

POLITICKÉ VEDY / POLITICAL SCIENCES

Časopis pre politológiu, najnovšie dejiny, medzinárodné vzťahy, bezpečnostné štúdiá / Journal for Political Sciences, Modern History, International Relations, security studies

URL časopisu / URL of the journal: <http://www.fpvmv.umb.sk/politickevedy>

Autor(i) / Author(s): Farkaš Peter
Článok / Article: Európska integrácia: konštrukt Nová Európa? / European integration: New Europe – Construction?
Vydavateľ / Publisher: Fakulta politických vied a medzinárodných vzťahov – UMB Banská Bystrica / Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations – UMB Banská Bystrica

Odporúčaná forma citácie článku / Recommended form for quotation of the article:

FARKAŠ, P. 2011. European integration: New Europe – Construction? In *Politické vedy*. [online]. Roč. 14, č. 2, 2011. ISSN 1338 – 5623, s. 93 – 97. Dostupné na internete: <http://www.fpvmv.umb.sk/userfiles/file/2_2011/FARKAS.pdf>.

Poskytnutím svojho príspevku autor(i) súhlasil(i) so zverejnením článku na internetovej stránke časopisu Politické vedy. Vydavateľ získal súhlas autora / autorov s publikovaním a distribúciou príspevku v tlačenej i online verzii. V prípade záujmu publikovať článok alebo jeho časť v online i tlačenej podobe, kontaktujte redakčnú radu časopisu: politicke.vedy@umb.sk.

By submitting their contribution the author(s) agreed with the publication of the article on the online page of the journal. The publisher was given the author's / authors' permission to publish and distribute the contribution both in printed and online form. Regarding the interest to publish the article or its part in online or printed form, please contact the editorial board of the journal: politicke.vedy@umb.sk.

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW EUROPE?

Peter Farkaš*

GBÚROVÁ M. - GOŇCOVÁ M. - GONĚC V. - LYSÝ J. (ed.): *European Integration: Construction of a New Europe?* (Evropská integrace: budování nové Evropy?) Brno: Masaryk University, 2009. 214 pages. ISBN 978-80-210-5018-1.

The topic of the inception and the recent development of the European integration movements is subject of an interesting discussion in contemporary Europe. The publication of four federal reputable authors from different workplaces (Institute of Political Sciences, University of Prešov in Prešov - **M. Gbúrová**; Department of Ethics and Civic Education, Comenius University in Bratislava – **J. Lysý**; History Institute of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University Brno - **V. Goněc** and Centre for European Studies, Masaryk University Brno - **M. Goňcová**) shows how a continuous number of personalities have published, besides the ideas, also particular programs regarding the European and Central European integration.

The publication aspires to provide a complex mapping of European integration problems and functioning of the European Community. In the words of **M. Goňcová**, this multidisciplinary approach can be shaped in four following chapters: historical analysis focused on the history of ideas; cultural-anthropological analysis; personnel focused political science analysis as well as theoretically and pragmatically focused political science analysis.

In the first part, called the *Projects of Central European Community*, **V. Goněc** elaborates the idea of integration of Central European states in the form of Central European Coal and Steel Community and socio-political formation of the Central Federation. The concepts examined in the given period are aimed together for a common objective, which is the integration of Central Europe into

* Mgr. Peter Farkaš is an internal Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Political Sciences, Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, Slovakia, e-mail: peter.farkas@umb.sk.

European structures, counting on a rapid fall of the communist regimes. This is followed by a list of stimulating ideas and integration constructs the then statesmen formed since Austro-Hungary settlement in 1867.

Here, the reader may be familiarised with the views of *August Sartorius von Waltershausen*, who in the early 20th Century talked about the benefits of interconnection and openness in terms of free movement of capital, people and technology in the form of the United States of Europe. In the period after World War I and amidst the process of the economic convergence and the times of the Customs Union, the idea of Pan-Europe was spread extensively (**Rudolf Hotowetz, Václav Schuster**). This was supported by establishing a network of institutes focusing on transnational cooperation in the design of unified Central Europe. One of the members of one such institution was also **M. Hodža**, whose ideas about the merger of Central Europe are illustrated on the specific proposals in the form of the Danube Plan and the Central European Federation.

Significant part of the paper is devoted to ideas of the Czech and Polish writers – **H. Ripka** and **J. Wszelaki**. Ripka's ideas were based on the need to unify the Central European countries in this space, thereby creating two related Federations: Polish–Danubian and the Balkan. J. Wszelaki's theory (1953) was based on sectoral integration in the form of the Central European Coal and Steel Community as the path towards the integration of the Central and Eastern Europe. Gradually, this regional organization was to be further integrated into European structures. Research into this topic conducted by of **V. Goněc** shows that Central Europe in the 50's was ready for integration. However, these efforts were suppressed and disabled by “the external violence” in the form of Communist regimes.

In the second part called *Formation of Identities in the Changes of 20th Century (Main Problems and Contraries of the Present)* **M. Gbúrová** moves onto the specific non-economic integration issues. She addresses the question of European citizens' motivation to achieve the political, economic and spiritual Union. She also notes the question of functionality of a parallel national, state and European identity. **M. Gbúrová** is interested in the process of European identity forming and analyses it on the models of European unification in the form of a confederation and federation. She considers the question of national identity to be an indicator of the state of European citizenship and of its potential.

When discussing the possible future shape of Europe, her opinion is based on arguments that the conceptual design lacks grip in the form of an integrated Europe. She notes that those assumptions of the Political Science which claimed that the project of a homogenized Europe designed by the European Constitutional Treaty was not promising were acknowledged by the failure to confirm the Treaty in the ratification process. According to **M. Gbúrová**, we need to redefine the current and future concepts of identity, which should contribute to finding a suitable model for Europe.

At this point, the author also analyses the issue of Czech-Slovak identity after the break-up of Czechoslovakia, to which there was no need for research, which was later reflected in the patchwork of national identity. To sum up, the author states that the modest steps towards the European unification have been realized through administrative and economic-policy measures, neglecting the leadership of Europe, i.e. European relations, citizenship and national identity.

Considerable interest and debate is also devoted to the subject of European civil society, or more precisely, the existence of European citizenship and public awareness in member and non-member countries. All these and other topics are analyzed in the part of **M. Goňcová** entitled *European Civic Society – an European Dream?* She notes that throughout the whole 20th Century, civil society was understood in terms of liberal society characterised as a society separated from the state, underpinning the formation of relations between government, market and public. For the current civil society there are some typical threats, predominantly in the form of concentration of political power and a weak state. Conversely, the prerequisite for its successful development is a fully functioning nation-state, which is, nowadays, undergoing transformation.

In the section entitled *The Inter-War Projects of Integration in Central Europe*, seen as a path to civil society, the author discusses the ideas of integration projects presented by personalities of that time. For example, in the Pan-European federalist concept of **Richard Nikolaus Eijiro von Coudenhove-Kalergi**, there is already a unique nation, making this project ahead of its time. In contrast to another author of the Pan-European theory – **A. Briand – Kalergi** in his concept does not exclude the integration of Russia and Great Britain.

When referring to integration issues, the Czech statesmen **G. Masaryk** and **E. Beneš** emphasized the need to build some external and internal conditions of democracy. Both give priority to finding a comprehensive solution to the crisis of the society, path to democracy and Europeanism in the context of the principles of Humanism.

M. Goňcová specifically discusses J. Maritain's concept of political society, based on the acceptance of the code of political and social morality, which is acceptable to all. Maritain notes that the global civic society can arise upon the citizens' free choice to participate together in producing the common good. Nowadays, in the process of globalisation and the changes it brings about, Maritain's concept is coming alive. For instance, according to this concept, the stagnation in the EU could be stopped by strengthening the European civil society. Nevertheless, at the end of her paper, the author herself declares that the European civil society is realistic only at the regional level of national states. Since there is no European political society, the civil society can hardly arise. Therefore, the author concludes that the European democratic deficit is real.

In the last contribution of the book, **J. Lysý** gives a specific view on non-economic unification of Europe. In the section entitled: *The Crisis of Public Authorities and Memory in Political Reflection in Slovakia (Two Antimonies in Unsure Times)* he discusses the problems of the crisis of public authorities and social capital in Slovakia. In the elaboration of his theory the author works with an assumption that today's global power struggle of the mobile capital, states and social movements is marked by a superimposed interference of national and international rules and forms of legitimate dominion, weakening of the state, a loss of public authorities and so on. **J. Lysý** agrees with the idea that uncertainty, causing a crisis of public authorities, is to be related with concomitant loss of prestige, tradition and domain.

According to author, the causes of the crisis of legitimacy and emptying of social capital can be found in the nature of the changes in modern society. Social capital is perceived as a substitute for what was before provided by formal public sector organizations.

Concerning the Slovak society, the question of significance of social capital, i.e. the question of credibility of political institutions, is dealt with in several opinion polls. **J. Lysý** notes that the preservation of social capital requires a strong and vibrant state. However, the size of social capital in

Slovakia is smaller than in other countries, which relates to the position of middle class and the crisis of the welfare state. At the same time, the public confidence in important institutions of society is also reduced. At this point, **J. Lysý** draws the first antimony, according to which the confidence in public authorities in Slovakia is reduced by perceptions of private accumulation of social capital.

In the part called *Historical Consciousness of the Slovak Society in Unsure Times of the Risk Society* the author describes the crisis of contemporary society. He points out why the interest in historical awareness or memory of the nation (the social capital) is increased. The follow-up discussion is focused on the changing international environment and tasks of the Slovak foreign policy.

In the part called *The Czech Scenario* **J. Lysý** points to the differences between Czech Republic and the world in the field of symbolic capital, based on attitudes toward time, and on relations toward the law and governance and employment in general.

The final section about *Risks in the Development of Scenarios after the Year 1989* the author offers both a vision of global development and possible future status of Slovakia in a globalizing society. He notes that the weakening of the symbolic Slovak capital may disrupt the society integration bonds and connections with political elite.

To conclude, the presented textbook inherently reflects the fact that the ongoing global processes head towards establishing a government without demos, democracy without the people, i.e. sheer administrative democracy, which does not provide an active citizen. The future of the global world and Europe must accept the spiritual dimension of these processes; make room for the man and for the civil society. The final peer-reviewed bilingual Czech-Slovakian text is compact and it simultaneously analyses the conditions and purpose (and effectiveness) of these processes.