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## Supernationalism. Theory of integration

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**Abstract.** In this research paper I have addressed multinational corporations, with that of non-state actors interacting with state actors. Although multinational corporations are sub-state actors in the formulation of the state's foreign policy, they are also transnational actors that transcend national boundaries and create new avenues of interdependence between states. This chapter is about transnational and international actors whose roles and influences are supranational, that is, they summarize a number within a larger whole. As we have seen, the UN has some supranational aspects, but they are limited by the UN Charter, which is based on state sovereignty. On a regional scale, the European Union (European Union, EU) is a somewhat more supernatural entity than the UN, and other regional organizations, which have achieved varying degrees of success, have tried to follow the path of Europe. The official intergovernmental organizations, the UN and the EU are not the only way to work out supranationalism. In many respects, the consequences of information technologies operating globally and regionally across state boundaries without official political structures are of longer-term impact. This chapter explores these diverse supranational influences on international politics, ranging from official EU structures to the globalizing consequences of information.

**Keywords.** European Union, EU, Supernationalism, Integration, UN Charter, International

### **Integration - Supernationalism**

This chapter deals with a topic related to multinational corporations, with that of non-state actors interacting with state actors. Although multinational corporations are sub-state actors in the formulation of the state's foreign policy, they are also transnational actors that transcend national boundaries and create new avenues of interdependence between states.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter is about transnational and international actors whose roles and influences are supranational, that is, they summarize a number within a larger whole. As we have seen, the UN has some supranational aspects, but they are limited by the UN Charter, which is based on state sovereignty. On a regional scale, the European Union (European Union, EU) is a somewhat more supernatural entity than the UN, and other regional organizations, which have achieved varying degrees of success, have tried to follow the path of Europe.

All of these cases demonstrate a clash between the contradictory forces of nationalism and supranationalism, that is, between state sovereignty and higher authority (in terms of the necessity but not of force or legitimacy) of international structures.

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<sup>1</sup> Nye Joseph S., Jr., and Robert O. Keohane, eds. *Transnational Relations and World Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972.

The official intergovernmental organizations, the UN and the EU are not the only way to work out supranationalism. In many respects, the consequences of information technologies operating globally and regionally across state boundaries without official political structures are of longer-term impact. Here, too, supranational influences compete for influence with the sovereign state. This chapter explores these diverse supranational influences on international politics, ranging from official EU structures to the globalizing consequences of information<sup>2</sup>.

### **Theory of integration**

The theory of international integration can help explain these new phenomena, which once again challenge the foundations of realism (state sovereignty and toxic totality). International integration is about the process by which international institutions begin to replace national ones, that is, the gradual shift in direction for higher sovereignty from the state to regional or world structures. The main manifestation of integration would be the merger of several (or more) states into a single state, or ultimately a single world government. Such a change of sovereignty at the supranational level would probably entail some variant of federalism, in which states (or other political entities) would accept the sovereignty of a central government, while retaining some power for themselves. This is the governing form adopted (after some debate) in the US Constitution.

Occasionally there are occasional calls for the "United States of Europe" or even the world, but the process of integration has never gone beyond a partial and difficult division of power between the state and supranational levels. abandon their sole claim to sovereignty and have severely restricted the power and authority of supranational institutions. Of course, the UN is far from a federal model. It represents a degree in terms of international integration, but only a degree.

In the previous chapters, other simplistic models of the integration process have been encountered. One of them is the creation of regional free trade zones, such as NAFTA. However, such forms of organization hardly challenge the territorial integrity of states, let alone their political sovereignty. States do not exercise much sovereignty either in monetary regimes or in agreements with multinational corporations, however all of these EPNs necessarily have supranational elements.

The most successful example of the integration process to date, although this success is only partial, is European Prediction. Although we can see aspects of international integration operating in other countries around the world, these processes have gone much further in Europe than elsewhere. Regional co-ordination now taking place in Western Europe is a new historical phenomenon that was achieved only after World War II.<sup>3</sup> Until fifty years ago, the European continent has been the embodiment international sovereignty, state competition and wars. The international system was invented in Europe. For five hundred years, until 1945, the states of Europe have been occupied with incessant chronic wars. Only in the 20th century were two world wars ravaged this continent. European countries have today's religious, ethnic and cultural differences. The fifteen members of today's EU speak thirteen different official languages. If there was ever a failed candidate for integration, this seemed to be Europe.

What is even more striking is that European integration began with the cooperation of two of the fiercest enemies in the last hundred years, enemies in the three great wars since 1870, France and Germany (the word German means West Germany since 1870). 1944 to 1990 and

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<sup>2</sup> Hubert Isak (eds): A European Perspective for the Western Balkans. Wien 2007

<sup>3</sup> Moravcik, Andrew. The Choice for Europe: Social Power from Messina to Maastricht. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998. Keohane, Robert J., and Stanley Hoffman, eds. The New European Community: Decisionmaking and Institutional Change. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991. Kahler, Miles

after this period united Germany). When Western European countries began to create supranational institutions of an economic community to promote free trade and coordinate their economic policies, this drew the attention of MN researchers. They used the term integration to describe what was happening in Europe according to their observations. Integration was clearly challenging the realists' assumption that states were strictly autonomous and would never give up their power or sovereignty. These researchers came up with the idea that Europe's movements towards integration could be explained by functionalism, that is, the rise of specialized technical bodies that transcend national boundaries.<sup>4</sup> Under operationalization, technological and economic development leads to increasingly multinational structures, as states seek practical tools to fulfill essential functions such as the distribution of postal correspondence or telephone calls from one country to another, or the co-ordination of the use of rivers that pass through state borders. Some MN researchers try to measure the extent of functional links in Europe, for example, by calculating the amount of postal correspondence and other ways of communicating between countries.<sup>5</sup> As these modes of communication become more dense and faster, functionalization has foreseen that states would pull together to create stronger international economic structures. However, the European experience went beyond creating specialized agencies towards a more general development, towards supranational political bodies, such as the European Parliament. Neofunctionalization is a modification of functional theory by MN researchers, to explain these developments. Neofunctionalists argue that economic integration (neofunctionalism) creates a political mobility that drives integration further. Closer economic ties require greater economic co-ordination in order to act properly and ultimately lead to political integration, which is a process called diffusion. Some scholars have focused on a sense of community (the sense of being "us") which is less tangible and which began to develop among Europeans, contrary to nationalist sentiments that also existed. Hopes for a less violent future among the countries of Western Europe created a security community in which such feelings could be created.<sup>6</sup> The creation of a European distinctiveness has also been driven by such efforts as the textbook revision project.

Elsewhere in the world, economies are becoming more interdependent at both the regional and global levels. The Andean Common Market, launched in 1969, promoted a limited degree of regional integration in its member states such as Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. In Asia, the Association of South East Nations (ASEAN) has achieved some success in fostering regional economic co-ordination over several decades<sup>7</sup>.

Among MN researchers the interest in integration theory has grown or waned following the unstable pace of European integration. In 1960 and 1970, European integration appeared to

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<sup>4</sup> Mitrany, David. *The Funktional Theory of Politics*. London: The London School of Economics/M. Robertson, 1975. Haas, Ernst B. *Beyond the Nation-State: Funktioanlism and Interantional Organaisation*. Stanford. Stanford University Press, 1964. Haas, Ernst B, *When Knowledge Is. Power: Three Models of Change in Interantional Organaisation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. Skolnikoff, Eugene B, *The Elusive Transformation: Science, technology, and the Evolution of International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

<sup>5</sup> Cioffi-Revilla, Claudio, Richard L. Merritt, and Dina A. Zinnes, eds. *Communivation and Interaction in Global Politics*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1997.

<sup>6</sup> Deutsch, Karl W. *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*. Princeton: Pricenton University Press, 1957. Ullman, Richard H. *Securing Europe*. Princeton: Pricenton University Press, 1991.

<sup>7</sup> Mattli, Walter. *The Logic of Regional Integration: Eurpe and Beyond*. New York; Cambridge University Press, 1999. Thomas, Kenneth P., and mary Ann Tetrault, eds. *Racing to Regioanlize: Democarcy, Capitalism, and Regioanl Political Economy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999. Mace, Gordon, and Louis Belanger, eds. *The Americas in Transition: The Contours of Regionalism*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999.

be slowing, and efforts to regional integration elsewhere in the world also failed to develop as expected. For most of the decades of the Cold War, integration as a matter of the second place among MN researchers (and policymakers) over concerns about East-West conflict, nuclear weapons and related security issues. .

Then, in 1980, Europe again accelerated its progress towards integration, the Cold War ended, and the North American Free Trade Agreement was created; the research interest in integration increases again.

The cost of integration. Ironically, the new wave of integration of Europe and other countries is facing bounds and obstacles, just as researchers are reinforcing the theory of integration. Integration diminishes the ability of states to protect themselves and their citizens from the many problems and conflicts of the world. For example, in 1990, Venezuela discovered that because of its open border with Colombia, large cargoes of cocaine-bound transit to the United States were in place.

China found that its new foreign trade opening left it unprotected against the ongoing AIDS epidemic in Asia. Germany found that the acceptance of foreign refugees meant coexistence with more ethnic conflict.

Integration could mean a greater concentration at a time when individuals, particular groups, and national populations are demanding more rights to decide their own problems. The concentration of political authority, information and culture as a result of integration can threaten both individual and group freedom. Ethnic groups want to protect their culture, language, and institutions against the perverse diversity that would create a global or regional mix. As a result of this integration process, many states and citizens, in Europe and elsewhere, responded to the new wave of integration with a nationalism born in the 1990s.

Indeed, these forces are driving a wave of disintegration of states, which runs counter to (albeit a kosher) the integration tendencies of today's world. The wave of disintegration in a way began with the decolonization of the former European empires of Africa, Asia and the Middle East after World War II. Now the breakup is more evident in Russia and Eastern Europe, especially in the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia. Countries in other regions, Somalia, Iraq, and Afghanistan, appear at risk of disintegrating in parts, at least practically if not officially. The conclusion of the breakup of the Soviet Union may be able to reach western Europe under the most optimistic scenario for the future of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). However, the outcome of this experiment is not known yet, and few researchers feel very optimistic. One challenge to integration that theorists will have to account for in the years to come is the diverse new trends that go against integration.

Successful or unsuccessful integration efforts contain a common thread that unites them, clashes between nationalism and supranational beliefs (regionalism or globalism). In less successful integration efforts, nationalism stays virtually unfinished, even in the most successful cases nationalism remains a major force involved in an ongoing struggle with supranationalism. This war is a central theme even in the most successful case of integration, which is the European Union.

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