

Kiknadze David
Masters degree in Law

JEAN MONNET AND HIS TRANSFORMATIONAL SUPRANATIONAL POLITICS FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION

Abstract

In the following paper, we are going to analyze the evolution of the European Union as one of the most successful and peaceful regional integrations ever conceived. It is important to take into account the historical background of the events after World War II.

In particular, this work will concentrate on Jean Monnet as one of the founding father of the EU. We will explore the key principles of Monnet's ideology, meanwhile making parallel comparisons with his contemporaries. Establishing long-term peace and economical prosperity is important to every leader, but there have never been easy shortcuts towards this goal.

What political and economical instruments did Jean Monnet use? We will analyze essential parts of Monnet's life, in order to explain his influences and experiences, which enabled him to become a transformational leader for the European continent.

Special emphasis will be placed on supranational solutions, as it is the underlying principle of the new European solution. Consequently it is important to define functionalism and neo-functionalism. In the end, the idea of Immanuel Kants "perpetual peace" will be compared with the modern development of peace-making.

European Governance – Institutions of the EU

Introduction

"The significant problems we face, cannot be solved by the same level of thinking we were at, when we created them" – Albert Einstein.

Following World War II, Europe faced many serious issues. As the quote from Albert Einstein states, a new level of thinking was required.

The consequences brought by World War II were extremely harmful for Europe. Besides the huge number of human losses, the continent was

heavily ruined. War had destroyed cities, infrastructure, environment, and farms. Consequently poverty and hunger became widespread in Europe. Imaginary and actual barriers appeared, which were promising a new war. Hatred and the spirit of revenge were dominant between the historical enemies of France and Germany.

There was an urgent need for communication and cooperation between the European states in order to avoid similar conflicts in the region.

But the question is: how would it be possible to unify ideas and establish some controlling mechanisms to avoid this next war? Who would take the lead? Which organizational approach should be used, and how would it be possible to exclude the opportunity to constitute military conflict between natural enemies?

In world history we have some examples when a person can become the catalyst of change. As an example of a transformational leader we can bring Mahatma Gandhi to bear, who had tremendous contribution towards the Indian independence movement.

Such a figure for Europe was Jean Monnet. For his achievements he has been awarded numerous epithets, including: "the architect and master builder"; (Ball 1978: 25), "the creator and instigator" (Yergin and Stanislaw 1998), "the entrepreneur and planner (Ardagh 1968) "and the innovator and trail-blazer" (Rostow 1994)

Early Years of Monnets Life

Jean Omer Marie Gabriel Monnet was born in France on 9 November 1888. Jean Monnet was raised in a French town called Congyac, in a family who had its own business (selling Brandy). Monnet's mother was a religious woman, and father – J.-G. Monnet was a business orientated person, with high moral standards. He was a president of a company called- UVPC, which unified small companies from Congyac. Monnet's father used to own the company until 1963 when he sold it to a German company.

Monnet moved to Great Britain when he was 16 years old for the purpose of extending his family business connections. He stayed there for two years. In his autobiography, Monnet writes that he would have never left his home and family business if there had not been a war. He was often told by his father, that he thought he was doing something important, but one day he would come back to France and be happy to be still engaged in his family business.*

* Monnet Jean – "Erinnerungen eines Europäers", Kindheit in Congyac, seite 44-46.

Business was connected to foreign clients, so Jean Monnet met a lot of foreign people beginning in his childhood, which gave him his first international experience.

Although, Monnet writes that he would have never learnt to think globally, if he had only stayed at home and taken care of the family business.

Jean Monnet and International Experience

Jean Monnet had special relationship with North American people. A lot of researchers argue that Monnet's idea of supranationalization of Europe comes from the United States, which he had had a chance to familiarize with. In 1907, Canada was the first country Monnet visited and he acquired significant foreign experience and impressions from this trip. In his memoirs, Jean Monnet mentions that his experience in Canada, was essential for his future engagement in designing the European integration scheme.

Jean Monnet traveled a lot before the Second World War. He was gathering the experiences from different systems used in different parts of the world. He went to Egypt, Russia, China, the United States and the United Kingdom. While travelling, he used to observe and analyze the systems he visited throughout the world.

This 19 year old son of a French merchant, was impressed by this new state with its open-minded people. Monnet started to compare Europeans with their long traditions and culture, to the Canadian people, who could live happier lives without worrying about the past and traditional rules. This type of experience influenced Monnet's ideas. He began to support global welfare more than individual national interests. The most impressive thing to Jean Monnet in Canada was that this country didn't make any distinctions between foreigners and locals. When it came to nationalities and borders, they were indifferent. This became one of the most inspiring ideas for Monnet, in his supranational thinking. Monnet writes in his Memoirs, that he was impressed by the level of trust of the Canadian people, especially when he was offered to use a blacksmith's horse for transportation. The only thing the blacksmith asked Monnet, was to bring the horse back and tie it to the same place where he had found it. While in France, even neighbors had problems trusting each-other. While traveling, Monnet was observed and tried to explain the phenomenon of different nations. It is quite possible, that Monnet sub-consciously was looking for the best functioning model, which could bring economical and political security in Europe.

Jean Monnets Career and Historical Development of Post War Europe

Jean Monnet's career is long and complex. . He had worked for the League of Nations. Also he was quite successful as an international banker. After the World War II, he became the first Commissioner for the Plan for Modernization and Equipment of France. Jean Monnet created his own company, which was supposed to demonstrate the possible development of a countries economy as a role model. The most important contribution from Jean Monnet, by which he became well known for the majority of people is so called "Monnet-Schuman Plan" for the European Coal and Steel Community. The idea of ESCS became quite convincing for Adenauer from the German side and for Schuman – representing French interests as a foreign minister of France at that time. The European Coal and Steel Community was the first practical step towards cooperation between the former enemies, which took economical approach. Monnet chose to take very practical and realistic steps, without specifying the long term predictions. Although, it is possible, that Monnet already had envisioned more complex European Integration in his mind.

However, it is also quite possible, that he had been thinking of this idea even during the Second World War. Moreover, it was proposed at a specific time, when participating "guilty" states were looking for some repentance, by somehow contributing towards the common goals of peace and cooperation. Monnet chose a neo-functionalistic approach when he decided to take away the control and decision-making power from the states and delegate it to the independent agency, the so called "High Authority". The latter was created to ensure the enforcement of the equal distribution and reproduction of the most important raw materials for weapon creation – coal and steel. The idea behind this approach was that Germany and France had to become interdependent in a way that it would be practically impossible to start a new military conflict. Jean Monnet was appointed as a first president of the High Authority in Luxemburg. First founding "contractual parties" of the European Coal and Steel Community were: Germany, France, Italy and three Benelux countries – Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. Monnet kept his position as a president of high authority until early 1955. After the failure to create the European Defense Community (EDC) Monnet resigned and founded the Action Committee for the United States of Europe. By resigning, Monnet opened the way for the High authority and gave it the chance to develop naturally according to the modern challenges at that time. On the other hand he led the Action Committee for the United States of Europe until it was dissolved in 1975.

Theories of the European Integration

The dominant integration theories used for the EU are supranationalism and intergovernmentalism. Both theories evolved from International Relationships. Intergovernmental approaches are based on the cooperation of two or more participating states, which no longer make independent decision, but combine the decision-making process in order to serve common strategic interests more effectively. Supranational approaches are also part of the international cooperation process, it establishes independent institutions as decision-makers. It also delegates the legislative power to those institutions. Unlike national governance, supranational governance is more complex and complicated, because it must serve all the participant states interests, without hindering the common objectives. Although, the source of these institutions may still stay inside the member states power, as they must approve all the necessary changes in the primary legislative sources of the institutions. The modern European Union is saturated with the supranational and intergovernmental theories and practices. The evolution of supranational theory started in 1951, when the Paris treaty was ratified. This treaty was established for a free institutional agency, and demanded delegations of specific competences from member states.

Schuman Plan – Solution for the Crisis

The so called “Coal and Steel Community“, guaranteed the peace between France and Germany as was planned by Jean Monnet, but the plan was named after Schuman, because it was introduced publicly by the French foreign minister at that time – Robert Schuman. The plan was organized by the French economic Planning commission, which was led by Jean Monnet. In his plan Monnet concentrated on the idea of equal distribution of natural resources and powers amongst the European states. He believed that cooperation in such resources was an indispensable element of the creation of a peaceful cooperation.

It must be mentioned that the relationship between France and Germany was quite tense. These two countries had fought against each other historically. From the French perspective, to stop Germany and avoid further conflicts meant to be able to control German military and weapon production.

Jean Monnet – Transformational Leader of the Europe

Going back to the Idea of the Coal and Steel Community, it is interesting that Jean Monnet was over 60 years, when he drew up the plan for ECSC.

This might have been the reason of the clarity and sharpness of his ideas. Monnet was able to envision and draw up a draft and find the proper leaders who could flesh out his ideas. He proved to be able to launch his plans at the exact right moment, which in many cases made his plans successful

In understanding Jean Monnet's character, it is interesting to analyze his leadership and management skills. From his leadership skills it is impressive, that he was able to realize the need of reforms much earlier than the reforms appeared. He was capable of making paradigm-shifting decisions, which were balanced by the "win-win" idea of mutual benefit. Monnet makes decisions not only on grounds of how to re-act, but on how to pro-act as well. To put it in other words, he is capable not only to respond to the current challenge, but also to take responsibility through proactive decisions to avoid future risks. As a manager, he demonstrated the ability to organize and use the influential people around him. He managed the perfect timing of introducing new plans and reaching agreements between the conflicting parties. As an underlying principle, he chose to act from behind the scenes. Officially he never engaged in French politics after the Second World War, but he was always influential for France and other European States. He chose to be an ideologist, not a power-holder.

Jean Monnet's shows a huge perseverance and persistence while implementing his concepts. Monnet explains, that for him it is the goal, which has a supreme character, and he can return a thousand times back to his ideas, until he doesn't feel that the draft can lead to the goal*. Monnet showed a good example of giving up the egoistic nature of human mind, by dedicating his abilities to civil welfare.

The Coal and Steel Community is one of these manifestations, which shows that even the biggest enemies who have been involved in a bloody conflicts before, can find a mutually interesting area of cooperation. This cooperative spirit, appeared to be very effective medicine for the wounds of the two controversial parties. But still the interesting question is, what was the key element of the Coal and Steel approach, which made it possible to control ego-centric national interests? The answer- Institutions as such, were the most effective agencies, which gradually earned trust.. Institutions have a very powerful ability to serve as a legitimate actor between the contradicting parties. This was the key element of the Coal and Steel community, to choose institutions as mediators, and not the participant states. The First manifestation of such an institution, as we have already mentioned was high authority- nowadays the European Commission. The

* Monnet Jean – "Errinerungen eines Europäers" ; Die Schumanplan Konferenz.

importance of the high authority can be seen as we analyze the evolution of the latter institution, and its competences.

The abovementioned solution is called a functional approach. Functionalism looks for concrete functional solutions, and sets the specific areas of mutual interests. Participant states are willing to give the legitimacy to the institutions and to obey the guidelines given by them. This ensures the uniformity and stability of the system.

While analyzing Monnet's contribution some scholars try to put his ideology under the scope of Federal-Functionalism. Although, it is hard to say clearly what was Monnet's ideology, because he used various types of solutions which could best serve his goals. For example, he used some functional elements, when he removed the authority of the states and delegated it to the institutions in the sphere of most important resource management. Also it must be emphasized, that the High Authority was the only institution introduced by Jean Monnet.

The Neo-functional approach defines that non-governmental actors have an important role in international relationships. Institutions have more power in some spheres than states. So neo-functional views in conjunction with the intergovernmentalism are well represented in modern European Union law.

Monnet knew that it was impossible to create the European Union overnight. He bet on the "spillover" approach, which implied the gradual spreading of integration to other areas of the European integration. As history has shown us, "Coal and Steel Community" has transformed into a larger integration, which nowadays involves lot more functional and unified systems. The European Union has established four basic freedoms: free movement of Goods, workers, services, and capital. This means that the plan of Jean Monnet to create ever-closer and more integrated Europe has been almost achieved.

Taking into account that France was not so successful in the practice of the free trade market, Monnet chose supranational institutions as a guarantee of a huge common market, he believed that institutions were far more effective agencies, who could establish common economic rules for the union. Monnet knew that the first successful steps towards integration would awaken the need to integrate in other areas too. So Monnet left future enlargements outside the written document.

The Idea of an integrated Europe was only disliked by Great Britain and the USSR. In Great Britain's case, they thought it was useless to join this union, as they were powerful enough not to share the central areas of their policies with other states. But the reason that the USSR disliked European integration was rather different – this kind of Unification was conceived as

a potential enemy against the soviet regime and personal threat for Josef Stalin. The Soviet regime was an imperial model and was always against development and prosperity in other nations. It could hinder the importance and superiority of USSR if there appeared more effective unions based on democracy and economic markets. The rest of the continent accepted the idea of European Union step by step, including Great Britain in 1973.

French Ideas and European Integration

Introducing new European integration ideas was of course difficult. This was a totally new policy for France, as it usually was supported from other non-European states, now France was choosing to make European former enemy countries its allies. It was not easy for Schuman to convince French skeptics that cooperation with Germany could be possible. Also France had to be careful not to lose Great Britain as a trading partner, Schuman's radical idea was criticized by French bureaucrats, who blamed Schuman for weakening French powers. The plan was certainly a divergence from former French politics.

Why Coal and Steel?

Coal was widely used as a fuel for production, also for the military purposes. Steel was one of the dangerous materials capable to produce weapons. France was afraid of Germany's re-development of military forces, which seemed to be unstoppable due to the amount of supply in the two abovementioned countries. There was a clear deficit of coal and steel in east Europe. Only west Europe had enough coal and steel fields for the creation of the same amount of military power as it was used recently in the second world war. This was the evident threat, which France had to deal with. Alone, France didn't have enough resources, basically French coal and steel fields were in the occupied territories of Germany, which itself was a potential reason for a new conflict. Other states of the European continent also did not have enough coal and steel to satisfy their national needs. Exceptions were the UK, Netherlands and Belgium, who had more supplies. This was only possible to buy coal from the USA, which cost a lot of money, which must have been paid in US dollars. Being in crisis, European states could not afford to buy coal from the USA.

Jean Monnet was oriented towards economical strategies as he had big economical experience as a strategy planner. Also he had acquired very useful international experience. At that time, there were several customs

union models discussed in the French press, but how was it possible to move towards the fulfillment of such ideas?

Monnet's way of solving this problem was to use the so called "soft power" in order to convince and persuade other European states. He used the economical integration as a primary goal of the cooperation, which included the common market in certain areas, with common control and equal distribution of goods. Another question was how would it be possible to achieve objectivity and overcome the selfish national nature? Monnet introduced the idea of an independent high authority, which would consist of independent members, who would be the guarantee of the equality and would not allow certain participant states to become dominant.

In this case, participant states would have to give up part of their sovereignty, which was no easy task for Schuman and Monnet, but it seemed more promising, as it was based on equal contribution and sharing between the member states.

This was a supranational approach.

Immanuel Kant and Jean Monnet for the Perpetual Peace

In his philosophical essay, "Perpetual Peace" Immanuel Kant set a code for achieving peace. According to the first article, "No conclusion of peace shall be held to be valid as such, when it has been made with a secret reservation of the material of a future war".* For a philosopher, peace signifies the end of all hostilities. Kant considers it very important from contractual parties to exclude any possible threats and include proper measures in the "peace treaty". He explains this, with the idea that sometimes, while joining the peace contract, states can agree on certain regulations, because they are too exhausted to continue the war. But still, there can be left some evil will to take advantage of the first favorable opportunity to start a war. Kant considers this fully illegitimate.

Immanuel Kant introduces the idea, that standing armies should be abolished gradually, because they constitute the risk and the threat for the other states to be attacked and involved in the military conflict. Analyzing this idea more deeply, Kant means that having a standing army, can always encourage states to solve their problems using the military forces, this becomes a premature way of problem-solving, which is in permanent breach of the idea of long-lasting peace. Correlation can be found between Jean Monnet's economic problem-solving approaches as they both are

* Immanuel Kant – "For Perpetual Peace" Werke, Bd. 9 Weischedel, Darmstadt 1968.

trying to establish "soft" problem solving mechanisms using cooperation, excluding the military forces on a long term bases.

Kant had the idea of free movement between the states in 1795, when he wrote, people should be able to travel without any barriers between states. He was establishing the idea of customs union in the 18th century, also the principle of "world citizenship, a cosmopolitical approach for the human liberties". These principles became the actual practice of the European Union. It is hard to argue, that Jean Monnet's Coal and Steel community was the direct reflection of Kants idea of the perpetual peace, but the connections can be found between the basic principles of this great philosopher and the strategic plan of the European union.

Immanuel Kant compares the notions of people and states, and how they can decide to avoid the war. He writes:"it is intelligible that people should say – There shall be no war among us, for we will form ourselves into a state and constitute of ourselves a supreme legislating, governing and judicial power, which will peacefully settle our differences". But if the same will is expressed by a state: "There shall be no war between me and other states, although I recognize no supreme legislative power, which will secure me, my right and whose right I will also secure, then there is no intelligible basis on which any security of such rights can be founded, unless, it were a surrogate of the Union embodied into the civil society. This can be nothing but a free federation of the states".* In this quote, we can find some similarities with the idea of a modern supranational approach. Immanuel Kant introduces the idea, according which it unlike the individuals, whose rights can be secured by the three branches of state, for member states it is necessary to recognize the "supreme legislative power", which can guarantee their security. The High Authority, nowadays called the European Commission, was the first supreme "legislator" to whom the participant European States delegated their powers and sovereignty.

Kant explains: "War requires no special motive or its explanation it appears to be engrafted on human nature and is even regarded as noble in itself, man being stimulated to it, by the love of glory, without regard to the selfish interests". This definition of war, demonstrates how fragile the peace is without international cooperation. Kant's work is a sign that a proactive steps must be done to ensure the perpetual peace, otherwise the nature of humans will always be inclined to involve in a war.

* Immanuel Kant – „For perpetual Peace“; Werke, Bd. 9 Weischedel, Darmstadt 1968.

Talking about the pro-activeness, it is relevant to mention Jean Monnet's famous phrase: "No one can do the thinking for you". This is a fundamental concept, to think for change, and to take action starting from your mind. It shows the character of a famous planner. For Kant, books and theories were not so exciting, but he was a great thinker and visionary with the abilities to transform his thoughts into practices.

Conclusion

While talking about the success of the European Union, in order to judge its contribution and the consequences of supranational type of governance, one should take into account how many new wars might had happened if there was not such a union and what is the European Union's contributions for perpetual peace during last 60 years. As we have seen, there is a direct causal link between the ideas born and originated after the World War II and the following prosperity and peace across the European continent.

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დავით კიკნაძე
სამართლის მაგისტრი, არასამთავრობო ორგანიზაცია „OMA gemeinnutzige“, ბერლინი

ჟან მონეს ტრანსფორმაციული და ზენაციონალური პოლიტიკა ევროკავშირთან მიმართებაში

რეზიუმე

სტატიაში ჩვენ განვიხილავთ ევროკავშირის ევოლუციას, როგორც ერთ-ერთ ყველაზე წარმატებულ და მშვიდობიან რეგიონულ ინტეგრაციას. მნიშვნელოვანია გავითვალისწინოთ მეორე მსოფლიო ომის შემდეგ მიმდინარე მოვლენების ისტორიული ფონი.

სტატიაში ჟან მონე (Jean Monnet 1888-1979) განიხილება როგორც ევროკავშირის შემქნელი და ლიდერი. ჩვენ შევისწავლეთ და ჩამოვაყალიბეთ ჟან მონეს იდეოლოგიის ძირითადი პრინციპები, ამავდროულად მისი შეხედულებები შევადარეთ ამავე პერიოდის სხვა ავტორების ნააზრევს.

გრძელვადიანი მშვიდობისა და ეკონომიკური კეთილდღეობის ჩამოყალიბება მნიშვნელოვანია ყველა ლიდერისათვის, მაგრამ ამ მიზნის მიღწევა ადვილი არყოფილა.

სტატიაში ვსვამთ კითხვას რა პოლიტიკური და ეკონომიკური ინსტრუმენტები გამოიყენა ჟან მონემ მიზნის მისაღწევად. ჩვენ განვიხილავთ მონეს ცხოვრებისა და მოღვაწეობის მნიშვნელოვან მომენტებს, რათა განვსაზღვროთ მისი გავლენა და გამოცდილება, რამაც საშუალება მისცა მას გამხდარიყო ევროპული კონტინენტის ტრანსფორმაციული ლიდერი.

განსაკუთრებული ყურადღება გამახვილებულია საბაზისო გადამწყვეტილებებზე. შესაბამისად, მნიშვნელოვანია ფუნქციონალიზმის და ნეოფუნქციონალიზმის განსაზღვრა.

ამავდროულად, ემანუელ კანტის იდეა „მუდმივი მშვიდობის“. შესახებ (1795) შევადარეთ სამშვიდობო პროცესის თანამედროვე განვითარებას.