

# **Political aspects of European Integration: Solidarity as a basis of European integration?**

**European Union and China in a  
Turbulent Time (September 7  
2010)**

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# Structure

- Different perception (among elites and European public) of solidarity in turbulent times in 40's/50's vs. 21. century
  - Common values or national interests?
- Energy solidarity as a basis of European integration
  - Realistic goals?
  - Solidarity: a linkage to national interests
- Decline in political, economic and energy solidarity
  - European strategies – national or European solution? True European reality

# Conceptions of EU

EU as international organizations of sui generis

Vs.

EU as a unified actor (ms are no more sovereign) – postmodern world

# Common values or national interests?

"we have to get used to double standards,, (R. Cooper)

„among ourselves (in post-modern world) we can operate on the basis of values“

„outside we may have to operate on the basis of interests“

„if you have common values you operate there, if you can't, you operate on the basis of common interests“

# Declaration of 9 May 1950

■ French foreign minister R. Schuman



- Europe will be built through concrete achievements which first create a ***de facto solidarity***.
- The solidarity in production will make any war between France and Germany impossible.

# ESCC Europe's first supranational community



- Coal and steel were vital resources needed for a country to wage war
- Pooling those resources between enemies was seen as a way to prevent further war between France and Germany.

- The foundations of a united Europe were laid on fundamental ideas and values:

**the securing of a lasting peace,  
unity,  
equality,  
freedom,  
security  
and solidarity.**

# ECSC distinct aims

- Make war between Member States impossible
  - Unite Europe democratically
- Create first supranational institution and the world's first international anti-cartel agency
  - Create a single market across the Community
- Revitalise the whole European economy by similar community processes



# Goals lacking behind

- Improve the world economy and the developing countries, such as Africa
- Encourage world peace

# Solidarity as an essential part of EU integration

Jacques Delors defined the European integration as a triad:



- 1) **competition**, which stimulates us,
- 2) **cooperation**, which strengthens us, and
- 3) **solidarity** which unites us.

- Solidarity is an essential part of Europe's common roots and values
- Solidarity among the peoples of Europe was the explicit aim of the founding fathers
- They believed that a de facto solidarity, a linkage of their interests, would prevent a new war

# What is true European reality?

- Do European states (nations, elites) share values based on mutual solidarity in the end of first decade of 21. century?

**or**

- The end justifies the means is valid?

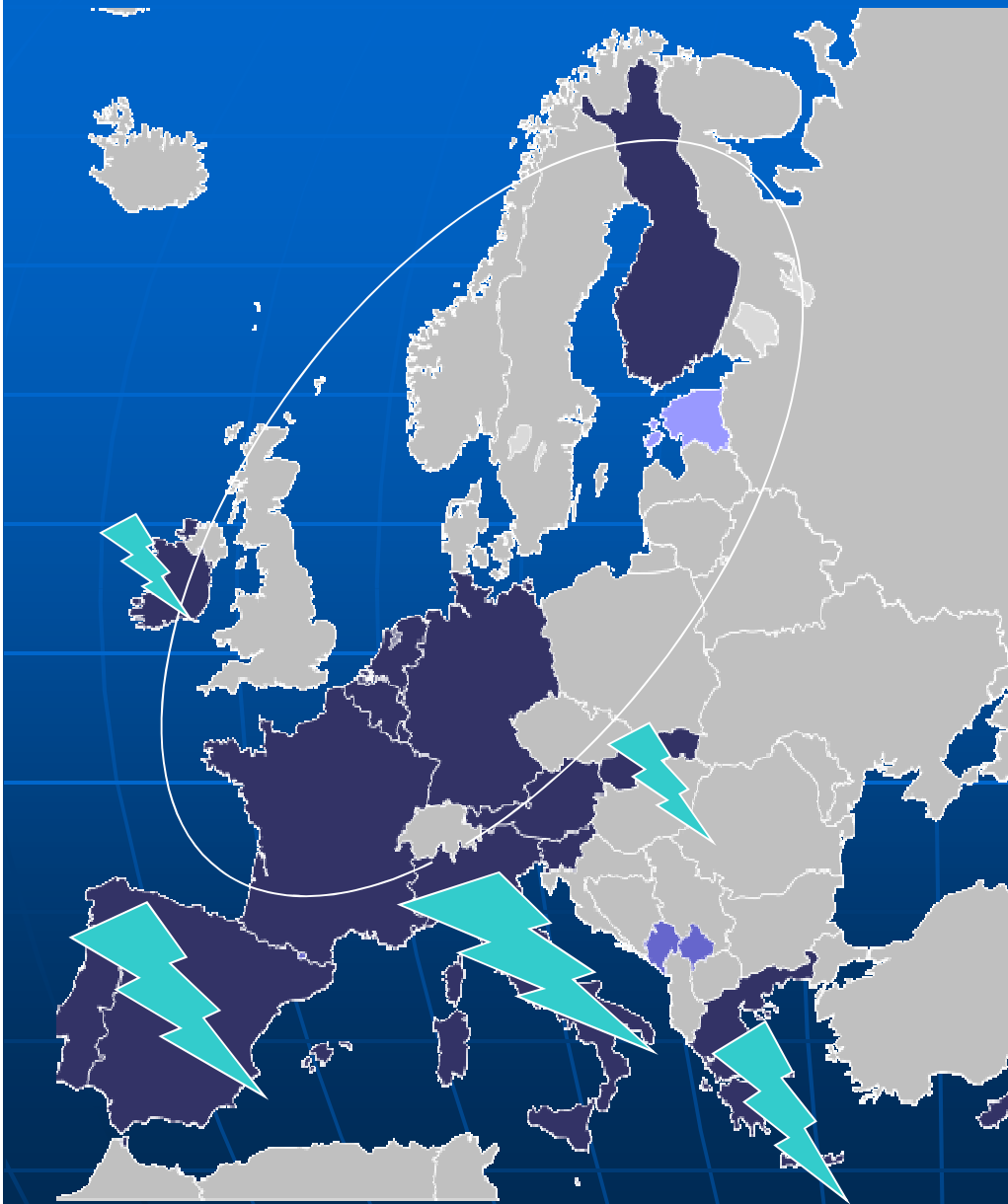
# Political solidarity: Lisbon Treaty

A. Merkel lost her majority in the upper house of parliament in a recent election (North Rhine-Westphalia) - paid a political price for forcing the rescue plan on a reluctant public/ 70 % Germans against aid package for Greece

- Dutch, French and Irish no to Constitutional Treaty
- Czech president opposing Treaty to the last moment

Warsaw threatened Lisbon Treaty by proposing new voting rules under the treaty would give it too little power, while Germany would have too much.

- President Barroso: „the absence of a new treaty undermines EU "solidarity.“



- **Economic solidarity?**

- The creation of a "super-euro" zone would initially include France, Germany, Holland, Austria, Denmark and Finland

- Greece, Spain, Italy, Portugal and even Ireland would be left in a larger rump mostly Mediterranean grouping

- Germany and France examined ways of creating a "two-tier" euro system to separate stronger northern European countries from weaker southern states
- "The philosophy is the stronger countries might need to move away from countries they can't afford to bail-out"
- "Two-speed Europe is the dog that doesn't bark"  
(T. Barber)



- The Slovak parliament voted against Bratislava's participation in the EU rescue package for Greece

O. Rehn: „I can only regret this breach of solidarity within the euro area“

# European energy solidarity and strategies

- 2009 - Strategic Energy Review (follow-up)
  - 2008 - Strategic Energy Review
    - 2008 - Climate Action
- 2007 - Towards a low carbon future (SET-Plan)
  - 2007 - Electricity & gas markets
  - 2007 - Energy policy for Europe
    - 2006 - Green paper Energy

# National or European?

- Energy security is an issue of common EU concern
  - Specific national solutions are insufficient
- While each Member State is responsible for its own security, solidarity between MS is a basic feature of EU membership
- Strategies to share and spread risk can be more effective than dispersed national actions

# Key proposals

Improving energy relations with the EU's neighbours, including Russia

- Developing an **Africa-Europe Energy partnership**, to help Africa 'leap-frog' to low-carbon technologies and to help develop the continent as a sustainable energy supplier
- Southern Gas Corridor for supply from Caspian and Middle Eastern
- Completion of a Mediterranean energy ring, linking Europe with the Southern Mediterranean
- Baltic interconnection plan, better linking the region with the rest of the EU, improving the security and diversity of its energy supply, enabling solidarity

# Conclusion

## **Declining solidarity within European Union?**

Internal conflict over Lisbon treaty,  
Economic aid to Greece, Energy solidarity

**vs.**

## **Rising solidarity outside Europe?**

EU is trying to develop a model of mutual cooperation with Russia, Africa, South America etc.

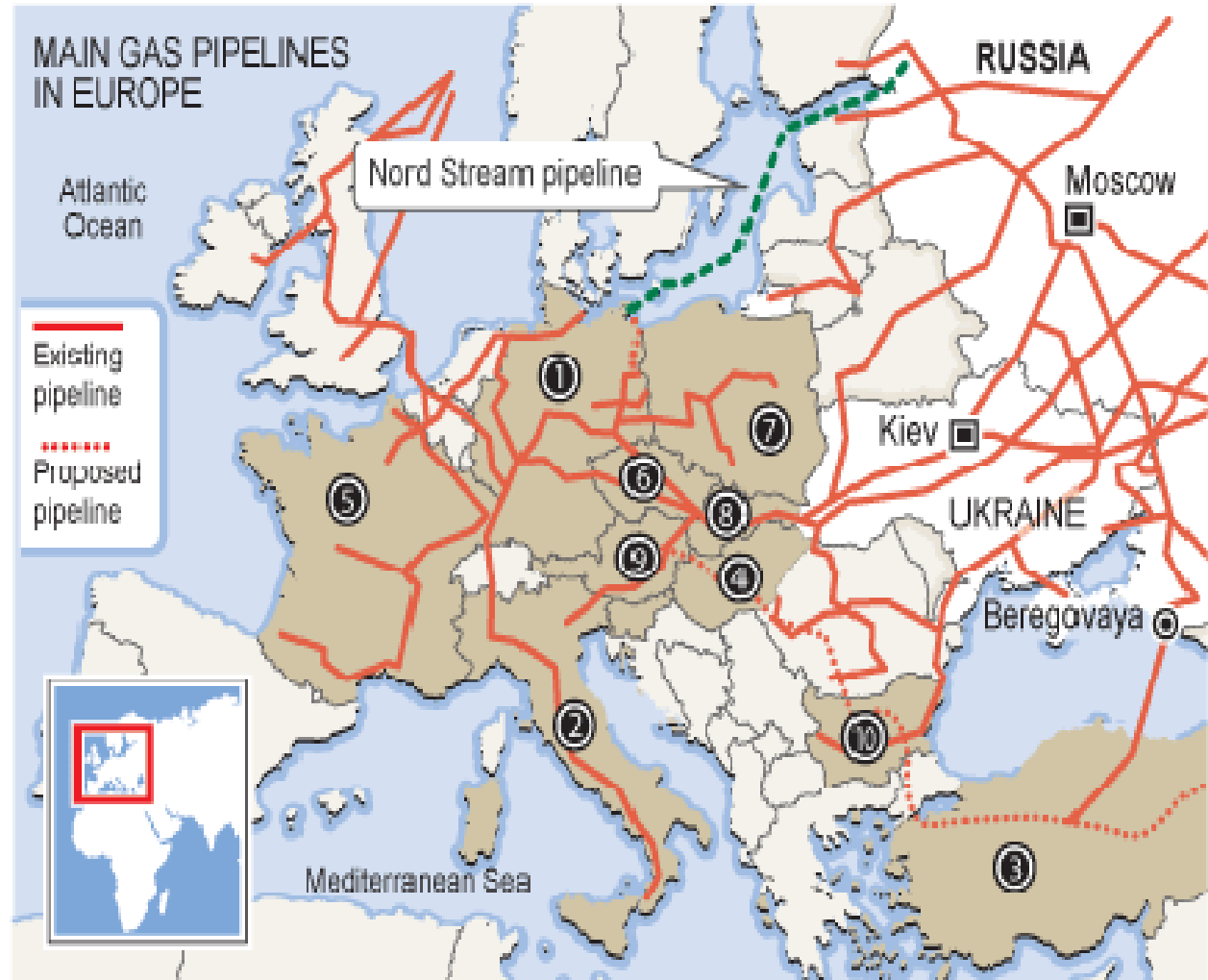
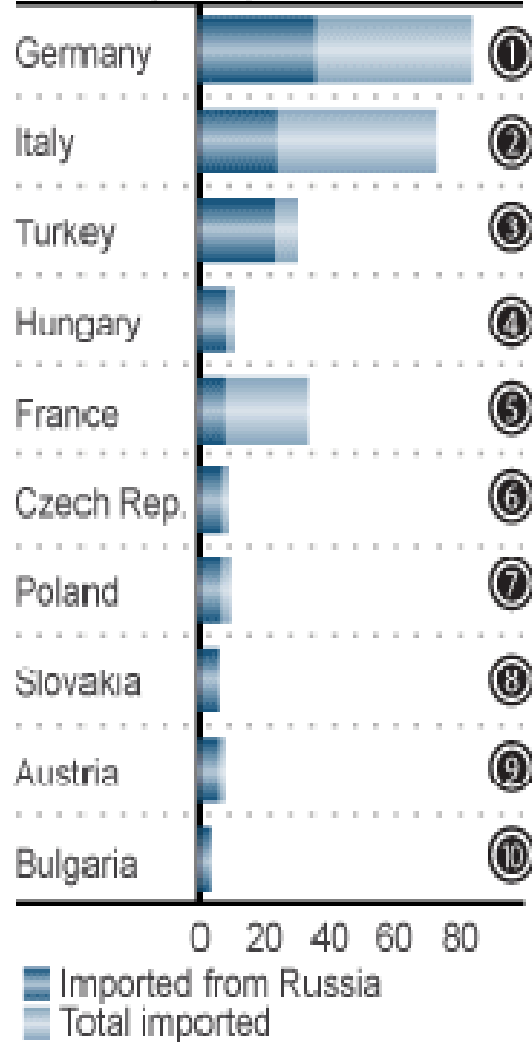
- The project seriously clashes with Poland's interests and energy security issues
- Russia is the key supplier of natural gas to Poland
- German-Russian Northern Pipeline bypassing Poland
- To prevent Poland's diversification attempts is very much in the interest of Russia, say experts

## Nord Stream



# Nord Stream - Russia's biggest post-Soviet pipeline

Russian gas imports - 2007\*



Sources: Reuters, EIA, BP Statistical Review of World Energy

\*Billion cubic metres



- Even minor delivery problems can cause substantial problems for Polish economy
- Up to now, Poland was also a transit country for Russian deliveries to Germany
  - However, despite earlier agreements to extend the current pipelines throughout Poland with the purpose of transporting more gas to Germany, Russians decided to invest in the Northern Pipeline - a much bigger, more expensive and more complicated project bypassing Poland
- EU member states have increasingly gone bilateral with controversial deals, usually in the energy sector, that other member states have seen as a breach of solidarity and trust



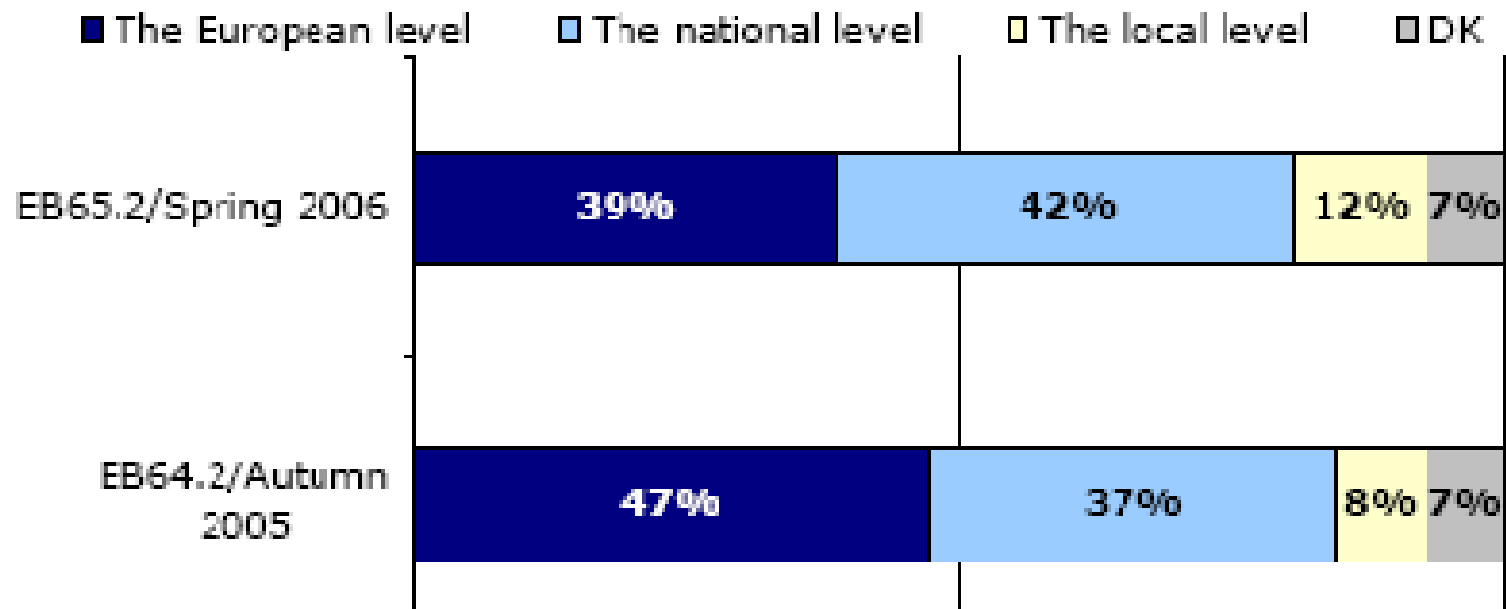
# Energy issues reflected in public opinion

- Energy: SE 17/82, 25/84, 32/86, 36/87, 46/89, 75/91, 79/93, 104/96, 169/02, 258/06
- 27/85, 91/95, 132/99, 142/00, 156/01 (ECU, Euro)
- 214/04, 215/04 Constitutional treaty
- Other topics: consumer protection, social rights, corruption, agricultural policy, environmental issues, gender discrimination are being prevailing and perceived to be key issues

# Europeans and energy challenges/Special Eurobarometer 258

*- Contrary to the last survey less than six months earlier, a comparative majority of Europeans think that decisions should be taken at national level*

QF3 In order to respond to the new energy challenges that we have to face for the years to come, what is, according to you, the most appropriate level to take decisions? - % EU25



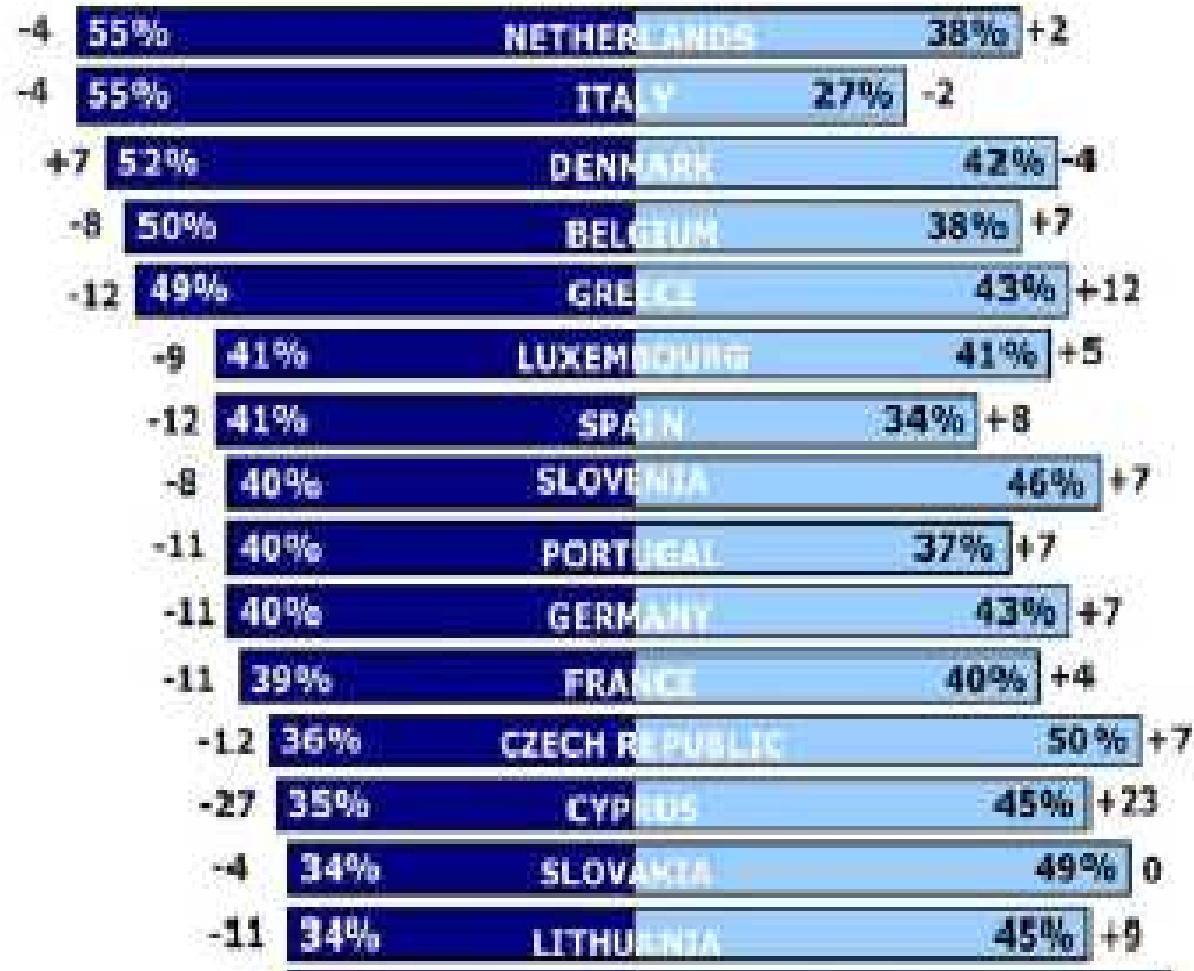
**QF3 In order to respond to the new energy challenges that we have to face for the years to come, what is, according to you, the most appropriate level to take decisions? - % country**

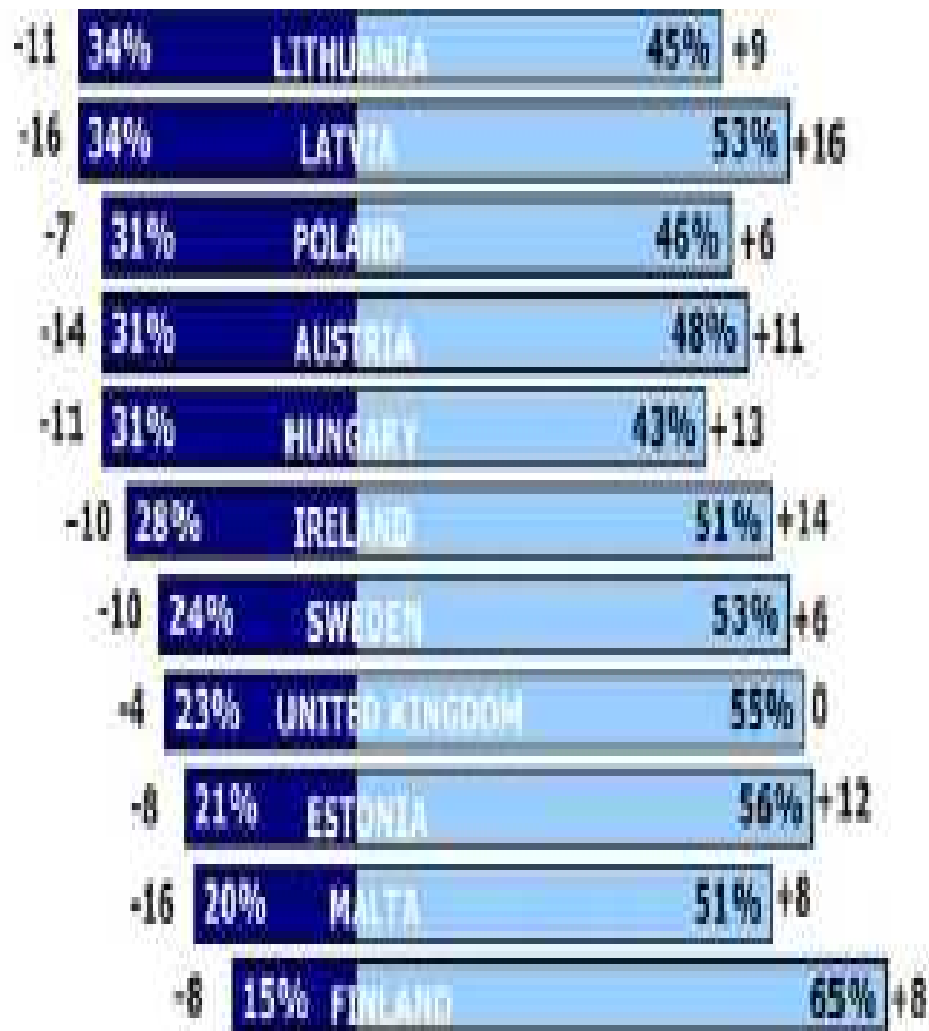
■ The European level      □ The national level

Diff. Aut. 2005-Sp.2006



Diff. Aut. 2005-Sp.2006





In a poll carried out for the European Commission in 2005, 47% of the citizens in the 27 countries of the EU (including the 2 states that joined in 2007) were in favour of taking decisions on key energy policy issues at a European level. 37% favoured national decisions and 8% that they be tackled locally

A Special Eurobarometer 258 (2006) 29 220 people in March and May 2006 indicated that the balance had changed in favour of national decisions in these areas (42% in favour), with 37% backing EU policy making and 12% preferring local decisions

There was significant national variation with this, with 55% in favour in the Netherlands, but only 15% in Finland.