

# The political order in Europe

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## Introduction:

The Community of European Nation-States or the Federal Republic of Europe: for fifteen centuries, since the fall of the Roman Empire, the question of political order in Europe has been resurfacing. To answer the question of what is best for Europeans, I would like to offer you a three-step reflection. Firstly, to define what is meant by the "community of European nation-states", by the "Federal Republic of Europe" and by the so-called "European construction", then in a second part, to see what Europe, the European Union and the specific nature of political history in Europe consist of, and finally, in a third part, I propose to you, since we are in Warsaw, to answer this question through the prism of Polish history.

## I - Community of European Nation-States and Federal Republic of Europe: What are we talking about?

### Community of European Nation-States

What is a community? The social doctrine of the Church defines the community as a social space whose vocation is to help its members grow and enable them to orient themselves towards the common good. The notion of community is intimately linked to the participation of its members. We belong to different communities that are not mutually exclusive. The first natural community to which we belong is the family, the basic cell of society, the one that John Paul II, your great pope, considered "the first space of resistance to oppression." We can belong to other communities such as a municipality, a company, a trade union, or more broadly a People or a Nation.

What is a state: It takes four elements to make a state: a population, a territory, an organized power, and sovereignty<sup>1</sup>, which in turn brings together four prerogatives: making laws, dispensing justice, minting money, and deciding on peace and war. To deepen this logic of the State, I propose that we take a look at the thought of a philosopher I like very much: Edith Stein, the one whom Jean Foyer, General de Gaulle's Minister of Justice, considered to be the greatest constitutionalist of our time. The Jewish philosopher was born in Breslau, East Prussia, now in Poland, she converted to Catholicism and became a Carmelite nun under the name Teresa Benedicta of the Cross. Because she was Jewish, Edith Stein was murdered in Auschwitz in 1942 and then canonized and made co-patron of Europe by John Paul II. While she was secretary to the philosopher Edmund Husserl, the "father" of phenomenology, Edith Stein made a powerful study of sovereignty in her work *On the State*<sup>2</sup>, *Eine Untersuchung über den Staat*, and showed that the special characteristic of the state was that its "laws have their source in it".<sup>3</sup> To say that the state is sovereign "means that it is itself the author of its right".<sup>4</sup> There is an "equivalence between statehood and sovereignty".<sup>5</sup> And if, by chance, "the state were to recognize a coercive power superior to itself, there would be an abandonment of sovereignty and thus self-destruction of the state."<sup>6</sup> This is what happened in 1992 when the French Republic committed itself to the Maastricht Treaty. France then ceased to exist as a state. Emmanuel Macron, the French president, is therefore no longer a "head of state" in the true sense of the word, since there is no longer a state but rather a "governor".

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<sup>1</sup> GOHIN, Olivier, *Droit constitutionnel*, 3rd edition, Paris, LexisNexis, 2016, p 17.

<sup>2</sup> STEIN, Edith, *Eine Untersuchung über den Staat*, 1925, trans.fr. *De l'Etat*, Fribourg, Cerf – Éditions Universitaires de Fribourg, 1989, p 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

What is a Nation? First of all, it should be noted that there is a relationship between the People and the Nation that leads Edith Stein to say that "the collective consciousness deposited in the people accesses a reflective consciousness in the Nation".<sup>7</sup> Since we are in Poland, I happily returned to *Memory and Identity*<sup>8</sup>, the political and spiritual testament of John Paul II published in 2005, the year of his death. John Paul II clarifies that, and I quote, "the term nation is meant to designate a community that resides in a specific territory and is distinguished from other nations by its own culture."<sup>9</sup> There is therefore an intimate relationship between Nation and Culture. In his great speech to UNESCO in 1980 in Paris, John Paul II recalled that, and I quote, "the nation exists 'through' culture and 'for' culture, and it is therefore the great educator of men so that they can 'be more' in the community."<sup>10</sup>

Partial conclusion: What is a community of European nation-states? It is a community that brings together European nations, each of which is constituted as a state. From a legal point of view, this community can take the form of a confederation governed by public international law<sup>11</sup>. In this case, it is an international organization. In my book *The Nation and the Empire*, I call this community, which I call the "European Alliance of Nation-States".<sup>12</sup>

## Federal Republic of Europe

I now propose that we spend some time on the question of the definition of the Republic, which is probably a more difficult subject, and then see what a federation consists of.

What is a republic? Two main meanings of the term republic are found in France.

The first meaning of "republic" is what I call classical, the *res publica*, which etymologically means the public thing and historically the state. The term "republic" was thus used during centuries of royalty to designate the state. In the sixteenth century, Jean Bodin<sup>13</sup>, a jurist and philosopher, clarified in the *Six Books of the Republic* what he meant by "republic".

The second meaning of "republic": linked to the history of the French Republic. This meaning of "republic" is not at all related to the logic of the state. Rather, it is a reference to the French Revolution. Schematically, the First French Republic, born in 1792, expelled the Catholic Church and merged the State with what I call Gnostic Churches that emerged from esoteric movements, Freemasonry in particular. With the merger of the state with new esoteric churches, it is the end of an authentic secularism proper to Catholic culture and tradition that distinguishes the temporal realm embodied by the king and the spiritual realm embodied by the pope. It is the rebirth of the totalitarian state. Emmanuel Macron, two weeks ago, in a speech delivered at the headquarters of the Grand Orient of France, a great French Masonic obedience, said that "the Masonic work and the republican struggle came together to almost merge (...) Freemasonry was the workshop of the Republic, where the work begun in the temple continued",<sup>14</sup> specifying that "the living link between the Republic and Freemasonry must be preserved".<sup>15</sup> He added that Freemasonry is the "eldest daughter of the Enlightenment"<sup>16</sup>, "strangely recalling John Paul II's expression "France, Eldest Daughter of the Church."<sup>17</sup>

It is therefore the first meaning of "republic", that of the State, that we will use to articulate our reasoning and not the second meaning which refers to a totalitarian state merging the temporal and spiritual dimensions<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>8</sup> WOJTYLA, Karol, *Mémoire et identité*, Paris, Flammarion, 2005, p 105.

<sup>9</sup> WOJTYLA, Karol, *Ibid.*, p 87.

<sup>10</sup> WOJTYLA, Karol, *Address of Pope John Paul II to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*, Paris, June 2, 1980.

<sup>11</sup> GOHIN, Olivier, *Droit constitutionnel, 3rd edition*, Paris, LexisNexis, 2016, p 57.

<sup>12</sup> LYNCH, Emmanuel, *La Nation face à l'Empire*, Paris, ML Éditions, 2021, rééd. Paris ML Éditions, 2022, p 231.

<sup>13</sup> BODIN, Jean, *Les Six Livres de la République*, Paris, 1576, rééd. Paris, Fayard, 1986.

<sup>14</sup> MACRON, Emmanuel, Speech of the President of the Republic at the Grand Orient of France on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of its name, Paris, November 8, 2023.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> JOHN PAUL II, Homily of the Holy Father, Le Bourget, 1 June 1980.

<sup>18</sup> To better understand the nature of this revolutionary republic, one must read Vincent Peillon, a socialist and former Minister of National Education, who gives his definition of republican atheism: "It should not be said that the Republic is the political form that corresponds to the epoch of God's death. (...) Republican theology is actually a more *subtle* theology. It is constructed entirely not from the death of God, an event that would have taken place, but in the death of God, as an *event that does not pass away and above all must not pass*, as a

What is a federation? Unlike a confederation, an international organization that is governed by public international law, a <sup>19</sup>federation is governed by constitutional law<sup>20</sup> and is based on a federal constitution. This is the case of the United States and Switzerland, which are incorrectly called<sup>21</sup> confederations since they are federations with a federal constitution<sup>22</sup>. I would also like to point out that "federation" does not mean anything about the fact that it is national as in the United States or plurinational as in the Russian Federation, which has several nationalities (Russians, Chechens, etc.). As a reminder, citizenship is the same as nationality in a national state, whether federal or not, while citizenship differs from nationality in a supranational state such as the Russian Federation or the European Union.

Partial conclusion: The Federal Republic of Europe is therefore a federal state in Europe, and therefore supranational, since it covers a geographical area made up of nations.

### **Has the "European construction" tended towards a community of European nation-states or towards a federal republic of Europe?**

There are three main phases in the so-called "European construction",<sup>23</sup> a first federal phase, a second confederal phase and a third federal phase:

- The first phase lasted from 1951 to 1958 and was based on a federal logic, from the birth of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the embryo of a federal state including a court of justice, to the arrival of General de Gaulle in power.
- The second phase lasted from 1958 to 1974 and marked a halt in federal construction. This is what I call the "Gaulian parenthesis" where the founder of the French Fifth Republic and his successor Georges Pompidou defend a confederal vision based on public international law and not the development of a federal state based on constitutional law.
- The third phase, which is totally federal in nature, goes from 1974, when Valéry Giscard d'Estaing came to power, to the present day with a key stage: the Maastricht Treaty, which gives a true federal constitution to the European Union.

Partial conclusion: We can see that if General de Gaulle and his former Prime Minister and successor blocked the development of the federal state, it was only a parenthesis.

Conclusion and transition: We have therefore clearly defined the Community of European Nation-States and the Federal Republic of Europe and then shown that it is indeed federalism that has been the basso continuo of the so-called "European construction".

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*continued death, as an endless mourning, as another regime of historicity" in PEILLON, Vincent, La Révolution française n'est pas fini, Paris, Seuil, 2008, p 33.*

<sup>19</sup> GOHIN, Olivier, *Droit constitutionnel, 3rd edition*, Paris, LexisNexis, 2016, p 57.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

*Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>22</sup> www.admin.ch

<sup>23</sup> As a reminder, three main phases can be identified in the preparation of the "European construction": The first phase is that of the pacifism of the interwar period with two major actors: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, the prophet of the pan-European Union, of the United States of Europe, who proposes his vision in his Paneuropa manifesto Published exactly one hundred years ago, this is the theme of a lecture given at the beginning of October at the Parliament of the European Union. Then it was Aristide Briand, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who politically brought Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's ambition before the League of Nations (League of Nations) with *a Memorandum on the organisation of a European federal union regime*; (ii) the second phase was the American takeover after the Second World War: Jean Monnet represented American interests and published in the mid-1950s *The United States of Europe Has Begun*. The federal logic modelled on the United States is also very clear; and (iii) the third phase is the action of the Christian Democrats: Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi, nostalgic for the Holy Roman Empire who support the vision of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi and Jean Monnet even though it is not Christian. This, too, is a federal vision.

## II – Europe, the European Union, the hallmark of Europe's political history

### What is Europe?

Where does the term Europe come from? The origin of the term Europa is probably Semitic, *ereb*, and indicates a direction, the setting sun<sup>24</sup>. And it was in the Middle Ages that the term Europe appeared. The people of Constantinople called the inhabitants of the Latin West "Europeans."<sup>25</sup> Europe, a term that appeared in the Middle Ages, first indicates a direction, that of the setting sun, a direction that is shown from the East.

What are the limits of Europe? Once it has been said that Europe is a direction, it is necessary to define what the borders of this European space are. What is its eastern boundary? Is this a cultural boundary with the Orthodox world? Is it a physical limit with a mountain range? The Urals? Is it something else? If it is difficult to determine the borders of Europe, it is because Europe is not primarily a geographical concept. What for? Because Europe is first and foremost a question of history and culture<sup>26</sup>. And the cultural matrix of this Europe is Rome, a Romanity that has absorbed the legacies of Athens and its philosophy, of Jerusalem and its faith.

Partial conclusion: We have shown that Europe is a direction, that the difficulty of grasping its borders shows that Europe, before being geographical, is above all history and culture, that Europe is the daughter of Athens, Jerusalem and Rome.

### What is the European Union?

A supranational federal state: The European Union brings together the characteristics of a state: a population, a territory, an organized power and sovereignty<sup>27</sup>, itself bringing together four prerogatives: making laws, dispensing justice, minting money, in the euro zone at least, and deciding on peace and war as we have seen with the conflict in Ukraine. The fact that this state covers several nations makes it a supranational state.

A real Empire: It may be useful to recall very quickly the main characteristics of an Empire. An Empire is first and foremost a state that governs several Peoples and Nations. The European Union is therefore a state. The European Union shares several other characteristics of Empires: the logic of extension with successive enlargements, the last one planning to increase the Empire from twenty-seven to thirty-five members, the need to be idolized in the image of the "European construction" that it is agreed to worship, the mixing of temporal and spiritual dimensions with the promotion of a new anthropology, citizenship, like the Edict of Caracalla for the Roman Empire, is an essential feature of a true Empire, a citizenship that became a reality with the Maastricht Treaty. There is only one characteristic that the Empire of the European Union lacks and that the Empires of the past have: their fall<sup>28</sup>.

A Socialist and Liberal, Materialistic and Atheistic Empire, a New Soviet Union: Without going into the details you'll find in *The Nation and the Empire, the Empire of the European Union is socialist and liberal in nature, materialistic and atheistic*<sup>29</sup> in nature. As the historian Éric Branca magnificently demonstrated at the conference *European Union: An Empire against the Nations* in Paris a year ago, its functioning resembles that of the Soviet Empire. The Soviet Union died in the East at the end of 1991 and was reborn in the West in early 1992. In a way, the Soviet Union moved from East to West.

Partial conclusion: The European Union is a supranational federal state, a veritable empire whose nature is socialist and liberal, materialistic and atheistic. Its functioning is similar to that of the USSR.

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<sup>24</sup> BRAGUE, Rémi, *Europe, la voie romaine*, Folio-essais, Paris, NRF, 1999, p 11.

<sup>25</sup> BRAGUE, Rémi, *By means of the Middle Ages: Medieval Philosophies in Christendom, Judaism and Islam*, Paris, Flammarion, 2008, p 319.

<sup>26</sup> RATZINGER, Joseph, *L'Europe, ses fondements, aujourd'hui et demain*, Editions Saint-Augustin, 2005, p 70.

<sup>27</sup> GOHIN, Olivier, *Droit constitutionnel, 3rd edition*, Paris, LexisNexis, 2016, p 17.

<sup>28</sup> DUROSELLE, Jean-Baptiste, *Tout Empire Périra, Théorie des relations internationales*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1992.

<sup>29</sup> LYNCH, Emmanuel, *La Nation face à l'Empire*, Paris, ML Éditions, 2021, rééd. Paris ML Éditions, 2022.

## **The revival of Empires questioned by Nations: the hallmark of Europe's political history**

European history is made up of Empires reborn: The Roman Empire collapsed in the fifth century. It was Charlemagne, in the eighth century, who was the first to revive the Roman Empire. Then it was Otho in the ninth century who revived it in the form of a Holy Roman Empire that became Germanic and ended up crushed by Napoleon and his Empire that wanted to be the continuation of the Roman Empire, an Empire that called itself "French" even though it betrayed the French logic which is that of a Nation that organizes itself as a State at the national level, a Napoleonic Empire that also wanted to be heir to the Carolingian Empire. Napoleon's French Empire was then brought down by the Coalition Nations and the Russian Empire. Then it was the German Empires that were defeated by European nations and the Russian Empire. Then came the Soviet Empire and finally the Empire of the European Union of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi<sup>30</sup>, an Empire modelled on the Empire of Charlemagne and the Empire of Napoleon, a new Empire that absorbed most of Europe but met with the opposition of several peoples who refused to lose their freedom.

Partial conclusion: the revival of the Roman Empire and the relentless struggle of certain nations to prevent it is one of the great constants of European history.

Conclusion and transition: We began by recalling that Europe is first and foremost a historical and cultural adventure before being a geographical space. We went on to demonstrate that the European Union is a supranational federal state and a veritable empire. We then saw that European history is made up of the rebirth of empires and the fierce struggle of certain nations not to submit to them.

### **III – The question of the European political order through the prism of Polish history**

#### **Poland, a nation that hesitates between the national state and the Empire**

In 1569, the Union of Lublin between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania gave birth to the Republic of the Two Nations, which brought together many nationalities. So it's a kind of supranational federation. Concretely, it was a small Empire made up of two main nations, which stretched south towards the Black Sea, in lands at that time inhabited by peoples who were not represented in the parliament of the Republic of the Two Nations, like the Cossacks who "asked in vain to be represented in the Diet".<sup>31</sup> With the Treaty of Union of Hadziacz in 1658, the Republic of the Two Nations could have become a "Republic of the Three Nations" if the Cossacks had not divided around this political project. This new "three-headed" Republic<sup>32</sup> would have brought together the Grand Duchy of Ruthenia, in present-day Ukraine, the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The fact remains that the great state of the Republic of the Two Nations gradually disintegrated and, after the "Cossack wars", the Ukrainian nation in the making separated from Poland to ally itself with Muscovy, the former name of the Russian Empire. In a way, Ukraine passed from the Polish-Lithuanian Empire to the Russian Empire. Thus it can be seen that Poland has been for more than two centuries a federal state and an empire. We must not forget that.

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<sup>30</sup> LYNCH, Emmanuel, Conference "From Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's dream to Ursula von der Leyen's Empire" at the Parliament of the European Union in Strasbourg on 4 October 2023.

<sup>31</sup> BEAUVOIS, Daniel, *La Pologne, Des origines à nos jours*, Paris, Seuil, 2010, rééd. 2022, p 178.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

## Poland, a Nation Fallen Prey to Empires

In the eighteenth century, successive conflicts<sup>33</sup> carved up the Republic of the two Nations, which were divided into the Kingdom of Prussia, the Habsburg Empire and the Russian Empire. The double-headed eagle, the symbol of Empires. It is that of the Holy Roman Empire and the Russian Empire, while the single-headed black eagle, with one head, is that of the Kingdom of Prussia. Symbolically, three black eagles, including two eagles of Empires and a Prussian eagle, cut up the white eagle symbolizing Poland, a Poland that ceased to exist as a state in 1795. It was not until the end of the First World War that she regained her freedom before disappearing into the Third German Empire and being put under the control of the Soviet Empire, from which she freed herself in 1989. Fifteen years later, Poland made the choice to submit, voluntarily this time, to another Empire, that of the European Union, a *soft* Empire compared to the German and Russian Empires, but an Empire nonetheless.

### Poland: a nation that has managed to survive without a state in the long term

Without knowing that I was going to be invited here, I said in my speech on "Europe and Empire"<sup>34</sup> to the Parliament of the European Union on 4 October that a nation like Poland had been able to survive without a state in the long term. I calculated this week that, in the two books I have published, I quote "Poland" or "Pole" twenty times. You can see that the Polish question seems important to me! Poland has so often ceased to exist as a state, the fruit of the tragedies of its history. The nation is indeed a natural community that can survive without a state even if, objectively, the constitution of a nation as a state and the ability to be the author of its right contributes to the preservation of a culture, an essential condition for the survival of a nation. And it is the culture of a nation that makes it possible to do without the state for a while. A language, a faith, a music... John Paul II considers that "to a certain extent, it is known that the nineteenth century marked the summit of Polish culture"<sup>35</sup> even though Poland did not exist as a state during this entire century! A culture that has its origins in the Piast and Jagiellonian dynasties, a cultural treasure that allowed Poland to last without a state. Maybe this is the Polish miracle.

## Conclusion

Community of European Nation-States or Federal Republic of Europe: Which is better for Europeans? I believe that it is first and foremost a question of defining the common good. In order for a community of history and culture such as a people or a nation to strive for the common good, it must be able to make its own choices in harmony with its history and culture. Let us think of the sensitive issue of non-European immigration<sup>36</sup>, which by definition originates from other civilizational areas than European and Western civilization. How can we take into account the question of the preservation of national cohesion and the preservation of the culture of peoples and nations? This requires that peoples and nations be able to make their laws, that is to say, to constitute themselves into states. What do you do when you've been subjected to an Empire? Liberating the Nation? Liberating France and reconstituting it as a state is my commitment and it is that of the France Libre Vrai Europe movement that I embody. Should Poland also free itself from the Empire of the European Union? It is not for me to answer. If you answer in the affirmative, I would like to mention a real pitfall: nationalism. What for? Because exacerbated nationalism makes you blind and consequently it becomes easier to be manipulated. Nevertheless, I see two main ways of protecting oneself from a possible nationalist drift. John Paul II offers a first plea, and I quote: "How can one free oneself from such a peril (nationalism)? I think the most appropriate way is patriotism. The character of nationalism is that it recognizes and seeks only the good of one's own nation, without regard to the rights of others. Patriotism, on the other hand, as love for one's country, recognizes that all other nations have equal rights to those claimed for one's homeland, and is therefore the way to an ordered social love."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> The War of the Polish Succession added to the political instability and in 1738, Stanisław Leszczyński, losing to the Russians, inherited Lorraine, which it was agreed would return to the King of France on his death.

<sup>34</sup> LYNCH, Emmanuel, Speech delivered at the Parliament of the European Union in Strasbourg on 4 October 2023.

<sup>35</sup> WOJTYLA, Karol, *Mémoire et identité*, Paris, Flammarion, 2005, p 76.

<sup>36</sup> The European Union has set itself the objective of "exploiting the full potential of migration to Europe" by promoting "the acquisition of citizenship, the possibility of family reunification, (...) Political rights", Economic and Social Council of the European Union, *Opinion on "The costs of non-immigration and non-integration"*, Official Journal of the European Union, 22 March 2019, C 110/7.

<sup>37</sup> WOJTYLA, Karol, *Mémoire et identité*, Paris, Flammarion, 2005, p 85.

There are probably Catholics in front of me tonight who are familiar with the logic of secularism promoted by the Roman Catholic Church. I therefore take the liberty of giving them a second means of protecting themselves from a mystical nationalism: to distinguish very clearly between the temporal and the spiritual order, not to mix the cause of the State with the cause of the Church.

Thank you.

NB: As the translation was ultimately consecutive and not simultaneous, some elements of this text were not spoken orally in order to limit the length of the speech. It was decided to include what was planned to be said, particularly in Part III.



Are available on the website of the France Libre Vrai Europe movement at the following address <https://francelibreveraieeurope.fr>

- Links to books published by Emmanuel Lynch including *The Nation and the Empire* published in 2021 (second edition was published in 2022). This book is the foundation on which the reflection proposed in this speech is based.
- [Speech delivered at the Parliament of the European Union](#) in Strasbourg on 4 October 2023.
- [Audio](#) and text of the conference "From Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's dream to Ursula von der Leyen's Empire" given on October 4, 2023.
- Proceedings and video of the colloquium "[EU: an Empire against Nations](#)" organized on December 9, 2022 at the Maison de l'Amérique latine in Paris.
- Articles, interviews, conferences, etc.