Reshaping Europe
Towards a Political, Economic, and Monetary Union, 1984–1989
Veröffentlichungen der Historiker-Verbindungsgruppe bei der Kommission der Europäischen Gemeinschaften

Publications of the European Union Liaison Committee of Historians

Band 20 | Volme 20
Reshaping Europe
Towards a Political, Economic and Monetary Union, 1984–1989
This publication owes its funding to the Institute for History at the University of Hildesheim Foundation, especially the Action Jean Monnet Erasmus Plus, and the colleagues of the Liaison Group of Historians at the EU Commission.

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de

ISBN 978-3-8487-6674-1 (Print)
       978-3-7489-0785-5 (ePDF)

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Gehler, Michael; Loth, Wilfried
Reshaping Europe
Towards a Political, Economic and Monetary Union, 1984–1989
Michael Gehler / Wilfried Loth (eds.)
524 pp.
Includes bibliographic references and index.

ISBN 978-3-8487-6674-1 (Print)
       978-3-7489-0785-5 (ePDF)

1st Edition 2020

This work is subject to copyright. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers. Under § 54 of the German Copyright Law where copies are made for other than private use a fee is payable to “Verwertungsgesellschaft Wort”, Munich.

No responsibility for loss caused to any individual or organization acting on or refraining from action as a result of the material in this publication can be accepted by Nomos or the editors.
Contents

Introduction

Michael Gehler

European Integration by Mail: European Symbols and Subjects on Postage Stamps

Jasper M. Trautsch

Part I: New Initiatives

A Double-Edged Victory: Fontainebleau and the Resolution of the British Budget Problem, 1983–84

N. Piers Ludlow

The Relaunch of the Benelux Union and the Origins of the Schengen Agreement: The Interplay of two Sub-Regional Experiences

Simone Paoli

Spinelli’s Initiative and the European Parliament’s Union Project

Daniela Preda

A Dream Coming True: The Netherlands and the Creation of the European Common Market, 1984–1989

Jan van der Harst

Part II: The Single European Act and its Consequences

European Political Cooperation and the Single European Act

Maria Eleonora Guasconi
Contents

The Negotiations on the Single European Act 149
Gilles Grin

Unzufrieden mit der Einheitlichen Europäischen Akte.
Zur Geschichte des italienischen Referendums von 1989 167
Georg Kreis

The Transformative Impact of European Integration on Member States: The German Länder in Search of a New Role during the Second Half of the 1980s 189
Kiran Klaus Patel

Part III: Towards the Single Market Project and the Monetary Union

The Single Market Project as a Response to Globalisation: The Role of the Round Table of European Industrialists and other non-state Actors in launching the European Union’s Internal Market (1983–1992) 211
Anjo G. Harryvan

Le Livre Blanc sur le marché intérieur objectif et instrument de la relance Delors 227
Eric Bussière

Laurent Warlouzet

Too Big a Club? The 1980s Common Agricultural Policy Crisis and Differentiated Integration 263
Marko Lovec

Frédéric Bozo
Between France and the Bundesbank: Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Helmut Kohl and the Breakthrough of the Monetary Union
Wilfried Loth 331

Part IV: Enlargements and Neighborhoods

The European Community’s Struggle with the agro-budgetary Problem: Its Impact on the Spanish Accession Negotiations, 1979–1985
Marta Alorda 349

The least loved Policy: the EEC’s Enlargement to Portugal
Alice Cunha 373

Austria’s application as Precursor of EFTA Member States in Times of Reshaping Europe 1984/85–1989
Michael Gehler 393

Part V: Cold War, European Security and Global Challenges

Mikhail Gorbachev, European Security, and the Common European Home 1985–1989
Wilfried Loth 423

The Common European Home. The Soviet Prescription for reshaping Europe
Deborah Cuccia 443

European Emancipation within the Atlantic Alliance? Franco-German Initiatives in European Defence
Frederike Schotters 461

The Breakthrough: Freedom and Security at the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Conference 1986–1989
Michael Gehler / Andrea Bratt 477
Contents

Part VI: Summary and Conclusion

Reshaping Europe by different Europeanisations 1984–1989. Summary and Conclusion 499
Michael Gebler / Wilfried Loth

List of Contributors 511
List of Abbreviations 513
Register of Persons 519
Introduction

Michael Gehler

Thematic overview

The historical phase between the failure of a European army on 30 August 1954 and the foundation of the European Economic Communities on 25 March 1957 by the Treaties of Rome is referred to as “relance européenne”. Another new start in European integration policy was made between 1985 and 1989 as the end of the Cold War drew closer.¹

At the beginning of the 1980s, the situation was no less difficult. In 1979, the international balance was in fact aggravated by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The NATO double resolution of 1979² and its implementation in 1982 provided for retrofitting in the event of the continued deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles in Central and Eastern Europe. The mechanism of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)³ threatened to break apart at the beginning of the failed follow-up conference in Madrid in 1981–1983. Under US President Ronald Reagan’s foreign policy, the East-West conflict initially came to a head.

Furthermore, in the early 1980s, the European Communities had to fear an economic and technological lag to Japan and the USA in case of a stagnating integration. The much-quoted word “eurosclerosis”,⁴ which German Chancellor Helmut Kohl remembered at the beginning of his term of office in 1982, quickly spread. “Eurosclerosis”, however, was used to retrospectively build a legitimation strategy. With other words, it was a politi-

⁴ Herbert Giersch, Eurosclerosis (Kieler Diskussionsbeiträge 2), Kiel: Institut für Weltwirtschaft, 1983.
cally motivated exaggeration, for the outcomes of the 1970s were not so negative in terms of integration policy. Proof of that are the European Parliament direct elections in 1979, and the preparations of negotiations for the first and second enlargement to the south with Greece joining the EC in 1981, and Portugal and Spain by 1986. The development of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) in an increasingly important player with ground-breaking judgments and the creation of the European Currency System (ECS) under Valéry Giscard d’Estaing and Helmut Schmidt in 1978 should be recalled as well.

At the beginning of the 1980s, it was far less a matter of overcoming the “eurosclerosis” than of taking up and implementing existing projects such as the “Common Market” envisaged since the late 1950s and the “Economic and Monetary Union” drafted at the beginning of the 1970s with the Werner Report. A second “Relance Européenne” in the wake of the failure of the European Army had started with the Hague Summit on 1–2 December 1969. It was now the third new attempt in the first half of the 1980s.

By 1981, the German politician Hans-Dietrich Genscher had demanded for the European Communities “a visible step towards the European Union”. The German government adopted the initiative and, at Italy’s insistence, added a “Declaration on Questions of Economic Integration”. The “Genscher-Colombo-Initiative” aimed at a “European Act”, which should prepare a stronger political union. On 19 June 1983, the European Council in Stuttgart signed the “Solemn Declaration on the European
“Union”, which signalled a spirit of optimism. The declaration lagged behind the German-Italian initiative and was met with reservations. Even though it was operationally relatively meaningless, the idea of the Union was maintained.

Thanks to Altiero Spinelli’s commitment, one of the most ambitious initiatives was the European Parliament’s “Draft Treaty establishing the European Union”, which was adopted on 14 February 1984 by 232 votes to 31, with 43 abstentions, after more than three years of deliberation. This type of draft Constitution remained formally a treaty in need of ratification. The Union was equated with a federal or federation-like construction. The reactions of the heads of state and government, however, showed that the realisation of such a far-reaching concept of a political union was not conceivable.

“I want my money back”, called Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to the men’s group of EC heads of state and government at a summit meeting in Dublin on 29 November 1979, when she first made this demand. It is told that she had built up her handbag threateningly in front of her. Helmut Schmidt and François Mitterrand gave up and agreed with irritation to her demands. After a stubborn five-year struggle, the “Iron Lady” reached her goal at the summit in Fontainebleau near Paris on 25/26 June 1984: Britain received a two-thirds rebate on its payments to the Brussels budget. The starting point of the discussion was the insight that any EC Member State, which – measured against its prosperity – bore too great a budgetary burden could benefit from a rebate. When Thatcher won such a rebate, the UK was the largest contributor to the EC budget after Germany, but seemed rather “poor” compared to others. At Fontainebleau, the European Council overcame stagnation in the EC through compromise by agreeing on the UK membership fee, agricultural overproduction and environmental protection (air pollution). Border controls should be reduced. As a result of the summit, the Federal Republic agreed with its neighbours Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and France to gradually abolish border controls, which constituted the prehistory of the Schengen Agreement (1985).

The green disc became the license plate:

---

10 Michael Gehler / Andreas Pudlat (Eds.), *Grenzen in Europa* (Historische Europa-Studien 2), Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: Georg W. Olms, 2009; Andreas...
simple visual checks without waiting times became the rule for vehicles, random checks next to the lane the exception.

In summer 1984, the European Council nevertheless followed on the heels of the “Stuttgart Declaration” by instructing an ad hoc committee on institutional reforms to draw up proposals for “concrete decisions on progress towards a European Union”. The “Dooge Report”, named after the Irish conservative politician James Clement Dooge,\(^\text{11}\) was presented on 29/30 March 1985. It fell far short of the European Parliament’s draft Constitution, but, at least, it contained proposals for a further development of the Communities which went far beyond the status quo. The overarching goal was to build a “political unity”. The report listed various individual measures and called for the immediate convening of an Intergovernmental Conference to discuss and decide on the draft treaty. Still, its 36 footnotes also included several objections, particularly from Denmark, Greece and Great Britain, which did not want to take part in such a far-reaching step.

The year 1985 can be seen as a moment of change in international policy and integration policy. On 7 January, Jacques Delors\(^\text{12}\) assumed the presidency of the European Commission. Delors gave new impetus to the EC. Various interest groups of member countries, such as the „Round Table of European Industrialists“ (RTE), advanced to lobby for intensified integration. Mikhail S. Gorbachev was elected CPSU Secretary General on 11 March 1985. At that time, the Soviet system was still based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, one-party rule and central planned economy. Gorbachev was, though, no longer prepared to use politico-military force and state terror to enforce them.

On 3 December 1985, the European Council agreed in principle on the “Single European Act” (SEA), i.e. to extend the contractual basis of the EC in the sense of the Stuttgart Declaration. A common denominator was thus found and the SEA, which entered into force on 1 July 1987, attempted to initiate a revision of the Treaties of Rome. The internal market con-

---

\(^{11}\) Hans-Jürgen Liebscher / Gert Schultz, „In Memoriam James Dooge“, in: *Hydrologie und Wasserbewirtschaftung* 54 (December 2010), 380f.

cept “EC 92”, launched by the EC Commission since 1985, showed the way with a medium-term perspective.

The Cecchini report (“The Cost of Non-Europe”) very rationally calculated the costs of the lack of an internal market. Published on 29 March 1988 at the Brussels European Council on 11–13 February and named after the Italian Commission official Paolo Cecchini, it was a study initiated by the Delors Commission. It focused on the internal market to be established and was the expression of an unbroken ideology of predicted economic growth and competitive advantages for the EC through the removal of trade barriers. This was to be achieved by the Schengen Agreements dismantling border controls, but also through the removal of technical barriers and the reduction of tax barriers.

By 1986, the enlarged Community of twelve Member States opted for EC reforms by amending and supplementing the Treaties. “Political union” was cited as an objective without the Single European Act having made a clear commitment to it. It also contained new treaty elements: strengthened majority voting in the Council, economic and monetary cooperation focused on the objective of “convergence”, extension of the functional catalogue to include research, technology, environmental protection and social policy and “economic and social cohesion” through a new approach to the use of EC structural funds and financial instruments.

European Political Cooperation (EPC) was placed on a treaty basis, but the decision-making procedure changed only marginally, and above all the decision-making mode of the Council (veto practice) remained essentially unaffected. With the SEA, however, the EC was cautiously developing further.

The “Delors package” should provide for a reform of the financing system, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and an increase in the EC Structural Funds. It was a compromise solution, which had to take into account the interests of all parties involved. The reform programme could

---


only be implemented through new packages. After all, the SEA succeeded in incorporating functional areas and institutions that had previously been “adjacent” to the treaty system, as well as codifying existing practice.

However, the currency issue remained controversial. Therefore, differences of interpretation existed. While London, with the internal market project fully supported by Margaret Thatcher, regarded the reform policy process as completed, France and above all the Delors Commission continued to stand on the integration policy issue with regard to a single European currency. The British budget problem still had to be solved.

Due to the dominance of the Deutschmark in the European Currency System, France had urged monetary integration steps since December 1987. Paris supported the Balladur Memorandum, named after Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, which was positively answered by the German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in February 1988 and institutionalised at the EC Council Summit in Hanover on 27 and 28 June 1988 with the establishment of the Delors Committee. From that time on, the development towards monetary union picked up speed. Under Delors’ chairmanship, a committee of EC central bank governors and independent experts had drawn up a programme, which was adopted in Madrid on 27 June 1989.

With the 1988/89 “Three Step Plan” developed by Delors – liberalisation of capital movements and increased coordination by 1 July 1990; creation of a European Monetary Institute; an economic and monetary union with fixed exchange rates and a European Central Bank – a further impetus was given to the completion of the internal market with a target date of 1993 and to the introduction of monetary union by 1999 at the latest. The “Three Stages Delors Plan” for Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) highlighted the new rationality of integration intentions.15

The revolutionary events in Central and Eastern Europe and the increasing dynamism of the German question16 were to give the plans such urgency that they became a compelling political necessity for integration.


Conception

This volume is the result of an initiative of the Liaison Group of Historians at the EU Commission. Since 1984, this group has organised international conferences on recent research in the field of European Integration history. Following the phased opening of the archives of national governments and European institutions, these conferences aimed at putting together the evidence from different sources and thereby promoting a more serious knowledge of the reasons for decisions in the process of European integration and the way it took.\(^7\)

When Wilfried Loth asked me on the fringes of a symposium of the Max Planck Institute in Frankfurt/Main on the occasion of “60 Years of the Rome Treaties”, whether a next conference on the events of European integration from 1985 to 1989 should be organised in Hildesheim, I did not hesitate for a second to positively respond to this request. We then jointly drew up a programme and prepared the conference, which took place at the University of Hildesheim from 17 to 19 October 2019. The results of the conference are presented in this volume.

There were five questions, which moved Wilfried Loth and me to organize this conference and which we asked the speakers to answer, provided that their topics allow that:

1. What were the motives behind reshaping of common Europe? What considerations played a role?
2. Were there other actors involved besides the so-called main players – Mitterand, Delors and Kohl – and if so, which ones? Which role did officials in the second row play?
3. Which role did the Benelux countries, Denmark, Great Britain, Ireland and Italy play – promoters or retarders?
4. How can the new dynamics in European integration policy in the second half of the 1980s be explained years before the fall of the Berlin Wall, and what influence did the end of the Cold War have?
5. Which role did international and global challenges play?

The answers to these questions are gathered in five sections: New Initiatives; The Single European Act and its Consequences; Towards the Single

Introduction

Market Project and the Monetary Union; Enlargements and Neighbourhoods; and Cold War, European Security and Global Challenges. Together, they offer a new chapter in the history of European Integration. These five sections are framed by an article dealing with European symbols and subjects on postage stamps.

Thanks

Finally, we would like to thank the German Research Foundation (DFG), the University of Hildesheim Foundation, and the Erasmus Plus Programme of the Jean Monnet Action, for their support to the conference. Dr. Deborah Cuccia played a decisive role in the editing of many of the contributions to this volume. Many thanks to her. Dr. Friederike Wursthorn and Alexandra Beutelmann from Nomos was very helpful in taking care of the publication within the Liaison Committee publication series. Last but not least, Mrs. Eva Löw once again achieved a top organisation without which the conference could not have taken place.

Hildesheim, June 2020

Michael Gehler
European Integration by Mail: European Symbols and Subjects on Postage Stamps

Jasper M. Trautsch

Efforts to promote the European integration process and to encourage citizens to identify with the EC/EU and its institutions have been the subject of numerous historical studies. Initially, such research tended to focus on the legitimizing strategies pursued by EC/EU institutions such as the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European Central Bank themselves. More recently, the role of non-institutional actors in fostering pro-European sentiment has also been investigated. The pertinent endeavors by member states, by contrast, are often ignored or the national governments are even depicted as competing for people’s identity, seeking to obstruct the EC/EU’s attempts to promote a European identity, and jealously guarding the primacy they had over their citizens’ loyalties. However, such a dichotomous opposition between European and national identity ignores the synergetic and even mutually reinforcing nature of the relationship between both attachments, which do not need to be in conflict with one another. In fact, member states actively contributed to the


2 See, for example, Monica Sassatelli, Becoming Europeans: Cultural Identity and Cultural Policies, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009; Oriane Calligaro, Negotiating Europe: EU Promotion of Europeanness since the 1950s, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

3 One of the few exceptions are the articles dealing with the films promoting the European integration process commissioned by the West German, French, and Italian governments in Gabriele Clemens (ed.), Werben für Europa: Die mediæle Konstruktion europäischer Identität durch Europafilme, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2016, part 2.

spread of Europeanism and, arguably, promotion of the EC/EU by member states might have been more effective than that by EC/EU institutions themselves, since it appeared less self-serving and governments could tailor their efforts to the national conventions, expectations, and interests of their respective citizenry. Therefore, this article explores member states’ efforts to boost the European integration process among their populations.

A particularly fruitful type of sources for such an investigation is that of postage stamps. First, they reached circulation numbers otherwise only attained by coins and bank notes. Usually, a European stamp issued in the 20th century was printed at least tens of millions of times and sometimes even hundreds of millions. The 1982 West German stamp commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, for example, had a circulation of 102,126,000. In the second half of the 20th century, even a stamp relating to the EC/EU from Luxembourg, with its population ranging only between 300,000 and 450,000 in the period, was printed on average about 1,000,000 times. Few other media could boast such circulation numbers and stamps hence made their way into most households. Second, their character as a primarily visual medium gave them particular suggestive power and emotional effectiveness. Given the miniature format of stamps, designers not only generally favor pictorial over textual elements; the visual representation also has to be compact, concise, distinct, and precise such that viewers can grasp their meaning at a quick glance. The stamp is supposed to contain the “interpretation of a given subject through a succinct, unambiguous, and thoughtful symbol, extreme concision and focus of design, harmoniously balanced distribution of type face and image, which form an inseparable unit,” as the art advisory committee (Kunstbeirat) of the German Federal Post Office described the ideal form of the stamp in its 1956 manifest. This visual style renders stamps particu-

5 The question of how stamps were used to legitimize the European integration process is a lacuna in the otherwise blossoming research on the EU’s history, as few historians have used stamps as historical sources. Markus Göldner reconstructed the failed attempts to found a European Postal Community and to issue European stamps valid in all EC member states in Politische Symbole der Europäischen Integration: Fahne, Hymne, Hauptstadt, Pass, Briefmarke, Auszeichnungen (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988), 225–236. For a comprehensive compilation of stamps and other postal documents intended to legitimize the European integration process see Michael Gehler and Otto May, Motiv Europa: Postalische Dokumente zur Geschichte und Einigungsidee seit 1945, Hildesheim: Franzbecker, 2018.

larly appealing and eye-catching, making it probable that they made an impression on at least some recipients of mail on which they were used as postage.

Finally, using stamps as one’s source material makes it possible to actually analyze the entire corpus of available sources, i.e. all stamps ever produced in certain countries, since the number of stamps issued every year is limited, and complete lists can be found in pertinent stamp catalogues such as the Michel in Germany, the Stanley Gibbons in the UK, the Yvert et Tellier in France, and the Unificato in Italy. Importantly, the fact that no selection has to be made gives us the opportunity to trace quantitative changes in the number of stamps issued on certain subjects over the course of time as well as to ascertain when the way certain subjects were represented changed or when certain subjects were addressed on stamps at all.

Therefore, for this article, all postage stamps issued by the six founding members of the EC from its inception in 1950 (Schuman Declaration) to the end of 2019 were analyzed and all the stamps that dealt with the EC – or, since 1993, the EU – were identified. Importantly, they had to specifically refer to the EC/EU in one way or another. Stamps championing the Council of Europe or the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) or other competing institutions such as the European Patent Office (EPO) or the European Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions (EUROSAI) or the European Organization for the Safety of Air Navigation (EUROCONTROL), which have no direct relationship to the EC/EU, were not included. Nor were the so-called Europa postage stamps – i.e. the stamps issued jointly by members of the European Con-

7 Official mail stamps – i.e. postage stamps produced for the use of government officials on government mail – were not included, because they were not intended for public consumption. For purposes of clarity, it should also be mentioned that the postage stamps issued in West Berlin are not included, because, de iure, the Senate of West Berlin and, since 1954, the West Berlin State Post Office and not the West German Federal Post Office were responsible for them.

8 The European Schools were counted as a subject implicitly referring to the EC/EU, since, even though they have never been formal EC/EU bodies, they were created for the express purpose of providing education for the children of EC officials and employees. For the first European school see Stefanie Pukallus, The Building of Civil Europe 1951–1972, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, 123–171. Stamps issued on the occasion of European Years or to celebrate a European Capital of Culture, by contrast, were only counted if they made the connection to the EC/EU explicit rather than merely printing an urban sight or a symbol related to the subject of the European Year.

9 This entails that stamps celebrating the European Convention on Human Rights also remained outside the purview, since it was drafted by the Council of Europe.
ference of Postal and Telecommunications Administrations (CEPT) – considered, unless they explicitly promoted the EC/EU as opposed to the European integration process in general (whatever that was supposed to mean) or the CEPT itself, simply because they did not champion, or intend to increase identification with, the EC/EU as such.\textsuperscript{10} However, if the flag of the EC/EU appeared on a stamp (after it was adopted in 1986), it was counted, even if the stamp’s subject did not have anything to do with the EC/EU, since the symbol itself is a form of promotion. All in all, 216 postage stamps that had the EC/EU as their subject or carried its symbol could be found. Luxembourg issued the most EC/EU-related stamps (62) followed by Italy (55), Belgium (33), and France (27). The Federal Republic and the Netherlands brought out the fewest EC/EU-related stamps (21 and 18 respectively).

Graph 1 shows the number of stamps promoting the EC/EU according to the decades in which they were issued. A clear pattern is discernable: Initially, the number was highly limited: merely five stamps were issued in the 1950s, and eight in the 1960s, to legitimate the new institutions. Afterwards, their number significantly grew in the 1970s, more than tripling to 22. In the following decade, the amount of EC/EU-related stamps remained fairly constant (23), only to increase exponentially again in the 1990s (50) and the 2000s (86). However, the growth process was finally reversed in the 2010s when the number of stamps honoring the EU dramatically shrank to 22.

Number of EC/EU-related Stamps Issued by the Six Founding Members

Seeking to interpret the graph with respect to the epistemological interest described at the beginning, one is faced with three relevant questions: 1. Is the small number of EC-related stamps in the 1950s and the 1960s indicative of a lack of enthusiasm for the ESCS, EURATOM, and the EEC? 11
2. Does a growing desire by the governments to increase people’s identification with the EC/EU explain the sudden increase of pertinent stamps first in the 1970s and then in the 1990s and 2000s? 12
3. Is the sharp decrease in

Graph 1: Number of EC/EU-related Stamps Issued by the Six Founding Members

11 This would conform to the view expressed inter alia by Montserrat Guibernau that the EC’s “founders” were inspired solely by pragmatic considerations and had no desire to promote a European identity. Montserrat Guibernau, “The Birth of a United Europe: On Why the EU Has Generated a ‘Non-Emotional’ Identity,” in: Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 17, No. 2 (2011), 302–315. For the lack of a European identity among the political elites who created the EC in the 1950s also see Achim Trunk, Europa, ein Ausweg: Politische Eliten und europäische Identität in den 1950er Jahren, Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007.

12 Such an explanation would, on the one hand, match Bo Stråth’s claim that cultural integration appeared on the EC agenda in the 1970s when, at a time of economic crisis in Western Europe, the promise of prosperity no longer sufficed to legitimize the European integration process and that, as a result, the European passport, flag, anthem, and day were introduced in the 1980s to strengthen citizens’ identification with the EC and, on the other hand, Cris Shore’s assertion that the early 1990s, in which the single market, the Euro, educational exchanges, and
the number of stamps promoting the EU in the 2010s in turn a sign of a “European integration fatigue”?13 Definite answers require meticulous and time-consuming research in the national archives of the six founding members where the postal files are kept. However, preliminary answers can already be attained by analyzing the subjects that the EC/EU-related stamps addressed and the symbols that they employed.

EC/EU Symbols and Subjects on Postage Stamps

When analyzing the visual designs of the 216 stamps, one can distinguish six categories of EC/EU symbols.14

1. Most apparently, after it adopted the image of a circle of twelve five-pointed golden (or yellow) stars on a blue background as its official flag in 1986, the EC – and subsequently the EU – has been represented by this symbol. However, the Council of Europe has been using the same emblem as its symbol since 1955, meaning, on the one hand, that its appearance on a stamp before 1986 was not related to the EC and, on the other hand, that, afterwards, it can only be interpreted to refer to the EC/EU if its connection to the Council of Europe was not made explicit.15 To count, this symbol needs be recognizable as such, i.e. the stars need to be five-pointed and arranged in a circle or they must be...
yellow on a blue background. In such cases, pertinent stamps were included even if the symbol was not depicted in its entirety.16

Illustration 1: The Flag as an EC/EU Symbol on Postage Stamps

2. The Euro is another symbol associated with the EU. Even though not all EU members have yet adopted this currency, it is connected to the EU, not only because its institutions themselves use it, but also because all EU members, except Denmark, are obliged to adopt the Euro once they meet the requirements of the Exchange Rate Mechanism. Naturally, it was only counted as a relevant symbol if it appeared on a stamp in its own right, not if it served merely to denote the currency of its value. Depictions of a Euro coin or a Euro note on postage stamps fall into the same category as the Euro.17

16 In 2007, the German Post Office, for example, issued a stamp commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome. It features, in front of a picture of the signing ceremony, the circle of yellow stars. However, to make the point that the ECC only had six founding members, merely half of the circle is shown on the stamp. The 2000 Europa stamp, by contrast, was not counted, since the image of children playing with multicolored stars on a green meadow can hardly be interpreted as a representation of the EU flag.

3. Apart from these official symbols, there have also been other ways of visualizing the EC/EU and its institutions on stamps. They could be represented by their (stylized) initials (such as “PE” for “Parlement européen” or “EG” for “Europäische Gemeinschaften”) or by their buildings (such as the European Parliament in Strasbourg or Brussels) or parts thereof (such as the legislature’s circular chamber).\(^{18}\)

Moreover, extracts, signatures, seals, or pictures of the signing of EC founding treaties as well as portraits of “founding fathers” or other decisive figures of the EC/EU, i.e. statesmen or stateswomen having played a significant part in the creation or history of the EC/EU have also served as symbols for the EC/EU. However, such politicians were only counted if the stamp emphasizes their European function, or if the stamp was issued on a European occasion. The only exception was

Illustration 3: Buildings as an EC/EU Symbol on Postage Stamps

4. Moreover, extracts, signatures, seals, or pictures of the signing of EC founding treaties as well as portraits of “founding fathers” or other decisive figures of the EC/EU, i.e. statesmen or stateswomen having played a significant part in the creation or history of the EC/EU have also served as symbols for the EC/EU. However, such politicians were only counted if the stamp emphasizes their European function, or if the stamp was issued on a European occasion. The only exception was

19 Only actual passages from a treaty, signatures, its seal, or a photo from its signing ceremony were interpreted as a symbol. A mere reference such as “10 Years Treaty of Maastricht” did not suffice.

20 For example, the French stamp from 1975 commemorating Robert Schuman was counted, since the former French foreign minister was explicitly referred to as “l’européen.” The French 2007 stamp honoring former French Prime Minister Pierre Pflimlin was also counted, because the yellow stars on blue background surrounding his portrait raise attention to his importance for the EC. Even the Italian 2019 stamp issued to commemorate the 25th anniversary of former Italian Prime Minister Giovanni Goria’s death, whose role for the European integration process was rather insignificant, was included, since it shows the EU’s yellow stars on blue. By contrast, the West German stamps from 1968 depicting Konrad Adenauer, Winston Churchill, Alcide de Gasperi, and Robert Schuman were ignored, since they give no indication of their European functions and they came out on the occasion of the former West German Chancellor’s death the previous year.

21 The 1972 Luxembourg stamp featuring Schuman was therefore counted, since it was issued on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Luxemburg becoming the seat of the European Coal and Steel Commission, even though Schuman’s por-
made for Jean Monnet, since he never held a significant national office and is therefore exclusively remembered for his role in the founding of the EC.

Illustration 4: Treaties as an EC/EU Symbol on Postage Stamps

Illustration 5: Politicians as an EC/EU Symbol on Postage Stamps

trait is not accompanied by any further information. The two 1986 Luxembourg stamps for Schuman, by contrast, were not included, since they were merely issued on the occasion of his 100th birthday. The 1967 Belgian stamp of Schuman was likewise ignored, since there is no indication that the stamp’s subject is EC-related.
5. Maps of the EC/EU territory, i.e. the circumscribed area of its members, have provided yet another way to visually represent it. Like maps of individual nations, which nationalists have been using as a national logo to promote a national consciousness, the outlines of the area covered by the EC/EU could serve as its cartographic symbol. Significantly, maps of Europe as a whole were not counted, since they were not suitable as a means to increase people’s identification with the EC/EU as such, which, until the 21st century, only represented a small part of the Continent.²²

Illustration 6: Maps as an EC/EU Symbol on Postage Stamps

6. Finally, instead of using the official EC/EU flag, which was only adopted in 1986, stamp producers could, from the very beginning, display the combined flags of all EC/EU member states, for example by putting them all together such that they would form a big international flag or arranging them as bunting or as a ribbon forming the letter “E.”²³ Stamps on which the names of all countries were spelled out or on which all their initials were grouped together or on which their individual territorial contours (rather than their flags) were shown jointly, also fall in this category.


²³ The stamps, which were issued in 2004 and on which the flags of just the new states joining the EU were depicted together, were also counted.
Graph 2 shows how often these symbols appeared on stamps per decade. As can be seen, the frequency with which these symbols were used differed quite significantly over the course of time, providing us with parts of an answer to the questions posed above. Naturally, the Euro symbol would only be used for the first time in the late 1990s when the Euro came into virtual existence in 1999, and its appearance on stamps, not surprisingly, peaked in the 2000s with the introduction of the new coins and notes in 2002. Also, the circle of twelve yellow stars on blue could only be used to promote the EC/EU after it had been adopted it as its official flag in 1986. However, once chosen as an emblem, it quickly became the most frequently employed EC/EU symbol on postage stamps, topping all others in the 1990s and thereafter. So the fact that the flag and the Euro only made their appearance on stamps in the 1980s and 1990s respectively, explaining in part the rise of EC/EU-related stamps in this period, is not in itself an indication that the governments put more emphasis on promoting the European integration process in recent times than before, as these symbols simply were previously not yet available or not yet linked to the EC/EU.

Illustration 7: The Combined Member States’ Flags as an EC/EU Symbol on Postage Stamps

The overall numbers are slightly higher than on the previous graph, since in some cases more than one symbol was used per stamp. On the other hand, there are also a few stamps that did not contain any of the EC/EU-related symbols typologized above.

24 The overall numbers are slightly higher than on the previous graph, since in some cases more than one symbol was used per stamp. On the other hand, there are also a few stamps that did not contain any of the EC/EU-related symbols typologized above.
A similar argument can be made with regards to the extracts, signatures, seals, and pictures of the signing of founding treaties. These are commonly celebrated on major anniversaries, which require passage of a significant amount of time, usually at least 20 or 25 years. Therefore, it was only in the 1970s that the founding of the EC increasingly became the subject of stamps. It also explains why almost 50 percent of such commemorative stamps were issued in the 2000s, since it was this decade that witnessed the 50th anniversary of the Schuman Declaration, the Treaty of Paris and the Treaties of Rome, the founding of the Court of Justice of the European Communities and the Official Journal of the European Communities, and the establishment of the European Schools. Moreover, only in the late 20th century the European Central Bank was founded and the common market and the Euro as a virtual currency were introduced such that they could not be remembered on stamps before the 21st century. So part of the explanation as to why there was an initial boost in EC-related stamps in the 1970s and why the number of pertinent stamps peaked in the 2000s lies in the fact that more opportunities to celebrate the founding of the EC presented themselves in these decades.
Table 1: Stamps Commemorating the Founding of the European Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signing of Treaty/  Founding of Institution</th>
<th>Occasion</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schuman Declaration (1950)</td>
<td>10th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty of Paris (1951)/ECSC (1952)</td>
<td>4th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg (3x)</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25th anniversary</td>
<td>FRG</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court of Justice of the EC (1952)</td>
<td>20th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official Journal of the EC (1952)</td>
<td>50th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Schools (1953)</td>
<td>10th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaak Report (1956)</td>
<td>40th anniversary</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaties of Rome (1957)</td>
<td>10th anniversary</td>
<td>Italy (2x)</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20th anniversary</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25th anniversary</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FRG</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>France</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40th anniversary</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50th anniversary</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FRG</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>France</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Italy (2x)</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Luxembourg (2x)</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>2017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>