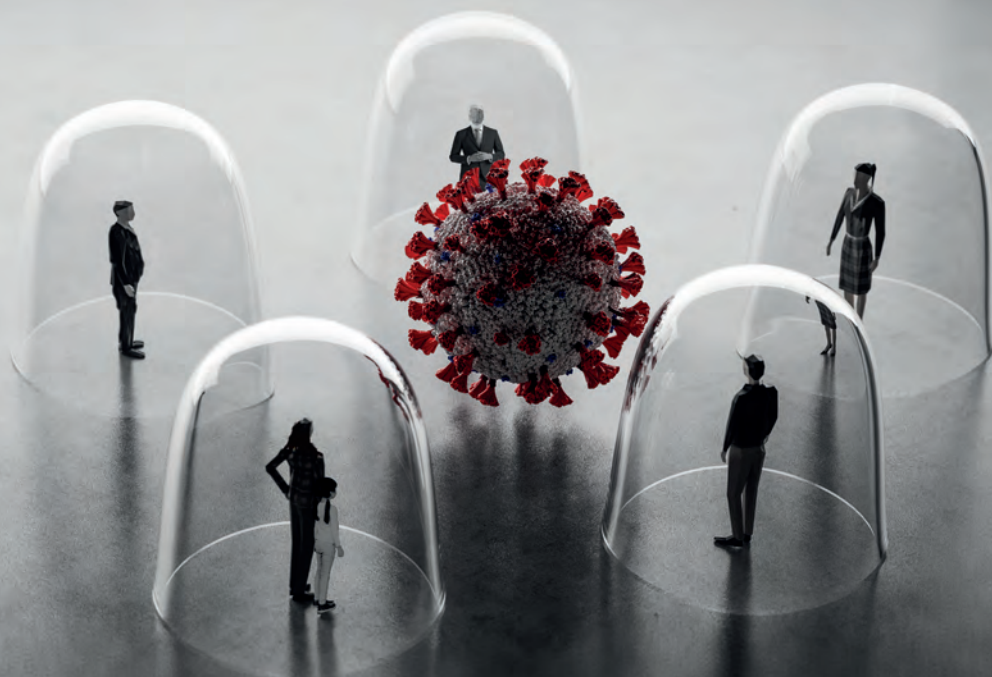


Anna Moskal · Aleksandra Sobarnia
Szymon Pazera · Zuzanna Kopania

THE EUROPEAN UNION IN LIGHT OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC —

A FAILURE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION OR
A CHANCE FOR CLOSER COOPERATION AMONG MEMBER STATES?



THE EUROPEAN UNION IN LIGHT OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC –
A FAILURE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION OR A CHANCE
FOR CLOSER COOPERATION AMONG MEMBER STATES?

Anna Moskal
Aleksandra Sobarnia
Szymon Pazera
Zuzanna Kopania

**THE EUROPEAN UNION IN LIGHT
OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC –
A FAILURE OF EUROPEAN
INTEGRATION OR A CHANCE
FOR CLOSER COOPERATION
AMONG MEMBER STATES?**



Cracow 2021

© Copyright by Anna Moskal, Aleksandra Sobarnia, Szymon Pazera,
Zuzanna Kopania, 2021

Jagiellonian University, Cracow

Anna Moskal

📧 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9070-069X>

✉ annamariamoskal@gmail.com

Aleksandra Sobarnia

📧 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8919-3002>

✉ aleksandra.sobarnia@student.uj.edu.pl

Szymon Pazera

📧 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3646-3093>

✉ szymon.pazera@student.uj.edu.pl

Zuzanna Kopania

📧 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5746-598X>

✉ zuzannakopania@gmail.com

Review: dr hab. Renata Duda, University of Wrocław

Proofreading: Piotr Art

Cover design: Mateusz Jaszczuk

ISBN 978-83-8138-575-6 (print)

ISBN 978-83-8138-576-3 (on-line, pdf)

<https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381385763>

The publication was funded by the Priority Research Area Society of the Future under the program “Excellence Initiative – Research University” at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow

Cover photo: Photocreo Bednarek (Adobe Stock), Jira (Rawpixel)

KSIĘGARNIA AKADEMICKA PUBLISHING

ul. św. Anny 6, 31-008 Kraków

tel./faks: 12 431-27-43, 12 421-13-87

e-mail: publishing@akademicka.pl

Internet bookstore: <https://akademicka.com.pl>

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| Preface | 7 |
| List of Acronyms and Abbreviations..... | 13 |
| Timeline of the History of European Integration | 15 |
| Anna Moskal | |
| Introduction | 19 |
| Aleksandra Sobarnia | |
| I. The Historical Development of European Integration | 27 |
| 1. Early Post-War Period | 27 |
| 2. The European Communities | 30 |
| 3. Eurozone | 35 |
| 4. Project of the European Constitutional Treaty | 40 |
| 5. The Lisbon Treaty..... | 43 |
| 6. Summary | 47 |
| Anna Moskal | |
| II. Visions of European Integration | 49 |
| 1. Early Concepts of European Integration | 49 |
| 2. Debate on Multi-Speed Europe | 52 |
| 3. Brexit | 56 |
| 4. White Paper on the Future of Europe..... | 60 |
| 5. Four EU Scenarios for Governance in a Post COVID-19 World... | 68 |
| 6. Summary | 72 |
| Szymon Pazera | |
| III. The Outbreak of the COVID-19 in Europe | 75 |
| 1. COVID-19 | 75 |
| 2. European Union's Competences and Actions | 78 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 3. European Union versus Disinformation | 99 |
| 4. Distribution of Vaccines in the EU and Vaccination Certificates | 104 |
| 5. Summary | 112 |

Zuzanna Kopania

| | |
|---|-----|
| IV. Critical Perspective on the Reactions to the COVID-19 Pandemic in the European Union | 113 |
| 1. Actions Taken by Member States | 113 |
| 2. Actions Taken by the European Union | 133 |
| 3. Recommendations of Actions Which Should Be Taken to Handle Crises in the European Union | 138 |
| 4. Summary | 146 |

Anna Moskal

| | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Conclusions | 149 |
|-------------------|-----|

| | |
|---------------------------|-----|
| Bibliography | 153 |
| Notes about Authors | 171 |
| Summary | 173 |
| Streszczenie | 175 |
| Index | 177 |

Preface

In this publication we intend to make a noticeable contribution to the highly disputed and lively topic of European integration. Although the shape and future of the European Union have been debated since its formation, we strongly believe that they need to be revisited due to the severe challenges this unique organisation and its Member States have been facing following the outbreak the COVID-19. The rapid spread of the coronavirus around the world led to an unprecedented global emergency which severely affected many countries, including EU Member States. The COVID-19 pandemic put the ability of the European Union to react quickly and effectively to the test. In addition, it has also exposed the weak points of cooperation and solidarity of Member States, and the level of trust their citizens have in the EU during a time of horrendous crisis. A number of important lessons can be drawn from the initial reaction of the EU, Member States and their citizens, which encouraged us to reassess the degree of European integration and come up with the ideas for enhancing it for the future.

This publication discusses a diverse range of issues associated with European integration, ranging from a brief look at the origins of the EU, the evolution of the organisation over the last several decades, the changing visions of the future of Europe, the crises that the Member States faced in the past, and finally the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the current and future level of European integration. The principal goals of this book are to re-evaluate a scope of integration and cooperation of Member States, analyse the level of trust given to the European Union, as well as to provide practical recommendations which could improve the effectiveness of actions taken by the EU and its members states in times of crises. Additionally, this book aims to shed light on the Eurosceptic disinformation and fake news campaigns which have been directed against EU during the COVID-19 pandemic, and highlight emerging opportunities for the European Union in a globalized and digitalized world.

In order to provide readers with a valuable and intersectional analysis, a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach was undertaken. Thus, the chapters of this

book address the researched subjects from various perspectives, including historical, legal, sociological and political. We have high hopes that this publication not only makes a relevant academic contribution but also stimulates a scholarly discussion that lays the foundations for future debates on European integration. We strongly believe that the European integration should be viewed as a dynamic and evolving process due to the new developments and challenges of a fast-paced, globalised modern world. As European integration is an on-going process, with particular volatility envisioned due to post-COVID economic crises and the rapid growth of digital platforms, we expect and encourage further research on this topic.

We would like to acknowledge that this publication has been supported by a grant from the Priority Research Area Society of the Future under the Strategic Programme “Excellence Initiative – Research University” at the Jagiellonian University. The past few months of intensive research on this grant project have been challenging for us, but nonetheless extremely illuminating and satisfying. We submitted our book to the publisher on 1 July 2021. We learned to manage our first grant project, obtained first-hand experience in working as an academic team and consulted our hypotheses with several brilliant scholars. Moreover, working on this publication taught us how to view problems from various perspectives, perform a complex comparative analysis, and produce solid recommendations. Therefore, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to our Alma Mater for the opportunity to perform this research.

We would like to express our sincere appreciation to both our supervisors, Professor Piotr Bajor and Doctor Magdalena Lisińska, for their time spent on advising us on the grant project. The idea for the research focusing on European integration grew out of a seminar on international relations taught by Professor Piotr Bajor at the Jagiellonian University. Without his initial words of encouragement and valuable suggestions of improvement over the writing process we would not be able to complete this publication. Doctor Magdalena Lisińska guided us in our first grant project and we counted on her quick responses and invaluable help on numerous occasions. Thus, we are deeply grateful for all the support we received from both our supervisors.

Truth be told, it would be impossible to complete this publication without a strong support group. We would like to thank our family and friends, who made it possible for us to fully focus on this publication and were always eager to discuss all the problems we struggled with. Their brilliant comments and insightful questions helped us verify our hypotheses and look at them from different perspectives. With a glimpse of satisfaction, we also observed that the European project is a highly interesting topic for heated and lively discussions across all ages and nationalities.

Last but not the least, we would like to thank all the readers for deciding to purchase this book. We hope that you will truly enjoy reading it, and benefit from

the results of our research. In this publication we hope you will discover a passion for a united and integrated Europe, find a pleasure in familiarising yourself with the beginnings of a European dream, and to get emotional when following all the exciting twists and turns on the European Union's path to achieving it. We firmly believe that you will find this publication inspiring and thought-provoking.

Authors:

Anna Moskal

Aleksandra Sobarnia

Szymon Pazera

Zuzanna Kopania

Cracow, 1 September 2021

Bibliography

Legislation:

- Arrêté ministériel du 13 mars 2020 portant des mesures d'urgence pour limiter la propagation du coronavirus COVID-19*, at <https://www.etaamb.be/fr/erratum-du-13-mars-2020_n2020030330.html>.
- Arrêté ministériel du 18 mars 2020 portant des mesures d'urgence pour limiter la propagation du coronavirus COVID-19*, at <<http://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/eli/arrete/2020/03/18/2020030331/moniteur>>.
- Arrêté ministériel du 23 mars 2020 portant des mesures d'urgence pour limiter la propagation du coronavirus COVID-19*, at <<http://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/eli/arrete/2020/03/23/2020030347/moniteur>>.
- Article 25 SBC*, at <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32006R0562&from=EN>>.
- C.E., section de legislation, avis 67.142/AG du 25 mars 2020 sur une proposition de loi 'habilitant le Roi à prendre des mesures de lutte contre la propagation du coronavirus COVID-19.
- Decision No 1082/2013/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 22 October 2013 on Serious Cross-Border Threats to Health and Repealing Decision No 2119/98/EC*, at <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex:32013D1082>>.
- EUR-Lex, *Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community*, at <[https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A12019W%2FTXT\(02\)](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A12019W%2FTXT(02))>.
- Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on the European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*, Official Journal of the European Union, Lisbon 2012, at <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:C2012/326/01>>.
- Protocol (No 30) on the application of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union to Poland and to the United Kingdom*, OJ C 115, 9 May 2008.
- Text of the Elysee Treaty (Joint Declaration of Franco-German Friendship, Atlantic Council*, at <<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/natosource/text-of-the-elysee-treaty-joint-declaration-of-francogerman-friendship/>>.
- The Hague Court of Appeal's Ruling on C/09/607056 / KG ZA 21-118*, at <<https://uitspraken.rechtpraak.nl/inziendocument?id=ECLI:NL:GHDHA:2021:285&showbutton=true&keyword=EC%20LI%3aNL%3aGHDHA%3a2021%3a285>>.
- The Laeken Declaration and the Convention on the Future of Europe*, Laeken 2002, at <<https://comonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/rp02-14/>>.
- Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe as signed in Rome on 29 October 2004 and published in the Official Journal of the European Union on 16 December 2004* (C series, No 310), unratified, at

- <https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/default/files/docs/body/treaty_establishing_a_constitution_for_europe_en.pdf>.
- Treaty Establishing European Coal and Steel Community and Annexes I–III Paris*, 18 April 1951, at <<https://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:11951K:EN:PDF>>.
- Treaty Establishing the Constitution of Europe*, Luxembourg 2005, at <https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/default/files/docs/body/treaty_establishing_a_constitution_for_europe_en.pdf>, Official Journal of the European Union.
- Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the Treaty on European Union, the Treaties Establishing the European Communities and Certain Related Acts*, Official Journal of the European Communities, Luxembourg 1997, p. 125, at <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A11997D%2FTXT>>.
- Treaty of Lisbon Amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty Establishing the European Community*, Official Journal of the European Union, Lisbon 2007, at <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/PL/ALL/?uri=celex:12007L/TXT>>.
- Resolution of the Government of the Czech Republic of 12 March 2020*, no. 194; 69/2020 Sb., at <https://www.randls.com/wp-content/uploads/194_120320_Usneseni-vlady-k-vyhlaseni-nouzoveho-stavu_EN.pdf>.

Official Publications:

- Bronisław Geremek Foundation, *Report „Obraz Unii Europejskiej w trakcie pierwszych miesięcy pandemii COVID-19”*, March 2020.
- Committee for the Study of Economic and Monetary Union, Jacques Delors (Chairman), *Report on Economic and Monetary Union in the European Community*, Madrid, 17 April 1989, at <aei.pitt.edu/1007/1/monetary_delors.pdf>.
- Communication From the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on Drawing the Early Lessons from the COVID-19 Pandemic*, at <<https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/communication150621.pdf>>.
- Council and Commission of the European Communities, *Report to the Council and the Commission on the Realisation by Stages of Economic and Monetary Union in the Community (Werner Report) (definitive text)*, Luxembourg, 8 October 1970.
- Council of the European Union, *The Rome Declaration: Declaration of the Leaders of 27 Member States and of the European Council, the European Parliament and the European Commission*, Press Statements and Remarks, 149/17, 25 March 2017, at <<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/03/25/rome-declaration/pdf>>.
- Damen M., *Four EU Scenarios for Governance in a Post COVID-19 World. Lessons from Natural Resources Management*, a study conducted by Policy Department for External Relations for European Parliament, PE 639.317, October 2020.
- Directorate-General for Internal Policies, *The Role and Powers of the European Parliament in the Brexit Process*, 2017, at <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2017/602054/IPOL_IDA%282017%29602054_EN.pdf>.
- Economic, Social and Environmental Council, *Resolution on the White Paper on the Future of Europe Presented by the European Commission*, presented by the Office in June 2017, at <<https://www.eesc.europa.eu/en/policies/in-focus/future-europe/resolution>>.
- EUR-Lex, *EU's Common Security and Defence Policy*, at <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:ai0026>>.
- European Commission, *Audio Meeting of the Health Security Committee – 17 January 2020. Public Flash Report the Cluster of Pneumonia Cases Associated with Novel Coronavirus in Wuhan, China*, at <https://ec.europa.eu/health/sites/default/files/preparedness_response/docs/ev_20200117_sr_en.pdf>.
- European Commission, *Citizens' Dialogues and Citizens' Consultations: Key Conclusions*, 30 April 2019, p. 4, at <<https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/5a54a0f2-80f1-11e9-9f05-01aa75ed71a1>>.

Summary

This publication discusses a diverse range of issues associated with European integration, ranging from the origins of the European Union, the evolution of the organisation over the last several decades, the changing visions of the future of Europe, the crises that the Member States faced in the past, and finally, the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the current and future level of European integration. Although the shape and future of the EU have been debated since its formation, the authors strongly believe that they need to be revisited due to the severe challenges this unique organisation and its Member States have been facing following the outbreak of COVID-19. The rapid spread of coronavirus around the world led to an unprecedented global emergency which severely affected many countries, including all the Member States of the EU. The COVID-19 pandemic put the ability of the EU to react quickly and effectively to the test. In addition, it also exposed the weak points of cooperation and solidarity of the Member States, and the level of trust their citizens have in the EU during a time of horrendous crisis. In this publication, a scope of integration and cooperation of the Member States is re-evaluated, and the level of European citizens' trust given to the EU and its Member States during the deadly pandemic is analysed. In order to provide the reader with an in-depth and comprehensive research analysis on European integration, the study is presented through a historic, political, and legal lens.

Key words: European integration, European Union, COVID-19 pandemic

This publication makes a notable contribution to the highly discussed and lively topic of European integration. It includes a brief description of the origins of the European Union, the evolution of the organisation over the last several decades, the changing visions of the future of Europe, the crises that the Member States faced in the past, and finally, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the current and future level of European integration. This publication provides the reader with novel and very detailed data on the performance of the EU and its Member States during the unprecedented global pandemic. It is a must-read for those who search for the most recent information on the shape and level of European integration, the cooperation of the Member States during the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as on the level of trust given to the EU by its citizens. Additionally, this book sheds light on the Eurosceptic disinformation and fake news which have arisen in the past few years and which will continue to constitute a very controversial topic for the next few years.



<https://akademicka.pl>

