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Theories of
International Integration and Unification

Lectures for Students of
Political Sciences (International Relations Major)

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Introduction to the Course:

There are two main types of international interactions. The first includes ordinary or routine activities exchanged between states, such as commercial and cultural practices, the exchange of information concerning current events and international developments, and other activities conducted by states within the framework of their foreign policy. The second type of international interaction focuses on the dominant patterns governing these relations, which can be categorized into two forms: conflictual interactions and integrative interactions in international relations.

In reality, all international relations embody characteristics of both types, as each represents a state's efforts to achieve its objectives and pursue its national interests. States, as is well known, are neither static units nor passive entities; rather, they are dynamic and active forces interacting with one another, driven by national interests that serve as the motivating power behind their behavior. This drive often leads to competition and rivalry, which may in turn result either in the outbreak of international conflicts or in the growth of cooperative relations aimed at collectively addressing shared challenges and

fostering deeper interdependence and cohesion toward the goal of integration and unification.

The phenomenon of **international integration** has long been among the most significant issues attracting the attention of scholars in international relations. Whenever disparities arise in geographic size, population, resource availability, or levels of technological advancement among states, the question of integration emerges as a potential solution to the inability of individual states to fulfill their fundamental obligations. The need for international integration typically arises when states recognize the existence of specific problems or issues that can only be effectively addressed through joint action—some of which stem from the international environment, while others are rooted in domestic conditions.

Consequently, most states seek to establish regional groupings in order to benefit from the added value and advantages generated by such blocs. These include the liberalization of trade in goods and factors of production, the harmonization of technical standards, and the coordination of economic policies, eventually leading to the formulation of common foreign and security policies. All these efforts

aim to achieve greater prosperity for member states within integrative frameworks. Thus, the movement toward international integration constitutes a defining feature of the future of international relations and a necessity imposed by globalization—an era that emphasizes the imperatives of regional grouping and unification. This trend emerged as a response to the devastation caused by World War II, which reshaped state borders and altered the balance of power in the international system, especially following the collapse of the Soviet Union as a major political and economic competitor to the United States.

It is also noteworthy that contemporary interest in **international integration**, particularly in its **regional form**, often referred to as **New Regionalism**, represents one of the most significant trends in modern international relations. Scholarly attention to this field has coincided with the establishment of several integrative experiences across different regions of the world—beginning with the European experience (the European Union), followed by African initiatives (such as the Arab Maghreb Union), the American experience (the North American Free Trade Agreement), and a variety of Asian models (such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

From this perspective, the subject of this course is of considerable importance—both theoretically and practically. It introduces students to the main concepts related to international integration and explores the various theories and approaches developed in this regard, as well as the conclusions derived from them. The course also sheds light on key integration experiences across different regions of the world, analyzing their origins, dimensions, and stages of evolution, and, in some cases, proposing possible solutions to their structural limitations and shortcomings.

This academic contribution seeks to enrich university libraries with a study that clarifies certain ambiguities surrounding the concept of international integration and encourages both students and faculty members to further engage with the topic, pursuing deeper and more insightful research questions in this evolving field.

Introduction

The Concept of Integration

1. Definition of Integration

- A. Linguistic and Encyclopedic Definition
- B. Terminological Definition

2. Integration and Related Concepts

- A. International Cooperation
- B. Bilateral Agreements
- C. Bloc Formation and Alliances
- D. Partnership
- E. Interdependence
- F. Unity
- G. Unification

3. Intellectual and Theoretical Foundations of Integration

4. Fields of Integration

- A. Economic Integration
- B. Political Integration
- C. Security Integration

5. Basic Requirements for Integration

- A. Social Homogeneity
- B. Shared Values
- C. Political Will

D. Mutual Benefits

E. Communication

6. Indicators of Integration

A. Functional Satisfaction

B. Actual Increase in Peaceful Transactions

C. Establishment of Organizational Frameworks for Integration

D. Public Attitudes

E. Shift in National Loyalties

The Constitutional Theory of Integration

1. The Federal Approach

A. Concept and Emergence

B. Characteristics of Unity in a Federal State

C. Evaluation

2. The Confederal Approach

A. Nature of the Confederation

B. Characteristics of a Confederal Union

C. Evaluation of the Confederal Model

Consociationalism (Consensus-Building Approach)

1. Concept and Emergence of Consociationalism

2. Main Characteristics of Consociationalism

- A. Grand Coalition
- B. Proportionality
- C. Mutual Veto
- D. Segmental Autonomy

3. Consociationalism as an Approach to Integration and Political Stability

4. Critiques of Consociationalism

The Functionalist Theory of Integration

1. Classical Functionalism

- A. Concept and Origins
- B. Principles and Conditions of Integration under Classical Functionalism
- C. The Process of Integration in the Functionalist Perspective
- D. Criticisms of Classical Functionalism

2. Neo-Functionalism

- A. Emergence and Main Proponents
- B. Conditions of Integration under Neo-Functionalism
- C. The Integration Process in Neo-Functionalism
- D. Evaluation of the Neo-Functionalist Approach

The Communication Theory

1. Concept of Communication

A. Definition of Communication

B. Importance of Communication

2. Key Theorists of Communication Theory

3. Communication and the Integrative Process

4. Critique

Part I :

Integration: A Conceptual Approach

Among the most significant shortcomings of integration theory is the absence of a shared definition of the concept of integration and a general consensus on its indicators. Joseph Nye argues that this lack of agreement stems from the fact that some scholars construct their integrative models by studying the causes or dynamics of integration, while others develop their models based on studying integration after it has been achieved. This divergence in integration indicators directly affects the variation in definitions. For instance, some scholars emphasize transaction flows between parties — such as flows of trade, tourism, postal communication, or any form of technical exchange.

However, as Ernst B. Haas observes, a fundamental question remains: Do transactions between parties *precede, cause, reinforce, or result from* integration? Answering this question is of great importance when constructing a theoretical framework for the integration phenomenon. In the case of social communication, for instance, the question persists: Do we study it *prior* to integration, or is it a consequence of an integration process that had already prevailed in a region for several years? In the latter case, we would merely be applying communication theory to an already-existing community, without knowing how that community arrived at the state of

communicative integration. In other words: Are existing communications within a society the *cause* of integration? If they are, this implies they existed prior to integration — yet if they existed before integration, does this not presuppose a prior form of integration (distinct from the one under study) or a pre-existing communication network? Here, the problem of causality becomes acute: Which comes first — integration or communications?

Defining Integration

The difficulty in determining the precise meaning of integration stems from disagreements over the analytical perspective from which integration is studied. Scholars have distinguished between two aspects or perspectives:

- **The dynamic perspective:** views integration as a *process* (*Intégration as a Process*), whereby diverse and distinct elements are unified and assembled into an organic system or unified framework. Integration here refers to the activity or action that ultimately leads to a specific arrangement of its constituent parts.
- **The static perspective:** views integration as a *situation* (*Intégration as a Situation*), that is, as something that has been definitively achieved.

A. Linguistic and Encyclopaedic Definition:

The linguistic roots of integration in Western thought trace back to the Latin word *integritas*, meaning the gathering of things and the binding of separated parts. Accordingly, the term "integration"

denotes the existence of elements interconnected by reciprocal ties. Etymologically, *Integration* signifies completion — it is a verbal form (*tafāʿul* in Arabic morphology) indicating the convergence and coming together of parts of a whole toward completeness and perfection within the totality that encompasses those parts.

Economists adopted the term "integration" to render the English expression *Integration*, which is etymologically derived from *Integer*, meaning a thing organically embedded in an indivisible whole. In the *Oxford Dictionary*, political and economic integration is defined as the process enabling individual states to integrate into unified groupings. In Arabic, *al-takāmul* (integration) appears in *Lisān al-ʿArab* with the meaning of completeness, derived from the verb *kamala* — meaning "to be complete in all its parts."

The *Political Encyclopaedia* defines integration as a state of harmony, coherence, and mutual interdependence among parts and parties that together form a unit or system, such that the properties of the unit or system as a whole are absent in any of its constituent elements individually. The term sometimes refers to the *process* of achieving integration rather than the outcome itself, and integration

typically occurs among the leaderships, centres of gravity, and active forces of the parties concerned.

B. Technical (Terminological) Definition:

There is considerable disagreement among scholars over the conceptual definition of integration. Some use the term *fusion* (*indimāj*), others use *cooperation* (*ta'āwun*), and still others employ *bloc* (*taktul*). This divergence generally reflects differing views on the proposed form of integration among a group of states — whether it takes the form of bilateral agreements, cooperation between two states, or regional integration among a group of states aimed at forming an economic bloc.

Advocates of economic liberalism — such as **Balassa** and **Tinbergen** — view regional integration as a return to free trade. Balassa defines integration, first, as a *process* encompassing measures aimed at eliminating discrimination between economic units belonging to different countries, and second, as a *situation* characterized by the absence of various forms of discrimination between national economies. Tinbergen, for his part, views integration as the creation of an optimal desired structure for the international economy, achieved by removing artificial barriers to

optimum trade and introducing all desired elements for coordination and unification.

Advocates of directed integration view it as a process of consciously and systematically managed international cooperation, oriented toward socialist international division of labour, convergence of development levels, construction of efficient modern structures of national economies, establishment of close and lasting links between branches of the economy, and expansion and interconnection of the markets of participating states.

Principal Scholarly Definitions of Integration:

- **Morton Kaplan:** Integration is the means by which different systems develop their shared relations across various domains in order to achieve common goals and interests. For Kaplan (a systems theorist), integration is essentially an organizational process through which systems seek to preserve their common interests and regulate relations among themselves.
- **Robonsky:** Integration is the way by which parts are assembled into the whole — studied from a structural perspective, analogous to how a living organism consists of interdependent and

mutually supporting members, each performing functions to sustain the whole.

- **Karl Deutsch:** Integration is the possession by a community of a sufficient sense of communality and homogeneity in its social institutions and social behaviour. Deutsch studies social communication, viewing the intensification of social communication networks as a prerequisite for integration. He also defines it as the achievement, within a territory, of institutions and practices strong and widespread enough to ensure long-term continuity, based on expectations of peaceful change among the societies of the region.
- **David Mitrany:** Integration is the product of a mechanical process consisting in the increase of international technical cooperation at multiple levels, and the intensification and distribution of international functions to address new problems and create new conditions.
- **Ernst Haas:** Integration is the process by which political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations, and political activities towards a new centre whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states. Alternatively, it is the process involving the transfer

of loyalties and political activities of political forces in multiple and different states toward a new centre whose institutions transcend the authority of the existing nation-states.

- **Leon Lindberg:** Integration is the process whereby states find themselves unable to manage their principal domestic or foreign affairs independently of one another, and instead seek to make joint decisions in these matters or delegate authority to new institutions.
- **Philippe Jacob:** Integration involves, in general, a sense of community among the peoples of a single political entity, implying the existence of common bonds that make individuals feel a distinct collective identity.
- **Béla Balassa:** Balassa defines integration as both a *process* and a *situation*. As a process, it encompasses measures intended to eliminate discrimination between regional units belonging to different nation-states. As a situation, it is characterized by the absence of all forms of discrimination between national economies. It is a deliberate act of governments, which play a central role in gradually transcending the boundaries of the nation-state.

- **Charles Pentland:** Pentland defines international political integration within a framework of reducing or abolishing the sovereign power of the modern nation-state. Integration acts as an important moderator of the sovereign rigidity in which nation-states become entrenched, insofar as loyalty will no longer be confined to a narrow framework but will extend to wider spaces encompassing a group of states participating in the integration process.
- **Donald J. Puchala:** Puchala proposed a definition of integration as a system of processes that produces and sustains a concordance system at the international level. Puchala's international system is one in which actors find it easy to harmonize their interests, settle their disagreements, and identify mutual rewards for their interactions.
- **Fritz Machlup:** Machlup noted that the term "economic integration" was originally used in industrial organization to refer to integrated industrial enterprise complexes, and was then generalized to larger economic units — namely, states. He further argued that the definition most appropriate to this concept concerns the idea of complete economic integration, which involves the actual

exploitation of all opportunities afforded by an efficient division of labour.

- **Gunnar Myrdal:** Myrdal held that the most appropriate definition of integration must include the objective of increasing productive efficiency within the formed economic bloc, while providing equal economic opportunities to all members of that bloc regardless of their policies.
- **Tinbergen:** Tinbergen defined integration on the basis of its negative and positive dimensions. The negative dimension refers to the elimination and exclusion of certain instruments of international economic policy. The positive dimension refers to reinforcing measures intended to eliminate tax and tariff inconsistencies between states seeking integration, as well as restructuring programs necessary to address transition and adjustment problems.
- **Fouad Morsi:** Dr. Fouad Morsi defines integration as a single historical-economic process occurring simultaneously in the domain of productive forces and in the domain of productive relations — or, in other words, the essence of integration is a comprehensive process of economic cooperation that begins from a certain level of the

internationalization of productive forces, grounded in the joint development of those forces across a number of states bound by identical productive relations.

- **Ismail Sabri Abdallah:** Dr. Abdallah focuses on two spheres of integration: In the first, economic and non-economic ties are built and accumulated among the participating economies, making mutual satisfaction of supply and demand the primary option for economic decision-makers; in the second, the bloc is linked to the global trading system through the demand for non-isolation from international trade flows.

Despite these differences, most scholars have agreed on the general features of the integration phenomenon. Most are concerned with how loyalties are transferred from one centre to another, and many are concerned with patterns of communication between the political units interacting in the integration process. Integration may accordingly be defined as:

a process and a situation aimed at substituting a new unit — endowed with decision-making authority in one or more specified domains — for all independent and disparate parties, ensuring cohesion among them and guaranteeing their subordination and loyalty to the new unit, such that all parties participate in decisions and in reinforcing the new unit.

Integration and Related Concepts

A. International Cooperation:

Integration differs from mere simple cooperation, which implies the retention of the independence of participating states and does not, in any form, lead to the transfer of decision-making authority to cooperative institutions. Cooperation may, however, serve as a means toward the end of integration.

For example, economic cooperation between states implies that each country maintains its autonomy over its national economic policy. Cooperating states merely unify their efforts to achieve a common operation with precisely and realistically defined objectives. Economic integration, by contrast, requires each member state to establish and implement common economic policies managed in a harmonized manner consistent with the strategic objectives of the integration.

Regional cooperation typically encompasses governmental communications, transactions, and unimpaired popular interactions — i.e., those freed from formal restrictions — arising from social and

genuine interest bases. A further distinction may be drawn between cooperation and integration: economic cooperation involves actions aimed at reducing discrimination (e.g., international agreements on trade policies), whereas economic integration involves active measures to eliminate discrimination (e.g., the removal of barriers to international trade). Economic integration also entails structural changes and effects in the national economies of the parties involved.

B. Bilateral Agreements:

Bilateral agreements represent a lower level of integration in terms of advantages, since integration encompasses a larger number of states with varying degrees of integration among them. While bilateral agreements achieve numerous gains and advantages — such as stimulating trade and eliminating payment problems — they may also lead to trade restrictions and discrimination between different states with regard to the free movement of goods.

C. Blocs and Alliances:

These differ from integration in that they are simpler configurations in the integrative trajectory, subject to specific

circumstances and objectives. A *bloc* carries an economic connotation, while an *alliance* carries a security connotation. Both are limited in time and scope, and dissolve with the disappearance of the conditions that gave rise to them.

D. Partnership:

Partnership (*shirākah*) has been employed by researchers without a precise conceptual definition. B. Ponson proposes that partnership "consists of all forms of cooperation between institutions or organizations for a given period, aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of the parties in order to achieve defined objectives." B. Garrette and P. Dussage argue that integration involves the disappearance of the entity concerned and the birth of a new unit or institution, whereas in alliance and partnership, the institution maintains its autonomy with regard to its own objectives and interests while entering into participation relationships to achieve certain shared goals.

E. Interdependence:

Interdependence, simply stated, is the existence of two or more units that depend upon one another. Interdependence does not presuppose equality between the parties; interdependent relationships depend more on the characteristics of issue areas and the directions and interests of elites, as well as on aggregate levels of state power. Consequently, the term *interdependence* is used to imply certain degrees of mutual influence.

One result of the Industrial Revolution was the increase in the phenomenon of interdependence between states, and consequently a rise in exchange and the intertwining of interests — a condition that gradually became a problem in the international system. Interdependence creates a state of anxiety insofar as it establishes unregulated exchange relations subject to no form of institutional regulation. This state of affairs imposed regional integration as an effective solution, since the outputs of interdependence require a new form of control and authority over functions occurring outside the territory of the nation-state.

In sum: increased industrial productivity led to increased output, which the internal markets became incapable of absorbing, generating functions beyond the borders of the nation-state — functions that became impossible to manage through centralized authoritative models, thus necessitating integration and the transfer of power and authority from local-national levels to regional-territorial levels.

F. Union:

Union expresses a legal process — it is the product of an agreement rather than a field operation. It is the *goal* of integration, since integration aims at unifying the parts (i.e., the parties) into the whole.

G. Integration (Amalgamation):

Amalgamation as a process passes through two phases:

1. **The external phase:** consists in assembling the elements necessary to establish the whole.

2. **The internal phase:** its function is to render this existing whole increasingly cohesive.

Political amalgamation is thus that concept related to the external phase of a convergence process whereby two or more political units come to constitute a single unit. Political amalgamation represents a highly advanced stage of the integration process and constitutes its outcome and synthesis.

Intellectual and Theoretical Foundations of Integration

The intellectual origins of integration trace back to classical writers and philosophers who called for achieving security, stability, and the elimination of conflicts and wars through the establishment of inter-governmental unions or supranational communities encompassing various peoples. The idea of world government also emerged — a government that would unify states under a central authority endowed with supranational powers.

Integration theories converge with the **idealist** (*Idealism/Liberalism*) tradition in its point of departure from the primacy of ethics in relations among individuals, whether within the national community or within the international framework. Idealism holds that the duty of the individual is to submit to the rules and norms established for the service of the community, and proceeds from the premise of the **Harmony of Interests** — the view that there exists a natural congruence between the supreme interest of the individual and the supreme interest of the community.

Among the classical writers of this tradition, **Jeremy Bentham** — one of the most prominent proponents of the optimistic approach

— is credited with the first use of the expression "international law" or *droit international*. He relied in his project "For a Universal and Perpetual Peace" on the prohibition of recourse to force. The philosopher **Immanuel Kant** proposed that humanity should move toward what he called a "World Republic" or a "Universal Federation of Peoples." **John Locke** provided another intellectual antecedent, envisioning a state of nature characterized by equality and justice in accordance with natural law, leading individuals to transition from the "state of nature" to "political society" through a social contract.

The **realist** perspective emerged as a reaction to idealist propositions. Classical realism crystallized as the first theoretical attempt in international relations, drawing on the contributions of early realist thinkers such as **Thucydides**, **Niccolò Machiavelli** (*The Prince*), **Thomas Hobbes**, and **Hugo Grotius** (*Law of War and Peace*, *Law of Prize and Booty*). Among the foremost figures of classical realism is **Hans Morgenthau** (*Politics Among Nations*).

The realist perspective employs several premises in understanding international relations: international politics as a struggle for power and national interest; the balance of power theory as the instrument of peace and security; and emphasis on national

security. Integration theories acknowledge the core concepts of the realist school — power, interest, security, international anarchy — but differ from it simultaneously:

- Whereas realists consider the state as the sole primary actor in international relations, **functionalists** consider the state as a significant actor but alongside other actors of equal importance, including international global and regional organizations, multinational corporations, communication networks, and even individuals.
- Whereas realists define interest exclusively in terms of power, **functionalists** hold that there is a harmony of interests and that states have basic needs they can only fulfil through enhanced exchange and communications — thereby achieving security in its broad sense and inter-state cooperation.

The emergence of growing interdependence between states, the rising importance of economic, social, and cultural factors in understanding state policies, and the ascendance of transnational forces gave rise to a new understanding of international relations —

the **Liberal Pluralist School** (*Pluralism/Transnationalism*). Stephen Walt identifies the following liberal tendencies:

- **Interdependence:** the central idea that economic interests will compel states to avoid the use of force against one another, since war threatens the welfare of all belligerent parties.
- **Democratic Peace** (associated with President Woodrow Wilson): democratic states are more inclined toward peace than authoritarian states.
- **Institutionalism:** international institutions (such as the IAEA and the IMF) encourage states to transcend narrow short-term interests in favour of higher, longer-term gains from sustained international cooperation.

Integration and amalgamation theories intersect with the Liberal Pluralist School in several premises:

- Non-state actors are important units in world politics.
- The state is not a unitary actor but is composed of individuals, interest groups, and competing bureaucracies.

- Both pluralism and integration theories are equally concerned with economic, social, and environmental issues arising from growing interdependence.

Integration and amalgamation theories have thus benefited from both the idealist and realist approaches, and have transcended them through their convergence with pluralism — by linking economics to politics, emphasizing the role of non-state actors in enhancing international cooperation, and maximizing the prospects for peace through the principle of the harmony of interests, which achieves the economic welfare of communities.

Domains of Integration

Integration can be achieved in several domains encompassing various activities. It generally begins in the economic and social domains before advancing to the political domain. Integration as a process constitutes a series of sequential stages that begin with the establishment of a limited unit (in terms of membership and integrative domains) and culminate, at the far end of the spectrum, in the dissolution of states as independent sovereign units in favour of the new political community. Between these two poles lie multiple intermediate degrees of integration.

A. Economic Integration:

Economic integration proceeds through the establishment of free trade areas, common economic markets, and, ultimately, comprehensive economic integration, with the objective of enhancing the economic capacities available to the states parties to these integrative processes.

In 1966, **Béla Balassa** identified the following levels of economic integration in his theory:

Level	Elimination of Customs Duties & Quantitative Restrictions	Common External Tariff	Free Movement of Factors of Production	Coordination of Economic Policies	Unification of Policies & Institutions
Free Trade Area	✓				
Customs Union	✓	✓			
Common Market	✓	✓	✓		
Economic Union	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Total Economic Integration	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

The five levels of economic integration according to Balassa:

1. **Free Trade Zone:** Customs duties and quantitative restrictions on trade between member countries are abolished, while each country retains sovereign authority to determine its customs policy vis-à-vis third countries.

2. **Customs Union:** A free trade area reinforced by a common external tariff, under which trade with third countries is governed by a uniform common external tariff. Member states relinquish all sovereignty over their customs policies.

3. **Common (or Single) Market:** A customs union combined with the free movement of goods and factors of production.
4. **Economic and Monetary Union:** A common market accompanied by the coordination of economic, fiscal, and social policies, and the circulation of a single currency.
5. **Total Economic Integration:** Adds to the foregoing the unification of institutions and economic policies.

It is noteworthy that traditional economic theories explaining integration historically worked in favour of the more developed states rather than the less developed. Economists such as Harberler and Cairncross argued that external trade can make a significant contribution to economic development in developing countries.

Others, including **Gunnar Myrdal**, **Raúl Prebisch**, and **Hans Singer**, held that the gains from trade and exchange tend to favour developed states and therefore impede growth and development in developing countries.

Developing countries, possessing an absolute or relative abundance in certain resources alongside deficits in others, are compelled to integrate among themselves on one of two bases:

1. **Integration based on common and similar resources** (water, oil, minerals, etc.): for the purpose of organizing joint exploitation and coordinating policies toward other groups.

2. **Integration based on differences and complementarity of resources:** for organizing effective exchange, transferring surplus from countries with an excess in a given resource to cover deficits in others.

B. Political Integration:

Political integration is defined by **Jacob** and **Teune** as a process involving a community relationship, or a sense of identity and self-perception. It implies the amalgamation of some national political institutions and the transfer of sovereignty over foreign policy to common international bodies. Political integration does not aim to abolish national governments but rather limits itself to transferring their authority in certain domains. There is a strong consensus that

political integration is achieved only when preceded by — and indeed is the result of — economic integration.

Amitai Etzioni focused his study on political integration on units formed by several states, arguing that integration requires mutual interdependence between the parties in certain sectors. He identified four phases:

1. **Pre-union phase:** sectors of mutual exchange expand, not within a single state, but within a framework of interdependence.
2. **Phase of unification forces:** coercive forces (army, police), utilitarian forces (economic and technical-administrative dimensions), and identity forces (social identity — rituals, symbols, and values).
3. **Spill-over phase:** increasing flows of goods, individuals, and communications, with unification spreading from one sector to others (*Spill-Over*).
4. **Completion phase:** the union has spread across all sectors and reached its endpoint.

Joseph Nye identified three models of political integration:

1. **Institutional Integration:** concerns the importance of international organizations in themselves — specifically, how powerful institutions can be created to influence other interactions (economic, etc.).
2. **Policy Integration:** attention directed toward knowing the extent to which the actions of a group of states emerge as the actions of a single group in decision-making related to both foreign and domestic policies.
3. **Attitudinal Integration:** focuses on the role and importance of attitudes as they relate to specific issues and specific individuals, using methods such as elite interviews, content analysis of periodicals, leadership statements, and public opinion polls.

C. Security Integration:

Security integration assumes that the parties to collective security arrangements agree to make decisions regarding their common security through joint planning, implementation, and command. Security integration typically emerges in the phase

subsequent to the achievement of political integration, since the mere establishment of military alliances does not imply the amalgamation of decision-making or command structures.

Core Requirements of Integration

A. Social Homogeneity:

Social homogeneity is the social motivator for creating the impulse toward integration. It requires the existence of shared supra-national orientations among the parties to the integration process. The minimum prerequisites include:

- The absence of sentiments of cultural-national fanaticism that could obstruct the process of mutual interaction.
- Common agreement on the objectives of foreign policy.
- The existence of friendly relations among the governments concerned.

B. Shared Values:

For economic integration, a common value orientation may be achieved through adherence to capitalist or socialist ideology, or through subscription to a philosophy of free markets or, conversely, of regulated and centrally planned markets. The existence of a socially and economically homogeneous base — meaning convergence in

political conditions and economic, social, and cultural levels — is a critical factor in the success of integrative experiments. The more closely societies resemble one another, the higher the probability of success in integration.

C. Political Will:

There must exist a desire among political leaders to achieve integration. For this desire to materialize, the anticipated benefits of integration for political leaders — particularly in terms of the retention of political power and improved prospects for re-election — must exceed the anticipated costs. Political leaders may be expected to encourage and implement integration when they perceive it to enhance the legitimacy of their existence without entailing a significant loss of their political positions.

D. Mutual Benefits:

The expectation of benefits on a reciprocal basis provides the incentive to concede certain sovereign powers. Without this expectation, states are entirely reluctant to commit themselves to integrative processes that restrict their authority in certain domains of

interest. A mechanism must exist to achieve a balance between the benefits provided by integration to all member states, ensuring that each state achieves advantages it would not have been able to achieve prior to the establishment of integration.

Integration must be accompanied by a willingness to relinquish the traditional independence of the state and to transfer certain of its powers and competencies to an intergovernmental body tasked with unifying policies, reconciling differences, and gradually reducing the concept of sovereignty — until that body becomes a superior authority exercising policy-making and decision-making over the states that owe allegiance to it: a supranational authority.

E. Communication:

The sociologist **Charles Cooley** defined communication as the mechanism through which human relations are established and developed, and through which the symbols of the human mind are interrelated and transmitted across time and space. **Karl Deutsch** affirmed the importance of communication as a prerequisite for any integration process — in all its forms and manifestations, including through trade, postal services, tourism, student exchange, and

diplomatic consultations. Such interactions can contribute to deepening awareness and to growing perception of the values of peoples in other states.

Indicators of Integration

Karl Deutsch employed the volume of transactions as an indicator of the level of European integration, and determined the rate of growth of economic prosperity in the European states concerned. He added other indicators, including public opinion attitudes and press orientations, which may serve as indicators of integration.

Claude Aki called for the use of quantitative indicators to measure integration:

- Measurement of the degree of individual loyalty to the state.
- Measurement of the degree of constitutional behaviour or its violation.
- Measurement of the disposition toward secession or withdrawal from treaties and alliances.
- Measurement of the degree to which forces participating in the integration process obtain support from more than one geographic region, religion, language, or economic group.

Philippe Jacob identifies the following indicators of integration:

- **Proximity:** Geographically adjacent peoples are more predisposed toward integration or unity, since geographic homogeneity and contiguity tend to create a form of similarity in the interests and orientations of the peoples inhabiting a region.
- **Mutual transactions:** The solidity of an alliance or integration is measured by the extent and volume of transactions between the parties.
- **Interests:** The more widely shared the principal interests or benefits, the stronger and more durable the integration.
- **The collective spirit:** The greater the parties' desire to participate with other communities, the more favourable the conditions for integration.
- **The structural framework:** The greater the participation in decision-making within the units, the greater the cohesion.
- **Sovereignty:** The more a state clings to its sovereignty, the more it obstructs the tendency toward integration.

- **Governmental effectiveness:** The more capable a government is of satisfying the demands of its citizens, the more integrated and unified it becomes.
- **Previous integrative experience:** Prior success in an experiment tends to generalize success to other domains.

General indicators of success or failure of any integrative process:

- **Functional satisfaction:** Recognition by the units entering the integration process that integration effectively serves their interests, leading to the extension of the integrative process to new sectors.
- **Actual increase in the volume of peaceful transactions** between the parties, leading to: increased levels of trust and interdependence; flexibility toward conceding certain national sovereign powers for common benefit; consolidation of bonds in domains not yet covered by integration procedures and policies.
- **Establishment of organizational frameworks** for integration processes: the strengthening and growth of the institutions underlying the international integration process leads to the broadening of the

organizational framework within which these new interactions take place — institutions that make decisions, follow up on their implementation, monitor compliance, and impose penalties on violators.

- **Mass orientations:** In addition to the shared convictions of responsible leaderships, it is necessary to nurture and develop the political and social orientations of the public on the basis of mutual understanding and responsiveness across the national borders of the participating parties.
- **Transformation in national loyalties:** The consolidation of integration results and the advancement of its objectives can only occur positively if accompanied by a gradual transformation in the forms of loyalty, shifting from the circle of national values and objectives toward the values, objectives, and institutions of the supranational entity created by the integration process.

Part II :

Integration: A Theoretical Approach

The Federalist Approach

A. Concept and Origins:

The federalist approach derives its concept from governmental organization, implying that governmental powers and responsibilities are shared between the federal government on one side and the governments of the constituent units on the other. The federal principle is closely associated with democracy: all governmental levels in any federal system derive their authority from a constitution, and all derive their legitimacy from the consent of the people through free and fair elections.

The term *federalism* has Latin origins (*Foedus*), meaning, according to Lewis's Latin Dictionary: *league (Leyue)*, *treaty* between two or more parties, *compact*, *alliance*, or *contract*. This etymology indicates that the word originally signifies a form of agreement based on mutual trust between the parties — a binding pledge.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines federalism as a union — specifically, a union of states, regions, or provinces, particularly those joined by common interests. States characterized by multi-nationality,

diverse religions, and varied resources constitute fertile ground for the emergence of federalism — to provide appropriate conditions for all such diversities and differences.

B. Principal scholarly definitions of federalism:

- **David J. Bodenhamer:** Federalism is a union of distinct sovereign states possessing its own organs endowed with authority not only over the member states but also over their citizens.
- **Carré de Malberg:** Federalism appears, on one hand, as a unified state, and on the other, as a union of member states — weaker individually, yet genuinely participating in producing its power and contributing their own will to the formation of its will.
- **Système at two governmental levels** governing the same geographic territory and population.
- **A single state** containing multiple constitutional entities, each with its own legal system and autonomy, all subject to the federal constitution as the instrument establishing and regulating their legal and political stability.

- **An internal political and constitutional organization** whereby several member states or provinces are subordinate to a higher federal government, with an external aspect in which the union appears as a single state in the domain of external sovereignty, and an internal aspect characterized by a plurality of constitutional entities sharing internal sovereignty with the federal government.
- **David Mitraný:** Federalism is the method by which a group of independent political units are fused into a central government.
- **W.S. Livingston:** Federalism is essentially a manifestation of social diversity rather than constitutional mechanisms. Since all states exhibit some social diversity, all states have a tendency toward federalism.
- **C.J. Friedrich:** Federalism is a union of groups united on one or more objectives, while retaining the distinguishing characteristics of the group in other domains.

Federalism may thus be defined as a method or form of political construction between communities — or within a single community — to achieve the objectives of peace and security while preserving

their diversity and identity; it is the logically preceding step to the transition to a simple unitary state, since it achieves amalgamation.

C. Two principal methods of establishing a federal state:

1. First method (Union):

The voluntary union of several independent states into a federal state, whereby independent states become provinces or states subordinate to the new federal state. The driving motives may be: national motives (common origin, language, history, culture, or traditions); the sense of imminent or external danger; geo-strategic motives; or the desire to form a stronger, larger state. Historical examples: the United States (1787), Switzerland (1848), Germany (1871).

2. Second method (Disaggregation):

The dissolution of a unitary state into multiple entities, driven by factors such as ethnic heterogeneity, regional disparities (primarily geographic), or the desire for self-determination. Historical example: Germany after 1945, which divided into the Federal Republic of

Germany (West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany).

George Anderson argues that a federal state can also be established by a third method — a hybrid combining both union and disaggregation — citing the examples of India and Canada.

D. Characteristics of Unity in the Federal State

Internal sphere:

- **Distribution of competence** between the central government and state governments, through the demarcation of competences of both the central state and the states, or through the specification of state competences with the remainder reserved for the federal government (or vice versa).
- **A written constitution** as the supreme document of the state, regulating relations among states and between the states and the central government. Constitutional amendments generally require the approval of the constituent units in addition to the central government.

- **A federal judiciary:** alongside judicial courts at the state level, a federal supreme court exists with multiple roles: as a court of appeal, for the resolution of inter-state disputes, and for ruling on the constitutionality of challenged laws.
- **Representation of states in the federal legislative body:** bicameral legislature — one chamber (the people's assembly) with representation proportional to the population of each state; the other (the states' chamber) representing the interests of the states on an equal footing regardless of size or population density.

External sphere:

- **Single citizenship:** Despite diversities in national origin, language (as in Switzerland), or religion (as in the former Soviet Union), the subjects of the federal union appear as a homogeneous body through their possession of a single citizenship.
- **The disappearance of international legal personality of the constituent states:** The federal state alone possesses international legal personality and bears international responsibility for the states. Federal constitutions generally do not grant member states the right

to diplomatic representation or the power to declare war or conclude treaties. An exception exists in certain models: for example, the German Basic Law grants the *Länder* the right to conclude treaties within their legislative competences (cultural, educational, and pedagogical matters), though this does not make them independent sovereign international legal persons, as they remain subject in this regard to the federal constitution.

Confederalism

Confederalism proceeds from the premises of the availability of political will and the rationality of authority in assessing matters through a cost-benefit calculus. Many issues and domains cannot be addressed directly due to their complexity, and states resort in such cases to these forms of integration.

A. Characteristics of the Confederal Union

The most important characteristics of the confederal union include:

- Each state in the confederal union retains its international legal personality, sovereignty, and external independence. Acts of one member state do not affect the other states of the union; a war between a member state and a foreign state is not considered a war involving all member states unless obligated by a mutual defense treaty.
- Each member state retains its political system, and citizens of the member states retain their respective nationalities — they are considered foreigners in the eyes of the other member states. Each

member state retains its membership in international organizations and bodies.

- The "common body" is not a new international person or a supranational authority — it has no direct power over member states. This union does not in itself constitute a state, since the elements constituting statehood are absent within it.
- The rule of unanimity is generally applied for the adoption of binding decisions. Where majority rule is applicable, states in disagreement retain the right of non-implementation.
- Each member state possesses an inherent right of secession, even if not expressly provided for in the international agreement.

B. Assessment of the Confederal Union:

The confederal union is among the weakest of unions — a transitional and temporary arrangement. Its instability is attributable to the freedom of states to secede from the union and to the non-binding character of conference decisions on member states. Either relations between member states evolve toward convergence and

cohesion, transforming the confederation into a stronger federal union, or they move in the opposite direction and the union dissolves.

Functionalist Theory of Integration

1. Classical Functionalism:

A. Concept and Origins:

The principal reference of classical functionalism is the study by the British scholar of Romanian origin, **David Mitrany** (*A Working Peace System*, 1943), written on the eve of the end of World War II. Mitrany had earlier presented his functionalist theory in a book entitled *Progress of International Government* (1933), emphasizing the importance of trans-national bonds capable of promoting international integration, curbing extremist nationalist principles, and thereby increasing the prospects for peace and stability.

B. Principal definitions of functionalism include:

- **Inis Claude:** Functionalism is the operational sector of international organization — that part of organized international activities directly connected with humanitarian, technical, social, and

economic affairs, i.e., those problems that cannot be definitively described as political.

- **Horace Kallen:** The specific meanings of functionalism are: transition, dynamic patterns, processes, growth, extension, and emergence.
- **Systems analysis perspective:** A systematic analytical method in which the structures constituting the system and the functions performed by those structures are studied.

C. Course of Integration in Classical Functionalism

Functionalism, according to Mitrany, aims to break the traditional link between authority and the state as a territorial unit, and seeks to attach political authority to specific activities. Mitrany believed that the sovereign nation-state is the cause of wars and conflicts. In seeking realistic and universal solutions, he focused on *functional choice* as the superior instrument of peace and stability. Peaceful change, in his view, does not come through changes in the national boundaries of political units, but through the meanings of actions carried out *across* those boundaries. States do not simply

surrender their national sovereignty, but they do possess the readiness for the transfer of executive authority when this is oriented toward specific purposes.

Linking communities and different states within networks of mutual interests will inevitably weaken the capacity of political leaderships to pursue policies contrary to those interests. Political authority becomes captive to this network of interest patterns, which grows stronger as people who benefit from and experience the advantages of this new approach shift their attitudes toward supporting further cooperative activities. The functionalist slogan thus emerged: **"Form follows function."**

Mitrany argued for the necessity of transitioning to a new form of political community if the current system (the state) is incapable of fulfilling its basic objectives. The fundamental functionalist premise is that the nation-state is now manifestly incapable of serving the enduring purpose of the political community — hence the necessity of dismantling the state, which has traditionally organized specific territorial entities, in favour of organized activities designed to perform specific functions worthy of the attention of the political community.

The essence of the argument is the indictment of territorial political organization, which must be replaced by functional political organization. At the heart of this indictment lies an analysis that separates political activities into different purposes, which in turn are successively linked to the manifestations of the broad objectives of human happiness.

Functionalism accordingly focuses on *function* rather than *form*. International cooperation in a given technical domain will generate new needs, thus propelling cooperation into other domains — a process governed by the principle of **diffusion** (*expansion/spill-over*). Functionalism views international conflicts as primarily generated by the weakness or absence of economic cooperation between states, and holds that addressing and overcoming these conflicts is impossible without creating all the conditions encouraging states to cooperate in everything serving their common economic interests.

D. Critiques of Classical Functionalism:

1. The absolute idealism of classical functionalism in its theoretical division of issues into high politics and low politics runs counter to reality, since every political authority divides its issues on

the basis of its own perspective and criteria, which vary from one state to another.

2. Classical functionalism excessively emphasizes technical and economic dimensions. Events have shown that these dimensions are also subject to dispute, politicization, and inter-state conflicts — which have increased rather than decreased.

3. The pursuit of integration and amalgamation must be accompanied by the existence of a political will from a supporting political authority that facilitates technical and economic dimensions. Mitrany's proposition that states surrender their sovereignty and their practical role within and outside society in favour of specialized organizations lacks empirical grounding.

4. Classical functionalism failed to take into account the interests of certain groups and communities — both within and outside society — which integration may not serve, and which may constitute an obstacle to amalgamation.

2. Neo-Functionalism:

Neo-functionalist theory is increasingly invoked to explain the phenomenon of regionalism, which is being reinforced across all areas of the world. The increasing interdependence among states is pushing various regions of the world toward organizing their economic and social cooperation in the context of growing economic globalization.