“But among most U.S. allies, Trump’s attitudes ‘caused astonishment and excitement, not just in Brussels,’ German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier told reporters Monday in Brussels... Coming directly from a meeting with NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, Steinmeier said NATO had listened to Trump’s comments ‘with concern.’”

“Those were highly nationalistic sounds,” he said to ZDF about the inaugural address. “The only things missing were concepts such as calling the parliament a ‘talking shop,’ or talking about the ‘system parties.’ Then you would reach the political rhetoric of the Conservatives and Reactionaries of the twenties in the twentieth century. He really means it seriously, and I think that we need to get ready for a rough ride.”

• “Talking Shop”
  – Quasselbude
• “System Parties”
  – Systemparteien
• “Lying Press”
  – Lügenpresse
• Goebbels and Hitler in the 1920s
• Rhetoric every German knows; now used by neo-Nazis in the NPD and in the United States
The European Union


The European Union

- Will “Brexit” cause instability?
- Will Turkey turn away from Europe?
- Can Greece find relief?
- Can Italy’s banks stay afloat?
- Will Catalonia leave Spain?
- Will the United States stand with Europe?
- Will nationalists triumph elsewhere?

The European Union

- First five weeks, January 31-February 28
  - Survey of current EU, its evolution, chronology to present
- Two weeks off
  - March 7, Ledford in Washington for “Humanities on the Hill”
  - March 14, CWRU Spring Break
- Second six weeks, March 21-April 25
  - Key elements of EU and the challenges it faces

The European Union

- Reference works:

The European Union

- Reference works:

The European Union

- Reference works:
The European Union

- Reference works:
  - Ivan T. Berend, *The History of European Integration: a New Perspective* (Routledge, 2016)

The European Union

- Who am I?
  - Social historian of Germany in the 19th and 20th centuries
  - Research focus on legal professions and legal system of Germany
  - Law and its practitioners central to project of liberalism
  - Also a lawyer, teach in School of Law
  - European Union Law, public law of the European Union

The European Union

- Roots of project of European Union, and its currency the Euro, lie deep in European history
  - Contemporary crisis must be viewed through deep historical lens
  - Historical perspective leads to conclusions divergent from those reached by scholars in ahistorical disciplines

The European Union

- Holy Roman Empire
  - Voltaire
  - “neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire”
The European Union

- Samuel Pufendorf
  - Severinus de Monzambano
  - “an irregular body, some misshapen monster if it be measured by the common rules of politics and civil prudence”

The European Union

- Before end of World War II, European leaders of resistance and in exile believed that postwar survival depended upon political and economic integration
  - Political
    - To avoid repetition of murderous and suicidal warfare
    - To account for domination of Europe by super-powers at either end
  - Economic
    - To avoid political frictions that stemmed from trade rivalries and tariff barriers
    - Free trade as best guaranty of peace among peoples
    - Emerging neo-liberal consensus in favor of free markets and free trade, accompanied by generous social democratic welfare state

The European Union

- Harsh reality of postwar devastation
  - Physical destruction
  - Population dislocation
  - Exhaustion of monetary reserves

The European Union

- But notion of overcoming division of Europe by political and economic integration competed at all times with radically different notions of division and domination
  - French World War I aim if dividing Germany as before 1871
The European Union

- But notion of overcoming division of Europe by political and economic integration competed at all times with radically different notions of division and domination
  - French World War I aim if dividing Germany as before 1871
  - Plans for post-World-War-II Germany developed after Stalingrad
    - Soviets: push borders westward
    - French: control German coal and steel, Saar and Ruhr
    - British: uninterested, look to Empire and Commonwealth
    - United States: vacillated

Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

- Morgenthau Plan, 1943
  - Divide and deindustrialize Germany
The European Union

- Other plans for division
  - Ultimate outcome at Yalta was zones of occupation in Germany, cessation of political life, Allies to administer economy as a single unit
    - Never materialized.
    - Hardened by 1949 into two German states and anomalous Berlin
The European Union

- Wartime planning for postwar integration
  - Political
    - Origin of war viewed as division of Europe into competing nation states
    - Unprecedented situation of Europe dominated by superpowers at either end, Soviet Union and the United States
    - Continued sovereignty depended upon integration
  - Economic
    - Traced political frictions that led to war to trade rivalries and tariff barriers
    - Free trade seen as best guaranty of peace among Europeans
    - Neo-liberal consensus in favor of free markets and free trade

- Political Integration
  - Private movements
  - Motives various
    - Germany: most obvious road to re-acceptance
    - Italy: Christian Democrats supported it as check to instability and appeal of Communist Party
    - French, Belgians, Dutch: wanted integration to ensure British partnership as defense against Germany and against Soviets

- Western European Union, Treaty of Brussels, March 1948
  - Mutual defense alliance, Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg
  - West Germany and Italy joined 1954
  - Treaty terminated in 2010

- Statute of the Council of Europe, London, May 1949
  - Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Ireland
  - “economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal, and administrative matters and maintenance and further realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms”

- Economic Integration
  - Benelux
    - 1944, 1947, 1948
    - Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg
  - Marshall Plan – OEEC – OECD
The European Union

Robert Schuman
- Luxembourg
- Father: Lorraine
- 1871, Lorraine to German Empire
- 1919, Lorraine to France

European Coal and Steel Community
- Schuman Declaration, May 9, 1950
- Treaty of Paris, April 18, 1951
- Effective July 23, 1952
- Expired July 23, 2002

Emergent three-branch government
- Executive
- Legislative
  - Special Council of Ministers (upper house)
  - Commons Assembly (lower house)
- Judicial
  - Court of Justice