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EDITORIAL OFFICE: Hasdeu no. 51, 400015 Cluj-Napoca, ROMANIA
Phone +40 264 405352

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LES VOIES DISCRETES DE L'INFLUENCE DE L'UNION
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THE DISCRETE WAYS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S INFLUENCE IN THE
WORLD. 20 YEARS AFTER THE FALL OF THE WALL

Gérard Bossuat*

Abstract:

A major question that arises at this time is whether the European Union is a genuine actor on the stage of international affairs. Although at present, the Treaties have given rise to a number of policies in this regard, such as the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the concrete actions of the EU in international issues either revolve around the structures of NATO, or fall into the area of low politics. Thus, whilst benefitting from its own external economic policy, the Union still lacks the necessary constriction elements amid major crises, which makes it necessary to redefine its institutional approach so as to ensure the safety of European citizens.

Keywords: foreign policy, defence policy, international affairs, NATO, low politics

L'Union européenne, et avant elle la Communauté européenne, a des relations extérieures, dont les caractéristiques doivent être définies. Sans être comparables à celles des Etats, la Communauté européenne, au titre des traités de Rome de 1957, a obtenu le monopole de la politique commerciale extérieure. Elle reçoit et envoie des ambassadeurs ou des représentants ; elle a des représentants auprès d'organisations internationales. Des directions sont chargées de ces relations (DG Relex, et DG VIII pour les pays de l'accord de Lomé). Les relations extérieures sont

* Professeur émérite de l'université de Cergy-Pontoise, Chaire Jean Monnet *ad personam* Histoire de la construction européenne, CICC (UCP), UMR IRICE (Paris-1, Paris-4, CNRS)
Contact: bossuat.gerard@neuf.fr

une chose, la politique extérieure, une autre. La question est de savoir si la Communauté (Commission et Conseil) a une politique extérieure. Comment le savoir sinon en suivant les négociations de la Commission au GATT par exemple, ou les affaires courantes à l'OECE, en comprenant comment des accords d'association sont passés avec les pays voisins, en suivant l'action de la DG relex et des Commissaires chargés des relations extérieures, Edmund Wellenstein par exemple, ou celle de commissaires, Jean Rey, Ralf Dahrendorff, J-F Deniau, Claude Cheysson pour le Nord-Sud., Christopher Soames, Wilhelm Haferkamp, et plus récemment en suivant les activités de la haute représentante de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la sécurité. En évoquant cette question des relations extérieures de l'Union, nous cherchons aussi à mesurer l'influence que la Communauté puis l'Union ont pu exercer dans la sphère des relations internationales. L'Union est-elle devenue un acteur des relations internationales ?

Les débuts difficiles d'une politique étrangère commune

Une première observation concerne les années 60 et 70. La Communauté a eu une politique extérieure de développement dont l'outil était le Fonds européen de développement (FED) et les dispositions qu'elle a négociées au GATT, le système des préférences généralisées (SPG), les accords inégaux défendus à la CNUCED. Sa politique extérieure, économique et commerciale au moins, résultait aussi de ses choix internes (union douanière et politique agricole commune). La politique extérieure de la Communauté intéressait essentiellement le champ économique. L'échec du plan Fouchet en 1961 écarta toute possibilité d'avoir une politique étrangère commune, systématiquement construite. Les Etats restaient marqués par des politiques étrangères nationales.

Pourtant le processus d'unité fit apparaître trois nouvelles politiques, greffées sur le fond initial des traités de Rome, avec la signature de l'Acte unique européen (1986) et surtout du traité de Maastricht (1992) puis de Lisbonne (2007): la PESC puis la PESD¹, et la PSDC². Ces trois nouvelles politiques répondaient à plusieurs attentes: diversifier les offres de

¹ PESC : politique étrangère et de sécurité commune ; PESD : politique européenne de sécurité et de défense.

² PSDC : politique de sécurité et de défense commune.

solutions aux crises, répondre à la mondialisation, construire une union politique. Les deux premières politiques émergèrent à la fin du XXe siècle, mais elles étaient les enfants directs d'une aspiration européenne observable dès 1954 avec les projets de Communauté européenne de défense et d'Autorité politique européenne (CED et CED) qui échouèrent le 30 août 1954 à l'Assemblée nationale française, avec le plan Fouchet d'union politique, qui connut un échec en 1961 devant la résistance des partenaires de la France au projet gaulliste, et surtout avec la Coopération politique européenne (CPE), discrète concertation intergouvernementale, en 1970, qui aboutit à des positions déclaratoires des Etats membres : on songe à la déclaration de Venise de 1980 sur le Proche-Orient ou encore à la déclaration sur l'identité européenne de 1972. Un développement essentiel de la CPE se produisit avec la négociation de l'Acte d'Helsinki clôturant la Conférence pan-européenne sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe (CSCE). En cette occasion, la Commission sut faire preuve de présence active malgré les résistances de la France et de la RFA qui ne voulaient pas partager la définition d'une politique à l'Est avec les institutions communautaires. La Commission sut s'emparer des questions économiques et défendre l'inscription dans l'agenda de la conférence de la question des Droits de l'homme (la troisième corbeille). Les fondateurs de la Communauté économique et leurs continuateurs des années 60-70 gardèrent donc des perspectives d'organisation politique de l'Europe de l'Ouest, conformes aux espérances de mai 1948 (conférence de La Haye des mouvements européens), car le processus d'unité a bien été, au départ, politique. Il faut observer que les 10 pays membres du Conseil de l'Europe, puis les 6, 9 et 12 des Communautés ne furent pas d'accord sur la manière d'assurer la sécurité de l'Europe: la France gaulliste voulait une Europe autonome, européenne, libre par rapport aux liens concrets de l'OTAN tout en acceptant de prendre ses responsabilités au sein de l'Alliance. Ses partenaires ne le permirent pas. Il a fallu plus de 30 ans (1962-1992) pour que les Etats membres acceptent une cote mal taillée: le traité de Maastricht et son deuxième pilier, la PESC intergouvernementale, puis le traité de Nice (2000) avec une PESD fantomatique.

La PESD, reflet d'une grande idée

La guerre dans l'ex-Yougoslavie dans les années 90 n'a pas donné l'occasion à l'Union européenne de développer immédiatement une politique étrangère commune. Toutefois l'opinion publique européenne a été traumatisée et désespérée de l'inaction observée. L'OTAN et les Etats-Unis furent les maîtres d'œuvre de la solution diplomatique et militaire, à laquelle France et Grande-Bretagne contribuèrent en tant que partenaires junior. Certes un accord franco-britannique inattendu à Saint-Malo en 1998 a ouvert la porte à une politique européenne de sécurité et de défense (PESD dans la mesure où chaque partenaire de l'accord obtint des satisfactions concernant ses options de sécurité: la Grande-Bretagne obtint une confirmation des engagements des pays membres dans l'OTAN mais ne ferma pas la porte à une défense européenne autonome par l'intermédiaire de l'UEO, un choix privilégié par la France et la Commission.

Après l'échec de l'Union dans l'ex-Yougoslavie, qui fut une cause d'affaiblissement du projet européen à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de l'Union.³, deux options de politique étrangère se dessinèrent à la fin de la décennie 90. La première, l'intergouvernementalité institutionnalisée, préconisait une politique de sécurité autour de l'OTAN et des Etats-Unis dans un monde totalement ouvert économiquement. La seconde option, celle des fondateurs de la Communauté européenne, cherchait à structurer la construction européenne sur des politiques communautaires monétaires, sociales, de défense et de sécurité, de développement, d'éducation et de recherche. Ces deux avenir contradictoires resurgirent dans les débats au moment des crises extérieures (Guerre du Golfe, Irak, 11 septembre) et des élargissements à l'Europe centrale et orientale. Mais l'alternative ne fut jamais proposée clairement aux citoyens européens parce que les institutions européennes n'avaient pas les moyens juridiques de la poser et que les Etats ne le voulaient pas. Le recours au *low politics*, qui utilisent les moyens civils et « post-westphaliens », semblait être la seule possibilité pour l'Union d'influencer les relations internationales à la

³ Jean-Luc Dehaene, « Relancer l'Union européenne », *Politique étrangère*, n° 4, 1994, p. 1114.

fin des années 1990, par incapacité conceptuelle et matérielle de recourir à la violence légitime⁴.

Toutefois, malgré les échecs précédemment décrits⁵, par sa seule présence internationale, par les déclarations qu'elle émettait, par les normes qu'elle imposait, par ses actions de police ou humanitaires, l'Union européenne exerçait sur les pays tiers une importante attraction, qui la plaçait en situation de diffuser ses valeurs et de faire accepter ses choix selon les principes des *low politics*⁶. La PESC, si difficile à mettre au point, se fortifia au cours de la décennie qui suivit Maastricht⁷. Le programme de travail de la Commission Delors en 1993 présenta de nombreux projets de politique extérieure avec la volonté déclarée de créer une « véritable PESC », se substituant à la Coopération politique. Cependant une « grande puissance », telle que l'Union européenne, ne saurait se contenter d'incitations. Elle devait aussi disposer d'outils permettant de contraindre⁸. En résumé, l'Union a su réagir à des situations de crise, elle n'a pas été capable de convaincre ni, encore moins, de contraindre. Elle s'était seulement dotée de règles pour élaborer des politiques étrangères et de sécurité. En a-t-elle usé ?

Un bilan encore décevant

L'insuffisance des moyens militaires et de renseignements disqualifie toujours l'Union européenne qui est incapable de mener des opérations de paix lourdes du type Irak ou Afghanistan. Ce sont donc les Américains qui imposent leur stratégie en dépit des observations navrées de certains

⁴ Hedley Bull, "Civilian Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, n° 1/2, 1982, pp.149-164.

⁵ Frédéric Charillon, « Les enjeux d'une réinvention européenne de la politique étrangère » colloque CERI, *l'Union européenne, acteur international*, 20-21 juin 2002, Draft, ne pas citer, p. 3.

⁶ Robert O. Keohane, « International Organization and the crisis of interdependence », *International Organization*, vol. 27, n° 4, 1975, p. 347-366.; Robert O. Keohane et Joseph S. Jr Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, Little Brown, Boston, 1977.

⁷ Fabien Terpan, *La politique étrangère et de sécurité commune de l'Union européenne*, Bruxelles, Bruylant, 2003, 544 P.Cr de l'ouvrage par André Brigot, *Politique étrangère*, 2004, n° 1, pp. 201 - 202.

⁸ Fabien Terpan, « Une PESC virtuelle », in Jean-Louis Besson et Guy Guillermin, (sous la dir. de), *L'Europe puissance : entre virtualité et réalité*, p. 67, *Les Cahiers*, série Cahiers du Curei (janvier 2002), n° 16, [<http://webu2.upmf-grenoble.fr/curei/cahiers/16/cc16.pdf>], consulté le 1 octobre 2011.

experts. L'Union européenne, en février 2003, en pleine bataille à l'ONU sur une intervention en Irak, était bien ce que le président des Etats-Unis, G.W.Bush, décrivait à l'ambassadeur turc : « Y a-t-il encore une Union européenne ? Je l'ai cassée en trois ! »⁹ L'intervention américaine en Irak en 2003 provoqua aussi un désastre pour l'influence de l'Union dans le monde.

Dans les grands dossiers des tensions mondiales: Proche-Orient, Terrorisme, Iran, Asie centrale, Caucase, Corée du Nord, pillage des matières premières africaines, voire même crise financière internationale, l'Union européenne est faible ou complice sauf sur les dossiers de l'énergie et de l'environnement. Les négociations qui débouchèrent sur les accords d'Oslo, confirmèrent que l'Union était un acteur « complémentaire » des États-Unis et de la Russie, sauf pour les financements où elle était en première position¹⁰.

Après les quatre événements majeurs du début du XXI e siècle : le 11 septembre 2001, les interventions en Irak puis en Afghanistan, les élargissements de 2004, le Printemps arabe de 2011, l'Union a suivi la politique américaine dans les deux premiers cas tout en fondant sa collaboration sur des principes diplomatiques et doctrinaux différents. En effet, elle s'est appuyée plus volontiers sur l'ONU. Elle a toujours réaffirmé le principe cardinal de l'entente entre civilisations, cultures et religions. Elle a dénoncé les frappes aveugles sur l'Irak¹¹. La gestion de l'intervention aérienne en Lybie a répondu à ces principes. La diplomatie européenne et celles de ses Etats membres ont inspiré les pratiques de l'OTAN en Lybie dans la mesure où les Etats-Unis adoptaient un profil bas, contrairement à leur politique en Irak et en Afghanistan. Mais sur la scène internationale, que ce soit au temps de Bush ou d'Obama, les grands Etats de l'Union, essentiellement la France et la Grande-Bretagne, sont apparus au premier plan, sans référence à l'Union. Le discours de Dominique de Villepin, ministre français des Affaires étrangères, le 14 février 2003 à l'ONU, anti-américain à propos des armes de destruction massives soit disant détenues par l'Irak en témoigne. Le triangle Paris-Londres-Berlin n'a pas fonctionné révélant les failles de

⁹ *Çumhuriyet* du 25 février 2003, cité par *le Monde diplomatique* d'avril 2003. la Grande-Bretagne, la vieille Europe, la Nouvelle Europe.

¹⁰ Accord d'association euro-méditerranéenne intérimaire signé avec l'OLP en 1997.

¹¹ *Idem*, Frédéric Charillon *art. cit.*

l'intergouvernementalité européenne. Les élargissements de l'Union, une affaire interne et de politique extérieure, n'ont pas apporté les idées neuves dont l'Union européenne avait besoin pour afficher des choix européens dans les relations internationales et surtout vis-à-vis des Etats-Unis.¹² Les nouveaux pays membres ont été attirés immédiatement par les Etats-Unis et l'OTAN. Les échecs ou les graves limites de l'Union sur la scène internationale ont frappé les esprits.

Toutefois l'action extérieure de l'Union ne se résume pas dans ces événements spectaculaires de grande politique internationale. L'Union européenne a une politique économique extérieure différente de celle des États-Unis et une diplomatie originale car elle entend traiter à la racine les causes des désordres internationaux. Il ne suffit pas d'empêcher les massacres. Il faut négocier et non frapper, restaurer les Etats, assurer la sécurité sanitaire, donner les moyens du développement, inventer un concept intégré de résolution des tensions. Ce qui a été fait puisque l'Union a adopté en décembre 2003 une stratégie européenne de sécurité, « une Europe sûre dans un monde meilleur »¹³.

L'Union est intervenue dans différentes parties du monde, en autonomie, sans l'OTAN dans des conflits de faible intensité, en Afrique surtout, en Bosnie, au Kosovo. La PESD a été renforcée, sous forme d'une politique de sécurité et de défense commune (PSDC), à partir du traité de Lisbonne, signé le 13 décembre 2007¹⁴. L'Union disposait de nouveaux outils pour une défense commune, de principes d'action politique, d'une capacité juridique substantielle, mais elle n'a pas été en mesure de définir une vraie PESD comme les divisions sur l'Irak le montraient clairement¹⁵. L'Union dispose en fait d'outils insuffisamment coercitifs. Elle n'est pas encore « une véritable puissance internationale en mesure de s'exprimer

¹² Bernard Cassen, « L'union européenne malade de l'atlantisme », *Le Monde diplomatique*, Mai 2003.

¹³ Une Europe sûre dans un monde meilleur - Stratégie européenne de sécurité. Bruxelles, 12 décembre 2003. Disponible sur [\[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/031208ESSIIFR.pdf\]](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/031208ESSIIFR.pdf), consulté le 27 septembre 2011.

¹⁴ Le Comité chargé des aspects civils de la gestion des crises (CIVCOM) et le Comité militaire de l'Union européenne (CMUE) assistent le COPS (Comité politique et de sécurité) et l'état-major de l'Union installés auprès du Secrétariat général du Conseil.

¹⁵ S. Marquardt, G. de Kerchove « Les accords internationaux conclus par l'Union européenne », *Annuaire français de droit international*, 2004, vol. 50, p. 803.

d'une seule voix »¹⁶. Elle a des moyens de stabilisation à côté d'outils de dialogue politique qui ont permis à Javier Solana de dire que « la coopération européenne en matière de défense a apporté la preuve de son efficacité et de sa capacité à affirmer le rôle de l'Union sur la scène mondiale »¹⁷. Ces propos bien optimistes de fin de mandat démontrent l'ambiguïté de la situation de l'Union européenne. Elle a des ambitions de politique extérieure mais n'a pas la volonté de s'en servir. Le nouveau Service européen pour l'action extérieure (SEAE) dirigé par Catherine Ashton, n'a pas encore fait ses preuves.

Il est difficile de juger de l'influence exercée par l'Union au titre de sa politique commerciale extérieure. La coopération avec les pays ACP doit aboutir à des Accords de Partenariat économiques (APE). Les APE établis avec 5 régions d'Afrique et Pacifique visent à la fois le commerce et le développement (premier accord signé en 2008 avec le Cariforum). L'Union, attachée au libre-échange, défend aussi l'idée du commerce équitable. Préoccupée par la puissance commerciale des BRIC, les nouveaux Etats-continent émergés, elle entend défendre la propriété intellectuelle des entreprises européennes, lever les obstacles aux échanges avec la Chine, résister aux trafics de drogues, vérifier l'équité des systèmes de production. Mais l'Union a été très peu active dans la crise financière mondiale. Ce sont seulement les pays de l'Euro et la BCE qui ont tenté de prendre des décisions concernant les dettes souveraines des Etats déstabilisés (Grèce, Irlande, Portugal). La crise financière et bancaire de l'été 2011 par sa durée et ses incertitudes sur la croissance a ouvert une période de méfiance des autres ensembles financiers et économiques du monde, réduisant de ce fait le prestige de l'Union européenne et diminuant sa capacité à résoudre les grands problèmes internationaux. La politique européenne de voisinage, ouverte en 2003, est devenue un nouvel instrument de la politique étrangère de l'Union européenne, à ses frontières extérieures immédiates¹⁸. Elle apparaît comme le rempart contre l'immigration économique plus que comme le moyen de co-développer les pays voisins de l'Union. De même, peut-on

¹⁶ Eleftheria Neframi « La politique étrangère et de sécurité commune et l'identité de l'Union européenne », *Annuaire français de droit international*, volume 50, 2004. p. 827.

¹⁷ Revue du MC et de l'UE, Javier Solana, L'UE: dix ans de PESD, p. 281, n° 528 mai 2009.

¹⁸ Gilles Lepesant, « L'Union européenne et son voisinage : vers un nouveau contrat », *Politique étrangère* N°4 – 2004, pp. 767-780.

noter que l'Europe spatiale a pris sa place dans l'Union européenne et est devenue un élément de la politique étrangère européenne.¹⁹

Si on mesure la capacité d'agir d'une entité politique au « *faire, faire faire, et empêcher de faire* », force est de constater que l'Union européenne se trouve bien démunie²⁰. L'Union a acquis des capacités réactives modestes à côté de capacités d'analyse remarquables. Elle a, certes, des capacités réactives qu'elle n'avait pas il y a dix ans. Mais elle n'est pas encore capable d'être un acteur premier dans les relations internationales en temps de crises graves, impliquant l'utilisation de la force sur une longue durée, ni, ce qui est très grave, d'assurer la sécurité des Européens. Les interventions militaires pour protéger les populations civiles en Libye en avril 2011 laissent mal augurer de la suite de la PSDC. L'organisation de l'opération a été confiée à l'OTAN et la conduite politique de la guerre a été faite par deux pays: la Grande-Bretagne et la France sans même qu'il ait été envisagé, par absence de consensus européen, une intervention politique de l'Union européenne. Le constat est donc amer pour l'Union européenne, au moins pour ceux qui lui donneraient un rôle dans les relations internationales. En revanche le patient travail de normalisation dans le domaine éthique et commercial a eu un impact concret dans les relations économiques internationales.

Si on mesure le problème sur le long terme, durant les 60 dernières années, après l'échec de la CED, la politique commune de défense européenne a notablement progressé puisque l'UEO a été ressuscitée et intégrée dans l'Union et que l'Union a dépassé le stade des tâches dites « de Petersberg » (opérations humanitaires, missions de maintien de la paix et de gestion des crises). La PSDC prévue par le traité de Lisbonne donne à l'Union la possibilité de mettre en œuvre une politique de défense active. Il ne faut cependant pas croire que les Européens ont déjà une politique de défense commune. L'article 42 du traité d'Union européenne (TUE) déclare que « la politique de sécurité et de défense commune inclut la définition progressive d'une politique de défense commune de l'Union. Elle conduira à une défense commune... ». Il faut bien mesurer l'effort de rédaction un peu lourde des auteurs du traité pour indiquer la direction tout en constatant la vacuité actuelle. Du chemin reste donc encore à

¹⁹ Laurence Nardon, « Espace militaire : les débats aux Etats-Unis, les avancées en Europe », *Politique étrangère*, n° 67, 2002, p. 198.

²⁰ Frédéric Charillon, *art. cit.*

parcourir. Comme dans d'autres domaines les  tats sont les ma tres de l'agenda, pas le Parlement europ en. En effet plusieurs pr alables doivent  tre lev s pour r ussir la PSDC. Il faut un minimum de partage de souverainet  des  tats au profit de l'Union, des investissements dans la recherche-d veloppement en mati re de technologies de d fense, une industrie europ enne des programmes d'armements, la d finition d'un nouveau partenariat atlantique. Mais plus que tout, ne faut-il pas que les coop rations structur es traduisent la volont  de r pondre aux menaces identifi es par les Europ ens eux-m mes ? L'effort de d fense des Europ ens est primordial. Or il semble que les opinions publiques europ ennes, crise oblige certes, mais aussi inapp tence pour l'usage de la force, ne s'y r signent pas. La volont  de faire une Europe de la d fense pour la paix internationale reste toujours   l'ordre du jour, car l'action commune ne sera jamais, en Europe, le r sultat de la force, mais celle du d sir partag  par les citoyens europ ens d'agir collectivement dans les affaires du monde.

L'Union est devenue un acteur des relations internationales dont l'efficacit  pour r soudre les crises est encore tr s limit e. Que faire? Il faut cesser de regretter la grandeur perdue des Etats europ ens, abandonner l'id e d'un retour   un  ge d'or europ en qui a  t  un  ge de fer pour le reste du monde au temps des conqu tes coloniales et des  changes in gaux. En revanche, le temps est venu de d finir dans le cadre des institutions communautaires les conditions de la s curit  des Europ ens dans l'ensemble mondial et de d velopper les moyens de l'assurer par des moyens financiers, techniques, diplomatiques, militaires ou  conomiques pertinents. Ce r veil doit impliquer les peuples europ ens par leurs Parlements et le Parlement europ en, sinon des pr dateurs s'abattront sur l'Europe mal unie et ce sera la fin de l'aventure europ enne.

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WARUM EUROPA? ANTRIEBSKRÄFTE UND PERSPEKTIVEN DER EUROPÄISCHEN EINIGUNG

WHY EUROPE? DRIVING FORCES AND PROSPECTS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Wilfried Loth*

Abstract:

The present article proceeds from the assumption that nowadays' interpretations of the history of European integration be they of federalist, neofunctional or of realist demeanour cannot suffice in offering a complete picture as long as they fail to take into consideration the driving forces of the integration and the management of desynchronizations. It is particular in this realm of the management of desynchronizations that Europe managed based on avant-garde principles, compromise arrangements and constant thrusts towards modernisation to create a community level solidarity that affords its members to shield away the side effects of modernisation. In this way, Europe can be credited with an original contribution to creating a culture favourable to overcoming desynchronizations not by attempting homogenization but adaptation.

Key words: European integration, driving forces of integration, compromise arrangements

Die gängigen Interpretationsmuster der Geschichte der europäischen Einigung I haben sich allesamt als zu eindimensional erwiesen, die komplexe Realität des Vergemeinschaftungsprozesses auf den Begriff zu bringen. Offensichtlich läuft die europäische Integration nicht einfach, wie es eine föderalistisch-universalistische Teleologie angenommen hat, auf den Zusammenschluss der europäischen Nationalstaaten zu einem Bundesstaat des alten Kontinents hinaus. Ebenso wenig, das zeigen die

* Wilfried Loth is Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Duisburg-Essen (Germany), Chairman of the European Union Liaison Committee of Historians and Speaker of the Graduate School "European Society" at the University of Duisburg-Essen. Contact: wilfried.loth@uni-due.de

zahlreichen Krisen und Blockierungen, wird sie vorwiegend aus wohlfahrtsstaatlichen Motiven so automatisch zu zunehmender politischer Einheit vorangetrieben, wie die neofunktionalistische Schule behauptet hat. Und angesichts der zunehmenden Eigenständigkeit der europäischen Organe lässt sie sich auch nicht als bloße Fortsetzung nationalstaatlicher Politik mit europäischen Mitteln charakterisieren, wie es eine vermeintlich "realistische" Betrachtungsweise gerne glauben machen möchte.

Um die Komplexität des Integrationsprozesses zu entschlüsseln, empfiehlt es sich, systematisch nach den Kräften zu fragen, die dazu geführt haben, dass das nationalstaatliche Ordnungssystem in Europa durch gemeinschaftliche Strukturen relativiert wurde. Die Frage nach "Antriebskräften" schließt sowohl objektive Ursachen als auch ihre subjektive Wahrnehmung und Verarbeitung ein; sie rechnet mit komplexen Faktorenbündeln und mit unterschiedlicher Pertinenz der Faktoren im Laufe der Zeit; sie nimmt Kalküle in den Blick, die hinter einzelnen Integrationsschritten standen, und damit auch unterschiedliche Erwartungen, die mit dem Integrationsprojekt verbunden waren oder sind. Wird sie auf hinreichender empirischer Basis beantwortet, kann nicht nur der gewundene Gang der bisherigen Integrationsgeschichte erklärt werden; es wird auch möglich, die Alternativen zu identifizieren, vor denen die Europäische Union gegenwärtig steht.²

Vier Integrationsimpulse

Grundsätzlich kann der Prozess der europäischen Integration als eine Antwort auf Funktionsdefizite der Nationalstaaten bzw. des nationalstaatlichen Ordnungssystems in Europa begriffen werden. Es lassen sich vier Bereiche unterscheiden, in denen solche Defizite auftraten, zunehmend wahrgenommen wurden und dann Bewegungen auslösten, die auf eine Relativierung des nationalstaatlichen Ordnungsprinzips zielten.

Zunächst das Problem der zwischenstaatlichen Anarchie, Auslöser aller "klassischen" Friedenssicherungspläne von Dante bis Kant: Es wurde immer drängender, seit die Entwicklung der modernen Kriegstechnik Millionen von Menschen zu Kriegsopfern werden ließ und die

² Vgl. Wilfried Loth, „Beiträge der Geschichtswissenschaft zur Deutung der Europäischen Integration“, in: Wilfried Loth / Wolfgang Wessels (Hrsg.), *Theorien europäischer Integration*, Opladen, 2001, S. 87-106.

wirtschaftlichen Schäden im Zeitalter der Kabinettskriege ungeahnte Ausmaße annahmen. Die Erfahrung des Ersten Weltkriegs führte darum zu einer Fülle europäischer Friedensinitiativen, von denen der Paneuropa-Feldzug des Grafen Coudenhove-Kalergi und Briands Europaplan nur die spektakulärsten waren; und als die Friedensordnung von Versailles ab 1938 schrittweise zerbrach, erhielt diese Bewegung einen weiteren Schub. "Man kann es vor aller Welt mit tiefster und unbeugsamster Überzeugung aussprechen," schrieb etwa Léon Blum im Frühjahr 1941: "Aus diesem Krieg müssen endlich durch und durch starke internationale Einrichtungen und eine durch und durch wirksame internationale Macht hervorgehen, sonst wird er nicht der letzte gewesen sein".³

Ein besonderer Aspekt des Problems der Friedenssicherung war die deutsche Frage: Wie die stärkste Nation in der Mitte des europäischen Kontinents sich entfalten lassen, ohne gleichzeitig unter eine Hegemonie der Deutschen zu geraten? Oder umgekehrt: Wie die Deutschen kontrollieren, ohne durch einseitige Diskriminierung neuen Revanchismus hervorzurufen? "Um den Widerspruch zu lösen", so wiederum Blum stellvertretend für viele Autoren des Widerstands, "um die Unschädlichkeit Deutschlands in einem friedlichen und gesicherten Statut zu erreichen, gibt es einen einzigen Weg: die Eingliederung der deutschen Nation in eine internationale Gemeinschaft"⁴ – also beispielsweise: nicht nur eine Kontrolle des Ruhrgebiets, sondern eine gemeinsame Lenkung der gesamten europäischen Schwerindustrie, nicht nur eine Beschränkung der deutschen Militärhoheit, sondern ein gemeinsames Kommando für alle europäischen Streitkräfte.

Ein drittes Funktionsdefizit des Nationalstaatensystems ergab sich aus der Entwicklung der Produktivkräfte des industriellen Zeitalters: Die nationalen Märkte in Europa wurden, je länger, desto deutlicher, für rationale Produktionsweisen zu eng; ihre wechselseitige Abschottung war nur temporär und sektoral sinnvoll; langfristig führte sie zu einem Verlust an Produktivität. Das hatte einen volkswirtschaftlichen und einen machtpolitischen Aspekt; vor allem in Gestalt der US-amerikanischen Konkurrenz waren beide seit den 20er Jahren präsent. Entsprechend zahlreich waren auch die Einigungsinitiativen im wirtschaftlichen Bereich;

³ Léon Blum, *Blick auf die Menschheit*, Zürich, 1945, S. 104.

⁴ Ebd. S. 108f.

und auch hier sorgte die Erfahrung des Zweiten Weltkriegs für einen zusätzlichen Motivationsschub: Während die Europäer ihre Ressourcen in diesem Krieg weitgehend verschlissen, weiteten die USA ihr Produktionsvolumen um mehr als das Doppelte aus, durch ihre Funktion als wichtigster Materiallieferant der Anti-Hitler-Koalition ebenso begünstigt wie durch die Abwesenheit der europäischen Länder vom Weltmarkt.

Ein vierter Motivationskomplex für europäische Einigungsinitiativen ist damit ebenfalls schon angesprochen: Das Streben der Europäer nach Selbstbehauptung gegenüber den neuen Weltmächten. Sowohl die Sorge vor einer wirtschaftlichen und politischen Übermacht der USA als auch die Furcht vor einer Expansion der bolschewistischen Revolution waren schon in den 20er Jahren Motive für europäische Einigungspläne. Beide wurden durch die machtpolitischen Ergebnisse des Zweiten Weltkriegs verstärkt. Mit den USA als Weltführungsmacht und der Sowjetunion als stärkster Militärmacht des europäischen Kontinents verloren bisherige Interessendivergenzen zwischen europäischen Nationalstaaten an Bedeutung – zugunsten des gemeinsamen Interesses an Autonomie und an der Vermeidung eines Konflikts zwischen den beiden Hauptsiegern des Krieges.

Allerdings waren die Impulse, die sich aus den Defiziten der Nationalstaaten ergaben, nicht immer gleich stark, und sie wirkten auch nicht notwendigerweise immer in die gleiche Richtung. Die Frage der Friedenssicherung stellte sich 1918 noch anders als im Zeitalter der Weltmächte nach 1945; sie konnte jetzt nicht mehr ohne die Mitwirkung der neuen Weltmächte geregelt werden. Da die Sowjetunion, wie man weiß, anders darüber dachte als die USA, befanden sich die östlichen Europäer mit einem Mal objektiv in einer anderen Situation als die westlichen; und im Falle der Deutschen ging diese Spaltung mitten durch die Nation. Ein Zusammenschluss im Westen Europas drohte gleichzeitig zur Vertiefung der Spaltung Europas beizutragen.

Der Notwendigkeit zur Einigung aus übergreifenden Gesichtspunkten standen real sehr unterschiedliche Erfahrungen und Befindlichkeiten gegenüber. In Großbritannien war die Bereitschaft zu europäischer Einigung der Demokratien nach den ersten Expansionserfolgen Hitlers sehr stark; im Juni 1940 schlug die Regierung

Churchill nichts weniger als eine gemeinsame Staatsbürgerschaft Großbritanniens und Frankreichs vor. Nachdem die Briten dann aber über ein Jahr dem deutschen Angreifer praktisch allein gegenüberstanden und schließlich auch standhielten, sahen sie sich in die Rolle einer der drei Weltmächte hineinwachsen, die über den künftigen Frieden zu wachen hätten; für die zusammengebrochenen Nationalstaaten des Kontinents hatten sie vielfach nur Geringschätzung übrig.

Auf dem Kontinent selbst gab es neben der Spaltung in sowjetischen Machtblock und westliche Welt auch noch den doppelten Gegensatz zwischen Besatzern und Besetzten, Siegern und Besiegten. Auf einem solchen Kontinent eine Föderation von Nationalstaaten zu schaffen, hieß auch Verletzungen zu verarbeiten. Das ging nicht ohne eine allseits akzeptierte vorübergehende Patronage der Siegermächte und die Bereitschaft der Deutschen, sich die Werte der westlichen Demokratien zu eigen zu machen. Allein schon deswegen ließ sich „Europa nicht mit einem Schlage herstellen“, wie Robert Schuman in seiner berühmt gewordenen Erklärung vom 9. Mai 1950 sehr zur Recht feststellte.⁵

Schließlich standen dem übergreifenden Interesse an der Schaffung großer Märkte sehr unterschiedliche wirtschaftliche Interessen im Detail gegenüber. Die traditionell exportorientierte Wirtschaft des westlichen Deutschland war stärker am Weltmarkt interessiert als an einem westeuropäischen Markt, die kleineren Länder des westlichen Europa hielten eher nach regionalen Absatzmärkten Ausschau. Ein hoch produktives Land wie die Niederlande drängte auf rasche wirtschaftliche Integration; Länder mit einem deutlichen Rückstand an Produktivität wie etwa Frankreich wollten erst auf nationaler Ebene aufholen, ehe sie sich dem Wettbewerb der europäischen Konkurrenz aussetzten. Zudem musste jeder Integrationsschritt gegen unterschiedlich breite Koalitionen von Integrationsverlierern durchgesetzt werden; er bedurfte also sorgfältiger innenpolitischer Absicherung.

Management von Ungleichzeitigkeiten

⁵ Zitiert nach: Horst Müller / Klaus Hildebrand (Hrsg.), *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Frankreich: Dokumente 1949-1963*. Band 1: Außenpolitik und Diplomatie, München, 1997, S. 225-227.

Im Detail verlief die Geschichte der europäischen Integration folglich alles andere als geradlinig. Erfolgreich konnte sie nur sein, weil und insoweit ihre Konstrukteure Prinzipien und Instrumente entwickelten, die man als ein System des Managements von Ungleichzeitigkeiten verstehen kann.

Das erste und meines Erachtens am wenigsten verstandene dieser Prinzipien ist das *Avantgarde-Prinzip*. Die Gewöhnung an mehr als über 40 Jahre westeuropäischer Integration hat völlig aus dem Bewusstsein verdrängt, dass die europäische Einigungsbewegung in ihren Anfängen keine westeuropäische Bewegung war, sondern eine gesamteuropäische. Die Erfahrungen der ersten Jahrhunderthälfte, von denen ich eingangs sprach, waren nicht auf das westliche Europa beschränkt. Europa-Verbände hatten ihre Büros genauso in Prag und in Budapest wie in Paris und in Brüssel; im Schließen von Verträgen, die eine künftige Föderierung Europas garantieren sollten, waren die osteuropäischen Exilregierungen während des Zweiten Weltkriegs ihren westeuropäischen Kollegen sogar voraus. Erst der sowjetische Anspruch auf einseitige Kontrolle Ostmittel- und Südosteuropas hat diesen Teil der Einigungsbewegung zunichte gemacht. Vaclav Havel konnte daher nach 1989 sehr zu Recht von einer „Rückkehr“ der Länder dieser Regionen nach Europa sprechen.

Die sowjetische Absage an den Marshall-Plan zwang die Akteure der europäischen Einigungsbewegung, mit dem Zusammenschluss im Westen Europas zu beginnen. Das ist vielen nicht leichtgefallen, besonders jenen nicht, für die die Sicherung des europäischen Friedens im Zentrum ihrer Motivation stand. Als sie sich schließlich zu diesem Schritt durchrangen – meist im Kontext des Haager Kongresses der Einigungsbewegung im Mai 1948 –, taten sie es in der Hoffnung, damit einen Kern europäischer Sicherheit und europäischer Freiheit zu schaffen, zu dem die östlichen Europäer eines Tages ebenfalls Zugang finden würden. „Auch eine partielle europäische Föderation“, so formulierten es die Föderalisten auf ihrem Kongress in Montreux“, „ist in der Lage, die unheilvolle Politik der Einflusszonen zurückzudrängen [...] und nach und nach diejenigen Länder wieder an die Werte und Institutionen der demokratischen Zivilisation zu binden, die sich von ihr entfernten.“⁶

⁶ Rede von Altiero Spinelli 27.8.1947, zitiert nach Walter Lippgens, *Die Anfänge der europäischen Einigungspolitik 1945-1950*. 1. Teil: 1945-1947, Stuttgart, 1977, S. 527f.

Bis die erste europäische Institution geschaffen werden konnte, die supranationalen Charakter aufwies, musste noch ein zweiter Schritt der Avantgarde-Bildung erfolgen. Die Regierungen und politischen Kräfte der westlichen Hälfte des europäischen Kontinents, die sich zum Prinzip des westeuropäischen Zusammenschlusses durchgerungen hatten, gingen ganz selbstverständlich davon aus, dass Großbritannien in diesem westlichen Europa die Führungsrolle übernehmen würde. Das schien im Hinblick auf das weltpolitische Gewicht Europas ebenso geboten wie im Hinblick auf seine Wirtschaftskraft, und auch als Gegengewicht gegen den neuen westdeutschen Staat waren die Briten den meisten Westeuropäern sehr willkommen. Als deutlich wurde, dass sich die britische Regierung dieser Führungsrolle verweigerte, entschloss sich der französische Außenminister Robert Schuman im Frühjahr 1950 zu einem Start der supranationalen Einigung ohne Großbritannien – das war der eigentliche politische Kern des Schuman-Plans, nicht die Idee einer Montanunion, die seit den 1920er Jahren diskutiert worden war, und auch nicht die Hinwendung Frankreichs zu einer europäischen Lösung der deutschen Frage, die spätestens 1948 vollzogen war. Auch der Schritt zum „Europa der Sechs“ wurde in der Erwartung vollzogen, dass dieses Europa früher oder später auch für diejenigen attraktiv werden würde, die sich daran nicht beteiligten – das hieß: auch für Großbritannien.⁷

Für den Erfolg der riskanten Initiative wurde es entscheidend, dass Schuman in Konrad Adenauer einen kongenialen Partner auf der deutschen Seite fand. Überhaupt waren Avantgarde-Initiativen immer nur dann erfolgreich, wenn sie von einem deutsch-französischen Tandem getragen wurden. Das gilt für die Römischen Verträge ebenso wie für die Einführung des Euro, für das Schengen-Abkommen ebenso wie für die allmähliche Verfertigung einer europäischen Sicherheitspolitik. Unterdessen ist das Avantgarde-Prinzip in den Verträgen von Amsterdam und von Nizza unter dem Begriff „Verstärkte Zusammenarbeit“ vertraglich geregelt. Es wird zweifellos auch in der erweiterten Europäischen Union zur Anwendung kommen. Man kann nur nicht voraussagen, in welchem Ausmaß das der Fall sein wird: Das hängt vom politischen Willen der Beteiligten ab.

⁷ Vgl. Wilfried Loth, „Der Schuman-Plan und die Zukunft der Europäischen Union“, in: *Integration* 33, 2011, S. 350-357.

Das zweite Element des Managements von Ungleichzeitigkeiten bestand im Eingehen von *Kompromiss-Paketen*, die auf Entwicklung hin angelegt waren. Das gelang zum ersten Mal und grundlegend bei den Römischen Verträgen von 1957, mit denen die Europäische Gemeinschaft ihr bis heute gültiges Format erhielt.⁸ Ursprünglich hatte man an die Europäische Gemeinschaft für Kohle und Stahl eine Europäische Verteidigungsgemeinschaft anschließen wollen, aus der dann wiederum eine Europäische Politische Gemeinschaft hervorgehen sollte. Diese Strategie, formell besiegelt im EVG-Vertrag vom 27. Mai 1952, scheiterte am schwindenden Rückhalt in der französischen Öffentlichkeit; am 30. August 1954 wurde das EVG-Projekt von einer Mehrheit der französischen Nationalversammlung abgelehnt. Danach war guter Rat teuer. Die Regierung der Niederlande schlug eine „supranationale Gemeinschaft“ vor, die „über den Weg einer Zollunion bis zur Verwirklichung einer Wirtschaftsunion fortschreiten“ sollte.⁹ Das war für Frankreich, wie schon angedeutet, überhaupt nicht akzeptabel. Von einem Sprung in die wirtschaftliche Supranationalität befürchtete man dort einen Ausverkauf noch nicht wettbewerbsfähiger Wirtschaftszweige. Stattdessen machte sich die französische Regierung den Plan einer europäischen Gemeinschaft zur zivilen Nutzung der Atomenergie zu eigen. Im Unterschied zu dem niederländischen Vorschlag standen dahinter keine massiven Interessen. Eine Atomgemeinschaft schien aber angesichts der allgemeinen Fortschrittseuphorie der 1950er Jahre populär zu sein, und protektionistische Gegeninteressen bereits etablierter Atom-Unternehmen standen ihr nicht im Weg.

In der Bundesrepublik wollte man freilich von einer solchen Atomgemeinschaft nichts wissen: Sonderminister Franz-Josef Strauß wollte bei der Entwicklung der Atomenergie lieber mit den Amerikanern und den Briten zusammenarbeiten, die technisch sehr viel weiter waren; das versprach größere Effektivität. Für die Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft konnte man sich in Bonn ebenso wenig erwärmen: Ludwig Erhard zog gegen den „volkswirtschaftlichen Unsinn“ eines Gemeinsamen Marktes der Sechs zu

⁸ Vgl. Wilfried Loth, „Die Entstehung der Römischen Verträge“, in: Michael Gehler (Hrsg.), *Vom Gemeinsamen Markt zur europäischen Unionsbildung. 50 Jahre Römische Verträge 1957 – 2007*, Wien, 2009, S. 111 – 130.

⁹ Memorandum Jan Willem Beyen 4.4.1955, ebd. S. 113.

Felde, der gerade einmal ein Viertel des deutschen Außenhandels abdeckte. Wie unter diesen Bedingungen eine Fortentwicklung des Europa-Projekts über die Montanunion hinaus zustande kommen sollte, war schleierhaft. Als die Außenminister der Sechs die beiden Vorschläge zum ersten Mal berieten, auf der Konferenz von Messina im Juni 1955, machten sie bei Ende ihrer Beratungen morgens um 4 Uhr „eher den Eindruck, sich für den Sonnenaufgang über dem Ätna zu interessieren als voller Bewunderung für ihr Werk zu sein.“¹⁰

Dass die Geschichte der europäischen Integration an dieser Stelle nicht schon zu Ende ging, ist in erster Linie Konrad Adenauer zu verdanken, für den die dauerhafte Einbindung der Bundesrepublik in eine europäische Gemeinschaft wichtiger war als die optimale Förderung wirtschaftlicher Expansion. Gegen Erhard und gegen Strauß setzte er ein Vertragspaket durch, das beide Vorschläge beinhaltete: den niederländischen mit der EWG und den französischen mit EURATOM. Der französischen Furcht vor dem Wettbewerb des Gemeinsamen Marktes kam er mit allerlei Zugeständnissen entgegen, insbesondere mit der Vereinbarung, dass der Gemeinsame Markt in drei Stufen verwirklicht werden sollte, in einem Zeitraum von zwölf bis fünfzehn Jahren. Wichtig für den Durchbruch war aber auch, dass Adenauers französischer Partner, Ministerpräsident Guy Mollet die Bestimmung akzeptierte, dass Frankreich nach Ablauf von sechs Jahren keine Möglichkeit mehr haben würde, den Fortgang über die erste Stufe hinweg durch ein Veto zu blockieren. Insofern stellte der Erfolg der Römischen Verträge tatsächlich eine deutsch-französische Gemeinschaftsleistung dar.

Neben der zeitlichen Streckung zeigte sich der dynamische Charakter des Kompromisses von 1957 auch in zahlreichen Kann-Bestimmungen – hinsichtlich der Landwirtschaftspolitik, der Verkehrspolitik, der Wirtschafts- und Währungspolitik und der Sozialpolitik. Die Integration weiterer Politikbereiche blieb weiteren Verträgen vorbehalten. Hier setzten die Väter des EWG-Vertrags auf die „Sachlogik“ der Auswirkungen der Integration eines Politiksektors auf andere, die noch nicht integriert waren. Außerdem bot die Bindung von Beschlüssen des Ministerrats an vorherige Initiativen der Kommission die Aussicht auf Entscheidungen, die tendenziell auf eine Stärkung der Gemeinschaft hinausliefen. Der Preis, der

¹⁰ Bericht von Christian Calmes, ebd. S. 117.

für diese Dynamik gezahlt werden musste, war eine außerordentliche Unübersichtlichkeit des Vertragswerks, die der angestrebten Akzeptanz bei skeptischen Bevölkerungsmehrheiten von vorneherein entgegen stand.

Im Vertragswerk von Rom war aber auch noch ein drittes Element des Managements von Ungleichzeitigkeiten enthalten: die *aktive Modernisierungsförderung*. Die Kommission konnte Schutzklauseln für Industriebereiche erlassen, die durch ein höheres Maß national geregelter Sozialleistungen und Steuern in ihrer Wettbewerbsfähigkeit benachteiligt waren. Nationale Regierungen konnten vorübergehend Einfuhrabgaben und Ausfuhrbeihilfen beschließen. Für den Agrarbereich waren grundsätzlich Subventionen vorgesehen. Ein Europäischer Sozialfonds diente der Förderung von Maßnahmen zur beruflichen Qualifizierung und zur Schaffung von Arbeitsplätzen. Eine Europäische Investitionsbank gewährte Darlehen für Projekte, die erkennbar dauerhafter Entwicklung und sozialem Zusammenhalt dienten. Schließlich wurde ein Investitionsfonds für die Überseegebiete Frankreichs, Belgiens und der Niederlande eingerichtet. Aus ihm gingen später die Lomé-Abkommen hervor, die Finanzhilfen und Handelsvorteile für Staaten des afrikanischen, karibischen und pazifischen Raums beinhalteten.

Das System der Modernisierungsförderung

Das System der Modernisierungsförderung ist in mehreren Schritten ausgebaut worden. 1973 kam mit der ersten Erweiterung der Europäischen Gemeinschaften (Großbritannien, Irland, Dänemark) der Europäische Fonds für regionale Entwicklung hinzu, der Maßnahmen zur Förderung und Anpassung von Regionen mit Entwicklungsrückstand finanzieren sollte. Neben traditionell industrieschwachen Regionen hatte man dabei insbesondere Regionen im Blick, die vorwiegend von veralteten Industriebranchen lebten. Zwei Jahrzehnte später wurde der Europäische Kohäsionsfonds eingerichtet. Er kommt ausschließlich jenen Mitgliedsländern zugute, die ein Pro-Kopf-Bruttoinlandsprodukt unter 90 Prozent des EU-Durchschnitts aufweisen. Gefördert werden daraus Maßnahmen zur Verbesserung des Umweltschutzes und die Entwicklung transeuropäischer Netze auf dem Gebiet der Verkehrsinfrastruktur. 1994 kam ein Europäischer Investitionsfonds hinzu, der den Aufbau und die Entwicklung von kleinen und mittleren Unternehmen unterstützt.

Im weiteren Sinne dienen auch die Rahmenprogramme für Forschung und technologische Entwicklung, die die Europäische Gemeinschaft seit 1984 periodisch auflegt, der Modernisierungsförderung. Eureka, die 1985 gegründete European Research Coordination Agency, fördert Kooperationsprojekte in technologischen Schlüsselbereichen mit bis zu 50 Prozent ihrer Kosten. Ebenso gehört das Erasmus-Programm, das seit 1987 die Mobilität von Studenten und Hochschuldozenten unterstützt, in diesem Zusammenhang. Mit dem Sokrates-Programm von 1995 wurde die Förderung von Zusammenarbeit, Mobilität und Sprachkenntnissen auch auf den schulischen Bereich ausgedehnt.

Zuletzt ist hier die Unterstützung für die Staaten des ehemaligen Ostblocks zu nennen¹¹. Zunächst beteiligt sich die Europäische Gemeinschaft zusammen mit den USA, Japan und einer Reihe weiterer Staaten seit 1989 an dem Phare-Programm („Poland and Hungary Action for Restructuring of the Economy“), das die wirtschaftliche Heranführung der osteuropäischen Länder an die Gemeinschaft vor allem mit Zuschüssen an die Privatwirtschaft unterstützt. Die Europäische Bank für Wiederaufbau und Entwicklung (EBRD), die 1991 ins Leben gerufen wurde und mehrheitlich der Union und ihren Mitgliedsstaaten gehört, unterstützt diese Transformation mit Krediten. Seit 1998 entwickelte die Gemeinschaft zudem ein spezifisches agrarpolitisches (Sapard) und ein strukturpolitisches (Ispa) Finanzinstrument zur Vorbereitung des Beitritts zur EU. Die Integration der neuen Mitgliedsstaaten wurde und wird im Rahmen formeller Beitrittspartnerschaften langfristig organisiert.

Die Zukunftsfähigkeit der Union

Über Prioritäten bei der Modernisierungsförderung, über das Ausmaß der Förderung und über die Verteilung der Fördermittel gab und gibt es kontinuierlich heftigen Streit. Die vielfache Frustration über Niederlagen im Verteilungskampf hat aber bislang ebenso wenig zum Wunsch nach Austritt aus der EU geführt wie das verbreitete Gefühl ihrer Bürgerferne und die mangelnde Transparenz ihrer Entscheidungsprozesse. Auch wer sich in dem einen oder anderen Bereich einer Avantgarde-

¹¹ Vgl. Barbara Lippert (Hrsg.), *Osterweiterung der Europäischen Union – die doppelte Reifeprüfung*, Bonn, 2000; dies. (Hrsg.), *Bilanz und Folgeprobleme der EU-Erweiterung*, Baden-Baden, 2004.

Gruppierung angeschlossen hat, ist nicht mehr bereit, diesen Entschluss rückgängig zu machen. Wenn ein italienischer Finanzminister laut darüber nachdenkt, sein Land könne aus der Währungsunion wieder austreten, wird das als Schnapsidee eines Politikamateurs abgetan. Die gegenwärtige griechische Regierung wehrt sich mit aller Heftigkeit gegen Versuche, Griechenland angesichts seiner Schuldenprobleme auch nur zeitweise aus der Währungsunion auszuschließen. Offensichtlich wird die EU als eine Einrichtung akzeptiert, mit deren Hilfe sich die Ungleichzeitigkeiten des beschleunigten Modernisierungsprozesses besser verarbeiten lassen als im nationalen Alleingang.

Die Verbindung des Avantgardeprinzips mit einer dynamischen Kompromiss-Struktur und aktiver Modernisierungsförderung hat die EU zu einer Solidargemeinschaft werden lassen, die für die Bewältigung der Folgen der Modernisierung unverzichtbar ist. Sie fördert Wettbewerbsfähigkeit und Produktivität, sie erleichtert den Übergang von alten in neue Sozialformen und sie trägt damit ganz entscheidend dazu bei, die unvermeidlichen Verteilungskonflikte in einem zivilisierten Rahmen zu halten. Letztlich garantiert sie damit sowohl den Frieden zwischen den europäischen Nationen als auch ihre demokratische Verfassung.

Ob sie damit auch schon ein europäisches Gesellschaftsmodell darstellt, mag dahingestellt bleiben. Wohlwollende Beobachter wie Jeremy Rifkin wollen das so sehen.¹² Einer solchen euphorischen Einschätzung kann freilich entgegen gehalten werden, dass es immer noch großer Anstrengungen bedarf, den komplexen Steuerungsmechanismus der EU aufrecht zu erhalten. Weiterentwicklungen bleiben ein mühsames Geschäft, bei dem man manchmal den Eindruck hat, dass die Europäer den Anforderungen, die sich ihnen stellen, nicht rechtzeitig gewachsen sind. Grundsätzlich wird man die Wirkungsweisen der EU aber als innovativen Beitrag zu einer Kultur der Ungleichzeitigkeit charakterisieren können. Sie zielen tendenziell auf Anpassung, aber nicht generell auf Vereinheitlichung. Unterschiede und Gegensätze werden durch Regelungen auf einer Zeitachse produktiv verarbeitet. Dem entsprechen die vagen Zielbilder von Föderation und Subsidiarität. Die vielfach als Schreckbild bemühte Vision vom europäischen Superstaat ist nur ein

¹² Vgl. Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream. How Europe's Vision of the Future is quietly eclipsing the American Dream*, New York, 2004.

Phantom, das mit der Realität und der Zukunft der Europäischen Union wenig zu tun hat.

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THE LISBON TREATY - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES. A HISTORICAL APPROACH

Ciprian Păun*

Abstract:

The participation of the EU's Central and Eastern member states in the creation of the Lisbon Treaty is a historic event for this part of the continent and for the Community itself. Thus, it is our goal to outline the specific attitudes, controversies and perspectives springing from the abovementioned part of Europe with regard to the contents and ratification of this document, based on a rigorous selection of the most prominent points of view. Although the predominant tendency is supportive of the Treaty, there have been numerous political debates arguing against it as well, which makes it important to become aware of all the implications of this document for our area of interest.

Keywords: Lisbon Treaty, ratification, Central and Eastern Europe, reform, constitutionality

Our paper conducts a thorough analysis of the manner in which the Lisbon Treaty has been perceived in Central and East-European countries to date, with specific references to pertinent comments by decision makers and other prominent stakeholders. The most significant attitudes have thus been regrouped around various sections dedicated to some countries where the perspectives on the Treaty have been more coherent and have engendered views that are likely to be perceived as essential within the entire European Union.

As far as **Hungary** is concerned, we can notice that after 1989, it definitely turned its eyes towards the West and thus affirmed its willingness to join the European Union. In fact, Hungary was the second state to ratify the Constitutional Treaty, on the 20th of December 2004, when the Hungarian deputies voted its text with 322 votes pro, 12 against and 8

* Ciprian Păun is PhD and lecturer at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of Economics and Business Administration. Contact: acpaun@googlemail.com

abstentions.¹ Since the Treaty was later rejected, the Hungarian government clearly affirmed its determination to continue the process meant to adopt a new Treaty, which later enabled it to have only one objection during the negotiations on its text, namely the one opposing the Czech Republic's request with regard to the Charter of Fundamental Rights.

This being said, Hungary was the first member state to ratify the Lisbon Treaty on the 17th of December 2007, after revising its own Constitution so as to render it compatible with the new European legislation. The text was approved with 325 votes pro, 5 against and 14 abstentions.² Before the vote, Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsany declared: "European history shows us that the answer to historical problems is a historic agreement (...) The parties often engage in heated debates within the Hungarian Parliament (...) but there is fundamental consensus on the fact that Hungary must cooperate in the area of European integration."³

Commission President José Manuel Barroso congratulated Hungary on the ratification of the Treaty and also deemed symbolic the fact that its first approval came from a country that joined the Union only in 2004. "This proves that enlargement is an inspiration for a future debate on European integration and that enlargement and consolidation go hand in hand".⁴

The message expressed by Hungary in the drafting of the Lisbon Treaty is reflected by declarations no. 52, 54 and 58 that were added to the document. The former states that Hungary, along with other 15 countries, recognises the symbols, namely the flag, anthem, motto and currency of the

¹ Ramona Coman, Jean-Michel De Waele, «*La ratification de la Constitution européenne dans les 25 États membres de l'UE*», n° 198, 07.02.2005,

[http://www.robert-schuman.eu/question_europe.php?num=su-198], (accessed 03.05.2011).

² «*Le processus de ratification du traité de Lisbonne : état des ratifications au 9 novembre 2009*», [<http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/dossiers/traite-lisbonne/processus-ratification.shtml>], accessed 12.04.2011.

³ «*La Hongrie ratifie la première le traité de Lisbonne*», 18.12.2007, [<http://www.7sur7.be/7s7/fr/1505/Monde/article/print/detail/108270/La-Hongrie-ratifie-la-premiere-le-trait-de-Lisbonne.dhtml>], accessed 11.05.2011.

⁴ José Manuel Durão Barroso, President of the European Commission "*Debate on the European Council - 2007: the twin-track approach in action*", European Parliament, Brussels, 18 December 2007,

[<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/07/831&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>], 11.05.2011.

EU as official. Moreover, declaration no. 54, signed by Germany, Austria, Ireland, Sweden and Hungary, calls for an intergovernmental conference meant to amend the Treaty creating Euratom, as it is considered that changes are necessary in this respect. Finally, declaration no. 58, signed by Latvia, Malta and Hungary, refers to the spelling of the single European currency in the body of treaties, affirming the maintenance of particular linguistic norms in this regard.⁵

To conclude, the course of events initiated by Hungary in its attitude towards the Lisbon Treaty demonstrates that change was possible and, if one measures it in what may be called *historical time*, it occurred quite fast, obeying a set of strategic axes followed by all Hungarian governments after 1989. These principles include the idea of integration and, after 2004, enhanced competitiveness within the European Union - the final proof of the latter being the overall attitude of Hungary with regard to the Lisbon Treaty.

In the **Czech Republic**, the debates on the Treaty were dominated by no fewer than four political parties: on the one hand there are the Civic Democrats (ODS) and the Communists (KSCM), who represent the Eurosceptical pole; on the other hand, we have the Social-Democrats (CSSD) and Christian-Democrats (KDU-CSL), who expressed a pro-European view. The debates were predominantly focused on institutional reform and, to a lesser extent, policies. Major subjects included: the Council of Ministers, the competences of national parliaments, as well as the Charter of Fundamental Rights.⁶

Within the Czech Parliament, the reform of the Council triggered a heated debate, as ODS and KSCM argued that the Treaty rendered this institution less effective than it had been before. In their view, the position of small and medium-sized member states would therefore be weakened and the new system would enable large western states to dominate the

⁵ Official Journal of the European Union, C 115/355, 09.05.2008, [http://www.europainfo.ro/uniuneaeuropeana/jurnalul_oficial_ue/index.1.html], accessed 12.04.2011.

⁶ "Outlook for 2010-11", in *Economist Intelligence Unit Limited*, 2010.

Union.⁷ Meanwhile, the double majority principle was welcomed only by members of CSSD, who argued that the new voting system should contribute to much more efficient decision making within the EU, while Eurosceptical parties opposed, for instance, the new Presidency system, by calling it unequal and discriminatory, since there was allegedly a great chance that only Western politicians would gain easy access to this particular position.⁸ Consequently, according to this group, small and medium-sized member states would have less influence on EU policies and the legislative process.⁹ This view was not shared by the Social-Democrats, who argued that the new definition of Presidency would strengthen the EU's position at an international level, while rendering it more effective and better represented, even from the perspective of smaller member states, which would still benefit from the rotational Presidency for the Council of Ministers.¹⁰ On the other hand, the ODS equally opposed the potential reduction in the number of Commissioners. In fact, from their perspective, the Treaty did not increase the level of legitimacy of the European Parliament, as it remained a weak and insufficiently transparent institution, whilst the Social-Democrats and Communists perceived the reform of the EP as a positive factor.¹¹

It was however the Charter of Fundamental Rights that caused perhaps the greatest division among Czech parliamentarians. The OSD held its ground against the document, claiming it was illegitimate - as it had been drafted by EU politicians - and that it weakened the prerogatives of member states. Other critical ideas included the unclear interpretations

⁷ Anna Szolucha, "The EU and Enlargement Fatigue: Why has the European Union not been able to counter enlargement fatigue?", in *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, Vol 6, Issue 1.

⁸ Fernando Mendez, Mario Mendez, Vasiliki Triga, "Direct Democracy in the European Union: How Comparative Federalism can Help us Understand the Interplay of Direct Democracy and European Integration", in *Revista de Ciencia Política*, volume 29, No 1, 2009, pp. 57-83.

⁹ Business Europe, "EU: Klaus compromise on Lisbon", in *Economist Intelligence Unit*, 2009.

¹⁰ Aleksandra Maatsch, *Between an Intergovernmental and a Polycentric European Union, National Parliamentary Discourses on Democracy in EU Ratification Process*, in RECON Online Working Paper, University of Oslo, Centre for European Studies.

¹¹ Augustin Jose Menendez, *From Constitutional Pluralism to a Pluralistic Constitution? Constitutional Synthesis as a MacCormickian Constitutional Theory of European Integration*, in RECON Online Working Paper 2011/02.

of the Charter and the allegation that it reflected a right-wing ideology that was not shared by all EU states. In this political group's opinion, the adoption of the Charter would make it possible for German citizens to reclaim their former Czech properties that had been seized after the war by the Beneš decrees. Meanwhile, KSCM did not pay that much attention to the Charter, as it had initially rejected it as unsuitable to be integrated into the Treaty, whereas the Social-Democrats unanimously upheld it, considering it an important step towards European integration and the guarantee of individual rights.¹²

Another important point that is well worth discussing when it comes to the Czech Republic is the debate on the constitutionality of the Lisbon Treaty, which shed light on the problem of national sovereignty - a key point for ODS members, who sustained that only states could be sovereign. Claiming that the EU was no such entity, in the absence of a European nation, OSD remained sceptical towards all reforms introduced by the Treaty that were likely to foster the creation of a federal Europe, for which, they said, the continent was not prepared.¹³ Nevertheless, the Constitutional Court, which was addressed twice by members of the Senate with regard to the compatibility between certain provisions of the Treaty and the Czech Constitution, ruled that a new definition of sovereignty was needed, in light of this document. It acknowledged that the EU was a *sui generis* entity, one that could not be catalogued by classic political science criteria. Thus, the changes brought forth could either be perceived as a partial loss of sovereignty, or the conferral of some sovereign attributes to a more powerful organisation. The Court admitted that traditional state prerogatives had to keep up with evolution and experience it in order to gradually apply the process of globalisation - so it was in the interest of member states to give up certain rights in favour of the European Union, in order for it to act, under the same institutional rules, as a representative democracy.¹⁴

¹² Nevra Esenturk, "Democracy in the European Union and the Treaty of Lisbon", in *Alternatives*, Turkish Journal of International Relations, Volume 8 Number 4, Winter 2009, p. 5.

¹³ Jiri Blazek, Jan Vozab (Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, Faculty of Science, Charles University), "Ex-ante Evaluation in the New Member States: The Case of the Czech Republic", in *Regional Studies*, Vol. 40.2, April 2006, pp. 237-248.

¹⁴ Nevra Esenturk, *art. cit.*

The “passerelle” clause enables the European Council to unanimously decide in favour of replacing unanimous voting in the Council of Ministers with qualified majority, in specific areas and with the consent of the European Parliament, as well as to shift from the special legislative procedure to the ordinary one.¹⁵

The requests of President Klaus clearly express his reticence towards both the European Union and the Lisbon Treaty. The first refers to the re-examining of the constitutionality of the Treaty, as the President claimed an international Treaty could not be granted the same level of authority as the Constitution.¹⁶ The second request refers to the compatibility between the Treaty and the Czech Constitution, stating that qualified majority voting endangered national sovereignty and indicating that only the original and not the derived Union law should be granted direct effect. He is equally sceptical with regard to the European Charter and expresses his concern towards the relation between the former and the Czech Charter, as far as compatibility and superiority are concerned. Klaus equally criticises the fact that the Union positions itself on a superior scale compared to its member states, which is contradictory to article 10 of the Czech Constitution, since the Union becomes more than an international organisation - it actually turns into a super-state. For him, the Charter is not necessary, all the more because it aims to build a European nation, supported by the idea of a common citizenship. According to Klaus, it is therefore envisaged to establish a federal competence system in which the President of the Union may get to have a veto within the European Council, since after Lisbon, the Union is undergoing changes in its very nature, by shifting from a *union of states* to an *organisation above the states*.¹⁷

The third request refers to the ratification process of the Treaty in the Czech Republic, one that allegedly can only be completed by means of a referendum. The last request by Vaclav Klaus acknowledges the hypothetical situation where Germans who had been expelled from the Sudetenland after World War Two, or their descendants, might ask for compensations from the part of the Czech Republic, in light of the Charter

¹⁵ Aleksandra Maatsch, *op cit.*

¹⁶ Business Europe, “EU: Klaus compromise on Lisbon” in *Economist Intelligence Unit*, 2009.

¹⁷ Robert Schute, “Subsidiarity after Lisbon: Reinforcing The Safeguards of Federalism?”, in *The Cambridge Law Journal*, 2009, p. 15.

of Fundamental Rights, since article 17 recognises the right to material benefits in the event of expropriation, while article 19 forbids collective expulsion.¹⁸ Hence, Klaus demanded that a clause be included in the Treaty so as to exclude the Czech Republic from the group of states that have to apply the document. In order to complete the ratification process, the European Council agreed to partly relinquish to this request, by admitting that within the next accession treaty and according to the constitutional provisions of each member state, a new protocol will be added in this respect as an addendum to the Lisbon Treaty, through which the Charter will have the same effects on the Czech Republic as it does on Britain or Poland.¹⁹

In the Czech Republic's declaration, added to the Final Act of the Intergovernmental Conference that adopted the Lisbon Treaty, it reaffirms that the provisions of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights refer to EU institutions and bodies and respect the principle of subsidiarity and of sharing competences between the Union and its member states. Thus, the provisions of the Charter only refer to these states in so far as the latter apply Union law and not in the event that they adopt and apply their national law, separately from the Community one.

Among the Eastern European states that acceded to the European Union in 2004, **Poland**, together with the Czech Republic, was one of the most reticent states in what concerns the ratification and signing of the Lisbon Treaty, a vital turning point for the EU.

In 2005, Poland would be led by a coalition of three conservative, national-clerical, eurosceptic and populist parties, the most prominent of which being the Law and Justice Party led by the Kaczyński twins. Jarosław Kaczyński became the prime minister of Poland, while his brother, Lech Kaczyński, had already been chosen president. This was a period when Poland turned from the diligent student of Eastern Europe into *l'enfant terrible*, a period when populism, xenophobia, clerical integralism and euroscepticism had reached all-time highs. Moreover, the

¹⁸ Business Europe, *art. cit.*

¹⁹ Nevra Esenturk, "Democracy in the European Union and the Treaty of Lisbon", in *Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Volume 8 Number 4, Winter 2009, p. 8.

euroscepticism risked turning into anti-Europeanism, counterproductive and harmful both for Poland and for the EU. Poland's chance was the coming to power of a Europhile and pro-Western party, the Civic Platform, lead by Donald Tusk as prime minister in 2007. However, Poland's ratification and signing of the Treaty was extremely difficult.

In April 2008, the bicameral Parliament of Poland was to ratify the Lisbon Treaty. The Sejm, the lower house of the Parliament, had 384 votes in favour, 56 against and 12 abstentions, while the Senate had 74 votes in favour, 17 against and 6 abstentions. All that was left was for the Treaty to be signed by President Lech Kaczyński, who had previously announced his intention of postponing the moment for as long as possible.²⁰ In fact, the Polish president was waiting for the result of the Irish referendum in 2008, who ended with a clear victory for those who refused to ratify the Treaty in Ireland (53.4% of the Irish voters were against). Immediately after the result, the President officially announced that any further discussion concerning the Treaty was "useless." This attitude was only going to infuriate French President Nicolas Sarkozy, whose country held the Presidency of the Council of the European Union in the first part of 2008 and who hoped to assume the success of the Treaty.²¹ Kaczyński's obstinacy to sign the Treaty after the second referendum was only going to add to the tension between the EU member states.

In fact, until April 2008, when the Treaty was adopted by the Polish parliament, there had been many conflicts. Fearing Germany's growing influence, Poland asked for a review of the double majority from the Treaty of Nice, which gave Germany a decisive role in the voting process. As an alternative, Poland proposed the use of the so-called *square root* of the population, that considerably diminished Germany's role, but also that of other Western powers such as France and Great Britain. The chief negotiator of Poland, historian Marek Cichocki, stated that the voting system would be a "Polish historical rebate" for the fact that "for 50 years

²⁰ Hilary White, "Poland Ratifies Lisbon Treaty with Opt-Out for EU Human Rights Charter" [<http://www.lifesitenews.com/news/archive/ldn/2008/apr/08040804>] accessed 04.05.2011.

²¹ Ian Traynor, "EU: Poland threatens Sarkozy's scheme to rescue Lisbon's treaty" [<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/jul/02/eu.poland>], accessed 04.05.2011.

Poland for no fault of its own was outside EU integration.”²² Of course, like many had noticed, Poland was bluffing, aiming to preserve the status quo of the double majority, but to at least limit the importance of demographic weight, and thus that of the great European states. In the end, Poland did not continue with this plan, and accepted to reduce its number of representatives in the European Parliament.²³

During the difficult negotiations, different problems emerged, from the fear of abandoning Eastern Europe to the sphere of Russia’s economic influence to the smallest of technical or symbolic issues, such as the role of the EU president, which the Polish wanted to be as symbolic as possible.

As previously mentioned, the bicameral Parliament was to ratify the Lisbon Treaty in April 2008 with an opt-out clause, so as not to oblige Poland to accept the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. This was done for fear that Poland would be forced to accept same-sex marriages and facilitating abortion in a predominantly catholic country.²⁴ After the second Irish referendum, this time a positive one, the Polish president had no excuse to further delay the signing of the Treaty, which was signed on October 10, 2009. During the ceremony, the president declared that “the European Union remains a union of sovereign nation states (...) a successful experiment without precedent in human history, cannot be closed to those who wish to join... not only in the Balkans but also countries like Georgia.”²⁵

Finally, apart from the opt-out clause, Poland also obtained a double majority for Council decisions (55% of the member states and 65% of the EU population), which comes into force only in 2014, with a period of transition until 2017. To this we add the Ioannina compromise, another Polish intervention, which allows a minority of member states to delay the decisions taken through qualified majority in the Council of Ministers until another majority is found. This clause is not part of the Treaty itself, which

²² Andrew Rettman, “Poland to fight for 'square root' law in EU treaty” [<http://euobserver.com/9/23808>], accessed 04.05.2011.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ “Q&A : The Lisbon Treaty” [<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6901353.stm>], accessed 04.05.2011.

²⁵ “Germany Welcomes Polish Approval of the Lisbon Treaty” [<http://eurodialogue.org/osce/Germany-Welcomes-Polish-Approval-Of-Lisbon-Treaty%20>], accessed 04.05.2011.

means it can be modified without repeating the difficult process of modifying and ratifying the Treaty all over again.²⁶

The Republic of **Slovenia** is part of the former Yugoslavia and is the most economically developed state in this region. An EU member from 2004, Slovenia is among the first Central-Eastern European countries to be accepted in the EU and NATO. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the evolution of Slovenia was closely related to its relation to the EU, the integration in the Union being one of the country's objectives ever since 1991.²⁷

On a national level, objectives referring to the EU have favoured a consensus between the main political groups in what concerns the integration of Slovenia in the EU.²⁸ In this way, relations with the EU became a part of the national political system.²⁹ The same situation was repeated when Slovenia held the Presidency of the Council of the European Union, when the most important political parties (with the exception of LDS and SNP) signed an agreement regarding the implementation and preparation of the Council Presidency.³⁰ Therefore, the Europeanisation

²⁶ "The Treaty of Lisbon", [<http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/treaty-lisbon-links dossier-188421>], accessed 04.05.2011.

²⁷ Alenka Krašovec, Damjan Lajh, *The European Union: A Joker or Just an Ordinary Playing Card for Slovenian Political Parties?*, 2009, p 491, [<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a917141500>], accessed 04.05.2011.

²⁸ In the accession period, with the exception of a single parliamentary party – the Slovenian National Party – no other parliamentary party publicly opposed this goal, *ibidem*, p. 501.

²⁹ What was especially new for the independent Slovenia relative to the EU was that for the first time foreign affairs became part of the national political system. This happened at almost the same time as Slovenia started to take part in the European integration processes, Danika Fink Hafner, *Europeanization in managing EU Affairs*, 2007, p. 813, [<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2007.00668.x/abstract?systemMessage=Wiley+Online+Library+will+be+disrupted+14+May+from+10-12+BST+for+monthly+maintenance>], accessed 04.05.2011.

³⁰ Agreement on the co-operation of political parties, the group of unconnected [¼ independent] deputies and representatives of national minorities in the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia for the successful implementation of the preparation and presidency of the EU.

process³¹ is felt especially at a central level, the local actors having a marginal role in what regards the European policy administration.³²

The political scene reflects the dynamics of the parties and the aspiration to belong to the great European political groups. By analysing the political spectrum, we notice that in Slovenia, the EU impact on the internal organisation of parties and the redistribution of power between them is limited.³³ Likewise, the modest influence of European policies and objectives in election campaigns supports the fact that in Slovenia a weak European “multi-level” governance system has been established.³⁴ However, the EU influence on Slovenia cannot be analysed without taking into consideration the ratification process of the Lisbon Treaty and its importance. The first official document in which the position of the Central-Eastern region states had the same value as that of the Western states, the Lisbon Treaty shows a more united Europe, despite the difficulties it was faced with during the ratification period. Thus, for the first time, the Central-Eastern European states can express their opinions towards the EU and contribute to administrating the European resource.

Through its pro-Europe attitude, Slovenia had an important role in elaborating and promoting this Treaty. Therefore, from the moment of the EU integration, Slovenia found essential the existence of a Foreign Affairs Minister for the European Union who would hold positions both in the Common Foreign and Security Policy and as a member of the Commission on international relations.³⁵ In what concerns the Lisbon Treaty, Slovenia was the third country to ratify it. The Slovenian Parliament signed the Treaty on January 29, 2008, thus encouraging the rest of the countries to proceed in the same way.³⁶ The ratification by the Parliament with an

³¹ Danika Fink Hafner, *art cit*, p. 805.

³² See George Andreou, Ian Bache, *Europeanization and multilevel governance in Slovenia*, 2010, pp. 20-40 [<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content-db=all~content=a922093361>], accessed 04.05.2011.

³³ See *ibidem*, pp. 491-505.

³⁴ George Andreou, Ian Bache, *art cit*, p. 41.

³⁵ Contribution by Dr Dimitrij Rupel, Slovenian Foreign Minister and Prime Minister's Representative to the European Convention, [european-convention.eu.int/docs/speeches/9513.pdf].

³⁶ Xinhua, Slovenia News, *Parliament ratifies Lisbon Treaty*, [<http://slovenia-news.blogspot.com/2008/01/slovenian-parliament-ratifies-lisbon.html>].

overwhelming majority (74 votes in favour, 6 against) showed a country willing to end the institutional crisis at the EU level and to contribute to its reform.

The impact and the principles of the EU in the post-Lisbon period are closely tied to Slovenia's contribution in the ratification process of this Treaty and as a member of the EU. The Presidency of Slovenia within the Council of the EU had a decisive role in what concerns the relation of the EU with its citizens. Slovenia held the Presidency of the Council from January 1, 2008 to June 30, 2008, with the following prerogatives: coordinating the Council of the EU and the Council of Europe, representing the European Union Council in relation with other European institutions and the international community.³⁷

Slovenia's Presidency of the Council involved three great challenges. First of all, Slovenia was the first country in the 2004-2007 wave of integration and the first post-communist country. Also, Slovenia was the smallest country (with the exception of Luxembourg) to hold the Presidency of the Council.³⁸ In what concerns the Presidency of the Council, Slovenia had established five priorities: ratifying the Lisbon Treaty, strengthening the European perspective in the Western Balkans, advancing the climate and energy package through the liberalisation of the internal market for electricity and gas, addressing a new cycle of the Lisbon Strategy and promoting intercultural dialogue.³⁹

This paper analyses Slovenia's realisations with regard to the Lisbon Treaty. We have to mention the impact that Slovenia's Presidency had in what concerns the Treaty. Although not strictly connected to Slovenia's Presidency, the rejection of the Lisbon Treaty through the Irish

³⁷ Republic of Slovenia, Government Office for Development and European Affairs, *Presentation*, [http://www.svrez.gov.si/en/presidency_of_the_eu/presentation/presentation/], accessed 04.05.2011.

³⁸ Sabina Kajnc, *The Slovenian Presidency: Meeting Symbolic and Substantive Challenges*, Ljubljana, 2009, p. 89, [onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2009.02015.x/pdf], accessed 04.05.2011.

³⁹ See Slovenian Presidency of the EU 2008, *Programme and Priorities of EU Presidency*, [http://www.eu2008.si/en/The_Council_Presidency/Priorities_Programmes/index.html], accessed 04.05.2011.

referendum⁴⁰ had deteriorated Slovenia's image. At the same time, this referendum raised question marks on the relation of the EU with its citizens and on their degree of information on the Treaty. The declaration of the Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Janša is significant in this case: "I believe that we need to focus on communication. Communication has the task of showing the citizens of Europe quite clearly why the European Union needs a new treaty." (June 24, 2008, Extraordinary Session of the European Parliament).⁴¹

In this way, Slovenia's Presidency and the way in which this country approached the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty reopened the perspective of a transparent cooperation between the EU and its citizens. The criticism brought at an internal level regarding both the lack of a citizen information campaign on the content of the Treaty of Lisbon,⁴² and the futility of expressing an agreement through a referendum by the citizens of the EU⁴³ has proven the importance of an open dialogue between the EU and its citizens.

The period following the ratification of the Treaty by all member states (including its signing through a second referendum in Ireland⁴⁴) brings a new position for the Eastern European states. With a more united Europe in mind, it is necessary for the Eastern European states to overcome historic tensions, in order fully unify the European space. Taking into

⁴⁰ Henry Mc Donald, Allegra Statton, *Irish Voters Reject EU treaty* [<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/jun/13/ireland>], accessed 04.05.2011.

⁴¹ "Address by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia and President of the European Council Janez Janša at the Extraordinary Plenary Session of the European Parliament", Zlatko Šabič, *Slovenia's Presidency of the EU and the Strengthening of the (European) Public Sphere: The Ratification of the Lisbon Treaty*, Ljubljana, 2009, Draft paper prepared for the 50th Convention of the International Studies Association, New York, 15 – 18 February 2009, panel "Czech and Slovenian EU Presidency in Comparative Perspective", p. 14, [http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/3/1/0/5/2/p310524_index.html], accessed 04.05.2011.

⁴² See *ibidem*, pp. 8-16.

⁴³ According to the opinion of the Head of the Government Office for European Affairs, promoting a 300-page document was useless, since it would have been difficult to read by a European citizen who would start believing in it only after seeing the personal benefits from the Treaty. See "Neprebavljivo besedilo", *Mladina*, 01/2008, [http://www.mladina.si/tehdnik/200801/clanek/slo--evropski_dom-marjan_horvat/], accessed 04.05.2011.

⁴⁴ *Irish EU Treaty Referendum Closes*, [<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8285849.stm>].

consideration the strategic location of the Balkan states in what concerns the Integration Strategy of the EU 2010-2020, Slovenia will play a key role through promoting Croatia as a new member of the EU.⁴⁵ Moving past the tensions concerning the borders of the two countries and the misunderstandings regarding the Piran Bay,⁴⁶ Slovenia has to promote a climate of cooperation in the Balkans, action started with its Presidency of the EU Council.

Significant in defining Slovenia's position in the post-Lisbon society is the creation of the first European agency in Slovenia. Named ACER (European Agency for the Cooperation of Energy Regulators), the agency was opened on March 3, 2011⁴⁷ and was established starting from the third package of liberalisation in the energy sector.⁴⁸ The opening of this agency plays a key role in the coordination of the EU energy policy, ensuring that the future network of development will determine the fusion of national energy markets.⁴⁹

Also, the amendments of the Slovenian Parliament after the Lisbon Treaty came into force show the way in which Slovenia adapted to the Treaty and to the EU in the post-Lisbon period. The main modifications are: monitoring the legislation regarding the principle of subsidiarity, taking legal action in the EU Court of Justice when the principle of subsidiarity has been violated, discussions regarding the European Council initiatives

⁴⁵ Otočec ob Krki, *Meetings of Presidents of Slovenia and Croatia*, 23.03.2011, [<http://www.up-rs.si/up-rs/uprs-eng.nsf/dokumentiweb/0935502ACF9C5CF3C12578630048D61A?OpenDocument>], accessed 04.05.2011.

⁴⁶ Neil MacDonald, *Slovenia and Croatia reach deal on border*, September 2009, [<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=1858484831&sid=2&Fmt=3&clientId=65090&RQT=309&VName=PQD>], accessed 04.05.2011.

⁴⁷ Republic of Slovenia, Ministry of the Economy, News, *First European Agency opens in Slovenia*, 03.03.2011, [<http://www.mg.gov.si/en/splosno/cns/news/article/2159/7720/906894b36f/>], accessed 04.05.2011.

⁴⁸ Permanent Representation of the Republic of Slovenia to the European Union, 28.02.2011, *The opening of the First European Agency in Slovenia*, [[http://www.bruselj.predstavnistvo.si/index.php?id=732&L=1&tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=7350&tx_ttnews\[backPid\]=14&cHash=12eb3a85b0](http://www.bruselj.predstavnistvo.si/index.php?id=732&L=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=7350&tx_ttnews[backPid]=14&cHash=12eb3a85b0)], accessed 04.05.2011.

⁴⁹ The Director of ACER, Alberto Pototschnig, said that the Agency would ensure that the planning of network development will promote the merger of national energy markets, including markets that are currently isolated or weakly connected, *ibidem*.

in what concerns amending treaties and proposals of the EU Council in what concerns judicial cooperation in civil law matters.

Regarding Slovenia's position towards the EU, the country enjoys great visibility in relation to its surface. Slovenia is represented by a member of the European Commission, seven members in the European Parliament,⁵⁰ the Prime Minister of the European Council and other members in various committees and European institutions. The position of the Slovenian leaders towards the EU and towards the Lisbon Treaty in general has been a favourable one. Both the Slovenian President Dr. Danilo Türk and Prime Minister Janez Janša have stated their support for the Treaty. Moreover, in the president's Address in the Diplomatic Reception in January 2011, he talks about the problems of the EU and proposes different ways of solving them.⁵¹

Taking into consideration Slovenia's position towards Europe after the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty and the importance the country had in the Treaty's ratification, we can conclude that Slovenia brought multiple benefits to the long-term European strategy. Among these we can mention the openness towards the Balkan area, but also the promotion of the transparency principle within the EU in what concerns its citizens.

The Baltic States had been attracted by the European Union even before its creation, from the time it was only a project. This attraction was mainly the result of the foreign relations with Russia, who had dominated the three countries for decades. In 1991 the Baltic States became independent and the process known as "the return to Europe" began⁵². This image of "returning to Europe" was actually rejected by the Baltic nations⁵³ because it shows them as imitators of the West, not equals. The current European situation is the following: the New Europe is challenging the old

⁵⁰ See *Slovenian representatives in EU Institutions*, [<http://www.evropa.gov.si/en/member-of-the-eu/slovenian-representatives-in-eu-institutions/>], accessed 04.05.2011.

⁵¹ by the President of the Republic of Slovenia, Dr Danilo Türk, at the diplomatic reception ceremony Brdo pri Kranju, 24 January 2011, [<http://www.up-rs.si/up-rs/uprs-eng.nsf/dokumentiweb/E88C85694E08AABEC1257822004CF9DF?OpenDocument>], accessed 04.05.2011.

⁵² Matthes Buhbe, Iris Kempe, *Russia, the EU and the Baltic States*, 2005.

⁵³ David James Smith, *The Baltic States and their region: new Europe or old?*, Rodopi, New York, 2005, p. 87.

one. The Baltic States are not after a Western identity, nor do they want to be perceived as inferior to the West. What they want is equality, and in this sense they are becoming a voice in the current European policy. For the Baltic countries, "the return to Europe" implies a division of Europe between West and East, that is to say an uneven perception of the states, whereas the New Europe has to be a model of unity and prosperity.

By acceding to the EU, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were hoping to receive the "white cheque of compensation" for everything they had suffered because of Russia/USSR and to be protected from it.

Putin's speech in 2005, in which he declared that the greatest strategic catastrophe of the 20th century was the collapse of the Soviet Union, led to a continuation of the acute tension between the two parts⁵⁴ and confirmed to the Baltic states Russia's view of the former Soviet states. This determined them to be even more eager to get closer to the EU.

By acceding to the Lisbon Treaty, the Baltic nations strengthened their policies, the Treaty having an essential role since it focuses on the security policy. Moreover, what is important is the introduction of the common defence policy, the member states being obliged to support by any means a state that is the victim of an aggression. Another valuable matter is the stipulation of cooperation intensification between certain states that have the same interest of common defence. This means that the states have the possibility of taking initiative and protecting the values of the EU.⁵⁵

Another reason for enthusiasm for the Baltic countries regarding the Treaty was the protocol concerning the energy problem. This issue is vital for the three states, since they depend on Russia for energy. One of the projects the Baltic States most opposed was the Nord Stream project to extract petrol from Russia and to transport it to the West through the Baltic Sea. The then president of Lithuania, Valdas Adamkus, declared:

"...our shared responsibility must also include environmental protection and climate change. The Baltic Sea region is among the most vulnerable in the context of climate change, while the inland Baltic Sea is seriously

⁵⁴ Tomas Janeliūnas, "Note from the editor", in *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review*, No. 24, 2010.

⁵⁵ Arūnas Molis, "The Baltic States: How to guarantee collective security in the 21st century?", *Baltic Review*, 16.06.2010.

threatened by large-scale infrastructure projects such as the Nord Stream and rapidly increasing oil tanker traffic. We cannot allow the Baltic Sea to become a “new Bosphorus”: with large amounts of dumped chemical munitions any incident at sea may result in an ecological disaster, causing irreparable damage to the entire region. It is important to ensure the highest possible standards of environmental protection against any off-shore and on-shore economic activity.” (29.04.2008, University of Tallinn)

Finally, the Treaty also introduces the provision of the prosperity of EU citizens and of combating poverty through Art. II, Paragraph 5. The Baltic States, finding themselves in a profound financial crisis after the extraordinary development in 2000-2007⁵⁶ have found support in this Treaty.

The Lisbon Treaty was ratified on May 8, 2008 by Lithuania and Latvia. In Lithuania, there were 83 votes in favour, 5 against and 23 abstentions. Latvia had 70 votes in favour out of 74. Estonia ratified the Treaty one month later, on June 11, 2008.

The Baltic States have oriented themselves towards the EU policies since 1991, but with certain well-defined expectations. They were hoping to completely change their history with the help of the EU and to be compensated for their past, something they have publicly asked for many times, the accusations being headed towards Russia. At the same time, a phenomenon of perceiving the countries as victims of the past took place, the Baltic States currently taking action in order for communism to be recognised as equal to Nazism⁵⁷.

As a landmark for their political, economic and social objectives, the Baltic States have clung to the Lisbon Treaty, Treaty which they perceived as a means of solving their past and present problems. On the other hand, the European Union paid attention to its policies in what concerns the

⁵⁶ Carolyn Bain, *Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania*, Oakland, Lonely Planet, 2009, p. 27.

⁵⁷ Carlos Closa Montero, *Study on how the memory of crimes committed by totalitarian regimes in Europe is dealt with in the Member States*, 2010
[http://www.ipp.csic.es/en/content/study_on_how_the_memory_of_cri].

Baltic nations, because they represent an open door to the relations with the former communist states and, at the same time, a geo-strategic point.

In the case of **Romania**, all the governments after 1989 have undoubtedly acted in order to facilitate the country's integration into the EU and NATO. This entente among political parties was in no way due to a belief that a unified Europe was a way to utter happiness, or to the confidence in any supreme law that might one day rule over the entire continent, but it did lead to a strong desire to align to European standards so as to become a stable partner in a tense geopolitical context.⁵⁸ Hence, with the exception of some hesitancy after 1989, such as the so-called *Mineriads* and various other ethnic and political conflicts around 1990/1991, leading to the fall of the Petre Roman government, Romania has shown its willingness to irreversibly go down the western path.

This is largely due to the fact that the Romanian people welcomed with euphoria the escape from sheer isolation and a physical and mental deterioration of the human being which had been in place for half a century. Therefore, the little energy this nation still possessed was used to attain the ultimate goal of being univocally accepted into both NATO and the European Union. This proves, amongst other things, the haste which guided Romania's parliamentary ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, becoming the fourth member state to have done so, and with resounding figures: 387 votes pro, one against and one abstention (differing thus from the "Golden Age" when all proposals initiated by the beloved leader would meet full consensus). It is deputy Lavinia Șandru that voted against the Reform Treaty, on behalf of the tiny National Initiative Party, while Dragoș Dumitru from the equally minuscule Conservative Party abstained from casting a vote.

The reasons behind the actions of the two MPs are quite indicative of what it means to totally ignore and lack interest towards this important legal document. It is Lavinia Șandru who declared in fact that "I have voted against the Lisbon Treaty because Romania has had no contribution to this document... we cannot state that the Treaty favours Romania. At this time, we are demonstrating that we do not matter at the EU level and we have

⁵⁸ Ovidiu Pecican, Sergiu Gherghina, *România în UE: trei ani de la aderare*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Limes, 2010, p. 11.

accepted everything that the Europeans have passed on to us... it is important that everyone should know... the Lisbon Treaty is over 90 percent equivalent to the old constitution.” Meanwhile, conservative Dragoş Dumitru declared that he was “Eurosceptical with regard to the economic and social aspects of this united Europe”.⁵⁹ The other parliamentarians had nothing but words of praise to welcome Romania’s approval of the Lisbon Treaty. For instance, former Prime Minister Adrian Năstase declared that “The Lisbon Treaty is a chance and in no way a problem for Romania.” He continued by stating that “the problem lies not only in the way we adjust to what standards from Brussels are all about, but in the way we shall manage to transfer part of our interest to Brussels”.⁶⁰ Moreover, liberal Mircea Ceuşă said: “the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty is the zenith of the European political aspirations that Romania has been reaching for so far, but also the gesture that will chase away the frustrations of Romanians”.⁶¹ Discussions continued in fact in this particular direction.

Only after the occurrence of major achievements - Romania’s accession to the Euro-Atlantic structures and the more recent ratification of the Lisbon Treaty - did national contributions start to appear with regard to the contents of the latter. A series of debates were initiated months after the ratification in order to analyse the impact of the Treaty and provide some prospective evaluations. We shall mention the two academic initiatives held in Cluj-Napoca: *Romania in the EU: 3 years since accession* and *Romania and the European Union post-Lisbon Treaty*, where Professor Tom Gallagher evaluated with great accuracy the climate around these debates, by mentioning that “it is good to see critical and constructive messages for a high quality progress of integration”.⁶²

Furthermore, Romanian politicians got more substantially involved in such debates so as to facilitate an increase in confidence in the EU’s processes and institutions. Foreign Affairs Minister Vasile Puşcaş, who led

⁵⁹ [<http://www.depindedenoi.ro/articole/politica/ratificarea-tratatului-de-la-lisabona-in-romania.html>].

⁶⁰ Irina Andreescu, *Romania a ratificat Tratatul de la Lisabona*, [<http://www.intactnews.ro/politic/romania-a-ratificat-tratatul-de-la-lisabona.html?31;445>].

⁶¹ *Ibidem*

⁶² Vasile Puşcaş, Marcela Sălăgean, *România și Uniunea Europeană post-Tratatul de la Lisabona*, Editura Eikon, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, p. 12.

the first reunion of the Reflection Group regarding the Future of the Lisbon Strategy, made up of representatives of central and local public administration, the civil society and academia, showed that the Group was compliant with the EU's initiative meant to foster the organization of debates on future action and an integrated approach to the *2020 Agenda*.

Senator Alexandru Peleş, a vice-president of the Romanian Senate, while in The Hague along with the presidents of the superior chambers of EU parliaments, underlined the constant preoccupation for consolidating the relationship between the Senate and the civil society, in order to initiate a package of reforms on these grounds.⁶³

Leonard Orban, European Commissioner, expressed, during the Conference *Strategies and Politics Studies Launch*, within the section dedicated to the Lisbon Treaty, on the 30th of March 2011, the need to implement the document over a long period of time, since the success of the Union depended on it.⁶⁴

Conclusions

In light of the above, it becomes obvious that the institutional reform stands out due to the numerous acquisitions in terms of competences. As far as we are concerned, it is the topic of Central and Eastern Europe that remains of great interest, also from the viewpoint of this very area: what does the debate on the Treaty bring for it and what has been the individual reaction of each state, since one way or another, every single one of them has had its own contribution to this achievement? What remains open to discussion is, however, the involvement of decision makers and, more generally speaking, stakeholders from Central and Eastern Europe, in the management of European affairs.

Nevertheless, there are a series of similarities that emerge with regard to the involvement of the states from this part of Europe in the development of the course of action that led to the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty, referring for instance to the impetus collectively given to the European mechanisms due to the overall support of these countries towards the latest institutional reform endeavour. Moreover, it is to be

⁶³ [<http://www.senat.ro/pagini/rel-int/ASE/discursperes.ro.htm>], accessed 04.05.2011.

⁶⁴ [<http://www.ier.ro/documente/arhivaevenimente2011/30martie2010-lansareSPOS.pdf>], accessed 04.05.2011.

commended the extent to which the parliaments of the abovementioned member states provided their support to the Treaty and contributed to the enforcement of its provisions, after partaking in the sinuous negotiations that had led to its final text. However, our analysis has equally shed light on a wave of opposition revolving around the Treaty that sprang from countries such as Poland and the Czech Republic, albeit such troubling attitudes were only indicative of the approach of some segments of their respective decision making mechanisms - in these cases, the Presidency. This proves that Central and Eastern Europe has in no way been overly confident about the positive effects of the Lisbon Treaty on their own interests and has attempted to play an active role in the tailoring of its definitive form. This being said, the attitude of the states that have been subjected to our analysis is only partly consistent with the general view of the Lisbon Treaty across the European Union, as the effects of this document have been carefully filtered through the lens of a particular historical and political heritage. Elements of continuity and discontinuity in the European politics of Central and East-European countries thus add weight to the belief that we have yet to witness the forging of a genuine common European agenda in this New Europe.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BRIAND PROJECT FOR THE POSTWAR EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION*

Dorin-Mircea Dobra *

Abstract:

Contemporary European Construction relies on a prehistory during which a series of important moments occurred naturally, ranging from projects aiming to achieve unification by force, to those focusing on political or economic unions, with the ultimate goal of continental peace. Due to the objectives and instruments envisaged, the Briand Project has been the most complex step in the recent prehistory of the European Union so far. Given the solutions proposed, the project of the French Foreign Minister anticipates the postwar solutions leading to the creation of the European Communities. From this point of view, the Briand Project is a necessary and useful step assumed by European postwar elites, on the way to the massive contemporary project of the European Union.

Keywords: prehistory of European construction, interwar period, Briand Project, European Union, French-German agreement, continental historic unity

For the interwar period, regarded from the perspective of debating the common European future, the Briand Project of creating a European Union stands as a landmark from two points of view: firstly, due to the fact that it introduced in the debate a significant number of countries, to which Russia and Turkey also attached, and secondly due to the exact steps in the initiation and actual support of this attempt.

The positioning themselves of the states participating in the debate, as a consequence of the Briand Memorandum, reflect the situation in which

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* Dorin-Mircea Dobra is PhD and associate lecturer at the Faculty of European Studies, Babeş-Bolyai University. Contact: dorin_dobra@yahoo.com

Europe was located at that time. Be them of complete adherence, of conditioned confirmation or of reserved acceptance, the official responsibilities of the member states make a historiographic basis worthy of interpretation for nowadays Europeanists.

Throughout the accomplished steps and through its novel formula of intergovernmental cooperation in specific issues, all under the juridical umbrella of the Nations' Society, the Briand Plan is undoubtedly among the European unification initiatives that created the suitable ideological space for nowadays „modern European construction.“ Acknowledged in a period that was historically problematic, in its resettling after the first World War, but also in the initial configuration of the new forces in Central Europe, the Briand Plan is constituted in an institutionalized initiative of attracting the debate at a superior level, placed above the immediate interests to issue claims of regional influence by the Great Powers of the time.

In fact, through the commissions initiated by Briand, the interest in maintaining peace in the Nations' Society received an extra impulse, which was at ease with the decision-makers of the times. This is also the reason why N. Titulescu, president of the organization, created the work commission dedicated to Federal Europe, as it was seen by its initiator. In fact, the two persons of the European debate seized the importance of a step dedicated to keeping peace at European level. Consequently, through the later matched between powers, history never hesitated in proving that peace would have been the only defensible objective in that period of time, and the steps supporting the European unification could have been the suitable means.

1. Prehistory of the European construction

To arrive at what we will generically call the Briand Project, Europe has crossed millennia of challenges and struggles which converged in the continental unification idea. This is because the entire history of this continent is constituted in a register of permanent unification attempts, all tributary to the exact moments they were confirmed and, perhaps later, imposed. „The European integration was not, therefore, an original idea, spontaneous, specific to the XXth century, but one of the wonderful utopias

of European thought, as proven by the numerous projects that followed along history.”¹

In a taxonomic attempt regarding European unification projects, stemming from the French historian J. B. Duroselle, four types of continental unity are configured: principle-based, in diversity, by force and by mutual agreement. As any taxonomy, following the rigors of logics, it wishes to be an exhaustive one, which may comprise any potential attempt in the mentioned direction. Nonetheless, we will not hesitate to agree with O. Pecican and state that objective history has only left two types for affirmation. „From the reality due to Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, reality supports therefore, by its testimonial, only two formulations/; the one regarding the accomplishment of unification by force and the one recommended as a unification in diversity (obtained either by force, or by mutual agreement.)”²

However, essential in the totality of this historic flux of unification attempts of the continent, is the turn known by the objective of actions, namely, the passage from imposed unification (usually by force, under the print of the religious principle) to the unification obtained by mutual agreement, in the perspective of a desirable later scope. „ If in all these cases the idea of European unification was not after all, but an extension of the crusades’ project, with William Penn, the idea of unification is firstly based on a non-religious idea.”³ The moment is essential for as long as it produces a modification of the unification principle, but brings forward a new signification and a new objective, to which the above-mentioned efforts may subordinate: the continental peace objective. The subject itself represents a potential individual research theme, which may answer the question that, in reality, everything we consider to be contemporary European construction, it is not the result of efforts to exclude the option of later confrontations in the detriment of continental peace.

Therefore, regardless where prehistory of the European construction begins, considering the Greek and Roman civilization, and continuing with the crusades or other regional unification forms, the

¹ Iorden Gh. Bărbulescu, *Procesul decizional în Uniunea Europeană*, Iași: Editura Polirom, 2008, p. 33.

² Ovidiu Pecican, *Europa, o idee în mers*, Editura Fundației Desire, ediția a III-a, 2002, p. 75.

³ Andrei Marga, *Filosofia unificării europene*, Cluj: Biblioteca Apostrof, 1995, p. 120.

European history allows a unitary interpretation under the spectrum of the tendencies to form a joint future. Along with the advancement towards the twentieth century, the idea of ensuring peace has become more and more stringent, and the entrance in the great century also makes room for the premises to this idea. Not randomly, thus, in the inter-war period, several projects, culminating with the Briand Project, are given shape, configuring, in turn, a recent history of the great postwar construction.

Approaching The Briand moment of the interwar projects, we will first mention that the French Foreign Minister was already honorary president of the movement led by count Kalergi, father of the Pan-European idea. This aspect is essential in the economy of the studied moment, especially, that, in its turn, Paneurope enters the recent history of the European construction. Moreover, and this would be the first thesis claimed in this paper, every moment of its prehistory in the European construction, any type or attempt of unification, has a personal and precise role in shaping that „common consciousness”, which made possible today the European Union. The civilizing Roman Empire, the Christian Crusade, Napoleon's campaigns or the visions of intellectuals such as Rousseau, Kant, Plato, all these flickers of the spirit contributed to the shaping of a finite project, that today we are reliving, viable by the intentional-administrative forms themselves, filtered along history as a result of successive attempts.

The European Unification Briand Project enters such steps at the end of the third decade of the twentieth century, only that, in accordance to the historiography of the entire project, its forms and implementation methods were shaped both according to the continental history, and to the situation of the exact moment of its affirmation. „A transposition of another concept of unified Europe was also attempted firstly in the interwar period, through the Briand project of European Unification.”⁴ The signaled aspect is essential, especially since it outlines both perspectives. Firstly, the historical one, which determined, along with the XXth century, that any other type of European unification has flunked the test of project validity. Europe has already lived, starting with Hesiod, more than twenty centuries of unification attempts be them by force, or based on a religious principle.

⁴ Simion Costea, *România și proiectul Briand de Uniune Europeană*, Târgu-Mureș: Editura Universității „Petru Maior”, 2004, p. 25.

Their epoch was already exceeded, and this was even more obvious in the moment the Briand Project was affirmed.

The second perspective in which the current project may be viewed, that of the historical situation of the moment, comes to invalidate the validity of unification by force (we are 10 years distance from the end of the First World War), but especially to confirm the necessity to find a European balance that can ensure continental peace. „There are in fact, certain question of particular interest to Europe for which, in the interests of peace itself, the European states may feel the need of special, more immediate and more direct action, and with which they are, moreover, especially competent to deal, because of their racial affinities and their common ideals of civilization.”⁵

The discussed period, the end of the 1930's, is an extremely complicated one at European level. Once the end of the First World War occurred, which also led to the disappearance of the great empires, national states began to affirm on the European stage. The system was, nevertheless, agreed upon by the Peace Treaties in Paris-Versailles. Most countries, especially those defeated after the war were ceaselessly trying to revise the treaties, so that the mentioned balance was quite precarious. The „Locarno” moment, 1925, further tightened the European spirits, especially that for the small countries it was quite obvious that the treaty spirit posed no barrier whatsoever to interwar revisionism. Meanwhile, one could observe that the general atmosphere had become tensed, especially after Italy had signed on the 5th of September 1926 a commercial treaty with Hungary, on the 27th November 1926 the Tirana Pact has been signed and on April 4th 1927 a friendship treaty was signed with Hungary.”⁶

To all these political-administrative aspects, the great economic-financial crisis of the end of the 30s is added. This aspect must be mentioned, especially from the perspective that historiography consider to have played a vital role in the final failure of the Briand plan. This juxtaposition, between an intergovernmental step aiming for the opening, reciprocal dialogue and common measures in distinct problems, and an unprecedented economic crisis that forced the national sovereign states

⁵ Briand Memorandum.

⁶ Eliza Campus, *Mica Înțelegere*, București: Editura Academia Română, 1997, p. 95.

towards a protectionist policy, had unfortunate effects upon the desired finality through European Unification by Briand Project.

In this complex situation, Briand enables the first exposal of his project regarding the federalization of Europe in front of the Nations' Society Association, on September 5th 1929. Aware of the general sensitivities, especially of the small states' suspicions towards a new organization, the French Foreign Minister presents his ideas carefully, so that he may alleviate as many of the potential defends. „ To soothe the worried of those who considered themselves threatened by the new organism that he wanted to create, Briand as a valuable diplomat, began his exposal by declaring that the European Federation would not be an exclusive alliance directed towards a nation or group of nations (allusion to the United States and Russia), nor would it have the character of a boundary unit that, by mediating prohibition tariffs could be transformed in a closed market for other exporting peoples(allusion to Great Britain and USA)”⁷ And all these aspects referring to the great states, the other countries' turn being as intense as this one. „Briand the diplomat then returns to comfort even the Europeans, ensuring them, though, less convincing, that he will make a double use of the Nations' Association and that the national sovereignty of the member states would not be touched by participation to the federation of the old continent.”⁸

Precisely to avoid, therefore, all these issues, and to ensure a larger reception of his Project, A. Briand, showing real diplomatic qualities, poses two premises at the basis of the federal European construction. The first, according to which the insurance of peace is the first objective of the federation, as shown above. „The main reason for the pursuit of European unity was the achievement of lasting peace in Europe. It was realized that where was no other means of putting an end to the continent's woeful history of conflict, bloodshed, suffering and destruction”.⁹ The second, according to which the future union will function under the print of the League of Nations, basically establishes a secretariat within this

⁷ George Ciorănescu, *României și ideea federalistă*, București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1996, p. 113.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹ Ali M. El-Agraa, „*The European Union - Economics and policies*”, eight edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 24.

organization. Strategically speaking, the proposal also benefitted from and used the name of the famous organization, the only functional one at the time from an interstate point of view at this dimension. „It is proposed in no way to form a European group outside the League of Nations, but, on the contrary, to bring European interests into harmony under the control of, and in conformity with, the spirit of the League of Nations, by creating within its universal organization which, for being limited, would be all the more effective. The creation of a federal system in Europe would always be placed to the credit of the League of Nations as bringing about progress of which even nations outside Europe could reap the benefit.”¹⁰

Not lastly, one must mention that the Briand Project prefigures an essential aspect of the postwar European construction, namely, the departure towards an economic European Unification. This is, in fact, the second thesis of this paper, according to which, the Briand Project is also the first configuration of a union of this sort, leaving from economic principles, particularly, having as objective a better economic continental organization as a result of the Paneuropen collaboration. „Between 1929 and 1930, Briand was confronted with the dilemma of the option for European integration, mainly economic or mainly political, an issue that the initiators of the post war integration would also be posing. If in September 1929 Briand promoted the idea of mainly economic integration, in the Memorandum of 1st of May 1930, he supported the opposite conception in favor of the mainly political integration.”¹¹ In this respect, the Memorandum becomes sufficiently explicit for any analysts. „The general subordination of economic problems to the political problems: - all possibility governed by the question of security and this question itself being intimately bound up with that of the progress possible on the road to the political union, it is essential to bring on to the political plane at the outset a method of development that will tend to give Europe an organic structure.”¹²

Briand's permanent attempts to reach common ground put him in the situation of underlining the need to maintain European peace, to strive for the economic correlation of the European states, to keep the new

¹⁰ Briand Memorandum.

¹¹ Simion Costea, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

¹² Briand Memorandum.

unionist configuration under the auspices of the Nations' Society and, generally, to avoid any potential internal tension, an aspect confirmed by the Romanian representatives at the session in September 1929, through the voice of the Minister Antoniadă, as member of the Romanian delegation in Geneva. „ Mister Briand developed his idea prior to the Assembly of September 11. With much kindness, he referred only to the baselines, avoiding to bring additional information that could give birth to controversies and exposing only ideas accepted by the humanity.(...) By a resolution signed by 45 delegates and adopted without discussions by the Assembly, the principle of union and accomplishment within the Nations' Society was approved, inviting the European States that, in collaboration with the Secretariat and in its quality as Society's Commission, to continue the investigation and to present to the future Assembly a report of the results, following precise proposals.”¹³

With an institutional structure that was true to that of the Nations' Society, within which it was also functioning, (made of the European Conference, the European Committee and the Secretariat), Briand limited his project of European Unification to a conception as elementary as possible, but he made this out of practical reasons, namely, to increase the chances of a common feeling for a concrete first proposal, and to reconcile all the interests and particular situations.”¹⁴

Once the unification project was launched, at the end of 1929, the French Government assumed the mission that, by mid 1930, they would ask and review all the answers of the other 26 European states, already members of the Nations' Society. The configuration of all these answers, as well as the debates issued around them especially at diplomatic level, would shape a true copy of these states' positioning regarding the European future. In fact, the occasion created by the Briand Project created a European ebullience, surrounding also the states that hadn't been invited to participate at the future union.

Precisely in this direction, in the first half of 1930, two countries, Russia and Turkey, uninvited to the Briand Project, make their positions known, constituting a strong press case of the time. This aspect is also written by the Romanian diplomats on the continent, representatives who

¹³ Arhivele Ministerului de Afaceri Externe, fond 71, vol.22, fila 47-48.

¹⁴ Simion Costea, *op.cit.*, p. 61.

would often be in contact with these reactions. „Repeatedly, mister Carp, our Minister at Ankara, had shown his belief that by not inviting Turkey to the future Paneuropean conference, a series of demonstrations will be caused with a tendency to impress the European public opinion, by threatening to gather more and more reports both with the Soviet Union and with the group of Powers led by Italy, among which Hungary included”.¹⁵

In its own turn, Russia, who even sends the French Government a diplomatic letter in this period, also positions itself referring to the French Minister Briand's initiative, while on any occasion he makes his opinions public, as shown in another Romanian diplomatic report, referring to any European unionist construction? „Mister Potemkon (the Soviet ambassador at Athens) added on the same occasion that the conference in Athens has no other purpose but to reunite a Balkan block against Russia and that France is the one that directs the Balkan states towards Russia.”¹⁶ The reaction is eloquent, though it refers to a different initiative, in which Romania played a fundamental role, respectively the Balkan Agreement.

Permanently returning to the European situation, and, during the 1929-1930 even to the global one, in which the economic crisis was harshly felt, and the states were looking for safeguarding solutions in the natural intentions of the protectionist policies within their own borders, we may place the essential moment of the Briand Project in this period that was politically and economically eventful. Once the Memorandum and the special secretariat were formed within the Committee for the European Union, Aristide Briand took over the official task of formulating a questionnaire based on the Memorandum, addressed to the countries of the 27 European Countries, which had to answer until the 15th July 1930. „The received answers may be separated under two sections: of the states that adhered entirely to the Memorandum's proposals, such as France and the countries of the Little Entente and the answers of the governments that have political and economical reserves, such as Germany and Hungary.”¹⁷ Otherwise, and this aspect has been mentioned beforehand, the governments' positioning at the Briand Memorandum accurately reflected

¹⁵ AMAE, fond 71, vol.23, f. 275.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 267.

¹⁷ Ciorănescu, *op.cit.*, pp. 113-114.

the intentions and projections of each of them regarding strategies and national visions within the European complex.

The main allies of the Briand Project, precisely for geopolitical reasons, were the representatives of the countries that signed the Little Entente, respectively Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Positioned in Central Europe, all these countries were interested that, throughout regional ententes, they would ensure the integrity and economic security, but especially the territorial one in front of the post-Versailles revisionist claims." The history of the Central European organization (Little Entente) proves, from the very beginning, that even during the First World War, this idea of a federal-zonal form of cohabitation occurred, as expression of private interests of the component parties."¹⁸ Consequently, a country such as Romania, whose answer will be used, sends a trust signal in Briand's initiative, in diplomatic terms; this answer stands as example in the category of countries that adhere entirely to the future European project, especially by the issued signature, after the mentioned premises. „Le Gouvernement Roumain décidé a participer à la Conference qui doit se reunir, à Genève, en Septembre, au moment de l'Assemblée Générale de la Société des Nations, se réserve d'examiner alors les suggestions concrètes du Mémorandum ainsi que les propositions qui seraient faites par d'autres Gouvernement."¹⁹ Using therefore predictable terms, it transmits the essential message of participating in the next conference regarding the European Union. And the last phrase of the answer comes nonetheless as an emphasis on the relevance of the monument. „Il est convaincu que le projet d'union fédérale proposé par le Gouvernement Français marquera le commencement d'une ère nouvelle dans la vie internationale. La réalisation graduelle de ce projet établissent une collaboration civilisée, un avenir de fraternité et de bonheur."²⁰

Returning to the thesis according to which, along with the answers to the Briand Memorandum, the states had the opportunity to clarify their options regarding unified Europe, we will signal only the Romanian Ambassador's in London note. Not randomly, as, we also signal the category of reserved answers referring to the Briand's United Europe

¹⁸ Elisa Campus, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁹ AMAE, fond 71, vol. 22, f. 463-474.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

Project. „Because of England’s special status, which, as an essential element of the British Empire, has extremely important extra-European connections, the answer to the Briand Memorandum couldn’t have but a preliminary character.”²¹ From various reasons, therefore, not all countries gave unconditional credit to the Briand Project.” In the political centers and in public opinion, the Briand Memorandum is generally viewed with a dose of skepticism, if not with indifference. Many persons are even completely opposed to England’s entrance in a federal Europe, because this might constitute a new „commitment to continental business.”²² In the same register of reserved answers, Germany also maintains distance from the unionist project, especially since it was in that period that Minister Stresemann, Briand’s main German partner, died. „ For the Berlin officials and for the German public opinion, the priorities order was simple: firstly, they had to revise treaties and reinstate political, economical and military power of Germany, and then there was still time to discuss an eventual European organization.”²³

In such conditions, the projects’ proponents had to find solutions that accepted a compromise. Herein stated are, along with Briand and his contributors, Nicolae Titulescu, who was president of the Nations’ Society at the time. Europeanist and convinced pacifist, Titulescu caught the greatness and relevance of the Briand Project, which he supported not only institutionally, continually ensuring precedence to the works for the committee specially gathered for the European Union project. Follower of the Briand Project and idea, N. Titulescu engages in discussions that he later reports to interested diplomats, keeping the debate alive. „Mister Painlevé, as we are informed by Minister Titulescu, believes that the governments’ answers to the Briand memorandum are not as bad as the press claims them to be and, there might even be a compromise within the English note.”²⁴

Many certainties may be issued upon the short history of the Briand project, whereas, about the reasons why it fell in the archives of history we can only built hypotheses, together with Europeanist specialists. The lack of

²¹ *Ibidem*, f. 110.

²² *Ibidem*, f. 111.

²³ Simion Costea, *op.cit.*, p. 66.

²⁴ AMAE, f. 112.

sincerity, which may be attributed to the great diplomats of the time, can rather be seen as the necessary immobility to which governments submitted them. The great historical passions, resulted after the Versailles Treaty, partially unchained, through the Locarno Treaty (which, following the principle of communicating vessels created regional ebullience in Eastern Europe), stopped the accomplishment and application of such a project. „ The Romanian delegate, G.G. Mironescu, speaking on September 16th, shows that the great work that the Nations' Society undertakes is an improvement work and careful perfecting, which asks for a long period of preparation, especially since Europe is going through a time of economic crisis.”²⁵

The economic crisis, the insufficient preparation, the unfitted times, the lack of honesty, all stand as reasons for the failure of the Briand project. Through its configurations, through the debate itself, the project regarding the European Union constitutes a major moment in the construction of Europe, by its very own challenges.

2. Briand moment and its lights

Even from the beginning of our conclusions, one must notice the fact that, in its times, the Briand project represented the highest level of European construction proposed to the 27 European states. „In the spirit of the epoch's mentalities, for which national sovereignty was a sacrosanct dogma, Briand projected an intergovernmental European Union, conceived on the sovereignty of national states. It was a Europe of states and a directorial Europe, which foreran (in a certain way) Charles de Gaulle's formula.”²⁶ The debates between national and supranational, federative and confederative, union and unity, all found their moment in the European history, being placed in the center and thus preparing the postwar debates that led to the building of contemporary European Union.

From the same level of the relevance of the Project Briand vision, we signal the French Minister's concern with peace, objectively put at the basis of the European unification project, as previously signaled in the paper. Moreover, Briand had correctly intuited, and this becomes visible after the Second World War, that the balance necessary for keeping European peace

²⁵ G. Ciorănescu, *op.cit.* p. 115.

²⁶ Simion Costea, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

may begin to establish peace between France and Germany. „From this conversation (between A. Briand and the Romanian Ambassador in Paris, Diamandy) I understood, says our Minister in Paris, that he (Briand) makes the French-German connections the core of the European countries' expansion.”²⁷ And from this perspective, the Briand Project stands, as major antecedent, at the creation of that prehistory for European construction which evolved, naturally and necessarily, towards nowadays unifying model.

But perhaps the most important light sent by the Briand Project to posteriori is the stage itself that it represents. If we were to call it the interwar period, with its three projects, (Kalergi, Briand, Tardieu) the recent prehistory of the European construction, the Briand Project is here as the most laborious moment lived. Beyond its practical aspects, intergovernmentalism based on institutions that mirrored those of the Nations' Society, the Briand Project represents a stage in the collective mental without which nowadays European Union would be poorer. Throughout its concern for peace, through the proposed proximity between France and Germany, as well as through the intergovernmental economic collaboration, the Briand Project becomes a historic stage, logically consistent and necessary for the modern European construction.

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L'ATTITUDE DE LA ROUMANIE ENVERS LE PROJET BRIAND D'UNION FEDERALE DE 1930*

ROMANIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS BRIAND'S PROJECT ON A FEDERAL UNION

Claudia-Valentina Gîdea, Alexandra Pop*

Abstract:

This paper attempts to analyze the position of Romania concerning the project for European unification proposed by the French politician Aristide Briand. The Briand Project is the first project of European construction presented in official circumstances, during the meeting of the Society of Nations. The project of the European federal union focused on the political aspects, while the economic elements were subordinated to the political leaders. Romania approved the plan proposed by Briand, but issued some observations to make sure it didn't endanger the interest of its foreign policy. We will focus on the project regarding a European federal union as proposed by the famous French politician of the interwar period, but also on the reactions of Romania, taken by certain Romanian politicians, regarding this project.

Key words: European construction, project, federal union, integration, politics

Grâce à sa carrière politique impressionnante: onze fois président du Conseil et vingt fois ministre, Aristide Briand reste dans la mémoire des Européens, un pacifiste couronné par le Prix Nobel pour la Paix et un

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* Claudia-Valentina Gîdea is PhD in history and researcher at Babeş-Bolyai University. Contact: valigidea@yahoo.com. Alexandra Pop is PhD student at Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of European Studies. Contact: alecs_sis@yahoo.com.

militant pour la construction européenne. C'est le premier homme politique qui présente un projet de construction européenne dans un cadre officiel, lors de la réunion de la Société des Nations de septembre 1929, un projet fort débattu par les représentants des Etats européens. Le discours du diplomate français suscite un grand intérêt de la part de ses homologues, et c'est grâce à lui que le projet se fait connaître au sein de la Société des Nations. En 1928 dans une interview, Aristide Briand mentionnait: «*tout ce qui dépend de moi, sera fait*¹, c'était en effet une affirmation qui a marqué toute sa carrière politique.

Dans la présente contribution, on présentera le projet d'union fédérale européenne que l'homme politique français a proposé à l'époque de l'Entre deux guerres mondiales, et on analysera à l'aide des discours de certains hommes politiques roumains l'attitude de la Roumanie envers celui-ci, tout en soulignant ses intérêts à cet égard.

Le bien-fondé du projet Briand

En quoi consiste le projet Briand ? L'idée de l'Europe unie acquiert une importance particulière pendant la crise du système des Etats-nations, fil conducteur des années de l'entre deux guerres.²

La démarche de Briand n'est pas une solution, c'est une question, adressée à l'Europe, dont l'avenir du continent dépendait de sa réponse.³ En 1928, Aristide Briand avait lancé du haut de la Chambre française un appel solennel et pressant, à l'union des Etats d'Europe.⁴ Mais son discours devant l'Assemblée Nationale de la Société des Nations du septembre 1929 demeure le point de départ pour les démarches d'un projet

¹ AMAEF, Fonds *Nominatifs PA-AP 335 Briand SDN*, *Projet Briand des Etats unis d'Europe* (entretien avec un journaliste 1923), f. 5.

² Claudio Giulio Anta, *Les pères de l'Europe Sept portraits*, Bruxelles, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2007, p. 21.

³ AMEF, série-Y- *Internationale*, carton 85, dossier 1 Légation de France a Vienne, Annexe no.1 de la dépêche 204 du 18 juillet 1929, Initiative paneuropéenne de M. Briand. Pas d'arrière pensées ou d'intentions secondaires par R. R. Coudenhove Kalergi, f.31-33.

⁴ AMAEF, *Série Y Internationale*, carton 85- 1- A, Article *Vers une union des peuples d'Europe ? L'appel de M. Briand la Croisade Paneuropéenne du comte Coudenhove Kalergi-Un nouvel Hamilton ? Notre intérêt national en Libre Belgique* du 8 août 1929, f. 95.

européen plus ample, en renforçant l'idée selon laquelle Aristide Briand est bien l'homme du monde qui se peut le moins décourager.⁵

Dans son discours devant l'Assemblée de la Société des Nations, Aristide Briand faisait référence à la Société des Nations, dont il soulignait l'importance depuis dix ans d'existence. Il considérait que la Société des Nations, dans sa marche prudente, dans son organisation progressive, année après année, a rencontré de lourdes difficultés. Mais un autre projet pour l'Europe devait être envisagé et c'est dans son discours devant l'Assemblée de la Société des Nations que l'homme politique français propose un projet de construction européenne. Selon lui, «'entre les peuples qui sont géographiquement groupés, comme les peuples d'Europe, il doit exister une sorte de lien fédéral qui ne devra toucher à la souveraineté d'aucune des nations qui pourraient faire partie d'une telle association.»⁶

Pour arriver à se faire valoir, économiquement parlant vis-à-vis de l'Amérique, l'Europe devait supprimer les obstacles qu'elle opposait à sa propre évolution. L'Europe était morcelée par ses nombreuses barrières douanières. Si l'on pouvait arriver à la suppression de ces barrières douanières, on peut faire beaucoup pour le relèvement économique de l'Europe.⁷

Dans une formule libérale et indiquant clairement l'objectif essentiel de cette association au service de l'œuvre collective d'organisation pacifique de l'Europe, les gouvernements signataires s'engageaient à prendre régulièrement contact, par des réunions périodiques ou extraordinaires, pour examiner en commun toutes les questions susceptibles d'intéresser au premier chef la communauté des peuples européens.⁸

Rédigé par le plus proche collaborateur de Briand, le poète et le diplomate Saint John Perse, le mémorandum sur l'organisation d'un régime d'union fédérale européenne a été présenté un an plus tard, mais n'a

⁵ AMAEF, *Série- Y- Internationale*, carton 85- 1 -A, Art Un grand projet de M. Briand, 10 juillet 1929.

⁶ Charles Zorgbibe, *Histoire de l'Union Européenne*, Editions Albin Michel, 2005, p.14.

⁷ AMAEF, série Y- *Internationale*, carton 85, dossier 1, Lettre du 12 juillet 1929 au sujet de l'information télégraphique selon laquelle M. Briand proposerait la constitution des Etats-Unis d'Europe, f. 3.

⁸ [<http://www.ellopos.net/politics/leger-memorandum.asp>], 30 mai 2011.

connu aucune suite⁹. Le projet de 1930 envisageait la question de l'union essentiellement politique, l'élément économique devant être subordonné aux décideurs politiques.¹⁰ Briand souhaitait «une fédération fondée sur l'idée d'union» pour respecter l'indépendance et la souveraineté nationale de chacun des Etats. Quant à l'organisation économique de l'Europe, il désirait un rapprochement des économies européennes réalisé sous la responsabilité politique des gouvernements solidaires.¹¹

Le Mémorandum de 1930 avait beaucoup changé par rapport au discours de septembre 1929.

L'enjeu d'un projet européen actualisé

Pourquoi Aristide Briand a dû changer son projet? Le discours de septembre 1929 mettait l'accent sur l'économie. Un mois après, la crise de 1929 éclatait aux Etats-Unis et s'étendait aux principaux Etat européens.

C'était le contexte international qui rendait plus difficile une action dans le domaine économique et déterminait les Etat à fermer leurs frontières. L'éclatement de la crise économique empêchait la suppression des barrières et la libéralisation des échanges internationales. Des changements majeurs se produisaient dans la politique allemande: la mort de Stresemann le 3 octobre 1929 et l'arrivée au pouvoir du gouvernement minoritaire qui marquait le renforcement des postions de l'extrême droite, qui ne désirait pas une réconciliation avec la France, mais la révision des traités de paix et la réalisation des intérêts nationaux allemands.

On parle aussi des changements dans le contexte politique français: le gouvernement Briand était remplacé par le gouvernement Tardieu. Briand gardait le ministère des Affaires Etrangères, mais la pression nationaliste du gouvernement a déterminé Briand à corriger ses projets, en tenant compte des intérêts spécifiques de la France.

Le Mémorandum a été présenté le 1er mai 1930 aux gouvernements européens de la Société des Nations. On présentera brièvement son

⁹ Christine Houteer, *La construction européenne, Etapes, objectifs, réalisations*, Paris, Armand Collin, 2005, p. 7.

¹⁰ George Chabert, *L'idée européenne. Entre guerres et culture: de la confrontation à l'union*, Bruxelles, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2007, p. 180.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

contenu, en nous appuyant sur les documents officiels des archives diplomatiques.

Dans le Mémorandum était stipulé le désir de constituer un groupement européen en dehors de la Société des Nations, en intégrant dans son système universel, un système limité, d'autant plus effectif. La réalisation d'une organisation fédérative de l'Europe devait être toujours rapportée à la Société des Nations. De plus, le lien fédéral entre les Etats européens devait jouer un rôle très utile en préparant l'atmosphère favorable aux règlements pacifiques de la Société ou en facilitant dans la pratique l'exécution de ses décisions.

Il en était exclue la moindre pensée de domination politique au sein d'une organisation délibérément placée sous le contrôle de la Société des Nations dont les deux principes fondamentaux étaient précisément la souveraineté des Etats et leur égalité de droits.¹² Pour mieux attester la subordination de l'union européenne à la Société des Nations, le pacte européen devait être réservé à l'origine aux Etats européens membres de la Société.¹³

Les organes envisagés pour accomplir la tâche de la fédération européenne sont: la *Conférence européenne*, le *Comité politique permanent*, et le *Secrétariat*.

La *Conférence européenne* devait être l'organe représentatif, composé par les représentants de tous les gouvernements européens membres de la Société des Nations, et demeurait l'organe directeur essentiel de l'union fédérale européenne auprès la Société des Nations. Afin d'éviter toute prédominance en faveur d'un des Etats d'Europe par rapport aux autres, la présidence de la Conférence européenne devait être annuelle et exercée par rotation.

Le *Comité politique permanent* devait représenter un organe exécutif, composé seulement d'un certain nombre de membres de la Conférence européenne et assurant pratiquement à l'union européenne son organisme d'étude. L'activité de ce Comité, comme celle de la Conférence, devaient s'exercer dans le cadre de la Société des Nations, et ses réunions pouvaient

¹² AMAEF, *Série Y Internationale*, carton 85- 1- A, Mémorandum sur l'organisation d'un régime d'union fédérale européenne, mai 1930, f. 63.

¹³ *Ibidem*, f. 64.

avoir lieu à Genève même ou bien ses sessions régulières pouvaient coïncider avec celles du Conseil de la Société des Nations.

En vue de soustraire le Comité à toute prédominance particulière, sa présidence devrait être exercée par rotation. Le Comité ne pouvait comprendre qu'un nombre restreint de représentants des autres gouvernements européens, faisant ou non partie de la Société des Nations, étant particulièrement intéressés à l'étude d'une question. Le Comité avait comme tâche: d'une part, l'examen général de toute procédure de réalisation et d'application du projet envisagé et la recherche des voies et moyens tendant à dégager techniquement les éléments constitutifs de la future union fédérale européenne.¹⁴

Un autre organe nécessaire pour l'union fédérale européenne pouvait être *un service de secrétariat*, afin d'assurer administrativement l'exécution des instructions du président de la conférence ou du Comité européen, les communications entre les gouvernements signataires du pacte européen, les convocations de la Conférence ou du Comité, la préparation de leurs discussions, l'enregistrement de la notification de leurs résolutions¹⁵.

La Roumanie vis-à-vis de projet Briand

On se pose la question de savoir les intérêts pour un tel projet. Mais avant d'analyser ces intérêts, il est nécessaire de mettre en lumière sa réponse avec les suggestions de la part des certaines personnalités politiques roumaines comme: I. G. Duca, Constantin Argetoianu, Virgil Madgearu, Iuliu Maniu.

Le ministre de France à Bucarest¹⁶ a été chargé le 14 mai 1930 de recevoir quarante exemplaires du Mémoire sur l'organisation d'un régime d'union fédérale européenne qui devaient être répandus soit pour la documentation des services du gouvernement roumain soit pour l'information de la presse locale, ayant comme but l'information des

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 65.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ Les ambassadeurs dans cette période sont les ministres des légations. Ceux-ci seront appelés ambassadeurs conformément à la Convention de Vienne de mars 1967.

personnalités ou des groupements qui s'intéressaient plus particulièrement à l'organisation de la paix.¹⁷

Le 9 juillet 1930, le ministre roumain des Affaires Étrangères a envoyé le texte avec la réponse officielle de la Roumanie au ministre français à Bucarest, Gabriel Puaux, pour que celui-ci l'envoyât au Quai d'Orsay à Paris. Le 11 juillet 1930, la réponse roumaine est arrivée à Paris, et le lendemain celle-ci a été distribuée à la presse roumaine et étrangère.¹⁸ Mironescu partait pour Paris le 9 juillet¹⁹. Il devait présenter, le 9 juillet, la réponse officielle au mémorandum de Briand pour une Union fédérale européenne²⁰.

La Roumanie approuvait le plan tout en formulant les réserves déjà aperçues: elle demandait l'intégration de la nouvelle structure dans le cadre de la Société des Nations, afin de conserver les garanties «sur le respect des traités, sur l'intégrité territoriale des Etats, sur leur indépendance, leur souveraineté et leur égalité»²¹ En outre, Bucarest préférait, en raison de la crise, de voir „passer au premier plan les problèmes économiques;” le corollaire était qu'„une entente politique très souple serait suffisante».²² Aucune structure politique contraignante ne devait voir le jour avant que les petits Etats n'eussent assuré leur place au sein de ce nouveau concert européen, comme ils avaient en partie réussi à le faire à la Société des Nations. Briand et Mironescu décidèrent la publication de la note roumaine.²³

En ce qui concerne le premier problème de principe, la nécessité d'une coordination en Europe, le gouvernement Maniu s'est montré favorable à celui-ci. La Roumanie a aussi répondu favorablement à l'intégration de la coopération européenne dans l'activité générale de la

¹⁷ AMAEF, (Nantes) *Ambassade Bucarest*, Télégramme du ministre des Affaires Etrangères au ministre de France à Bucarest du 14 mai 1930 sur le Mémorandum sur l'organisation d'un régime d'union fédérale européenne, no. 235.

¹⁸ AMAER, fond *Dosare speciale*, vol 201, Télégramme de Mironescu vers le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, du 10 juillet 1930, Bucarest, n°. 2208, f. 147-153.

¹⁹ AMAEF, *Z Roumanie 177*, Télégramme de Dard du 7 juillet 1930, no. 350, f. 27.

²⁰ AMAER, fond *Dosare speciale*, vol 201, Note du gouvernement roumain au gouvernement français du 8 juillet 1930, f. 147-150.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ AMAER, fond *Franța 65*, Télégramme de Mironescu à Bucarest du 11 juillet 1930, n°. 1, f. 50.

Société des Nations. Le gouvernement roumain ayant étudié le Mémorandum Briand, désirait l'intégration de l'union fédérale européenne dans le cadre de la Société des Nations.

La crise économique profonde qui était devenue presque générale réclamait des remèdes urgents, et d'autre part, faisait passer au premier plan les problèmes économiques dans les préoccupations de la plupart des Etats.

En ce qui concerne les éléments d'organisation représentative et exécutive proposés par le Mémorandum, le gouvernement roumain était d'avis qu'il suffisait de créer un Secrétariat provisoire, avec la mission spéciale de réunir toute la documentation et d'étudier les problèmes visés par le Mémorandum et autres problèmes indiqués par les divers Etats.

En automne, 1930, les deux Chambres du Parlements soutenaient l'option paneuropéenne du roi Charles II. La Chambre des Députés considérait que l'un des résultats de la politique extérieure roumaine était l'adhésion à l'idée d'une liaison fédérale entre les états européens. Le Sénat voulait la réalisation sans retard d'une relation fédérale entre les Etats européens pour leur prospérité.²⁴

Dans la vision des responsables politiques roumains la consolidation et la prospérité des peuples ne pouvaient être assurées que par une coopération active et permanente des nations sur le terrain politique et sur le terrain économique.²⁵ Le projet proposé devait se réaliser dans le cadre de la Société des Nations, sinon, l'Union fédérale européenne tendait à se substituer à la Société des Nations ou à se supplanter au respect des traités, et à l'intégrité territoriale des États, à leur indépendance, souveraineté et égalité.²⁶

*I. G. Duca*²⁷ voyait les Etats-Unis de l'Europe comme une sorte de sur-état ayant comme institutions un gouvernement fédéral et un parlement fédéral²⁸ Il désirait une intégration politique et économique

²⁴ *Dreptatea*, nr. 940, 22 novembre 1930, p.3.

²⁵ AMAEF, *Série Y Internationale*, carton 85- 1- A, La réponse du gouvernement roumain: 8 juillet 1930, f. 97.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ Ministre des affaires étrangères dans le gouvernement d'Ionel Brătianu (1922-1926).

²⁸ I. G. Duca *Statele Unite ale Europei* reproduit en Ovidiu Pecican, *Europa-o idee in mers*, Cluj-Napoca, EFES, 1997, pp. 123-126.

paneuropéenne en deux étapes: d'abord l'intégration politique, institutionnelle, et après celle économique.

Constantin Argetoianu, l'un des leaders du Parti National Libéral entre 1927-1930, considérait que *Panurope* représentait «l'internationalisme politique» qui était possible après les aspirations nationales de 1918.»²⁹

Après la présentation du Mémoire Briand de 17 mai 1930, le président du Parti Social-démocrate de Roumanie, *Constantin Titel Petrescu* remarquait la difficulté d'accomplir le projet Briand, dans les conditions où les grands pouvoirs économiques avaient des intérêts contradictoires afin de se soumettre à une organisation qui limite le pouvoir. Il croyait que l'union européenne serait créée par un mouvement socialiste international, car c'était le socialisme qui aurait pu réaliser un nouvel ordre d'unité économique et de la paix³⁰.

Virgil Madgearu, le ministre de l'industrie et du commerce (personnalité roumaine du Parti National Paysan-PNT) a critiqué la méthode de l'intégration politique européenne du Mémoire Briand, considérée inadéquate. Il voulait que les Etats de l'Europe renoncent au protectionnisme et qu'ils appliquent des politiques de libre-échange, en créant des marchés communs européens.

Le gouvernement Maniu était d'accord avec la nécessité d'une coordination en Europe. Titulescu s'est prononcé maintes fois pour une intégration économique paneuropéenne, car le plan Briand était très important au niveau mondial et n'était dirigé contre personne.³¹

*Iuliu Maniu*³² avait proposé en 1924 un plan d'intégration européenne qui portait son nom. Il voyait l'intégration européenne comme un instrument de la paix dans l'intérêt de son Etat. Il proposait une confédération économique de l'Europe centrale composée de la Roumanie, Tchécoslovaquie, Yougoslavie, Bulgarie, Autriche, Hongrie, Pologne.

Le 15 novembre 1930, le roi a soutenu l'idée selon laquelle la Roumanie a approuvé l'idée d'une relation fédérale entre les Etats

²⁹ Constantin Argetoianu, *Nationalism și internationalism*, Craiova, Editura Ramuri, 1929, p. 22.

³⁰ Constantin Titel Petrescu, "Statele Unite ale Europei" en *Socialismul*, de 29 mai 1930.

³¹ L'art. "Viitorul Europei O anchetă în lumea diplomatică" în *Universul*, nr. 154, din 8 iulie 1930, p. 1.

³² Premier Ministre du Royaume de Roumanie à trois reprises, président du Parti National Paysan.

européens, dans le cadre de sa politique extérieure traditionnelle basée sur le respect des traités en vigueur, sur les alliances et les amitiés pour garder la paix et les principes de la Société des Nations³³

Le plan du président du Conseil roumain Iuliu Maniu était d'établir des tarifs préférentiels entre six États central-européens -la Roumanie, la Pologne, la Hongrie, la Tchécoslovaquie, l'Autriche et la Yougoslavie- afin de les protéger de leurs concurrents exportateurs de céréales et de les soustraire à l'influence commerciale de l'Allemagne. Le problème qui se posait était de trouver une source de financement pour le développement économique.

Maniu et l'économiste du parti agrarien, Virgil Madgearu, devenu son ministre de l'Industrie et du Commerce, souhaitaient la baisse des tarifs douaniers et la stabilité de la monnaie permettant à l'économie roumaine de s'ouvrir aux capitaux étrangers afin de faciliter l'équipement et la modernisation de l'industrie nationale.

Le plan Maniu comportait donc *deux motivations politiques* importantes: l'une consistait à lutter contre l'Anschluss³⁴; et l'autre était de rapprocher les vainqueurs et les vaincus en Europe centrale, afin de désamorcer la question des minorités et celle de la révision territoriale.

Il faut donc examiner cette première distinction en la recoupant avec une seconde, entre intégrations politico-militaire et économique: celle-ci était particulièrement pertinente après la crise, lorsque la Petite Entente prétendait proposer un modèle global de fédération; pertinente aussi en raison de la préférence donnée aux intégrations économiques, moins susceptibles de toucher aux règlements territoriaux de la Grande Guerre.

Malgré la crise qui s'est manifestée sur les deux leviers économiques des agrariens, par l'abondance des capitaux étrangers et le bénéfice des exportations massives de céréales, Iuliu Maniu préférait un traité économique bilatéral avec l'Allemagne, ce qui amplifiait le poids commercial déjà écrasant de cette puissance, qui obtenait ainsi les moyens d'équilibrer, à terme, l'intérêt politique que la Roumanie pouvait trouver au lien avec la France. ³⁵

³³ Art. en *Dreptatea*, nr. 936 din 17 noiembrie 1930, p. 3.

³⁴ Cf. à Dominique Vallaud, *Dictionnaire historique*, Fayard, 1995, p. 40, Anschluss représentait le rattachement de l'Autriche à l'Allemagne.

³⁵ Simion Costea, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

En septembre 1930, Iuliu Maniu a observé que les tergiversations concernant l'approbation du projet Briand d'union fédérale européenne mettaient en danger le fonctionnement de celui-ci. En ce sens, il voulait réaliser la confédération de l'Europe centrale, un projet qui devait être soutenu par les grandes puissances. Ce sont Nicolae Titulescu et G. G. Mironescu auxquels il fait appel pour promouvoir dans leurs rencontres avec les officiels étrangers cette idée de confédération de l'Europe centrale. La délégation de la Roumanie avait deux missions: l'une était de soutenir le projet Briand, et l'autre de promouvoir le plan de confédération de l'Europe centrale.³⁶

La diplomatie française était sceptique pour la réalisation du plan Maniu. Il aurait été, en conséquence, dangereux de lui donner une publicité et une importance propres à nuire au succès du programme plus modeste mais moins chimérique d'accords préférentiels séparés.³⁷

Le Plan Maniu a été un plan économique fédéral, à prolongement politique visant à garantir le statu quo, en excluant les grandes puissances pour son élaboration. C'est un plan qui a échoué puisque Benes avait refusé que la Tchécoslovaquie jouât le rôle de leader industriel local.

On ne peut pas affirmer clairement que le plan Briand a été inspiré par le plan Maniu, mais il est certain que le dernier a commencé sa démarche en 1924 et a continué après l'échec du plan Briand jusqu'en 1937.

Le soutien de la Roumanie pour la France mais aussi pour le projet Briand est remarqué dans un article du journal *Argus*: «Monsieur Briand propose la constitution d'un empire européen sur les bases acquises par la Révolution française, une Europe unie dans le sacrifice des individualités nationales. Le rôle qu'assume la France est à la hauteur de sa noble tradition. Il n'y a aucun doute que cette initiative venant de France et poursuivie par un homme comme Briand aura du succès. L'humanité contracte envers la généreuse France une dette nouvelle et de la reconnaissance».³⁸

³⁶ AMAER, fond *Dosare speciale*, 202, Lettre de I. Maniu vers Mironescu du 11 septembre 1930, f. 123-127.

³⁷ AMAEF, *Série Z Tchécoslovaquie*, dossier 10, vol. 71, La Petite Entente, VII, 1929, Télégramme du Ministre français à Bucarest du 3 mai 1929 sur la conférence économique de la Petite Entente, f. 65.

³⁸ AMAEF, (Nantes) fond *Ambassade Bucarest O-1* Mémoire sur l'organisation d'un régime d'union fédérale européenne (articles de presse) mai 1930.

Le journal la *Nation roumaine* écrivait le 19 mai 1930 que la confédération européenne était en même temps une entente régionale, mais beaucoup plus large puisqu'elle comprenait toute la famille européenne, ayant l'avantage d'envisager le renforcement d'une réglementation politique par une collaboration économique qui en assurait l'existence.³⁹

Si dans le journal roumain *Lupta*, le Mémoire de Briand constituait un acte historique qui ouvrait des perspectives immenses pour la consolidation de la paix et la renaissance de la prospérité en Europe,⁴⁰ *L'indépendance roumaine* du 23 mai 1930 prévoyait les difficultés d'une fédération européenne en se rapportant au continent américain.

Nous considérons qu'il existait en Europe toute une série de tendances antagonistes, non seulement dans l'opinion publique, mais aussi entre les gouvernements. Certains Etats étaient en rébellion ouverte contre l'ordre actuel, que le projet de Briand aurait voulu maintenir. Chaque zone du continent européen avait ses conflits aigus, difficiles à apaiser, qui empoisonnaient l'atmosphère.⁴¹

En fait, le mémorandum du 1er mai 1930, apportait des modifications qui suscitaient l'attention de Bucarest. Il insistait, contrairement au projet initial, sur la construction politique préalable à la solidarité économique, ce qui pouvait inquiéter.⁴²

La Roumanie voulait devenir un membre fondateur de la fédération européenne afin d'obtenir des bénéfices économiques et de sécurité.⁴³ Pour le gouvernement roumain, la crise économique profonde qui était devenue presque générale réclamait des remèdes urgents, et d'autre part, avait fait passer au premier plan les problèmes économiques.⁴⁴ Pour le

³⁹ AMAEF, (Nantes) fond *Ambassade Bucarest*, article « Fédéralisation de l'Europe. La France veut nous donner elle-même la réforme de la doctrine politique de la liberté » en *Argus* 19 mai 1930.

⁴⁰ AMAEF, (Nantes) fond *Ambassade Bucarest* O-1 Mémoire sur l'organisation d'un régime d'union fédérale européenne (articles de presse), 20 mai 1930.

⁴¹ AMAEF, (Nantes) O-1 *Ambassade Bucarest* Mémoire sur l'organisation d'un régime d'union fédérale européenne (articles de presse).

⁴² Nicolae Păun, Adrian-Ciprian Păun, Georgiana Ciceo, *Europa unită, Europa noastră*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujană, 2003, p. 26.

⁴³ *Dreptatea*, an IV, nr. 788 de 29 mai 1930, p. 1.

⁴⁴ AMAEF, *Série Y Internationale*, carton 85, dossier 1, Société des Nations, Union Fédérale Européenne 2, 3 janvier 1930-11 août 1930 La réponse du gouvernement roumain: 8 juillet 1930, f. 97.

gouvernement roumain, « une entente politique très souple, serait, nous semble-t-il, suffisante pour permettre d'organiser une collaboration étroite dans le domaine économique ». ⁴⁵

Dans le cadre de l'Assemblée de la Ligue des Nations en septembre 1930, la Roumanie a soutenu le projet Briand et la création d'une Commission d'Etude pour l'Union Européenne. Entre 1930-1932, la Roumanie a été à pleins droits et membre actif de la Commission d'Etude pour l'Union Européenne, où elle a soutenu à toutes les sessions la construction économique européenne. ⁴⁶

Le gouvernement roumain était décidé à participer à la Conférence qui devait se réunir à Genève en septembre, au moment de l'Assemblée générale de la Société des Nations, et se réservait le droit d'examiner alors les suggestions concrètes du Mémorandum ainsi que les propositions faites par d'autres gouvernements. ⁴⁷

Conclusion

Il faut affirmer que la Roumanie approuvait le plan tout en formulant des réserves: elle demandait l'intégration de la nouvelle structure dans le cadre de la Société des Nations, afin de conserver les garanties sur le respect des traités, sur l'intégrité territoriale des Etats, sur leur indépendance, souveraineté et égalité, compte tenu des différences entre la majorité roumaine et les minorités nationales et la nature des relations interétatiques est-européennes. En outre, Bucarest préférait, en raison de la crise, de voir passer au premier plan les problèmes économiques.

La réponse du gouvernement roumain pour l'adhésion à la construction de l'Union européenne résultait aussi des affinités des deux nations.

En réalité, le projet d'Aristide Briand a été un échec, des inconvénients et arguments contre venaient de presque tous les Etats de la Société des Nations, et la plupart des gouvernements ne voulaient pas abandonner leur souveraineté, étant préoccupés de leurs affaires

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ Simion Costea, *România și proiectul Briand*, Târgu Mureș, Editura Universității Petru Maior, 2004, p. 196.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

intérieures que par la construction d'une fédération européenne. Après sa mort, en 1932, ses idées pacifiques étaient balayées et importées dans la tourmente belliqueuse.

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THE ROAD TOWARDS THE EURO. AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONVERGENCE CRITERIA

Dragoş Păun*

Abstract:

Following its accession to the European Union, Romania has started an ongoing process of convergence towards the European standards. This was the case in almost every field, starting with law, public services, etc.

One of the most important tasks was put on the Romanian agenda by the European Union, the adoption of the Single European Currency. Of course no deadline was set, but through the Accession Treaty Romania is obliged to introduce the Single European Currency at the time it will meet the Convergence Criteria. The current paper analysis the stage of fulfillment of the 5 Convergence Criteria in Romania and tries to make some suggestions concerning the Euro adoption. It is without a doubt to be said from the beginning that a unilateral adoption of the Euro is no solution for Romania. Without meeting the minimal nominal convergence criteria the effects of the introduction of the Euro in Romania would be much worse.

Keywords: Euro, convergence criteria, fiscal policy, Romania

Introduction

Romania has successfully concluded the accession process to the European Union in 2007 after a period of economic growth that was one of the highest in Europe which was also supported by the massive inflow of Foreign Direct Investments. Having the second largest market in Central and Eastern Europe and an economy with growth potential Romania was eager to embark on the long road towards the adoption of the Single European Currency, one that was compulsory with the signing of the Accession Treaty. Given the economic situation of that time, Romania has set the target for joining the Economic and Monetary Union for 2013, and was fulfilling three of the Maastricht criteria. In 2009 when the economic and financial crisis was at its peak in Romania, the situation changed

* Dragoş Păun is PhD and teaching assistant in Finance at the Faculty of Business, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj – Napoca. Contact: dragos.paun@tbs.ubbcluj.ro

dramatically. In this paper we want to see if Romania has any perspectives of joining the Economic and Monetary Union and if Romania is fulfilling the Copenhagen Criteria. To accomplish our goal we have used data from the National Bank of Romania and Eurostat. The empirical data was analyzed and compared to the benchmarks that are required by the European Commission. The focus of the paper are the nominal Convergence Criteria, although in the opinion of a lot of Romanian scholars, the biggest fear is that Romania will not be able to converge in the sense of the real convergence criteria if it fulfills the nominal ones. The discussion about what should the focus be on, nominal convergence or real convergence will be the subject of another paper. In our opinion one must have a macroeconomic stability in order to hope for growth on the microeconomic level,

Price stability

One of the key functions of the Economic and Monetary Union but also the European Central Bank is price stability. The Euro was created to be a strong and reliable currency and because of that it has also gained the trust of non European Union countries that have started to use it. In the European Union the statistical concept of inflation is defined by the consumer price index.

Inflation is the main challenge for any economy that wants to attract investments. It is important for the central bank and the government of the country but also for the whole economy. To see the situation in Romania we analyzed the inflation rate in Romania in the last 2 years.

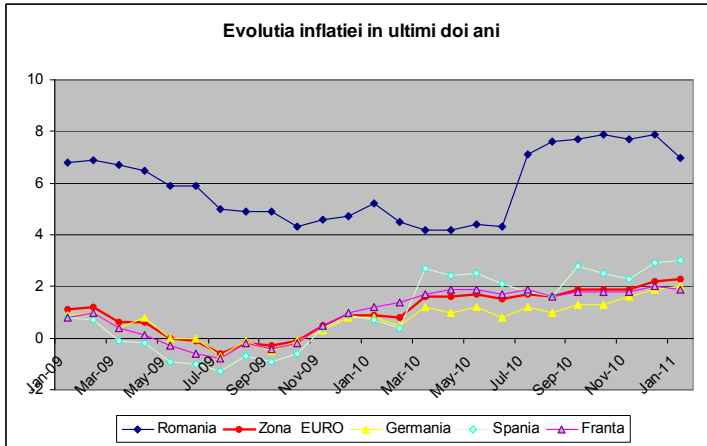
Table 1. Evolution of inflation rate

%	Romania	Eurozone	Germany	Spain	France	Difference compared to Eurozone	Difference for achieving the convergence criteria
Ian-09	6,80	1,10	0,90	0,80	0,80	5,70	5,97
Feb-09	6,90	1,20	1,00	0,70	1,00	5,70	6,00
Mar-09	6,70	0,60	0,40	-0,10	0,40	6,10	6,47
Apr-09	6,50	0,60	0,80	-0,20	0,10	5,90	6,27
Mai-09	5,90	0,00	0,00	-0,90	-0,30	5,90	6,30
Iun-09	5,90	-0,10	0,00	-1,00	-0,60	6,00	6,43
Iul-09	5,00	-0,60	-0,70	-1,30	-0,80	5,60	5,93
Aug-09	4,90	-0,20	-0,10	-0,70	-0,20	5,10	5,23
Sep-09	4,90	-0,30	-0,50	-0,90	-0,40	5,20	5,50
Oct-09	4,30	-0,10	-0,10	-0,60	-0,20	4,40	4,60
Nov-09	4,60	0,50	0,30	0,40	0,50	4,10	4,20
Dec-09	4,70	0,90	0,80	0,90	1,00	3,80	3,80
Ian-10	5,20	0,90	0,80	0,70	1,20	4,30	4,30
Feb-10	4,50	0,80	0,50	0,40	1,40	3,70	3,73
Mar-10	4,20	1,60	1,20	2,70	1,70	2,60	2,33
Apr-10	4,20	1,60	1,00	2,40	1,90	2,60	2,43
Mai-10	4,40	1,70	1,20	2,50	1,90	2,70	2,53
Iun-10	4,30	1,50	0,80	2,10	1,70	2,80	2,77
Iul-10	7,10	1,70	1,20	1,80	1,90	5,40	5,47
Aug-10	7,60	1,60	1,00	1,60	1,60	6,00	6,20
Sep-10	7,70	1,90	1,30	2,80	1,80	5,80	5,73
Oct-10	7,90	1,90	1,30	2,50	1,80	6,00	6,03
Nov-10	7,70	1,90	1,60	2,30	1,80	5,80	5,80
Dec-10	7,90	2,20	1,90	2,90	2,00	5,70	5,63
Ian-11	7,00	2,30	2,00	3,00	1,90	4,70	4,70

(Source: BCE: HICP - Overall index, Annual rate of change, Eurostat, (Indices of Consumer prices))

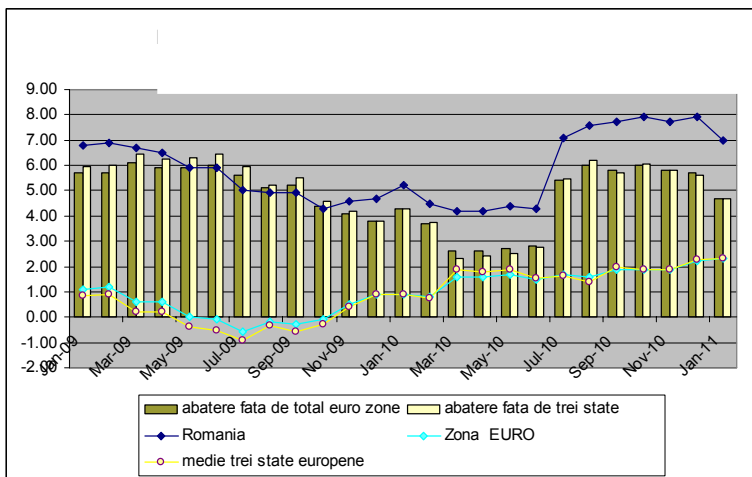
If we compare the inflation rate in Romania to the inflation rate in the Eurozone and in the three best performing countries we see that Romania has improved its position and with exception of two months the trend is to narrow the gap.

Figure 2. Evolution of inflation rate in the last two years



(Source: the author's calculations)

Figure 3. Evolution of the inflation rate and screening in the admitted deviation



(Source: the author's calculations)

Figure 2 and Figure 3 show that Romania has improved the stability of its currency. Inflation is a key factor in attracting investors and thus a trigger for convergence in the real criteria. A currency that loses its value

over time will not be attractive for investors and thus the economy will fail to provide capital for investments.

Exchange rate stability

Exchange rate stability is itself a condition for successful implementation of a sound monetary policy, the achievement of financial and fiscal long-term forecasts and a condition of ensuring economic stability.

In this paper we applied the principle of drag-and-drop. Table 2 provides an overview of the period 1999-2010. In this table we have analyzed the evolution of the exchange rates in the Central and Eastern European Countries in relation with the Euro.

Over the years Romania has suffered from a flotation in exchange rate thus creating a sense of uncertainty for the economy. Countries that have proved to have a more stable currency have attracted investors but also help local economies forecast the business.

Romania has started in 2000 at a rate of 1,99 lei for each euro and in 2010 the exchange rate of 4,21 lei/euro. The Romanian Leu has suffered this loss of value mainly because of the lack of trust in it. In the latest years the National Bank of Romania has struggled to exchange rate under control with the help of the minimum compulsory reserve.

Table 2. Evolution of exchange courses for the states from euro area

	Bulgaria leva / euro	Czech Rep. koruna / euro	Denmark krone / euro	Latvia lats / euro	Lithuania litas / euro	Hungary forint / euro	Poland zloty / euro	România lei / euro
1999		36,884	7,4355	0,6256	4,2641	252,77	4,2274	1,6345
2000		35,599	7,4538	0,5592	3,6952	260,04	4,0082	1,9922
2001	1,9482	34,068	7,4521	0,5601	3,5823	256,59	3,6721	2,6004
2002	1,9492	30,804	7,4305	0,581	3,4594	242,96	3,8574	3,1270
2003	1,949	31,846	7,4307	0,6407	3,4527	253,62	4,3996	3,7551
2004	1,9533	31,891	7,4399	0,6652	3,4529	251,66	4,5268	4,0510
2005	1,9558	29,782	7,4518	0,6962	3,4528	248,05	4,023	3,6209
2006	1,9558	28,342	7,4591	0,6962	3,4528	264,26	3,8959	3,5258
2007	1,9558	27,766	7,4506	0,7001	3,4528	251,35	3,7837	3,3353
2008	1,9558	24,946	7,456	0,7027	3,4528	251,51	3,5121	3,6826
2009	1,9558	26,435	7,4462	0,7057	3,4528	280,33	4,3276	4,2399

	Bulgaria leva / euro	Czech Rep. koruna / euro	Denmark krone / euro	Latvia lats / euro	Lithuania litas / euro	Hungary forint / euro	Poland zloty / euro	România leu / euro
2010	1,9558	25,284	7,4473	0,7087	3,4528	275,48	3,9947	4,2122

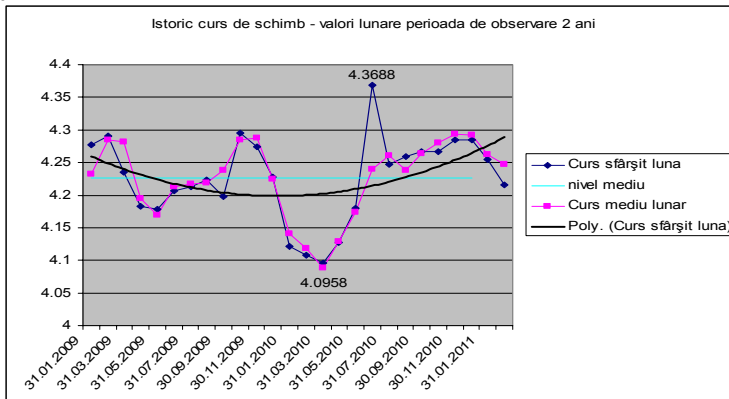
(Source: exchange rate BCE, Eurostat, statistics BCE)

If we want to take a closer look and have a much more detailed insight on the degree of fulfillment of this criterion we have to look at the monthly average values. Thus in Figure 4 we have selected the monthly average values in the last 2 years.

The Treaty requirements are very clear for this criterion at least two years before the examination period, the exchange rate (both monthly average and at the end of the month) can't vary more than +/- 15%.

To summarize the conclusion of screening with the limits set by the European Union, we have developed the trend line of the exchange rate evolution: a mid-term of decline followed by a return to trend growth. Beginning with January 2011 a downward trend of the exchange rate is registered, reaching a years minimum, which creates a premise that we could experience a recovery rate but it is premature to assure that without taking into consideration other factors.

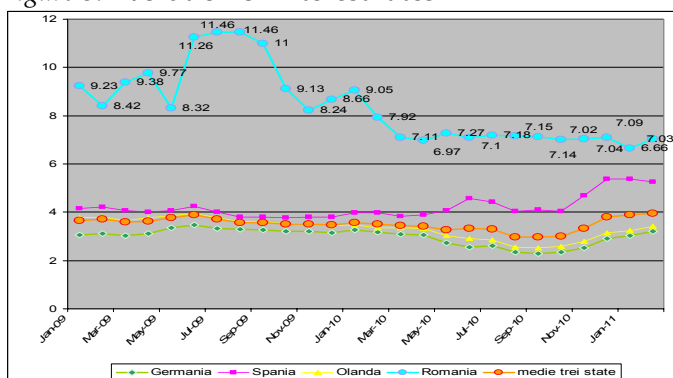
Figure 4. Historic exchange rate – monthly values observation period 2 years



The low rate of long-term interest

In regard to interest rate fluctuations the Treaty has established desirable screening interest rates within national markets which must not be above 2 percent of the best performing three Member States with the lowest interest rates. The study of this criterion is considering the long term interest rates expressed as annual rates for assets. (Figure 5). At present there is large discrepancy in the level of the interest rate (compared to Germany, Spain and the Netherlands). The trend is to diminish and in time we witnessed efforts by Romanian authorities to converge the interest rate in order to fulfill this current criterion.

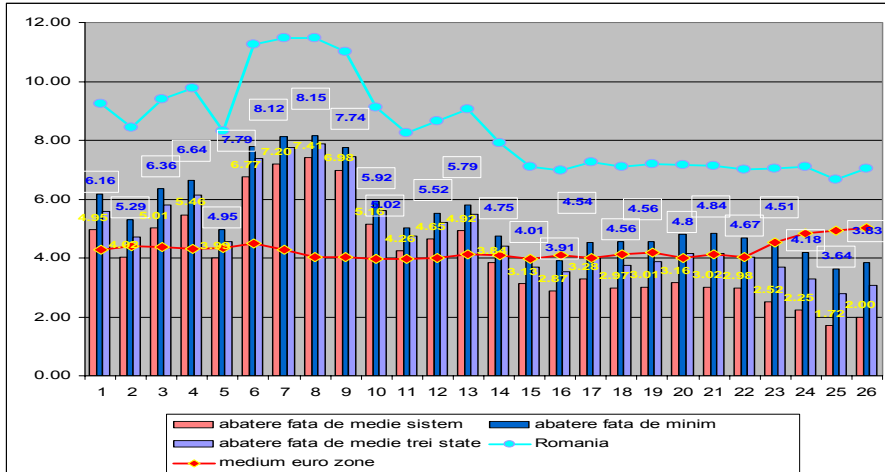
Figure 5. Evolution of interest rates



(Source: author's calculations based on national and BCE statistics)

For a better understanding we have calculated and graphically represented the deviation in relation to the reference level. The inconsistency with the requirement of deviation of 2% regardless of whether we take as a reference the average level of interest in the euro area, the minimum level of interest in the euro area or the average of three countries that have experienced the lowest levels (according to EU requirements) can be observed.

Figure 6. Deviation from the reference level



(Source: author's calculations based on European statistics)

The chart above only confirms what we have mentioned already, that Romania has failed to comply with the margin set by the European Union during our observation period. But, it is important that there is a trend towards the fulfillment of the interest rate criterion and by the time Romania will enter in to the ERM II achieving and committing to criterion won't be a problem. In fact the National Bank of Romania is one of the few that have continuously lowered the long-term interest rate. This criterion is strongly connected to the inflation and thus making it harder to control.

Sustainable fiscal position

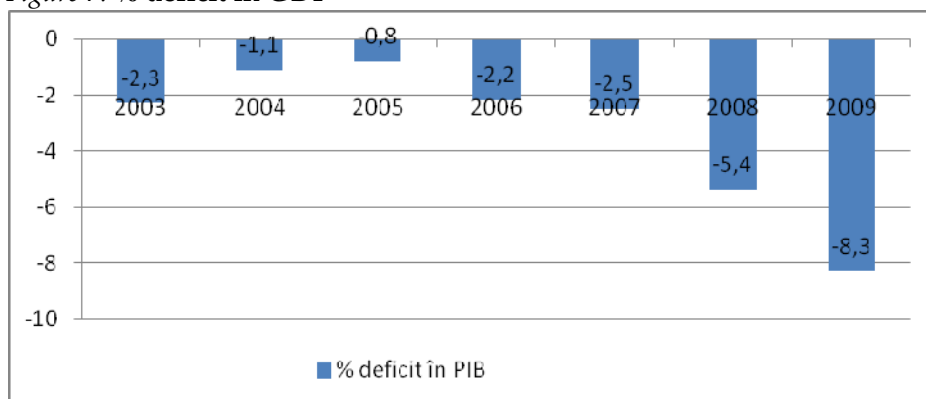
According to the Protocol on the nominal convergence criteria, the budget deficit has to be below 3% of GDP and the public debt should not exceed 60% of GDP¹. Fortunately being a former Communist country Romania did not have any public debt at the beginning of the '90s. The public debt, a very useful mean to finance public sector investments, has slightly accumulated over the years and reached 20% prior to the economic and financial crisis of 2007. In 2009 Romania's solution for the economic

¹ See Richard Baldwin, Charles Wyplosz, *The Economics of European Integration*, McGraw Hill, 2006, p. 382.

and financial crisis in was to accept a loan from the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and the European Union that has doubled the public debt to 40%. Still the criterion is reached, but a concern is the fact that Romania has no clear solution for stopping this vicious cycle of gathering debt. One of the solutions is to lower the budget deficit. Unfortunately because of the economic and financial crisis the budget deficit has increased – see figure 8.

One of the solutions for gathering money to the budget could be the selling of state shares to major Romanian companies. In the summer 2011 the Romanian government tried to sell Petrom² shares through the Bucharest Stock Exchange. Unfortunately for the Romanian government the sell was not successful, one of the reasons mentioned was the bad timing chosen, a holiday period. If this process continues and the Romanian authorities manage to find different sources to finance their investments and pay off their debts, the outlook could be successful and Romania could fulfill this criterion prior to the date set for entry in the ERM II.

Figure 7. % deficit in GDP



(Source: author's calculations, annual BNR reports 2004 – 2010)

² Petrom is the largest company active in the energy sector. In 2004 The Romanian government sold the majority of the shares to the Austrian OMV Group.

Conclusion

The road towards the Euro is complicated but it is a necessary step in Romania's future. The European Union was created as an economic area and it developed to a political union and now a monetary union. It is clear that for a country such as Romania the only road is the one alongside the Eurozone members. The steps that have to be taken in order to assure the accomplishment of the convergence criteria will come with a lot of sacrifices (see the case of Greece) but at present the joining of the Eurozone presents much more opportunities and long term benefits. Nevertheless, Romania must not be in a rush and join the Euro Zone sooner that it has complied with the nominal convergence criteria but also once it improves its real convergence criteria. Although the real convergence criteria are not taken into consideration by the European Union these will make the process easier for the Romanian people and economy.

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**PERSONNALITÉS ROUMAINES DANS LA DIASPORA DE FRANCE.
UNE VISION PARTAGÉE. LA PERIODE
D'AVANT LA SECONDE GUERRE MONDIALE***

**ROMANIAN PERSONALITIES WITHIN THE FRENCH DIASPORA.
A COMMON VIEW. THE PERIOD BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

Adrian-Gabriel Corpădean*

Abstract:

The period of time comprised between the Two World Wars is particularly abundant in cultural interactions between Romanian and French intellectuals, thus emerging a series of factors that foster the increased attractiveness of the francophone space for our elites. This liaison appears to be a decisive factor in the choice of the exile by these personalities following the arrival of communism in Romania, which gives rise to an increasingly active cultural life of the diaspora settled in France, composed of artists from a broad range of areas, as well as politicians.

Keywords: elites, diaspora, communism, exile, France

Introduction

La France du XX^e siècle a certainement eu le pouvoir d'adopter des personnalités de culture d'origine roumaine, qui, sans vouloir perpétuer un cliché, ont contribué à l'enrichissement du patrimoine culturel de ce pays, d'autant plus que certains d'entre ces intellectuels étaient même des fondateurs de mouvements artistiques. Il est notre dessein d'identifier les plus importants d'entre eux, tout en nous concentrant sur la période avant

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* Adrian-Gabriel Corpădean est doctorant et enseignant à la Faculté d'études européennes, Université Babeş-Bolyai de Cluj-Napoca, Roumanie. Contact: adi_corpadean@yahoo.com

la Seconde guerre mondiale, afin d'établir un parcours biographique pertinent pour chacun et de souligner leur contribution à l'affirmation de l'identité roumaine au sein de l'exil. Le choix d'une vision plus vaste sur la culture est explicable par l'essai d'offrir une perspective compréhensive de l'ampleur des contributions que l'intelligentsia roumaine a eues en France à l'époque soumise à notre investigation. L'emploi d'une méthodologie claire qui comprend une approche comparative, afin d'identifier des éléments de continuité dans le message de la diaspora roumaine de France, nous a permis de nous arrêter sur des catégories bien définies d'intellectuels, comme les surréalistes, qui ont formé un véritable pôle culturel roumain à Paris par leur révolution artistique, aussi bien que des chanteurs, sculpteurs et peintres. Pourtant, nous estimons que le paysage serait resté incomplet sans mentionner au moins une figure emblématique du paysage politique roumain qui a déroulé sa carrière sous les auspices de la culture française - Nicolae Titulescu. La démarche de recherche, qui s'appuie sur une bibliographie vaste, filtrée à l'aide des méthodes de recherche qualitatives, fait partie d'un ouvrage beaucoup plus détaillé, dédié au message pro-européen de la diaspora roumaine de France, qui fait encore l'objet d'un travail intensif dans le cadre de nos études doctorales.

Le mouvement surréaliste - une révolution culturelle à la française

Emménagé à Paris en 1919, le poète et essayiste Tristan Tzara est considéré l'un des fondateurs du dadaïsme, suite aux interactions avec le monde culturel de France, représenté par André Breton ou Louis Aragon, pour citer quelques noms. L'importance de Samuel Rosenstock - son nom réel, va plus loin que le nombre impressionnant de textes qu'il a écrits en français, si l'on prend en considération son implication active dans la Résistance française pendant la Seconde guerre mondiale. Sa sympathie pour le communisme l'a poussé à s'inscrire dans le PC de France en 1947 et il a tâché de mettre en évidence des connections entre le Marxisme et le mouvement surréaliste. C'est l'an 1956 qui s'est avéré crucial pour l'orientation politique de Tristan Tzara, car, suivant l'exemple d'autres intellectuels qui sympathisaient encore avec les idéaux communistes, il a

démissionné du Parti suite à l'intervention des troupes de l'Union soviétique en Hongrie.¹

La même attraction exercée par l'espace français a été ressentie dans le cas de Benjamin Fondane, critique littéraire, poète et essayiste roumain d'origine hébraïque, qui représente un autre exemple univoque d'artiste qui a choisi de valoriser son œuvre par le biais de la francophonie. Établi à Paris en 1923, il s'intéresse à la culture européenne de son époque et maintient des relations avec des écrivains de Roumanie. Entre temps, il fait des tentatives utiles de promouvoir les valeurs littéraires roumaines dans son pays adoptif, en traduisant en français des œuvres écrites par George Bacovia, Ion Minulescu et Tudor Arghezi.² La raison pour laquelle nous considérons que le cas de Fondane est représentatif pour notre argumentation est simplement le fait que celui-ci ne s'est pas contenté de se servir de la langue française et de son emménagement à Paris afin de s'intégrer au sein des écrivains européens. Au contraire, il admet la difficulté de s'exprimer dans une autre langue et tâche de promouvoir des valeurs culturelles roumaines, ce qui démontre que le cas de Fondane est distinctif pour le processus d'eupéanisation de la culture roumaine, achevée par l'intermédiaire de la francophonie, avant la Seconde guerre mondiale.

En outre, le destin de cet écrivain prouve un autre aspect que nous jugeons essentiel dans l'analyse de la diaspora roumaine de France, c'est-à-dire la solidarité entre ses représentants. Dans ce cas, lorsque Benjamin Fondane a été arrêté à côté de sa sœur, Lina, pour être Juifs, et emprisonné à Drancy³, c'est Mircea Eliade qui a fait des efforts considérables pour moyenniser sa libération. Malheureusement, le prix de la liberté a été trop grand pour Lina et Fondane a refusé de quitter l'endroit de sa détention en l'absence de sa sœur, ce qui s'est avéré fatal pour l'intellectuel roumain, tombé victime des exterminations nazies à Birkenau, en 1944.⁴

¹ Janos Farkas, *Tristan Tzara în Ungaria. Octombrie 1956*, dans *Apostrof*, Vol. XVII, No. 12, p. 199.

² Paul Daniel, *Destinul unui poet*, dans Barbu Fundoianu, *Poezii*, Bucarest: Éd. Minerva, 1978, p. 626.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 637.

⁴ Dieter Schlesak, „Stația terminus a istoriei. Mărturii ale unei prietenii necunoscută: Emil Cioran și Benjamin Fondane”, dans *Apostrof*, N^o. 8, 2009.

Tenant compte de tout cela, il est à remarquer l'apport des surréalistes roumains qui ont embrassé la langue française et ont même emménagé en France (pour certaines périodes de temps ou même de manière permanente), comme Gherasim Luca, Gellu Naum, Paul Păun, Dolfi Trost, Virgil Teodorescu et Victor Brauner. Ceux-ci ont formé le Groupe surréaliste roumain, sous l'inspiration des écrivains français de l'époque, tout en adoptant la langue française pour leurs ouvrages. Afin d'achever une meilleure compréhension de l'importance de ces artistes pour la diaspora roumaine de France, il est utile de s'arrêter brièvement sur chacun.

Gherasim Luca (1913-1994) a été un poète et théoricien du surréalisme et un polyglotte, dont l'expérience française a commencé en 1938, lorsqu'il a entrepris une série de voyages en France, pour s'y établir en 1952, après une longue série de persécutions de la part du régime communiste. Collaborateur fidèle de Dolfi Trost, Gherasim Luca a été l'un des fondateurs du Cercle surréaliste avant l'arrivée au pouvoir du gouvernement Petru Groza et a continué sa ligne créatrice dans l'exil. Pour cela, il a établi de fortes liaisons avec Paul Celan et d'autres artistes de l'époque, tout en commençant une longue série de voyages aussi en Europe qu'aux États-Unis.⁵ L'œuvre de Gherasim Luca est d'ailleurs une preuve de l'attachement pour la langue française des écrivains roumains qui ont embrassé le courant surréaliste, si l'on tient compte du fait que la plupart de ses volumes (dont il faut tout d'abord mentionner *Dialectique de la dialectique*) ont été publiés en cette langue, même avant le choix de l'exil. Le tragique de ce représentant des artistes roumains en exil qui ne devrait pas être oublié a commencé depuis l'avènement du régime du maréchal Antonescu, à cause des origines juives de Luca, et s'est perpétué après le moment fatidique du 6 mars 1945. C'est malheureusement le même destin qui a poursuivi cet artiste le long de sa vie, car, par manque de formes légales de siéger à Paris, il a dû quitter son habitation et, à l'âge de 80 ans, il a commis suicide.⁶ Son héritage persiste quand même, malgré le fait que l'opinion publique roumaine a été plutôt ignorante à l'égard de cet intellectuel non seulement avant la Révolution (ce qui ne serait pas

⁵ Iliana Gregori, *L'ultra-surréalisme de Gherasim Luca*, dans *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Halbsjahrsb., 1982.

⁶ Jean-Christophe Bailly, „Mort de Gherasim Luca”, dans *Libération*, 14 mars 1994.

surprenant), mais même dès lors, ce qui le rend l'un des noms importants qui courent le risque de s'effondre dans l'oubli collectif. Ce n'est pas le cas pourtant de la philosophie française contemporaine, qui a fait appel à l'héritage culturel de Gherasim Luca par le biais de Gilles Deleuze et son proche collaborateur, Félix Guattari, philosophes et militants français.⁷

En ce qui concerne Gellu Naum, c'est lui qui est normalement associé le plus fréquemment avec la naissance de l'école surréaliste de Bucarest. L'expérience française de Naum est différente de celle de ses collaborateurs, car c'est un intellectuel qui n'a pas pris la voie de l'exil après l'installation de l'oppression communiste en Roumanie. En effet, Gellu Naum a fait ses études doctorales à Paris entre 1938 et 1941, d'où il a pris l'inspiration pour la création du Cercle surréaliste, suite aux interactions avec l'écrivain André Breton, le fondateur du surréalisme français, par son Manifeste de 1924.⁸ Il est très important d'acquiescer le fait qu'encore une fois, l'inspiration des courants littéraires ou, dans un sens moins restreint, artistiques, a connu en Roumanie une forte contribution française. Pourtant, Gellu Naum n'a utilisé qu'assez peu le français dans ses ouvrages, mais il l'a fait dans des moments cruciaux, comme la publication du manifeste *L'infra-noir*, à côté de ses collaborateurs surréalistes roumains.⁹ L'abandon de la langue française dans ses œuvres littéraires a été joint par un relatif et disputé alignement à l'orientation littéraire du Parti communiste, ce qui rend introuvable toute contribution remarquable de Naum aux mouvements de dissidence à l'intérieur du pays. En fait, ce n'est qu'après 1989 qu'il reprend le contact avec l'espace francophone, en faisant des voyages à l'Occident. Le tout encadre l'activité de Gellu Naum dans une catégorie particulière d'intellectuels roumains, qui ne se sont pas exilés suite à l'avènement du communisme, mais ont survécu avec plus ou moins de compromis, afin de revenir à l'ouverture vers la culture occidentale lorsque le contexte intérieur le lui a permis.¹⁰

Pour aller plus loin dans notre investigation du Cercle surréaliste de Bucarest, adepte de l'usage du français, il faut mentionner le nom de Paul

⁷ Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, *Mille Plateaux*, Paris: Éd. Minuit, 1980, p. 168.

⁸ Biographie de Gellu Naum, site officiel: www.gellunaum.ro.

⁹ V. Vasile Spiridon, *Gellu Naum (micromonografie)*, Éd. Aula, Braşov, 2005.

¹⁰ Walter Cummins, *Shifting Borders: East European Poetries of the Eighties*, Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1993, p. 328.

Păun. Le poète, essayiste et docteur roumain représente un cas intéressant de plusieurs points de vue, dont on s'arrêtera sur l'évolution de l'emploi de la langue française dans ses œuvres. C'est l'esprit de *L'infra-noir* de 1946 qui a ouvert la voie de la francophonie pour Paul Păun et la collaboration étroite avec les autres représentants de l'école surréaliste de Bucarest. Ainsi, le volume collectif *Éloge de Malombre* a été suivi par les ouvrages individuels *Les esprits animaux* et *La conspiration du silence*, tous les trois parus en 1947, juste avant l'écroulement du mouvement surréaliste de Roumanie. Grâce à ses origines juives, Paul Păun a trouvé le refuge en Israël, où il n'a pas cessé d'employer le français comme principale langue de ses écritures, qui se sont désormais orientées vers la poésie. Le cas présenté diffère des antérieurs, car ici il ne s'agit pas d'un représentant de la diaspora roumaine de France, mais, malgré cela, l'attachement de toute une génération d'artistes roumains pour l'héritage français s'est avéré trop fort pour que Păun abandonne l'usage de cette langue.¹¹ Il s'agit bien sûr d'encore une preuve au dossier des interactions culturelles au niveau de l'intelligentzia entre la Roumanie et la France, témoignant de l'existence d'un mécanisme viable de propager l'information culturelle, et parfois même idéologique, provenant de l'espace roumain, vers l'Occident, par ce biais linguistique et culturel.

Le cas de Dolfi Trost est également peu connu en Roumanie, bien que son héritage soit important pour comprendre le mouvement surréaliste et son message. Même si l'exil à l'Occident lui a été initialement prohibé par la machine communiste, Trost y parvient probablement en 1948 (les preuves ne sont pas concrètes), car on le retrouve à Paris, à côté d'André Breton à ce moment-là. Victime de la censure raciste pendant la Seconde guerre mondiale, Dolfi Trost reprend la publication des articles en 1945, au sein du Groupe surréaliste, avec des titres valeureux, en français, comme *Vision dans le cristal. Oniromancie obsessionnelle et neuf graphomanies entoptiques* (1945), *Le profil navigable. Négation concrète de la peinture* (1945), *La connaissance des temps* (1946), *Le plaisir de flotter. Rêves et délires* (1947), *Le même du même* (1947) et *Le Sabie nocturne* (1947), ce dernier inclus dans le catalogue parisien *Le surréalisme en 1947*. À ces ouvrages s'ajoutent ceux publiés avec Gherasim Luca, Gellu Naum, Virgil Teodorescu et Paul Păun :

¹¹ Ionel Jianu et al., *Artiști români în Occident*, Institutul Național pentru Memoria Exilului Românesc, Éd. Logos, 2005, p. 138.

L'infra-noir et *Éloge de Malombra*. Malgré sa fin de vie abrupte, dans l'anonymat de l'exil aux États-Unis, la contribution de Dolfi Trost au rapprochement culturel des intellectuels roumains de l'espace français réside dans le fait qu'il a été accepté dans les cercles surréalistes de Paris et qu'il a systématiquement employé le français pour toute manifestation culturelle organisée dans le cadre du mouvement dont il faisait partie. Par exemple, étant donné son attachement à la graphie, l'exposition qu'il a organisée au début de l'an 1945 a été baptisée *Présentation de graphies colorées, de cubomanies et d'objets*.¹²

Un autre représentant du mouvement surréaliste roumain, dont les contours ont été tirés à l'inspiration de Paul Éluard et de l'esprit du même courant manifesté à Paris a été Virgil Teodorescu.¹³ Quoiqu'il n'appartienne pas à la diaspora roumaine de France, dans ses essais et poésies, Teodorescu tâche de garder l'essence du surréalisme authentique et manifeste, en consonance avec ses camarades, un attachement initial pour la langue française. En tant que co-auteur aux ouvrages de chevet de ce mouvement artistique, Teodorescu trouve l'apogée de son œuvre, qui comprenait déjà des titres en français, comme les poèmes *Au lobe du sel* et *La provocation*. Les interactions de cet artiste avec la langue française ne s'arrêtent pas seulement sur ces œuvres, car il entreprend également des traductions en roumain de Paul Éluard, l'un des fondateurs du mouvement surréaliste, et de Guillaume Apollinaire, un précurseur de ce courant artistique. Malgré son détachement partiel des valeurs du nouveau style (et de la langue française, qu'il emploie seulement pour la publication du volume bilingue *Repos de la voyelle* en 1976) et des inclinations vers la littérature de l'esprit communiste, Virgil Teodorescu reste l'un des écrivains qui ont fait preuve d'attachement à l'égard de la langue française et qui ont réussi, pour une courte période de temps, à résister aux pressions de la part du régime totalitaire, afin de manifester un esprit littéraire compatible avec les valeurs occidentales.¹⁴

¹² Geo Șerban, *Ascensiunea lui Dolfi Trost. Scene din viața avangardei la București*, dans *Observator cultural*, [www.observatorcultural.ro], 12 octobre 2011.

¹³ Constanța Călinescu, Ion Făiter, *Dimensiunile unor vocații*, Bibliothèque départementale de Constanța, 1979, pp. 177-180.

¹⁴ Alexandru Ștefănescu, *La o nouă lectură: Virgil Teodorescu*, dans *România literară*, N^o. 36, 11-17 septembre 2002, pp. 10-11.

Afin de compléter les brèves biographies des artistes surréalistes roumains qui ont eu des liaisons profondes avec l'espace français avant et même après la Seconde guerre mondiale, il ne faut pas omettre le nom Victor Brauner. Poète et peintre, Brauner est vraiment un intellectuel emblématique pour la thèse que nous soutenons, c'est-à-dire l'attachement évident et généralisé des élites roumaines à l'égard de la culture et la civilisation françaises pendant les décennies entourant la Seconde guerre mondiale. Ainsi, Brauner commence à peindre sous l'inspiration de l'impressionniste Paul Cézanne même avant d'entreprendre son premier voyage à Paris, en 1925. Saisissant la compatibilité entre sa propre vision de l'art et le courant dominant qui s'y manifeste, Brauner demeure à Paris entre 1930 et 1935, où il bénéficie du soutien de Constantin Brâncuși et d'André Breton, ce dernier étant l'un des principaux théoriciens du mouvement surréaliste, embrassé par Brauner. Après un retour en Roumanie pendant trois ans, lorsqu'il reste attaché à l'emploi de la langue française dans ses expositions, Victor Brauner rentre et s'établit définitivement en France. Son intégration y est naturelle, de sorte qu'il est choisi en 1966, avant sa mort, de représenter la France à une exposition internationale à Venise.¹⁵

Le succès de Victor Brauner et des autres représentants du surréalisme témoigne d'une compatibilité quasi-parfaite entre les manifestations de ce courant en Roumanie et en France, un synchronisme dans le sens d'Eugen Lovinescu - qui d'ailleurs a emprunté ce terme des théoriciens sociologues de France. Il s'agit également d'un échange d'idées et de la création de liaisons interpersonnelles qui ont contribué à la propagation de l'esprit de l'époque parmi les élites de la culture roumaine. On remarque en outre les interactions extrêmement dynamiques aussi entre les élites roumaines trouvées en exil qu'entre celles-ci et les représentants français des courants qu'elles manifestent, ce qui témoigne de l'existence d'un véritable circuit des valeurs qui se transmettaient et se métamorphosaient pendant la période qui nous intéresse, afin de tracer des lignes directrices communes des élites des deux pays. Il est important de remarquer la facilité avec laquelle on franchissait la barrière linguistique et les obstacles culturels, qui ne s'ériquaient pas de manière à entraver ces échanges vitaux pour la création des liaisons culturelles entre les

¹⁵ Pavel Țușară, „Victor Brauner și România”, *Calende*, N° 1 (133), janvier-mars 2005.

intellectuels roumains et français. Nous considérons que toute interprétation simpliste prétendant que la direction prise par les influences culturelles était seulement depuis l'espace français vers le roumain est fautive, car les preuves montrent que l'apport des élites artistiques roumaines au développement des courants manifestés à l'occident (dans notre cas, le surréalisme) a été considérable. Le fait que des écrivains français, par exemple, avaient l'habitude de citer leurs homologues d'origine roumaine et non seulement vice-versa et qu'ils les accueillent dans leurs cercles de débats visant l'évolution des tendances artistiques de l'époque sont des preuves encourageantes pour le renforcement de notre démonstration et aussi pour admettre l'existence des mécanismes destinés à faciliter les échanges d'idées entre l'intelligentsia des deux pays.

La sculpture - véhicule de la culture roumaine entre les deux guerres

La rétrospective des artistes qui ont vécu cette double identité culturelle, roumaine et française, peut continuer et il est essentiel que certains noms n'y soient pas omis. Dans l'univers de la sculpture, cet esprit cosmopolite qui a créé des liens spirituels extraordinaires entre les deux cultures a été représenté par Idel Ianchelevici. Ayant fini ses études d'arts à Liège, en Belgique, le sculpteur roumain de Bessarabie emménage en France après la Seconde guerre mondiale, où il bénéficie de la chance d'inaugurer son propre musée, à Maisons Laffitte. L'importance de cet artiste talentueux augmente si l'on prend en considération le fait qu'il n'a jamais abandonné les liaisons avec son pays natal, ni avant, ni pendant la période communiste. En effet, en 1935, Ianchelevici présente une exposition impressionnante à Bruxelles sous le patronage de l'ambassadeur roumain en Belgique, l'ancien ministre des affaires étrangères, le prince Dimitrie Ghica. La même année accueille la contribution de Ianchelevici au Pavillon roumain de l'Exposition internationale de Bruxelles. Tous ces tributs au pays natal ont rendu connue l'origine de cet artiste apprécié dans les milieux francophones avant la Seconde guerre mondiale, de sorte que l'opinion d'Ianchelevici dans une interview avec le journaliste Andrei Magheru devient édificatrice : en répondant à la question *quelles sont les raisons pour lesquelles il n'a pu jamais oublier la Roumanie*, le sculpteur

affirmait : *Je ne peux pas oublier la chaleur sentie lorsque je courais pieds nus sur le porche parental, réchauffé par le soleil du Pays où je suis né.*¹⁶

Restant dans l'univers de la sculpture, il faut mentionner le nom Ion Irimescu, qui a constitué un cas particulier d'interaction avec l'espace français. Ainsi, après avoir fini les cours de l'École nationale de beaux arts de Bucarest, il part à Paris en 1930, grâce à une bourse d'études et joint l'Académie de la grande chaumière, où il crée quelques-unes de ses meilleures œuvres, sous l'inspiration d'artistes français comme Antoine Bourdelle. Deux ans plus tard, il est distingué avec un prix offert par la Société des artistes français, qui confirme l'appréciation d'Irimescu par ses confrères occidentaux. Néanmoins, Ion Irimescu rentre en Roumanie en 1933, avec un esprit modelé dans l'esprit cosmopolite, qui le pousse à étaler ses œuvres à des expositions dans tous les coins de l'Europe et non seulement, même après l'arrivée du régime communiste. En fait, Irimescu a une contribution appréciée à l'Exposition de sculpture contemporaine qui a lieu à Paris en 1961 et ainsi, il reste fidèle non seulement à son style, forgé sur le territoire français, mais aussi à l'héritage culturel acquis pendant sa période d'études à Paris. Son activité académique, ses démarches de mécénat et son omniprésence aux expositions de sculpture les plus prestigieuses rendent Ion Irimescu un profil en concordance avec celui recherché par ce papier : il s'agit de l'intellectuel qui - bien que dans ce cas il n'ait pas appartenu à la diaspora roumaine - a réussi à trouver non seulement une source d'inspiration dans le paysage culturel français, mais aussi la reconnaissance internationale qui l'a transformé en une autorité dans le monde académique de son domaine.¹⁷

La création musicale roumaine sous les auspices d'Enescu

Pour aller plus loin dans le même paysage des arts, on tourne l'attention maintenant vers celui qui est encore considéré le plus grand musicien roumain, George Enescu. Esprit typique de son époque parmi les élites artistiques roumaines, il entreprend ses études à Vienne et Paris et commence à se faire remarquer par les personnalités de la musique française, ce qui lui permet de faire son début en tant que compositeur à

¹⁶ Andrei Magheru, „Centenarul marelui artist Idel Ianchelevici”, dans *Clipa*, avril 2009.

¹⁷ Grigore Ilisei, *Întâlniri cu Ion Irimescu*, dans *România literară*, 2003, [http://www.romlit.ro/ntlniri_cu_ion_irimescu], consulté le 12 octobre 2011.

Paris, en 1898.¹⁸ La période de la Première guerre mondiale et celle d'entre-deux-guerres accueillent Enescu, ses compositions et son talent de chef d'orchestre aussi à Bucarest qu'à Paris, bien qu'il s'engage également dans des voyages qui l'amènent plusieurs fois même plus loin des frontières européennes, jusqu'aux États-Unis. De nouveau on remarque un esprit cosmopolite, avec un talent indéniable, qui est désormais regardé comme une autorité en matière de musique classique.¹⁹ L'attachement d'Enescu pour la France est prouvé maintes fois, comme par exemple, grâce au choix de Paris pour la première de son seul opéra, *Ceïpe*, le 13 mars 1936. En effet, il n'y a que le déclenchement de la Seconde guerre mondiale qui a mené au déclin de cette œuvre de grande ampleur en France, quoique dans la Roumanie communiste, les festivals dédiés au grand musicien incluent cet opéra.²⁰ La fin de la guerre et l'installation des communistes au pouvoir ont poussé George Enescu sur la voie de l'exil, où le choix naturel a été la capitale de la France. Son image exploitée par le nouveau régime de Bucarest, Enescu reste également apprécié par l'intellectualité française, au sein de laquelle il s'est parfaitement intégré spirituellement, malgré les conditions précaires dans lesquelles il a passé ses dernières années de sa vie. L'intérêt des communistes pour ce symbole est démontré par la visite du Dr. Petru Groza à Paris en 1950, dont le dessein était de persuader Enescu de revenir dans son pays natal.²¹ Son refus a été, à notre avis, la preuve la plus concrète qu'il s'agit d'un véritable membre de l'exil, puisque les promesses des communistes visant une vie en luxe ont été ignorées par le grand compositeur, face au goût de la liberté d'esprit. Si l'on réfléchit davantage, on aurait peut-être raison d'avouer qu'en ce qui concerne l'impact, la forme la plus dure de résistance dans le cas d'Enescu a été tout simplement l'interprétation de ses compositions ou bien sa présence sur la scène. Un écho du talent d'Enescu est venu de Marcel Mihalovici²², un autre musicien roumain qui, ayant choisi l'exil à Paris en 1921, avait été

¹⁸ Noel Malcom, *George Enescu. His Life and Music*, Londres: Éd. Toccata Press, 1990, p. 61.

¹⁹ Pascal Betoïu, *George Enescu, the Composer*, International Enescu Society, 2005, [<http://www.enescusociety.org/georgeenescu.php>], consulté le 12 octobre 2011.

²⁰ *George Enescu*, Institut d'histoire de l'art, Académie de la République populaire roumaine, Éd. Musicale de l'Union des compositeurs roumains de la RPR, 1964, p. 98-100.

²¹ V. Alain Cophignon, *Georges Enesco*, Paris: Éd. Arthème Fayard, 2006.

²² V. Marcel Mihalovici, *Amintiri despre Enescu, Brâncuși și alți prieteni*, Bucarest: Éd. Eminescu, 1987.

découvert par le grand compositeur et a apporté sa pierre à la création d'une communauté musicale roumaine en France, qui a inclus également Dinu Lipatti ou Clara Haskil.

Les dames roumaines du théâtre et du cinéma parisien

Dans le domaine du théâtre et du cinéma, le nom d'Elvira Popescu reste emblématique pour illustrer la connexion entre l'intellectualité de Roumanie et de France. Pour 65 ans, l'actrice d'origine roumaine a émerveillé le public parisien, aussi sur la cellulose, que - plus particulièrement - sur la scène. Depuis 1923, l'accent d'Elvira Popescu avait ensorcelé la critique de Paris, qui n'a pas hésité de la nommer *Notre Dame du théâtre* et de lui paver la voie vers le prix *Molière*, conféré aux meilleurs acteurs de France, tout comme vers la Légion d'honneur (à deux reprises). Sans que nous nous proposons de faire une rétrospective des pièces de théâtre, ou bien des films dans lesquels Elvira Popescu a apparu, il est quand même à noter l'impact de cette artiste sur l'opinion publique de France.²³ Par sa grâce et son talent, elle a réussi à attirer à son salon non seulement des élites de son domaine, mais aussi des politiciens, de sorte que les présidents Valéry Giscard d'Estaing et Jacques Chirac étaient parmi les admirateurs de l'actrice. En tant que représentant de l'exil roumain, il est à noter que c'est Elvira Popescu qui a abouti à moyenniser le départ du chanteur roumain Jean Moscopol aux États-Unis, en 1947, à cause de l'incompatibilité totale entre la conception de celui-ci et les exigences du régime communiste de Bucarest concernant le rôle d'un tel artiste dans la société.²⁴

Pour continuer avec la sphère du théâtre, on fait mention du nom de Maria Ventura, une autre actrice roumaine de succès, qui, après avoir accompli ses études à Paris, a joué dans des spectacles aussi en Roumanie qu'en France. Ayant interprété des rôles d'importance majeure à Paris et devenant familiarisée avec les classiques du théâtre français, Maria Ventura a apporté en Roumanie les tendances culturelles de profil des grandes stages parisiennes, ce qui s'est matérialisé en une contribution remarquable

²³ *Teatrul*, Ministère de l'enseignement et de la culture, Conseil de la culture et de l'éducation socialiste, Éd. 1-6, Bucarest, 1986, pp. 89-91.

²⁴ [<http://www.rezistenta.net/2009/03/jean-moscopol-cantaretul-disident.html>], consulté le 12 octobre 2011.

au développement du théâtre roumain. En tête de son ensemble, elle a gagné une réputation solide parmi les intellectuels roumains, tout en bénéficiant de l'appréciation des élites françaises²⁵ - le tout nous détermine d'ajouter le nom de Maria Ventura parmi les artistes d'origine roumaine qui ont rapproché davantage notre culture de celle de la France, dans la période d'entre-deux-guerres et après.

Le message européen des élites roumaines dans l'esprit de Titulescu : le *Ministre (francophone) d'Europe*

Afin de s'éloigner intentionnellement du domaine des beaux arts et de se diriger vers l'enjeu primordial de notre recherche, celui d'observer la contribution des élites roumaines de la diaspora française à la perpétuation d'un message pro-européen de la Roumanie, il s'impose en premier lieu une mention des noms les plus sonores des personnalités du monde politique liées de manière décisive à l'espace français avant et après la Seconde guerre mondiale - une liste qui commence avec Nicolae Titulescu. Pour celui-ci, l'expérience française débute avec les études de droit accomplies à Paris par un doctorat et continue à côté du vaste parcours international en tant que délégué permanent et ensuite président en deux reprises (1930 et 1931) de la Ligue des Nations.²⁶ L'écho du message de Titulescu sur la scène des relations internationales s'est fait entendre par l'intermédiaire de ses visions pacifistes de gauche, à un moment où la menace fasciste, voire nazie, commençait à planer au-dessus du continent. Son image favorable sur le plan européen lui a permis d'avoir une contribution significative dans l'établissement de l'Entente Balkanique, en 1934, qui se proposait de créer une zone de sécurité entre deux pôles potentiellement dangereux qui prenaient contour en Europe : le fasciste et le communiste.²⁷ Néanmoins, c'est justement cet attachement aux politiques de gauche qui a mené à l'éloignement de Titulescu de la scène politique, sous les pressions des Légionnaires, de sorte qu'il a pris la voie de l'exil, d'abord en Suisse et, ultérieurement, en France, à Cannes. L'accueil de

²⁵ Tudor Arghezi, *Scrieri*, Vol. 28, Editura pentru Literatură, Bucarest, 1962, p. 340.

²⁶ George Potra, *Pro și contra Titulescu*, Fondation européenne Titulescu, Editura Bucarest: Enciclopedică, 2002, p. 71.

²⁷ Ion Grecescu, *Nicolae Titulescu: concepție juridică și diplomatică*, Craiova: Éd. Scrisul Românesc, 1982, pp. 216-217.

Titulescu y est favorable, c'est pourquoi l'homme politique, dont l'esprit cosmopolite lui a permis de ne se trouver sous aucune contrainte de franchir des obstacles culturels ou linguistiques, continue à propager ses messages de paix et d'unité européenne. Profitant de son talent remarquable d'orateur, celui qui a été surnommé *Le Ministre d'Europe* a continué à promouvoir son idée de *spiritualiser les frontières d'Europe*, à côté des mesures pratiques vouées à renforcer et à légitimer le droit international. Son rapprochement à l'égard de la France avait déjà généré des prises de position dans cette direction, par la condamnation des violations par l'Allemagne des clauses militaires prévues dans le Traité de Versailles en 1935, en concordance avec la position extrêmement ferme de Titulescu à l'égard de l'invasion de l'Abyssinie par Mussolini.²⁸ Pourtant, étant donné la santé précaire du diplomate roumain, son exil en France a été plutôt éphémère, durant jusqu'à sa mort en 1941.²⁹

Malgré cela, l'importance de Nicolae Titulescu en tant que représentant de la Roumanie dans les structures institutionnelles européennes les plus vastes de l'entre-deux-guerres et, ensuite, comme membre éminent de l'intelligentsia roumaine en exil, reste emblématique. Son amitié à l'égard de la France a été tout d'abord en consonance avec les tendances des politiciens roumains de cette époque-là, mais la qualité d'expression de ce sentiment a surpassé de loin les autres diplomates qui partageaient cette vision. À part les messages pacifiques transmis depuis les tribunes de la Société des Nations et l'essai de rapprocher les pouvoirs occidentaux de l'Union soviétique, aux dépens de l'Allemagne nazie, il nous reste un héritage de Titulescu qui touche particulièrement la conscience d'unité spirituelle des peuples roumain et français pendant les années 1930. Nous souhaitons faire appel à un exemple qui ait la capacité de justifier l'existence de ce sentiment, verbalisé dans le style unique de Titulescu.

L'occasion que nous prenons en considération est la visite historique à Bucarest de Paul Boncour, le ministre des affaires étrangères de France, en 1934, dont l'agenda accablant l'a amené devant son homologue roumain. C'est alors que Nicolae Titulescu a prononcé son discours, qui comprend sa vision envers l'espace français et se focalise sur des aspects essentiels, tels

²⁸ Gheorghe Buzatu, *Titulescu și strategia păcii*, Iași: Éd. Junimea, 1982, p. 199.

²⁹ Ion Grecescu, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

les relations franco-roumaines, l'attachement commun à l'égard des valeurs suprêmes de l'humanité et le dessein similaire des deux nations dans le cadre institutionnel mondial représenté premièrement par la Ligue des Nations. En faisant des éloges à ce qu'il appelle *l'amitié la plus désintéressée qu'il connaisse*, Titulescu n'hésite pas à recourir à une flatterie qui aujourd'hui serait qualifiée comme exagérée - définie par les raisons pour lesquelles les Roumains *aiment* la France et même son représentant de haut rang, le ministre Boncour. Il est vrai pourtant que l'une des intentions de Titulescu lors de ce discours étonnant a été de rassurer son homologue français de la coopération entre la Petite Entente et la France, étant donné *l'identité parfaite de conception* entre la Roumanie et la France.³⁰

Bien que le texte soit abondant en figures de style et que la manière de s'adresser adoptée par Titulescu dépasse les cadres habituels contemporains de familiarité du langage diplomatique, le ton et le contenu de ce discours sont parfaitement justifiables si l'on tient compte du contexte dans lequel il a été donné. Il s'agit d'un ministre des affaires étrangères de France qui est accueilli en Roumanie avec un degré d'enthousiasme inouï et qui a des rencontres non seulement avec le Roi, mais qui délivre des allocutions aussi devant le Parlement de Bucarest et l'Académie Roumaine, devenant citoyen d'honneur de Roumanie - si l'on mentionne seulement quelques-unes des occasions officielles lui étant dédiées, car il faut y ajouter les banquets et les réceptions.

Le tout démontre une hypothèse fondamentale de cette recherche, qui soutient que l'attitude des élites roumaines à l'égard de la France était absolument favorable pendant les décennies précédant la Seconde guerre mondiale, ce qui explique encore une fois la raison pour laquelle une partie de ces élites n'ont pas hésité de choisir ce pays en tant qu'hôte de leur exil, fuyant la répression politique.

Conclusion

Les interactions des intellectuels roumains de la période entre les deux guerres avec la culture française ont été indéniables et sont devenues la marque d'une génération entière, dont les conséquences restent bien visibles même à présent. Quoique l'espace français se soit avéré un lieu de

³⁰ Ion Scurtu, *Istoria Românilor de la Carol I la Nicolae Ceaușescu*, Éd. Mica Valahie, 2010, pp. 158-159.

formation intellectuelle et un forum de débats extrêmement propice aux élites roumaines, qui y ont abouti à exprimer des idées innovatrices dans l'aire de la culture et de la politique, le désir de crayonner un message unitaire pour la modernisation de la Roumanie n'a pas encore été nécessaire avant l'avènement du communisme. Tenant compte de tout cela, il devient presque impossible de faire une analyse exhaustive des personnalités roumaines de la période entre les deux guerres qui ont fait preuve d'un rapprochement exceptionnel à l'égard de la culture française, par l'intermédiaire de la langue et des contacts directs avec celle-ci. La raison en est très simple : l'abondance des noms qui appartiennent à la catégorie antérieurement mentionnée est si grande que nous avons été obligés de les cerner de sorte que les catégories intellectuelles les plus illustratives à ce propos soient représentées, à partir des beaux arts, allant jusqu'à la politique, que notre Titulescu a sans doute également transformée en une forme sublime d'art rhétorique. Ces brefs parcours biographiques, appuyés sur des sources roumaines et étrangères, favorisent la continuation de cette recherche, dont la suite logique serait de ne pas cesser d'appliquer les méthodes de recherche y adoptées non seulement pour tracer le parcours des personnalités décrites dans la création d'un éventuel message pro-européen de la Roumanie, mais aussi pour trouver d'autres noms de l'intellectualité roumaine en exil dans l'espace français. Pour l'achever, il est à suivre la même combinaison de méthodes de recherche qualitatives et quantitatives, afin de mesurer l'ampleur de ces élites sur la scène francophone des débats visant l'avenir de la Roumanie communiste, tout en recourant au pouvoir suggestif des comparaisons. Ce sont en fait ces dernières qui permettront de tracer les idées convergentes, mais aussi divergentes, de ces représentants roumains de la diaspora qui ont apporté leur pierre à l'élaboration d'un plan cohérent pour un avenir démocratique et pro-européen de l'État roumain.

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THE ROLE OF THE SPIRITUAL MESSAGE OF POPE JOHN PAUL II IN THE 1980 SOCIAL MOVEMENT OF SOLIDARNOŚĆ*

Gina Liana Tămaş*

Abstract:

The 20th century is known for the unprecedented historical events that have marked the transformation of the political ideologies and of the social systems of many nations, influencing the individuals' destinies. We have witnessed the expansion of the Marxist and communist ideology and of the dictatorship-based systems, settled in many Central and East European states. Despite all these facts, the centralised leadership of the Iron Curtain did not manage to suppress the desire for freedom of the masses. Therefore, Poland is a good example as the resistance movement had started long before the complete destruction of the communist system. The Solidarność social movement was strongly influenced by the spiritual and ethical message of Pope John Paul II, delivered during his first visit in Poland, at the middle of 1979.

Key words: spiritual message, impact, reaction, ideology, community.

Pope John Paul II's speeches, addresses and sermons regarding the political world, the Kremlin communist system or the democratic one of the West shall be analysed from the perspective of the liturgical character, emphasizing the enunciation, the great themes after pontification that have a troubling character. By the power of words, as representative of the Church, he managed to have a universal impact.

Our research brings forward the mentality, the social tensions, and the fight for political ascension, elements that need to be explained in relation with the traits of instability, symbolism and myth, due to their

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* Gina Liana Tămaş is PhD candidate at Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of European Studies. Contact: tamasgina@yahoo.com.

unpredictable character. One has to grasp the key-words and the expressions of the context where such events take place, which will help us analyse the discourses as a whole. The form of thought shall not be missing, as we are going to explain herein.

One may never state the exact role of the spiritual and ethical message, which was Pope John Paul II's contribution to the resistance movements that led to the fall of the communist wall. However, it is certain that he has had a contribution and most of historians admit it. Therefore, we have set as a purpose the analysis of the discourses, sermons and visits during his missionary actions, especially in Poland.

At the inauguration ceremony of the pontificate, of 22nd October 1978, he made known to the world his intention to travel as a missionary around the globe, being the first one to try to overcome the limits of perceiving the papacy, the ideologies or the laic geo-political systems. The words that would mark his pontificate are those expressed in his first sermon: "do not be afraid [...]. To his saving power open the boundaries of States, economic and political systems, the vast fields of culture, civilization and development. Do not be afraid. Christ knows 'what is in man'. He alone knows it."¹

The Trade Union created shortly after the first visit of the Pope to Poland emphasized the strong relationship between the workers, as they were actuated by a common experience, the feelings of belonging to a group, the same injustice produced by the leadership system, the historical heritage. There were unique feelings that contributed to the onset of the actions, the feeling of *unity*, *solidarity* and *loyalty*. The Polish authorities saw the danger of instability of national security, they decreed the state of emergency and introduced the martial law in 1981. Since there were no freedom of expression and political democracy, they did not want to hear the arguments of the masses, to allow the existence of the Solidarity or the messages sent by the Pope to the communist authorities. He tried to support the Polish people through diplomacy and carefully chosen words, even in times of crisis.

¹ *Homily of His Holiness John Paul II for the Inauguration of his Pontificate*, 22 October 1978, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

The visits to Poland and their effect on the Polish people

One year after he became Pope, John Paul II decided to visit Poland, his native country. The Polish had already been encouraged by the election of a Polish Pope, but this prospective visit encouraged them even more, and, later on in this article, we shall also see how.

When the Pope started preparing his first visit in Poland, the Italian newspaper *La Stampa* wrote: "Everything is unclear, delicate, sometimes slightly shaded or intentionally kept to wait in order not to create bigger problems. [...] When he became Pope, the authorities of the Polish regime showed a formal content and they couldn't have showed anything else."² The Pope had to be extremely careful with authorities in his inaugural speech. Newspapers at that time said that the Pope "was not supposed to say anything more, he had to hide adjectives, say everything clearly, but not jeopardize the equilibrium that, after so many years of work, led to the tacit (even if insecure) agreement between the Vatican and Warsaw."³ Many were preoccupied with what the Pope would say as they knew he liked to improvise, that he did not take into consideration the pieces of advice received, that he reacted to the spirit of masses who liked him, that he did not believe in obstacles, in limitations set by governments.

His first visit to Poland took place during 2-10 June 1979. For nine days, the communist system, which had isolated churches, had to stay and watch how religion became to main topic for all people, especially due to the international mediatization. In his alliance with the mass media, the Pope managed to break through any geopolitical captivity, any system of dictatorship. He managed to bring together more people than any communist, atheist propagandists in spite of the instrumented organizations at central level, as it was usual at that time, not only in Poland but everywhere inside the Soviet empire.

Nine months after his election as Pope, on 2nd June 1979, he went back to Poland to spend nine days with the Polish Christians. The masses gathered, accompanied him during his entire visit and followed him everywhere in the country; this was causing discomfort to the communist government. This discomfort was accentuated however by the Pope's

² *Stampa Sera*, 28.05.1979, numero 135, p. 10.

³ *Ibidem*.

sermons and message on human rights, as we shall see in the following pages.

The mobilization of people to listen to the Pope's spiritual words were afterwards transformed into trade union movements and, finally, into political manifestations against central authorities.

Through the international journalists, the entire world was surprised by the powerful connection between Pope John Paul II and the Polish people, the mass of Christians, the unexpected dimensions of the manifestations, which alarmed the authorities in Kremlin.

After the arrival to the airport, he addressed to the Polish government and thanked them for having given to him the permission to visit the country.⁴

He afterwards initiated the service in Warsaw, on 2nd June 1979, and his first words defied the communist system which was the promoter of atheism. "Christ cannot be kept out of the history of man in any part of the globe, at any longitude or latitude of geography. The exclusion of Christ from the history of man is an act against man. Without Christ it is impossible to understand the history of Poland, especially the history of the people who have passed or are passing through this land. [...] It is impossible without Christ to understand and appraise the contribution of the Polish nation *to the development of man and his humanity* in the past and its contribution today also; [...] with its past so full of splendour and also of terrible difficulties."⁵ In fact, on this occasion, he did not use any word referring to the political system in Poland, but he transmitted a subtle message. The use of the word *exclusion* referred not only to the policy promoted by communism, but to the oppression over the churches as well.

Due to the fact that he himself, during university years, passed through difficult moments because of the war, John Paul II chose to address to the young students in Warsaw on 3rd June 1979. On that occasion, he had to face the leadership that did not allow the free expression, that did not encourage the enrichment of knowledge, that condemned everyone who

⁴ *Apostolic Journey to Poland, Meeting With the Civil Authorities, Address Of His Holiness John Paul II*, Warsaw, 2 June 1979, Libreria Editrice Vaticana. Also published in *L'Osservatore Romano*. Weekly Edition in English, no. 24, pp. 3, 4.

⁵ *Apostolic Journey to Poland, Holly Mass, Homily of His Holiness John Paul II, Victory Square*, Warsaw, 2 June 1979, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

had the courage to speak up. He used simple words: "I wish to pray with the university students of Warsaw and of Poland: for the gift of wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, that is to say the sense of the sacred value of life, of human dignity, of the sanctity of the human body and soul, and, finally, for the gift of the fear of God, [...] that it is the beginning of wisdom."⁶ With the above-mentioned enumeration he managed to promote the human dignity and to condemn the dehumanization of the secluded system.

From Warsaw he went to Gniezno, where he transmitted his message not only to the Polish people, probably also due to the place known as the capital of evangelism for all Slavic peoples. Referring to his Slavic linguistic origin, he described how it united peoples, how they inherited the same etymology and how close they all are: "Is it not Christ's will [...] that this Polish Pope, this Slav Pope, should at this precise moment manifest the spiritual unity of Christian Europe? Although there are *two great traditions, that of the West and that of the East* [...] He comes here to speak before the whole Church, before Europe and the world, of those often forgotten nations and peoples. He comes here to cry "with a loud voice". He comes here to point out the paths [...] He comes here to embrace all these peoples, together with his own nation, and to hold them close *to the heart of the Church*. [...] I hope to be heard, as we are living the era of the so longed freedom [...]."⁷

Through the words used, he tried to prove that Europe's spiritual unity did not take into account the wall built by communism, but that it was a Utopia given the fact that some people are not free and forced to serve an empire. Underlining the fact that he was a Polish Pope, of Slavic origin, he showed his openness to dialogue with the Western as well as with the Oriental part of Europe. The word *freedom* was used to underline the necessity of all people to act according to their own will, to fully enjoy all social, political and civil rights, which had often been ignored in the communist states.

⁶ *Apostolic Journey to Poland, Holy Mass for University Students, Homily of His Holiness John Paul II*, Warsaw, 2 June 1979, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

⁷ *Apostolic Journey to Poland, Holy Mass, Homily of His Holiness John Paul II*, Cathedral of Gniezno, 3 June 1979, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

On 4th June 1979, he continued his visit to Czestochowa, at the Jasna Gora Monastery. At the altar, during the act of consecration to the Blessed Virgin Mary, he continued his condemnation of those who contributed to the disastrous situation in certain parts of the world. "Show us always how we are to serve the individual and humanity in every nation, how we are to lead them along the ways of salvation. How we are to protect *justice and peace* in a world continually threatened on various sides. How greatly I desire [...] to entrust to you all the *difficult problems* of the societies, systems and states – problems that cannot be solved with hatred, war and self-destruction but only by peace, justice and respect for the rights of people and of nations. [...] Help us to overcome opposition and difficulties. [...] Help us to overcome the great moral threats."⁸

Certainly, he did not name those who threatened the peace, who were involved in a cold war, but he clearly made reference to two world superpowers: the United States and the USSR. In their race for arming and reciprocal threatening, they forgot about the respect towards life, individual, nations' rights.

Afterwards, he talked about *oppositions* and *difficulties*, notions designing the developed stage of the human rights rejection, the obstacles in the way of the freedom of speech, the oppression and condemnation by the Kremlin of those who dare to resist in any way to the decisions taken by the power. All these represent a *threat to the ethics*, because power does not respect the ethical principles related to the intellect, spirit and psychic of the individual; power only discourages any action, dehumanizes the individual. The following morning, on 5th June 1979, still in Czestochowa, he gave a sermon for all Christians, militating for the respect of religious beliefs, for solidarity, for the Church, in its quality of religious community, for an open dialogue among Christians.⁹

Four days after the beginning of his visit, the Italian newspapers noted that "the enthusiastic crowd following him in his journey accentuated the aridity of an economic, bureaucratic state and of a power

⁸ *Apostolic Journey to Poland, Holly Mass and Act of Consecration to the Mother of God, Homily of His Holiness John Paul II, Czestochowa - Jasna Gora, 4 June 1979, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.*

⁹ *Apostolic Pilgrimage to Poland, Address of his Holiness John Paul II at the 169th Plenary Assembly of the Polish Episcopal Conference, Czestochowa, 5 June 1979, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.*

lacking cultural or national ideals. The pastor of souls also knows how to be a politician, who surprises and disconcerts the government.”¹⁰ Everyone was wondering whether Poland would ever be the same after the visit. In the same newspaper, *La Stampa*, they publish the interview with the chief editor of the prestigious Polish paper *Polityka*, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who was, at that time, not only Gierek’s personal counsellor, but also an influential member of the Central Committee. Asked which would be the consequences to the confrontation between the Polish society and national existence, he answered: “in each case, one may talk about a national warning of a transcendental importance. Reasons are obvious. The Pope is experienced in what concerns the confrontations between Catholics and communists. From our point of view, he has to be well treated. I would say that, without exceptions, a Polish Pope strengthens our nationalist pride. Part of the Polish people sees this visit in a calm way, understanding its importance. However, there is another part of the population that euphorically and emotionally salute this visit. I believe the first part of the population is more important. [...] He who knows Poland’s current situation, who knows the value of today’s political alliances and who knows the serious domestic problems, very well knows the fact that they can be solved by us only, not by the Pope, even if he came to visit us every day.”¹¹ He did not forget to mention that both realists and enthusiasts, as well as the majority of the communists, were proud to have a Polish Pope and that, under that aspect, “the personality and the national identity have to be separated from ideology. The communists’ position is not sensational. We would be stupid if we didn’t consider this visit to be auspicious for Poland. [...] We know that it is ideology that separates us from the Church. [...] No one should consider the Church God’s humble servant. The Church has always has political ambitions. We are only trying to limit them. We even do it rather prudently”. When he was asked whether they were looking for a compromise between the leading Marxism and Catholicism, at least in what regards the social doctrine, he answered: “there are several alternatives. As a first solution we may consider a nearness of ideologies. But this depends on so many factors. [...] I do not know what is going to happen after the meeting with the Catholics, but I know it is not going to be

¹⁰ *La Stampa*, 06/06/1979, numero 123, p. 15.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

something static.”¹² Generally, ideologies were not created for the social environment, but churches had tried to attenuate the discrepancies. The limitation of the Church’s power was justified by the ideology through its so-called *political ambitions*. Authorities were aware of the influence the Church had over the Christians and of the impulse it was able to transmit.

The Pope also talked to the pilgrims who came from the region of Silesia, known for its tormented history. “Unity depends on justice, a justice that satisfies the needs and guarantees the rights and duties of each member of the nation so as not to give rise to disharmony and opposition because of the differences brought by evident privileges for some and discrimination against others. From our country’s history we know how difficult this task is; all the same we cannot exempt ourselves from the great effort aimed at building up just unity between the children of the same country. This must be accompanied by *love for this country, love for its culture and its history*, love for its specific values that determine its place in the great family of nations, love, [...] for our fellow-countrymen, people who speak the same language and have responsibility for the common cause to which we give the name of *our country*.”

The concept of *patria* refers to the political, social and cultural environment where the individuals live their everyday life. It is identified with the patrimony, *i.e.* with all the rights over the goods inherited from the ancestors, the spiritual, cultural and territorial heritages that belong to the entire people. *Patria* represents the reality for which social structures and state institutions were created and developed.

The concept of culture includes values from different domains created along the history: genius writers, famous oeuvres, renowned composers, artists, sculptors, painters, the theatre, *i.e.* the cultural maturity of a people. Civilization is permanently connected to the development of knowledge, of science, to the oeuvres of its own culture.

Even if, through these words, he encourages the oppressed minorities in the region, every word represented a continuous condemnation of the treatment applied by the communist government. *The love for patria* has to lead to unity, to the respect for the rights of each member of the nation, irrespective of their origins, to the right to one’s own culture, to one’s own customs transmitted from generation to generation.

¹² *Ibidem*.

On 6th June 1979, he addressed to the workers for the first time, in the same monastery of Jasna Gora, which had become for several days the spiritual capital of Poland and where pilgrims from all over the country went to.¹³

On 7th June, he visited Brzezinka – the city hosting the largest number of factories in Poland, situated only three kilometres away from Oswiecim (a city better known under its German name, Auschwitz). The religious service was held on a platform near the railway, the place where new prisoners were selected and sent, in two columns, either to the forced labour camps or to the gas chambers of the concentration camp. As that was the region where he grew up, he restarted the discussion concerning his election as Pope and assigns it to the divine will. "I have come and I kneel on this Golgotha of the modern world, on these tombs, largely nameless [...] kneel before all the *inscriptions* that come one after another bearing the memory of the victims of Oswiecim in languages: Polish, English, Bulgarian, Romany, Czech, Danish, French, Greek, Hebrew, Yiddish, Spanish, Flemish, Serbo-Croatian, German, Norwegian, Russian, Romanian, Hungarian, and Italian. [...] Each day sees an increase in the destructive capacity of the weapons invented by modern technology. Not only those who directly bring about wars are responsible for them, but also those who fail to do all they can to prevent them. Therefore I would like to repeat in this place the words that Paul VI pronounced before the United Nations Organization: 'It is enough to remember that the blood of millions of men, numberless and unprecedented sufferings, useless slaughter and frightful ruin, are the sanction of the covenant which unites you in a solemn pledge which must change the future history of the world: No more war, war never again. It is peace, peace which must guide the destinies of peoples and of all mankind'."¹⁴

He enumerated the nationalities of the people who had been exterminated at Oswiecim, accentuating the drama of humankind. He reminded again of the danger humankind was facing because of the nuclear arming and drew the attention of the United Nations Organization

¹³*Apostolic Pilgrimage to Poland, Holly Mass for the Workers from Upper Silesia and Zagłębie, Homily of His Holiness John Paul II, Czestochowa, 6 June 1979, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.*

¹⁴*Apostolic Pilgrimage to Poland, Holly Mass at the Brzezinka Concentration Camp, Homily of His Holiness John Paul II, Brzezinka, 7 June 1979, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.*

to the role it assumed, that of ensuring peace and not promoting wars, an allusion to the retaliations and the arming reactions towards the USSR's actions. He condemned the wars that did nothing else but to ruin humankind. He said all those things not to accuse but to remind people of the war's atrocities and he also spoke in the name of the nations the rights of which had been violated or forgotten.

On 8th June, he addressed to the workers in the heavy industry of Nowa Huta and he talked about the Polish lands, the beauty of the nature, and the difficulties of working the land due to the lack of fertility in the area, which was a great problem from economic and social point of view. He also reminded them of the times when people had to leave the lands to work in industry. He afterwards made reference to the individual's fundamental right: "*the right to work and the right to the land*. Although economic development may take us in another direction, although one may value progress based upon industrialization, although the generation of today may leave en masse the land and agricultural work, still the right to the land does not cease to form the foundation of a sound economy and sociology."¹⁵ The Pope's words did not seem serious, but he knew they contracted with the claims of the communist power that continuously violated the individuals' right to private property.

The series of visits ended in Krakow, on 10th June. The Vatican's spokesperson announced that there participated over one million persons, a number that was confirmed by the Polish authorities as well. In his final speech, the Pope used some decisive words for the authorities of the communist empire: "This unprecedented event is, no doubt, an act of bravery on both sides. In spite all these, in our times, such a bravery act is necessary. We must have the courage to go where no one has ever gone before. [...] Today, we need a confession to express openly the desire to get closer to nations and regimes, as an indispensable condition for world peace. Today's times require us not to close ourselves within the limits of the rigid frontiers set by the regimes, but to look for what is necessary for the individual's wellbeing, which has to be found in the consciousness as

¹⁵ *Apostolic Pilgrimage to Poland, Holy Mass, Homily of His Holiness John Paul II, Nowy Targ, 8 June 1979, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.*

well as in the safety of an authentic citizenship. I wish I could say: in every system of relations and forces."¹⁶

At the farewell ceremony, the Pope talked about the "national pride", of the "spirit of tolerance" and of the "bravery act" assumed by both parties. It was the only event that was not "directed" by the communist political regime, which reaffirmed the primordially of ethics over ideologies, a line that had to be crossed. The Pope spoke up and repeated: "there is no Church imperialism, only a service of the Church."¹⁷ Before leaving Poland, the Pope briefly addressed to the journalists who had accompanied him and, with tears in his eyes, he said: "I hope, I hope, I hope to meet you again in this country. I hope [...]" At the airport, president Jablonski tried to save something of the wreck that was collapsing and declared that a loyalty without critique to Poland's historical and cultural patrimony would not be useful for the state. Considering the Pope did not suggest such a fundamentalism regarding the Polish, the President's remarks referring to the public in Moscow and Poland were dissipated. John Paul II listened with respect and admitted, with unintentional irony, that the permission given for that visit by the Polish authorities had been an *act of courage*.¹⁸

The Pope has always said that it was just a pilgrimage, although the immediate effects had been obvious in the human spirit sphere. People felt the change and responded to it before having articulated what had truly happened to them.

Adam Michnik, one of the non-Catholic dissidents of the country, wrote: "those very people who are ordinarily frustrated and aggressive in the shop lines were metamorphosed into a cheerful and happy collectivity, a people filled with dignity [...] Exemplary order reigned everywhere."¹⁹

¹⁶ *Pellegrinaggio Apostolico in Polonia, Cerimonia di Congedo all'Aeroporto di Balice, Discorso del Santo Padre Giovanni Paolo II*, 10 June 1979, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

¹⁷ *Stampa Sera*, 11/06/1979, numero 149, p. 10.

¹⁸ George Weigel, *The Witness to Hope. The biography of Pope John Paul II*, PerfectBound HarperCollins Publishers Ltd., New York, 1999, p. 320.

¹⁹ Adam Michnik, "A Lesson in Dignity," in Michnik, Adam, *Letters from Prison and Other Essays* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 160 *apud*. George Weigel, *The Witness to Hope. The biography of Pope John Paul II*, Perfect Bound Harper Collins Publishers Ltd., New York, 1999, p. 320.

The “Solidarity” and Pope’s support in the time of crisis

A new sense of self-value, a new experience of personal dignity, as well as the determination of not being intimidated by the power were the result of the first pilgrimage of the Pope, both for the believers and for the non-believers. The history until that time showed that the Polish had been a humiliated people, but the Pope’s message lifted this burden and made possible the most ample, non-violent movement of social self-defence until that moment.

The causes for the collapse of communism cannot be reduced to only one factor. There was a whole process to which several actors contributed, therefore creating a set of circumstances that led to the breaking down of a political system, which lasted for almost fifty years in Central and Eastern Europe.

One may say that Poland was the least exposed country under the communist regime, manifesting the most supportive opposition to the state’s power, but one cannot say that it was also the most liberal one. The Polish communist party was the most contested in Central and Eastern Europe by the Catholic Church, as well as by the dissidents’ opposition. In spite all these, the most important opposition was that of the *Solidarność* trade union movement.

Pope John Paul II certainly had an influence over the Polish people, as a result of his visit in 1979, but this influence smouldered slowly and, on 14th August 1980, produced a non-violent explosion, the result of which led, a decade later, to the collapse of the European communism. The *Solidarity* Charter had on its cover the image of John Paul II. From the Vatican, the Pope let them discretely believe that he agreed with the setting up of the trade union.

Through strikes, the workers rejected the communist doctrine, which stipulated that the workers needed a political party to protect their own interests. The agreement concluded between workers and authorities meant, in a way, the delegation of the power, which could have meant the end of the totalitarian system. The new trade union was given the name of *Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy Solidarność*, meaning the “Solidarity” Self-managed, Independent and Professional Trade Union. The title was proposed by Lech Walesa, the president of the Coordination Commission, in order to avoid the confusions with certain official trade

unions that had lately self-declared their independence. Its existence was legally recognized by the Warsaw Court of Law. "By decree, the State Council authorized the measures for the registration of independent trade unions. [...] The new trade union, valid for the entire Poland, shall have a federative structure."²⁰

The awakening of social movement consciousness took place after the perceiving of the ethical message sent by the Pope, just nine months before, when he had reminded them of the right to exert their moral judgement in public. The commitment to this consciousness justifies the non-violence of the protest movements. During the sixteen months of freedom, the Solidarity revolution, unique among all revolutionary tumults that took place in modernity, did not end any life. It was a matter of principles.

Moscow accepted the existence of the *Solidarność* independent trade union on the condition it "accepted the leading role of the communist party and if it exclusively acted within the socialist institutions."²¹

The ideology of the communist party governing in different states started to be discredited. Frightened by the proportions of the Solidarity movement and by the possibility of dividing the power, the USSR leaders initiated their pressure on the Polish authorities to dissolve the trade union. Had they decided to have a military intervention in Poland, the Kremlin would have endured the imposture of many more sanctions and deprivations, which was guaranteed by Reagan, the new American president, who was much more firm than Carter, his predecessor.

The Polish workers' strikes led to threats from the Soviet leadership. *Solidarność* refused to bow before Brejnev's warnings, who, in September, had sent a letter to the Polish party leadership and had given them an ultimatum, saying that the USSR "had anyway waited for too long and their excesses had to stop."²²

The insecurity and tension were increasing in Poland, being deepened even more by the rumours announcing the movements of Soviet troops at the Polish border. Mieczyslaw Rakowski, the chief editor of *Politika*, the Polish weekly newspaper, noticed that, among the trade union's members, the greatest influence had those who were against the

²⁰ *La Stampa*, 23/09/1980, numero 208, p. 5.

²¹ *La Stampa*, 02/01/1981, numero 1, p. 4.

²² *Stampa Sera*, 19/09/1981, numero 256, p. 2.

“collaboration with the state and with the party” as it favoured the “destabilization of an already very difficult situation. [They] should know that their duty is to hold the extremists back, with their anarchic elements.”²³ In order to re-establish public order and to reduce tensions between the Polish government and the governments of other European communist countries that were against the trade union revolutions in Poland, the national office of the trade union decided to interrupt and prohibit strikes until 15th January, although the *strike* represented the fight for their rights.²⁴

Poland’s cardinal, Stefan Wyszyński, with a wide experience in social problems in the period between the two world wars, ensured the trade union members that they could rely on his support and of the entire Polish episcopacy, but he also called for moderation and reasoning. Still, he “indulgently reproved the trade union for having abused the strikes in order to find solutions to their claims. «Other means of action - the cardinal said – have to be found and you do not always have to use extreme pressure measures».”²⁵

Moscow was sending more and more alarming signals regarding the new wave of strikes. The Russian newspaper *Red Star* announced that “[military] units have carried out instruction activities on the Polish territory, demonstrating their force, their operative capacity, their determination to defend the realization of socialism”. Radio Moscow declared: “the strikes organized by the so-called independent trade union have as objective to impede the return to the normal state of things.”²⁶

Pope John Paul II sent a letter to Leonid Brejnev on 16th December, using indirect suggestions, a diplomatically discreet language, as we may very well observe: „I address myself to the preoccupation of Europe and the whole world as regards the tension created by the internal events taking place in Poland during these last months. Poland is one of the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act. [...] The events that have taken place in Poland these last months have been caused by the ineluctable necessity of the economic reconstruction of the country, which requires, at the same

²³ *La Stampa*, 03/12/1980, numero 268, p. 1.

²⁴ *Stampa Sera*, 22/12/1980, numero 327, p. 10.

²⁵ *Stampa Sera*, 05/01/1981, numero 3, p. 10.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

time, a moral reconstruction based on the conscious engagement, in solidarity, of all the forces of the entire society. I am confident that you will do everything you can in order to dispel the actual tension, in order that political public opinion may be reassured about such a delicate and urgent problem.”²⁷

The language used did not bring any diplomatic prejudice. The Pope implied that the events were *internal* and the Soviet Union was not competent to judge that. *Solidarity* in connection with the *forces of the entire society* was used to make an ethical analysis of the situation as the entire people would have to participate in the economic reconstruction of Poland.

The word used in this context, made the connection with the trade union movement where there were over ten million members and even more supporters. The Pope showed his support for this trade union movement. Referring to the Final Act of Helsinki, he attacked the Soviet Union, as the latter insisted on the ratification of this agreement, which was then turning against them. Referring to sovereignty and the non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states were used to justify the Soviet hegemony in Central and Eastern Europe, and then that very phrase could have been used against them. The Pope mentioned the agreement signed by Poland and the USSR on the respect of each nation's rights. Brejnev could have understood the fact that Poland was a state independent from the Soviet power.²⁸

After the Polish government had imposed the state of emergency, the Pope sent a message to the members of the Solidarity trade union as well saying that: “the activity of the trade unions does not have a political character; it must not be an instrument of the action of anyone, of any

²⁷ George Weigel, *op. cit.*, pp. 406-407.

²⁸ Tony Judt says that, on the short-term, the Communist leaders from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Empire could easily stifle voices who claimed the individual and collective rights in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act. But the communist emphasis on the Helsinki Agreements, which were their source of international legitimacy, would turn against them: appealing to the recent Moscow arrangements, the foreign and domestic critics could now apply public pressure on the communist regimes. Against such opposition, a violent repression was not only powerless but it had also a boomerang effect. Instigated by their own cynicism, Brejnev and his comrades unwillingly created a breach in their own defence. Contrary to all expectations, it proved to be fatal. Tony Judt, *Epoca postbelică – O istorie a Europei de după 1945*, București: Editura Polirom, 2008, p. 462.

political party, in order to be able to concentrate, in an exclusive and fully autonomous way, on the great social good of human work and of working people.”²⁹ These words show that the very politicization of the trade union led to its weakening. Few years later, Pope John Paul mentioned “it seems that Solidarność, at a certain stage in history, on entering directly into the world of politics and assuming responsibility for governing the country, had no option but to give up defending the interests of workers in many economic and public sectors.”³⁰

Conclusions

The Polish Catholicism was the element that consolidated the national identity and contributed to the preservation of the Polish culture. The Church had an important role mostly because its activity was generally limited and intolerant. Communism led to moral ruin.

This was not only a trade union movement because the conclusion of the agreement of 31st August 1980 represented the public acknowledgement of a new political force existing in the society. The name of the trade union accentuated the belief in their powers, which strongly contrasted with the communist power. Bearing in mind the fact that it had ten million members and at least one member of every family was registered in the trade union, they expressed the will of the entire nation. Their activity was carried out under a legal spectrum for a short period of time, but it was the establishment of the martial law that demonstrated the illegitimacy of the dictatorial regime. The Solidarność movement of 1980-1981 represented the predecessor of the collapse of communist in 1989. It was not only a resistance movement; its success ensured a model of non-violent opposition towards the Soviet system.

As we have seen, Pope John Paul II was not afraid to use certain words, such as “exploitation”, “rights”, “humanity”, “oppressed”, “powerful” – the words of the communist propaganda – but he used them in the spiritual context of religion with comparisons from the Bible. The words were addressed to the poor, to workers, and he used them every time to draw attention to the injustices and to the exploitation of the

²⁹ Jerome Vereb (ed.), *A year with John Paul II. Daily Meditations from His Writings and Prayers*, Perfect Bound Harper Collins Publishers Ltd., London, 2005, p. 335.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

individual. The Pope always spoke relying on his own experience. He himself had been a worker for four years and knew about the man's exploitation by the political dictatorship.

From the point of view of the causality, we may say that the Polish movement for solidarity had two variables: an antecedent one – influenced by the visit of the Polish Pope – and a consequent one. In other words, there was a phenomenon that exerted its force over another this way provoking it, setting it into motion, influencing its character. There intervened a change in the state of facts, the protest movements had been determined by the extremely poor economic situation, by the increase in prices, by the lack of products in shops, by the decrease in the purchasing power, by the weakening of the national currency. The empiric reality comprises not only the causes for the beginning of this mass phenomenon, but also the previous influences and the complexity of their connections as a whole. Hypothetically speaking, we may say that the idea of freedom and of human rights was stronger than the communist ideology.

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**POLAND, A REGIONAL POWER THROUGH
THE EUROPEAN UNION.
A NEW DIRECTION OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY***

Marius-Mircea Mitrache*

Abstract:

Ever since its accession to the European Union, Poland had a reputation of a troublemaker country, that still harbored historical resentments. However in recent years, Poland, confident in its economic growth, has deployed a more pragmatic approach to foreign affairs, not only becoming an Eastern leader to its neighbor but a fully regional power, with wide geopolitical goals and ambitions.

Key words: Poland, Eastern Partnership, Western Balkans, Visegrad Group, pragmatism

In the wake of the Polish Presidency of the EU, that was set to start from July 1st 2011, and shortly after a G8 summit in France, Poland hosted an Eastern and Central European Summit in Warsaw, May 27th and 28th, having as a special guest President Obama himself. This latest Polish summit, the last major event preceding the EU Presidency taken over in July, was one of the latest examples of the high-esteem and influence that Poland has enjoyed lately among its European neighbours and American allies. It marked the height of a long and arduous process that changed Poland's image of a Eurosceptic, conservative, dispute-prone country, incapable of finding a suitable place in an ever-changing world.

Actually, in 2007 the coming to power of the pro-European, pragmatic and liberal right-wing party, the Civic Platform, led by the charismatic and capable Donald Tusk, set a new course for Poland's foreign

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* Marius Mitrache is PhD candidate at Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of European Studies. Contact: marius_mitrache@yahoo.com

policy, that struggled to change the previous image the country had, and the strained diplomatic relations with several major players, i.e. Germany and Russia. Nevertheless, more troubling was the attitude Poland had towards the EU, which gave the feeling that Poland, alongside the Czech Republic, was among the most Eurosceptic members of the Union. Following a non-pugnacious approach by Warsaw, due to combined efforts of Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk, and highly popular Foreign Minister Radosław Sikorski, Poland started to be taken more seriously.

What is essential is the fact that a major shift on how the foreign policy should be carried out took place, a shift from a Romantic view, that claimed Poland to be the “Christ of Nations” always betrayed by the Westerners and Russians, to a much more pragmatic one. If the previous *Kaczyński* government over-emphasized the connection with the United States, Donald Tusk operated a much-needed rapprochement towards European capitals, especially Berlin. The fact that actual benefits from this special relationship with Washington did not pay off amounted for a lot of disenchantment.

Among the causes of this disenchantment we can identify the difficult and almost failed missions in Afghanistan and Iraq, that did not bring help in modernization of neither the Polish army, nor its economy, the decision to withdraw the missile shield, once proposed by the US, and probably the most painful disillusion of them all, the tough visa regime still imposed on Warsaw. The first fruits of this pragmatism showed up when German foreign minister, Guido Westerwelle, made his first official visit to Poland, and what’s more important, he joined his counterpart Sikorski, into pressuring Belarussian president Lukashenko not to use force against those taking part in manifestations during the presidential elections in December 2010. Unfortunately, their efforts were in vain, but it made an encouraging precedent of Polish-German cooperation, that resonated very well in other European capitals¹. As Martin Krasuski points out in a paper for the *Casimir Pulaski Foundation*, even Moscow can benefit from the new change of tone coming from Warsaw. The Russian Federation knows that better relations with the EU are almost impossible without developing normal relations with Poland. If Moscow wanted to get the much needed and desired World

¹ Martin Krasuski, “A call for pragmatism of the Polish foreign policy”, *Nouvelle Europe*, 18 February 2011 [<http://drupal.nouvelle-europe.com/en/node/1020>], retrieved 28 May 2011

Trade Organisation membership, it would require all the support it could get. Krasuski illustrates this interdependency between the two countries with the visit of Russian president Dimitri Medvedev to Warsaw, the first of its kind in 10 years, albeit a diplomatically but still meaningful one. For instance, there were discussions on radio spectrum coordination and navigation on the Vistula Lagoon, which represented small but sensitive matters for both sides.

Krasuski ends his plea for a pragmatic shift in Poland's foreign policy by mentioning the country's deficient presence in Brussels, and insisting on a more active presence in all European institutions. He recommends that Poland should emphasize support mechanisms for Central and Eastern European countries, thus enabling Warsaw to work alongside its neighbours. For him the ultimate risk is that if Poland isolates itself from the world, and refuses to carry a more pragmatic foreign policy from a bridge between West and East, Poland could quickly become a no man's land of Eastern Europe and a first class troublemaker. If Poland chooses to ignore pragmatism over romanticism, it would be at its own peril².

Economic means to diplomatic ends

Of course, the willingness of Prime-Minister Donald Tusk to offer a position for Poland on the European and international stage requires much more than wishing and rhetoric, as fine as they might be. The truth is that the healthy shape of its economy and finances allowed Warsaw to be more at ease during an extremely difficult time for all countries. The recession that started in 2008, has watched countries like the United States, or other European ones like the United Kingdom, France or Germany to bail out their failed banks that prompted other financial and economic troubles for them and the world. Unlike other countries that saw their economies crashed, Poland actually enjoyed an economic growth. In 2007 it had an amazing 6,8% growth, and in the following years, more reasonable but still impressive figures like 1,7% in 2009 and 2,5-3% in 2010, becoming thus Europe's sixth economy without the housing bubble that allowed other Eastern European states to enjoy a financial yet - unsustainable boom. First of all, Poland was the biggest beneficiary of European funds for the 2007-

² *Ibidem*, [<http://drupal.nouvelle-europe.com/en/node/1020>], retrieved 28 May 2011.

2013 period, with 63,8 billion Euros co-financed from 100 billion Euros. How the crisis was caused by the fall of the private sector demand, the public sector could cushion the blow. Secondly, Poland, unlike her Baltic neighbours, never entered in a foreign currency credit bubble (like the euro or the Swiss franc) which would have been a tragedy considering the Zloty depreciation. Actually, since Poland proved so well, the depreciation of the national currency helped a lot the Polish economy, easing the pressure that other countries faced. Thirdly, the internal market was much larger and diversified than that of the other neighbouring countries³.

As French journalist Florence Beaugé states in an article for *Le Monde* "With its 38 million inhabitants, Poland has indeed a large domestic market. Less open than its neighbors, less dependent on exports, with a strong diversified economy, it has not experienced the dramatic slowdown in world trade. Take for instance the case of the Golden Terraces, a gigantic shopping mall opened in 2007 behind the Warsaw Central Railway Station, jostling seven days a week, 250 stores of western brands on five levels. "Here, a crisis is not seen as inevitable. People remember the time when they had nothing and know how to restrict. As soon as we entered the financial crisis, the issue of wages, which was the agenda, was put under a bushel by the unions. Difficult to imagine a different attitude in France, "said François Colombari, president of Auchan in Poland and Russia⁴."

The fact that it was not so dependent on import and foreign direct investments (only 7 % against 38% of GDP like the Czech Republic) helped Warsaw to avoid the fate of other countries like Spain, Ireland, Latvia or Bulgaria that tied their fortunes on the development of one sector, either construction or finance. Poland never had to bailout its banks, since this particular sector was never involved in the speculative schemes that crashed its Western counterparts. It had a solid bookkeeping, never spending more than it gained, like Hungary or, more infamously, Greece.

³ Zbigniew Truchlewski, "L'économie polonaise, première de la classe européenne?", *Nouvelle Europe*, 3 April 2010, [<http://www.nouvelle-europe.eu/node/834>], retrieved 28 May 2011.

⁴ Florence Beaugé, "Dans une Europe en crise, la Pologne fait figure d'exception", *Le Monde*, 10 March 2010 [<http://vivrelinternational.blogspot.com/2010/03/dans-une-europe-en-crise-la-pologne.html>], retrieved 29 May 2011.

Moreover, more importantly, Poland has always had an impressive solid entrepreneurship tissue, because of the entrepreneurship and combative spirit that always hallmarked the Polish people. Through its exports and internal demand, Poland managed to survive one of the toughest financial crises since World War II.

Finally, in 2009, Poland demanded and got from the IMF a special Flexible Credit Line (FCL) offered only to economic stable countries, without any what so ever of the hard-liner, austerity measures countries like Greece or Ireland had to endure. This was mostly a PR stunt designed to promote the stability and the healthiness of its economy and financial system. The goal for Poland was to set itself apart from the same-perceived region of Eastern Europe, offering to the investors the message that this country is not like Romania, Latvia, Estonia or many others⁵.

Fewer fences make good neighbours

This unique position, as one of the few countries in the world to experience growth during the recession, further strengthened Poland's position in the EU both economically and politically. A healthy economy ensured the means to promote its foreign policy goals. And one of the most important and crucial of these is the Eastern Policy (*Polska polityka wschodnia*) that she has pursued ever since 1998 from the beginning of the negotiations for EU accession. Its aim was to transform Poland into a West-East bridge, as it was stated in the National Integration Strategy developed by Polish European Integration Committee created in 1996. The very foundation of Poland's Eastern Policy lays it the so-called ULB doctrine, written by Jerzy Giedroyc and Juliusz Mieroszewski 60 years ago, and published in 'Kultura' magazine in Paris, a Polish-based émigré-journal. First thought and published in the days of the Cold War and of the Iron Curtain, and getting its name from the Ukraino-Lithuano-Belarussian trio, this doctrine stated the necessity of recognition of captive nations in Eastern Europe, the acceptance of pre-Yalta borderlines, reconciliation between these nations, and, more importantly, reconciliation and

⁵ Zbigniew Truchlewski, "L'économie polonaise, première de la classe européenne?", *Nouvelle Europe*, 3 April 2010, [<http://www.nouvelle-europe.eu/node/834>], retrieved 29 May 2011.

normalization of relations with Russia⁶. After the fall of the communism, the first non-communist Polish foreign minister, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, stated that one of Poland's major priorities was to sustain democracy in Ukraine, and Belarus, and to have good diplomatic and economic relations with Lithuania and, especially with Russia. Although over the years, this course was not always followed, a trend existed and today Poland is pursuing more or less these goals set back in the early '90s. Among these countries, Ukraine was always the privileged one in terms of attention.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, Skubiszewski pleaded for an active Oriental foreign policy in front of the Sejm, claiming that the promotion of political liberalism and democracy was in the best interest of the Polish minorities living in these countries. Historian Timothy Snyder points out that the good relations between Poland and the newly created state of Ukraine settled the dispute of their new common border. Starting from this point onwards, Poland could have concentrated its energy on settling the German-Polish border, whose status was uncertain especially after the German reunification.⁷

As for Lithuania, a country who has a significant Polish minority, and between whom bilateral relations have been more difficult, Poland always portrayed itself as a vocal advocate for European integration. Although Poland was at the beginning part of the so-called Luxembourg Group that consists of countries who received green light with respect to EU from early 1998, it constantly expressed support for the Helsinki Group that started negotiation from 2000, Lithuania being one of its members.⁸

In 1998, Bronislaw Geremek, liberal foreign minister at the time, made an appeal to an "Eastern dimension" of the EU, and in 2003, Cimoszewicz, the socialist foreign minister stated that "...EU [Eastern Policy] should be flexible enough to enable the individual development of relations with each of the countries concerned without prejudicing their final formula". Poland wished to develop a policy plan towards this region,

⁶ Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004, pp. 221-223.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 234-235.

⁸ Sarah Struk, "La diplomatie polonaise : de la doctrine "ULB" au Partenariat Oriental", *Nouvelle Europe*, 23 August 2010, [<http://www.nouvelle-europe.eu/node/916>], retrieved 01 June 2011.

based on the successful Northern Dimension, and drawing lessons from the Spanish experience in promoting the Mediterranean policy⁹. However, the results at the time were a failure, especially because of Western European countries' unwillingness to offer more to states like Ukraine, than they have already done through the European Neighborhood Policy. Furthermore, there were some fears that Poland's insistent lobby on more opportunities and incentives so that these countries could eventually join the EU was part of an American scenario to weaken the Union. In 2001, French President Jacques Chirac went as far as calling Poland "the American Trojan Horse."¹⁰ However, in the wake of Poland's accession to the EU in 2004, foreign minister Anna Fotyga insisted that "the support for the pro-EU direction of Ukraine should be one of the Union's priorities."

Poland had to wait until 2008, when a successful Polish-Swedish joint-initiative, well received by the European Commission, for strategic and security reasons, brought together countries both for and against further enlargement. As Anna Pomorska writes, "The initiative was mainly 'cooked' in the two capitals, lobbied from there and benefited from a personal engagement of the two member states' foreign ministers. Such a partnership, according to the proposal, should be based on the ENP, but also on the principle of differentiation."¹¹

As early as 2006 the Polish foreign minister Stefan Meller stated in his address to the Sejm that : "We will seek to ensure that the emerging Eastern Dimension of the Union's Neighborhood Policy draws the countries involved closer to the Union. At the same time, they should not be doomed to the role of 'eternal partners'. At least some of them – the ones with a pro-European orientation and advanced internal transformations – should be given the prospect of membership, however distant it may be."¹²

Eventually the Russian-Georgian conflict and the energetic dispute between Russian and Ukraine made it clear that the EU must have some

⁹ *Ibidem*, [<http://www.nouvelle-europe.eu/node/916>], retrieved 01 June 2011.

¹⁰ Anna Pomorska, "Are we there yet? From adaptation to Europeanisation of Polish foreign policy", 3-5 March 2011, Paper for *EUSA Twelfth Biennial International Conference Boston*, p. 14. [http://euce.org/eusa/2011/papers/7j_pomorska.pdf], retrieved 01 June 2011.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

¹² Stefan Meller, Minister's Annual Address 2006, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Poland, [<http://www.msz.gov.pl/Ministers,Annual,Address,2131.html>], retrieved 01 June 2011.

sort of common policy concerning its Eastern neighbors. This initiative, called "The Eastern Partnership" is addressed to Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldavia, and Ukraine, and, as stated by the European Commission, its goal is to reach further than the ENP. This is done through the so-called Association Accords (AA) that is the legal bound of the EU with these states, the Action Plans, which contain the reforms that are going to be made, the development of a gradual free-market zone, and a more coherent energy policy towards Russia¹³.

Nevertheless, perhaps the most important feature brought by the success of the Eastern Partnership, was for Poland the understanding that only through the European Union, and by following its rules, can it impose its views and achieve its goal, forging productive alliances, and gaining respect.

From today's point of view, the Eastern Partnership draws praises and encouragements from Western leaders. In an interview for *The Economist* on September 30 2011, following a related summit in Warsaw, British deputy prime minister Nick Clegg said : "It's not a permanent waiting area where excuses are found in order to maintain the divide between the current European Union and the countries that want to join. It is a platform. It should be regarded as a way in which we can make the relationship between the EU and Ukraine, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia and so on closer and closer. That then helps those countries to prepare themselves for EU membership. At the same time, it allows us to send, as the EU, a clear and unambiguous signal when we think political and economic reforms are not proceeding in the right direction. Clearly, the most notorious example of that is Belarus, where President [Alyaksandr] Lukashenko is behaving like a sort of medieval despot. He has no role at all in 21st-century Europe." Asked if he envisages members of the Eastern Partnership ever joining the EU, he answered: "Yes, absolutely. If the conditions are met—and I think we have to be very rigorous about them:

¹³ Sarah Struk, "La diplomatie polonaise : de la doctrine "ULB" au Partenariat Oriental", *Nouvelle Europe*, 23 August 2010, [<http://www.nouvelle-europe.eu/node/916>], retrieved 01 June 2011.

political reform, administrative reform, rule of law, market economy—it's crucial that we continue to open our doors.”¹⁴

An increasingly vocal advocate of the region

In recent months, Poland has become more and more a vocal advocate of countries like Moldova and Ukraine, by supporting their efforts towards a democratization, the rule of law, and getting the free-market economy status, all equally related to the Copenhagen Criteria, which a country needs to fulfill before starting accession negotiations with the EU. Concerning Central Europe, it is true that for a while Poland's interest were not focused in this region. Despite all that, Poland was a founding member of the so-called Visegrad Group (V4) that regrouped it with countries like Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia. However, one of the most important announcements of early 2011 was Poland's seek to militarize the V4 with its own battle group. Surely the Russian-Georgian conflict had its weight, as the energy related quarrels between Kiev and Moscow, but truth be told, a change became more and more needed ever since NATO's New Strategic Concept that was adopted in late 2010. Through it, NATO, and the United States are starting to view Russia, more as an ally, than a rival or, even worse, an adversary¹⁵.

On the contrary, the Obama administration actively sought Russia's support on various hot-topic issues, like Iran and North Korea. Consequently, the US ceased to be a guarantee of Central Europe's security, and for several politicians and analysts a militarized Visegrad Group became a necessity¹⁶. Despite the freshness of the proposal, the militarization of Central Europe is not a new idea. As Richard Cashman, from the Henry Jackson Society proves it, the interwar Polish leader Josef Pilsudski entertained the idea of a militarized bloc called Intermarum, a

¹⁴ “An interview with Nick Clegg”, 30 September, *The Economist*, [http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2011/09/britain-and-europe], retrieved 01 June 2011

¹⁵ “A militarised Visegrad Group?”, *Euractiv*, 13 May 2011, [http://www.euractiv.com/global-europe/militarised-visegrad-group-analysis-504824], retrieved 01 June 2011

¹⁶ Błażej Lenkowski, “Polish foreign policy to be reviewed”, *Liberté*, 18 March, [http://liberteworld.com/2011/03/18/polish-foreign-policy-to-be-reviewed/], retrieved 01 June 2011

bloc of countries between the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea (thus the Latin name Marum) to counter the growing threat of Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany¹⁷.

In the present-day case, a militarized V4 Group with Poland as leader makes sense, especially since its model is the Nordic EU Battleground Group, that helped regional cooperation between Scandinavia and the Baltics. For the Visegrad Group it was feared that not all EU's countries (especially Western ones) perceive Russia as a threat combined with NATO's new and ambiguous Strategy Concept, that made these decisions to be taken.

A STRATFOR analysis points out that Poland became the inevitable leader of this group because it took the rotating presidency of the EU in July 2011, and because Poland has the best military ties with the United States of all other countries. News of this project has not gone too well with Moscow. On May 12, 2011 the Russian Prime Minister made a visit to Bratislava, officially to attend his country's performance to the ice-hockey world championship, but more likely to discuss with his Slovakian counterpart the growing issue of a militarized Visegrad Group¹⁸.

The interest of Poland in Central Europe is part of a much bigger, newer foreign policy axis, a North-South one. If Warsaw always saw itself as a bridge between East and West, this time the advantages of North-South axis *have* started to be taken more and more seriously. In the North, Poland's oldest and historical ally has been Sweden. Even stronger diplomatic ties have covered tight banking and financial connections with the Swedes. Actually, Sweden was always some sort of a role model for Poland, who found support in its Nordic ally in its successful Eastern Partnership initiative, and an example both for the Visegrad battleground it seeks to create and the EU rotating presidency set to begin in July 2011. As for the South, Poland begins to take interest in areas long ago neglected like

¹⁷ Richard Cashman, "Visegrad Battlegroup May Be Step Closer To Pilsudski And Mackinder's Vision – Analysis", *Eurasiareview*, 15 August 2011 [<http://www.eurasiareview.com/15082011-visegrad-battlegroup-may-be-step-closer-to-pilsudski-and-mackinders-vision-analysis/>], retrieved 25 August 2011.

¹⁸ "A militarised Visegrad Group ?", *Euractiv*, 13 May 2011, [<http://www.euractiv.com/global-europe/militarised-visegrad-group-analysis-504824>], retrieved 01 June 2011.

the Black Sea and the Western Balkans¹⁹. Concerning the Black Sea region, as it is stated in a report for the Polish think-tank, DemosEuropa, Frank Umbach explained that this region is vital for the Great Energy Game of Eurasia :“Given the scarcity of conventional oil and gas resources in the world, its growing concentration in ever less and equally more unstable countries and the projected rapid rise of global oil and gas demand, Central Asia and the Caspian region (CACR) with its proven oil and gas resources can contribute to ensuring global energy security by increasing the diversity of oil and gas supplies through the Black Sea region as a strategically important transit route. However, Russia, China, the EU and the region states have very different strategic interest and agendas, which complicate or even hindering regional wide cooperation.”²⁰

Finally, Poland wants to build enduring liberal free-market democracy with the rule of law, but not only through official channels, but also through NGOs and Civil society actors heavily involved in the democratization process. In another report from the same think-tank, Tija Memišević and Ivan Vejvoda say that “both Poland and Czech Republic can provide assistance and partnership to countries of the Western Balkans in particular fields such as agriculture, financial system reforms, preparation of strategies and projects in order to receive EU funding. They can warn against mistakes they made and provide ideas for practical solutions and reforms. Experiences from new EU member states, gathered recently and where many countries had to start building up institutions and developing policies from the scratch, are invaluable to Western Balkan countries.”²¹ Surely, Poland will not miss this excellent opportunity to

¹⁹ Wojciech Białożył, “The North-South Line and orientation of Polish foreign policy”, *Liberté*, 15 February 2011, [<http://liberteworld.com/2011/02/15/the-north-south-line-and-orientation-of-polish-foreign-policy/>], retrieved 01 June 2011.

²⁰ Frank Umbach, “The Black Sea Region and the Great Energy Game in Eurasia”, in Adam Balcer (ed.), *The Eastern Partnership in the Black Sea Region: towards a New Synergy*, Warsaw: DemosEuropa Center for European Strategy, 2011, p. 55. [<http://www.eucers.eu/wp-content/uploads/BSR-ES-Cooperation-Demos-2011.pdf>], retrieved 01 June 2011.

²¹ Tija Memišević, Ivan Vejvoda, “On the Road to Stability: The Western Balkans Future in the EU”, in Adam Balcer (ed.) *Poland and the Czech Republic: Advocates of the EU Enlargement?*, Warsaw: DemosEuropa Center for European Strategy, 2011, p. 96. [http://www.demoservices.home.pl/www/files/raport_demos_grudz2010_uk_v08_www.pdf], retrieved 01 June 2011.

prove itself and the world that it can act as a responsible role model and can offer assistance for willing countries like those in the Western Balkans.

With regards of Poland's ambition as a regional power probably nobody said it better than the current Foreign Minister, the acclaimed Radek Sikorski, in his early March address to the Sejm: "The mission of the Foreign Ministry, as drafted in a statement by its staff, "is to pursue the interests of the Republic of Poland through European and global cooperation for security, democracy and development." It is also expressed, more briefly, by our motto: "Serving Poland, building Europe, understanding the world." Let us bear in mind that Solidarity succeeded because its leaders deliberately acted in line with the motto of the Hanseatic city of Gdańsk: "*Nec temere, nec timide*" – neither rashly, nor timidly."²²

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²² Radek Sikorski, *Minister's Annual Address 2011*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Poland, [http://www.ms.gov.pl/files/docs/komunikaty/20110316EXPOSE/expose_2011_en.pdf], retrieved 01 June 2011.

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