
UNIT 1 HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Objectives
- 1.2 Origins and Evolution of the European Union
- 1.3 Formation of the European Community
- 1.4 The Single European Act
- 1.5 The Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty)
- 1.6 The Treaties of Amsterdam and Nice
- 1.7 Summary
- 1.8 Exercises
- 1.9 References and Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The European Union (EU) is a unique organization. It is unique in the sense that it is neither a confederation nor a federation. It is somewhere in between; a halfway house between a confederation and a federation. It is neither like the United Nations (UN), an international organization of independent nation-states, nor is it like the United States of America, a federal state. It is a supranational organization; an association of independent European states, which realized in the wake of the post-Second World War period that conflict among the European states could be counter-productive and if they wanted to retain their traditional importance in the community of nations, a merger of interests was inevitable. If they could pool their resources, their respective resource-position could be strengthened. 'Unite or Perish' were the only two alternatives available to the European states. They chose the first and the result was a series of treaties and associations which finally culminated into the EU in 1992. In this unit we will discuss this process of the evolution of EU.

1.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- know the background, origin and formulation of European Union;
- understand the process of formation and development of European Union; and
- appreciate the purposes and tasks for which European Union has been formed.

1.2 ORIGINS AND EVALUATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Victor Hugo was the first European thinker, who dreamt of one Europe. Thereafter the idea of a 'United States of Europe' was mooted by Jean Monnet. However, the credit for the actual integration of Europe goes to Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, who took the initiative in this regard. He proposed the formation of a European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), by pooling the iron ore and coal resources of Europe as well as their iron and steel industry, under the regulation of one integrated authority. This plan was popularly known as the Schuman Plan. The six states of the Western Europe viz. France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg agreed to form the ECSC, and concluded the Treaty of

Paris in 1951. These six states later came to be known as the "original six" of the EU. The ECSC was a successful endeavour. All the associated countries immensely benefited from it and this led them to expand their economic cooperation in other fields.

The next step in the evolution of the EU was the formation of two more organizations, under the Treaty of Rome in 1957. They were the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). The EEC aimed at removing the trade and tariff barriers among the member states and facilitating the free movement of goods, services, capital and people within the community's region. The EEC eventually aimed at establishing a common market in Western Europe. The United Kingdom (UK) was invited to join the EEC at the time of its formation, but UK had some reservations regarding the proposed common tariff policy. The UK was in favour of the removal of internal trade barriers within the member states but was not in favour of a common external tariff policy. The UK wanted some preferential treatment for its erstwhile colonies, which now constitute the Commonwealth of Nations. Britain also suggested the expansion of the European common market into a trans-Atlantic organization on the pattern of NATO. However, Charles De Gaulle of France outrightly rejected these British proposals. The UK then took the initiative to form an organization aimed at fostering regional economic cooperation, viz. the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1959. The members were UK, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Switzerland. The EFTA proposed to eliminate internal tariffs over the period of ten years. The seven members of EFTA were called the 'Outer Seven', against EEC's 'Inner Six'. The EFTA was a rival organization of the EEC in Europe. It did not, however, survive for long and eventually disintegrated. Their members were then absorbed in the EEC.

British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan applied in 1961 to join the EEC, but French President De Gaulle threatened to use 'veto' to block the British membership. De Gaulle did not accept Britain as a European nation and termed it as an extension of the American continent. To prove his point, De Gaulle often cited the famous statement of the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill that the Atlantic is narrower than the English Channel [separating the UK from the European mainland]. With the disappearance of De Gaulle from the political scene of Europe, the French opposition was blunted. De Gaulle's successor George Pompidou acceded to the British accession to the EEC. This led to the gradual disintegration of the EFTA and the merger of its willing members into the EEC.

Consequent to the treaties signed in January 1972, Britain, Denmark and Ireland became members of the EEC on 1 January 1973. Though the Norwegian government had successfully concluded accession negotiations, but it did not join because it failed to obtain approval in a referendum. In Denmark and Ireland, a referendum held in accordance with the constitution, endorsed the treaty of accession. The expansion of European Community continued in the following years. Greece joined the EC in 1981, followed by Spain and Portugal in 1986, thereby doubling the EC membership from six to twelve. The end of the Cold War facilitated the unabated expansion of the EC. The fall of the Berlin Wall (which symbolized the division of the Europe into East and West), the unification of Germany, the demise of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, and the disintegration of the Soviet Union heralded the advent of a new unified Europe, free from an ideological divide.

The accession of the East European countries to the EU constituted a significant step in the evolution of the EU. Even the members of the former Soviet Union applied and secured the membership of the EU. It no longer remained a Western European economic organization, but became a truly European organization. Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the EU in 1995, taking its membership to fifteen. However, the biggest and largest ever expansion took place on 1 May 2004, when ten new members viz. Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia Slovenia, Cyprus, and Malta, joined the European Union. This was by far the largest expansion of the EU, bringing its total membership to twenty-five. The process of expansion continues till date, and shall do so, even in the future. In January 2007, Bulgaria and Romania also joined the EU, taking its membership to twenty-seven. Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Turkey, and some states of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are also keen to join the EU. Though Turkey has had a formal relationship with the European Community since 1963, the formal negotiations began only in 2005. The EU itself has accepted that Turkey being a NATO member is the fittest and strongest candidate for the EU membership. However, it has been denied membership so far not only because

of its religious and cultural differences with the rest of Europe, but also because of opposition by Greece—which has a dispute with Turkey over the issue of Cyprus.

The consistent expansion has made EU an unwieldy organization. It is now characterized by wide regional disparities and a vast gulf in the living standards of the citizens of the different members of EU. The earlier social cohesion and homogeneity is missing. Its expansion is posing many challenges, and has undermined its basic rationale that Europe will speak with one voice. However, at the same time, its expansion has made it a truly European organization. It has also made it the single largest market in the world, larger than the US or China. It has more than half a billion prosperous consumers, whose purchasing power is among the highest in the world.

1.3 FORMATION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

The formation of the European Community (EC) is the culmination of the process that commenced with the Treaty of Paris in 1951 (which had resulted in the establishment of the ECSC). Its success led to further economic cooperation, which eventually led to the formation of the EEC and EURATOM. In 1967, the three chief institutions of European economic integration—the Common Market (EEC), the Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM)—were merged into one organization, which we call the European Community (EC). Thus, European Community is the collective name given to the ECSC, EEC and EURATOM, unified by the Merger Treaty or officially speaking, by the 'Treaty establishing a Single Council and a Single Commission of the European Communities'. The Merger Treaty signed in April 1965 at Brussels and in force since July 1967, combined the organizational structures of the then three European Communities viz. ECSC, EEC, EURATOM. It created the European Commission and the Council of the European Communities to govern all the three institutions. It also merged their separate budgets into a single corpus. The Merger treaty is regarded by many as the true beginning of the dream of a modern European Union. The term European Community or EC also came into use from this time onwards.

The EEC began functioning in 1957 as a purely economic organization, but subsequently its sphere of operation expanded to include social and political activities as well. Meanwhile, the ECSC became extinct in 2002 with the expiration of the Treaty of Paris, and its assets and liabilities were transferred to the European Economic Community. With the ratification of the Maastricht treaty in 1993, the European Economic Community was renamed 'European Community', by omitting the word 'economic'. Aided by its two other pillars, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the Police and Judicial Cooperation (PJC), the European Community became European Union, which exists till today.

The EC is committed to protecting the interests of the European consumers and producers. The objective is that the consumers must get cheaper products of good quality at reasonable prices and producers must get remunerative prices for their produce. Moreover, EC has to ensure sustainable development, so that the environment is not degraded. The common tariff and trade policy has been adopted by the members of the EC which bars any discrimination in the realm of trade and commerce among the member states of the EC.

Agriculture was another important concern of the EC. It adopted a Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) to protect the interests of the European farmers from external competition. EC provided a heavy dose of subsidy to its farmers, which led to mass agricultural production. However, since its disposal became a source of worry, the EC revised its policy again. Instead of mass and cheap agriculture production, EC is now stressing on quality agriculture and dairy products, which can protect the health of the European citizens and preserve the environment, as well.

1.4 THE SINGLE EUROPEAN ACT

The credit for the Single European Act goes to the European Commission's President-Jacques Delors, who was instrumental in the preparation of a White Paper in 1985, which paved the way for signing of the Single Act. The White Paper pointed out that the expanding community had the potential to serve the 300 million European consumers in a far efficient way if a single market was created, and all obstacles to the movement of people, goods, and services were removed.

The European Single Act was signed in February, 1986 by the then twelve members of the EEC, setting out a time table to take nearly three hundred steps to complete the formation of a single market by 1993. Progress, thereafter, was rapid. Businesses, professions, trade unions all moved swiftly adapting themselves to the new rules of the game. The benefits were soon felt in everyone's daily life, as a wider range of goods and services became easily available, and people were able to move freely throughout Europe for work and leisure. It heralded the emergence of a single European market, with no trade and tariff barriers among the member states. It ensured the free movement of goods, services, capital and the people within the EC.

The obstacles hindering the free movement of people and goods have either been removed or are being curtailed. Passport checks at internal borders of the European Union countries have been abolished. A single EU passport has been introduced. Degrees and certificates, issued by the various educational and technical institutions in the member countries, are now receiving mutual recognition and acceptability. Professionals such as doctors and lawyers can practice their profession throughout the European Union. However, freedom of movement of goods and people is still far from complete. The introduction of Euro is an important milestone in achieving the goal of a single market. The Euro has given a sense of oneness to the citizens of the EU. However, a lot still needs to be done to ensure a free movement of people and goods throughout the EU.

Most of the EU's wealth comes from the Service sectors and these are being liberalized. The liberalization ushered in the telecommunications sector has led to a drastic fall in the telecom tariff. Efforts are underway to create a single market for natural gas and electricity too. But, the energy issue is a very sensitive one. It is a great challenge for the EU to ensure an adequate supply of energy to the consumers at affordable prices. The EU members are also committed to check the emission of the green house gases to combat climate change. One of the commitments of the EU is to develop and harness renewable sources of energy so as to reduce their dependency on fossil fuels. The European Union's transport policy is an integral part of environment and energy conservation. More than 75 percent of European Union's passengers and goods move by road. This consumes lots of energy and causes traffic congestion and degradation of the environment. EU aims at diverting this huge traffic off the road to railways and inland waterways.

The EU is in need of such a transport policy which ensures the smooth movement of goods and people throughout the frontier-less single European market. To achieve this, the railway network of the EU is to be integrated and upgraded. Air traffic also needs to be upgraded and the air traffic control (ATC) system of different EU countries has to be replaced by one unified integrated European ATC system to create a 'single European sky'. The European Union's postal services are also being opened up to competition. The objective is to provide the citizens of the EU, access to all the basic public services such as transport, communication, health, water, electricity etc. at affordable prices. These basic services were hitherto the monopoly of the respective national governments. These are now being opened up for competition. It will create several new jobs, improve the services and will strengthen the economy of the EU.

1.5 THE TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION (MAASTRICHT TREATY)

The Treaty on European Union, popularly known as the Maastricht Treaty, marked a new stage in the process of creating a more close-knit Union. It was signed on 7th February, 1992 by the members of the European Community at the Dutch city of Maastricht. It came into effect on 1st November, 1993. The Maastricht treaty was a turning point in the history of the European integration process. It modified the earlier treaties of Paris and Rome and expanded the Single European Act so as to enhance the scope of its activities. The objective of creating a political union was added to the initial economic objective of creating a common market. It led to the creation of a European Union (EU). It was the result of a long and painstaking separate discussion for a monetary and a political union. The Maastricht treaty envisaged a European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), with the introduction of a common currency—the Euro and a single regulatory body—the European Central Bank. It led to a complete economic and monetary union and helped the consumers to shop throughout Europe and make a comparative analysis of the price-structure in different parts of the EU.

Originally, the EC dealt chiefly with economic and trade matters. The Maastricht treaty envisaged a widening of the areas of cooperation from economic to the social and political spheres. It was said about the EU that though it was a giant in the economic field, it had remained a pigmy in the political and strategic fields. The Maastricht treaty aimed at rectifying this imbalance, and strengthening the social and political unity of the EU members. The Maastricht treaty comprised economic, political and social Charters, which aimed at adopting a common economic, political and social policy throughout the EU.

The Maastricht treaty introduced three pillar-structures for the EU. The first pillar was the Economic and Social Policy (ESP) pillar, the second was the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) pillar and the third was the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) pillar. The first pillar was the central one comprising the arrangements set out in the EC, ECSC and Euratom Treaties, i.e. those related to Union citizenship, Community policies, Economic and Monetary Union, and so on... The CFSP pillar was built on the foundation of European political cooperation, and the JHA pillar aimed at Police and Judicial cooperation in criminal matters by coordinating in the field of law enforcement, criminal justice, civil judicial matters, asylum and immigration.

The Maastricht treaty enshrined the principle of 'subsidiarity' in the working of the EU. It meant that the EU and its institutions will act only if it is more effective to do so at the EU level, than at the national or the local level. This principle ensures that EU does not unnecessarily interfere in the working of national governments and in the daily life of the citizens. A European identity is a valuable asset to be preserved by the EU but it should not be confused with uniformity, which all EU members reject.

The ratification of the Maastricht treaty was a difficult proposition. Denmark first rejected but later ratified it in the second referendum. France ratified it with a wafer thin majority. The same was the case with Britain, wherein the Treaty fuelled a serious crisis in John Major government. The entire Europe was divided over the issue of the ratification of the Maastricht treaty. It was the most controversial treaty in the history of modern Europe. Eventually, however, all the hurdles were overcome, and it came into force in November 1993.

In early 1996, in the European Council of Turin, an Intergovernmental Conference commenced with the purpose of elaborating a new treaty that reformed the Treaty of Maastricht. The objectives were: to focus on developing the European Union's citizens, strengthening the EU role in international politics, reforming the institutions and expanding the EU to include countries of Central and Eastern Europe. After long and intricate rounds of negotiations, the member States reached an agreement in the European Council meeting, held in Amsterdam in June 1997. Thus, the Treaty of Amsterdam was born.

1.6 THE TREATIES OF AMSTERDAM AND NICE

The Amsterdam Treaty was signed in October 1997, and after ratification, it came into force in May 1999. It amended the treaties of the EC and EU and renumbered them from letters to numerical forms. The aim of the Amsterdam treaty was to create such political and institutional conditions so as to enable the EU to meet the future challenges of globalization of the economy and its impact on employment, internationalization of crimes such as terrorism, drug and human trafficking, proliferation of arms, environmental degradation and its impact on public health. The composition of the Commission and the weightage of votes assigned to each member-State in the Council were other important concerns of the Amsterdam treaty.

The Treaty of Amsterdam proclaimed that the Union was founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law. At the same time, the new Treaty acknowledged that the above principles could be infringed by a member-State and laid down the procedure which the Union should follow in dealing with such a member-State. The Amsterdam treaty guaranteed protection of fundamental rights such as, equality between men and women, **non-discrimination**, and data privacy. It also introduced changes in the freedom of movement within the European Union and the included issues such as visas, asylum, immigration, and other policies linked to the free movement of persons in the EC Treaty. The Amsterdam treaty also dealt with police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters.

The treaty of Amsterdam underlined the European Charter on fundamental rights. It laid down the procedure by which an EU member can be suspended from its membership, if it violates the fundamental rights of the people guaranteed by the European convention on fundamental rights. The Amsterdam treaty extended the provisions of non-discrimination to apply not only to nationality, but also to gender, race, religion, culture, and sexual orientation. The Amsterdam treaty also promoted transparency in the functioning of the EU by allowing the European citizens greater access to the official documents of the institutions of the EU.

The Treaty of Amsterdam devised ways and means to enable the EU to defend its interests more effectively in the international arena. It introduced certain changes in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). It created a new post of High Representative, so as to give the CFSP greater prominence and coherence. The High Representative will facilitate the creation of a common EU strategy in the field of foreign and security policy. The weightage of votes in the Council, the extension of qualified majority voting, change in the structure and composition of the Commission, and strengthening the role of the President of the Commission were the major institutional reforms envisaged by the treaty of Amsterdam.

The treaty introduced changes in the citizenship provisions of the EU. It clarified the link between European and national citizenship. It states unequivocally: 'that the citizenship of the Union shall complement and not replace national citizenship'. The two practical conclusions which could be gauged from it were: firstly, it is necessary to be a national of a member state in order to enjoy citizenship of the Union; secondly, European citizenship will supplement and complement the rights conferred by national citizenship.

Moreover, the Amsterdam Treaty established a new right for the European citizens. Every citizen of the Union can now write to the European Parliament, the Council, the Commission, the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors, the Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions or the Ombudsman in any language of the EU and receive an answer in the same language.

The European Union's citizens' rights were further confirmed by the treaty of Nice in December 2000, when the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union was formally declared. This Charter was framed in a European convention attended by the representatives of the European parliament, national governments and the Commission. The charter was drawn up under six headings viz. dignity, freedom, equality, solidarity, citizens' rights and justice. The fifty-four articles of the charter spell out the fundamental values of the European Union and the civil, political, economic and social rights of the European Union's citizens. For instance, the chapter on dignity includes the right to life, freedom of expression and conscience, etc.; while the chapter on solidarity includes certain socio-economic rights such as workers' right to strike, to be informed and consulted, health care, social security and social assistance throughout the European Union. The charter of Nice promotes equality of men and women, proscribes eugenic practices such as human cloning, protects the rights of children, women, senior citizens, and also insists on the right to a clean environment, and to good governance.

The aim of the treaty of Nice was to prepare the European institutions for the forthcoming enlargement of the EU. The treaty of Nice was signed in February 2001, and after the required ratification by the respective legislatures of the Union members, it came into force from February 2003 onwards. Ireland was the only country which required a referendum for its ratification. In the first referendum, it was rejected by the Irish people but later it was approved by them. This led to delay in the execution of the provisions of treaty of Nice.

The Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) which resulted in the treaty of Nice had the mandate of preparing the EU for enlargement by revising the treaties in four key areas: (i) size and composition of the Commission; (ii) weight age of votes in the Council; (iii) extension of qualified-majority voting; and (iv) enhanced cooperation. The institutional reforms achieved by the treaty of Nice were technical and limited. The treaty did not drastically change the institutional balance but rather made some adjustments in the functions and composition of the institutions and sought to enhance cooperation.

There were two main reasons as to why the reform of the system was essential before the new Member States joined. The first stemmed from the protocol on the institutions with regard to the enlargement of the EU. This protocol linked the question of the weight age of votes to the size of the Commission. The member-

states, which till then, had two representatives in the Commission, wanted some compensation for the change in the composition resulting from enlargement. The second was related to the fact that after the accession of the new member-states, most of whom had a smaller population, the balance between the members, for the purpose of decision-making in the Council, could be affected if the old system of weight age votes was maintained. The IGC examined various solutions, ranging from a weightage closely linked to the size of the population to a double simple majority system (majority of the Member States and majority of the population of the Union). A compromise was finally found in a new system of weighing of votes that increased the number of votes for all the member states, while giving correspondingly more votes to those with the largest population.

The new definition of qualified majority comprised another innovation. At the request of a member of the Council, a check will be made when a decision is taken by a qualified majority, to ensure that this majority represents at least 62 percent of the population of the Union. If that is not the case, the act in question will not be adopted. This provision is in addition to the other conditions needed for the adoption of an Act (qualified majority of votes and majority of Member States). It will guarantee that decisions taken in the Council will be representative of the majority of the Union's population. At present, there are total 321 votes in the Council allocated to different members of the EU on the basis of their population, in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of Nice. Out of this, 232 votes will constitute a qualified majority for adoption of any decision in the Council.

The structure and the provisions of the combined treaties are becoming increasingly complex, with Nice being the seventh European treaty since the Paris treaty of 1951. As each treaty becomes a law, it is incorporated into the existing set of treaties, which together form the Consolidated Treaty on European Union. The Treaty of Nice dealt mostly with reforming the institutions so that the Union could function efficiently after its enlargement to twenty-five Member States. The Treaty of Nice, the former Treaty of the EU and the Treaty of the EC have been merged into one consolidated version.

The European Union is based on the concept of rule of law. This means that everything that it does is derived from treaties, which are agreed on voluntarily and democratically by all Member States. Previously-signed treaties have been changed and updated to keep up with developments in society. The most recent one, the draft Treaty for establishing a Constitution for Europe, aims to replace all the existing Treaties with a single text and is the result of the work done by the Convention on the Future of Europe and an Intergovernmental Conference (IGC). The Constitution was adopted by the Heads of State and Government at the Brussels European Council in June 2004 and was signed in Rome in October 2004. It needs to be ratified by each member state, in line with their constitutional arrangements (i.e. by parliamentary procedure and/or by referendum). The Constitution will not take effect, until it has been ratified by all the twenty-five member-states.

The European treaties such as the Paris Treaty 1951, the Rome Treaty 1957, the Merger Treaty 1967, the European Single Act 1986, the Maastricht Treaty 1992, the Amsterdam Treaty 1997, and the Nice Treaty 2001 constitute the Constitution of the European Community. These treaties impose obligations upon the national governments and confer rights to the citizens of Europe. These treaties are primary legislation and provide legal basis to the secondary legislation in the form of rules, regulations, directives, decisions, etc. These treaties have now been clubbed together in one large treaty and after its ratification by all the members of the EU, it will be the Constitution of the EU. The ambitious EU constitution has suffered a setback after its rejection by some key members of the EU. However, it is a temporary setback and eventually the EU will overcome this ratification problem. The same thing happened with the Maastricht treaty also, which was eventually adopted by all the members of the EU.

1.7 SUMMARY

The journey, which began in 1951 with the Paris Treaty, to the European Coal and Steel Community and then moved on to the strong twenty-five member European Union, has been a long and a bumpy one. The present

EU is the result of efforts spanning over more than half-a-century. Buoyed by the success of the ECSC, the European leaders were prompted to expand the economic cooperation to other fields. The result was the treaty of Rome in 1957, which led to the creation of two European organizations: the EEC and the EURATOM. These three European organizations — the ECSC, EEC, EURATOM were merged into one European Community by the Merger treaty in 1967. A Single European Commission and Council were created for all the three organizations. Their budgets were also merged into a single corpus. The EC abolished all the barriers of internal trade such as internal tariff, quota, trust and cartel. It also imposed a uniform tariff on the external trade and created a custom union and common market in Europe.

After the Merger Treaty of 1967, the process of European integration slowed down a bit. However, it picked up again in 1980s with the preparation of a White Paper under the President-ship of Jacques Delors. It led to the signing of the Single European Act in 1986, which aimed at completing the formation of single market by 1992. This paved the way for further integration, which resulted in the Maastricht treaty in 1993, which is formally known as the Treaty of European Union. The Maastricht treaty heralded the advent of political and social integration of Europe. It introduced the three pillar structures in the EU. The first pillar is the Economic and Social Policy (ESP) and it will be achieved through the traditional EC institutions of ECSC, EEC and EURATOM. The second pillar is Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Its objective is to forge a common European foreign and security policy. The third pillar is the justice and home affairs (JHA) or police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters to check the menace of terrorism, drug and human trafficking and other criminal activities in Europe. The Amsterdam treaty was signed in 1997 and its objective was to bring structural and functional changes in the institutions of the EU to meet the challenges of globalization and global terrorism. The treaty of Nice was signed in 2001 and its objective was to bring changes in the institutions of the EU to meet the challenges posed by the rapid expansion of the EU.

The EU is the most successful regional organizations of the world. Other regions have been inspired to emulate the EU, but no other regional organization has been able to match its achievements. It is a role model for other organizations. It will be no exaggeration to say that regionalism in international relations owes a lot to the European efforts at integration. It has also led to the end of the age-old rivalry among the European nations, particularly between France and Germany — the two main proponents of the European Union.

1.8 EXERCISES

- 1) Discuss the idea of European integration as mooted by the European scholars and statesmen.
- 2) Discuss the formation of European Community and its implications for the world trade.
- 3) Discuss the origins and evolution of the European Union. Is it a fortress?
- 4) Examine the Single European Act. What role has it played in the economic integration of Europe?
- 5) Analyze the various aspects of the treaty of European Union or Maastricht treaty and its contribution in expanding the area of cooperation in Europe.
- 6) Critically examine the role of Amsterdam and Nice treaties in equipping the European Union to meet the challenges of expansion, globalization and new century.
- 7) Critically discuss the future prospect of the European Union. Will it succeed to meet the aspirations of the European people?

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