

# **Rethinking Europe and the World System in a Historical Perspective**

## **(Research project)**

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### **Research programme**

The goal of the research is to look at issues on Europe and the World system in general from the point of view of state and international organization theories and practices. Within this framework the theory and practice, from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, of international relations and of globalisation is analysed. The research concentrates on the history of the theory and the practice of European construction as part of a World community. It is based on the analysis of the most important theoretical and legal documents of the European anti-war political thinking, of the construction of Europe, and of democratic international relations.

The programme also includes a comparison of the relevant ideas and practices of Western/European civilization with the ones originating from the Asian – primarily Chinese and Japanese – civilization. The goal of this comparison is to gain a better understanding of the principles and values of the European state and international organization.

The main goals of the research are:

- To understand the historical achievements that contributed to the emergence of peace and union among (European) states (the idea of peaceful world federation and its interpretations, the emergence of Western democratic civil state, human rights, federalism, supranationalism, European integration, dialogue among civilizations, partnership policy of the EU with non-European states).
- To rethink the historical roots of events, movements, and phenomena that were at the origin of the various troubles, dead locks, and problems in social organization (religious conflicts, colonisation, neo-colonisation, nationalism, racism, fascism, national socialism, authoritarian communism, totalitarian states).
- To search for those principles and ideas that could contribute to the establishment of democracy among states and to the reform of the United Nations Organization (personalism, functionalist-federalist association policy, multi-level governance based on subsidiarity).

### **Main research topics**

#### *Introduction*

- How do people approach issues on social organization, with false and right images; imaginary communities
- The idea of peaceful world federation and its interpretation in the different civilizations
- The main characteristics, principles and values of the European civilization in comparison to the Chinese and Japanese civilisation

### **Emerging European state and international organization principles**

#### *1. The early-modern and modern ideas and practices of peaceful association policy in opposition to war*

- European thinkers in search of harmony and peace among European people and among civilizations:
- The classical idea of world federation and the emergence of the idea of personalist federalism in opposition to war (Aristotle, Plato, Erasmus versus Machiavelli, Althusius)

versus Bodin, Locke, Montesquieu, Saint-Pierre – Rousseau – Kant, Tocqueville, Proudhon, Mill, Eötvös)

- The classical idea of world federation in Chinese thinking: Confucius, K'ang You-wei, Sun Yat-sen
- Fukuzawa Yukichi on peaceful state organization
- The influence of the Western ideas in China and Japan

*2. Ideas on peaceful associations in practice, 16<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> century:*

- The main types of unions of states: classical constitutional federalism (the Treaty of the Union of Utrecht, 1579; the American constitution of 1787; the Swiss constitution of 1848)
- The Western phenomenon of nation state, national empire, and of nationalism
- The idea of personalist federalism as a means against nationalism in the Habsburg Empire (Eötvös, Renner, Naumann)

*3. The development of the ideas on democratic international and European association policy after the First World War: the constitutional federalist, unionist and functionalist bases of the European integration policy (1919-1949)*

- The League of Nations and international law: new international organization principles of civil society in classical confederalist form: Wilson and the League of Nations
- Unionism (Churchill)
- Federalism
- Constitutional federalism: the Pan-European Movement (Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi)
- Personalism; unanimous organic democracy; the division of the economic and political state (Salvador de Madariaga)
- Against the totalitarian states (fascist, national socialist, and Stalinist) in the name of the democratic European federation (Coudenhove-Kalergi, Ortega y Gasset, Thomas Mann, and Salvador de Madariaga)
- The European Federalist Movement (Altiero Spinelli)
- New European incremental personalist federalism (Denis de Rougemont, Hendrik Brugmans)
- Functionalism (David Mitrany)
- Functionalist-federalism (Jean Monnet)
- Realism (Hans J. Morgenthau)

*4. Democratization of the international organization and the international law after the Second World War:*

- Functionalist-federalism and confederalism: the United Nations Organization; the Charter of the United Nations
- Universalism: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Classical confederalism in Europe: The Council of Europe and the Statute of the Council of Europe

**Theories on the renewal of the principles of the European association policy**

*5. "The golden age" of the construction of the European Community, 1950-1953; the principles of the new supranational association policy*

- The "Monnet-method"
- Europe's first constitution: the Draft Treaty Embodying the Statute of the European Political Community, 1953.

6. *The emergence of a new type association policy: the supranational European Economic Community; Federalists versus intergovernmentalists; the federalist-intergovernmentalist compromise*

- Integration theories emerging from practice (The influence of the supranational European institutions of the European Community on the theories and practices of the association policy in Europe):
- Functionalism (Mitrany)
- Federalist-functionalism (Jean Monnet)
- Constitutional supranational federalism (Altiero Spinelli, Walter Hallstein)
- Neo-functionalism (Ernst Haas, Leon N. Lindberg)
- Classical European confederalism (De Gaulle, Thatcher)
- Intergovernmentalism (Andrew Moravcsik)
- Neo-federalism (John Pinder)
- Personalist federalism (federation of persons and states (Jacques Delors)
- Interdependency (Robert O. Keohane)

7. *The EU as a new type civil society*

- Federalist intergovernmentalist union of states based on multilevel governance and subsidiarity (Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2003; Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2004; Treaty of Lisbon, 2007)
- The role of the federalist principles – the personal principle, and the principle of subsidiarity - in the European law

8. *Enlargement: “The Europeanization of Europe”*

- EU enlargement and the unification of Europe
- The European Communities and Central and East European countries
- The enlargement-debate
- Rethinking the democratic association policy in Europe

9. *In search of European identity*

- The test of the results of the new type European association policy
- How the citizens of the EU identify (European; European and national; national and European; national)?
- EU citizens and the “democratic deficit”
- The emergence of a European civic identity

**The Western world and China, and Japan, and Singapore**

10. *A new Europe in the changing global system*

- Colonization and the phenomenon of Eurocentrism in a historical perspective
- Globalization: the challenge of global capitalism
- The EU as a “global player”: the EU’s role in the process of globalization (the dilemma of open versus closed regional union; confederalism versus functional intergovernmental-supranationalism)
- What is global in the principles of the EU and European law?
- The EU and China; the EU and ASEAN
- Towards a new world system of regional unions versus federalist-functionalist community of states

11. *Western and Asian Values – an international debate*

- Eurocentrism and its critic
- European values and human rights

- The Asian values debate (Singapore)
- The interaction of the European and Asiatic cultures (China, Japan, Singapore) in a historical perspective
- The questions of modernization and Europeanization/Westernisation of the world
- The question of the universal validity of the principles of the European civil society
- “Clash of civilizations or harmony of civilizations” (comparison of the European, Japanese, and Chinese civilization)

*12. Contemporary plans on ‘global civil society’*

- Havel, Kaldor, Keane, Held

*13. Ideas on the reform of the United Nations Organization*

- How to create democracy among the states?
- Classical confederation of confederalist regional unions
- Unionist-functional regionalism of sovereign states based on subsidiarity
- Supranational-functional union of autonomous states based on multilevel governance and subsidiarity

## Literature

### *Literature on the main topics of the research*

#### *Introduction*

- Nisbett, Richard E. [2003]: *The Geography of Thought (How Asians and Westerners Think Differently ... and Why)*. Free Press, New York, London, Toronto, Sydney

## Europe

Themes 1-3

### *The early modern and modern bases of a peaceful association policy*

#### *Europe and the world system in a historical point of view*

- Fernand Braudel [1978]: The expansion of Europe and the “longue durée”. In: H. L. Wesseling (ed.) [1978]: *Expansion and Reaction*. Leiden University Press, Leiden, 17-27.
- Domokos Kosáry [1997]: Europe and the World System in a Historical Perspective. In: Richard Falk – Tamás Szentés (eds.) [1997]: *A New Europe in the Changing Global System*. United Nations University Press, Tokyo, New York, Paris, 10-15.
- Derek Heater [1992]: *The Idea of European Unity*. St. Martin Press, New York
- Heater, Derek [1996]: *World Citizenship and Government. Cosmopolitan Ideas in the History of the Western Political Thought*. Macmillan Press Ltd. London
- Robert Gilpin [1987]: *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey

#### *The political ideological foundations of the Western civilization:*

- Aristotle [1946]: *The Politics of Aristotle*. Translated by Ernest Barker, Clarendon Press, Oxford
- Plato [1958]: *Plato's Republic*. Translated with an introduction by A. D. Lindsay. J. M. Dent & Sons LTD, London; E. P. Dutton & CO INC, New York

#### *Chinese parallels:*

- Confucius [1938]: *The Analects of Confucius*. Translated by Arthur Waley. Allen & Unwin, London

#### *Political thinkers on the principles of peaceful organization of communities and on democratic civil state and international system*

- Erasmus [1973]: *The Complaint of Peace*. Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Amsterdam
- Thomas Hobbes [1968]: *Leviathan*. Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England
- Johannes Althusius [1932]: *Politica methodice digesta*. Ed. C. J. Friedrich, Cambridge (USA).
- Grotius [1738]: *The Rights of War and Peace (De jure belli ac pacis)*, Printed for W. Innys, London
  - Internet: <http://www.constitution.org/gro/djbp.htm>
- Locke [1988]: *Two Treatises of Government*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Montesquieu [1989]: *The Spirit of the Laws*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Rousseau [1968]: *The Social Contract*. Penguin Books Ltd, London
- Alexander Hamilton – James Madison – John Jay [1965]: *The Federalist or the New Constitution*. Dent, London, New York

- Bentham: Principles of International Law:
  - <http://www.la.utexas.edu/research/poltheory/bentham/pil/index.html>
  - <http://www.la.utexas.edu/research/poltheory/bentham/pil/pil.e04.html>
- Immanuel Kant [1984]: *Zum ewigen Frieden. Ein philosophischer Entwurf*. Hrsg.: Rudolf Malter. Philipp Reclam Jun. Stuttgart (Kant's gesammelte Schriften. Hrsg. von der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Erste Abteilung: Werke. Achter Band); In English on Internet: Kant: *Perpetual Peace*, 1795:
  - <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm>
- John Stuart Mill [1991]: *On Liberty and Other Essays*. Oxford University Press, Oxford
- François Pierre Guillaume Guizot [1860]: *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe depuis la chute de l'empire romain jusqu'à la révolution française*. Didier, Paris
- Alexis de Tocqueville [1990]: *Democracy in America*. The Henry Reeve Text as revised by Francis Bowen now further corrected and edited with introduction, editorial notes, and bibliographies by Phillips Bradley. Volume 1-2. Vintage Books Edition, New York, 59-172, 356-381, 381-415, 429-434
- Pierre Joseph Proudhon [1959]: *Du principe fédératif*. In: Oeuvres complètes du P.-J. Proudhon. Paris, 1957.
- József Eötvös [1996]: *The Dominant Ideas of the Nineteenth Century and their Impact on the State*. Vol. 1-2. Translated by D. Mervyn Jones. Boulder Co. Social Science Monographs. Highland Lakes, NJ: Atlantic Research and Publications, Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York

*Internet Modern History Sourcebook, Internet, 2007*

- <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html>

*Chinese parallels*

- K'ang You-wei: *Ta T'ung Shu: the One World Philosophy*; Sun Yat-sen: *San Min Chu I, The Three Principles of the People* (See: Literature on China below)

*Japanese parallels*

- Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nobushige Hozumi (See: Literature on Japan below)

*Economic political theoreticians of capitalism:*

*Liberalism – Marxism- Nationalism*

- Adam Smith [1976]: *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Clarendon, Oxford
- John Stuart Mill [1965]: *Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*. University of Toronto Press, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London
- Karl Marx [1932]: *The Communist Manifesto*. In: Karl Marx: Capital, the Communist Manifesto and other Writings. Ed. by Max Eastman. The Modern Library Edition, New York
- Max Weber [1962; 1972]: *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Allen and Unwin, London
- John Maynard Keynes [1919]: *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. Macmillan, London
- John Maynard Keynes [1936]: *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*. Macmillan, London

*Forms of unions of states:*

- The Treaty of the Union of Utrecht, 1579;
- The American (1787) and the Swiss (1848) constitutions as examples

- The Covenant of the League of Nations
- The principles of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and their role in the legal development of European unity. See: <http://www.un.org/overview/rights.html>  
<http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/ch-cont.htm>

*The most important documents on the basic legal principles of the Western/European state and international organization and human rights:*

*Internet, 2007*

*The History of the American Constitution in Documents:*

- <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/constpap.htm>
- [http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/The Constitution of Virginia, 1776:](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/The%20Constitution%20of%20Virginia%2C%201776)
- <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/va05.htm>
- The Federalist Papers:
  - <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/constpap.htm>
  - [http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:iVu1MJNIRCAJ:www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/federal/fed.htm+the+federalist+papers&hl=nl&gl=nl&ct=clnk&cd=4&lr=lang\\_en](http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:iVu1MJNIRCAJ:www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/federal/fed.htm+the+federalist+papers&hl=nl&gl=nl&ct=clnk&cd=4&lr=lang_en)
- The Constitution of the United States, 1787:
  - <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/usconst.htm>
- Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789:
  - <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/rightsof.htm>
- The Covenant of the League of Nations, 1919:
  - <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/leagcov.htm>
- The Charter of the United Nations Organization, 1945:
  - <http://www.un.org/english/>
  - <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/index.html>
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948:
  - <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

***Theories on the renewing of the principles of the European association policy***

*Themes 3-8*

- Richard Nicolaus Coudenhove Kalergi [1926]: *Panuropa*. Wien-Leipzig, 1926.
- Aristide Briand: Mémoire sur l'organisation d'un régime d'union fédérale européenne. Paris, le 1er mai 1930. In: A. Fleury (éd.) [1998]: *Le Plan Briand d'Union fédérale*. Peter Lang, Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt/M., New York, Paris, Wien. 569-582.
- Coudenhove-Kalergi [1937]: *Totaler Staat – totaler Mensch*. Europa Verlag, Wien
- José Ortega y Gasset [1950]: *The Revolt of the masses*. The New American Library of World Literature, New York
- Richard Nicolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi [1939]: *Europe must unite*. Paneuropa Verlag, Genève
- Salvador de Madariaga [1937]: *Anarchy or Hierarchy*. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London. 77-85; 211-231.
- Altiero Spinelli – Ernesto Rossi: The Ventotene Manifesto, 1941. In: Walter Lipgens (eds.) [1985]: *Documents on the History of European Integration. 1. Continental Plans for European Union, 1939-1945*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin. 471-484.
- Karl Polányi [1957]: *The Great Transformation (The political and economic origins of our time)*. Beacon Paperback Edition, Rinehart and Company, Inc. USA.
- Denis de Rougemont: “The Federalist Attitude” 26. August 1947. In: W. Lipgens and Wilfried Loth (eds.) [1991]: *Documents on the History of European Integration. 4*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York. 23-27.

- David Mitrany [1946]: *A Working Peace System. An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization*. National Peace Council, London
- Winston S. Churchill: The Zurich Speech. Speeches on Europe. In: Robert Rhodes James (ed.) [1974]: *W. S. Churchill. His Complete Speeches*. 7-8. R.R. Bowker Company, New York and London
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- Jean Monnet [1976]: *Mémoires*. Fayard, Paris.
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- Charles de Gaulle: L'Europe. In: Charles de Gaulle [1970]: *Mémoires d'espoir*. Plon, Paris, 173-177, 181-183, 205-207.
- Walter Hallstein [1972]: *Europe in the Making*. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London
- Leo Tindemans [1976]: *European Union. Report by Mr. Leo Tindemans to the European Council*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg.
- Robert O. Keohane – J. S. Nye [1977]: *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Little Brown and Co. Boston, 3-22.
- Altiero Spinelli: The European Adventure. In: Altiero Spinelli [1972]: *The European Adventure. Tasks for the Enlarged Community*. Charles Knight & CO LTD, London.
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- Margaret Thatcher: The European Family of Nations. Speech. Bruges, 1988. In: Martin Holmes (ed.) [1996]: *The Eurosceptical Reader*. Macmillan Press LTD, London; St. Martin's Press, Inc. New York. 88-96.
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- Jacques Delors: Economic and monetary union and relaunching the construction of Europe. In: *Report on economic and monetary union in the European Community*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1989. 63-67.
- Andrew Moravcsik [1991]: Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in European Community. *International Organization*. 45. 1.
- On Andrew Moravcsik see: <http://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/>
- Alec Stone Sweet – Wayne Sandholtz (eds.) [1998]: *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford
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- Ben Rosamond [2000]: *Theories of European Integration*. St. Martin's Press Inc., New York
- Neill Nugent [2003]: *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York
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- István Bibó: Reflections on Social Development of Europe. In: István Bibó [1991]: *Democracy, Revolution, Self-Determination*. Selected writings. Ed.: Károly Nagy, Atlantic Research and Publications, Columbia University Press, New York. 421-523.

#### *The legal practice of European integration (Themes 4-8)*

- Gráinne de Búrca – Paul P. Craig [2002; 2007]: *EU Law: text, cases and materials*. Oxford University Press, Oxford

#### *The basic treaties of the European Union:*

- Internet, 2007: <http://europa.eu/index.htm>

#### *Europe's second constitution:*

- Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe. Submitted to the European Council Meeting in Thessaloniki. 20. June 2003. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 2003. See Internet, 2005: <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/dat/constit.html>
- Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2004. Internet, 2008:
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#### *Collection of documents*

- Ian Brownlie (ed.) [1981, 1992]: *The Basic Documents on Human Rights*. Clarendon Press, Oxford
- Brent F. Nelsen - Alexander C-G. Stubb (eds.) [1994; 2004]: *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, London
- A.G. Harryvan and J. van der Harst (eds.) [1997]: *Documents on European Union*. Macmillan Press LTD., London

#### *Enlargement (Theme 9)*

- Neill Nugent (ed.) [2004]: *European Union Enlargement*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York
- Tibor Palánkai [1997]: The European Communities and Eastern and Central Europe. In: Richard Falk – Tamás Szentes (eds.) [1997]: *A New Europe in the Changing Global System*. United Nations University Press, Tokyo, New York, Paris, 113-132.
- Michael A. Landesmann – Dariusz K. Rosati [2004]: *Shaping the New Europe. Economic Policy Challenges of European Union Enlargement*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York
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- Catharine Neveu: European Citizenship, Citizens of Europe and European Citizens. In: Irene Bellier - Thomas M. Wilson (eds.) [2000]: *The Anthropology of the European Union*. Berg, Oxford, 119-135.
- Laurie Buonanno – Ann Deakin: European Identity. In: Neill Nugent (ed.) [2004]: *European Union Enlargement*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 84-103.

### ***Europe and globalization; Europeanization/Westernisation; 'Global civil society' (Themes 11-14)***

#### *Europe and Globalization*

- H. L. Wesseling [1997]: *Imperialism and Colonialism. Essays on the History of European Expansion*. Greenwood Press, London.
- Henryk Kierzkowski (ed.) [2002]: *Europe and Globalization*. Palgrave, Macmillan, New York.
- Kevin H. O'Rourke: Europe and the Causes of Globalization, 1790-2000. In: Henryk Kierzkowski (ed.) [2002]: *Europe and Globalization*. Palgrave, Macmillan, New York, 64-86.
- Marcelo G. Kohen: Europe and the Standardization of the Law: Past and Present. In: H. Kierzkowski: *Europe and Globalization*, 87-103.
- André Liebich: Nationalizing the Globe, Globalizing the Nation. In: H. Kierzkowski: *Europe and Globalization*, 104-113.
- Albert Breton - Heinrich Ursprung: Globalization, Competitive Governments, and Constitutional Choice in Europe. In: H. Kierzkowski: *Europe and Globalization*, 274-301.
- Serge Latouche [1996]: *The Westernisation of the World*. Polity Press, Cambridge, U.K.
- David Held - Anthony McGrew - David Goldblatt - Jonathan Perraton [1999]: *Global Transformations (Politics, Economics and Culture)* Polity Press, Cambridge.
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#### *A new Europe in the changing global system. EU and China; EU and ASEAN*

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- Richard Grant (ed.) [1995]: *The European Union and China A European Strategy for the Twenty-First Century*. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London
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#### *Western and Asian Values – an international debate*

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#### *Global civil society*

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