

# History of European Integration

## Lecture 5. The de Gaulle era and the intergovernmental approach to European integration

- The module is realized in the frame of the project "Enhanced Skills and COmpetences in European Studies for Landscape ARchitects, environmental specialists and managers" (project number: 611545-EPP-1-2019-1-RU-EPPJMO-MODULE), Erasmus+ Jean Monnet Actions.



# The Integration: Early 1960s

- 1960s - integration success
  - 1968 - Customs Union
  - Gradual introduction of a common customs tariff
  - Since 1970 - general trade policy
- Contributed to socio-economic conditions
  - High economic growth
  - Low unemployment
  - Introduction of a social security system
- Start of Community Institutions
  - ESC
  - Council of Ministers (establishing a secretariat and COREPER)
  - EP
  - European Court Launches European Law Development
  - The rationalization of institutions

# De Gaulle



## A particular vision of European integration: «L'Europe des patries»

- The state is a key institution. "There can be no other Europe than that of the States, everything else is myth, speeches, superstructures"
- No federal Europe
- Confederal Europe to be achieved through permanent contacts between governments
- Common market, but with particular attention to French interests
- Utilitarian approach to institutions
- Europe is equal to the USA, and not militarily subordinated to them

# De Gaulle: The role of Europe in international affairs

- Europe as "third force" between the USA and the USSR
- Review of strategies and alliances (GB as competitor, USA as interlocutor)
- France "force de frappe"
- The European confederation under French primacy



# The empty chair crisis

- The proposal for the financing of the common agricultural policy (CAP), drawn up in 1965 by Walter Hallstein
- The Commission proposal was geared towards the development of the Communities' own financial resources, independently of the Member States, and conferred additional budgetary powers on the European Parliament and allocated a greater role to the Commission
- Moreover, the progression, on 1 January 1966, to the third stage of the transitional period for the establishment of the Common Market was to involve the application of majority voting in the Council of Ministers.
- France could not agree to this development, which it regarded as an unacceptable renunciation of sovereignty
- France held the Council Presidency until 30 June 1965
- For six months, France stayed away from Brussels and boycotted the Community
- The 'Luxembourg Compromise'

# De Gaulle: Other Initiatives

- **Fouchet plans** (1961-1962) – a three-power Directorate, consisting of France, Britain and the United States
- **The Élysée Treaty** (1963) – Germany and France established a new foundation for relations that ended centuries of rivalry.
- **De Gaulle's vetos** to the accession of the UK
  - 1961 – First veto → He referred to incompatibilities between continental European and British economic interests. He demanded that the United Kingdom accept all the conditions laid down by the Six and revoke its commitments to countries within its own free trade area.
  - 1967 – Second veto
- ✓ “Great Britain has not yet reached sufficient political and economic maturity”
- ✓ “Great Britain is of but not in Europe”

# The aftermath

## Referendum of April 27, 1969

- De Gaulle's resignation

## George Pompidou new course of French foreign policy

- Indispensable for France to re-establish a relationship with the UK
- Openness to British accession to the EEC

## Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik

- The East-West rapprochement policy

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