



CONFRONTATION AND COOPERATION

1000 YEARS OF POLISH–GERMAN–RUSSIAN RELATIONS

VOL. I(V)/2019: 10–20

DOI: 10.2478/conc-2019-0002

Krzysztof Garczewski
Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz, Poland

Germany's stance on the idea of the construction of a federal European Union

Key words: European Parliament, election, European Union, Germany's European policy

Introduction

Beginning of the 21st century was a breakthrough moment for the European Union. It's been decades of unification for Europe. A few years ago the EU faced challenges and problems calling for the debate about its future. During 2004–2013 number of the member states doubled causing issues with making key decisions¹. Reforms to improve coherence and effectiveness of the EU turned out to be ineffective. The financial crisis lasting for several years has revealed many deficiencies in the operation of this organization and activated supporters of a European federation. They engaged in a public debate stressing that only creation of “the United States of Europe” would allow it to maintain the unity and the status of a strong player in the emerging new international order. Their opponents criticized transfer of national competences for the EU institutions. Józef M. Fiszer stated that: “Today, Europe needs

new integration model and European Union needs new reforms, new elites and political leaders. It also needs NATO and closer cooperation in the Euro-Atlantic system. As the only security assurance for the West and its high position in the multipolar international order is a strong transatlantic community based on strong NATO and effective EU, for Europe not to be a half periphery or the periphery in a multipolar international order”². EU leaders were more and more aware that without bold changes the organization may be pushed to the margins of the world politics.

Thus, the key role played Germany due to its political and economic input in Europe. “European policy is terrifyingly complex, yet shockingly simple. One does not need thousand words to describe it. Three words will do – time for Germany” a famous British historian, Timothy Garton Ash, commented in 2014, on the eve of the European Parliament elections³. Europe was correct to expect Germany to execute bold well-based

¹ At the beginning of the 21st century the EU consisted of 15 member states. On May 1, 2004, the biggest, so far, enlargement took place as 10 new states enter the organization, including Poland. In 2007 Romania and Bulgaria and in 2013 Croatia acceded the EU.

² J.M. Fiszer, *Wstęp*, [in:] *System euroatlantycki w wielobiegunowym łańdźie międzynarodowym*, J.M. Fiszer, P. Olszewski (ed.), Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Dom Wydawniczy ELIPSA, Warszawa 2013, p. 37.

³ T.G. Ash, *Czas na Niemcy w Europie*, translated by S. Kowalski, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 21.05.2014, no 116, p. 9.

pro-European vision allowing the whole Europe to face the modern world challenges. For some of them Europe turned out to be unprepared, as they were hard to predict, such as European migrant crisis of 2015 or Brexit process initiated in 2016.

This article aims to analyze the role of Germany in public discussion about the future of the EU as well as Germany's stance on EU federalization before the refugee crisis or Brexit⁴. The author presented and analyzed opinions of German politicians and society on EU federalism, election programs of German political parties (formulated before 2014 European Parliament election) and researched data published by German media.

The federation is a union of the states that partially waive their sovereignty. There is a division of power between federal structures and self-governing states. Matters of foreign policy or security of public finances should be under federal authority, while internal affairs are mostly conducted by the component states. The states inside federation are politically autonomic. In federal entities, unlike in unitary states, there is decentralization and devolution of power⁵. Present and future form of government and structure of the EU has been a subject of many public debates⁶. Some changes were enforced by the Treaty of Lisbon⁷. Nevertheless, it is still a constant companion of political activity in member states, Germany included.

German discourse on the future of the EU was two-fold. Some politicians believed that it is necessary for EU institutions to be strengthened by increasing their competences. German supporters of European federalization stressed the need for strong and united Europe.

⁴ The main part of this article was written in 2014.

⁵ A. Antoszewski, *Federacja*, [in:] *Leksykon politologii*, A. Antoszewski, R. Herbut (ed.), ATLA 2, Wrocław 2000, p. 132–133.

⁶ Compare: T.G. Grosse, *Hybrydowy ustrój Unii Europejskiej. Dwie logiki zmian w projekcie traktatu konstytucyjnego*, „Analizy natolińskie”, no. 3(26) 2008.

⁷ More on this subject see: *Traktat z Lizbony. Główne reformy ustrojowe Unii Europejskiej*, J. Barcz (ed.), Urząd Komitetu Integracji Europejskiej, Warszawa 2008. On functioning of the European Parliament after the Treaty of Lisbon see e.g.: *Parlament Europejski po Traktacie z Lizbony. Doświadczenia i nowe wyzwania*, J.M. Fiszer (ed.), Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa 2011. On the development of the European integration from the World War II to the Treaty of Nice see e.g.: J. Górka-Szymczak, „More perfect Union” versus „ever closer Union”. *Rozwój unii między państwowych w Stanach Zjednoczonych i Unii Europejskiej w pierwszych pięćdziesięcioleciach ich istnienia*, Jagiellońskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Toruń 2018, p. 57–96.

That would also allow Germany to execute its interests. Other politicians were against integration. In their opinion the EU should be just a loose union of autonomous states. Such opinions are presented e.g. by National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD), the Republicans or Alternative for Germany (AfD). The latter was created in 2013 and criticized federalization efforts and ideas.

Christian democrats and liberals on EU federation

Christian Democratic Union for Germany (CDU) as a leading political party ensured that it supported the idea of “a strong Germany in a strong Europe” („Für ein starkes Deutschland in einem starken Europa”) and that there is no Germany without EU („Ohne die Europäische Union ist Deutschland für uns Deutsche heute nicht mehr vorstellbar”)⁸. Their support for integration process was strong but conditional: there must be better effectiveness in decision making within EU („Entscheidungsvorgänge verbessern”). Christian democrats believed that many choices could be made without EU participation, as “not every task in Europe is a task for Europe” („Nicht jede Aufgabe in Europa ist auch eine Aufgabe für Europa”). In their opinion EU should concentrate on matters that could be overcome collectively on European level („gesamteuropäisch”). CDU wanted EU to intervene only when it would be more effective than actions taken by states, regions or local authorities⁹. To strengthen democratic and closer to people union competences should be transferred back on national level („Rückführung von Zuständigkeiten auf die nationale Ebene”). Christian democrats did not want to expand European Commission's influences, they would rather have its legislative initiative to concentrate on “truly necessary” political tasks („Die neue Europäische Kommission muss sich bei ihren Gesetzgebungsvorschlägen auf die wirklich notwendigen politischen Aufgaben konzentrieren”). They also approved for the direct election of the president of the European Commission in “the long run” („langfristig”). CDU also wanted that any decisions on transfer of sta-

⁸ „Gemeinsam erfolgreich in Europa“. *Europapolitischer Beschluss des 26. Parteitags der CDU Deutschlands*, Berlin, „Tagesschau.de”, 05.04.2014, p. 3, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html, [05.05.2014].

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

tes' powers to EU institutions be left to determine by the member states¹⁰.

Christian democrats also widely deliberated on possible communitarisation of debts, expressing opposition to the idea. At the beginning they were strongly against it. In 2014 in the election program for the European Parliament CDU presented softer, yet still negative, stance. "Common responsibility requires united fiscal and financial policy that we are still far away from" („Gemeinsame Haftung setzt gemeinsame Haushalts- und Finanzpolitik voraus. Davon sind wir noch weit entfernt") – one could read in the document¹¹. This view was attacked by Eurosceptics such as AfD¹². CDU also opted for the further strengthening of the elements of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Additionally, they wanted to increase the role of, *inter alia*, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and security Policy¹³.

The Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU) was against the idea of building a federal EU. The program formulated in 2014 before election to European Parliament, the party, on one hand, emphasized the importance of economic cooperation on the Old Continent, but on the other, they believed that the EU should not have too much influence on the functioning of individual countries and regions. CSU activists said: „We need better Europe. Europe that does not hinder with all areas of our lives. Europe not interfering with every daily aspect of our lives. Less centralist and less bureaucratic Europe." („(...) wir brauchen ein besseres Europa. Ein Europa, das sich nicht in alle Bereiche unseres Alltags einmisch. Ein Europa, das weniger zentralistisch und weniger bürokratisch ist")¹⁴. In EU they want mostly „efficient Common Foreign and Security Policy" („Europa braucht eine leistungsfähige Außen-

und Sicherheitspolitik")¹⁵. They reject idea of "more Europe" („mehr Europa") presented by "the federalists" – "we need better Europe, not more of it" („Wir brauchen ein besseres Europa statt immer mehr Europa"). In CSU opinion all of "important decisions" about Europe should be approved by Germans in a referendum („Wir wollen Volksabstimmungen in Deutschland über wichtige europäische Entscheidungen"). Members of this party also would like to diminish the role of the EU Commission by empowering the Council or European Parliament, especially on the initiative level („Wir wollen ein Ende des Initiativmonopols der EU-Kommission"). Thus, interests of certain regions or states could be taken into an account in a larger extend.

CSU believed that EU should reduce its competences back to "primary functions" („Die Kompetenzen der EU müssen auf ihre ursprüngliche Funktion zurückgeführt werden"). Hence, their program in 2014 suggested creating "a Competence Tribunal" on a European level to keep EU within its scope („Wir wollen einen Kompetenzgerichtshof einrichten, damit die EU ihre Kompetenzen nicht überschreitet"). The members of such body would be recruited from national constitutional tribunals. Their task would include upholding the "abiding by" the principle of subsidiarity by certain European bodies. CSU was of opinion that EU should enforce necessary action only when national provisions turn out to be ineffective or insufficient. They also opposed common taxes idea („Europa braucht keine eigenen Steuern")¹⁶. CSU seemed to be the closest to the idea of "the Europe of the homelands", therefore they voiced the need of Europe "respecting states and regions" and opted for transferring competences to the regions by reducing it on the EU level. One can read in their program: "We want as much Europe as necessary and as much Bavaria as possible" („Wir wollen so viel Europa wie nötig und so viel Bayern wie möglich"). As a result they were against creating "central" European state. As "Europe can not violate the core statehood of its members" („Europa darf den Kern der Staatlichkeit seiner Mitgliedstaaten nicht antasten") national states should not delegate the powers on fiscal, tax, educational, social and economic policy. CSU was of opinion that during the next tenure of European Parliament EU institutions should not gain any new competences reserved for particular Member States („In der kommenden Legislaturperiode soll es grundsätzlich keine

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 8.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 16.

¹² After publishing this document AfD accused Christian democrats that they no longer reject the idea of communitarisation of debts should the EU create common fiscal policy. AfD believed that CDU agreed to create "the United States of Europe" in future. S.f.: *CDU macht Weg frei für Vereinigte Staaten von Europa*, „AfD-Bayern.de", 07.04.2014, <http://www.afdbayern.de/cdu-macht-weg-frei-fuer-vereinigte-staaten-von-europa/> [05.05.2014].

¹³ „Gemeinsam erfolgreich in Europa"..., p. 74.

¹⁴ *Das Programm der CSU zur Europawahl 2014. Entwurf zur Vorlage an den Parteivorstand in Kloster Andechs am 25. und 26. April 2014*, „Tagesschau.de", p. 3, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html [15.05.2014].

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 5.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 6–7.

neuen Kompetenzübertragungen nach Brüssel geben“). Even more so, according to CSU, it is EU that should transfer some powers back to the states („Europa soll Kompetenzen an die Mitgliedstaaten zurückgeben“). The Bavarian party demanded increasing the role of national parliaments while making important decisions with EU, and empowering them with more control tools within EU („Wir wollen mehr Kontrollrechte für die nationalen Parlamente“). CSU also wanted to strengthen the European Committee of the Regions¹⁷. Politicians of this party rejected the idea of common eurobonds and communitarisation of the debts („Wir lehnen Eurobonds und Schuldenvergemeinschaftung kompromisslos ab“). Due to large financial input of Germany CSU demanded it should have a right of veto in the Governing Council of the European Central Bank („Wir wollen, dass Deutschland ein Vetorecht im EZB-Rat bekommt“)¹⁸.

Free Democratic Party (FDP) had opposite vision of the EU. This liberal party supported idea of federal EU: “More democracy, strong parliaments, small structures. Strong European Parliament, strong but smaller Commission and transparent decisions. That’s what Europe needs”¹⁹. FDP believed that in future EU would have a common constitution and be „a federal union state“ („föderaler Bundesstaat“), thus, they presented „step by step“ solution to achieve that²⁰. Politicians of this organization wanted to strengthen the role of the European Commission as “a warden” of the treaties („als Hüterin der Verträge”)²¹. As other pro-European parties they believed in enhancing CFSP²².

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 8–9.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 12–13.

¹⁹ *Programm der Freien Demokratischen Partei für die Wahl zum VIII. Europäischen Parlament 2014.*

Das braucht unser Europa! Beschluss des Europaparteitages der FDP, Bonn, 19. Januar 2014, „Tagesschau.de”, p. 4, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html [05.05.2014].

²⁰ Ibidem. During the ongoing discussion about so called Constitution or Europe it is worth noticing development of Polish political thought in the last century – see e.g.: G. Górski, *Polonia Restituta. Ustrój Państwa Polskiego w XX wieku*, Toruń 2007, p. 7 ff, <http://kj.edu.pl/publikacje-kj-tsw/> [10.12.2018].

²¹ *Programm der Freien Demokratischen Partei für die Wahl zum VIII. Europäischen Parlament 2014.*

Das braucht unser Europa! Beschluss des Europaparteitages der FDP, Bonn, 19. Januar 2014, „Tagesschau.de”, p. 7, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html [05.05.2014].

²² Ibidem, p. 24.

Left-wing and the idea of federal EU

German left supported amplifying of the EU integration, yet voiced conditions.

Social Democratic Party of Germans (SPD) believed in continuous reinforcing of EU institutions, but not in interfering on national or regional level by EU. As one could read in their program: „We want European policy to only sort out those issues that cannot be governed better on local, regional, and national level“. Social democrats saw the need of strong Europe with firm institutions on transnational level²³. European Parliament in SPD’s program was a strong institution closely cooperating with national parliaments. „Europe of parliaments” should lead to balance out the decisions made in intergovernmental cooperation („Gegengewicht zur Regierungszusammenarbeit“), as the latter is weakening European institutions. Politicians of this party also opt for transforming European Commission into “the real government of the EU” („zu einer wahren EU-Regierung“), that would be accountable to European Parliament²⁴. SPD wanted also closer cooperation in „European economic policy”, including reinforcement of the economic and monetary union and CFSP²⁵. Their vision was “Europe of diversity, not centralism” („Ein Europa der Vielfalt – nicht des Zentralismus“). SPD also wanted the communes and regions to have bigger influence over decisions made in EU²⁶.

Similar ideas were presented by Die Linke, voicing idea of “strong communes and regions in EU” („Für starke Kommunen und Regionen in der Europäischen Union”)²⁷.

Strongly pro-European stance was presented by Alians 90/The Green. His party had been very supportive of an idea of a powerful EU for years. Their program in 2014 included calls for federation of the EU. They stated: „More Europe needs more democracy” („Mehr Europa braucht mehr Demokratie”)²⁸ and „Our long-

²³ *Europa eine neue Richtung geben. Wahlprogramm für die Europawahl am 25. Mai 2014*, SPD, „Tagesschau.de”, p. 3, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html, [05.05.2014].

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 5.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 10–12.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 4.

²⁷ *Europa geht anders. Sozial, friedlich, demokratisch. Programm der Partei DIE LINKE zur Europawahl 2014*, „Die Linke“, <http://www.die-linke.de/wahlen/europawahlen-2014/europawahlprogramm/langfassung/> [10.05.2014].

²⁸ *Europa: mitentscheiden, erneuern, zusammenhalten, Europawahlprogramm 2014 von Bündnis 90/Die Grünen*, „Ta-

term goal is a political union and a stable fiscal union” („Unser langfristiges Ziel bleibt neben einer politischen Union eine stabile Fiskalunion“)²⁹. They reject creating separate institutions for Europe-zone states, hence their opinion on parliament („Ein Parallel-Eurozonenparlament“) and budget for the members of such zone („Eurozonen-Haushalt“) was negative³⁰. The eco party wanted substantial reinforcement of the European Parliament³¹.

Right-wing and the idea of federal EU

Ultra-right parties were against strengthening of the EU structures. For the Republicans there is no Europe, no democracy, no social solidarity without national states. “The future is not ‘the United States of Europe’, it is a union of sovereign national states creating free commerce zone and contracting only upon free trade, foreign policy and security” („Die Zukunft liegt nicht in ‘Vereinigten Staaten von Europa’, sondern in einem Bund souveräner Nationalstaaten, die eine Freihandelszone bilden und sich lediglich in Fragen des Außenhandels und der Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik untereinander abstimmen“) – politicians of this party believe that the best solution would be a „Europe of homelands” („Europa der Vaterländer“)³².

Similar opinion one can find in NPD’s program. A party wanting to transform EU into “a union of sovereign, responsible for themselves, states” („Bund souveräner, eigenverantwortlicher Staaten“). Had EU rebuild as “cooperative union of the states” („zu einem kooperativen Staatenbund“) Germany should leave it³³.

gesschau.de”, p. 11, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html [10.05.2014].

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 51.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 58.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 73–74.

³² *Europa richtig machen – mit uns! Wahlprogramm der Republikaner zur Europawahl 2014*, 07.04.2014, „Tagesschau.de”, p. 3, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html [10.05.2014].

³³ *Europa wählt rechts. Das Europaprogramm der NPD*. Verabschiedet vom NPD-Parteipräsidium am 10. Januar 2014 in Dresden, NPD-Parteivorstand, Berlin 2014, „Tagesschau.de”, p. 11, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html, [10.05.2014].

Alternative for Germany (AfD) is a strong critic of EU’s federal model. Euro-sceptics wanted, just like CSU, re-use of the subsidiary rule („Rückkehr zur Subsidiarität“). In a program formulated in 2014 AfD wanted EU to “retreat from the policy of centralism” („Abkehr von dieser Politik des Zentralismus“) and to give competences back to national states whenever “it is possible”. They wanted to create “Subsidiarity Tribunal” („Subsidiaritäts-Gerichtshof“) for citizens and bodies to lodge a complaint in case of the rule violation. Member of the tribunal were supposed to be judges of the highest court instances in the member states: “Tribunal was to counterbalance Court of justice of the European Union” („Der Subsidiaritäts-Gerichtshof ist ein Gegengewicht des zu Integration und Zentralismus neigenden Europäischen Gerichtshofs (EuGH) und muss von ihm unabhängig sein“)³⁴.

German society towards the vision of a federal EU

German society seemed not to be unanimous when it comes to vision of the future for the EU. In 2012’s pole conducted by a prestigious „Infratest dimap” for „Welt am Sonntag”³⁵ 43% voters supported the idea of “the United States of Europe” (“Vereinigte Staaten von Europa”) and 51% were of negative opinion on the idea of a federal UE. There were controversies on plans of limiting competences for the member states in financial policy of the EU, that was visible e.g. in a proposal of electing a common finance minister, what would require alteration of German law. As a result majority of the voters (52%) were against amendment of German Constitution leading to empowering European institutions within financial policy and allowing them to save the Eurozone, and 43% of Germans were against such solution³⁶. An interesting thing is that the most opposite stance on federation of the EU presented the electorate of the Pirate Party Germany (67%). On the other

³⁴ *Mut zu Deutschland. Für ein Europa der Vielfalt. Programm der Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) für die Wahl zum Europäischen Parlament am 25. Mai 2014 (Beschluss des Bundesparteitags vom 22. März 2014)*, „Tagesschau.de”, p. 8–9, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html, [10.05.2014].

³⁵ *Vereinigte Staaten von Europa?*, „Infratest dimap“, <https://www.infratest-dimap.de/umfragen-analysen/bundesweit/umfragen/aktuell/vereinigte-staaten-von-europa/> [17.05.2014].

³⁶ Ibidem.

hand, the most supportive of the idea of federation were the Allians 90 / The Green voters (55%). There were similar numbers of supporters and opponents of the idea of creating “the United States of Europe” among those who voted for CDU/CSU, SPD and the Left³⁷.

Results of the survey carried out by the weekly newspaper “Stern” in 2012 were even less optimistic for the federation supporters³⁸. According to a survey conducted by the German institute for public opinion research „Forsa” 74% of Germans were against transforming the EU into a federation, whilst 22% were for it. Nearly two-thirds of the subjects (63%) did not like a proposal of electing “the President of the EU” („EU-Präsident”) presented by Wolfgang Schäuble, although one-third approved the idea (33%). And 36% of the respondents would agree to transfer the right to decide on the German government budget on the EU level. Possibility of electing a common European Finance Minister seemed to divide Germans, as 47% were supportive of the idea and 48% were against it. Majority (73%) was against common financial responsibility by issuing Euro-bonds in order to deal with Euro-zone crisis, and only 17% thought it was a good idea. Both being in the EU and introduction of the single European currency was seen positively by most German citizens (54%), nevertheless 69% believed that any transfer of competences from the Member States into the EU should be approved by the referendum³⁹.

In 2014 a liberal journal „Süddeutsche Zeitung” carried out an interesting test among 200 candidates, representing different German political parties, for the European Parliament⁴⁰. They were answering questions about the future of the EU and Germany's role in it. The candidates were answering by giving points from 0 to 100, where 0 was ‘absolutely no’ and 100 was ‘de-

finitely yes’. AfD's candidates were completely against federalization of the EU (0 points), CSU's were sceptic (18 points), while Free Voters' (46 points) and CDU's (52 points) were almost equally divided. The biggest supporters of strong European integration and creation of “the United States of Europe” were representatives of the Pirates (86 points), Allies 90/ Greens (82 points), FDP (77 points) and SPD (76 points). The most pro-European candidates supported also other forms of the integration such as the “European Republic” or the “EU composed of regions, not national states” („eine EU, die nicht mehr nach Nationalstaaten gegliedert ist, sondern nach Regionen”)⁴¹. Eurosceptics were less inclined to agree for Turkey to access the EU than supporters of the hefty European integration. Turkish access to the EU supported: the Greens (75 points), SPD (60 points), the Left (60 points), and the Pirates (60 points), FDP (38 points) and CDU (17 points). While CSU (5 points) and AfD (2 points) were against such access. Majority of the candidates also approved the idea of strengthening European Parliament, with the lowest support by AfD (34 points)⁴².

The federal EU in German political discourse

Financial crisis in Euro-zone had influenced discussions on EU's future. As the economic situation deteriorated, especially in southern part of Europe, the federation idea rose as a solution to overcome the crisis. It was the returning subject throughout Europe, including Germany.

The ruling coalition supported European integration. Angela Merkel, the Chancellor, often spoke about the need of creating political union in Europe. Before one of the EU summits, during summer of 2012, she assured that certain actions should be taken to achieve that. “We need not only the Monetary Union but also the Fiscal Union, a common fiscal policy” („Wir brauchen nicht nur eine Währungsunion, sondern wir brauchen eine sogenannte Fiskalunion, also mehr gemeinsame Haushaltspolitik”)⁴³. A few months later in Brussels Angela Merkel urged to create “the United States of Europe” and to strengthen European institu-

³⁷ Won/dapd/ks, *Deutsche sehen Vereinigte Staaten Europas skeptisch*, „Welt.de“, 30.06.2012, <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article107611878/Deutsche-sehen-Vereinigte-Staaten-Europas-skeptisch.html> [17.05.2014].

³⁸ *stern-Umfrage: Drei von vier Deutschen gegen Vereinigte Staaten von Europa – Auch EU-Präsident wird abgelehnt – Mehrheit sieht jedoch Vorteile von EU und Euro*, „Presseportal.de“, 04.07.2012, <http://www.presseportal.de/pm/6329/2282899/stern-umfrage-drei-von-vier-deutschen-gegen-vereinigte-staaten-von-europa-auch-eu-praesident-wird> [17.05.2014].

³⁹ Ibidem.

⁴⁰ K. Haimerl, *So sehen die Parteien die Zukunft der EU. Wahl-Thesentest zur Europawahl*, „Süddeutsche.de“, 06.05.2014, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/wahl-thesentest-zur-europawahl-so-sehen-die-parteien-die-zukunft-der-eu-1.1943323> [17.05.2014].

⁴¹ Ibidem.

⁴² Ibidem.

⁴³ See e.g.: *Süddeutsche.de/dpa/AFP/sebi, Merkel will politische Union in Europa vorantreiben*, „Süddeutsche.de“, 07.06.2012, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/eu-gipfel-merkel-will-politische-union-in-europa-vorantreiben-1.1376097> [18.05.2014].

tions. While speaking in the European Parliament she hoped the European Commission to become European government („Ich bin dafür, dass die Kommission eines Tages so etwas wie eine europäische Regierung ist“)⁴⁴. Germany leader also collaborated with France to empower European institutions. In August 2011, together with French President Nicola Sarkozy, she announced the will to create an “economic government” („Wirtschaftsregierung“) for all Euro-zone states, that could be run by Herman van Rompuy. The government was supposed to be composed of heads of states and prime ministers, to be convened twice a year, and *ad hoc* if necessary⁴⁵.

The notion of “more Europe” („mehr Europa“) gained popularity also among other German politicians. In August 2011 similar postulations were formulated by Ursula von der Leyen (CDU), a Minister of Labour in German federal government at the time. She supported the idea of creating the “United States of Europe” build as Switzerland, the USA or Federal Republic of Germany⁴⁶. In an interview in June 2012 for „Der Spiegel“ the Finance Minister at the time, Wolfgang Schäuble (a Christian Democrat) also requested “more Europe” by demanding more competences in important political areas to be transferred to EU institutions by the Member States. However, contrary to Ursula von der Leyen, he believed EU should create its own federal structure instead of basing it on solutions from the USA or Germany⁴⁷. He believed Germany could agree to issue common Euro-bonds under the condition that within the Fiscal Union in “the best case scenario” there would have been a position of an European Finance Minister with the right of a veto in national budgets and with

the right to decide about the maximum level of debt. “If we want strong Europe, we must be ready to pass the right to decide into Brussels’ hands” – he explained⁴⁸. In his opinion the EU should pursue not only a common fiscal and economic policy but also foreign affairs and security policy, although he believed that the member states still have to much competence in the latter area. Wolfgang Schäuble stated that the priority is to transform the European Commission into “a real government”. The European Parliament in his vision is a strong body, with “appropriate” number of representatives from each Member State in the upper chamber, as in the German Bundesrat or American Congress. In effect, all statutes should be approved in the European Parliament and in the second chamber⁴⁹.

Leading politicians of the CDU have had similar and unanimously pro-European vision of integration, initiated by Helmut Kohl after unification of Germany. With time Angela Merkel was more and more often distancing herself from ideas of most fervent supporters of European integration, avoiding direct answer on the future of the EU. Her main focus was on solving contemporary issues, such as crisis in the Euro-zone. In effect it empowered her position both in Germany and the EU. The political scene in Germany seemed to be divided between Angela Merkel and other politicians. For example in September 2013, shortly before the Bundestag election, the Chancellor criticized her Finance Minister for wanting to interpose direct elections for the chairman of the European Commission⁵⁰.

FDP opted for federalism. German Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, Guido Westerwelle, thought that United States of Europe would be an answer to financial crisis in EU. He blamed low level of consolidation of finances and insufficient coordination on the political level for basis of contemporary crisis⁵¹. In March 2012 he initiated the Reflection Group on the future of the European Union, combined of the ministers of the foreign affairs from Germany, Poland, Austria, Belgium,

⁴⁴ [abendblatt.de/dapd](http://www.abendblatt.de/dapd), *Merkel wirbt für „Vereinigte Staaten von Europa“*, „Abendblatt.de“, 07.11.2012, <http://www.abendblatt.de/politik/article110767639/Merkel-wirbt-fuer-Vereinigte-Staaten-von-Europa.html> [18.05.2014].

⁴⁵ [amz/dapd/dpa/Reuters](http://www.amz.de/dapd/dpa/Reuters), *Krise der Euro-Zone: Merkel und Sarkozy planen Wirtschaftsregierung für Europa*, „Spiegel Online“, 16.08.2011, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/krise-der-euro-zone-merkel-und-sarkozy-planen-wirtschaftsregierung-fuer-europa-a-780625.html> [18.05.2014].

⁴⁶ Zeit Online, Reuters, *Von der Leyen will Vereinigte Staaten von Europa*, „Zeit Online“, 27.08.2011, <http://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2011-08/leyen-politische-union-europa> [18.05.2014].

⁴⁷ *Spiegel – Gespräch*, „Perfekte Lösungen brauchen lange“. Bundesfinanzminister Wolfgang Schäuble, 69, fordert als Antwort auf die Euro-Krise mehr Europa und glaubt, dass es in Deutschland schon bald zu einer

Vollstimmung über eine neue Verfassung kommen wird, „Der Spiegel“, no. 26/2012, p. 29.

⁴⁸ „Wer ein starkes Europa will, muss bereit sein, Entscheidungen nach Brüssel abzugeben“. Ibidem.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 29–30.

⁵⁰ More on different UE visions presented by the CDU politicians see e.g.: M. Amann, P. Müller, R. Pfister, Ch. Schult, *Die Kehrtwende*, „Der Spiegel“, no. 26/2013.

⁵¹ [gxs / Reuters](http://www.gxs.de), *Westerwelle will „die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa noch erleben“*, „Focus Online“, 21.08.2011, http://www.focus.de/politik/weitere-meldungen/fdp-westerwelle-will-die-vereinigten-staaten-von-europa-noch-erleben_aid_657425.html [19.05.2014].

Denmark, Spain, Holland, Luxembourg, France, Italy, Portugal. In September 2012, in Warsaw, the Group prepared a final report in which they recommended intensifying European integration and strengthening Economic and Monetary Union considered “an absolute priority”. The report also suggested that the EU should increase importance of external relations and introduce more effective ways in deployment of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). “In a long-term perspective we should aim to increase the number of decisions on CSDP taken by majority voting, to create, whenever possible, joint representation in international organizations and to conduct European security policy. Some members of the Group deem it possible to create a common European army” – one could read in the report⁵². The report included many proposals close to the idea of a federal EU. One can read in the report that: “We must consider the long-term management structures of the EU. The effect of long-term work on this issue should be an improved and effective system of separation of powers in Europe, that will have full democratic legitimacy. In the opinion of some members of the Group it should include the following elements: the President of the Commission – elected in direct elections, who would single-handedly determine the members of his ‘European government’, the European Parliament with the right of legislative initiative, and the Second Chamber of the Member States”⁵³. After the publication of this document G. Westerwelle expressed hope that the realization of the various points would finally allow formation of “the political union”, what would complement EMU, while allowing conducting an effective common foreign and economic policy throughout the EU⁵⁴.

⁵² *Raport końcowy Grupy Refleksyjnej ds. Przyszłości Unii Europejskiej ministrów SZ Austrii, Belgii, Danii, Francji, Hiszpanii, Holandii, Luksemburga, Niemiec, Polski, Portugalii i Włoch*, „Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych”, 17.09.2012, p. 2, <http://www.msz.gov.pl/resource/e0532dac-24b1-4587-8abb-af503f80e215:JCR> [19.05.2014].

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 9. On the members see also: *fab/AFP/dpa/Reuters, Europa in der Krise: EU-Außenminister wollen mehr Macht für Brüssel*, „Spiegel Online“, 18.09.2012, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/eu-aussenminister-der-zukunftsgruppe-wollen-mehr-integration-in-europa-a-856614.html> [19.05.2014].

⁵⁴ „Am Ende des Weges, den wir jetzt einschlagen, muss eines Tages eine Politische Union stehen. Sie würde unsere Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion vollenden. Zugleich würde sie eine Gemeinsame Außen- und Wirtschaftspolitik im vollen Wortsinn verwirklichen“. S.f.: *Für ein besseres Europa*, „Auswärtiges Amt“, 18.09.2012, <http://www.auswaertiges->

The need for creating European federation was also mentioned in July 2012 by German Commissioner for Energy Günther Oettinger⁵⁵. Similar visions were also presented by Gerhard Schröder. In September 2011, social-democratic ex Chancellor, deemed it necessary to step up efforts to expand European structures, in order to create a common federation. He suggested creating European Minister of Finances, controlled by European Parliament⁵⁶. One of the biggest supporters of the federation was also Joschka Fischer, ex minister of foreign affairs. In 2011 he said: “Loose confederation of states connected by means of a monetary union is not enough. We have had it in Maastricht and it failed. We have to go in the Eurogroup from a confederation to the real federation! We need more fiscal and political integration, economic and political, the socio-political”⁵⁷.

Strong European integration is also the key point for Martin Schulz, SPD, chairman of the European Parliament between 2012 and 2017. In 2012 he was convinced that there was a need for “a political union”, although in his opinion the EU should find a middle way, between “the European state union” („europäischer Bundesstaat”) and “the loose union of states” („lockerer Staatenverbund”)⁵⁸. He, therefore, avoided choosing the side in the ongoing discussion, and believed there is “a third option” between federation and confederation⁵⁹. However, it seemed that he was closer to the fe-

[amt.de/DE/Europa/Aktuell/120918-Zukunftsgruppe_Warschau_node.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Europa/Aktuell/120918-Zukunftsgruppe_Warschau_node.html) [20.05.2014].

⁵⁵ S.f. *Gespräch mit G. Oettinger: „Es muss zu Vereinigten Staaten von Europa werden”*, 02.07.2012, <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article107617107/EU-muss-zu-Vereinigten-Staaten-von-Europa-werden.html> [20.05.2014]. Oettinger is a CDU member, he was a Minister-President of Baden-Württemberg in (2005–2010), Vice-President of the European Commission in charge of Energy (2010–2014), Commissioner for Digital Economy and Society (2014–2016) and in 2017 became the Commissioner for Budget and Human Resources.

⁵⁶ *Streit über Euro-Rettung: Gerhard Schröder nimmt Merkel in Schutz*, „Spiegel Online“, 03.09.2011, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/streit-ueber-euro-rettung-gerhard-schroeder-nimmt-merkel-in-schutz-a-784217.html> [20.05.2014].

⁵⁷ *Spiegel – Gespräch. „Ein einziges Debakel“*. Ex-Außenminister Joschka Fischer, 63, über die Fehler seines Nachfolgers in der Libyen-Politik und das Schlingern der Kanzlerin in Europa, „Der Spiegel“, no. 35/2011, p. 28.

⁵⁸ M. Korfmann, Interview: *Martin Schulz (SPD) fordert eine Regierung für Europa*, „Der Westen“, 25.09.2012, www.derwesten.de/politik/martin-schulz-spd-fordert-eine-regierung-fuer-europa-id7133276.html [10.05.2014].

⁵⁹ The candidate of the European People's Party, consi-

deration idea, taking under consideration his opinions on possibility of “the European government” as he stated that European Commission already plays such role in “many areas” and the choice of the chairman of the European Parliament by the European Parliament in 2014 considered “a big step” towards creating such government⁶⁰. „Personally, I will be the main candidate for the European Social Democratic faction because I care about reforming Europe and do not intend to pursue internal German policy. There will be no Mrs. Merkel or Mr. Gabriel in this election. This election is about the future of the EU” – he said before 2014 elections⁶¹. In May 2012, during his speech in Humboldt University, M. Schulz admitted that “the United States of Europe” were his “youthful dream” and “a main goal for European integration”, although with time he realized “how strong national identities are” and “Our national diversity and specific experiences are our treasure”. He stated that “national states” and “national identities” will not sparse in a common Europe, and that Europe would become “a hybrid” („Hybridwesen”) with local, national, and European conglomeration⁶².

German President, Joachim Gauck, also joined debate on the future of the EU by referring to European policy in his 2013 speech. In February 2013 he stated that: “We travel from Niemno to Atlantic Ocean, from Finland to Sicily with no passport. In a large part of Europe we can pay with the same currency, we buy Spanish shoes and Czech cars without paying customs. More Europe is our daily basis, but we still lack common European identity”⁶³. He was also explaining that

sting *inter alia* of CDU and CSU, was Jean-Claude Juncker, a Luxembourgish politician.

⁶⁰ „Der Präsident der EU-Kommission wird ja schon nach der nächsten Europawahl im Jahr 2014 durch das Europaparlament gewählt werden. Das ist ein großer Schritt hin zu einer europäischen Regierung“. S.f.: Ibidem.

⁶¹ M. Schulz, *Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego w 2014 roku – szansa na odkrycie nowej Europy*, „Martin-Schulz.eu”, 31.03.2014, <http://www.martin-schulz.eu/pl/die-neue-welt-in-europa> [20.05.2014]. The article was also published in „Frankfurter Rundschau“.

⁶² *Rede des Präsidenten des Europäischen Parlaments Martin Schulz an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Das demokratische Europa 10 Punkte für einen demokratischen Neustart der EU*, „Europäisches Parlament“, 24.05.2012, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/the-president/de/press/press_release_speeches/speeches/sp-2012/sp-2012-may/html/speech-by-the-president-of-the-european-parliament-martin-schulz-at-the-humboldt-university-berlin--democratic-europe--10-point-plan-to-put-the-eu-on-a-new-democratic-footing [20.05.2014].

⁶³ dpa, dlf, s-o / Iwona D. Metzner, Joachim Gauck:

Germany, despite criticism, was not trying to impose its politics upon other countries: “I can assure every European citizen that there are no German politicians wanting to introduce the dictate (...) I am convinced that more Europe in Germany does not mean German Europe (...) more Europe demands courage, Europe does not need people doubting and lingering, it needs people decisive and active”⁶⁴.

But not all German politician supported the idea of federalization, many of them were opposed, such as Horst Seehofer, at the time the leader of the Christian Social Union in Bavaria, who said: “CSU will not make any United States of Europe. It is not possible without consent of the society, and the society does not want any European superstate”⁶⁵. He was supporting the idea of “the Europe of regions”.

Berndt Lucke, the leader of AfD at the time, was also against transforming the EU into a federal state. During one of his speeches, in May 2014, he criticized supporters of integration, stressing that Europe consisting of free and independent states is the best option⁶⁶.

Conclusions

German political debate before the crisis of 2015 prevailed supporters of the strong integration. Federalists reasoned that the development of Germany would be possible only in firmly united Europe. However, representatives of the leading political parties of Germany lacked undertaking consistent actions. German stance on the future of the EU was not clear, what was

W poszukiwaniu europejskiej tożsamości, „Deutsche Welle”, 22.02.2013, <http://www.dw.de/joachim-gauck-w-poszukiwaniu-europejskiej-to-%C5%BCsamo%C5%9Bci/a-16622376>. The whole expose can be accessed here: *Rede zu Perspektiven der europäischen Idee*, Schloss Bellevue, „Bundespraesident.de” 22.02.2013, <http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Joachim-Gauck/Reden/2013/02/130222-Europa.html> [10.05.2014].

⁶⁴ Ibidem.

⁶⁵ „Mit der CSU wird es keine Vereinigten Staaten von Europa geben. Ohne Zustimmung der Bevölkerung wäre das ohnehin nicht möglich. Und die Bevölkerung will keinen europäischen Superstaat”. S.f.: J. Gaugele, C. Ch. Malzahn, *Seehofer will über Kurs der EU abstimmen*, „Die Welt“, 10.08.2012, <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article108566306/Seehofer-will-ueber-Kurs-der-EU-abstimmen.html> [20.05.2014].

⁶⁶ *Bernd Lucke begeistert in Brandenburg a.d. Havel*, „AfD Pressemitteilung“, 15.05.2014, <http://www.afd-brandenburg.de/?p=1191> [20.05.2014].

even more visible after 2008, during the first years of the financial crisis that has engulfed the euro zone. Both internal and external factors were the reasons for Germany's undecisive position. Their avoidance to take a stand was widely criticized and commented in other Member States. In 2011 in Berlin Radosław Sikorski demanded that Germany representatives take some action and handle the Euro-zone situation: "As a Poland's foreign affairs minister, today on 28th November 2011, what do I consider the biggest threat to prosperity and security of Europe? Not terrorism, not Taliban, definitely not German tanks, not even Russian missiles that were supposed to be placed at the EU borders as we heard it from President Medvedev. The biggest threat for Poland's security and prosperity is the crash of Euro-zone. And I demand from Germany to help the zone survive and thrive. You know it all too well that no other state is able to do that. And I am probably the first Polish minister of foreign affairs to say that I am less concerned with Germany's power than idleness"⁶⁷.

On the other hand, in recent years, German politicians and society has been increasingly more reluctant in transferring competences to European institutions by the member states, and the citizens were more sceptical of it than political parties. Federal future of the EU seems to be a far reach, as Germans were afraid that in a new federal union the financial liability for other states' mistakes would be placed on the biggest and economically strongest state – Germany. Thus, there was a huge opposition to the communitarisation of debts. And that was also why the biggest social support have the political groups openly criticizing the idea of "the United States of Europe", such as AfD. European policy also divided christian democrats, CDU and CSU, playing central role in German federal government since 2005. While CDU could be considered followers of closer integration, then CSU was definitely more aligned to Euro-sceptical AfD. In a contemporary German political debate about the future of the EU the need for closer cooperation within that body was presented by the majority, therefore Germans accept actions undertaken to intensify integration, especially when it comes to foreign policy, security and defence. They were, however, very sceptical towards originating "European head of

the state" and most do not see it necessary to create "the United States of Europe". Additionally, German society was not prepared for "a European Minister of Finances" to come into existence, having full control over national budgets, what was clearly seen in the polls conducted in recent years.

References

- abendblatt.de/dapd, *Merkel wirbt für „Vereinigte Staaten von Europa“*, „Abendblatt.de“, 07.11.2012, <http://www.abendblatt.de/politik/article110767639/Merkel-wirbt-fuer-Vereinigte-Staaten-von-Europa.html> [18.05.2014].
- Amann M., Müller P., Pfister R., Schult Ch., *Die Kehrtwende*, „Der Spiegel“, no. 26/2013.
- amz/dapd/dpa/Reuters, *Krise der Euro-Zone: Merkel und Sarkozy planen Wirtschaftsregierung für Europa*, „Spiegel Online“, 16.08.2011, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/krise-der-euro-zone-merkel-und-sarkozy-planen-wirtschaftsregierung-fuer-europa-a-780625.html> [18.05.2014].
- Antoszewski A., *Federacja*, [in:] *Leksykon politologii*, Antoszewski A., Herbut R. (ed.), ATLA 2, Wrocław 2000, p. 132–133.
- Ash T.G., *Czas na Niemcy w Europie*, translated by Kowalski S., „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 21.05.2014, no 116.
- Bernd Lucke begeistert in Brandenburg a.d. Havel, „AfD Pressemitteilung“, 15.05.2014, <http://www.afd-brandenburg.de/?p=1191> [20.05.2014].
- CDU macht Weg frei für Vereinigte Staaten von Europa, „AfD-Bayern.de“, 07.04.2014, <http://www.afdbayern.de/cdu-macht-weg-frei-fuer-vereinigte-staaten-von-europa/> [05.05.2014].
- Das Programm der CSU zur Europawahl 2014. Entwurf zur Vorlage an den Parteivorstand in Kloster Andechs am 25. und 26. April 2014, „Tagesschau.de“, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html [15.05.2014].
- dpa, dlfi, s-o / Iwona D. Metzner, Joachim Gauck: W poszukiwaniu europejskiej tożsamości, „Deutsche Welle”, 22.02.2013, <http://www.dw.de/joachim-gauck-w-poszukiwaniu-europejskiej-tozsamo%C5%BCsamo%C5%9Bci/a-16622376>.
- Europa eine neue Richtung geben. Wahlprogramm für die Europawahl am 25. Mai 2014, SPD, „Tagesschau.de“, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html, [05.05.2014].
- Europa geht anders. Sozial, friedlich, demokratisch. Programm der Partei DIE LINKE zur Europawahl 2014, „Die Linke“, <http://www.die-linke.de/wahlen/europawahlen-2014/europawahl-programm/langfassung/> [10.05.2014].
- Europa richtig machen – mit uns! Wahlprogramm der Republikaner zur Europawahl 2014, 07.04.2014, „Tagesschau.de“, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html [10.05.2014].
- Europa wählt rechts. Das Europaprogramm der NPD. Verabschiedet vom NPD-Parteipräsidium am 10. Januar 2014 in Dresden, NPD-Parteivorstand, Berlin 2014, „Tagesschau.de“, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html, [10.05.2014].
- Europa: mitentscheiden, erneuern, zusammenhalten, Europawahlprogramm 2014 von Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, „Tagesschau.de“, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html [10.05.2014].
- fab/AFP/dpa/Reuters, *Europa in der Krise: EU-Außenminister wollen mehr Macht für Brüssel*, „Spiegel Online“, 18.09.2012, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/eu-aussenminister-wollen-mehr-macht-fuer-bruessel-a-1048887.html> [18.09.2012].

⁶⁷ „Polska a przyszłość Unii Europejskiej”, Radosław Sikorski, *Minister Spraw Zagranicznych RP*, Berlin, 28 listopada 2011, p. 10, „Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych”, <https://www.ms.gov.pl/resource/c2a33d88-7b8d-4fa5-8680-a67a4b2b38af:JCR>, [20.05.2014].

- www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/eu-aussenminister-der-zukunft-gruppe-wollen-mehr-integration-in-europa-a-856614.html [19.05.2014].
- Fiszer J.M., *Wstęp*, [in:] *System euroatlantycki w wielobiegunowym ładzie międzynarodowym*, Fiszer J.M., Olszewski P. (ed.), Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Dom Wydawniczy ELIPSA, Warszawa 2013.
- Für ein besseres Europa*, „Auswärtiges Amt“, 18.09.2012, http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Europa/Aktuell/120918-Zukunft-gruppe-Warschau_node.html [20.05.2014].
- Gauele J., Malzahn C. Ch., *Seehofer will über Kurs der EU abstimmen*, „Die Welt“, 10.08.2012, <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article108566306/Seehofer-will-ueber-Kurs-der-EU-abstimmen.html> [20.05.2014].
- „Gemeinsam erfolgreich in Europa“. *Europapolitischer Beschluss des 26. Parteitags der CDU Deutschlands*, Berlin, „Tagesschau.de“, 05.04.2014, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html, [05.05.2014].
- Gespräch mit G. Oettinger: „Es muss zu Vereinigten Staaten von Europa werden“*, 02.07.2012, <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article107617107/EU-muss-zu-Vereinigten-Staaten-von-Europa-werden.html> [20.05.2014].
- Górska-Szymczak J., „More perfect Union” versus „ever closer Union”. *Rozwój unii państwowych w Stanach Zjednoczonych i Unii Europejskiej w pierwszych pięćdziesięcioleciach ich istnienia*, Jagiellońskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Toruń 2018.
- Górski G., *Polonia Restituta. Ustrój Państwa Polskiego w XX wieku*, Toruń 2007, <http://kj.edu.pl/publikacje-kj-tsw/> [10.12.2018].
- Grosse T.G., *Hybrydowy ustrój Unii Europejskiej. Dwie logiki zmian w projekcie traktatu konstytucyjnego*, „Analizy natolińskie”, no. 3 (26) 2008.
- gxs / Reuters, *Westerwelle will „die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa noch erleben“*, „Focus Online“, 21.08.2011, http://www.focus.de/politik/weitere-meldungen/fdp-westerwelle-will-die-vereinigten-staaten-von-europa-noch-erleben_aid_657425.html [19.05.2014].
- Haimel K., *So sehen die Parteien die Zukunft der EU. Wahl-Thesentest zur Europawahl*, „Süddeutsche.de“, 06.05.2014, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/wahl-thesentest-zur-europawahl-so-sehen-die-parteien-die-zukunft-der-eu-1.1943323> [17.05.2014].
- Korfmann M., *Interview: Martin Schulz (SPD) fordert eine Regierung für Europa*, „Der Westen“, 25.09.2012, www.derwesten.de/politik/martin-schulz-spd-fordert-eine-regierung-fuer-europa-id7133276.html [10.05.2014].
- Mut zu Deutschland. Für ein Europa der Vielfalt. Programm der Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) für die Wahl zum Europäischen Parlament am 25. Mai 2014 (Beschluss des Bundesparteitags vom 22. März 2014)*, „Tagesschau.de“, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html, [10.05.2014].
- Parlament Europejski po Traktacie z Lizbony. Doświadczenia i nowe wyzwania*, Fiszer J.M. (ed.), Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa 2011.
- Programm der Freien Demokratischen Partei für die Wahl zum VIII. Europäischen Parlament 2014. Das braucht unser Europa! Beschluss des Europaparteitages der FDP*, Bonn, 19. Januar 2014, „Tagesschau.de“, http://www.tagesschau.de/europawahl/parteien_und_programme/parteien-europawahl100.html [05.05.2014].
- „Polska a przyszłość Unii Europejskiej”, *Radosław Sikorski, Minister Spraw Zagranicznych RP, Berlin, 28 listopada 2011*, „Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych“, <https://www.ms.gov.pl/resource/c2a33d88-7b8d-4fa5-8680-a67a4b2b38af:JCR>, [20.05.2014].
- Raport końcowy Grupy Refleksyjnej ds. Przyszłości Unii Europejskiej ministrów SZ Austrii, Belgii, Danii, Francji, Hiszpanii, Holandii, Luksemburga, Niemiec, Polski, Portugalii i Włoch*, „Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych“, 17.09.2012, <http://www.ms.gov.pl/resource/e0532dac-24b1-4587-8abb-af503f80e215:JCR> [19.05.2014].
- Rede des Präsidenten des Europäischen Parlaments Martin Schulz an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Das demokratische Europa 10 Punkte für einen demokratischen Neustart der EU*, „Europäisches Parlament“, 24.05.2012, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/the-president/de/press/press_release_speeches/speeches/sp-2012/sp-2012-may/html/speech-by-the-president-of-the-european-parliament-martin-schulz-at-the-humboldt-university-berlin--democratic-europe--10-point-plan-to-put-the-eu-on-a-new-democratic-footing [20.05.2014].
- Rede zu Perspektiven der europäischen Idee*, Schloss Bellevue, „Bundespraesident.de“ 22.02.2013, <http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Joachim-Gauck/Reden/2013/02/130222-Europa.html> [10.05.2014].
- Schulz M., *Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego w 2014 roku – szansa na odkrycie nowej Europy*, „Martin-Schulz.eu“, 31.03.2014, <http://www.martin-schulz.eu/pl/die-neue-welt-in-europa> [20.05.2014].
- Spiegel – Gespräch. „Perfekte Lösungen brauchen lange“*. *Bundesfinanzminister Wolfgang Schäuble, 69, fordert als Antwort auf die Euro-Krise mehr Europa und glaubt, dass es in Deutschland schon bald zu einer Volksabstimmung über eine neue Verfassung kommen wird*, „Der Spiegel“, no. 26/2012.
- Spiegel – Gespräch. „Ein einziges Debakel“*. *Ex-Außenminister Joschka Fischer, 63, über die Fehler seines Nachfolgers in der Libyen-Politik und das Schlingern der Kanzlerin in Europa*, „Der Spiegel“, no. 35/2011, p. 28.
- stern-Umfrage: Drei von vier Deutschen gegen Vereinigte Staaten von Europa – Auch EU-Präsident wird abgelehnt – Mehrheit sieht jedoch Vorteile von EU und Euro*, „Presseportal.de“, 04.07.2012, <http://www.presseportal.de/pm/6329/2282899/stern-umfrage-drei-von-vier-deutschen-gegen-vereinigte-staaten-von-europa-auch-eu-praesident-wird> [17.05.2014].
- Streit über Euro-Rettung: Gerhard Schröder nimmt Merkel in Schutz*, „Spiegel Online“, 03.09.2011, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/streit-ueber-euro-rettung-gerhard-schroeder-nimmt-merkel-in-schutz-a-784217.html> [20.05.2014].
- Süddeutsche.de/dpa/AFP/sebi, Merkel will politische Union in Europa vorantreiben*, „Süddeutsche.de“, 07.06.2012, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/eu-gipfel-merkel-will-politische-union-in-europa-vorantreiben-1.1376097> [18.05.2014].
- Traktat z Lizbony. Główne reformy ustrojowe Unii Europejskiej*, Barcz J. (ed.), Urząd Komitetu Integracji Europejskiej, Warszawa 2008.
- Vereinigte Staaten von Europa?*, „Infratest dimap“, <https://www.infratest-dimap.de/umfragen-analysen/bundesweit/umfragen/aktuell/vereinigte-staaten-von-europa/> [17.05.2014].
- Won/dapd/ks, Deutsche sehen Vereinigte Staaten Europas skeptisch*, „Welt.de“, 30.06.2012, <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article107611878/Deutsche-sehen-Vereinigte-Staaten-Europas-skeptisch.html> [17.05.2014].
- Zeit Online, Reuters, Von der Leyen will Vereinigte Staaten von Europa*, „Zeit Online“, 27.08.2011, <http://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2011-08/leyen-politische-union-europa> [18.05.2014].