiative of organizing the Hague Congress. The hope behind the meeting was to reinforce the opinion in favour of European unity, however the debate only brought diverse concepts of Europe to light. On the one hand the Federalists looked towards the USA model, whereas on the other hand the Confederalists highlighted the importance of inter-governmental agreements and were cautious about placing limits on national sovereignty. Nevertheless, the Congress closed with a commitment to build a European Parliamentary Assembly made up of delegates designated by their respective national parliaments.

At the Congress of Europe in Hague in 1948 Churchill framed his personal vision of Europe and of the European dream when he declared: "...We hope to see a Europe where men of every country will think as much of being a European as of belonging to their native land... We hope that wherever they go in this wide domain, to which we set no limits in the European continent, they will truly feel – Here I am at home,...". In November 1998 I heard the Austrian Minister of the Economy express similar words when I received my CEMS Master degree in Vienna. His wish was actually the same that his very grandfather had expressed once to him: "I hope that you will see the day in which every European citizen can freely decide where to live and work without borders limiting them from this". As a "non-EU / extra-community" citizen I had the opportunity to understand well and often reflect on the profound meaning

behind these words. I have often experienced first hand how the non-freedom of movement feels like and I still remember long overnight lineups to pick up a number that allow you to present the request for the renewal of your permit of stay.

The first European institutions were characterized by a weak confederal structure because Great Britain, the key founding member together with France, wasn't willing to go beyond inter-governmental cooperation. Geographically Great Britain and Russia have always been at the periphery of Europe and to this day interests for European Union remain stronger in the center than at the periphery. The mistrust between countries and their protectiveness of national sovereignty made it clear that the US model for European integration wouldn't come to light and that a European path would have been selected. Every time it was indispensable that European governments were facing problems that were impossible to resolve at the national level. Only the national governments could have started to create a supra-national entities to address common issues.

For similar reasons the confederalist principle was also instated within the Council of Europe which, in May 1949, comprised ten¹⁵⁰ Western European countries. The role of the Council of Europe was to build a stronger union between its member states. With headquarters in Strasbourg, the Council was set up with two distinct institutional levels: the Parliamentary Assembly, with proposition tasks, and the Committee of Ministers which, comprised of the Foreign Ministers, was mandated to act in the name of the Council of Europe.

The OECD and the Council of Europe Council had a very important role. They were the first mediating bodies between National Western European governments. The OECD kicked off free trade and monetary cooperation in Europe, whereas the Council of Europe encouraged a dialogue between Europe's

¹⁵⁰ Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Holland, and Sweden.

political forces in order to sensitize them to problems of integration and respect for the individual and human rights.

The Council of Europe deserves a great deal of merit for the outcomes it has achieved in the area of individual rights. The European Convention on Human Rights¹⁵¹, the European Court of Human Rights¹⁵² and our fundamental freedoms are the outcomes of the Council of Europe initiatives. In fact respect for human rights is a key pillar of both the European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy. Even today the Council of Europe, being committed for the human rights respect, is important in helping EU expansion and is important for sharing with other countries the values on which European Union is founded.

As we have seen, the driving force behind integration was America's decision to support the economic and political reconstruction of Western Germany in order to consolidate the Atlantic block. When it was decided to cancel Allied checks on Germany's heavy industries the French government, in order to prevent the regeneration of independent German industries, had no choice but to accept, through the "Schuman Declaration"¹⁵³ of May 9th 1950, Monnet's idea: which was to set-up common European controls over coal and steel industries across Germany, France and other States that desired to join the community. The positive response of Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries led to the establishment of ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community) on April 18th 1951 (Paris).

¹⁵¹ Rome, November 1950.

¹⁵² An independent organization with headquarters in Strasbourg, its role is to deliver verdicts on the violation of fundamental human rights within EU member states.

¹⁵³ The French Foreign Minister proposed "...that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe...".

Schuman's¹⁵⁴ Declaration was a proposal for peace. After signing the agreement he himself stated that through a firm production alliance between France and Germany a new war between the two countries was not only incomprehensible but materially impossible.

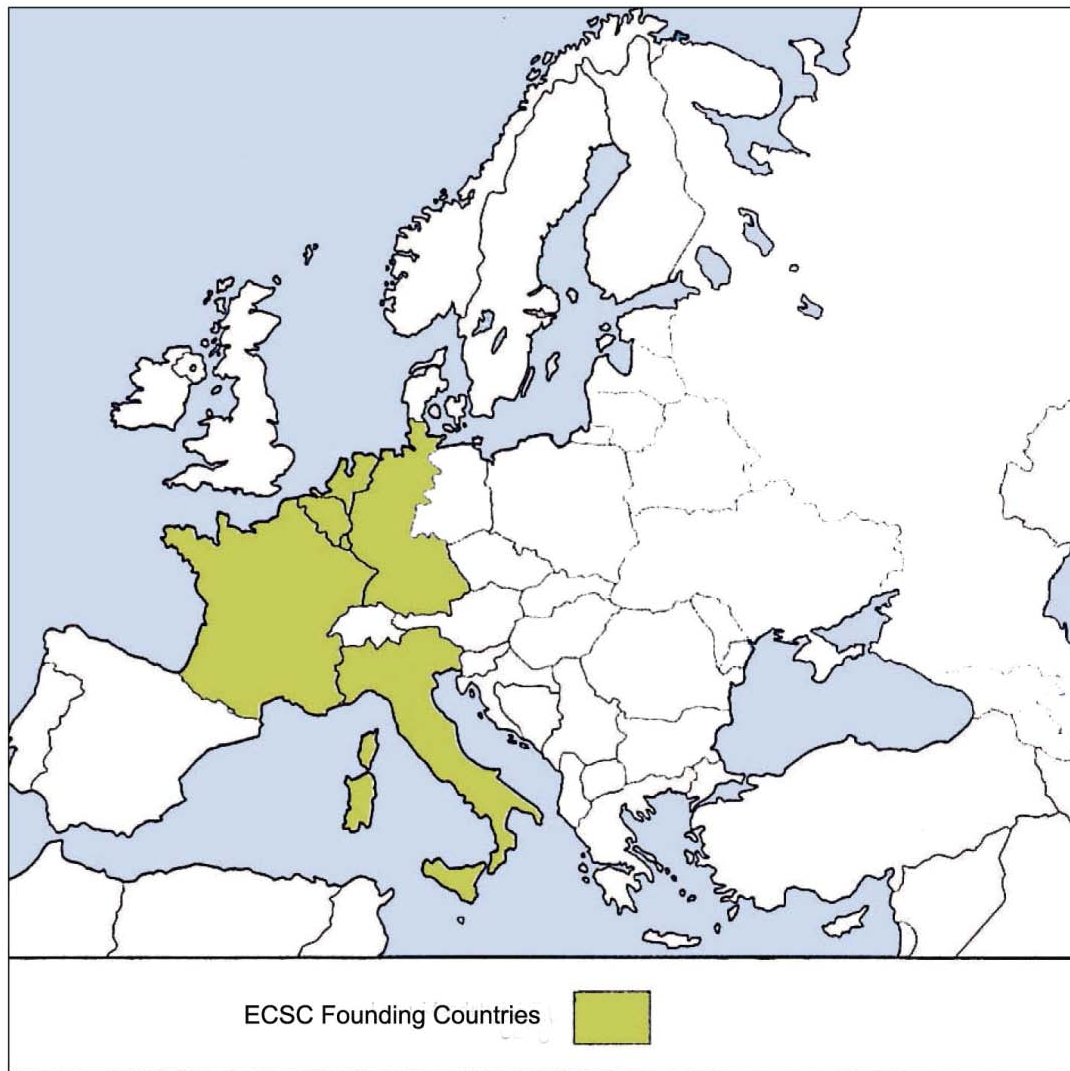
As mentioned in the first chapter, a centuries-old rivalry had existed between France and Germany since the middle ages. From 1500 onwards, the main fracture dividing Europe was between France and the German-speaking territories. German State unity came about in 1871, against France, which paid a military loss and a loss of territories. The rivalry between these two countries was re-proposed with the two World Wars after which the Germany was sized as military power but the French fear towards German nation remained and will reappear in various moments over the last sixty years.

In fact by 1946, when the United States and Great Britain decided to address the German issue in a different manner (since occupied Germany seemed a little less adversarial to the Allies) France had to accept the new approach. When Western leaders began to consider the possibility of bridging Germany with the rest of Europe and it became clear to the French that the path to European Construction wasn't going to pass through London,

¹⁵⁴ Robert Schuman (Luxembourg 1886 – 1963), had Alsace-Lorraine's origin, a battlefield area of the last two European civil wars whose protagonists were France and Germany. Schuman fought in the German army during the First World War. He became a French citizen in 1919 and was elected to Parliament from 1919 to 1940 as member of the Popular Democratic Party; Schuman was a Christian Catholic Democrat. Active in the French Resistance, in 1944 he helped to found the Popular Republican Movement. Elected Prime Minister (1947-1948), he led France to adopt the Marshall Plan and initiated the politics of reconciliation with Germany. He was nominated French Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1948 and 1953 and was among the key supporter of the European integration process. He was also President of the European Movement and President of the European Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg (1958-1960).

France pointed straight towards the establishment of a Franco-German partnership.

Map 21. Founding Countries: European Coal and Steel Community¹⁵⁵ (1952)



¹⁵⁵ France, Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium Luxembourg.

Konrad Adenauer¹⁵⁶, Western Germany's Chancellor, immediately adhered to the Schuman plan. He understood that Germany was being offered an international agreement on equal terms with a winning country and that the success of the Community would also have entailed the end of international controls over German production.

Instead the British Government refused to join. The British Foreign Minister Bevin believed that closer ties with Europe would have deviated Britain from its strong relations with Commonwealth Countries and damaged its bridging role between the USA and Europe. It was the birth of Franco-German axis.

The ECSC Treaty¹⁵⁷ entered into effect on July 25th 1952. The objective of the Community was to create a common coal and steel market in which all member countries would have equal access to the sources of production and where every discriminatory trade measure for coal and steel products would be abolished.

¹⁵⁶ was Christian-Democrat, born in 1876 in North Rhine-Westphalia (Region amalgamated into Prussia only after the Vienna Congress; historically this region tended to snub its nose at the idea of a centralized Germany). He was Mayor of Cologne from 1917 until his removal by the nazis in 1933. At the request of the Allies he returned to his post of Mayor of Cologne in March 1945, but towards the end of the year the British started to distance him from his post once again since they didn't tolerate his excessively independent tendencies. He became Chancellor of Germany at seventy-three years old and had the courage to address a very uncertain State future in a country that had many reasons for doubting its own past. It's said that his strong sense of personal security developed during his years in exile. Adenauer chose to side with the Western world. He was convinced that a powerful Germany smack in the center of Europe was a threat to everyone and to German security itself. He often demonstrated a great analytical capacity for assessing important trends of his period.

¹⁵⁷ Luxembourg was chosen as the headquarters, whereas the Assembly sat in Strasburg. Monnet became the first President of the High Authority.

As opposed to OECD and the Council of Europe, in institutional terms ECSC contained the seedlings of some important federal concepts related to supranational European powers:

- the most decisive role was given to the High Authority, an independent entity from member governments;
- the legislative and judicial acts of the Community had direct effects within the member States;
- majority vote rule for part of the decisions of the Special Council of Ministers;
- direct elections of the Common Assembly (which later become the European Parliament);
- a Court of Justice to ensure compliance of the treaty.

A month after the “Schuman Declaration” the Korean War¹⁵⁸ broke out. The Americans decided to bring the issue of German rearmament back to the table. The French government¹⁵⁹, once more following Monnet’s lead, decided that the best way to prevent the rebirth of German militarism was to create a European army founded on the integration of Germans and French troops and the other member States willing to join. The French proposal led to the creation of the EDC: European Defence Community. The Treaty was signed by the Six ECSC member states on May 27th 1952 in Paris. The Americans approved the project on the condition that the European Army would be subject to the orders of the NATO General Command.

¹⁵⁸ June 1950.

¹⁵⁹ A proposal of the French Minister of Defense, the Pleven Plan was presented in October 1950.

At that very historic moment Italy's Prime Minister De Gasperi, who was particularly influenced¹⁶⁰ by the federalist ideas of Altiero Spinelli, proposed that the EDC project be incorporated into the broader projects of the European Political Community (EPC). De Gasperi believed that Europe had to reach beyond mere functional tasks. He believed that it wouldn't be possible to build a European Army without also creating supranational institutions capable of integrating the foreign and economic policies of the member states. Although Monnet's functionalist methods had a decisive role in European economic integration, it is just as certain that the key role in political integration can be attributed to federalist currents, of which Altiero Spinelli¹⁶¹ was among the most illustrious advocates.

De Gasperi wanted to add a clause to the treaty, article 38, that mandated the EDC Assembly to develop proposals for the creation of an elective assembly and to lead the Community towards a federal or confederal system. It was even decided to accelerate the execution of article 38 and to assign the ECSC Assembly the task of setting the foundations for a European Political Community (EPC). Hence in March 1953 the ECSC Common Assembly approved a project to create a bicameral Parliament with legislative functions and European Executive Council.

EDC Treaty ratification was not completed since the French Parliament botched it on August 30th 1954. Stalin's death and the end of the Korean War were decisive in slowing down the political integration process. In fact we will see how both the impetus and delays in political integration were always rooted in external causes. The failure of the EDC brought the German's into NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in May 1955 and simultaneously was created a military association between

¹⁶⁰ In that period federalist theory also greatly influenced Monnet, Schuman and Spaak.

¹⁶¹ Spinelli's critiques of functionalist methods of integration were two: inefficiencies in the decision-making process and a democracy deficit.

the Six ECSC members and Great Britain: the Western European Union (WEU).

Although, in the mid-1950's, some favourable elements for the European integration were not present anymore: American pressure to pursue integration and the acute phase of the cold war, and having failed the EDC project, started the reconstruction of the German Army (its entry in NATO and the WEU), the European economic integration continued to move ahead thanks to the successful impetus of ECSC.

In June 1955, at the Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Messina (Sicily), it was decided to pursue functional integration but solely at the economic level that would not have created a problem of transferring power to supranational entities, which in the end was the thorn in the side of the botched EDC project.

Based on proposals presented at the Messina Conference¹⁶², in 1957 two new communities were instituted in Rome: the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EUROTOM).

The preamble of the Treaties of Rome of 1957 clearly defined its key objective: "...to establish the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe,... resolved by thus pooling their resources to preserve and strengthen peace and liberty, and calling upon the other peoples of Europe who share their ideal to join in their efforts...". This represents the first political entity in history whose *raison d'être* is to build peace.

¹⁶² The Conference was organized by Jean Monnet, Italy's Minister of Foreign Affairs Gaetano Martino, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Paul Henri Spaak and Beyen, Holland's Minister of Foreign Affairs. Monnet's proposal entailed the expansion of the ECSC mandate to the transport and energy sectors and the creation of a Community for the research and production of atomic energy. Instead, Beyen urged for the creation of a common market and a customs union through a gradual reduction of duties between member states and through the adoption of a common tariff.

Stalin's death and the end of the Korean War helped France bury the EDC project, but the invasion of Hungary and Suez Canal Crisis served to favour integration and the negotiations taking place to establish the two new communities.

In fact, further integration was facilitated by the Soviet military presence in Hungary and from the failed French-British (Israeli backed) military intervention against Egypt, whose leader Nasser was accused of nationalizing the Company managing traffic within the Suez Canal, which prior to nationalization had the majority of French-British capital. The USA didn't back military intervention against Egypt. Hence having found themselves isolated at the international level, France and Britain had to withdraw their troops. The Soviet invasion of Hungary made Europeans understand that if they remained divided they had no influence whatsoever in Eastern Europe and that Soviet hegemony was incontestable.

Whereas the Suez Canal Crisis made both France and Great Britain realize that they were completely unable to manage any global crisis without USA backing. France understood that European integration was the only alternative to the advanced and irreversible decline of the colonial empire. Meanwhile Great Britain decided to create a stronger partnership with the United States.

On November 6th 1956 Adenauer was in Paris on the very day in which Eden and Mollet gave in to American pressure to withdraw Franco-British troops from Egypt. The French Foreign Minister, Christian Pineau, later revealed that Adenauer made the following observation of the events at play: "France and England will never be powers comparable to the United States... Not Germany either. There remains to them only one way of playing a decisive role in the world: that is to unite to make Europe. England is not ripe for it but the affair of Suez will help to prepare..." If he really did say these words Adenauer would have predicted correctly the future.

The Treaty assigned the EEC dual responsibilities: to create a common market and to harmonize economic policies between member States. The common market was to include a customs union and the establishment of a common external tariff as well as the gradual elimination of any obstacle preventing the free circulation of industrial and agricultural products, services, people and capital. Parallel to the provisions to abolish all trade restrictions were also instated measures aimed at overcoming regional, sectorial and social inequalities. These measures led to the creation of the European Investment Bank to assist less developed areas, the European Social Fund for professional development and training, the European Development Fund destined for member State colonies and a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)¹⁶³, which was supposed to be implemented within four years mainly in order to maintain farmers' incomes through guaranteed prices.

At the time the only detailed aspect of the plan was the required timetable for establishing a common market. It was estimated that within twelve¹⁶⁴, maximum fifteen years, all

¹⁶³ Due to a series of problems (the protection of farmer incomes, the decline of agriculture, etc.) the Six in fact developed policies to defend the agricultural economy from international competition and hence were difficult to integrate. The first common policy regulations were agreed upon at the beginning of 1962. These particularly complex measures forecasted free trade and a single price regime by the end of 1969. The PAC system was in fact based on common pricing. In order to guarantee the smooth implementation of such a complex mechanism a new fund was instituted, known as EAGGF (European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund). The first common prices agreed upon in 1964 were much higher than world market prices. In practice the principle of community preference protected internal markets from international competition and from competition within the EEC as well. The two original objectives of PAC, that is to maintain farmers' earnings and guarantee reasonable consumer prices, were highly incompatible and at the end of the day the 1st objective was prioritized. 90% of the EEC's budget was spent on agriculture and decisions on agricultural prices became the most recurrent topic on the agenda.

¹⁶⁴ 1970.

import duties would be abolished and a common import tax would be adopted. Within four year however, every trade barrier between member states was to be eliminated.

The completion of a customs union and a common agricultural market came about in 1968 through the elimination of internal trade duties and the adoption of a common external trade policy. By creating a common market of circa two-hundred million inhabitants the customs union made a great contribution to the economic growth of the Six members. The effect also made positive waves in relations with many non-member European states. In that period Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway decided to make the request to join the EEC. In the “Kennedy Round” of the GATT talks, the negotiations on global trade tariffs with the USA, the Six negotiated together for the 1st time and were a significant voice at the global level.

At the institutional level, the Rome Treaties structured the EEC and EURATOM into four levels and linked the two new communities with the existing one.

A Common Assembly (now Parliamentary Assembly) representing all three Communities was devised. It had advisory role and headquarters in Strasburg. It was planned that Assembly members would first be appointed by national parliaments and later elected through universal suffrage¹⁶⁵. A Court of Justice was common, the same as the Assembly, to all three communities with head office in Luxemburg. A Council of Ministers was set up for every Community. The composition of EEC Council of Ministers would vary depending on the issue to be addressed. Rather than a Higher Authority, as in the case of the ECSC at the higher level a Commission was instated over the EEC and EURATOM. The Commission was independent from national governments and had the exclusive proposing responsibility. While the Council of Ministers represented the

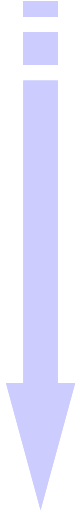
¹⁶⁵ A specific date for implementing universal suffrage was not outlined.

decision making body, where decisions were taken by unanimity. Council legislative acts could have had three forms:

- Regulations, were legislative acts which became immediately enforceable as law in all member states simultaneously;
- Directives, valid for all member States however every State could autonomously determine own methods of transposing directives into national law;
- Decisions, involved only one or some of the member States.

A clear observation worth making is that while the High Authority of the ECSC had independent decision-making powers, in the case of the EEC decision-making process was in the hands of the national governments. Given that every country had veto rights on unanimous decisions, the Treaty provided that after eight years the Council, on certain areas of interest, could have been decided by qualified majority voting. As we will see later on the put in place of this norm will not be possible at the end of the eight years. Walter Hallstein, advisor to Adenauer, was called to the Presidency of the EEC Commission.

IV 6. 1960's: Establishment of the Common Market and a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)

1960's	
	1960 – Instatement of EFTA and OECD.
	1961 – Irland, Denmark and UK ask to open negotiations for admission.
	1962 – Agreements on key CAP guidelines. Norway requests to open negotiations.
	1963 – France vetos admission of Great Britain.
	1964 – The Kennedy round.
	1965 – Merger Treaty and the “Empty Chair Policy”.
	1966 – Luxembourg Compromise.
	1967 - Irland, Denmark, UK and Norway represent their requests.
	1968 – Customs Union completed.
	1969 – Hague Conference.

The first trial of EEC cohesion was seen in Britain's initiative to create a European Free Trade Association for industrial products within all OEEC (Organisation for European Economic Co-operation) countries. The idea was born in 1956, when Great Britain began to fear the potential effects of a common market on its Continental trade. In 1958¹⁶⁶ De Gaulle rejected the British proposal and drowned the project¹⁶⁷. This incident gave momentum to the Community and accelerated the elimination of internal trade barriers and the last remnants of

¹⁶⁶ Having seen its project to create a large area for European Free Trade rejected, Great Britain established, through the Stockholm Convention of January 4th 1960, the EFTA (European Free Trade Association), which was limited to a group of seven countries: Austria, Denmark, Great Britain, Norway, Portugal, Switzerland and Sweden. Finland and Iceland respectively joined in 1960 and 1970.

¹⁶⁷ The failure of the British project also signalled the end of the OEEC, which with the entry of the United States and Canada in 1960 was transformed into the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

customs duties. It also led to fast-tracking the deadline for applying external trade tariffs to third countries to July 1st 1968, almost two years earlier than expected.

As far as institutional developments are concerned, confederalist approach was favoured during this period. The Luxembourg Compromise of 1966 that followed the “Empty Chair Crisis” officially sanctioned the primacy of the Council of Ministers and blocked the passage of the unanimous vote in favour of a majority vote system. In addition direct elections and the strengthened activities of the European Parliament (EP), two missions vigorously pursued by the then President of the EEC Executive Commission Walter Hallstein, failed to come about.

The Communitarian decision-making process soon became a stage of permanent negotiations due to the distribution of decision-making powers. The Commission had the proposing function but it was the Council of Ministers that actually employed the vote of unanimity. The limits that the vote of unanimity posed on decision-making process emerged in the 1960's on strategic issues like the establishment of a Political Union between Community members and the expansion of the EEC. De Gaulle's nationalist politics played a very decisive role in these developments. The General pursued a Confederalist design with utmost dedication, but at the same time decisively favoured economic integration. De Gaulle was convinced that economic integration was essential for recuperating French and European autonomy with respect to USA-USSR bipolarism. Consistent with this approach, in 1963 de Gaulle used his veto to block British entry into the Community. He was concerned that by expanding the Community prior to its completion of the Customs and Agricultural Unions would have hindered deeper integration and would have slowed down Europe's process of emancipation from the United States. At the end of the day not one member State truly backed de Gaulle's idea of emancipating the Community from the United States.

With the ground gained by the confederalists the governments never fully gave up their sovereignty, although in realistic terms they indirectly did so. The governments were obliged by their own Community regulatory processes which in practice reduced the autonomous decision-making power of governments at the national level¹⁶⁸. A 1964 verdict of the Court of Justice de facto confirmed this situation. With the establishment of the EEC the member States have limited, albeit in contained areas, their sovereign rights and have therefore created a system of binding laws for their citizens and themselves. Communitarian law have preeminence over the internal laws of the State and as a consequence supranationalism was implemented by binding the States to respect their own Communitarian regulations.

Another institutional innovation of that period was introduced through the Brussels Treaty of April 8th 1965, which combined the executive bodies of the three Communities into a single institutional structure. The EEC model was utilized, hence European Commission ended up with the mandate of the EEC Commission¹⁶⁹.

When de Gaulle left the scene, a new chapter in the integration and expansion process was begun.

Charles de Gaulle deeply influenced developments in European integration during the decade of his French Presidency (1958-1969). As we have seen, although he was an opponent of the EDC for the sake of national State sovereignty, he nevertheless decided to back European integration for both economic and political reasons. De Gaulle nurtured the ambition of challenging the bipolar axis and restoring France to its prior *grandeur*. In order to achieve this, he believed that Europe had to remain under the strict control of its national governments. De Gaulle believed in the Nation-State and only recognized the

¹⁶⁸ Shared sovereignty would summarize this concept.

¹⁶⁹ Confederal principles prevailed over federalist, which was more visible in the ECSC High Authority.

political legitimacy of international entities that were founded and sanctioned by the member States. His determination gave birth to the concept of the “Europe of states”.

In 1960 de Gaulle proposed a European plan for cooperation between States in the areas of politics, economics, culture and defence. The pillar of the European policy would have been based on a permanent dialogue between the Heads of State and Government Leaders of the Six founding members. In July 1961 the Heads of State met in Bad Godesberg to evaluate de Gaulle’s proposition¹⁷⁰. In October an agreement for the creation of a “Union of States”, known as the Fouchet Plan¹⁷¹, was presented in Paris. The request for modifications of the Plan by some of the State members toughened up de Gaulle’s position. In January 1962 the French President presented a new version of the Fouchet Plan which was also rejected, mostly by Belgium and Holland. Hence eight years after the failure of the EPC another attempt at political integration had flopped. De Gaulle’s stance on Europe’s future relationship with the United States and Great Britain raised the guard of the other member partners. The construction of the Berlin Wall and the British request to join the EEC¹⁷² weighed heavily on negotiations. The construction of the Berlin Wall required strong Western cohesion and the separation of European defence from the United States was seen as inopportune. De Gaulle was not in favour to the Great Britain’s entry into the EEC, whereas many

¹⁷⁰ To obtain the consent of other the countries France had to soften up its plea for greater autonomy from the United States and recognize the correlation between European Integration and the Atlantic defense system.

¹⁷¹ The plan included the establishment of a Council, subject to unanimity decions making process and made up of the Heads of State and Government or of their Foreign Ministers, whose tasks would be coordinated by a permanent Commission composed of government diplomats. In order to complete the foreign policy unification process, a review of the Agreement was planned within three years of entering into effect.

¹⁷² On July 31st 1961, Harold Macmillan asked to open up negotiations with the EEC.

other countries saw British membership as an opportunity to balance off the weight of France within the Community.

Great Britain wanted to join the EEC but it also wanted to obtain derogation for both the CAP¹⁷³ and foreign trade duties, especially on imports from EFTA countries. This position encountered firm resistance from the Six members. CAP was the center of the clash. De Gaulle was afraid that British membership would have spoiled the nature of the common market and the benefits that France had gained up to that point. He suspected that Great Britain would contend France's leadership within the EEC.

On July 4th 1962¹⁷⁴ Kennedy launched the idea of a Euro-American association in the heart of the Western world, which implied the establishment of an equal association between the United States and a politically and economically integrated Europe with joint roles and responsibilities in world affairs. De Gaulle¹⁷⁵ didn't trust the Americans and was determined to proceed in developing French nuclear power. Towards the end of 1962, after having resolved the crisis in Algeria and following the Cuban Missile Crisis¹⁷⁶, de Gaulle felt strong enough to make a point of breaking negotiations for British entry in the EEC. The straw that broke the camel's back was the

¹⁷³ English imports originating from Commonwealth countries were free of import duties.

¹⁷⁴ Without doubt Kennedy's *Grand Design* represents the project embryo of Cosmopolitan Democracy. Whereas day by day the European Union comes closer and closer to actually achieving the aims of that project.

¹⁷⁵ On September 17th 1958 de Gaulle presented Eisenhower and Macmillan a proposal for the creation of a political executive board of the Atlantic Alliance that comprised American, British and French heads of state. Their rejection of his proposal only served to aggravate de Gaulle's mistrust towards the USA and Great Britain.

¹⁷⁶ The Cuban Missile Crisis occurred in October of that year and de Gaulle was upset that the Americans had addressed the Crisis unilaterally and had informed Europeans of the matter only after deeds were done, despite the fact that they knew that the escalation of the Crisis would first and foremost have had direct percussions on Europe.

Kennedy-Macmillan Agreement on the installation of nuclear missiles on British submarines. Although the submarines would have been under NATO command, de Gaulle¹⁷⁷ used the missile agreement as an opportunity to yet again close the door to British membership in the EEC. De Gaulle was a political disciple of Richelieu and surely saw British entry as threat to the dominant role France played within the European Community, both because of London's importance as well as Britain's close ties with the United States. A week later De Gaulle and Adenauer tried to lay down the foundations of a Franco-German Cooperation Treaty but when the Bonn Parliament ratified the Treaty it added a declaration which underlined the importance of cooperation between Europe and the United States; the importance of NATO and further economic integration, including the importance of cooperation with Great Britain. Just afterwards, in October 1963, Adenauer was substituted by Erhard and de Gaulle had to face the path alone. In 1966 he took France out of NATO.

The greatest face-off between de Gaulle and the other five members of the Community occurred in 1965 with the "Empty Chair Crisis", which led to important decisions for the future process of integration.

In March of that same year the Commission had to determine CAP funding regulations and took advantage of the opportunity to propose radical reforms to the Community budget. The clash arose from the problem of allocating its own resources to the EEC, as set out in the Treaties of Rome, and from the fact that the Commission tended to slacken the integration process from the intergovernmental negotiations. To a Gaullists France these ideas were proof of further attempts to decrease the sovereignty of the Nation-States, especially because the Commission was also advocating for the need to hand over greater financial management powers to the European Parliament over the Community budget.

¹⁷⁷ On January 14th 1963, de Gaulle publically refused Kennedy's offer.

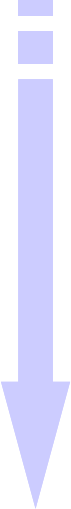
The French reaction was very severe. In July 1965 the French government began to boycott EEC meetings. The situation was aggravated by the eight year deadline¹⁷⁸ originally set out in the Treaties of Rome, which was saying that from that date onwards the Council of Ministers could vote on various communitarian issues by majority rule. France laid out the following conditions for returning to Brussels: the reform of the voting regulation, guarantees on CAP and a reduced role for the Commission.

The “Empty Chair Crisis” was settled on January 1st 1966 through the Luxembourg Compromise, which established that every Commission proposal of particular importance had to first undergo a preliminary review of the national governments. Whereas on the issue of majority rule it was established that if any member country had strong interests at stake on a given issue, then the Council of Ministers was obliged to make every effort possible to reach an agreement that was acceptable to each member state. This agreement opened the road to CAP financing in May 1966. It was decided that up until 1969 the EEC would have serviced its commitments through funds collected from the agricultural import duties and through funds allocated by the member states. The Compromise also ensured that the integration process remained solidly in the hands of the national governments.

In 1967 Great Britain, followed by Ireland, Norway and Denmark, represented the request for EEC membership, but de Gaulle once again vetoed the move. De Gaulle left the scene in 1969. The new French President Georges Pompidou changed the course of French European politics and just a few years later the first move at EEC expansion took place.

¹⁷⁸ January 1st 1966.

IV 7. 1970's: failure of the first Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) Project; Expansion and Direct Elections of the European Parliament (EP)

1970's	
	<p>1970 – Membership negotiations open with Denmark, Ireland, Norway and UK.</p> <p>1972 – New member treaties signed; Paris Summit (Werner Plan).</p> <p>1973 – Denmark, Ireland and Great Britain join the EEC.</p> <p>1974 – Paris Summit (agreement on direct European Parliament election).</p> <p>1975 – The Lome Convention signed; Greece requests admission.</p> <p>1976 – Negotiations open with Greece.</p> <p>1977 – Portugal requests admission.</p> <p>1978 – Spain requests admission.</p> <p>1979 – EMS enters into vigor; first direct European Parliament elections; negotiations open with Spain; new member treaty signed with Greece; second Lome Convention.</p>

De Gaulle's departure from the political scene gave the Community a chance to expand to Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark. Negotiations with Great Britain began in the summer of 1970. In 1972 the first membership agreements were signed and on January 1st 1973 the Community grew from Six to Nine full members. Instead Norway's citizens voted against joining the EEC through a national referendum. This fresh momentum was generated by the change in the French policy thanks to the election of a new French President, Georges Pompidou. His objective was to counterbalance the mounting weight of Willy Brandt's Germany, whose new *Ostpolitik* was less rigid than previous leaders on the issue of German reunification and in recognizing the German Democratic Republic. Brandt also began to transform Germany's economic strength into a solid playing card in the international political scene.

Upon his election Pompidou announced a European Program that led down three important paths:

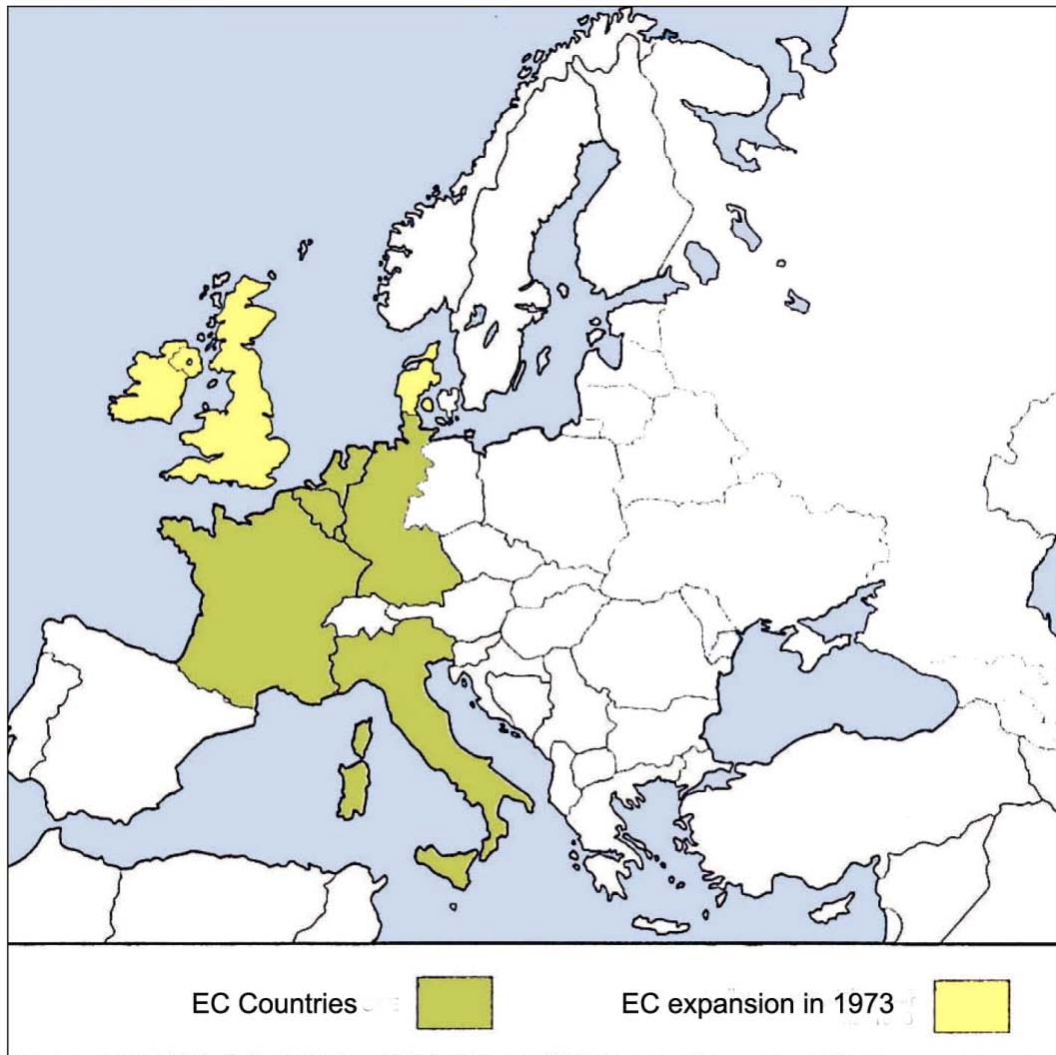
- the completion of the Community formation process;
- the intensification of the integration process; and
- the expansion of the EEC.

Few months later, in December 1969, on his initiative, the Summit Meeting between the Heads of States was held in Hague. The Summit agreed on three important decisions: on the principle of financing the Community with own resources, the beginning of the negotiations with Great Britain and other countries that presented the request to join EU and the commitment to prepare a plan for the Economic and Monetary Union of the EEC countries. The opportunity was taken also to bring back on the table the issue of the Political Union.

In fact Pompidou understood that Adenauer's successors had hindered de Gaulle's ambitions to create a Franco-German axis capable of challenging USA hegemony over Western Europe and that as Germany's economy continued to gain strength, Great Britain's entry into the EEC would have been advantageous for France's need to contain German influence. Willy Brandt changed the Germany's strategic motives of its participation in European integration. Adenauer was linked to the Cold War confrontation and used the EEC and the Franco-German alliance as a protection arm against the USSR, whereas Brandt saw during the USSR and the United States "détente" process¹⁷⁹ an opportunity for EEC to lay down a bridge towards Eastern Europe.

¹⁷⁹ The most important agreements on Strategic Arms Limitations between the USA and the USSR were reached in the 1970's.

Map 22. EEC Expansion to Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark (1973)



Customs trade unification was completed in a period of global economic growth and everything seemed to proceed exceptionally well. Unfortunately the following period coincided with a global economic crisis linked mostly to monetary instability¹⁸⁰ and the energy crisis¹⁸¹. This period of great strain put the integration process to a hard test.

¹⁸⁰ Nixon's decision to devalue the dollar and later suspend its convertibility. The American dollar had weakened during the 1960's due

Since the international monetary system relied on the Bretton Woods Agreement to guarantee its stability, the authors of the Rome Treaties had paid little heed to monetary problems and no one even raised this as an area of concern. Economic crisis have almost always compelled Nations to adopt protectionist strategies and even the Six were tempted by this option, but instead the desire for unification prevailed and at the end of the 1970's important strides were made in the integration process for:

- the establishment of the European Monetary System (EMS)¹⁸²;
- and direct elections of the European Parliament¹⁸³.

The end of monetary stability occurred in August 1971 following President Nixon's decision to suspend the dollar's convertibility into gold. This decision triggered the collapse of the fixed exchange rate system established in the Bretton Woods¹⁸⁴ Agreements. The ceasing of fixed exchange rates system damaged global trade developments overall and reinforced the disparities between strong and weak economies, but the move also put in difficulties the EEC markets. Since it was founded on a unique price system mechanism, the common agricultural market experienced particularly strong distortions. The circulation of goods was hindered by constantly fluctuating exchange rates. This situation helped Europeans understand that monetary unification was a top priority in order to preserve the common market system and that the creation of a European currency would help the Six boost the weight and influence of

to the growing national deficit, inflation and from the increased military spending due to the American War in Vietnam.

¹⁸¹ The Yom Kippur War and the Oil Crisis that followed.

¹⁸² The first step towards monetary integration.

¹⁸³ So much desired by the Federalists.

¹⁸⁴ The international monetary system was based on the Bretton Woods Agreements of 1944. It was the gold-dollar standard system with fixed exchange currency rates expressed in dollars with the fixed rate convertibility of the dollar into gold, as outlined in Chapter 3.

Europe in international trade. The period of instability already began at the end of the 1960's and the trend highlighted the need for greater European unity to ensure an active role in addressing global issues.

European monetary problems were aggravated by the oil crisis of 1973. The crisis was sparked by the fourth Arab-Israeli war, the Yom Kippur War, which caused oil prices to quadruple in a very brief period of time.

The general terms of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) were laid out in Hague during the Conference of the Heads of State and Government of 1969. The plan forecast the timelines needed for the gradual development of a monetary union: which first had to ensure restrictions in the fluctuation margins between currencies as well as the gradual harmonization of national economic policies. In 1962 the EEC Commission had already identified monetary union as a necessary component of the new common market, however the question wasn't actually addressed by the governments until the Hague Conference, when the doubts about the stability of the dollar started. In 1970, the Council of Ministers appointed a task force, headed by Luxembourg's Premier Pierre Werner, to study the problem. In that same year Raymond Barre (French) proposed a three-stage monetary union plan, to be completed by 1980. The plan forecasted the harmonisation of national economic policies and coordinated currency intervention procedures that would lead towards irrevocable exchange rates and towards the establishment of a common currency. On the other hand the Werner Plan forecasted the establishment of a decision-making body for the economic policies, independent from national governments, and of a new communitarian Central Banks system that would have been responsible for monetary policy. The supranational implications of such an approach delayed the actual implementation of the monetary integration project, however the ideas¹⁸⁵ behind the two plans

¹⁸⁵ There was also dissent between the French (monetarism) and German (economics) concepts on the relationship between the harmonisation of

became the basis of the DeLors Plan, which led to the full completion of the European Monetary Union thirty years later.

Due once again to Pompidou's initiative, the first summit of the Nine members took place in Paris in October 1972, even before the new member treaties entered into vigour. The conference set objectives to create an economic and monetary union by 1980 and to establish a European Union. The establishment of a European Union demonstrated the intent to lead European integration well beyond the purely economic sphere.

The international monetary crisis created a tendency towards ever increasing flexibility in currency exchange rates and as a consequence the EEC countries aimed to create a European area of monetary stability. In March 1972 the so-called "currency snake" was founded, wherein participating countries committed to contain fluctuations in exchange rates within a margin of 1.125 %. In addition to the Six, the four new EEC candidates and Sweden adhered to the plan, but almost right afterwards Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark left the system, followed by Italy in February 1973.

The project of the monetary union came to a standstill. The further devaluation of the American dollar in February 1973 created a period of general exchange rate fluctuations and in January 1974 even France was unable to maintain its commitment to the fixed exchange rate.

Between 1974 and 1977, due to the oil shock, significant structural disparities between EEC countries emerged. A sense of helplessness and difficulty took over, to the point that Great

national economic systems and monetary union. The Germans believed that monetary union mostly required the convergence of key economic indicators (inflation, public debt, interest rates, foreign trade), whereas for the French monetary integration was seen as a balancing factor for the economies facing balance sheets problems and exposed to inflationary tensions which in turn implied greater sacrifices to the more stable countries.

Britain's request for renegotiations and the prospect of a referendum didn't allow to view the EEC expansion of 1973 as irreversible, at least up until mid-1975.

The situation changed around 1977 – 1978 when the issue of monetary integration returned to the limelight. The weakness of the dollar and the appreciation of the German mark created the basis for renewed Franco-German harmony. Germany's Chancellor Helmut Schmidt warned of the need to coordinate the European currencies so that the German Mark could share the repercussions of American monetary policy with the other currencies rather than subjecting themselves to excessive rise of their currency. The France's President Valery Giscard d'Estaing wanted to break the inflation-devaluation spiral of the Frank, thus the Franco-German axis led to the EMS¹⁸⁶ (European Monetary System), which was agreed in 1978 and started in March 1979.

Members decided to create an area of monetary stability that could ensure again the efficient implementation of a common market and open the door for resuming the project for the Monetary Union. The mechanism was based on the moderate fluctuation of exchange rates within specific fluctuation margins¹⁸⁷, the possibility of changing exchange rates solely through unanimous resolution of the members, the enactment of a compensation system to sustain troubled currencies and the instatement of the ECU (European Currency Unit).

Just as the common market had given the Six the opportunity to take full advantage of European economic growth in the 1950's and 1960's, the EMS ensured relative monetary stability to all EEC member countries throughout the 1980's.

¹⁸⁶ Eight countries adhered. Great Britain opted out of the plan.

¹⁸⁷ 2.25% for all values except the Italian Lire, which was consented a margin of 6%.

Economic integration was accompanied by two other important developments during the 1970's: the implementation of a common policy for regional development and the Lomé Convention¹⁸⁸ of 1975.

A great step was the decision, already dictated through the EEC Treaty, to pass to the financing of the Communitarian budget with its own resources¹⁸⁹ rather than through national contributions. This decision gave the European Parliament the mandate and power to co-rule¹⁹⁰ on EEC budget together with the Council of Ministers. The budget remained lower than EEC needs but the Community did not have the autonomous power to increase the proceeds.

As we have seen, some progress in achieving monetary union was made through the creation of the EMS, however much less progress was made on the political union front. The Hague Summit of 1969 and the first summit of the Nine members in 1972 had highlighted the problem of political integration and the objective of a European Union, but as we shall see, apart from the 1979 elections of the European Parliament, not much was made.

After the Hague Summit a new embryonic structure for European foreign policy was introduced in 1970. The EPC (European Political Cooperation) was born with the goal of harmonizing EEC foreign policies by regulating foreign ministers' meetings. The new structure lacked the mandate to obtain relevant results that could influence the evolution of the world equilibrium because it did not have binding character.

During the Conference on European Security and Cooperation (CSCE) which began in 1973 and which represents

¹⁸⁸ The Lomé Convention was born of the idea of addressing the North-South development gap and in 1975 forty-six Third World countries (from Africa, the Caribbean, the Pacific Area) participated.

¹⁸⁹ The devolution of 1% of the VAT (Value added tax), duty rights and levies on agricultural imports from third countries.

¹⁹⁰ Not with equal weight.

a peak *détente* moment between East and West in Europe, a unified European voice was able to exert discrete influence in the layout of the Final Act signed in Helsinki in August 1st 1975. Thirty-five countries participated in the summit. Historians credit Europeans with the merit of incorporating Respect for Human Rights into the Act, which in hindsight represents one of the key elements of European change after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The most significant clause of the Helsinki Agreement ends up being the so-called “Basket III”¹⁹¹ on human rights, which was destined to play a very important role during the disintegration of the USSR and the independence of its satellite states. Great merit also goes to the activists behind the human rights movement, without whom progress would have made much slower strides. Western advocates hoped that the human rights articles could impede the repression of USSR dissidents, but at the end of the day it was actually the activists within the Eastern European reform movement that used the Articles as a point of reference in their struggle to free their countries from Soviet domination. In fact Vaclav Havel, Czechoslovakian leader, and Lech Walensa, Poland’s leader, won fame in chronicles of history as freedom fighters who used these very Articles to pursue their cause.

At the Paris Summit held in December 1974¹⁹² Belgium’s Premier Leo Tindemans was mandated to propose methods for

¹⁹¹ The first and second Basket respectively addressed political and economic issues.

¹⁹² The idea that American foreign policy paid little head to European needs rose during Nixon’s Presidency, a period in which the Americans were heavily involved in arms reduction negotiations with the USSR and in opening up diplomatic talks with China. Just a few years later the end of the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandal and the weakness of the dollar encouraged Europeans to seek their own path. The USA reacted by reversing their apparently weak image. They maintained the centrality of the dollar, they opened talks with the Communist world and they were less hit by the oil shock. Jimmy Carter’s election in 1977 revealed a contrast in the political economy visions of the USA and the EEC, which

establishing the European Union. In end, the report, which forecasted the strengthening of Commission responsibilities and indicated the need to develop common foreign and defence policies, was never discussed.

Two other decisions were made at the Paris Summit. The first was that the Conference of the Heads of State and Government would take place on a regular basis and that the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, today known as the European Council, would participate. The first meeting was held in 1975 and since then the most important guideline choices on the integration process have come from the European Council. The second decision was to welcome the principle of direct European Parliamentary elections, as foreseen in the Rome Treaties, but never implemented due to the opposition of Gaullists France.


The first direct European Parliament elections took place in June 1979. The most decisive role was once again played by the Franco-German axis through France's President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Their main idea was to get political parties and public opinion more directly involved in the integration process in order to make the more complex decisions in the integration process possible, as in the case of a common market and Monetary Union. The leaders hoped that direct elections would reinforce supranational networks and gradually form a European Party system. The direct Parliamentary elections didn't lead to an end in national government sovereignty because the powers of the Parliament were very limited, but they were certainly a step forward in building European unity.

The election of the European Parliament was the first historical example of the extension of the right to vote in the international relations arena. It was the first time that the people directly intervened in a political sphere that had always and

in turn persuaded Chancellor Schmidt, who feared the inflationary effects of the American strategy, to push even harder for the EMS project.

exclusively been dominated by the “*raison d’Etat*” and therefore by diplomacy and by the army. The creation of democratic control measures in international relations arena was a great novelty and comes very close to President Wilson’s idea of open diplomacy.

IV 8. 1980’s: From European Parliament project on European Union Treaty to the Single European Act (SEA); from expansion to the Fall of the Berlin Wall

1980’s	
	<p>1981 – Greece joins the Community.</p> <p>1984 – The European Parliament approves the Treaty Project that founds the European Union; second European Parliament elections; Fontainebleau’s European Council; third Lomé Convention.</p> <p>1985 – New Members’ Treaty signed with Spain and Portugal; Commission publishes White Paper on the Completion of the Internal Market; Milan’s European Council approves the White Paper; the European Council of Luxembourg approves SEA principles.</p> <p>1986 – Spain and Portugal join the Community.</p> <p>1987 – Turkey requests membership; SEA enters into vigor.</p> <p>1988 – The European Council of Hannover mandates Jacques Delors to study the path towards Economic and Monetary Union (UEM).</p> <p>1989 – The Delors Report; Austria requests membership; the fall of the Berlin Wall; fourth Lomé Convention; Strasbourg Council.</p>

At the end of the 1970’s the problem of EEC budget financing became a key topic of political debate. Upon her election in 1979 Margaret Thatcher raised the issue of the difference between Great Britain’s financial costs to sustain CAP and the actual benefits attained. The problem had already been raised in 1975 when Britain renegotiated its EEC membership, but Thatcher wanted to change the basics of the

budgeting policy. The debate helped to emerge the structural budgeting problems which led to CAP amendments. The Fontainebleau European Council of 1984 recognized the principle upon which the contribution of each country to the EEC budget would be based on its prosperity levels. The modernisation process allowed huge increases in productivity and to subsequent production surpluses in many agricultural sectors, which in turn created financial difficulties for the EEC. As a result limits were placed on production and maximum production quotas were introduced. In 1988 the European Council decided that during the 1990's the EEC would increase budget entries and reduce the weight of agriculture to about 50% share of the total budget¹⁹³.

In light of the upcoming European Elections some member countries saw the formation of European Party-based Coalitions¹⁹⁴ that developed supranational electoral campaigns programs. Their objective was to reinforce EEC decision-making powers and to champion further integration and expansion. In fact the European Parliament had become the privileged turf of federalist currents; they began a systematic campaign against the anti-democratic and inefficient nature behind the technical-functionalist and intergovernmental management of the EEC.

The aim of relaunching the EEC became a central theme at the beginning of the 1980's. A series of initiatives were taken to relieve the EEC from difficulties caused by: the economic crisis¹⁹⁵, French resistance to Spanish entry into the EEC, the British opposition to its EEC budget commitments and restricted budget.

In fact in November 1981 an Italo-German plan to presented to the European Parliament repropounded the goal of the European Union. The plan insisted on coordination of foreign

¹⁹³ In the 1970's it was 90%.

¹⁹⁴ Socialists, Christian Democrats, Liberal Democrats.

¹⁹⁵ Very intense between 1980-1982 due to the second oil crisis.

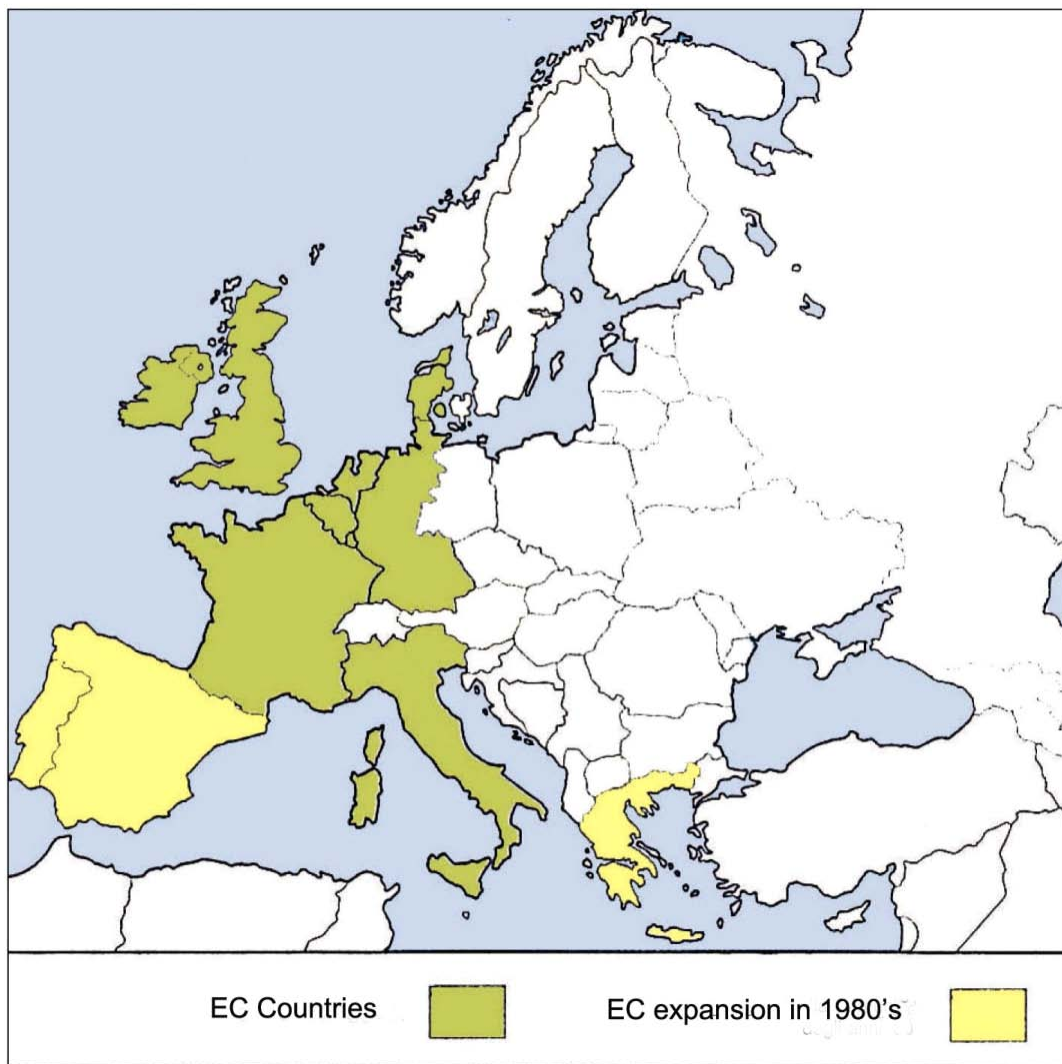
affairs and security, forecasted a start-up date for cooperation in the judicial and cultural fields and advocated for greater decisional authority within the European Parliament and to lessen the rule of unanimity. From this plan a mere solemn Stuttgart Declaration on the European Union was proclaimed in 1983. However the initiative did stimulate the European Parliament to try to bypass the traditional negotiation procedures between member states and to claim a constituent role for itself.

Spinelli was one of the authors behind the challenge and so on February 14th 1984 the European Parliament finally approved a project to revise communitarian treaties, in particular the Treaty establishing the European Union (EUT). The project envisaged an institutional architecture that would have attributed to the European Union a similar character of a State entity: a bicameral parliament was proposed, wherein legislative power would have been shared between the European Parliament and a Council of the Union, made up of national government representatives; the Commission was to become the executive body responding to the European Parliament and European Council would keep the guiding faction. Two distinct operational models were proposed in the socio-economic arena and in foreign affairs and security. For socio-economic arena was proposed a common strategy, wherein the European Union would only play an exclusive role in certain areas of interest respecting the subsidiarity; whereas for foreign affairs and security issues the cooperation between governments would represent *modus operandi*.

The European Parliament of the day failed to receive the full consent of the national governments, but again those ideas will be useful as times mature. The national governments accepted the challenge to relaunch the Community but preferred the route of inter-governmental cooperation. The first real step towards relaunching came about during the Fontainebleau Council of 1984, thanks to the successful resolution of conflicts with Great Britain and the re-opening of negotiations to expand membership to Portugal and Spain.

The EEC had become a pole of attraction and the success of the common market was ever more evident. Proof of this phenomenon can be found in the request for membership of Greece¹⁹⁶, Portugal¹⁹⁷ and Spain, three former dictatorships which opened the door to democracy. Although it took many years to return home to Europa, democracy was again a core value for Europeans.

Map 23. 1980's EEC Expansion (Greece in 1981; Portugal and Spain in 1986).



¹⁹⁶ 1975.

¹⁹⁷ 1977.

Greece joined the EEC in 1981 whereas Spain and Portugal joined in 1986. By joining EEC they all received considerable financial support thanks to CAP contributions and regional development funding. With Spain and Portugal's entry the Community had reached a population of 320 million inhabitants.

The project of the Treaty establishing the European Union (EUT) was welcomed by the majority of EEC countries. Under Mitterrand, France was willing to accept the supranational developments that were to occur under the European Union. By abandoning Spanish ostracism and accepting CAP reforms, Mitterrand successfully consolidated the alliance with Kohl and the Franco-German axis once again put the pressure on Maggie Thatcher. However opposition on the part of Great Britain, Denmark and Greece led to the fall of the proposal's most valuable points and instead an agreement to proceed with Communitarian treaties reform was reached. The EEC reforms became the order of the day. It was decided to form two study committees. The first of which would tackle initiatives to reinforce citizens' sense of belonging, whereas the second was to make recommendations on institutional reforms. The will that emerged from the Fontainebleau Council was to complete the internal market formation process and to pass from the common market to a single market allowing the free movement of capital, services and people.

The compromise led to the Single European Act (SEA), which was prepared by the Inter-governmental Conference in Luxembourg in December 1985 and entered into vigour on July 1st 1987. The main protagonist behind the SEA was Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission.

In 1985 Jacques Delors presented the White Paper wherein he proposed to complete the internal market by 1992 and brought the Dooge Committee¹⁹⁸ proposals on Institutional Reforms back to the negotiating table. In 1972 this Committee

¹⁹⁸ Of 1972

had called for an intergovernmental conference to establish the European Union as a political entity, with the mandate to draft a new Treaty to amend the Rome Treaties. Not all member countries, in particular Margaret Thatcher's government, agreed with the Dooge Committee. The stalemate was overcome at the 1985 European Council meeting in Milan, by forcing the dissenting states to reach a compromise. Bettino Craxi, who chaired the meeting, called the vote on the proposal of organizing an intergovernmental conference to work out a Treaty on a common foreign and security policy and to decide on amendments to the treaties in vigour. Despite the opposition of Thatcher, Denmark's Schluter and Greece's Papandreu, the proposal was passed and actually represents the first time in history that the European Council registered a division between majority and minority. In the end the three minority members participated in the inter-governmental Conference of Luxembourg since the majority had put institutional reforms in second plan to completion of the internal market. The Single European Act (SEA) was signed in February 1986. The name comes from the fact that the provisions relating to the market aspects, Community policies, EEC institutions, and the provisions related to the cooperation on foreign affairs, were all included in a single document.

On the one hand, the SEA set the goal of completing the internal common market within 1992 by eliminating the numerous barriers that still restricted the free circulation of goods and also by realizing totally the free movement of people, capital and services, as stipulated in the original EEC Treaty. On the other hand it established norms for Member State cooperation in foreign affairs and introduced a commitment to coordinate various positions on political and security issues. These elements essentially represent a cautious resumption of the political union debate that had been interrupted back in 1954.

As far as SEA and institutional reforms were concerned, the member states agreed to broaden the decision making areas

on which the Council of Ministers can decide through majority rule. Among these over two-thirds included indispensable measures for the creation of a common internal market. In addition legislative cooperation between the Council and Parliament was introduced and Parliament was requested the opinion conformity so that Community partnership and new membership treaties could enter into vigour. Although the most important decisions related to foreign policy and security issues and macroeconomic policies were left out of the realm of majority rule. Moreover even majority decisions weren't altogether free of the spirit of the Luxembourg compromise, in that every time a country was strongly unfavourable to a decision the rule of unanimity still applied. In fact it is natural that this occurs as long as legislative power remains in the hands of the States and until deeper integration fails to make the grade.

As for majority vote rule, it has been demonstrated that not many democratic countries use majority-based decision-making procedures. In many countries are based on a consensual basis decision making procedures due to their party system, or apply other obligations such as referendum in Switzerland, or veto powers as of the Higher Chamber in federal countries. The principle of majority rule, according to Dahl, can be deemed positive under the following three conditions:

- the political system has a homogeneous political base;
- today's majority has a good chance of becoming tomorrow's majority;
- language, religious and economic security issues are not at risk.

If these conditions are not met then the risk of tyranny of the majority can become particularly strong. Since today's European Union hardly meets any of these criterion then under most circumstances the consensual method is still preferable.

As we have seen the initiative brought forward by the European Parliament with the approval of the EUT didn't lead to political integration but it did help accelerate the process of economic integration and brought the theme of political union back to the table. The positive impact of economic integration was also due to the economic climate since at the time the world economy was going through an expansion cycle.


The goal to eliminate non-tariff related barriers was essentially achieved as established in SEA. Progress was made in the free circulation of services and people. In particular in 1985 the Schengen Agreement was signed with objective to completely abolished any personal controls at intra-communitarian borders. Although not enforced until 1995, the Agreement was first signed by France, Germany, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg, followed by Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Austria, Sweden and Finland.

We can see that as in the case of the common market project, which first surfaced as a mere declaration of intent, even the first project for European Monetary Union first came to life as a similar idea to later transform itself into a true treaty with precise deadlines and obligations which in turn were able to stimulate greater expectations in the people and among politicians, so as stimulating further integration.

With respect to political cooperation the SEA limited itself to formalizing periodic consulting meetings between member states, with whom also the Commission had been associated for some time. A secretariat with headquarters in Brussels was even instated, however no strides towards common foreign and defence policies were made. NATO's decision of 1979 to rearm with missiles the Western Europe in response to the build up of Soviet nuclear arms demonstrates Europe's military reliance on the USA. The end of the 1970's saw renewed tensions between the two superpowers. Although an increase in hostilities had already began by the end of Carter's term, they climaxed with the arrival of Ronald Reagan in 1981. There was little room to

assert an independent European policy. In 1985 Michail Gorbacev's rise as leader of the USSR created more favourable conditions for Europe, however the SEA was already in the process of being born.

IV 9. 1990's: from a Common Market to a Common European Currency and New Expansion.

1990's	
	1990 – Dublin Summit, the move towards Political Union; Cyprus and Malta request entry; German Unification; Phase 1 of EMU.
	1991 – Sweden requests entry; collapse of the USSR; Maastricht European Council; “Europe Agreements” on association with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.
	1992 – Maastricht Treaty on the EU signed; Finland requests membership; crisis within the EMS; Norway requests entry.
	1993 – Membership negotiations open with Austria, Finland and Sweden; TEU enters into vigor; European Council of Copenhagen.
	1994 – Hungary and Poland request entry; Phase 2 of EMU.
	1995 – Austria, Finland and Sweden join the EU; Schengen Agreement enters into vigor; Romania, Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Bulgaria request entry.
	1996 – The Czech Republic and Slovenia request membership.
	1997 – Amsterdam Treaty; Agenda 2000 – for a stronger and larger European Union.
	1999 – Euro currency; Helsinki European Council.

The SEA gave a strong impulse to the integration process, undoubtedly helped along by key international events such as the fall of communism, however it was a relaunch momentum in continuity for the two main reasons. First and foremost, it was confirmed that the pace and the objectives of integration depended on government decisions made at the national level. Secondly, despite the provocation launched by the European

Parliament, joint economic goals once more proved to be the driving force behind integration, rather than institutional reforms or the start of the constituent European phase, as forecasted by the European Parliament. At the end of the day the Delors Commission was the driver of the process run within a limited space designed by the respect of the equilibriums and wishes of various national governments. The establishment of a common market took on a symbolic role within public opinion. It became the key target goal. During this period a series of measures to reinforce the “European Identity”¹⁹⁹ were put in place. These initiatives also impacted countries outside of the European Community, especially across Eastern Europe²⁰⁰.

The collapse of communism affected European Community with great responsibilities. This period of integration is characterized by many important developments:

- the completion of major part of the program that should have brought the Community towards the realization of the common market;
- the Maastricht Treaty²⁰¹ (TEU, founding the European Union) entered into vigour;

¹⁹⁹ Measures: from the recognition of academic titles to the right to professional practice, to the mobility of youth and students, to the inauguration of the European Flag, to the instatement of equal rights and opportunities between State-born citizens and residents of other members states.

²⁰⁰ I remember that the Yugoslavian newspapers used to publish cartoons with 12 stars plus one which represented Yugoslavia. At the time I thought that our future would have been within the European Community. Today I think that if Yugoslavia had made a joint Yugoslavian request to join the Community the war would never have broken out. Tito used to say that living means constructively inserting yourself at the moment you are living and the European option would have been the most constructive choice for the people of Yugoslavia.

²⁰¹ The process began in June 1988 and reached its final completion in November 1993.

- the 1995 expansion²⁰² of the European Union to Austria, Finland and Sweden;
- June 1997 approval of the Amsterdam Treaty, which entered into vigour in May 1999.
- At the beginning of 1998 negotiations opened with 11 new European Union candidates²⁰³.
- the introduction of the Monetary Union, at the start of 1999, within 11 member States²⁰⁴.
- approval of the Treaty of Nice project.
- European Union expansion to 10 new member states²⁰⁵ on May 1st 2004.

The fall of the Berlin Wall symbolized the end of the East-West conflict and of the bipolar equilibrium. The disintegration of the Soviet Block and of the USSR was soon followed by a confusion on the international scene. This international dynamic which combined with the timeline schedule of SEA and pushed the European Union to try to find out the answers to the emptiness that has been created with the new situation, despite being unprepared for the challenge.

As soon as the SEA entered into vigour the Commission put the relaunch of the economic and monetary union (EMU) on the top of its agenda. Jacques Delors once again took the stand to advocate that international circumstances and global

²⁰² For the second time the people of Norway declined EU entry through a national referendum.

²⁰³ Poland, Hungary, The Czech Republic, Slovenia, Estonia, Cyprus, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Latvia and Lithuania.

²⁰⁴ Germany France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Ireland, Austria, Finland.

²⁰⁵ Poland, Hungary, The Czech Republic, Slovenia, Estonia, Cyprus, Malta, Slovakia, Latvia and Lithuania.

competition obliged the to European Union to tackle the question of both: a common European currency and common economic government of the European Union, which had been left aground since the 1970's. As usual Great Britain and Denmark turned a cold shoulder due to the supranational repercussions of the plan, but this time even Germany wanted to postpone it for the fear of losing the Mark²⁰⁶. The 1980's were characterized by efforts to achieve Western European consensus on the principles of monetary stability and public funding reforms.

With these factors at play the Hanover European Council of June 1988 delegated a special committee, chaired by Delors, mandated to develop a project to achieve Monetary Union. A year later the Delors Report laid out the new EMU project²⁰⁷. The key objective was to move towards a common monetary policy through:

- the creation, after various stages, of a common currency²⁰⁸ managed by the European System of Central Banks (ESCB), comprised of the National Central Banks and the European Central Bank²⁰⁹ (ECB), which was directly responsible for European monetary policy;
- strengthened regional policies and the development of macroeconomic policies to ensure economic growth and stability;

²⁰⁶ The monetary stability of the German Mark throughout the postwar period and the great inflationary tendencies experienced between the two World Wars represented the key motivation for the fear of losing a strong currency.

²⁰⁷ It contained various analogies with the Werner Plan proposed in 1970.

²⁰⁸ The introduction of a common currency was desirable target but it was not essential. The essential was the common monetary policy.

²⁰⁹ ECB was based on German Bundesbank model and had its autonomy guaranteed in the article of association act. The autonomy was guaranteed to avoid political interferences and to guaranty the prices stability.

- delegating power to the Council of Ministers, in collaboration with the European Parliament, to modify own resources of the Community; and
- finally, new norms and regulations on both the maximum allowable State deficit and public debt were imposed on member countries.

A new treaty was required since the existing agreements didn't have the legal grounding for such a big undertaking. Different political views were at play in the process: the German government favoured a parallel path towards both economic-monetary and political integration, whereas France and Great Britain opposed this strategy. The great leap of change that broke the stalemate came about thanks to the new policy of the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The political picture that emerged after the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9th 1989 combined with the breakdown of the USSR was similar to the one existing at the beginning of European integration²¹⁰. German reunification forced EU members to reflect about alternatives scenarios prospected with the new situation, in particular for France. France had to choose between: a deeper commitment to European integration, in order to create a bond between Germans new dynamic and the Community, or the prospect of an increase Franco-German tensions and potential fall back into the whirlwinds of nationalism. Mitterrand opted for deeper EU integration and Kohl, understanding the situation, offered full German cooperation.

Soviet hegemony and the communist ideology had altogether stifled nationalist conflicts, however German unification together with the breakdown of the Soviet block

²¹⁰ The postwar reconstruction and rearmament of Germany was of great concern to France.

generated strong instability, uncertainty and the dangerous possibility that nationalist hatred would resurface.

The loss of the international stability inspired the European Community to find a solution to its concerns and to offer a major contribution to a new European and worldwide political order. The opportunity for joining EU and economic aid possibilities helped to overcome the tensions within some Eastern European countries²¹¹, however not all benefited from the changes at play. The decisions came too late for instance to address the Balkan crisis and the lack of an effective joint foreign and security policy became ever more evident. The disintegration of ex-Yugoslavia divided Europeans and the situation was soon out of the control of the Community. Once again the United States commitment and involvement was determined to end the war.

The protagonists and driving force behind the political challenges of this historical period, representing French-German axis, were: French President Mitterrand and German Chancellor Kohl, whose spirit for change resembled that of their counterparts at the beginning of integration. Although their national interests were certainly at stake, the new state of affairs offered them a unique opportunity to influence the course of history. At the European Council meetings in Strasbourg²¹² and Rome²¹³ the EU decided to proceed towards the realization of the Monetary Union, and, at the same time, to integrate this project with the establishment of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and a cooperation agreement in matters of Justice and Internal Affairs.

Two intergovernmental summits to set new Community objectives opened in December 1990, at a time when the international climate became ever more complex with respect to

²¹¹ Eg. The peaceful separation of Czechoslovakia.

²¹² December 1989.

²¹³ December 1990.

the optimism found in 1989. The world economy²¹⁴ was entering the recession cycle, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 led the way towards international military intervention and the disintegration of Yugoslavia with the problem of recognizing Slovenia and Croatia in January 1992 all escorted the founding Treaty on European Union.

The Maastricht Treaty, the founding agreement of the European Union, was signed in February 1992 and, due to the difficulties encountered by some member countries in ratifying the agreement²¹⁵, entered into vigour on November 1st 1993 rather than on January 1st 1993, as originally planned. The negotiations addressed three key themes²¹⁶: economic and monetary union, foreign affairs and defence policies and the institutional assets and the nature of the EU. The European Union was founded on three independent pillars:

1. the three Communities (ECSC, EC²¹⁷ and EURATOM are legal entities; the EU is not legal entity²¹⁸);
2. CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy);
3. intergovernmental cooperation in Internal Affairs and Justice (Justice and Home Affairs – JHA).

²¹⁴ Europe only saw a comeback in 1994.

²¹⁵ Ratification was refused by the Danes through national referendum in June 1992 and was passed following another referendum in May 1993, only after Denmark was excluded from participating in the common currency, defense and European citizenship policies. French ratification merely passed and even Germany and Great Britain needed extra time.

²¹⁶ Other issues were related with cohesion and social policies. A Cohesion Fund was established, under Spanish pressure, to support environmental and infrastructural projects. Another Spanish proposal led to the establishment of European Citizenship.

²¹⁷ The EEC took on the name of the European Community (EC) as soon as its role stretched beyond the economic sphere.

²¹⁸ The Convention, presided by Giscard d'Estaing, whose task was to write the future European Constitution, forecasted EU as a new legal entity.

The first pillar included the most important recommendations for European Monetary Union found in the Delors Report. Let's do a brief review of the various stages of this integration process developed in various phases.

The first stage was achieved by 1990, where the free movement of capital was the most important step. The second phase, based on the instatement of the European Monetary Institute, was to take off on January 1st 1994. The third stage entailed the founding of the European Central Bank and the creation and circulation of a new common currency no later than January 1st 1999. The Community laid out the following five Euro convergence criteria and conditions in order for member states²¹⁹ to participate in the last stage:

- an inflation rate of no more than 1.5% higher than the three lowest inflation member states of the EU;
- the ration of the annual government deficit must not exceed 3% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP);
- the ratio of gross government debt must no exceed 60%²²⁰ of GDP;
- respect for EMS exchange rate band²²¹ for at least two years;
- the nominal long-term interest rate must not be more than 2% higher than in three lowest inflation member states.

²¹⁹ Great Britain and Denmark were given the choice to opt out of Monetary Union.

²²⁰ In this case more weight was given to the commitment to reduce public debt, hence the reason why Italy was allowed to join the Monetary Union despite the fact that it's public debt was greater than 100% of GDP.

²²¹ The currency exchange rate band was 2.25% from their assigned value.

Respecting the Euro convergence criteria was very important. When a country joined the Monetary Union it implied giving up its monetary policy and not indifferent part of its national sovereignty. With the move towards a common currency member states also gave up significant tools to address economic cycle problems and were in fact obliged to resolve problems through structural reforms. For instance not being able to use the exchange rate tool to achieve economic competitiveness through national currency devaluation the member states were obliged to apply structural reforms to maintain competitiveness.

The second pillar, known as the CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy), like the EPC (European Political Community) from which it derives, continues to be regulated by an intergovernmental decision-making process that parallels national foreign affairs and defence structures but with two new elements: the CFSP not only gave member states the opportunity to decide common policies, it also allows joint actions²²². For the first time since the fall of EDC (European Defence Community), CFSP's included also the definition of the common defence policy that could lead towards the establishment of a common defence. Dissent arose between Great Britain, Italy and Holland, who viewed European defence as an integral part of the Atlantic block, and France, Germany and Spain, intent on turning the WEU into the operative arm of an autonomous European defence structure linked to NATO. In 1992 France and Germany founded Eurocorps successfully enlisted Belgium, Luxemburg and Spain into the body. Having said this, Europeans never really made a strong impact during the Gulf War and the Yugoslavian crisis. Europeans failed in the Balkans and American intervention was required to reach the Dayton Agreement.

The third EU pillar was intergovernmental cooperation in matters of justice and internal affairs. Here the most difficult challenges were the establishment of Europol (the European

²²² Even military via the WEU.

Police), the free movement of people throughout the common market and the immigration policy, which was becoming an ever increasing problem for the Community.

The Maastricht Treaty introduced various institutional innovations. In addition to the commitment to transfer national monetary policies to the European Central Bank, the Treaty also established: a co-decision making procedure²²³ between Parliament and Council, the institution of a Citizenship of the Union and the Committee of the Regions. Nevertheless for key decisions there were no further developments with regard to majority vote rules for the Council. The principle of unanimity continued to reign on decisive matters such as: nomination of the European Commission, acceptance of new members and associates, treaty reforms, macroeconomic policies, budget funding increases and cooperation on internal and external security issues.

The monetary unification plan came to a successful conclusion albeit with some difficulties. The beginning of the 1990's coincided with a period of worldwide economic recession and in Europe the German government²²⁴ was making huge economic sacrifices to support reunification. Italy²²⁵ and Great Britain left the EMS in September 1992 and in August 1993 the currency exchange rate band widened to $\pm 15\%$. However thanks to renewed positive economic cycle, the economic convergence made it possible for eleven out of 15 EU

²²³ Compared with the cooperation procedure, this new decision-making structure gave Parliament a much stronger role, in particular *de facto* the Parliament got veto right. The new procedures could have been applied in number of sectors such as the internal market, transeuropean networks, culture, education, public health, the free movement of workers, the freedom to reside within the territory of the Member States.

²²⁴ During this period Germany applied a high interest rate monetary policy to attract capital and to fight the inflationary risks of post-reunification. However this policy put other European countries in difficulty.

²²⁵ Italy rejoined the SME in 1996.

member states²²⁶ to begin the process towards monetary union on January 1st 1999. By 1995 only Germany and Luxemburg satisfied all the requirements of Maastricht whereas Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece didn't satisfy even one. A debate opened up on the question of relieving the strict regulations to jumpstart employment, but Germany opposed any form of revision. The German government feared that as soon as the Monetary Union was launched some countries would lighten up their financial rigor and in order to ensure that this didn't occur the European Councils of Dublin²²⁷ and Amsterdam²²⁸ developed the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) that imposed sanctions on countries that violated the regulations²²⁹.

The disintegration of the USSR and the Soviet Block influenced the integration process and made the European Union very attractive to many Central and Eastern European countries. The 1990's was a decade of when EU opened negotiations with several countries that allowed EU to double its pool of members in less than fifteen years: Austria (1989); Cyprus and Malta (1990); Sweden (1991²³⁰); Finland, Switzerland²³¹ and Norway²³² (1992); Hungary and Poland (1994); Romania, Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Bulgaria (1995); The Czech Republic and Slovenia (1996).

In June 1993, the European Council of Copenhagen put expansion to Eastern European countries on the EU agenda,

²²⁶ Left out were: Great Britain and Denmark (by choice), Sweden (in that it was not an EMS member) and Greece (because it didn't respect the Euro convergence criteria).

²²⁷ December 1996.

²²⁸ June 1997.

²²⁹ With the exception of periods of very grave recession.

²³⁰ European Association Agreements were signed with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland in December 1991.

²³¹ That same year the Swiss voted for the non-ratification of EEA (European Economic Area). The implications of this decision led to the suspension of Switzerland's request for EU membership.

²³² With the national referendum of 1994 the Norwegians rejected to join EU for a second time.

however clear-cut entry conditions were set in terms of respect for human and minority rights, the consolidation of democratic institutions and progress in economic reforms. The Germans²³³ were by far the strongest advocates of expansion, however France adapted itself to the strategy.

During the 1990's, in 1995 to be exact, three new countries - Austria, Sweden and Finland – joined the European Union and the number of member countries increased from twelve to fifteen.

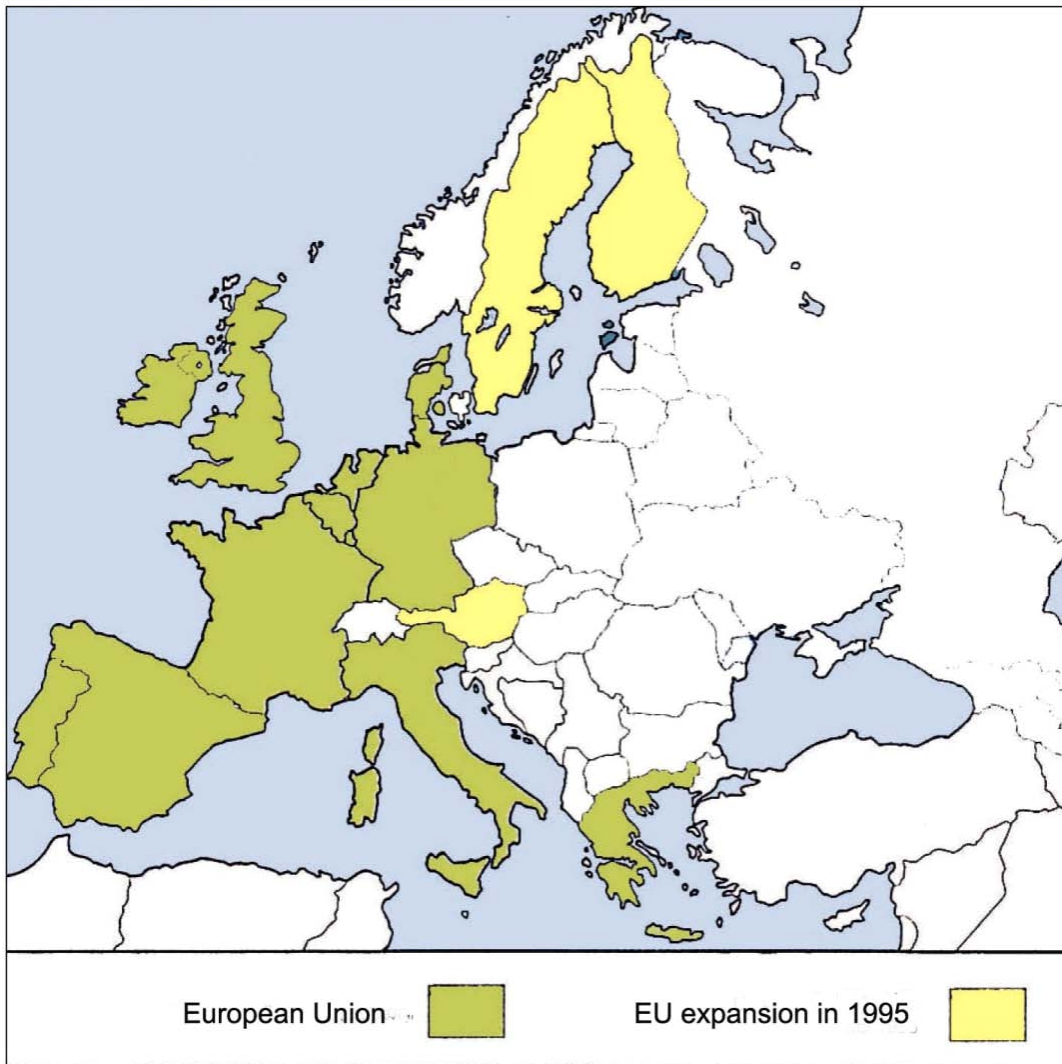
The process of expansion and progress in integration didn't eliminate problems related to foreign affairs and security, the efficacy of economic and social strategies and the development of supranational EU institutions.

European institutions proved themselves to be inadequate in facing the foreign security problems that emerged in the 1990's. The collapse of ex-Yugoslavia made it clear that a united EU front in foreign affairs and security didn't really exist²³⁴. Throughout the Balkan conflict the EU in fact exposed that it was unable to offer substantial contributions to international security and that it still depended greatly on the US Security measures.

²³³ For the geographical reason, Germany counted to be the centre of a larger Europe.

²³⁴ Clamorous European divisions emerged when it came time to recognize the new Republics born from the collapse of ex-Yugoslavia.

Map 24. EU expansion to Austria, Sweden and Finland (1995).



On the socio-economic front, the “Growth, Competitiveness and Employment” Project found in the White Paper and presented by the Delors Commission of 1993 was practically impossible to carry out. The national veto rights could block any decision. Unfortunately the project which main goal was to stimulate economic recovery and equip European industry with the tools for international competition in order to create new jobs and decrease unemployment took place in the middle of a worldwide economic crisis.

Last but not least was the problem of the legitimacy of European Institutions²³⁵. There was a perception that key supranational decisions impacting on the lives of citizens were not made through a democratic, transparent process.

The Amsterdam Treaty, ratified on June 17th 1997 and entering into vigour in May 1999, introduced various innovative developments with respect to the Maastricht Treaty, but it still didn't dig into the political-institutional make-up of the EU. Hence confederal principles continued to be the base for the Union developments.

The Amsterdam Treaty established that the European Parliament had to express its consent in the appointment of the President of the Commission, which continued to be appointed via national government unanimity. European Parliament participation in legislative activities increased²³⁶. The Schengen Agreement²³⁷ on the free movement of people, and a part of the third pillar of the European Union, passed with the Treaty of Amsterdam from the Inter-governmental system to the Communitarian System²³⁸. Moreover it was decided to appoint, in relation with the second pillar on Common Affairs and Security Policy, a Secretary General, Mr. CFSP. Government unanimity was still required for decisions related with the second and third pillar, the appointment of the Commission, fiscal matters, macro-economic policies, treaty reforms and admissions of new EU member and associates.

²³⁵ The problem became evident during the difficult ratification process for the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties and from the resignation, in March 1999, of the Commission chaired by Jacques Santer.

²³⁶ The co-decision making method has become the general standard (the cooperation method was only applied in the context of the EMU).

²³⁷ Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark did not participate in the Schengen Agreement.

²³⁸ Only criminal law and police remained in the Third Pillar.

IV 10. 2000-2005: Expansion to Eastern European Countries

2000 - 2005	
	<p>2000 – European Council of Cologne (Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU); European Council of Lisbon; European Council of Nice.</p> <p>2001 – Nice Treaty.</p> <p>2002 – The Commission recommend positive close of negotiations with the 10 new EU candidates.</p> <p>2003 – The European Parliament approves the entry of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia; 10 new EU members sign Accession Treaty in Athens; Inter-Governmental Conference (IGC) in Rome for the EU Constitutional Treaty.</p> <p>2004 – The Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia join EU; Croatia become candidate for EU entry; signing of the EU Constitutional Treaty in Rome.</p>

The period following the Amsterdam Treaty was characterized by:

- the completion of the European Monetary Union through the birth of the Common Currency, first introduced in January 1999 as a deposit money, which entered into full circulation across 12 member countries²³⁹ at the beginning of 2002;
- the preparation of the European Union and its institutions for the most important expansion of its history; and
- the expansion to 10 new member States on May 1st 2004 and the election of the European Parliament, which represented 25 member countries.

²³⁹ Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain.

In each of the numerous Councils that took place between 1999 and 2004 important elements for the future of the European Union were laid out. During the European Council of Tampere²⁴⁰ a development programme for the “Union of freedom security and justice” was launched and also was defined the practical arrangements for the body mandated to elaborate the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, known as Convention²⁴¹. The Charter of Fundamental Rights is undoubtedly a great step towards the political union of the EU and towards Cosmopolitan Democracy. The Euro was born as a “stateless” currency and anyone who had doubts on the destiny of the European Union made the work of the European Central Bank more difficult. The ECB couldn’t substitute on its own the political authority, hence the Fundamental Human Rights of the European Union represents an important political development within the EU.

The European Council of Cologne²⁴² decided to draw out a EU Charter of Fundamental Rights in order to include all current inalienable rights applied within the member states in a single document and to publicly communicate that integration is mainly a process of establishing a common identity based on commonly shared rules and regulations.

In December 2000, during the European Council of Nice, the Presidents of the European Parliament, the European Council and the Commission solemnly proclaimed the European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights. The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights is also the prologue of the Constitution signed in Rome in October 2004.

²⁴⁰ October 1999.

²⁴¹ Comprised of 62 members divided into four groups as follows: 15 Heads of State or Government representatives of the member countries; 1 Commission representative; 16 members of the European Parliament; 30 members of the National Parliaments.

²⁴² June 2000.

In line with the desire to reinforce the political unity of the European Union, the European Council of Helsinki²⁴³ agreed to create, by 2003, a rapid military reaction force and to extend membership negotiations to all new candidates, with the exception of Turkey. In June 2000 the European Commission's approval of the White Paper, outlined necessary reforms of the Commission itself, and also indicated the EU's need to prepare for and ensure its proper functioning in the post-expansion period. A debate²⁴⁴ on the future of the EU was taking place, but the most urgent challenge was to address the institutional issues of expansion that had been left unresolved in the days of the Amsterdam Treaty. The establishment of a rapid reaction force was a clear signal of the will to relaunch a European security and defence policy, although this change was once again motivated by external factors, that is the eruption of the War of Kosovo in the spring of 1999. This latest crisis once more proved that in a state of emergency the European Union was incapable of intervening autonomously.

The 1999 resignation of the European Commission, under the chairmanship of Jacques Santer²⁴⁵, left Italy's Romano Prodi at the post of guiding the Commission through its historic "pre-expansion" period with the key task of preparing EU institutions for the expansion process. The European Council of Nice²⁴⁶ reached an agreement on a new treaty project, signed on

²⁴³ December 1999.

²⁴⁴ The German Foreign Minister Fisher was in favour of a Federal Europe with National States being in shared sovereignty with the European Federation. The President Chirac was in favour of selected pioneer countries group idea that should have established a political unity by following the intergovernmental cooperation model. Blair was claiming the superior democratic legitimacy of national institutions accepting the intergovernmental and supranational procedures; it was against of making diversities among countries by grouping them in different groups. The position of Italy, expressed by the Prime Minister Giuliano Amato, was to split various powers and responsibilities in a multilevel government system.

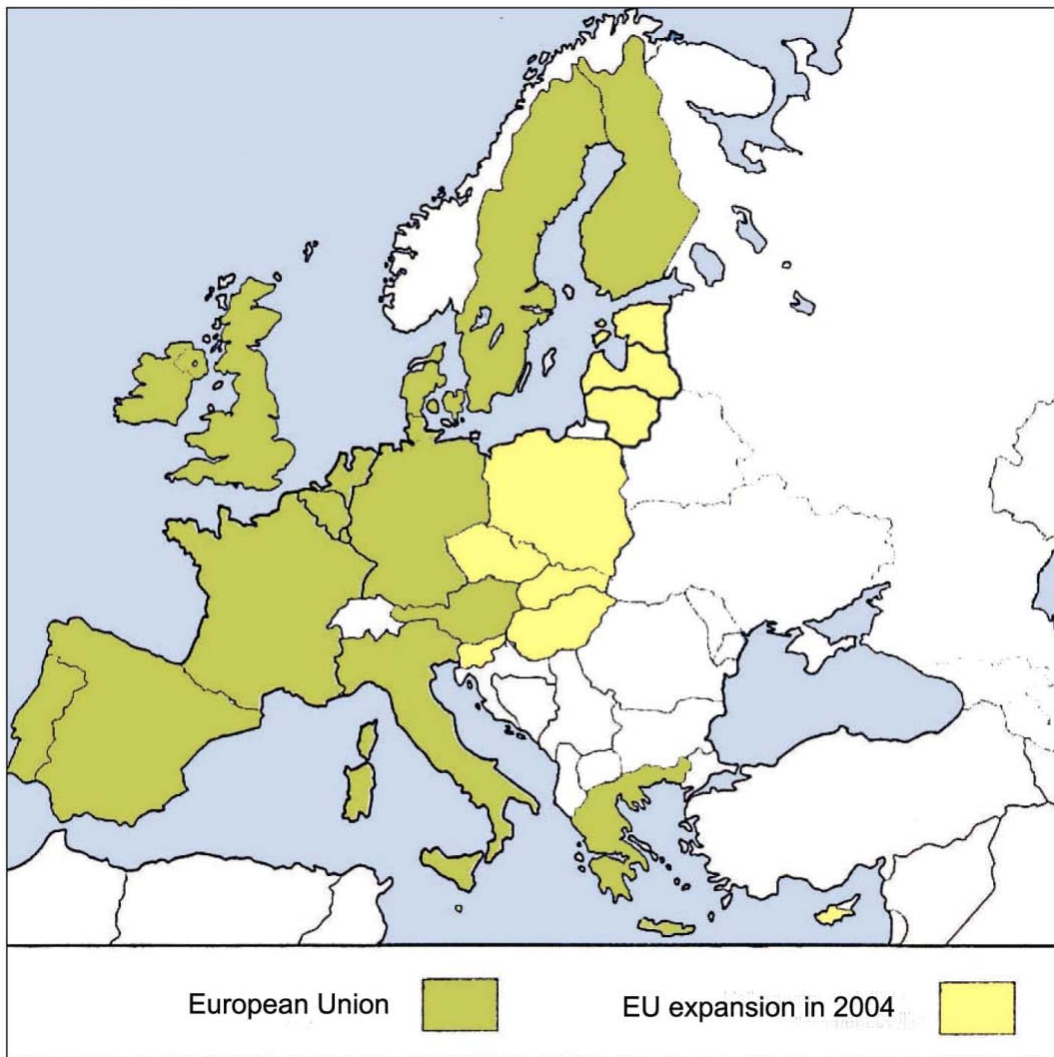
²⁴⁵ Replaced Delors in 1994.

²⁴⁶ December 2000.

February 26th 2001. The most sensitive issue at play was the weight of the single States within the “greater” EU decision-making process. With the demographic increases of its post-reunification period Germany expected to have a greater influence within the EU, whereas France backed the original agreement that gave France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain an equal number of ballots. In end a compromise was reached. The rule of parity was maintained, but was also set that to achieve the new qualified majority of votes the majority of votes (around 74%) had to correspond to at least 62% of the population. This solution made it possible to appease France, tranquilize the smaller countries and even satisfy Germany’s request since the new clause on “majority population rule” gave Germany an advantage in achieving the new established target.

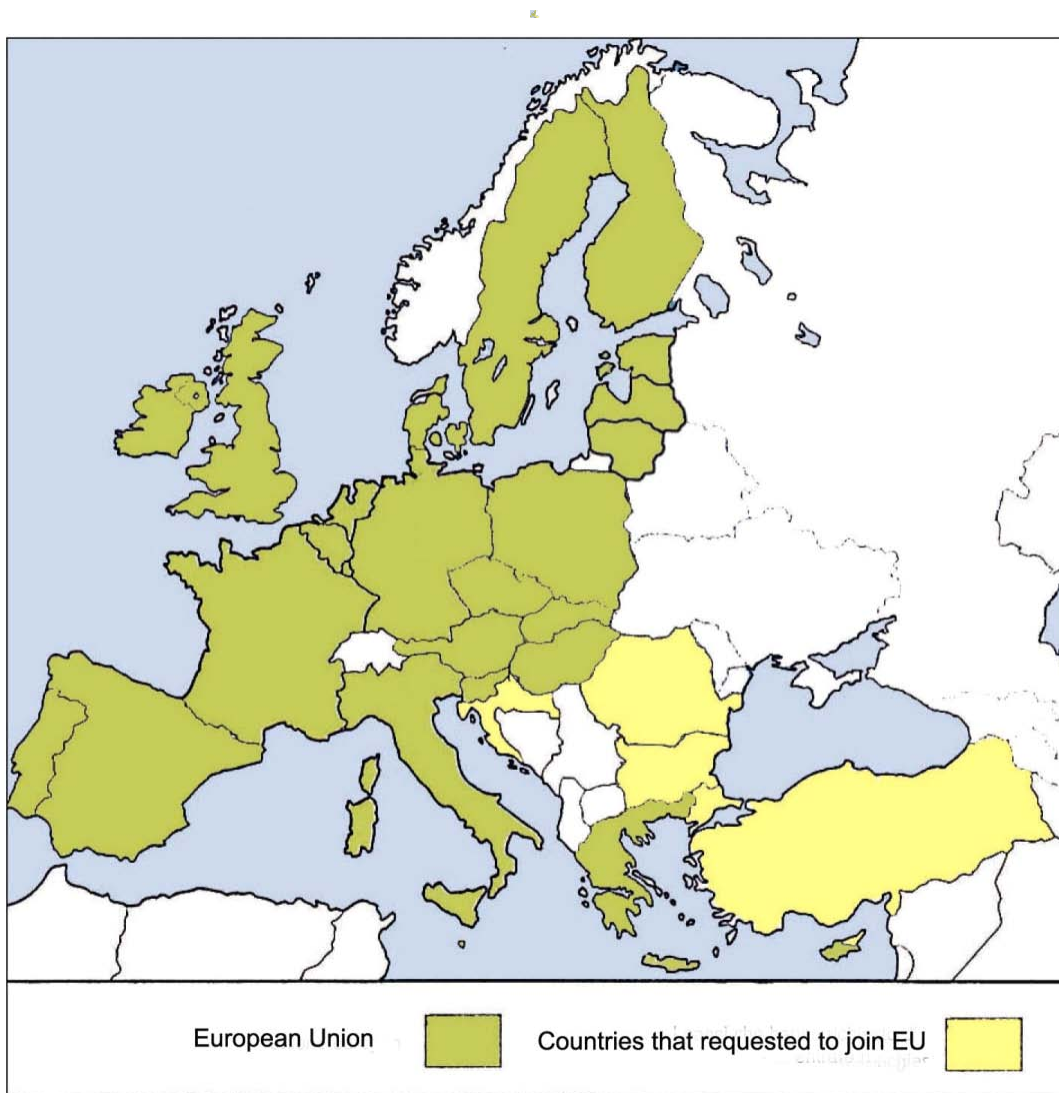
In June 2001 the European Council of Goteborg reached an agreement on EU expansion timelines, however the Irish botched the Treaty of Nice in a national referendum. To get over this roadblock the European Council re-convened in December in Leaken Belgium and adopted a declaration on the future of the Union, which opened the way for important EU reforms. In light also of the future adoption of the European Constitution, the Council convened a largely representative Convention on the future of Europe, also open to new EU candidates, to develop proposals that would ensure greater democracy, transparency and efficiency to the EU government system. Other decisions were adopted which would, on the one hand reinforce Europe’s role on the International scene, particularly in the struggle against terrorism, on the other help draw negotiations with new member countries to a close by 2002, so that they could participate in the European Parliamentary elections of 2004.

Map 25. European Union Expansion in 2004 (from 15 to 25 members).



After the European Parliament's approval²⁴⁷ of the report to accept the membership of Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Republic of Slovakia and Slovenia, in April of that same year a Membership Treaty was signed in Athens between the European Union and candidate countries, which entered into vigour on May 1st 2004.

Map 26. Future EU Candidates.



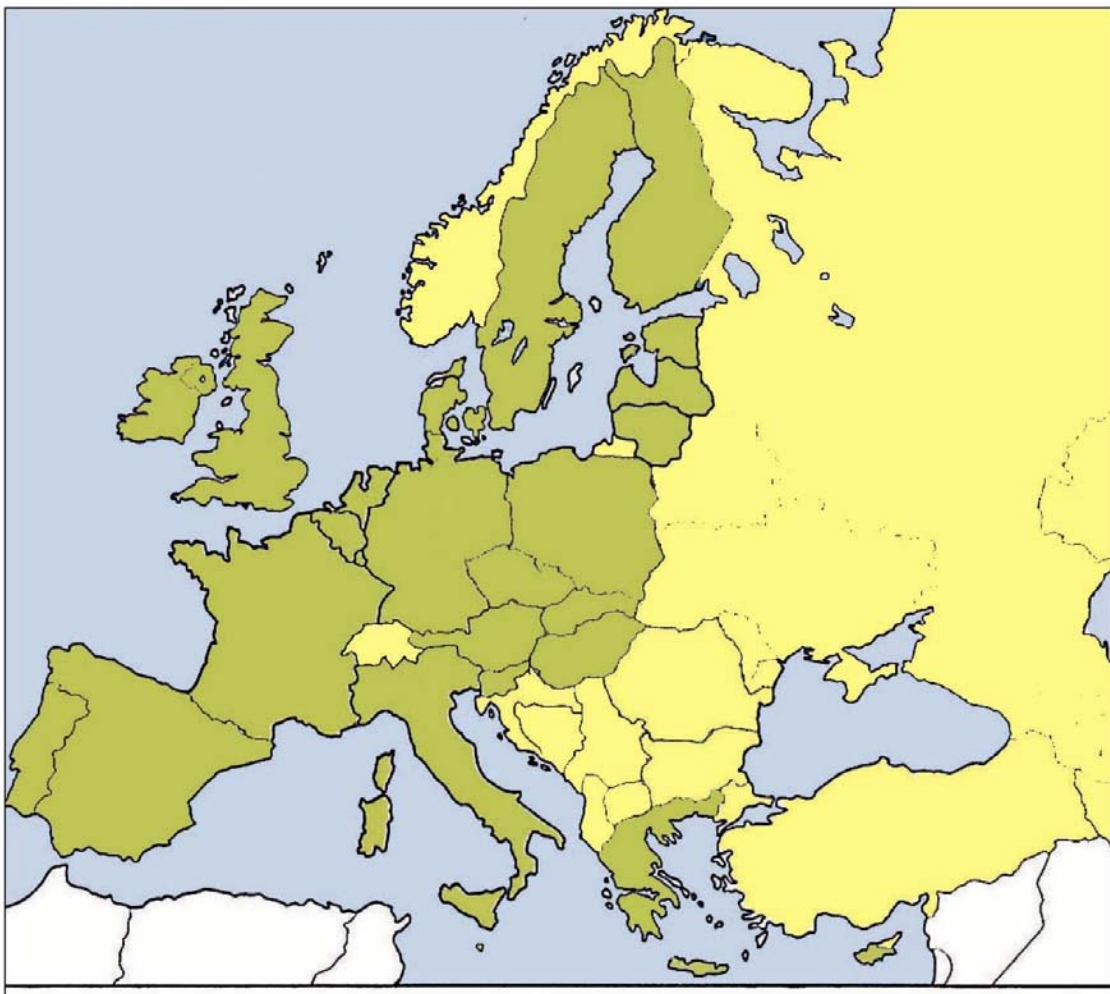
²⁴⁷ March 2003.

Today Europe counts twenty-five member states. On October 29th 2004 the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was signed in Rome.

Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania and Turkey are the candidates to join the Union and if the European Union continues to make the strides it has made up until this day it could become an attraction pole for other European countries and its expansion could heal the wounds that we spoke about in Chapter One.

The hope is that Europe can continue to shrink the boundaries erected by the Nation States (Map 27).

Map 27. EU Expansion (2030-2050).



CHAPTER V

CHAPTER V

THE NATIONALISM PROBLEM ACROSS EUROPE

V 1. *Why is there War ?*

The State, like man, and even worse than man, is capable of becoming a Leviathan's power multiplication in perpetuating violence. Over the last two centuries Nation-States, mostly in the name of nationalism, have been directly responsible for most of our world's war victims. However today many countries throughout the world benefit from two fundamental elements that can help their citizens to control the passions of the State: liberal democracy and civil society.

It is essential to distinguish between a democratic State and an undemocratic or totalitarian State, or also between a civil and non civilized society. This distinction is important to make since it has been proven, in a convincing manner, that liberal democracies with a well-developed civil society do not enter into war with each other²⁴⁸. Therefore in order for violence to break out between two States it is necessary that either both of them, or at least one of the two, are a totalitarian regime.

Today this concept is especially important for European integration. After half of century of peace, Europe is now undergoing important transitions within post-Soviet block countries, be they recent EU members or CIS member states (Commonwealth of Independent States). This country, becoming members of the Council of Europe, are committed to build democratic societies based on European Union values.

²⁴⁸ Source: Rummel

This process should also create the necessary pre-conditions²⁴⁹ for building a civil society.

At the end of the day Communism did fall, as predicted by Kennan, Acheson and Dulles, but unfortunately at the time the world hadn't been infused with Wilsonian values. Instead the world has been infiltrated by an out-of-date but virulent form of nationalism. Fortunately the Council of Europe and the European Union were able to stifle the rebirth of this social disease in many countries. Regrettably, they weren't successful in ex-Yugoslavia.

The majority of Eastern European democracies began their democratization process in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall. Their development was impressionable considering the radical economic and political changes they went through. But in many cases this growth process was shaky and flawed since the worst possible form of nationalism re-emerged on their political scenes. Ideas that for many Western European countries are considered part of the past sadly reappeared in Eastern Europe. However as we shall see a Nation-State that doesn't have room for ethnic minorities is totally outdated in this day and age.

The title of this reflection is "The European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy – An Idea for Peace". Let's try to understand, if and how the European international system can contribute to consolidating democracy in Eastern Europe and, with further expansion, can continue in its goal of establishing peace across the Continent, started with the first Communities of the early 1950's.

In the previous chapter we saw that many attempts have been made to integrate and bring peace to Europe. Europe has invested over half a century to complete the integration process, which is not much time considering the span of human history, but it is indeed a long time if we take into consideration the

²⁴⁹ Key political principles are: respect for human rights, a democratic system and respect for minority rights.

average lifespan of a human being. Soon those who lead the European Union will represent a generation born during peacetime and only the solidity of human values, the strength of the civil society with the help of the memory handed down by people and institutions will allow this precious patrimony to grow and to become everlasting throughout the ages.

We have to admit that Europe still has to fully understand and learn from the three most monstrous episodes of violence in our tainted contemporary history, which sadly represented Europe as the “Absolute Champion” of the violent deaths during the last century:

- the recent holocausts caused by tyrants like Stalin and Hitler;
- the wars, first with Germany followed by the Cold War with the Soviet Union;
- the latest war in ex-Yugoslavia, which can be defined as the late stage form of a worst social disease that has infected Europe for over two centuries. We can only hope that this virus doesn't ever re-explode with the same rampant strength that plagued the Balkans at the beginning of the 1990's.

The atrocities listed above share common characteristics which can be summarized into few well known concepts: the totalitarian regime, the lack of respect of minorities (which is equivalent to believing in the superiority of one nation over other nations or of a religion over other religions), the lack of respect for human rights. We can further reduce the elements behind all three tragedies into one single concept: the loss of civil society.

The questions of Russia and Germany were the greatest challenges facing Europe over the last centuries and probably

still to this day. We mustn't forget that both problems could resurface if the logic of power is rekindled.

These are the two most powerful nations in Europe and these two nations also committed the greatest number of political errors of the 20th century. In certain historical periods these two populations breached the limits of human civility and the numbers in appendix D²⁵⁰ are scientific proof of this fact. But if European civil society can find a way to bond these two nations with the rest of Europe then the greatest problems of European security should be resolved.

Today's European Union is tailor made for Germany and other Western and Central European countries. In the first chapter maps we saw that current European Union borders practically coincide with the confines of the Napoleonic Empire. It is important that Russia²⁵¹ share something more with the rest of Europe. Russia still considers NATO's expansion to Eastern European countries as a threat. A long-term project for peace and EU expansion shouldn't block Russia and the European Union to get closer one to the other, both for political and economic reasons. Russia is rich with primary goods and in considering the energy shortages the world will likely face in the future Russia could share its primary goods with the European Union. Both the OECD and the Council of Europe can act as institutional bridges, able to spread the rules and values on which a civil society is based on, so that in the medium-term should bring Russia ever closer to European civil society. Although it will be a difficult challenge, we hope that terrorism doesn't critically infect the consciousness of the people through political and religious strumentalization, since this could also lead to the temporary slowdown of Cosmopolitan Democracy across Europe.

²⁵⁰ In this list of victims are not included about 50-60 million USSR civilians that died between 1917-1953.

²⁵¹ "I couldn't stop NATO's expansion, but nor could I beat my shoes on the table like Khrushchev", said Boris Yeltsin to Jiang Zemin upon his return from the summit with Bill Clinton in 1997.

Getting back to the original question of “Why is there War?”, in Europe it is clear that nationalist-ethnic conflicts have been the catalyst of wars and to this day are a great cause of concern for the future of Europe. The government instrumentalization of nationalism can easily topple a democratic system. Another very important challenge facing Europe and the whole modern world is the economic welfare and wellbeing²⁵² of people.

In addition to the political difficulties faced by Western societies during a negative economic cycles, a key factor that could negatively impact upon wellbeing is linked to the energy problem. Scientists have revealed that petroleum and natural gas are limited resources and that in not many years we will reach the peak availability of these resources. The challenge of research and development of new fonts of energy will have important geopolitical impact throughout the 21st century. In particular, if hydrogen becomes the key source of energy for the future it could completely change the actual global geopolitical situation. Hydrogen could in fact bring an end to the war on terrorism and help spread Cosmopolitan Democracy. Over the last century economic interdependency and globalization have touched all modern countries and the problem of economic cycles pervades all market and capitalist economies. We have seen that growth cycles bring the world together whereas negative cycles separate people. 1920’s Europe is a classic example of how an economic problem can destroy democratic systems. The energy problem could become very serious for maintaining the current economic status and wellbeing. An economic problem would become political and this could put democratic institutions at risk at the hands of the nationalism from the past. The crisis will likely manifest itself with

²⁵² The financial and industrial crisis in Yugoslavia was one of the principle causes of the war. In general terms, the fall of communism was due to the failure of a State-controlled economy in comparison with the market economy. The planned economy and communism were unable to bridge the historic-cultural and economic gaps between those historically rich countries and communist countries.

nationalism and possibly even together with religious instrumentalization.

Let's start the revision of the first set of problems in relation to European nationalism. We can subdivide the problem into three main types:

- the Multiethnic State: could be defined as a State where different ethnic groups more or less give life to communities of the similar dimensions.
 - Bosnia and Herzegovina represents an extreme case of a Multiethnic State that degenerated into war. In addition to its ethnic problems, in this case economic, historical and religious problems summed all together;
 - Northern Ireland represents a prolonged state of violence rooted in the economic and religious strife between two communities;
 - Belgium represents a *modus vivendi* tense but non-violent between two communities;
 - whereas Switzerland is an example of ultra-democratic stability, so much so that the idea of violence and conflict is inconceivable.
- Ethnophobia: this phenomenon manifests when a nationalist majority becomes aggressive towards an ethnic minority;
- Separatism: this phenomenon usually manifests itself when a well-identified ethnic group seeks independency from the State with which it is associated, but without uniting with another State:

- peaceful separation took place in Czechoslovakia²⁵³ in 1992;
 - in ex-Yugoslavia almost all separatist movements led to war, especially in the areas where ethnic minorities were living;
 - war also broke out in Chechnya;
 - separatism is still the objective of the Basque Country and Corsica.
- Irredentism: occurs when a separatist group tries to unite itself with the same ethnic group in another State. European maps shows strong potential irredentist tendencies, starting with the Albanese communities in Serbia and Macedonia till Russian minorities living in many ex USSR countries.

It's worth understanding why Europe tends to suffer deeply from the problem of nationalism and why this problem has become a break and a limit in relations between European Nation-States.

In the old European political system nationality rights weren't recognized by governments nor were they sought after by the people. Since it put the interests of citizens in first place the concept of nationalism didn't even exist within the liberal

²⁵³ For the case of Czechoslovakia it's interesting to note that in December 1991 the European Union signed Association Agreements (so called "European") with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. This was an extremely important political agreement because it helped determine Czechoslovakia's future within Europe. It didn't make sense to make war. If Yugoslavia had had a similar agreement we likely wouldn't have seen the Balcan tragedy. However Yugoslavian disintegration began much earlier than the disintegration of the USSR and at the time the Yugoslavian countries didn't have any clear ideas about their future. If EU had proposed to Yugoslavia a European future and if a wise Yugoslavian leadership had existed the Balcan tragedy would likely have been avoided.

movement, which developed in direct opposition to the principle of legitimacy throughout the 18th century. Although it sought to destroy the old regime and the divine right of Kings together with inherent inequalities that the old feudal order carried with it, even the French Revolution itself wasn't preoccupied about nationalist principles. Rather the sovereignty and freedom of the people to form a government that was independent from historical political influences was recognized, and this concept of citizen equality was above and beyond any sense of nationality.

Revolutionary doctrine only recognized governments based on the will of the people. Concepts of freedom and equality were indispensable, whereas geographic State boundaries were of secondary importance.

On the contrary, national principles presuppose that the unification of people of the same nationality represent the basis for good government. According to this theory, natural forces at play are responsible for the formation of the State. If at the center of the French Revolution we find the freedom of the individual, nationalism believes in a sort of physiological determinism which establishes clearcut margins of political association, of which language was initially considered to be the most important.

At the end of the day the French Revolution inadvertently gave a sense to the principle of nationality. The condemnation of Louis the 16th and the declaration of the Republic was cancelled the dynasty principle and the legitimacy of State absolutism. Consequently the Revolution shook the political foundations of Old Europe and opened the way for the development of a democratically based society.

The principle of people's sovereignty implied an internal solidarity within the population that could be compared to a house. With the exception of France and England, most countries of that period hadn't yet built a house in which they could exert their sovereignty. In order to build this house and

administer it democratically they had to found it on the basis of nationality. This situation sped up the victory of national principles and the Nation-State.

Napoleon spread revolutionary ideas that were very hostile towards the sentiments of individual populations. These populations reacted by allying themselves with the old monarchies against the Revolution. This way the old dynasties, in the name of nationality, instigated a counter-revolution with the people at their side. They openly declared that Napoleon's government was a grotesque form of absolute democracy that denied national freedom and violated the rights of the people. To the nationalists Napoleon violated what the people held most dear: religious faith and national independence.

In fact after Napoleon's fall the Congress of Vienna established the following goals:

- to rebuild the moral order;
- to regenerate the European political system;
- to found lasting peace;
- to establish an international tribunal;
- to encourage the development of representative institutions;
- to reach an agreement for gradual disarmament between the Powers.

The allies proclaimed that from the Congress onwards the nations will respect each other independence. They also stated that the purpose of the war and the peace was to guarantee the rights, liberties and independence of every nation.

The concept of a "Confederation of Europe" was also born at the time of the Congress of Vienna. The Confederation hoped to establish an international tribunal of the Holy Alliance based on sacred principles of the Christian Faith. Had it been founded

however, this tribunal would have become an assembly of absolute monarchies which, by exploiting the people's need for peace and stability, would have governed against the interests of the people themselves.

The principle of "non-intervention" sentenced to death the idea of the Holy Alliance. However, the Holy Alliance became an obstacle to freedom since it was founded on acquired interests that were hostile to democracy.

Some historians argue that nationalist ideas represent the transition phase between absolute monarchy and liberal democracy. We can even see that nationalism appeared on the scene as a reaction against the unifying craze of absolute monarchy and was supposed to act as a bridge to achieve the ideal of freedom and liberty.

Instead things went a bit differently. Zimmern describes the two extreme outcomes that these ideas, both revolutionary, generated: "Modern Germany is an example of nationalism "gone wrong," just as Napoleon was an example of democratic individualism "gone wrong." The Man of Destiny has been followed by the Nation of Destiny, the "super-man" by the "super-nation."".

This quote shows how nationality has nothing to do with liberty and unfortunately in our contemporary history the case of ex-Yugoslavia should teach us that the social disease called nationalism can become highly contagious and destroy civil society.

Again from the past we can learn how at the time the concept of nationalism was seen in the period when it represented only a concept of analysis in Europe. Lord Acton's reflections on the matter are worth quoting: "The greatest adversary of the right of nationality is the modern theory of nationality. By making the State and the nation commensurate with each other²⁵⁴ in theory, it reduces practically to a subject

²⁵⁴ Nation-State.

condition all other nationalities that may be within the boundary. It cannot admit them to an equality with the ruling nation which constitutes the State, because the State would then cease to be national, which would be a contradiction of the principle of its existence”.

These observations led to an important conclusion that has proven to be true throughout contemporary history: until Nation-States continue to exist in their current form and understanding, wars will never come to an end. If we accept the hypothesis that all States are founded on the basis of their national borders and that this constitutes the most natural form of the State, then we can only conclude that no State can change its territorial borders nor give up its sovereign rights. Hence any threat to change its territory or sovereign rights would lead Nations to a new state of war.

People’s material needs don’t coincide with nationality and this is mostly true today in the era of economic integration at the regional level and in part at the global level. In some parts of Europe diverse nationalities are so fragmented that it absolutely makes no sense to live under separate governments.

These brief passages on national theory reveal how during the period of crisis and disintegration some Yugoslavian leaders still believed in the theory of nationality.

Can nationality become a means of achieving freedom for a population ? We could even answer yes, but this can’t become an end in and of itself. Throughout history nationalism has repeatedly led people into horrible conflicts by nourishing hatred towards an “ethnic” adversary but, as we well know, one can’t live long off of hate alone. Sooner or later the people rise up.

Nationalism that manifests itself as jealousy over national autonomy, pride and sense of supremacy that every nation believe to have over the other nations and the desire to create a

nation with a body that is independent from all the others has been at the root of many conflicts in recent world history.

After this historical overview of the European roots of nationalism lets try to see where problems continue to exist and also the causes behind some of today's most acute problems.

V 2. Critical European Areas: the Ethnic Factor

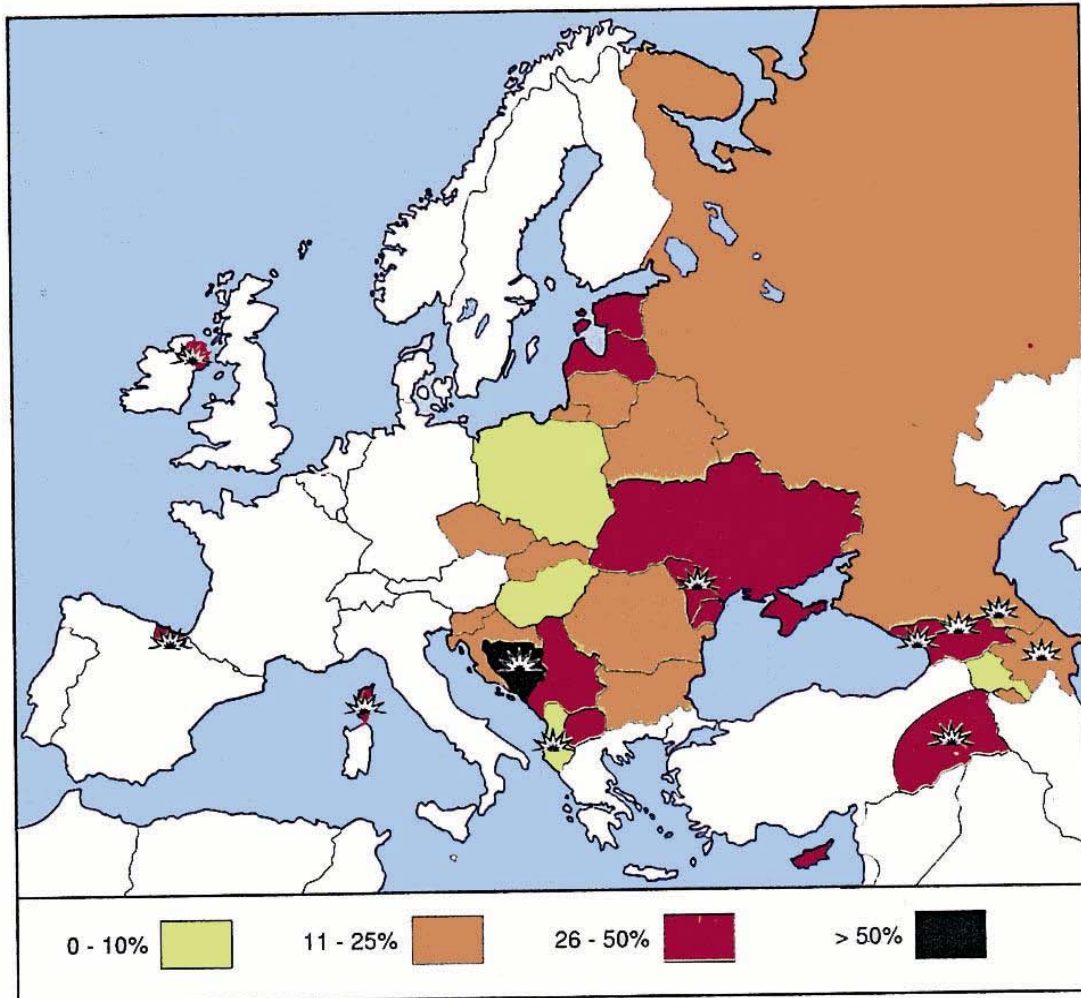
To analyse the critical areas can start by identifying four key areas of interest:

- Western Europe;
- Central and Eastern Europe;
- Balkan Countries;
- European countries members of the **CIS**.

V 2.1. Western Europe

In Western Europe we can affirm that the European Union has greatly contributed to the reconciliation of countries that historically have fought many wars against each other. As shown in the Chapter on Europe's historical and cultural integration, efforts to reconcile the north-west and south-west of Europe have taken centuries and it is only thanks to the European Union model that today key areas of conflict, with the exception of some peripheral areas that continue to be problematic, have achieved a satisfactory level of peace.

Map 28. European Minorities. Ethic Minorities in Central and Eastern Europe (as a % of the total population) or regions characterized by violent separatist tendencies in other European countries.



The three Western European areas where efforts to pacify separatist violence continue to be ineffective are:

- Northern Ireland;
- The Basque Countries in Spain;
- Corsica.

To this we can add a long list of regional questions such as:

- Belgian federalism;
- Italian federalism;
- Catalanian autonomy and Spanish claims over Gibraltar;
- the creation of Parliamentary Assemblies in Scotland and Wales.

At any rate, these regional problems have all been addressed within the democratic parameters of European civil society and exemplify to other areas of conflict that democratic methods are the best means of achieving peace. The growth of European institutions and moving beyond the concept of the modern State should give better answers to regional problems. Split of sovereignty across more levels, in order to guarantee greater effectiveness and efficiency to the citizens, and the good government at the regional level should increase the administrative powers of the regions in various areas of their political responsibilities.

For example, currently Europe's four economic engines are the Regions of Lombardy, Catalonia, Baden-Württemberg and Rhône-Alpes. These regions are all united by well-consolidated economic, political and social networks that give little weight to national political boundaries. Over two-hundred European regions are officially represented in Brussels and all have direct access to each other, to the member States and to the central administrative apparatus. These multilevel networks help to relieve internal tensions that could develop within a Nation-State.

In many Central and Eastern European cases ethnic minorities represent over 5% of the total State population. If we consider the limit of 5% of ethnic minority in a State, in Table 1 we find listed over 20 potentially problematic situations.

The European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy

Table 5.1. Minority Groups in Central and Eastern Europe²⁵⁵

Country	Minority Group - Relations		Total Minorities	% of Total Population
<i>EU Member Countries as of 2004</i>				
Czech Republic (1991)	Moravian	A	1,356,000	13.2
Slovakia (1991)	Hungarian	A	567,000	10.8
Estonia (1989)	Russian	A	475,000	30.3
Latvia (1989)	Russian	A	906,000	34.0
Lithuania (1989)	Russian	A	344,000	9.4
	Polish	A	258,000	7.0
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>				
<i>EU Candidate Countries</i>				
Bulgaria (1992)	Turkish	B	800,000	9.4
Romania (1992)	Hungarian	B	1,620,000	7.1
Croatia (1991)	Serbian	B	582,000	12.2
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>				
<i>Ex-Yugoslavian Countries</i>				
Macedonia (1994)	Albanian	B	479,000	23.1
Serbia-Montenegro (1991)	Albanian	B	1,687,000	17.2
Bosnia-Herzegovina (1991)	Muslim	B	1,906,000	43.7
	Serbian	B	1,369,000	31.4
	Croatian	B	756,000	17.3
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>				
<i>CIS Member Countries</i>				
Russia (1989)	Tatars	B	5,543,000	3.8
	Chechen	C	899,000	0.6
Ukraine (1989)	Russian	B	11,356,000	22.1
Belarus (1989)	Russian	A	1,342,000	13.3
Moldavia (1989)	Ukrainian	A	600,000	13.8
	Russian	B	562,000	12.9
Georgia (1989)	Armenian	A	437,000	8.1
	Russian	A	341,000	6.3
	Azerbaijani	A	308,000	5.7
Azerbaijan (1989)	Russian	A	392,000	5.6
	Armenian	C	391,000	5.6

Legend: The relational indicators are based on the US State Department Report 2004: A = normal; B = tensions; C = conflict

Source: Appendix C

²⁵⁵ Only minority groups representing over 5% of the total country population have been considered here, with the exception of Russia, where two key minority groups currently face grave problems due to conflict.

To evaluate the potential for conflict within a minority group situation, it is important to evaluate a mix of variables. It is important to assess if:

- the minority group is concentrated in a single area;
- the minority group is dispersed across the country;
- the minority group is associated with another irredentist State;
- the minority group is isolated.

The above conditions can generate different levels of conflict. Obviously the most dangerous situation occurs when a minority group is concentrated near the borders of an irredentist State.

Two presence of other key factors could greatly influence a breakout of conflict:

- economic difficulties;
- an undemocratic political regime or young and weak democratic institutions.

A typical sample mix of all these factors is found in the case of ex-Yugoslavia, where political leaders fired up the spirit of the people to the point of transforming it into nationalist fanaticism. After which, these same leaders became political hostages of their own doing since they were unable to control the dangerous process they themselves had ignited. If they had taken a back step at that stage they would have caused their very own political downfall.

Ethnographers have identified over two-thousand different ethnic groups around the world and, given that just over 190 Nation-states are recognized by international law, the large majority of these groups live as a minority within a country, or

as refugees looking for a place to live peacefully. Respect for minorities is a key founding principle of the European Union which could serve also as rolemodel in other parts of the world.

The most recent EU member countries are a beautiful example of how the strategic alliance between the Council of Europe and the European Union can influence the development of democratic institutions and spread those core values that are the heart of civil society and Cosmopolitan Democracy.

Over the last ten years many minority groups have faced major problems as a result of a hasty democratization process within their countries. The entrance of the latest EU members first in the Council of Europe and later on in EU were the very ones to impose upon themselves and become aware of important cultural values like respect for minorities and human rights. We can only hope that this becomes an integral facet of culture of all the new EU member countries.

Let's try to look back at how were torn apart by nationalisms many Central and Eastern European countries during the 20th century. Countries which today are full EU members that have committed themselves to binding agreements to respect both minorities and human rights.

V 2.2. Central and Eastern Europe

We have already seen that the crisis facing the Ottoman Empire in the early 1900's helped increase both the Austrian and Russian Empire's thirst for expansion. In 1903 Vienna made sure that public order in Turkey must be secured by an international police force and in 1908 Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been under its fiduciary administration since 1878. These events caused a nationalist fervour to explode in the area, which spread from the Baltics all the way to the Mediterranean.

The first community to get caught up in a nationalist zeal were the Turks, who through the Young Turk Revolution took over the government and created conflicts with all the nationalities within the Empire. The Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 caused further political fragmentation in the area and helped plant the idea of the nation as an ethnically pure entity, a fact that made it impossible to outline political borders.

The start of the First World War stimulated nationalism to spread its tentacles across all of Western Europe. The defeat of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires caused war to break out throughout the area, whose borders were in fact redefined twice in less than two years.

The first time, at the beginning of 1918, Imperial Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire backed the Polish State and the independence of Lithuania, Finland and The Ukraine. The defeat of the Central Empires and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire sped up the further dissection of Europe's geopolitical space.

During the second part of the war the aspirations for independence among Eastern European and Balkan populations were encouraged by the European powers of the Triple Entente²⁵⁶ and the United States²⁵⁷, as well as by events following the Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution was viewed as a source of terror among Eastern European political Conservatives, who were convinced that the nationalist solution was the best way to fight off the advance of communism.

Ethnic hate muddled itself into the diplomatic race that took place between those who tried to create a security cushion along the future USSR borders and those who would have preferred to defend the return of unity of the ex-Russian Empire.

²⁵⁶ In 1918 Italy organized a Conference in Rome in order to favour the birth of Yugoslavia and create a common front between Serbians, Croats and Slovenians.

²⁵⁷ As we have seen in Wilson's 14 points there was also the self-determination principle.

The most blatant case of this phenomenon is Poland, which was formed through the unification of ex-Prussian, ex-Hapsburg and ex-Czarist factions. It was not hard to define Poland's borders with Germany and the newly formed Czechoslovakia. However the situation in the East was much more precarious. Driven by strong national ambitions, anti-Russian hatred and the will to build an anti-Soviet security barrier, the Poles tried to annex large territories in Belarus and The Ukraine²⁵⁸. However Polish efforts to expand to the East and the Soviet objective to bring its Revolution to Central Europe were hampered by the positive response of local populations to the nationalist cause raised by their native *elites*. In fact an ethnocentric political "stability" had developed across Eastern Europe, which in the end proved to be totally unstable. The ethnic mix that had formed over centuries of migration made it impossible to create ethnically pure States. Polish-Soviet border agreements in fact left millions of Russians and Lithuanians within the new Polish State, which justified their sense of insecurity in Warsaw in the years to follow (map 29).

Similar problems emerged in defining new borders between: Hungary and Romania²⁵⁹; Germany and Czechoslovakia²⁶⁰; Hungary and Czechoslovakia²⁶¹; Bulgaria and Romania²⁶²; Turkey and Bulgaria²⁶³; Yugoslavia and Italy²⁶⁴; Albania and Yugoslavia²⁶⁵, etc.

²⁵⁸ The plan even included a Ukranian-Polish Confederation that would have ranged all the way from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea.

²⁵⁹ Romania incorporated a Hungarian minority made up of millions of people.

²⁶⁰ Millions of Germans Sudeten remained in Czechoslovakia.

²⁶¹ Thousands of Hungarians stayed in Czechoslovakia.

²⁶² An important Burgarian minority remained in Romanian territory.

²⁶³ Bulgaria kept an important Turkish minority in its territory.

²⁶⁴ Italy incorporated a Croatian-Slovenian minority group within its new borders.

²⁶⁵ Yugoslavia inherited the Albanian minority in Kosovo.

Map 29. Europe after World War I (1914-1918).



A similar process, in part of much greater cruelty towards the minority groups, also took place along territories bordering the old Turkish Empire. Armenians were massacred without pity when Turkey and the USSR split up their territory. The Kurds were divided up between Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran. The first organized act of ethnic cleansing took place during the war of 1920-1922 between Turkey's Kemal Ataturk and Greece. 430,000 Turks and 1,350,000 Greeks were forced to move.

After achieving independence, the new Central European States, ruled by Constitutional Monarchies or weak democracies, had to come to terms with problems of governability. The adopted solution was an alliance between Constitutional-Democratic leaders and intellectual groups that pushed for the National-ethnic arrogance. In that period the young were indoctrinated with a strange mix of ethical values jumbled with racism, anti-Semitism and repulsion towards

anyone who was different. This is one of main reasons why in the period between the two World Wars autarchical regimes easily won over democratic ones. The greatest price was paid by the ethnic minorities living under these new regimes.

The above conditions and the disappointment faced by some countries in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 favoured the rise of revisionist movements against the peace treaty. Italy, Austria, Hungary, Albania and Bulgaria wanted to change the conditions that were set after World War I. Hitler gave them the opportunity they were looking for. Through Nazism, the German nationalism, which also bred racist, Arian and anti-Semitic ideologies, the nationalist virus exploded across Germany and hit the rest of Europe. As seen in chapter one, these ideas were already ingrained in 19th century European culture. Many Central European and Balkan States followed the ideological lead of Nazism and there was also a great deal of fertile ground in Eastern Europe as well. Hence Nazism offered short term gains to many other countries aside from Germany. In fact at the time almost all countries felt authorized to redefine their own political borders under the guise of the people's self-determination.

Germany began to revise its own borders with the *Anschluss* of Austria in 1936. Later Germany incorporated the Sudeten of Czechoslovakia and Bohemia. This situation provoked a domino effect of similar demands from other countries.

Poland was able to take over the district of Teschen. Hungary successfully took over an area of Hungarian ethnic majority from Western Slovakia and in March 1939 even Rutenia²⁶⁶ was occupied.

The wave of re-arrangements from mid-1930's were a prelude to the breakdown of Poland. Poland was a multi-

²⁶⁶ Was part of Czechoslovakia.

ethnic²⁶⁷ state and this presented a huge problem since neither the Germans and Russians had ever hidden their desire to break up the country. In fact Poland was divided up just after the German invasion in 1939.

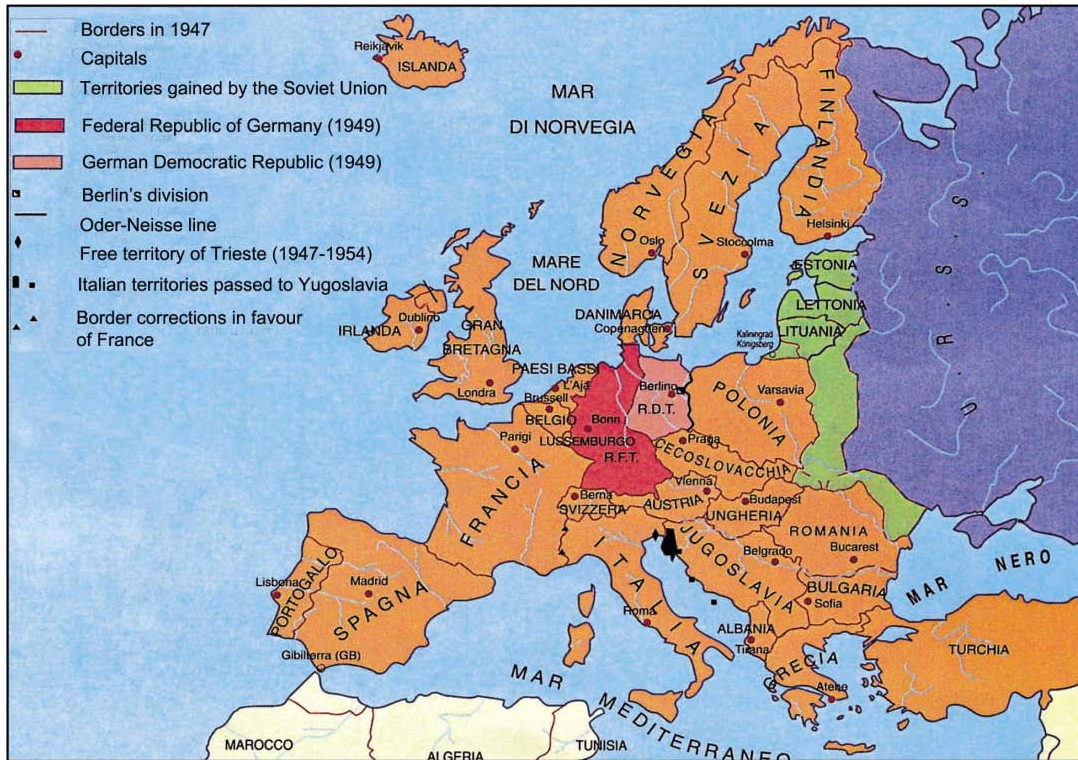
The objective of Hitler and of the greater part of central-eastern European political *élites* was to push European borders further to the East, in order to get rid of the Soviet political influence and the Slavic populations living there. To achieve their goal the Hitler and his staff developed a plan to exterminate or exile Slavic, Jewish and Gypsy populations.

The War temporarily modified the geopolitical structure of a number of areas. In the Balkans Italy acquired Albania; in 1941 Kosovo became a part of the Kingdom of Albania; the Kingdom of Montenegro was reborn under Italian protection; Greece went under the military control of Italy; a big Croatia was created with the addition of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Slovenia was divided between Italy and Germany; Bulgaria expanded to include the Western Thrace and a part of Macedonia; Hungary acquired some of the ex-Yugoslavian territories and Transylvania; Romania obtained Bessarabia and Transistria. Political boundaries were also altered in some areas further to the East, where today we find Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. The territory was divided up into three distinct regions: Ostenland, the General Government and the Ukraine.

Hitler's defeat in 1945 led to an Eastern European shift towards the West. Ethnic cleansing and the forced exile of many populations became standard practice in the first months following WWII. The USSR took over Moldavia, some Finnish territories and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania: these latter countries were "purified" of their German minority groups, for the most part, and repopulated by Russians.

²⁶⁷ A large minority of Russians and Lithuanians lived in Poland.

Map 30. Europe after World War II (1939-1945).



Poland was forced to abandon the Eastern-Russian territories that had been given to her at the end of the First World War and obtained the German territories of Pomerania, Posnania and Slesia. Yet another German exodus from these territories took place.

Belarus and the Ukraine completed their unification process by acquiring a part of the Polish, Romanian and Czechoslovakian territories. Other important changes led Romania to regain the Transylvania territories from Hungary and to surrender Dobrugia to Bulgaria, which returned to its pre-war borders. Albania was forced to give up Kosovo and some of the territories bordering Greece. At the end of the day Yugoslavia shifted towards the West, taking Istria and some Dalmatian territories from Italy.

Both the geopolitical and ethnic circumstances in the area remained complex. It's important to highlight that the incapacity to address the problem of minority groups and the fear that had swelled from the political strummentalization of ethnic minorities

led some governments to put in practice joint exchange of populations. This happened between Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

The geopolitical structure of the area, upheld until the fall of communism, was set in place by 1949. The stabilization of the area was influenced both by Truman's Policy and by the rift that occurred between Tito and Stalin. However the problem of minority groups remained in almost every country. Let's try to understand the present situation of many Central and Eastern European countries, which prior to entering into the EU were required to improve their treatment towards minority groups.

Having foreseen the importance of the problem, the European Union imposed respect for minorities as a requisite for EU membership, in addition to democratic principles and human rights respect.

Slovakia and Romania (Hungarian Minority)

The status of Hungarian minority in Slovakia and Romania examples a typical problematic situation facing minority groups in Europe as described above. The issue largely stems from territories that were once part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Hungary lost some territories during the breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Between the two World Wars, Hungarian revisionists successfully reoccupied these lands, only to lose them again after World War II. Slovakia's entry into the EU and NATO signifies that the European Commission judged the country's respect for human rights and its protection of minority groups up to satisfactory standard.

Hungarian minority in Romania are mostly concentrated in the Region of Transylvania and the Budapest Government has repeatedly objected for the treatment of Hungarian minority in this region. However tensions declined towards the end of the

1990's, in 1997, after the signing of a Friendly Treaty between Hungary and Romania, which essentially confirmed the inviolability of their borders. Even this case could lead to a resolution after Romania's integration into the EU and NATO.

However the latest Human Rights Report published by the US State Department (January 2004) condemned Romania's discrimination towards Gypsy minority.

Bulgaria (Turkish Minority)

In Bulgaria about 800,000 people, representing 9% of the population, are Muslim Turks. As we saw in our history review in Chapter one, the Turkish minority in Bulgaria is a heritage of 500 years of Ottoman domination in these territories, which came to an end only in 1878.

Throughout the communism Turkish minority was subject to forced assimilation which led to violent protests in 1989. The protests led over 350,000 people to emigrate and since then only 135,000 have gone back. Minority rights were re-established in 1990 and in 1991 minority political rights were reinforced in the Constitution; and according to the US State Department report the situation has greatly improved since this period.

Bulgaria has candidated itself to the EU and the minority problem ought to be resolved by time it becomes a full member.

Estonia and Latvia (Russian Minority)

Both countries are members of the European Union since 2004. A Russian minority lives in both Estonia and Latvia: in Estonia they represent almost one-third of the population, whereas in Latvia they represent over one-third. After achieving

independence strict citizenship laws imposed in both countries created grave barriers to minority groups.

In 1992 new Estonian Citizenship laws required everyone to pass an Estonian language test, which caused over 30% of the population to lose their citizenship. One of the country's conditions for EU entry - imposed by the European Commission in July 1997 - was to adopt suitable procedures to accelerate the citizenship process and address the problem of Russian minority with a different approach.

A similar citizenship law was approved in Latvia in 1994; as result over 30% of the population lost their citizenship and were unable to vote in the elections held that year. In this case the OSCE High Commissioner for Minorities recommended that all people born in Latvia should automatically obtain citizenship and that history and language exams should be made easier. As in the case of Estonia, in 1997 the European Commission added that discrimination against minorities had to be eliminated from the Latvia's political and professional milieus.

Latvia's and Estonia's entry into the EU should have improved the status of minority groups and should be at a satisfactory level.

Turkey

Turkey faces a variety of problems and tensions such as:

- the functioning of democratic institutions;
- the relationship between politics and religion;
- the territorial question in Cyprus;
- the rights of Turkish minority in foreign countries and of Kurdish groups living in Turkey.

Looking back at the geopolitical maps in Chapter one and how the European Continent is divided up, it is clear that Turkey and Russia are equally important to ensuring European integration as well as cultural and historical reconciliation. Turkey has been a NATO member since 1952 and requested EU entry way back in 1987.

As mentioned in previous chapters, Turkey's membership in the EU could also represent important developments for Cosmopolitan Democracy. In practice it would demonstrate that by sharing the values that stands at the heart of Cosmopolitan Democracy would allow countries with deep historical and cultural diversity to join together. However the moment for Turkey's full entry in the EU apparently is not quite ripe since a number of issues have yet to be addressed prior to full integration. This is a great challenge for both Turkey and the European Union. The most favourable solution seems to be the adoption of a special strategy which would help Turkey to gradually improve on areas which the European Union deem unacceptable for EU membership. Various issues are still on the negotiation table, such as human rights, Kurdish minority and the separation of the religion from the State. Religion is likely to be the most challenging matter, due to Christian and Muslim historical divisions on one hand, and on the other hand in relation to the separation between Religion and State. Westerners conquer of the separation between Religion and State allowed the achievement of a society where different religions can coexist together and this is an unquestionably important tool for Cosmopolitan Democracy and for bring Turkey closer to the EU.

With respect to the Cyprus question we need to look back to the 1950's when the islet's Greek majority rejected any plan for the Island's independence and backed the union of Cyprus with Greece. In 1959 with the Anglo-Greek-Turkish agreement

the State of Cyprus was born, only to fall into a civil war four years later. The UN intervention failed to solve the situation.

The situation was further complicated by the Turkish invasion of the northern part of the Island in 1974, which was provoked by an attempted *coup d'état* by Greek nationalists who were seeking unification with Greece. The UN's controlled division line is like the Berlin Wall which completely divide that two populations. The proposed solution plan envisage the institution of a federal Constitution, the protection of minorities, the demilitarization of the area, the reinstatement of refugees' property rights and incentives aimed at the re-entry of Turkish colonists into Turkey.

The problem remains unresolved and in 2004 only the Greek part of Cyprus joined the EU. The problem is likely to remain active until Turkey joins the European Union.

V 2.3. *The Balkans: Focus on ex-Yugoslavia*

Ex-Yugoslavia represents one of Europe's most complex ethnic realities and therefore deserves a more detailed analysis in order to assess whether the European Union can help ongoing peace in the area and assist in resolving key regional problems.

Yugoslavia was founded in 1918 with a utopian vision to unite the Slavic populations from the South in the name of a common cultural identity. This idea proved to lack a solid foundation due to a variety of historical divisions. As emerged in the maps in Chapter 1, Yugoslavia was made up a mix of ethnicities, languages and religions. The most significant historical rifts²⁶⁸ in Europe almost always took place in the areas where Yugoslavia was established.

²⁶⁸ Catholic Church vs. Orthodox Church; Austro-Hungarian Empire vs. Ottoman Empire, etc..

The goal of peace and unification in the region began during WWII under the unchallenged leadership of Josip Broz Tito, who led a popular multi-ethnic Yugoslavian Army in the fight against Fascism. He successfully freed his country from a Nazi-Fascist regime and instated a Socialist regime. Tito was the only communist leader that came to power without political support and in 1948 he told Stalin that Yugoslavia would follow its own form of socialism that was independent from Moscow. That same year Stalin expelled Yugoslavia from Cominform. Tito's regime survived that period thanks also to the help of Western democracies²⁶⁹, which temporarily put aside their ideological differences in favour of a balance of power. A few years later Stalin died and Tito restored good relations with the USSR and in 1955, together with Nasser and Nehru, founded The Non-Aligned Movement, which soon became a strong political block within the United Nations.

It's clear that fortune certainly isn't enough to justify Tito's political moves. Instead we can say that he was able to constructively keep up to pace with the times. The breakdown of Yugoslavia in a certain sense represents the failure of his opera, but at least he tried.

I wish to bring to light two events that bear witness to Tito's role as a Statesman. The first is his funeral and the second is an interview held with Gianni Agnelli, grandson to the founder of FIAT, Italy's leading automobile companies.

I believe that to this day the highest number of State representatives in history attended Tito's funeral. Another indication of the respect Tito had earned is found in an interview held with Gianni Agnelli, who was asked to choose a person that had marked him the most in his lifetime. The journalist cited

²⁶⁹ John Foster Dulles and Dean Acheson helped Tito for different reasons during this period: the first believed that Titoism could be followed in other countries; whereas Dean did it for *Realpolitik* motives. Yugoslavia even benefitted from the Marshall Plan after Tito's break with Stalin.

many important names from the 20th century international scene and did not mention Tito, all the same Agnelli answered that the person who had marked him the most was Tito. The breakdown of Yugoslavia is a thorn in Tito's political life, as was the exile of Italians from Dalmatia and Istria.

It's a fact that Tito's charismatic leadership qualities, his struggle against fascism in favour of socialism, the self-managed economy, the Communist Party and his non-aligned foreign policy were the building blocks Tito used to unite Yugoslavia after WWII until his death in 1980.

At Tito's death²⁷⁰ the pot started to boil and a gradual process of Yugoslavia disintegration began. The debate on the future order of the Yugoslavian Federation began right after Tito's death. We can identify three key phases in the country's disintegration:

- 1980 to 1987: the first period is characterized by an internal debate within the League of Communist of Yugoslavia;
- 1987 to 1989: the rise to power of Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia saw the growth of a net opposition between the Serbian group led by Milosevic and other non-Serbian leaders;
- 1989 to 1991: the final fracture took place between faithful members of the League of Communist on one side and new post-Communist parties, primarily nationalist in orientation, on the other.

In this ten years the elements which had kept Yugoslavia united began to disintegrate. New unifying elements were not created, however past local forms of nationalism re-emerged throughout most of the country and further divided the people.

²⁷⁰ Which coincided with the Yugoslavian economic crisis and foreign debt crisis, in addition to Albanian miners' protests and strikes in Kosovo.

As the Berlin Wall fell, Yugoslavia was already in the midst of a political void. The process of democratization began with a vertical division of the country based on nationalist principles. Armed conflicts later broke out in every Republic where ethnic minorities were living along country borders, as if applying to the letter what the theory of nationalism taught us.

Tito was convinced that Yugoslavia could have survived him by simply guaranteeing equality between the various ethnic groups. The situation deteriorated when Slobodan Milosevic rose to power in the Republic of Serbia at the end of 1987. In the face of decisive political decisions taken by the new Serbian leadership, the other republics reacted with a greater call for autonomy.

Milosevic's political programme was to decrease the independence of Serbia's autonomous regions (Kosovo and Vojvodina), affirm the supremacy of Belgrade over the other Republics and to reconcile with the Serbian Orthodox Church.

In September 1989 the Slovenian Assembly approved an amendment for the right to secession. In January 1990 the Slovenian delegation abandoned the Congress of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia. This date is emblematic indicator of the gravity of the situation. Warfare broke out just afterwards.

The economic crisis was a major catalyst in the country's disintegration. In 1991 the unemployment rate was around 15%, inflation over 100% and foreign debt had reached the level of 20 million dollars²⁷¹. The official link of Yugoslavian Dinar to the German Mark, as per the 1990 reforms, further warped the economic situation: although Yugoslavia's currency appeared to increase in strength, its equalization with the German currency further swelled the balance of payment and as a result foreign monetary reserves quickly depleted. The Federal State balance sheet was on the road to bankruptcy and so the Slovenian Government blocked its financial contributions to the Federal

²⁷¹ GNP was just over 50 million dollars.

Army. At the end of 1990, 88% of Slovenians were convinced that secession was inevitable. The Slovenians were induced towards Federal separation by the fact that Slovenia was one of the richest and most efficient of the Republics and politically and economically they no longer wanted to be treated as second class partners. In the spring of 1991, 94% of Croats declared themselves in favour of the separation. Also for Croats, at least at the beginning, the economic factors were the key driving force behind their choice. In the meantime, in both Slovenia but much more in Croatia, a revision process of collective memory started to be promoted by the newest political factions, that presented themselves as interpreters of the national identity in opposition to the former socialists.

In the absence of a so-called “problem” with ethnic minorities, the political pluralism that emerged in Slovenia soon developed into an open and modern political system. In Croatia, political leadership was taken over by the strong hand of Franjo Tudjman²⁷², founder of the Croatian Democratic Party (HDZ), who firmly belief in national identity and use nationalism as the winning card throughout all his period in government. Other Republics began to follow his tracks and the ground was set for the tragedy that followed.

²⁷² Born in 1922. In 1943 he lost a brother (member of AVNOJ and ZAVNOH) during WWII. His father was killed by the Croatian Secret Service in 1946. He faught in WWII and at 39 years old became one of the youngest generals serving under Tito. A year later he left the Federal Army and dedicated himself to studying and writing. In 1967 he was expelled from the League of Comunist and forced into retirement. In 1972 he participated in the “Croatian Spring” thus sentenced to 2 years in prison, later reduced to nine months thanks to Miroslav Krleza’s request to Tito. In 1981 he was once again condemned to 3 years in prison and banned from any form of public activity. In 1987 his passport was restored and he began to travel abroad and meet Croatian emigrants. In 1989 he founded HDZ, the Croatian Democratic Party. Most of Franjo Tudjman’s publications focus on the problem of Croatia’s national issues, war and nationalism in general.

History has taught us that many leaders of so-called liberation or independence movements are not necessarily democratic people. Having formed their political ideas under exile or in jail and nourished by hope for the changes they will bring, they rarely prove to be humble after obtaining power. For them it is hard to accept the idea of creating a government where the leader is not indispensable, which is the very essence of democracy. Independence or liberation leaders tend to be heroes, and in general the heroes are poor companions in peacetime. The Balkans have always been a particularly fertile ground for the heroes.

When Slovenia and Croatia declared their wish to leave the Federation and form independent States their choice was frowned upon by the European Community and the US State Department. Croatia clearly had a problem of minorities, whereas in Bosnia and Herzegovina the problem was even greater. The climate of national hate that had developed throughout the ex-Yugoslavian Republics²⁷³ in the year prior to the conflicts couldn't but worry Western Europeans and the United States. In fact both Slovenia and Croatia's acts of secession provoked domino effects in the Balkans: Serbs in Krajina, a Croatian enclave inhabited by Serbians, also proclaimed independence; at the same time Serbian minority in Bosnia quickly organized an armed resistance movement against the newly independent State of Bosnia & Herzegovina, given the fact that also Bosnia proclaimed independence. The Serbian and Croatian factions in Bosnia were supported by their respective Republics.

This brief review of the facts proves that both political factors (the political void, problems facing minority groups and lack of democratic reforms at the federal level) and economic factors caused the fall of ex-Yugoslavia. The religious factor was added to the conflict by dragging the elements of collective memory. During the last Balkan wars the entire masses were

²⁷³ Mostly in the Republics of Serbia and Croatia, the main protagonists of Balkan hostilities.

dragged by the leadership class into rediscovering the foundation myth of their ethnic and historical identity, fervour that infected their people for generations and which will now require years to overcome.

The conflicts founded on collective memory²⁷⁴ become a symbolic investment for the politicians. A popular Yugoslavian saying state: “blessed are the countries that don’t need heroes”. Unfortunately the recourse to the collective memory is the easiest shortcut to create divisions between groups. The mix of ethnic identity and collective memory becomes a powerful incentive for collective action. People start to feel the need to do something to recapture a space that preserves the symbols of their identity and collective history. In this tragic Balkan game, once the war started, religion was added as fundamental part in the reconstruction processes of different collective memories. Together with nationalism and ideologies, religion is without doubt the most powerful tool of the collective memory. Even those who don’t believe nor practice can grip onto religion when the need for a collective identity becomes dominant; a phenomenon which particularly accentuates itself when the group collectively fears an external threat or enemy.

It must be highlighted that religion was not the trigger behind the ex-Yugoslavia conflict. During his 37 year reign Tito always tried to hold religion out of politics. Religion was deemed to be a residual component of the modern Socialist society and Tito’s ideology was: we are first Yugoslavian, hence religious differences must be overcome. The 1990’s revealed that Tito did not eradicate the collective memory of the people, nor he created Yugoslavian national sentiment. A 1991 polls revealed that only 750,000 of approximately 19 million residents throughout Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina declared themselves Yugoslavians. As the most densely populated and historically thorny regions of ex-Yugoslavia, the federalists were too few to thwart off the rifts that had developed by 1991. This data are the proof in itself that

²⁷⁴ Halbwachs (1997).

a true sense of national identity had never been created within Yugoslavia.

It's also worth noting that even if ex-Yugoslavia formally counts 10 million Orthodox Christians Serbians, 7 million Catholics and 4 million Muslims, sociological studies in the 1980's, so before the conflict started, revealed that merely 3 million Catholics, 1.5 million Muslims and 1.2 million Orthodox Serbians were practicing their faith. State secularism and modern customs contributed to the decline in religious practices, although in a recent census the figures would be completely different.

The main reason why the Slovenian crisis²⁷⁵ found a quick resolution was due to the fact that Slovenia was an ethnically homogeneous state. Two other important factors that helped to ensure peaceful separation were the country's democratic and economic developments.

The crux of the Yugoslavia question laid in the relations between Croats and Serbians. We can easily find a European analogy in the relations between France and Germany. Put together these two countries represent 56% of the total Yugoslavian population and both hosted large minority groups within their boundaries. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bosnian Muslims found themselves caught in the middle of the conflict, but the clash was mainly between Serbians and Croats.

In August 1990 Franjo Tudjman, the newly elected President of Croatia's post-communist Republic, reminded his people that the Catholic Church was one of the most important institutions that had opposed Yugoslavian communism and that granted the continuity of the Croatian nationhood. Perfectly respecting Newton's third law of action and reaction, the nationalist-religious rhetoric adopted by Tudjman was the same tactic used at a certain point during the Balkan crisis, in Kosovo Polje in April 1987, by the Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic.

²⁷⁵ Slovenia became a member of the EU on March 1st 2004.

The birth of Serbian nationalism is intimately connected to the dissemination of the Christian-Orthodox faith. The spiritual roots behind Serbian nationhood go back to the political strategy of the Nemanja Dynasty, which at the beginning of the 12th century forcefully imposed territorial and tribal unification within the area. The Royal family was deeply tied to the Orthodox faith. In 1197 the progenitor abdicated his throne and, after having founded numerous monasteries and sacred grounds²⁷⁶, voluntarily retreated himself to a Monastery of the Mount Athos.

When he chose to do this, he had already set the foundation for a future State structure, which his descendants – in particular Sava – brought to a conclusion. They erected a sacred mini-Empire whose power was based on an organic alliance between political powers and the Orthodox Church²⁷⁷. The canonization of Orthodox Kings represented the sign of deep ties that existed between politics, religion and nationality. The tradition of the Holy Kings continued throughout the 13th and 14th centuries and every monarch sought to glorify the union between throne and altar by founding monasteries and sanctuaries, many of which are now found outside of Serbia's borders, such as in Albania and Kosovo.

At the peak of their expansion the Serbians encountered the Ottoman Turks, between 1371 (in the battle of Maritsa) and 1389 (in the battle of Kosovo Polje). In the latter battle Serbian warriors were defeated and the Nemanja Dynasty was destroyed. From that moment Ottoman expansion and the disintegration of Serbia began.

The battle of Kosovo Polje has been internalized in the collective conscience of the Serbian people as a loss of historical sacred grounds and was used in a speech held by Slobodan

²⁷⁶ Many of which today represent symbols of Serbia's collective memory, as in the case of the Studenica Monastery.

²⁷⁷ Became autocefal in 1219 and hence tended to identify itself with the State and to see itself as the guardian of national identity.

Milosevic in April 1987, right on Kosovo Polje, during one of those “meetings of the truth”, before a frightened and irritated crowd of Serbians who felt threatened by call for independence of Kosovo’s people (mostly Albanians of Muslin majority). Let’s cite some of the passages of that speech that have gone down in the chronicles of history: “.... I want to tell you colleagues, yes, you need to stay here. This is your land. Your homes are here, your memories. You won’t give up your land just because life in it is difficult, just because you’ve been pressured by crime and humiliation. It was never in the spirit of the Serbian and Montenegrin nation to bow before adversity, to demobilize when they need to fight, to demoralize when times are tough. You need to stay here because of your forefathers and because of your descendants. You would shame your forefathers and disappoint your descendants... Yugoslavia doesn’t exist without Kosovo! Yugoslavia would disintegrate without Kosovo! Yugoslavia and Serbia will never give up Kosovo!”

At the beginning of the 1990’s with Tudjman’s rise to power in Croatia Milosevic found other historical elements dating back to the Second World War to incite the uprising of Serbs minority living in Croatia. During WWII the Nazi-fascist Ustasa government made up of Croatian ultranationalists tried to eliminate the Serbian minority living in the Croatian Region of Krajina. The memories of these past events alarmed Serbian minority when Tudjman rose to power at the beginning of the 1990’s and made Croatia spiral into war.

We can’t ignore the fact that Serbian identity is closely intertwined with historical developments within Christianity, mostly when the fractures existing between the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church deepened around the start of the year 1000 AD. Divisions were further reinforced during the 9th century through the creation of glagolitic alphabet (the archaic form of modern day Cyrillic) by Cyril and Methodius monks, who later evangelized Slavic territories. As we saw in Chapter one, Cyrillic became the alphabet used all the way from Bulgaria to Serbia.

Revisiting this kind of historical memory greatly impacted the lives of the new generations and every ethnicity across ex-Yugoslavia. All the efforts made by Tito's socialist period to pacify the population have been lost. The only remaining hope is that the rules governing the civil society, which ex-Yugoslavia countries need to restudy again after their last crisis, and this restudy combined with the desire of joining the European Union, could present the final cure opportunity for the Balkans. My wish is that I have helped the people reading this book to understand that the Yugoslavian problem is a product of European history. In this case the very people who are fighting each other to assert their own diversity are in fact all brothers and sisters. If we step back for a moment to see the forest through the trees the situation is incomprehensible at a rational level.

As summarized here below, today various ethnic minorities continue to face difficulties in the new young Republics born after the ex-Yugoslavia dissolution; in particular in Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro and Macedonia:

- Bosnia: Muslims, Serbs and Croats are the country's minority groups (see Table 1) and despite that years have passed since the Dayton Agreement was passed (1995) they still face various difficulties in living together and in the integration process;
- Croatia: the two critical areas, mostly facing Serb minority, are Eastern Slavonia (which borders Serbia) and Krajina (which borders Bosnia and Herzegovina); the most current problem is tied to Serbian refugees returning to Krajina;
- Serbia and Montenegro: the Region of Kosovo faces significant problems linked to Albanian minority and problems of minor nature related to the Hungarian minority living in the Region of Vojvodina;

- Macedonia: critical issues are mostly faced with the Albanian minority.

The Bosnian War (1992-1995) is rooted in a mix of factors discussed at the beginning of this chapter and which favour ethnic conflict: historical hostilities, neighbouring irredentist States, weak democratic institutions and economic difficulties.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Before the latest Balkan tragedy Bosnia and Herzegovina was a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society, where the Muslim community represented a relatively large majority group that had never manifested any form of oppression over other ethno-religious communities. Tito's motto that everyone is Yugoslavian and that religion doesn't matter was followed. Prior to the conflict, Islam within Bosnia was moderate, used to sharing ideas with other faiths, flexible in its beliefs, free of the cultural resistance which in other Muslim parts of the world has impeded women's full emancipation. It was only in 1990 that Bosnian Muslims began to cling onto their religious identity out of fear for the separatist inclinations of Croats and Serbs within Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The presence of Muslims within the Balkans and in Bulgaria dates back to the expansion of the Ottoman Empire across the region. Historically Muslims from South-Eastern Europe have been divided into three very distinct groups:

- populations that were converted to Islam during the Ottoman dominion (found in Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Albania, Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina);

- people of Turkish origin that settled into the Balkans following the Ottoman conquests (eg. villages in Tracia, Macedonia and Kosovo) ;
- groups that for political or economic reasons were physically forced to move by the Turkish Sultans, (eg. which include Dobrujia Tartars and the Circassians in Greece, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Kosovo).

Part of Bosnia's residents believed in saving what remained of the Yugoslavian Federation in order to avoid break up of their country. Although they were unable to prevent the war at least they were successful in maintaining a unified State. In applying the old Roosevelt rule that forced border changes would not be recognized, the Americans stipulated that Bosnia's borders would remain untouched and that the State had to remain united.

Throughout the last war the fear that an Islamic State would emerge within the Balkans was brought to light many times on both Serbian and Croatian side. In order to prevent the development of a Muslim enclave many in fact believed that the best solution was to separate Bosnia from Serbia and Croatia.

4.1 million people lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina²⁷⁸ prior to the war of 1992-1995. The last war produced:

- over 2.2 million refugees²⁷⁹;
- over 220,000 deaths;

²⁷⁸ In the last census Bosnia and Herzegovina's population was 4.1 million.

²⁷⁹ UNHCR statistics reveal that 1 million refugees were able to return home by 2004. 440,000 were refugees that had left the region, whereas 560,000 were refugees within the territory. It's estimated that half a million people will never return to the country and that hundreds of thousands are still waiting to return to their homes.

- over 23,000 missing persons;
- over 160,000 war injuries.

Although the Dayton Peace Agreement (November 1995) led to complex Constitutional reorganization, it was able to impose peace in the region, which turned out to be the most important factor for the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Refugees continue to return home but a number of people who have been accused of war crimes remain free to this day.

Often ambiguous agreements like the Dayton Agreement mirror reality, they work out what is humanly feasible at the time, with the full understanding that future treaties will have to allow further developments. But what is the price to be paid for peace for someone who doesn't have it? In the best case scenario a stop in hostilities helps a new political constellation to appear and time united with a little of goodwill lead to solutions.

Croatia

In Croatia, whose war lasted from 1991-1995, the democratic process continues to make progress. In July 2004 Croatia successfully candidated itself for entry into the European Union. After Tudjman's Presidency, which many define as an autarchic experience, elections in 2000 and 2003 demonstrate that democracy continues to ripen. Since the year 2000 democratically elected governments have peacefully transferred powers twice. In 2000 the Nationalist rightwing government of the 1990's lost elections to the centre-left oriented parties coalition. In 2003 the Party founded by Tudjman returned to power but with a different leadership. The Prime Minister Sanader is trying to transform the Party into a

modern centre-right oriented party and now rules through the backing of ethnic minority groups.

The most delicate problem remains the return of Serbian refugees to Krajina²⁸⁰. As mentioned, in 1990 Krajina's Serbs, frightened by Tudjman's rise to power in Croatia and strumentalized by Milosevic's nationalist politics, decided to separate from Croatia. During 1995's three days war - "The Storm", hundreds of thousands of Serbs fled the Region of Krajina towards Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro. Today the majority of them face many obstacles in their attempt to return to Croatia.

Given that minority groups are part of the Government, the desire to address minority issues is on the Croatian Prime Minister's agenda. The Prime Minister Sanader, being from Tudjman's Party and attempting to modernize the HDZ (the Croatian Democratic Party) into a modern centre-rightwing party, may indeed begin the resolution process to address minority concerns in Croatia. At the moment efforts to reinforce ties with the European Union, which began with the centre-leftwing government, continue. However the main challenges remain the reinstatement of refugees and cooperation with the International Tribunal to address war crimes against humanity.

The stabilization of key Regions in Croatia (Eastern Slavonia and Krajina) and Serbia (Vojvodina and Kosovo) and respect for ethnic minorities within these areas are the main challenges being faced by governments in both Regions. Their desire to achieve European integration is the best and only guarantee that these issues will get resolved.

Serbia and Montenegro and Macedonia

Serbia's Province of Vojvodina has hosted a Hungarian minority since the days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As

²⁸⁰ Croatian Region historically inhabited by Serbs.

occurred in Slovakia and Romania, Hungary took over this territory during the Second World War but in the end was forced to hand it back to Yugoslavia after the war. When Milosevic took the state of autonomy away from both Vojvodina and Kosovo during the 1980's, Vojvodina escaped the violence which instead erupted in Kosovo.

The problem of Kosovo is another case that can be explained by the fact that contains all the geopolitical elements that favour ethnic conflict: historical hostilities, irredentist bordering States, weak democratic institutions, economic difficulties, etc.

During the 1960's, Albanians represented 60% of Kosovo's population. Within three decades this figure rose to 90% due to the high birth rate within the Albanian community. Following the last war and the flight of Serbians from the Region, Albanians today represent almost 100% of the total population.

In Yugoslavia during the Tito period Kosovo was an autonomous region within Serbia. In 1989, just prior to the Balkan War, the Serbian leader Milosevic revoked Kosovo's autonomous status justifying the action with argument that the rights of Serb²⁸¹ minority within the region was not respected. Instead, in 1996 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe condemned human rights violations towards Kosovo's Albanian population.

In early 1997 Kosovo's Albanian leaders decided to take military action and separate from Serbia. The newly formed Kosovo Liberation Army recruited around 40,000 guerrilla soldiers. Violence erupted at the beginning of 1998 and so 340,000 Albanians fled Kosovo towards Montenegro, Macedonia and Albania. In 1999, under the auspice of stopping

²⁸¹ The problem of Serbian minority in the Region of Kosovo was well known even before Milosovic's rise to power. Unrest in the early 1980's had been thwarted by security forces.

the humanitarian crisis and repatriating Kosovo's refugees, NATO bombarded Serbia. In the aftermath Kosovo remained a Region of Serbia, Albanian refugees returned to Kosovo and the Serb minority, as in the case of Krajina in Croatia, only partially returned to the Region.

Macedonia also faces ethnic tensions between Slavic and Albanian groups and the possibility of Albanian separation troubles Slavic nationalists. The possibility of a civil war looks far off, however country tension remain high.

Religions and historical memories have sadly reawakened old divisions within the Balkans, in their latest collective effort to make sense out of something that is senseless and extreme in its violence. This is why in principle the Balkan wars could not be tolerated by Europeans, who over the centuries have endured many destructive religious based wars and just 50 years prior had been a victim of nationalist cruelty and violence.

“As long as the war lasts they must remain a crowd, and the war really ends ad soon as they cease to be one”²⁸², wrote Canetti

Canetti sheds further light on our conviction that respect for human rights and democratic rules as well as the separation of Church and civil society are fundamental in order to guarantee future peace throughout Europe, including the Balkans.

As an desk top analysis the European Union seems to be the perfect medicine for ex-Yugoslavia. In the next chapter we will try to understand exactly what are the foundations of this form of civil society known as the European Union; that European Union which does allow into its membership countries that do not respect the rules of civil society.

²⁸² Elias Canetti, *Massa e potere* (1981); *Masse und Macht* (1960).

V 2.4. *Europe and CIS*

The problems faced by minority groups is also a key issue throughout the ex Soviet Union. Today approximately 25 million Russians live in countries that were once part of the ex USSR and just as many minority populations live in Russia.

The most complex relations are with The Ukraine and its future positioning and the ex Soviet Union Naval Fleet in the Black Sea. Ukraine recently expressed interest in joining NATO and after the latest elections it's just a question of time before the country presented the request to join the EU.

Another problematic situation for Russian minorities is in Moldavia, whereas in Russia the Chechen people and Tartars face the greatest difficulties.

CHAPTER VI

CHAPTER VI

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND COSMOPOLITAN DEMOCRACY

VI 1. *Premise*

The reflection on Cosmopolitan Democracy, which represents the core value and founding principle for building lasting peace, is based on the assumption that war between two liberal democratic societies has never taken place in modern history. This does not mean that today's social paradigms are perfect nor that they do not need to be improved. However it does imply that a solid foundation exists for further incremental improvements rather than radical changes.

The main principles characterizing Cosmopolitan Democracy are:

- in politics: respect for human rights, respect for minority rights and a democratic institutional order;
- in economics: the principle rule is the respect for rules governing a free market economy;
- in religion: religion and state are separate entities and, as in the economic field, is an integral part of the private sector and must never be a cause of conflict within a Cosmopolitan Democracy.

The European Union is the embryo of Cosmopolitan Democracy and as it seeks to heal the wounds that still exist across the Continent, today the European Union's greatest challenges are to establish common values, to adopt a common language and to ensure respect and tolerance for religious diversity.

The civil society values that characterize the Cosmopolitan Democracy ought to become European values and for the most part they already are. A second language, preferably English, should be taught to all children across Europe. The religions should become part of the cultural and spiritual richness of the European people and become part of the private spiritual richness of each individual.

The European Union is legitimized by a code of conduct inspired by Universal human rights rather than on territorial control or police enforcement to create a compliant society. And although to date we are still at the embryonic stages, perhaps in few decades we will be able to speak of the kind of “public opinion” that Wilson had in mind.

VI 2. The Uniqueness of the European Union Model for Peace in the Continent

Security is defined as a guarantee for democracy and for human rights, including minority rights, as well as the relations among States. We can share the idea that respect for human rights, democracy and civil society are the best tools of defence against war and violence. The quality of a democratic society and the shared values that inspire it’s development are vital to favouring the integration process. We observed in the last chapter how easy it is for war to break out when these principles are not respected.

We can find the fundamental characteristic of what we use to call the European Union model by looking at the official criteria established during the European Council of Copenhagen in 1993 related with the EU expansion:

- the creation of stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and the protection of minority groups;

- the introduction of a fully functioning market economy which can withstand competition from other members of the EU;
- the ability to make on obligations of membership including adherence to the objectives of political, economic and monetary union.

As far as Civil Society is concerned, the European model uniquely groups together three distinct areas of civil rules:

- democratic rules;
- rules on fundamental human rights and freedom;
- ethnic minority rights.

All of the above rules must be respected in order to join the European integration process and must become part of the context of rules governing international relations. Currently a number of European institutions address security issues: The Council of Europe, OSCE, NATO, WEU and the EU.

This study mainly focuses on the European Union, without however ignoring the importance of the strategic alliance that has been established within the Council of Europe over the last few years. I believe that in future the true strength behind the European Union model lies in the values that sustain the EU project and, in particular, the EU's commitment towards human rights.

The Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe placed human rights at the heart of the document and the guarantees announced in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union are greater than those included in the American Bill of Rights. This Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union is the first document of its kind to address human rights at the global level and to identify the rights and responsibilities of all human beings. Also the United Nations'

Universal Declaration of Human Rights speaks about universal human rights, however the UN is not a freely elected governing body representing its citizens and it does not have a Tribunal that can protect the rights it endorses as opposed to the European Union. The language used in EU Charter is universal with attention to all human beings.

VI 3. *The Democratic Rules*

The first requirement for a country to join the European Union is to achieve satisfactory level of respect for democratic rules in both: form and substance. The substance determines the quality of a democratic regime and in the long run is much more important than its formal aspects. In the formal sense democracy can be defined as a peaceful means to address conflicts, guarantee civil and political rights, multiparty competition, government representation through free and open elections, government accountability through direct citizen participation and control. In substantial terms a democratic political order should be intended as an order that pursue objectives of peace, wealth distribution justice, individual rights and freedoms and cultural pluralism. However democratic substance can only be obtained through cultural developments and the growth of civil society. The key democratic rules can be summarized into 8 points:

1. eligibility of public office;
2. free and fair elections;
3. freedom from discrimination on the basis of race or ethnicity;
4. the rule of law with protection of individual rights and of the minorities;

5. separation of powers (legislative, executive and judicial);
6. freedom of expression and information;
7. freedom of assembly and of association;
8. civilian control of the military forces.

As we can see the above list contains the most natural element of an institutional order: eligibility of public office, free and fair elections, the separation of powers; the rule of law, civil control of the armed forces, but most importantly the list addresses fundamental human rights and freedoms, among which the freedom of speech and freedom from ethnic, national or racial discrimination.

Another important factor is needed to be taken into consideration is the quality of democratic regimes, since identifying democracy as a simple form of government would be oversimplification. Formally numerous regimes respect many of the elements listed above, but they cannot be defined as mature or evolved democratic regimes because the quality aspect is lacking.

I remember when our country, just like the rest of Eastern Europe, took part in the democratization process after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Ex-Yugoslavia began a process of “vertical” democratization. By using the democratic tool of voting, nationalists put civil society through a hard test. Their aim was to divide the country into non communicating nations clusters. In 1991 I didn’t share the Balkan idea of nationalism and I didn’t want to accept that “democracy” meant creating an ethnically “clean” and “pure” nationalist State. Everything that I had learned in my youth was considered wrong and I was confused, but I didn’t understand why what I had learned in my youth should have been all wrong. After all these years I realise that my doubts were legitimate because that form of “nationalist

democracy” was just the beginning of a long journey and it was not at all the “liberal democracy” of quality. Only today, after so many deaths, the Balkans have slowly begun to apply democratic rules and respect human rights.

Civil society has a fundamental role in determining the quality of democratic societies. Hence a possible definition of civil society could be: that group of non-governmental institutions that, being strong enough to counterbalance the power of the State, yet at the same time without impeding the State from exercising its proper role as a guarantor of peace and arbitrator between the majority of interests at stake, may nevertheless prevent the State’s dominance over society.

We can identify three main areas within civil society. The first vein is comprised of organizations that promote education, religion, arts, sports and social services whose activities, for the most part, lay within national borders and are not openly politicized. The second main branch is made up of human rights organizations with a clear political orientation and which tend to transcend national borders. Movements that work to protect and promote civil rights, environment protection groups, rights of the women, human rights, peace groups, movements for the rights of the people with disability, movements for sexual orientation rights, animal rights and so on, are all global movements. The third group is comprised of cultural organizations that serve to promote local culture and preserve traditions. Together these myriad of groups determine the quality of a civil society.

The example of the transnational Peace Parks represent government recognition that natural boundaries prevail over political ones and the merits of these efforts also go to those environmental movements that go beyond national confines. The European Union is a key sponsor of these types of parks. The idea that natural ecosystems should be reunited and that governments have a responsibility to create “transboundary protected areas” would have been unthinkable just a few years

ago. Currently there are over 150 Peace Parks around the world and the number is increasing yearly. The EU has 45, leader to Africa which has 34. These parks also extend the concept of universal rights also to nature.

The existence and the maturity of a civil society is what mostly guarantees the quality of a democratic regime and becomes part of a culture of a certain society. It is a dynamic, nonstatic element and a temporary conquest doesn't guarantee permanent triumph. Civil society needs to be continuously nurtured. Only a civil society allows the strengthening of democratic culture and protects against the potential tyranny of the majority, where at least the right to vote leaves hope for an alternative.

VI 4. The State of Democracy in the European Continent

The Council of Europe²⁸³ monitors the quality of democracy within its member States, but the most complete document which has been monitoring the worldwide situation since 1977 is the US Department of State Annual Country Reports.

In 1976, under Carter's administration, the US Congress passed a law authorizing the Department of State to create a new body solely dedicated to human rights. This function, having initially a coordinating role, was soon promoted to the assistance of the Secretary of State.

²⁸³ Founded on May 5th 1949 by Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Ireland, Norway, and Luxemburg to promote European unity and to stipulate conventions on economic, civil and political rights. It has played a very significant role in the area of human rights through the enstatement of the European Commission of Human Rights in 1954 and the relative European Court of Human Rights (1959).

In 1994, under the Clinton administration, Congress created another key function within the same programme to monitor the rights of women. This was a very important move especially considering today's totalitarian temptations. The confrontation with totalitarian regimes should be played on values field and on the rights of women field. Women have a very important role to play in this confrontation.

The first 1977 report analysed 82 countries, whereas by 2003 the report assessed 196 countries. Utilising a bottom up²⁸⁴ approach, the document provides a country by country summary of respect for human rights and respect for the cardinal elements of a democratic order.

I discovered this report in 1996 and the first thing I did was to look up what was written on Croatia. I realized that they knew everything. The picture laid out in the report was very different than the one transmitted by Western television stations to the general public. I realized that many times those who can do something, and in this case the only ones are the United States, have a very difficult task at hand. It's like a counsellor working in a drug rehabilitation centre. They know the people's problems that they take into community and they try to help each person reach the maturity and understanding to want to heal on their own. Every person is unique and matures at a different pace. Most of the time we desire a quick solution, but it's not always that easy to adopt. Many are less inclined to do the things²⁸⁵ because of their culture and this can further slowdown the process of democratic "rehabilitation".

In particular, being subdivided into sections and according to specific problems the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices follows the following format for each country:

²⁸⁴ Starting from the bottom.

²⁸⁵ For example, by it's failure to achieve political unity the European Union found itself in difficulty and was unable to manage a particularly extraordinary event right at it's doorstep.

Section 1. Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including the Freedom From:

- a) Arbitrary or Unlawful Deprivation of Life;
- b) Disappearance;
- c) Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment;
- d) Arbitrary Arrest, Detention or Exile;
- e) Denial of Fair Public Trial;
- f) Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence.

Section 2. Respect for Civil Liberties, Including:

- a) Freedom of Speech and Press;
- b) Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association
- c) Freedom of Religion;
- d) Freedom of Movement Within the Country, Foreign Travel, Emigration, and Repatriation.

Section 3. Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government.

Section 4. Governmental Attitude Regarding International and Nongovernmental Investigation of Alleged Violations of Human Rights.

Section 5. Discrimination Based on Race, Sex, Disability, Language, or Social Status (Women, Children, Persons with Disabilities, National/Racial/Ethnic Minorities).

Section 6. Worker Rights:

- a) The right of Association;
- b) The Right to Organize and Bargain Collectively;
- c) Prohibition of Forced or Bonded Labour;

- d) Status of Child Labour Practices and Minimum Age for Employment;
- e) Acceptable Conditions of Work;
- f) Trafficking in Persons.

This systematic analysis offers unique and important insights for all those who wish to improve civil society across the globe. It isn't a mere observatory of the abuses committed by governments, rather it is:

- a policy guide for governments or union of countries whose foreign and internal policies are guided by the values of democracy and human rights respect (eg. USA and European Union);
- a guide for everyone working on the reconstruction of civil and democratic society within countries that have been devastated by wars and conflicts.

The European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy

Table 2. State of Democracy in Europe

Countries	Comment	Grade
<i>EU countries</i>		

<i>EU candidates countries</i>		
Bulgaria	Recently improved.	A/B
Romania	Recently improved.	A/B
Turkey	Religious interference in politics; various reforms approved on religious freedom, freedom of association and expression, human rights and the role of the military in democracy, but not all have been implemented.	B
Croatia	In transition, last elections respected the OSCE standards; pressure on the media; problems with minorities.	B

<i>Other Balkan Countries</i>		
Albania	Anarchy in mid 1997.	B/C
Bosnia	In transition, political interference on the judicial system and the press continue, religious discrimination remains a problem for minority groups.	B/C
Macedonia	In transition.	B
Serbia and Montenegro	In transition, last elections respected OSCE standards; problems with minorities.	B/C

<i>CIS Countries</i>		
Belarus	Authoritarian Presidency, negation of freedom of the press and association, negation of religious freedom, non-independent judicial system, elections do not satisfy OSCE standards,	C
Moldavia	No reported violence, problems in the Region of Transistria.	A/B
Russia	Last elections did not reach OCSE standards, serious human rights violations in Chechnya.	B
Ukraine	Latest elections repeated because under OCSE standards, interference with the media and limits to freedom of association, problems in respecting human rights.	B/C

Legend: A = satisfactory; B = some problems; C = undemocratic

Source: US State Department, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices (2003)

VI 5. *Human Rights*

“Torture is, one might say, a worse crime against humanity than killing”. Robert Conquest²⁸⁶ wrote this after describing apparently unbearable Soviet torture known as *stoika*²⁸⁷, in which the victim was forced to stand against a wall for days on end.

In relation with the EU expansion during the Copenhagen European Council (1993) was established that the respect for human rights is one of the fundamental criterias for the candidated countries to be eligible to join EU.

The Treaty of Amsterdam reaffirmed the importance of democracy and respect for human rights as founding principles of EU, clinching the fact that the European Court of Justice can issue binding sentences in relation with the respect of the convention agreements for the Council of Europe. It is anachronistic that currently EU rely only on the annual report on the US Department of State as a unique regular and complete source in relation with the subject.

Europe has one of the most advanced human rights protection mechanisms in the World. The Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental freedoms (also called the “European Convention on Human Rights” and “ECHR”) was adopted under the auspices of the Council of Europe in 1950 and is the only human rights convention in the World that can win the sovereignty of the member States in a case of the human rights violation. If in a State a grave human rights violation is committed by the State institutions, the citizen can sue the State that violated his rights and this represent an important step in the conquest of the civil freedoms. The European Court of Human Rights had been created in 1959.

The European Union is the first non territorial political institution in the history that has the power to force its member

²⁸⁶ The great chronicler of Stalinism.

²⁸⁷ The meining of the word would be to stand.

to respect human rights. The EU member States are binded with the adherence to the European Convention on Human Rights and the European Court of Human Rights has the authority to supervise the respect of the Convention. The European Court of Justice is responsible for the supervision of the judicial implementation of sentences issued by the European Court of Human Rights. The judicial power of the European Court of Human Rights and the European Court of Justice are hierarchically superior to the member States. In addition, every EU citizen has the right to appeal against the court decision of his country to the European Court of Human Rights. New human rights will be further protected with the ratification of the European Constitution.

The concept explained above is important because human rights would be a pretence in a world where the highest authority is the sovereign State. If the Nation – State represent the highest sovereign authority the human rights would be tied to the mood of a territorial political institution and this would be a limit to the social progress.

When EU signs co-operation treaties with third countries it always follows the strategy to include in the treaties the importance of democratic principles and the human rights respect. This way EU can take measures, which also includes the suspension of the treaties, in a case of serious violation. This represents an important effort to underline values on which Europe is built and to create the model based on universal values that could become an attraction pole.

The peculiarity of the European situation emerge from the fact that there is no compromise with the States in the situations where important human rights violations are committed that even the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations can not defend.

In fact, in the European Union expansion process, the Council of Europe was employed as an elementary school teacher. Every central-east European country was requested to

accept the Convention and to respect its principles. The European Union model is based on the respect of: the human rights, the minorities and the principles on which the democratic order is based.

The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms define the following rights, freedoms and prohibitions:

Right	Freedom	Prohibition
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• to life;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• of thought;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• death penalty;
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• liberty;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• conscience;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• torture;
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• security;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• religion;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• slavery;
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• to a fair trial;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• expression;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• forced labour;
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• to appeal in criminal matters;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• assembly;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• of punishment without law;
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• to respect for private and family life;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• association;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• discrimination;
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• to marry;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• to adhere to a movement.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• imprisonment for debts;
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• education;		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• collective expulsion of foreigners.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• free elections.		

The fact that the entrance in EU is subject to the acceptance of the Convention indicated that the respect for the human rights is important part of European Union policy. The Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe made human rights the core of the document thus confirming that the values are expected to become new guiding principles and the aggregation mould for the realisation of the European project.

The prohibition of the death penalty is another piece of the human right respects that today form part of the European heritage. In 1983 the Council of Europe approved the Protocol number 6 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms which banned the

death penalty. The exemption was made for the cases in which acts were committed during the war but in 2002 the same Council emended the protocol forbidding completely and without any condition the death penalty. The European Union condemnation of the death penalty is important because it ascertain that an individual has an intrinsic and inalienable dignity. According to the EU, the death penalty is: “a denial of human dignity, which is a fundamental basis of the common heritage of the European Union as a union of shared values and principles.” In the EU memorandum on the death penalty is recalled: “Long ago European countries, either in practice or in law, made a choice for humanity, abolishing the death penalty and thus fostering respect for human dignity. And this is an ultimate principle that the EU wishes to share with all countries, as it shares other common values and principles such as freedom, democracy, and the rule of law and safeguard of human rights. If it succeeds in reaching this goal, both the EU and those countries will have furthered the cause of humanity...”.

Table: The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

Convention Articles

Article 1.	Obligation to respect human rights
Article 2.	Right to life
Article 3.	Prohibition of torture
Article 4.	Prohibition of slavery and forced labour
Article 5.	Right to liberty and security
Article 6.	Right to a fair trial
Article 7.	No punishment without law
Article 8.	Right to respect for private and family life
Article 9.	Freedom of thought, conscience and religion
Article 10.	Freedom of expression
Article 11.	Freedom of assembly and association
Article 12.	Right to marry
Article 13.	Right to an effective remedy
Article 14.	Prohibition of discrimination
Article 15.	Derogation in time of emergency
Article 16.	Restrictions on political activity of aliens
Article 17.	Prohibition of abuse of rights
Article 18.	Limitation on use of restrictions on rights
Protocol #1	
Article 1.	Property
Article 2.	Education
Article 3.	Elections
Protocol #4	
Article 1.	Civil imprisonment
Article 2.	Free movement
Article 3.	Expulsion of nationals
Article 4.	Collective expulsion of foreigners
Protocol #6	
Article 1.	Death penalty
Article 2.	Death penalty to times of war (emended)
Protocol #7	
Article 1.	Rights to fair procedures for lawfully resident foreigners facing expulsion
Article 2.	Right to appeal in criminal matters
Article 3.	Compensation for the victims of miscarriages of justice
Article 4.	Re-trial
Article 5.	Equality between spouses

Source: the Council of Europe

Table 3. State of Human Rights respect in Europe

Country	Comments	Vote
<i>EU Countries</i>		
<i>Requested entry in EU</i>		
Bulgaria	Abuses of the secret services against Gipsy	A/B
Romania	Abuses of the secret services against Gipsy	A/B
Turkey	Improving but torture cases committed by the police have been reported	B
Croatia	Abuses against Serbs	B/C
<i>Other Balkan Countries</i>		
Albania	Numerous and grave political and judicial abuses have been reported	B/C
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Improving after committed ethnic cleansing and forgiven genocides by the authorities, lost of homes and abuses of the security forces; improved return of refugees	B/C
Macedonia	Abuses against Albanians	B/C
Serbia and Montenegro	Abuses against Albanians	B/C
<i>CIS Countries</i>		
Belarus	Inconsistency of the government, abuses of the security forces, hard prison service	C
Moldavia	Scarce human rights respect from the government, hard prison and security service	A/B
Russia	Grave human right abuses in Chechnya, poor judicial system, hard prison service	B/C
Ukraine	Problems with judicial and prison police	B

Legend: A = Western norms with few exceptions; B = respect of the human rights in principle but with grave problems of the effective respect and not limited to few cases; C = human rights not respected, spread and grave abuses.

Source: US State Department report on Human Rights (2003)

VI 6. *Ethnic Minorities*

The new way looking to minorities problems become integral part of the OSCE principles, in particular there are announced in the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe later on integrated with the “Moscow Mechanism” document. The innovation brought in the international relations arena stands in the agreement that human rights violations are not considered any more an internal affair of a state.

The Document of Copenhagen (1990) established the following rules:

- the exercise of all the human rights and fundamental freedoms will not be subject to any restrictions (except those which are provided by law) and all persons are equal before the law;
- to belong to a national minority is a matter of a person’s individual choice;
- Minority rights;
- Persons belonging to national minorities have the right to use freely their mother tongue in private as well as in public; to establish and maintain their own educational cultural and religious institutions, organizations or associations; to profess and practise their religion; to establish and maintain unimpeded contacts among themselves within their country as well as contacts across frontiers with citizens of other States; to disseminate, have access to and exchange information in their mother tongue; to establish and maintain organizations or associations within their country and to participate in international non-governmental organizations;
- Persons belonging to national minorities can exercise and enjoy their rights individually as well as in community.

With the Moscow Document from 1991 “The Participating States emphasize that issues relating to human rights,

fundamental freedoms, democracy and the rule of law are of international concern, as respect for these rights and freedoms constitutes one of the foundations of the international order. They categorically and irrevocably declare that the commitments undertaken in the field of the human dimension of the CSCE are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating States and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the State concerned”.

Table: Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities approved by the Council of Europe.

*The Convention*²⁸⁸

Article 1.	The protection of national minorities forms an integral part of the international protection of human rights
Article 2.	Shall be applied in good faith between States
Article 3.	Individual and community rights are protected
Article 4.	Prohibition of discrimination and promotion of equality before the law and of equal protection of the law
Article 5.	Promotion of the national minorities’ culture and prohibition of the policies or practices aimed at forced assimilation
Article 6.	Promotion of a spirit of tolerance and intercultural dialogue, mutual respect and protection of the minorities against discrimination
Article 7.	Freedom of assembly, association, expression and religion
Article 9.	Facilitate access to the media for national minorities
Article 10.	Right to use freely minority language, in private and in public and if arrested
Article 11.	Use of the surname and first name in the minority language
Article 12.	Education and research to foster knowledge of the culture
Article 13.	Right to set up and manage their own private educational establishments
Article 14.	Endeavour to ensure that persons belonging to the minority have the opportunities for being taught in their language
Article 15.	Participation of minorities in cultural life, social, economic and public affairs
Article 16.	Respect of the proportions of the population inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities
Article 17.	Right to establish peaceful contacts across frontiers and to participate in the activities of non-governmental organisations
Article 18.	Encourage measures that promote transfrontier co-operation

Source: Council of Europe

²⁸⁸ The Convention was signed in 1995.

Since 1991, OSCE/CSCE was active in preventing conflicts in many countries of the former USSR and Central and Eastern Europe.

VI 7. European Integration as an Answer to The Need For Peace

As we saw in Chapter one for centuries Europe has been at the centre stage of frequent and brutal conflicts. Between 1870 and 1945 alone, France and Germany fought three wars that caused the loss of many lives. Some European leaders were convinced that the only means of maintaining peace between their countries was to unite and integrate them economically and politically. Let's briefly go over this evolutionary process presented in Chapter four.

Commerce and trade have been the traditional motor of international integration. A fundamental goal of the EEC's founding fathers was to build such deep reciprocal economic interests to act as a warranty against any chance of political relapse into nationalist hostilities. This is why in 1950 the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman proposed to integrate Western Europe's coal and steel industries. It was the steel, the most precious good of the second industrial revolution, the biggest cause of clashing between Germany and France. This proposal was the catalyst to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951, with six founding members: Belgium, West Germany, Luxembourg, France, Italy and the Netherlands. All coal and steel decision-making powers between these countries were conferred to an independent and supranational body²⁸⁹, whose first President was Jean Monnet. This working model of integration was later used throughout the process of integration.

ECSC was so successful that in just a few years the same Six countries decided to take the next step of integrating other

²⁸⁹ Called High Authority.

economic sectors and using ECSC's supranational framework as a model. In 1957 they signed the Treaties of Rome, which established the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the European Economic Community (EEC). Through the EEC, the member States sought to remove existing trade barriers and create a common market.

In 1967 the three European Communities were merged together. From that point onwards only a Commission, a Council of Ministers and a European Parliament existed. At the beginning Euro-Parliamentarians were chosen by their National Parliaments, whereas in 1979 the first direct elections were held, allowing citizens within member States to vote for their own candidates. Direct elections have since been held every five years.

The Maastricht Treaty of 1992 introduced new forms of government cooperation between member States, such as in the areas of defence, justice and internal affairs. By adding this type of intergovernmental cooperation across the existing community system, the Maastricht Treaty created the European Union.

Some time was needed before the member States removed all the existing trade barriers and transformed their common market into a single market where the free movement of goods, services, people and capital were guaranteed. The single market was formally completed at the end of 1992, despite this process remains incomplete in certain sectors.

Throughout the 1990's it became easier for people to move freely within Europe, thanks to the elimination of customs and passport controls across most EU borders. Among other things, this led to a greater mobility for EU citizens. For example, since 1987 over a million young Europeans have been able to study abroad thanks to the support of the Union.

The concept of European Citizenship is useful for adapting the European area to the possible globalization demands. The concept of citizenship has changed significantly over the last

three centuries. In the 18th century citizenship granted civil rights, a century later opened the door to political rights and in the 20th century social rights were conferred. Civil rights guarantee the rights of private property and all privacy associated rights, in addition to the freedom of speech, of faith and of the press. Over time political rights extended the vote to women, minorities and the poor. Whereas social rights offer the right to healthcare, education and a pension. The establishment of a European citizenship has helped European citizens move freely and in certain European areas has also led to the concept of Cosmopolitan Citizenship, where every person has the right to enter into a relationship with other citizens, societies and cultures without the interference of the State.

To achieve the monetary integration over forty years had passed since the founding Treaty of the EEC. In fact monetary union comprised more risks than simple market integration. In light of this, in 1992 the EU established the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), which implied the introduction of a single European currency managed by a Central European Bank. The single currency, the Euro, became a reality on January 1st 2002.

In its 50 year history the European Union has grown from Six founding members to Twenty-five member States, thanks to constant new entries over time.

Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom became member States in 1973, followed by Greece in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986 and by Austria, Finland and Sweden in 1995. In 2004 the European Union welcomed ten new countries: Cyprus, The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia should enter in just a few years and even Turkey is a candidate. The Ukraine, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Norway, Switzerland, Georgia etc. may also request soon to join the EU.

In order to ensure its efficiency with 25 or more member States the EU's decision-making process will be simplified. For this reason the Nice Treaty, which entered into vigour on February 1st 2003, established new norms to regulate the size and functioning of communitarian institutions.

We must also take into consideration also the Mediterranean dimension. In 1995 the EU agreed to create a free trade zone with Southern Mediterranean countries. Its completion should come about in 2010. The rationale behind this move are to support economic development in these areas and so reduce the risks associated with their political instability and immigration pressures.

This brief historical record reveals that for many years EU growth and integration followed a functionalist and economic model that somehow sought to protect national State sovereignty. After the failures of the 1950's when a common European defence strategy was attempted, political integration had to wait many years to develop. Still today many EU member States are reluctant to renounce to their national independence in the areas of defence and foreign policy, although there are strides also in this delicate areas.

Values have a fundamental role in political integration, which implies granting powers to common institutions. Common political values are required in order to achieve this goal. Hence human rights, liberal democracy and minority rights make part of a core set of values that have changed the face of Europe over the last few decades.

This form of shared values within Europe was achieved at an impressive pace after the fall of Communism, which came about between 1989 and 1991. It's obvious that a some time will be needed to develop a deep democratic culture and civil society institutions, but the building blocks already exist.

Even the relationships between Church and State are of fundamental importance in a multifaith society. For centuries

Western Europe has fought for the principle of religious tolerance and in favour of pluralism, which were essentially acquired at the end of the Thirty-Year War. Today Western Europe doesn't face any true integration barriers due to political-religious conflict. There's not even any trace of political obstacles in the integration process between Western and Orthodox Christians.

As with every form of totalitarianism or fundamentalism, Islamic fundamentalism presents a particular situation. The Islamic State threatens to impose rules that democratic Western States cannot accept (such as limiting the role of women in society or the lack of separation between politics and religion). In a search for common values, dialogue and mutual understanding are needed in order to bring different societies closer, as proposed in the European Union model and Cosmopolitan Democracy.

VI 8. The European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy

Having identified the long term peace as primary objective of the European Union foundation, the Cosmopolitan Democracy is the most appropriate instrument to mitigate the nationalism and religious intolerance which were the main cause of the European conflicts in the past centuries. Europe is the most sensitive region in the World towards these two social problems.

The idea of electing the Cosmopolitan Democracy as the most appropriate instrument to organise European political life is based on the demonstration analysis made by Rummel²⁹⁰ on Kant's philosophy and on Wilson faith that true democracies do not fight each other. As already stated at the beginning of this reflection, two countries with liberal democratic order have not entered the war among each other in the contemporary history.

²⁹⁰ 1997.

This means that spreading the values and the culture of the liberal democracy should strengthen the civil society and as direct consequence the possibilities of war conflicts among states should be reduced. For this reason are very important the democratic institutions, human rights and civil associations.

The Cosmopolitan Democracy should be seen as an evolution of the federal model. The ex-Yugoslavia could be taken as an example where the federal element was not sufficient to manage ethnically complex country.

The ex-Yugoslavia had a federal order that was respecting the principle of nationality in every political and institutional area; even in the army was respected. This complex construction dissolved vertically because people of Yugoslavia failed to create a “horizontal”²⁹¹ civil society. The economic problems and the political power vacuum that has been created when Tito passed away have shown all the weakness of the system. The European Union should dedicate more attention in understanding the Yugoslavian model and to work more on strengthening European citizenship and on sharing common values. This is the only way to direct Europeans’ energy towards a common goal and future of the coming generations.

Yugoslavia was united by Tito’s charisma, an active Worlds Foreign Policy through the non aligned movement, by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and by the Yugoslavian People Army. The values on which the society was based were socialism and the antifascism heritage. The unity of Yugoslavia was formed in the antifascist liberation war and on this memory the country tried to base its unity after the Second World War, but after few decades this elements shown to be insufficient. The societies progress, develop and sometimes regress. Every generation is in charge to prevent that the flower of the civil society dry.

²⁹¹ Transcending various nationalities.

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the religion was always in the second plan for the fear that can become a country's dividing and destabilizing element. The religious differences in Yugoslavia, differently from the Western societies, where the separation of the civil society and religion was determined by a long historical process, was lived by some people as lack of religious freedom. At the end of the 1980's, when the transformation process of the country started, the religion was used by political leaders to divide the country.

After the Berlin wall fall, the country wasn't able to make democratic reforms at the federal level, but started to dissolution process following the path traced by the nations. The Serb nationalism of Slobodan Milosevic created Franjo Tudjman counterpart, the Croatian nationalist. In Croatia, Bosnia and in Kosovo (Serbia) the national minorities became main cause for the eruption of war conflicts.

The nationalism is a European product and it is a spread opinion of non Europeans that Europe will never recover from this social disease. This is a challenge for the Europeans that should take it and create a project in which all Europeans will believe. The Yugoslavian, or Balkan, example represents the demonstration how violent can become this disease. I am convinced that Europe should keep high the guard for it self in relation with this problem because the complete recovery has not yet arrived. The Chancellor Kohl, before leaving the office, said that the nationalist spirit was not death but only buried and added that was necessary to be continuously aware of this fact because at any time this virus can re-explode.

The conquests made by EU and other organisations for the collective security, such as the Council of Europe, are important and a careful analysis of the future and various scenarios help us to understand the potential threats and how to overcome them. There will be important challenges for Europe in this century: the energy problem, the modernisation of some big countries such as China and India will modify the geopolitical relations

and Europe has still a lot to do to find its position and role in this new scenarios and to conserve its inner peace.

The Cosmopolitan Democracy is an evolution of the federal model. In fact the basis of the integration should be the civil society. It is built on the idea that goes overcome the concept of the modern National State with the concept of the civil society and the Cosmopolitan Democracy.

The Cosmopolitan Democracy is founded on two main pillars:

- The first pillar is based on the internalization of both political principles (the liberal democracy elements) and economic principles (market economy); both founding elements of the first pillar increase the possibility for the individuals to realise their dreams. In the liberal democracy the opportunity is given to the people of the civil society that is mostly based on multilevel association of the individuals. With the market economy every person, in theory, has the opportunity to find a way and realise it self in the professional life.
- The second pillar is based on the change of the international relations. The idea is not to have the differences between morality and legacy principles inside the states and immorality in the international relations between the States.

Thus both the Cosmopolitan Democracy and the federal model offer a concrete answers to the obsolete Nation State and globalisation process. The difference among the two lay in fact that the federation foresee the legislative agreements on the highest level, while the Cosmopolitan Democracy foresee a system with various political actions centres controlled by the groups of democratic States.

The revolution in the information and communication technology has blunted the national borders. If we would like to do a comparison (search a metaphor) between the current

government systems and those that will be required in more and more interconnected world (because of the compression of the time and space), it is useful the comparison between Microsoft and Linux. Microsoft has tried to control the access to the cyberspace by imposing its own operating system to the majority of the Personal Computer users. The appearance of Linux, a company established by people with aim of sharing the knowledge among PC users, is threatening Microsoft dominion. A similar situation could happen with the Cosmopolitan Democracy that can not be defined in all of its parts thus require the combined effort of the whole humanity to be built and developed. The subjects that will participate the new cosmopolitan world will need to tailor the model from time to time. Only following the social evolution the idea will fit newly developed concepts in time and space. The European Union is an idea that is growing in this direction. It is not easy to think about a government which is not based on centralized direction intelligence, but with no doubts new technologies do allow the creation of transversal communities that do transcend the traditional Nation State. The European Union should try to focus on the management of the human activity taking for granted the protection of the private property, which was for centuries the primary objective of a State. The global networks view should be also the European view.

Hedley Bull from the Oxford University wrote in 1977 that the reshaping of the political world in a structure with overlapping authorities and crossing trusts, that would embrace all the people in a universal society would have been much better from both the existing competition situation among sovereign States, with their tendency to enter into wars, and from the prospective of a world government, which monopoly over the power forces would potential increase the oppression on the larger base. The Cosmopolitan Democracy is an expression of that direction that the evolution of the society is tracing.

The idea of the Cosmopolitan Democracy and the civil society is important as the opposition (comparison) to the modern State. The modern State was traced in its essential characteristics by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The established definition criteria of the State were identified in the monopoly over the internal authority and the use of power for both: maintaining the inner peace and conduct wars with other states. The State represent also the national identity. In the international arena existed, and still exist, the distinction between the internal and foreign affairs. The Wilsonian ideas of multilateralism and open diplomacy both relate with the Cosmopolitan Democracy.

In 1784, Immanuel Kant, published the book, various times mentioned in this reflection, in which he was defending the cosmopolitan ideal: "...the latest problem for mankind, the solution of which nature forces us to seek, is the achievement of a civil society which is capable of administering law universally...".

With the fall of the Berlin wall (1989) and during the 1990's it appeared as a possibility to realize Kant's idea. It looked like as if the era of the politics based on the balance of power belonged to the history as it appeared that the need to prepare Europe for a strategic development towards a superpower diminished. Currently, after the conflict escalation between Western countries and the Islamic fundamentalism, several elements that were given for granted during the 1990's are not any more granted. This is the flexibility requested to those that have the responsibility to trace directions for the society. Every day is a new day and the memory and previous experiences do help but often are not sufficient and to every generation is requested to put their own effort. The civil society rules are not far away from a common consensus, but the contrast, that today is real, between the values of the European civil societies from one side, similar to every civil society, and the Islamic fundamentalism on the other, remind us that a global convergence on values is still remote. This does not mean that

the work that the European Union is doing by making the civil society rules the fundamental values of EU combined with the effort made to expand EU will not create an attraction pole and an example to other countries.

The wound provoked by the attacks made on 11th of September 2001 in New York imposed to the United States the need to behave with determination against terrorism. The problem is that the “war against terrorism” and the war in Iraq, a part of human right abuses that have been reported, have diverted the attention from other internal conflicts in Chechnya, Colombia, Nepal, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, Israel. The escalation of the violence spread all over the world has increased the mistrust, the fear and the division. The Amnesty International Report (2004) condemned an out of control increase of the inequity, impunity, poverty, discrimination, racism, light arms traffic out of control, violence over women and children abuses. It is evident that the World, especially in this moment, requires a leadership inspired on universal and cosmopolite values such as human rights. The United States and Europe should joint the efforts in the confrontation with the current forms of totalitarian regimes and terrorisms. They were successful in the past and today mostly ideas should be employed instead of arms.

On 11th of March 2004 the Islamic terrorism organisation hit also Europe. A terrorist group from Morocco exploded in Madrid the trains full of pendulars. The explosion killed two hundred people and injured over 1500. This attack directly influenced the Spanish elections that were held in those days.

The love towards life should win over resign towards death. Only the prosperity and the trust in the future could return the will to live to those that have resigned to death and to believe in a better life only after death. The culture and love towards the life on earth should win.

The confrontation with the Islamic fundamentalism should be based on the civil society values summarized in the words of

liberal democracy and maybe today more appropriate would be use of the words civil society and Cosmopolitan Democracy. The conquer of the security and freedom should be made with the values of the civil society. Human rights and the rights of the women will be the most appropriate instruments to face the totalitarian tendencies of today.

Islam is considered traditionally as a universal brotherhood of faith. For some believer the tie with Islam is considered superior to any other tie with cultures, places or political institutions. The faith radicalism could lead many believers to believe that the loyalty should be first of all focused towards faith and towards solidarity of the Muslim brothers and this would lead the community towards isolation. There is no doubt that the Nation State model is developed more in the Christian world thus it is unlikely to expect that in the Muslim world the loyalty towards the State is of the same strength as the loyalty towards faith. The same reasoning about loyalty could be stated for any religious sect or religious fundamentalism. We have seen that today the Nation State is partially eroded and inserted in the globalisation process and civil society. It is clear that Islam transcends the frontiers, as any other religion, and its universalism makes him adaptable to the global society. We should not forget the Turkish experience and also the experiences of some Arab countries that during the Cold War accepted socialist ideas thus partially secularized their countries.

This means that everything is possible and that in both Islam and other religious worlds there is a space in the Cosmopolitan Democracy model. The faith should not contribute to the building of social walls, but should help to reduce them and should help people discover that the elements in which people are similar overcome the diversities.

Human rights and duties connected with our common existence on earth should represent the values in which all the people of the world could recognize in. In fact, the universal human rights are the acceptance of diversity of the others:

minorities, disables, different cultures or any other living being. To recognize what was mentioned above require to abandon at least partially the concept of the dominion.

The Cosmopolitan Democracy put the major attention on the rules governing the international relations. The system of organising and developing these rules and is based on the application of the Cosmopolitan Democracy.

The mechanism is based on many related multilevel networks, some of them related to the economic interest groups and non-governmental organisation, other related with the government processes. All this elements can be recognised in some characteristics and future European scenarios. There is no doubt that it is in line with the globalisation path thus can be evaluated as progressive idea in comparison with the nationalist model that is rather reactionary.

The Cosmopolitan Democracy characteristics could be defined with the following elements:

- network; the cosmopolitan order consists in various multilevel network groups and associations that that are involved in economy, legal relations, civil associations, culture and welfare. The key success factor of a network is trust. In a network the weakness is considered strength because it is also a signal of trust and availability to work in a group for a common wealth. The heart of the network become the loyalty to the group;
- right and duty groups; groups and association have the capacity to self determine via commitment towards an autonomy principle and a set of rights and duties. This sets form the base for the strengthening of the legal order – a cosmopolitan democracy law;
- legal principles; these principles do create limits for the individual and collective action inside the economic associations, the State and the civil society;

- democratic autonomy; the common structure for the political action create the agenda with objectives for the long term change;
- social justice; the production and distribution models of the resources needs to be appropriate and bring the democratic process towards a common action; the meritocracy is important for the social justice;
- non coercion principles and the use of the force; the non violent solution of the conflicts is the primary objective, but the use of the force remain the last option, above all where the regimes deny the respect for human rights;
- citizenship; the population can join at different levels various associations, from the local level till the global one.

The systems that worked properly in the history have always been based on trust. The Western system is above all based on trust. The financial markets are based on trust, the currency, the networks, everything is based on trust. Also the Cosmopolitan Democracy is a matter of trust and what becomes important is the positive energy that a similar model can emit in increasing the overall trust.

The most important element for the legitimacy of the Cosmopolitan Democracy should derive from the principle of the equal dignity and the equal value of every human being. Contrary to the spread opinion according to which in the world there are different and conflict models of the moral value of an individual, the equal dignity of every human being is expressed and defended in every culture. The sacred lectures confirm it. The human dignity is a universal and cosmopolitan value.

The Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe placed human rights at the heart of the document and it is a possibility that those rights will become the moulding principle for the future societies. The passion for the human rights and empathy have not reached neither the historical force of the faith nor that of the reason that in the past centuries emitted and channelled

important human energies. Only through empathy and ability to understand difficulties and sufferings of the others it is possible to give the exact value to the universal human rights. The empathy is probably the highest communication level among individuals and being able to feel it could cancel the religious diversities, the skin colour diversities and the national diversities.

It was written at the beginning of this reflection that the man learns from the books, schools, but above all from the experience and the empathy is something that can be felt only by people open to the experience. Unfortunately the suffering allows the man to understand other people experiences. The cycle of life makes almost impossible to make perpetual non repeating of the bad experiences. Every new generation repeat most of the errors and goes through most of the difficulties. The culture of tolerance in a civil society is the best therapy for many human problems.

The picture described shows a Europe where the Nation State is under pressure from the bottom, the civil society requests, and from the top, with requests to adapt to the globalisation and regionalisation at the same time. The European Union is not defined today as a territorial entity and it would be a limit to do so. In the men kind history it never existed a similar government institution, a part of a vague similarity with the Holy Roman Empire where the influence of the Holy Seat over the territorial question was more moral rather than practical.

The European Union is in practice a family of European democratic countries that have committed themselves to work together for peace and prosperity. It is not a State that proposes it self as substitute to the existing States, but it is something more in relation with other international organisations. Its members have created various common institutions to which they delegate a part of their sovereignty thus the decision on specific issues of common interest can be taken democratically

at the European level. This union of sovereignties is also called the “European integration” but could be better named as the European civil society or the Cosmopolitan Democracy. It should be underlined that the criteria for the admission to the European Union are based above all on values and less on geographical belongings.

The EU institutions are five and each of them has a specific role:

1. The European Parliament (elected by the citizens of the member States).
2. The Council of the European Union (that represents the governments of the member States).
3. The European Commission (the executive body of the EU).
4. The European Court of Justice (that guarantee the respect of the law).
5. The European Court of Auditors (that verify that the management of the European Union budget is correct).

These institutions are sided by other five important bodies:

- The European Economic and Social Committee (is an EU body that represents the opinions of the civil society focused on the economic and social issues).
- The Committee of the Regions (is an EU body that represents the opinions of regional and local bodies).
- The European Central Bank (is responsible for the monetary policy and the management of the Euro).
- The European Ombudsman (is a body that examine all legal proceeding of the EU citizens against cases of poor administration of any EU institution or body).

- The European Investment Bank (which contributes to the obtaining of the EU objectives mainly via project financing).
- The system is completed by various agencies and other minor bodies.

Rechtsstaat or a “state of law – state of rights” is a fundamental concept for the European Union. All of the EU decisions and procedures are based on Treaties that are approved by all member States. In the first years, most of the cooperation between the member countries were related with the trade and economy related issues, but today EU is in charge of many other important issues of such as the citizen rights, the freedom and security, the justice and labour, regional development and the protection of the environment.

For a society to progress and function, the rule of the law is necessary, but it is not sufficient. People need to believe both in the institutions and in the project. Only when this combination is reached the people energy allow the progress of the society. Legal enforcements do work on the paper but in practice, without trust, the law and punishment are not sufficient to guide a society and to make it progress.

As shown with geographical maps in previous chapters, Europe is a continent with different traditions and languages but with a heritage of common values that need to be preserved. These values allow the cooperation among people of Europe by promoting the unity but also respecting the diversity. It is also guaranteed to the citizens that the decisions are made as much as possible taking into account the citizen’s opinions.

In the 21st century world, characterized by increasing interdependence, European citizen will be solicited to cooperate with people from other countries in a curious and cooperative spirit.

It is interesting to observe how the coordination between the EU, the Council of Europe and OSCE worked in relation

with the Eastern Europe countries. The EU has established a strategic alliance with the Council of Europe and it contribute its market strength (in front of new entrants) to help the Council of Europe in monitoring the respect of the human rights, of the democracy and helping also OSCE in protecting national minorities.

The European Union lived for half of the century in stability, peace and prosperity but was not able to react with determination in the ex-Yugoslavia and this should be remembered because civil conquests are obtained with huge efforts but can get lost very easy. The EU helped also the improvement of the standards of living, to build a single European market, have introduced Euro and is consolidating the voice of Europe in the World, but many European are aware that Europe is not far away of becoming an attraction pole thanks to its established civil society.

The European Union is the beginning of the Cosmopolitan Democracy and important challenges in the near future that EU will need to face are related with creation of values, adopting of a common language and the religious tolerance.

The civil society values that also characterize the Cosmopolitan Democracy should become also the European values. A second language should be taught to all the Europeans since the very young age. The religions should become the cultural and spiritual richness of single individuals that are part of Europe.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

Human rights, liberal democracy and minority rights are the greatest achievements of civil society. It has taken centuries of war and destruction to earn some of these victories and modern Europe is likely the most emblematic illustration of the great human efforts that have been made to achieve peace in a historically complex setting, where all too often the answers have been found in the tragedy of war. Ideas of peace and values will always be part of modern thought, especially in light of the difficulties we face in today's international climate with the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the war against terrorism. Values should be the chosen means for confrontation with today's totalitarian tendencies and the unified voice of Europe must make a key contribution in the worldwide concert.

Over the last few years the European Union has completed a period of primarily legal and economic integration that began in 1954 with the fall of the European Defence Community. The decision not to proceed with political integration in the mid-1950's has given way to a much longer process of development of the European integration. This has helped the European Union to achieve great results, but it has not facilitated the establishment of political union. Europe's complex history and international issues were the main factors obstructing political developments.

After 1954 the idea of a European Federal Constitution was dropped. A federal Constitution would have led Europe beyond economic integration and created the tools for unified action in all areas of external relations. Instead a functionalist-confederal path led the process of integration.

Over 50 years of integration has favoured important outcomes such as:

- economic development, which has made Western Europe among the most prosperous and peaceful areas of the world;
- greater global consensus towards a liberal democratic system;
- a strong appeal for the European Union, the proof of which is found in its ongoing expansion and new requests for EU entry;
- the creation of a European Model which represents many unique elements in worldwide international relations;
- the disintegration of the Soviet block and the development of a new scenario that could lead towards future unity of the Continent and reconciliation which could heal the old divisions we analyzed in Chapter one.

If this is true, it is also true that Europe should no longer delay the development of a Pan-European sovereignty that could further improve upon the benefits Europe has already achieved²⁹² and could add other benefits for Europeans. Monetary union has already freed single States from important sovereignty rights and a further delay in the creation of a democratic European government makes it difficult to enact policies that can ensure socio-economic cohesion between weaker and stronger member states and guarantee European's economic competitiveness. It is also crucial that Europe adopt a mandatory official language to be taught across all the member States. English has already gone global and should become the second language of all Europeans. Speaking the same tongue would greatly strengthen and improve the harmony, efficiency and effectiveness of the European Union.

²⁹² A common foreign policy would give Europeans a unified voice.

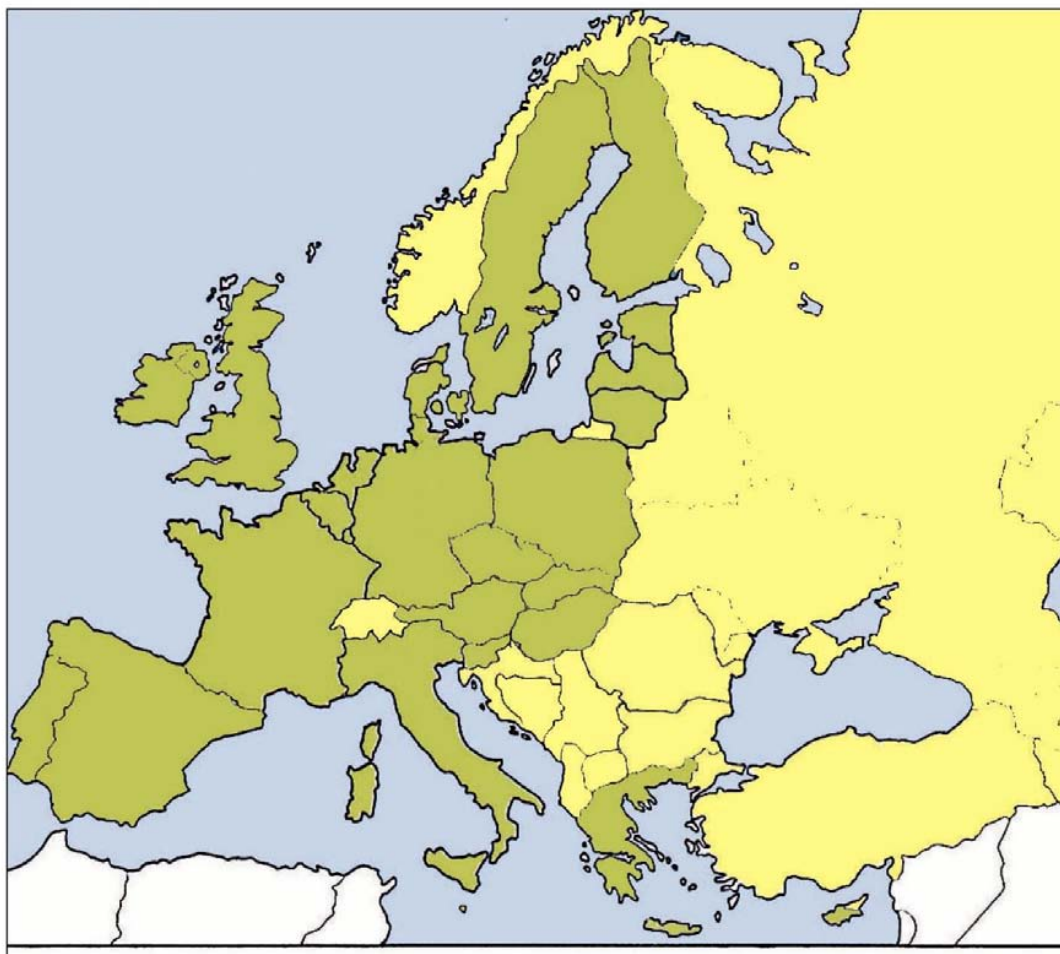
The breakdown of the Soviet block has removed the hurdles that prevented the expansion of a free market economy and helped in the development of a pluralistic and democratic society, yet at the same time, as explained in this book, the very dangerous problem of European nationalism has re-emerged.

The European Union, together with the Council of Europe, has replied to this threat through EU expansion, but most of all by teaching the new member states the fundamental values of the European Union, which are the very same values at the root of Cosmopolitan Democracy: that is respect for human rights, minority rights, the rules of democracy and the separation of Religion and State.

The concept of peace within the European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy is based on the theory that two liberal democracies of “quality” should not get involved in armed conflict. With this assumption we get that an increase of countries that share liberal democracies values reduces the probability of wars. The EU model and integration process, as imperfect as it still is, clearly demonstrate the practical validity of this idea. With time it will be possible to evaluate this theory, which will mostly depend on Europeans’ capacity to build a civil society across Europe. If the model works we would have historical proof that it is indeed possible to achieve Kant’s idea of Perpetual Peace. We mustn’t forget that with the end of the Cold War democracy is now at home in three out of Four Policemen indicated by Roosevelt.

For the European Union the teaching of human rights values brought to light by the Council of Europe acted as the elementary school for young democracies. This is the reason why the mission to bring the European Union and the other members of the Council of Europe closer together in a project of Cosmopolitan Democracy should continue. This would offer the whole European Continent a unique opportunity to heal all the wounds we addressed in the first chapter.

Map 31. EU and European Council Expansion (2030-2050).



The creation of a Union of 800 million citizens within a setting of national, religious and cultural pluralism and socio-economic differences, makes a necessity to continue on the path indicated by the Cosmopolitan Democracy and makes a necessity the creation of a European civil society based on above indicated values. The strengthening of the European Union as a supranational institution is needed in order to guarantee unified governance of the economy and regional inequities, the EU law, liberal-democratic principles and foreign policy and security of the Union.

The Cosmopolitan Democracy project and the expansion of the EU would be a suitable answer to the current global instability scenario and terrorism, to which in particular EU is exposed. It would be an answer made of ideas and values, but

mostly made of rights. There are no examples in the World, a part of the European Union, where to sovereignty of a State can be overcome when the human rights protection is questioned. Many global or regional projects do not consider the rights of its citizens nor those of the women.

Europeans and the European Union has a duty to contribute to global security. Current international instability requires that new Continental poles are created as a guarantee to internal orders and development and as a contribute to overall security too. To achieve this, it is becoming crucial that the EU develop a unified foreign policy and security strategy across the Union. It would be also a way to consolidate the results obtained till today.

Establishing European-wide peace through the values ingrained in Cosmopolitan Democracy would prove that it is possible to extend peace also in other areas of the world. It is a project that could be led in partnership with the United States²⁹³, given that Europe and the USA ought to do everything in their power to maintain good relations: not just for ideological reasons, but above all for the fact that both countries share the values at the heart of Cosmopolitan Democracy.

Greater cooperation in the sharing Cosmopolitan Democracy values could even lead to a gradual decrease in US military power and in general disarmament as well. Although this process would likely take decades, in light of the fact that many conventional weapons are dispersed throughout the globe and many countries still face typical 20th century-style civil wars as copy-cats of the past.

The problem of war will remain a challenge even for the leaders of peace since it will be their responsibility to establish or maintain peace. The supremacy of technology has helped to

²⁹³ In that we musn't forget the merit that goes to the United States and the ideas of its Presidents like Wilson, who without doubt have contributed greatly to the international values we share today.

reduce the number of victims within those countries that take the responsibility of re-establishing and maintaining peace in critical areas. When threats are eliminated, the countries that opted for American protection will must take greater responsibility for their internal order and security. Although more police forces will be needed, the number of traditional soldiers will be greatly reduced.

If we resolve energy and pollution problems and if worldwide economic development continues along the curve of Western development, more key players will join the international political arena. We may observe a similar scenario found in 18th -19th century in Europe, wherein the great powers could be: the United States, European Union, China, Russia, Japan and perhaps India, together with many small to medium sized countries.

Cosmopolitan Democracy offers an alternative solution, which for the moment is only traceable in some areas. Should the European Union achieve internal unity it would have the opportunity to act as one of the leaders of the new world order in both scenarios. However in the second scenario the European Union must likely sustain a greater commitment because it should continue to work on EU expansion and on the reduction of the division between Russia and the EU and division between Turkey and the EU. Currently the European Union is more suitable for Germany. This situation justify even more the need to strengthen ties with Russia.

It's likely that the United Nations will undergo reforms in the next few years. The European Union and the United States should support future UN and Security Council reforms. It would also be wise to create a body similar to the Council of Europe, which could be called the Council of Cosmopolitan Democracy and whose membership would be subject to respect for selected universal values that are the base for Cosmopolitan Democracy. In end, it would be recommended that the member countries of the Council of the Cosmopolitan Democracy

establish an international tribunal similar to the European Court of Human rights in Strasbourg.

The United States is the power most committed to creating a new world order and they are not in an easy position. Even for the US, given their history of isolationism and hegemony in the Cold War, the challenge of cooperating with likely powers would be a new experience. No lesser challenge will be faced by the other world powers, which have yet to define clear policies in the international arena.

Both George Bush Sr. and Bill Clinton believed in a new Wilsonian world order. The end of the Cold War made this goal seem simple. George Bush declared: “He have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War: a partnership based on consultation, cooperation, and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations; a partnership united by principle and the rule of law supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment; a partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity increase the peace, and reduce arms...”. Bush’s successor, Bill Clinton, confirmed the need to continue to expand democracy in the World: “In a new era of peril and opportunity, our overriding purpose must be to expand and strengthen the world’s community of market-based democracies. During the Cold War, we fought to contain a threat to the survival of free institutions. Now we seek to enlarge the circle of nations that live under those free institutions, for our dear is that of a day when the opinions and energies of every person in the world will be given full expression in a world of thriving democracies that cooperate with each other and live in peace”.

The terrorist attacks in New York and the crisis faced by Western economies was a hard blow to the United States and the rest of the Western world. Although the current economic crisis is weakening faith in the West, the Wilsonian path remains the key route to follow and the European Union should help the

Americans to light the way. Terrorism remain a confrontation between totalitarianism and freedom that should be won through values. People should not lose faith in the values at the heart of Cosmopolitan Democracy, which up until today have never been shared by such a large number of countries across the globe. People shouldn't be afraid of diversity since in a global world diversity becomes a curiosity and beauty. The fears of France and Germany following World War I were rooted in pain, history, destruction and mistrust. The United States shouldn't take part in the game of fear because they would become like Europeans were at the end of the 19th century and the world do not need an America like that. Instead, through dialogue Americans must continue to build upon the work started by Wilson over 90 years ago because today both Europeans and Russians believe in the values that historically Americans believed in.

The pain suffered by Americans after the terrorist attacks on September 11th 2001 shouldn't turn Americans into victims of fear. The beauty of the American way of life also comes from their belief in certain values, that likely found fertile ground in the fact that American society was unchained by the weight of history. It's almost as if the past doesn't count and as if new endeavours were always possible. With "Tomorrow is another day" the movie *Gone With the Wind* represents the American spirit of faith in the future. This is by no means an invitation to stop studying history because the saying that those who ignore history are bound to repeat it has proven to be true many times in the past. Rather it's just a reminder that the American way of looking towards hope and a positive future, just like Locke, should not be undermined by the fear of the outside world.

A new world order still doesn't exist and history has taught us that a fundamental requirement for a political system to function is that all interested parties and active players accept it first. We are still undergoing a period of change and the foundations we set today will determine the public order and stability of the future. The system established through the peace

of Westphalia lasted over 150 years; the order generated by the Congress of Vienna survived a century; the Treaty of Versailles failed to impose an acceptable order and the semblance of international order during the Cold War lasted only 45 years. Every new Treaty represents the end of an era and this is why each new generation always finds itself facing new challenges. The Westphalia Peace Treaty represented a major shift from a feudal society based on principles of universalism to modern States founded on the *raison d'Etat*. After the French Revolution we saw the emergence of the Nation-State characterised by a common language and culture. 20th century wars erupted because of the disintegration of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, the power struggle for European dominance and due to the fall of colonialism. We are going through another period of change and despite that the United States is the most powerful country in the world it is not able to create a new model on it's own because power is more dispersed.

The George W. Bush Administration had already begun pulling out from prior global commitments and began to reject new multilateral agreements even before the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001. His Government refused to sign the Kyoto Protocol intended to achieve stabilization of greenhouse gas in the atmosphere, rejected the Land Mine Treaty prohibiting the anti-personnel landmines and rejected the enlarged Test Ban Treaty to cease nuclear testing in the atmosphere, he also withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Finally his Administration refused to support the International Criminal Court, founded to commit all world nations to respect and guarantee standards of Universal Human Rights. In his 2nd term inaugural speech of January 20th 2005, George W. Bush echoed many Wilsonian principles in his American foreign policy and it's still to premature to know whether during his second mandate a soft power approach will substitute the hard line strategy of the last four years. Major global consensus is unconditional for the foundation of a new world order and should be evaluated whether something good can come out from

the creation of the European Union. For many years American soft power was a lighthouse for the rest of the world: it's liberal democratic values, multicultural origins, openness, optimism, innovativeness, creativity and prosperity made the USA a world attraction and a source of inspiration. *Realpolitik* at the worldwide level is not the best solution for a modern day international order.

Today's European Union is a pluristate system that has shaped many concepts which have inspired current international relations, in particular the concepts of Nation-State, sovereignty and balance of powers. Many of these concepts have degenerated over time and historical complexities have led to numerous European wars. Currently no single European country is able to face global issues on its own and this is one of the most important reasons for strengthening the European Union. It should not be forgotten that the European Union was founded on a search for peace and therefore upholding internal peace, sharing common values and teaching neighbouring countries about these objectives should be part of the standard European foreign policy and Europe should concentrate on this project for the next decades. It needs a common language to reduce linguistic barriers between people, as we highlighted earlier, and it needs to share the culture which is at the heart of Europe. These values would help Europe to define its identity and roots and just like a tree it does not have a single root, but rather it has as many roots as many branches you can see on the tree. People need to believe in a Europe made up of 800 million citizens in order to become a reality one day as it needs to believe in a world without wars to become a reality.

Russia needs to concentrate on search for its identity even more than Europe. Russia has always played an important role in the European equilibrium despite the fact that it has not always shared the spiritual outlook. Historically both the need to conquer and to protect internal security have coexisted in the minds of Russian leaders. The Empire continued to expand and take over non-Russian ethnic groups, who in turn continuously

influenced the character of the State. Since the Congress of Vienna, the Russian Empire sent more military forces into foreign territory than any other great power. The historical rift between Russia and the European Union is still deep and the great will and capacity of Europeans is needed to understand Russians and bring them closer to the EU, just as Russians need to find the will to come closer to Europeans. A very significant aspect of the new political scene is that Russia chose to adopt liberal democratic values at the end of the Cold War. But very few Russian leaders have experience with democracy so it's still too early to evaluate the success of the Russian transition. Democracy can be a system or just a mere word and the conquer of civil society is a long process that must continuously be nurtured, the same as peace.

China is likely least known to the western world. The Chinese Empire unified its territories under a single authority for two thousand years. China stayed within its own walls and viewed foreigners as barbarians until the 19th century when it found itself subject to European colonialism. China re-emerged on the world scene through its Communist experience and today the country's economic potential makes it a power hard to define. In addition to providing practical proof that a market economy can work with any type of political regime, it's likely that the increase in general wellbeing will offer its citizens new political freedoms as well. Likely its very citizens will be the ones to ask for greater rights. Technological globalization makes isolation impossible in the modern era. Political organization will surely become more complex with democratization. To the general observer it would seem that very few Wilsonian's exist in China, but in May 1989 over 100,000 students marched in Tiananmen Square protest and we mustn't ever forget that in Chinese culture untrustworthy is the worst kind of defect.

It's hard to evaluate the impact of Chinese entry into international organizations like the World Trade Organization (WTO), which in the near future could require that child labour be prohibited and that a particular type of work hour is

respected. These requests would level out global competitiveness, which today put some global players in difficulty. If the latter developments take place it's very likely that economic growth will lead to salary growth and to the development of internal markets, which will also benefit other players active in world competition.

It's important to remember that in 1998 the ASEAN States²⁹⁴ joined together with South Korean, Japan and China to form the East Asian Vision Group (EVAG). In 2001 EVAG published a report entitled *Towards an East Asian Community: Region of Peace, Prosperity and Progress*. The report contained indications that EVAG member states could become an Asian version of the EU. With an eventual union the area's GNP could equal that of the EU and the USA with a population of two billion people. At the end of 2003 ASEAN member States committed themselves to the creation, by 2020, of an economic community similar to that of the European Union. The choices that China and Japan will make are still undetermined.

The European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy will make up part of the new world order. The early decisions made on every project are decisive and the new international structure will depend on the choices made over the next years. We could have a relatively stable order like the one following the Congress of Vienna and World War Two, or we may face an extremely instable order as seen after the Peace of Westphalia and the Treaty of Versailles. These historical examples teach us that international order greatly depends on the compatibility between a society's sense of security and its sense of what is just in the world.

As highlighted, the most stable international systems in recent history were the order produced from the Congress of

²⁹⁴ Founded (through American initiative) in 1967 between Indonesia, Malaysia, The Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, to stimulate economic and social cooperation in the region. Brunei joined in 1984; in 1997, Vietnam; in 1997, Laos and Myanmar; in 1999, Cambodia.

Vienna and the order governed by the USA after World War Two. Both of these systems had the advantage of a unified form of thought. The Statesmen of Vienna were aristocrats that shared the same values and all the greatest American leaders that contributed to the creation of the post-War world order shared the same intellectual tradition. Wilson indubitably won the intellectual victory of his time, an achievement that represents the greatest political victory of all times given that it has become the pillar of US foreign policy. In fact every time the United States faced the challenge of forming a new world order they had to recollect Wilson's vision.

History doesn't offer automatic solutions but it teaches through analogies. Studying similar situations helps us understand bit by bit. Whenever men has tried to reinvent the society it has taken grave risks and created great disorders. As mentioned at the beginning of this book, we are today's civilization and our generation has the responsibility to understand which past situations are truly comparable to today's circumstances and which political order could be the best for the world of tomorrow.

Our ability to control energy in order to serve human needs is part of human progress, wellbeing and civilization. History has proven that energy has caused the rise and fall of civilizations. Human labour was the major font of energy up until the invention of machines and energy is still one of the most critical elements within contemporary societies.

The great civilizations distinguished themselves from basic societies thanks to their ability to accumulate and manage huge quantities of energy. Today Americans consume over one-third of the world's energy despite that they represent less than 5% of the world's population. In ancient days religious changes were able to mobilize human energy. Modernday ideologies had an analogous role to religion. When energy flows are interrupted the greatest societies risk falling. This line of thought helps us

understand the great need for scientific research to find new sources of energy.

Oil, natural gas and coal have been the major sources of energy for over a century. Today they still cover 85% of the world's energy needs and since they are not distributed equally across the globe they have become a major font of worldwide geopolitical problems.

Scientists agree that fossil fuel reserves are depleting. Oil has caused many geopolitical tensions during the 20th century until today. The greatest challenge is to find new sources of energy such as hydrogen power, cold fusion, solar energy or even other solutions. But this is not just a challenge for Europeans or Westerners but of the whole World.

The EU has committed to producing 22% of its own electricity and 12% of total energy consumption from renewable sources by 2010. In June 2003 the EU announced a plan to become a clean hydrogen fuelled economy by mid-century. The President of the EU Commission at the time Romano Prodi explained why: "Our current approach to energy is almost solely based on fossil fuel and nuclear combustibles. And this is unsustainable in the long-term...The true question is whether there is enough land, air and water to absorb all the solid, liquid and gas waste produced by fossil and nuclear combustibles in order to produce energy ...The answer is clearly no...The rational solution is to resolutely shift to renewable energy...by using hydrogen to store them...Our declared objective is to achieve a progressive shift towards a perfectly integrated hydrogen economy, based on renewable energy sources by the middle of the century".

If we can't find a substitute to oil Western societies risk entropy and a decline towards social unrest before finding a new equilibrium. On the other hand, the hydrogen revolution or any other form of clean energy could lead to worldwide geopolitical and social changes and the building of a model of Cosmopolitan Democracy would be less utopian.

The values at the heart of Cosmopolitan Democracy have spread across the globe over the last decade and are much more widely shared with respect to eighty years ago, especially within Europe. Extending the path laid out by Wilson is important for both ensuring peace across Europe and in order for Europe to become a hub of attraction and another lighthouse of civilization. The values at the heart of Cosmopolitan Democracy are already shared among all religions and therefore among all its people and this could lead us towards a new international system and a new framework for society.

Peace, liberty, scientific progress and wellbeing are still the destinations of our human voyage and every generation has the responsibility to build a piece of the road or to trace a new pathway. New generations will always need to recognize whether the barriers encountered on the way have already been studied and solved by past generations. In order to do this we need to carefully maintain the road we have built so far and preserve the route maps we have already sailed and of the places we have already been. This road and the course it has taken us to are the patrimony of all humankind.

Cosmopolitan Democracy should be like an incomplete artist's picture, which inspires different emotions from each person that comes in contact with the unfinished work, but whose complete part such as human rights should be liked to make idea develop, thus attracting new energy and acquiring legitimacy. The imagination and the dream need to be kept alive in order to continue to build upon the idea of peace for humanity.

In closing this long reflection on Cosmopolitan Democracy I'd like to cite the guidelines that Peace Nobel Shimon Peres dedicated to the Ambrosetti's Young Leader group after the meeting:

"The future is always in a minority. Yet the history of the future is more important than the history of the past. It is for the

old to remember the past. It is for the young to build the world of tomorrow.

Do it! You can build a world without wars. You can construct a new humanity."

APPENDIX

The European Union and Cosmopolitan Democracy

APPENDIX A. Members of European structures and organizations

	EU	Year	WEU	Year	NATO	Year	Council of EUROPE	Year	OSCE	Year
<u>EU Members Countries</u>										
1) Belgium	Yes	1952	Yes	1954	Yes	1949	Yes	1949	Yes	1973
2) France	Yes	1952	Yes	1954	Yes	1949	Yes	1949	Yes	1973
3) Germany	Yes	1952	Yes	1954	Yes	1955	Yes	1950	Yes	1973
4) Italy	Yes	1952	Yes	1954	Yes	1949	Yes	1949	Yes	1973
5) Luxembourg	Yes	1952	Yes	1954	Yes	1949	Yes	1949	Yes	1973
6) Holland	Yes	1952	Yes	1954	Yes	1949	Yes	1949	Yes	1973
7) United Kingdom	Yes	1973	Yes	1954	Yes	1949	Yes	1949	Yes	1973
8) Denmark	Yes	1973	Observer		Yes	1949	Yes	1949	Yes	1973
9) Ireland	Yes	1973	Observer		-		Yes	1949	Yes	1973
10) Greece	Yes	1981	Yes	1995	Yes	1952	Yes	1949	Yes	1973
11) Portugal	Yes	1986	Yes	1988	Yes	1949	Yes	1976	Yes	1973
12) Spain	Yes	1986	Yes	1988	Yes	1982	Yes	1977	Yes	1973
13) Austria	Yes	1995	Observer		-		Yes	1956	Yes	1973
14) Finland	Yes	1995	Observer		-		Yes	1989	Yes	1973
15) Sweden	Yes	1995	Observer		-		Yes	1949	Yes	1973
16) Czech Republic	Yes	2004	Associate		Yes	1999	Yes	1993	Yes	1993
17) Hungary	Yes	2004	Associate		Yes	1999	Yes	1990	Yes	1973
18) Poland	Yes	2004	Associate		Yes	1999	Yes	1991	Yes	1973
19) Slovakia	Yes	2004	Part.Associate		Yes	2004	Yes	1993	Yes	1993
20) Slovenia	Yes	2004	Part.Associate		Yes	2004	Yes	1993	Yes	1992
21) Estonia	Yes	2004	Part.Associate		Yes	2004	Yes	1993	Yes	1991
22) Latvia	Yes	2004	Part.Associate		Yes	2004	Yes	1995	Yes	1991
23) Lithuania	Yes	2004	Part.Associate		Yes	2004	Yes	1993	Yes	1991
24) Cyprus	Yes	2004	-		-		Yes	1961	Yes	1973
25) Malta	Yes	2004	-		-		Yes	1965	Yes	1973
<u>Countries requesting entry in EU</u>										
26) Bulgaria	Requested		Part.Associate		Yes	2004	Yes	1992	Yes	1973
27) Croatia	Requested		-		Requested		Yes	1996	Yes	1992
28) Romania	Requested		Part.Associate		Yes	2004	Yes	1993	Yes	1973
29) Turkey	Requested		Associate		Yes	1952	Yes	1949	Yes	1973
<u>Other Western European Countries</u>										
30) Iceland	-		Associate		Yes	1949	Yes	1950	Yes	1973
31) Norway	-		Associate		Yes	1949	Yes	1949	Yes	1973
32) Switzerland	-		-		-		Yes	1963	Yes	1973
33) Andorra	-		-		-		Yes	1994	Yes	1996
34) Liechtenstein	-		-		-		Yes	1978	Yes	1973
35) Holy See	-		-		-		-		Yes	1973
36) Principality of Monaco	-		-		-		Candidate		Yes	1973
37) San Marino	-		-		-		Yes	1988	Yes	1973
<u>Other Balkan Countries</u>										
38) Macedonia	-		-		Requested		Yes	1995	Yes	1995
39) Serbia and Montenegro	-		-		-		Yes	2003	Yes	2000
40) Bosnia and Herzegovina	-		-		-		Yes	2002	Yes	1992
41) Albania	-		-		Requested		Yes	1995	Yes	1991
<u>CIS Europe</u>										
42) Russia	-		-		-		Yes	1996	Yes	1973
43) Ukraine	-		-		-		Yes	1995	Yes	1992
44) Belarus	-		-		-		Candidate		Yes	1992
45) Moldavia	-		-		-		Yes	1995	Yes	1992
46) Armenia	-		-		-		Yes	2001	Yes	1992
47) Georgia	-		-		-		Yes	1999	Yes	1992
48) Azerbaijan	-		-		-		Yes	2001	Yes	1992

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	EU	WEU	NATO		Council of EUROPE	OSCE
<u>Csi Asia</u>						
49) Kazakhstan	-	-	-	-	-	Yes 1992
50) Kyrgyzstan	-	-	-	-	-	Yes 1992
51) Tajikistan	-	-	-	-	-	Yes 1992
52) Turkmenistan	-	-	-	-	-	Yes 1992
53) Uzbekistan	-	-	-	-	-	Yes 1992
<u>Honorary European Members</u>						
54) Canada	-	-	Yes	1949	Observer	Yes 1973
55) United States	-	-	Yes	1949	Observer	Yes 1973

Sources: Internet

Notes:

NATO	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - currently include 26 countries (24 European and the US and Canada) - it is part of the European security system under the US leadership - Article 5.: guarantee that an attack against one of the members is considered an attack against NATO. The article is valid only for the full member countries. - Combined Joint Task Force (Cjtf): structures available for the intervention in minor conflicts and peace keeping operations. The operations are flexible and open for participations: they could also be managed by WEU in agreement with NATO. - Partnership for Peace: it is a NATO programme for the cooperation with no member countries.
WEU	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - WEU have 10 EU country members, 5 observer countries, 6 associated countries and 7 associated partners. WEU is considered a part of EU development. - March 1948, UK, France and Benelux countries signed a defence alliance, Treaty of Brussels; in December 1948 the countries that signed Treaty of Brussels joined the US and Canada and signed in April 1949 North Atlantic Treaty (NATO) in Washington. In 1951, France proposed the creation of European Army which led to the signature in May 1952 in Paris of the European Defence Community Treaty that was not ratified by the French Parliament in August 1954. In October of the same year, WEU was founded. - article V is equivalent in its principle to the NATO's article 5. - Eurocorps: WEU multinational military structure. - Petersberg Declaration: humanitarian and rescue tasks; peace-keeping tasks; tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peace-making..
CSCE / OSCE	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), established after the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and transformed in 1994 in OSCE, Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Its 55 participating States are from Europe, North America, ex USSR and Central Asia. - CSCE was found in agreement with Brezhnev (USSR) following the global security model based on military aspects related with disarmament negotiations and including the conflict solution efforts, maintenance of peace and respect for the human rights. - During the OSCE Budapest Summit in 1994, Russia proposed the creation of a European Security Council. - OSCE works for a European security model based on democracy and human rights with aim to deep the co-operating with NATO, EU, Council of Europe and OSCE. Current most successful relations are between OSCE and EU. <p>The Helsinki Final Act (1975) "Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States" enumerated the following 10 points:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty 2. Refraining from the threat or use of force 3. Inviolability of frontiers 4. Territorial integrity of States 5. Peaceful settlement of disputes 6. Non-intervention in internal affairs 7. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief 8. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples 9. Co-operation among States 10. Fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law

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APPENDIX B²⁹⁵. European demographic and economic indicators.

	Population (millions)	Life expectancy (years)	Literacy (%)	Urbaniza- tion (%)	GDP per capita (US\$'000)
EU Members Countries	456,3				
1) Belgium	10,4	78	99	97	28
2) France	59,9	79	99	76	26
3) Germany	82,5	78	99	88	27
4) Italy	57,8	79	99	67	27
5) Luxembourg	0,5	76	99		59
6) Holland	16,3	78	99	90	28
7) United Kingdom	59,5	77	99	90	27
8) Denmark	5,4	77	99	85	31
9) Ireland	4,0	77	99	59	35
10) Greece	11,0	78	97	60	19
11) Portugal	10,5	76	90	66	18
12) Spain	42,2	78	97	78	22
13) Austria	8,1	78	99	67	30
14) Finland	5,2	78	99	59	27
15) Sweden	9,0	80	99	83	28
16) Czech Republic	10,2	75	99	75	16
17) Hungary	10,1	72	99	65	18
18) Poland	38,1	74	99	63	11
19) Slovakia	5,4	73	99	58	13
20) Slovenia	2,0	76	96	49	20
21) Estonia	1,4	71	99	69	12
22) Latvia	2,3	70	99	60	10
23) Lithuania	3,4	73	98	69	11
24) Cyprus	0,7	77	94		19
25) Malta	0,4	76	86		19
Requested entry in EU	105,5				
26) Bulgaria	7,8	72	93	67	7
27) Croatia	4,7	74	97	58	9
28) Romania	22,3	70	97	55	6
29) Turkey	70,7	70	82	66	7
Other W. European Countr.	12,1				
30) Iceland	0,3	79	99		18
31) Norway	4,5	79	99	75	29
32) Switzerland	7,2	80	99	67	31
33) Andorra	0,06				
34) Liechtenstein	0,03				
35) Holy See	0,001				
36) Principality of Monaco	0,03				
37) San Marino	0,02				
Other Balkan Countries	19,9				
38) Macedonia	2,1	73	94	59	6
39) Serbia and Montenegro	10,5	73		52	
40) Bosnia and Herzegovina	4,1	74		43	6
41) Albania	3,2	74	85	43	4
CIS Europe	224,0				
42) Russia	143,8	66	99	73	7
43) Ukraine	48,7	68	99	68	4
44) Belarus	10,1	68	98	70	7
45) Moldavia	4,3	67	99	42	2
46) Armenia	3,8	74	99	67	3
47) Georgia	5,2	73	95	57	3
48) Azerbaijan	8,1	65	96	52	3
TOTALE	817,8				

²⁹⁵ Source: *The Economist*, Ramses 2004; *Les grandes tendances du monde*, Ifri.

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The total European Union citizens are about 456 millions which represent approximately 7% of the total World population. In the following years, as consequence of EU expansion, its population could grow for over 100 millions. On the other hand the total of the US citizens are about 293 millions, equal to approximately 4.6% of the World population.

In 2003, the European Union Gross National Product (GNP) was equal to US\$ 10,500 billions while the United States totalled US\$ 10,400 billions.

In the following years the EU integration and expansion should further increase the European Union GNP. The integration should be further improved thanks to the enlargement of the transportation networks, integration of the energy and communication networks, integration of financial services and several other industries that will adapt to the new market dimension that is created with the elimination of the national borders. Considering the Global Fortune 500 ranking there are 62²⁹⁶ European companies out of the first 140 that appears on the list, 50 companies are from the US, and 29 are from Asia.

It is important to underline that an important part of GNP is made of the activities that are not wealth increasing activities for the country. Senator Robert Kennedy made the following observation many years ago: "Our gross national product... if we should judge America by that – counts air pollution and cigarette advertising, and ambulances to clear our highways of carnage. It counts special locks for our doors and the jails for those who break them. It counts the destruction of our redwoods and the loss of our natural wonder in chaotic sprawl. It counts napalm and the cost of a nuclear warhead, and armoured cars for police who fight riots in our streets. It counts Whitman's rifle and Speck's knife, and the television programs which glorify violence in order to sell toys to our children. Yet the gross national product does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education, or the joy of their play. It does not include the beauty of our poetry or the strength of our marriages, the intelligence of our public debate or the integrity of our public officials... it measures everything, in short, except that which makes life worthwhile..."

If we compare the military budget we see that the United States expenditure is much above the EU expenditure. In 2002, the US military expenses were equal to US\$ 399 billions versus US\$ 155 billions totalled by 25 nations member of the EU. The US military budget further increased in the last years.

In the GNP calculation also the revenues obtained with prisons are included and in the US prisons today there are 2 million citizens which represent about 25% of the World's prison population. The European Union average is about 87 prisoners on 100,000 inhabitants while in the US the average is about 685 prisoners every 100,000 inhabitants.

²⁹⁶ Royal Dutch/Shell, BP, Nokia, Vodafone, Bertelsmann, BMW, Vivendi, Nestlé, Pearson, Airbus, Royal Ahold, Deutsche Post, Deutsche Bank, Credit Suisse, BNP-Paribas, Basf, Bouygues, Vinci, Skanska, Unilever, Carrefour, Munich Re, Swiss Re, ING, AXA, Aviva, Assicurazioni Generali, Prudential, Allianz, Glaxo SmithKline, Novartis, Aventis, DaimlerChrysler, Volkswagen, Fiat, Peugeot, Renault, Diageo, Ryanair, SAP, L'Oréal, Electrolux, E. On, Philips, Hermes & Mauritz, etc.

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APPENDIX C. Minority Groups in Central and Eastern Europe

Country	Minority	Total Minorities	% of Total Population
Czech Republic (1991)	Moravian	1,356,000	13.2
	Slovakian	308,000	3.0
Hungary (1991)	Gypsy		<1
Poland (1991)	Germans, Ukrainian, Belarusians		<1
Slovakia (1991)	Hungarian	567,000	10.8
	Gypsy	81,000	1.5
	Czechs	59,000	1.1
Slovenia (1991)	Croatian	54,000	2.7
	Serbian	47,000	2.4
	Muslim	27,000	1.4
Bulgaria (1992)	Turkish	800,000	9.4
	Gypsy	313,000	3.7
Romania (1992)	Hungarian	1,620,000	7.1
	Gypsy	410,000	1.8
Estonia (1989)	Russian	475,000	30.3
	Ukrainian	48,000	3.1
	Belarusians	28,000	1.8
	Finnish	17,000	1.1
Latvia (1989)	Russian	906,000	34.0
	Belarusians	120,000	4.5
	Ukrainian	92,000	3.5
	Poles	60,000	2.3
	Lithuanian	35,000	1.3
Lithuania (1989)	Russian	344,000	9.4
	Poles	258,000	7.0
	Belarusians	63,000	1.7
	Ukrainian	45,000	1.2
Croatia (1991)	Serbian	582,000	12.2
	Yugoslavian	106,000	2.2
	Muslim	43,000	0.9
Macedonia (1994)	Albanian	479,000	23.1
	Turkish	82,000	3.9
	Gypsy	47,000	2.3
	Muslim	23,000	1.2
	Serbian	40,000	1.9
Serbia - Montenegro (1991)	Albanian	1,687,000	17.2
	Hungarian	345,000	3.5
	Yugoslavian	318,000	3.2
	Muslim	237,000	2.4
	Croatian	140,000	1.4

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Country	Minority	Total Minorities	% of Total Population
Bosnia-Herzegovina (1991)	Muslim	1,906,000	43.7
	Serbian	1,369,000	31.4
	Croatian	756,000	17.3
	Yugoslavian	240,000	5.0
Albania (1991)	Greek	59,000	1.8
	Gypsy	60,000	1.8
<u>CIS Europe</u>			
Russia (1989)	Tatars	5,543,000	3.8
	Ukrainian	4,363,000	3.0
	Chuvash people	1,774,000	1.2
	Bashkirian people	1,345,000	0.9
	Belarusians	1,206,000	0.8
	Mordvin people	1,073,000	0.7
	Chechen	899,000	0.6
	Germans	842,000	0.6
	Udmurian people	715,000	0.5
	(other 160 minorities)		
Ukraine (1989)	Russian	11,356,000	22.1
	Jewish	487,000	0.9
	Belarusians	440,000	0.7
Belarus (1989)	Russian	1,342,000	13.3
	Poles	418,000	4.1
	Ukrainian	291,000	2.9
	Jewish	112,000	1.1
Moldavia (1989)	Ukrainian	600,000	13.8
	Russian	562,000	12.9
	Gagausian	153,000	3.5
	Bulgarian	88,000	2.0
	Jewish	66,000	1.5
Armenia (1989)	Azerbaijani	85,000	2.6
	Kurdish people	56,000	1.7
	Russian	28,000	0.8
Georgia (1989)	Armenian	437,000	8.1
	Russian	341,000	6.3
	Azerbaijani	308,000	5.7
	Ossetian	164,000	3.0
	Greek	100,000	1.9
	Abkhazian	96,000	1.8
Azerbaijan (1989)	Russian	392,000	5.6
	Armenian	391,000	5.6
	Lezghina people	171,000	2.4

Source: Brunner (1996)

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APPENDIX D. European wars and victims (1900-1995)

Identification and localization of the conflict	Civilians	Soldiers	Total
Albania 1914-1918 I GM	10,000	20,000	30,000
Austria 1914-1918 I GM	300,000	2,300,000	2,600,000
1934 soc.v.fasc.	1,000	1,000	2,000
1939-1945 II GM	125,000	280,000	405,000
Belgium 1914-1918 I GM	30,000	88,000	118,000
1940 II GM	90,000	110,000	200,000
Bulgaria 1915-1918 WW I	275,000	28,000	303,000
1941- 1944 WW II	14,000	20,000	34,000
Czechoslovakia 1939-1945 II GM	250,000	30,000	280,000
Finland 1918 communists vs. government	-	-	20,000
1939-1940 vs. USSR	-	90,000	90,000
1941- 1944 WW II	15,000	45,000	60,000
France 1914-1918 WW I	40,000	1,630,000	1,670,000
1939-1945 WW II	450,000	200,000	650,000
Germany 1914-1918 WW I	760,000	2,400,000	3,160,000
1934 socialists vs.fascists	1,000	-	1,000
1939-1945 WW II	1,471,000	4,750,000	6,221,000
Greece 1917-1918 WW I	132,000	5,000	137,000
1940-1941 WW II	54,000	10,000	64,000
1945-1949 Civil War	-	-	160,000
Hungary 1919-1920 anti-communists vs.government	-	-	4,000
1919 vs. Czech and Romanian	-	11,000	11,000
1941-1945 WW II	450,000	400,000	850,000
1956 USSR intervention	10,000	10,000	20,000
Italy 1915-1918 WW I	-	950,000	950,000
1940-1945 WW II	70,000	150,000	220,000
Lithuania 1920 vs. Lithuania	-	10,000	10,000
1941 WW II vs. Germany	200,000	-	200,000
1944 WW II vs. USSR	2,000	-	2,000
Holland 1940-1945 WW II	200,000	6,000	206,000
Norway 1940 II GM	7,000	2,000	9,000

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Identification and localization of the conflict	Civilians	Soldiers	Total
Poland			
1914-1918 WW I	500,000	-	500,000
1919-1920 vs. USSR	-	100,000	100,000
1939-1945 WW II	6,000,000	600,000	6,600,000
Portugal			
1916-1918 WW I	-	13,000	13,000
Romania			
1907 government vs. peasants	-	-	2,000
1916-1917 WW I	275,000	375,000	650,000
1941-1945 WW II	300,000	340,000	640,000
1989 government vs. demonstrators	1,000	-	1,000
Spain			
1934-1936 government vs. miners	3,000	-	3,000
1936-1939 Civil War	600,000	600,000	1,200,000
Turkey			
1909-1910 massacres (Armenian)	6,000	-	6,000
1911-1912 vs. Italy	-	20,000	20,000
1912-1913 Balkan War	-	82,000	82,000
1914-1918 WW I	1,000,000	450,000	1,450,000
1915-1916 deportations (Armenian)	1,000,000	-	1,000,000
1919-1920 vs. France	-	-	40,000
1919-1922 vs. Greece	50,000	50,000	100,000
1977-1980 terrorism	-	-	5,000
1984-1995 Kurds	4,000	14,000	18,000
United Kingdom			
1914-1918 WW I	31,000	1,000,000	1,030,000
1939-1945 WW II	100,000	350,000	450,000
Ex-USSR			
1904-1905 vs. Japan	-	130,000	130,000
1905-1906 Peasants' rebellion	1,000	-	1,000
1905 pogrom (Jews)	2,000	-	2,000
1914-1917 WW I	3,000,000	2,950,000	5,950,000
1916 Kyrgyzstan massacres	-	-	9,000
1917 Revolution	1,000	1,000	2,000
1918-1920 Civil War	500,000	300,000	800,000
1939 vs. Japan	-	13,000	13,000
1941-1945 WW II	8,500,000	8,500,000	17,000,000
1969 vs. China	-	-	1,000
1989-1995 Armenia vs. Azerbaijan	-	-	20,000
1992-1995 Georgia / Abkhazia	-	-	3,000
1992-1995 Georgia / Ossetia	-	-	3,000
1992 Moldova / Transdniester	-	-	1,000
1992-1995 Tajikistan, Civil War	-	-	50,000
1945-1995 Chechens' secession	24,000	6,000	30,000
Ex-Yugoslavia			
1903 Macedonia vs. Turkey	2,000	2,000	4,000
1913 Balkan War, vs. Bulgaria	-	61,000	61,000
1914-1918 WW I	650,000	128,000	778,000
1941-1945 WW II	1,000,000	400,000	1,400,000
1991-1992 Croatia, Civil War	-	-	25,000
1992-1995 Bosnia, Civil War	-	-	263,000
Total Europe	43,212,000	31,409,000	75,226,000
Total World	62,194,000	43,920,000	109,745,000

Source: Sivard (1996)

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