

Europe and the Empire

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Speech delivered at the Parliament of the European Union in Strasbourg on 4 October 2023 at the invitation of the Identity and Democracy Foundation

Introduction:

Europe and the Empire... Now that's a great topic! Before embarking on a more in-depth study, I propose that we first return to the definition of Europe.

I. What is Europe?

Europe is first and foremost a direction.

The origin of the term Europa is probably Semitic, *ereb*, and indicates a direction, the setting sun¹. The Phoenician sailors (Phoenicia roughly corresponds to present-day Lebanon) referred to the western shore of the Aegean Sea (towards present-day Greece) as such. And it was in the Middle Ages that the term Europe appeared. The people of Constantinople called the inhabitants of the Latin West "Europeans" but more often "Franks".²

Partial conclusion: 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? The issue of Europe's eastern border has unfortunately caused a great deal of bloodshed until today.

What is Europe's western border? The answer seems simpler because the seas and the ocean set the limit more clearly. Still, we can ask ourselves the question of the European nature of the Atlantic archipelagos off the Iberian Peninsula or North Africa. Are the Azores, Madeira, Canary Islands or Cape Verde European or African? I was lucky enough to sail across the Atlantic two years ago. This transatlantic race allowed me to check what was going on for Madeira, the Canary Islands and Cape Verde. While it is clear that Madeira and the Canary Islands are European, it would seem that Cape Verde is closer to Africa even if the Roman Catholicism imported by the Portuguese is largely in the majority.

Partial conclusion: if it is difficult to determine the borders of Europe, it is because Europe is not primarily a geographical concept. Europe is first and foremost a question of history and culture. Joseph Ratzinger's book, *Europe, Its Foundations, Today and Tomorrow*,³ published in 2004, introduces the logic that I give you here.

What is the European cultural matrix?

Once we have said that Europe is history and culture, the question arises as to what history and culture we are talking about. European culture is the heir of a Romanity that has absorbed the heritage of Athens and its philosophy, of Jerusalem and its faith. Rome's absorption of inheritances that were foreign to it: this is what Rémi

¹ BRAGUE, Rémi, *Europe, la voie romaine*, Folio-essais, Paris, NRF, 1999, p 11.

² BRAGUE, Rémi, *By means of the Middle Ages: Medieval Philosophies in Christendom, Judaism and Islam*, Paris, Flammarion, 2008, p 319.

³ RATZINGER, Joseph, *L'Europe, ses fondements, aujourd'hui et demain*, Editions Saint-Augustin, 2005, p 70.

Brague calls the principle of secondarity in *Europe, la voie romaine*,⁴ a book published in 1992 that I highly recommend you read.

Partial conclusion: the cultural matrix of Europe is Rome, a Romanity that was that of a kingdom that became a republic and ultimately an Empire, the Roman Empire!

Conclusion and transition: we have demonstrated that Europe is a direction, that the difficulty of grasping its borders shows that Europe, before being geographical, is above all history and culture, and that this culture was propagated by the Roman Empire over a large geographical area.

II. The Nation and the Empire: The Two Modes of Political Organization of Europe

The division of the Roman Empire into a Western Roman Empire and an Eastern Roman Empire that became Byzantine

In the fourth century, the Roman Empire, which had become Christian, split into a Western Roman Empire and an Eastern Roman Empire. The Western Roman Empire collapsed a century later, in 476, the year historians remember for the deposition of the last Western Emperor, Romulus Augustulus, by Odoacer. The Eastern Roman Empire, which had become Byzantine, continued to exist but, under pressure from other Empires, this time Islamic, collapsed in 1453 with the fall of Constantinople. The Russian Empire then set itself the task of taking over this legacy. The collapse of the Western Roman Empire gave way to the emergence of nations. It is the Latin Church that transmits to the lands of the former Western Roman Empire the heritage of Athens, Jerusalem and Rome even though there is no longer an Empire. European unity, therefore, was not achieved under the political domination of an Empire, but through the spread of a faith which preserved and transmitted Romanity, which had itself absorbed the Greek, Judaic and Christian heritages.

Partial conclusion: the fall of the Western Roman Empire had as a political consequence the birth of many nations, starting with France. It was the Roman Church that transmitted the treasures of Latinity to Europe and not imperial domination.

The revival of Empires challenged by Nations: the hallmark of Europe

European history is made up of reborn Roman Empires. It was Charlemagne, in the eighth century, who was the first to revive the Roman Empire. Then it was Otto in the ninth century who revived it in the form of a Holy Roman Empire that had become Germanic and that would end 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 into a State at the national level, a Napoleonic Empire that also wanted to be heir to the Carolingian Empire, as shown in the painting by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres kept at the Musée de l'Armée showing Napoleon on the imperial throne holding in his hand a sceptre at the end of which is a statuette of Charlemagne. Napoleon's French Empire was then brought down by the Coalition Nations and the Russian Empire. Let us take this opportunity to specify that this Napoleonic Empire was not Christian but was based on the esotericism of Freemasonry, which became the cement of the armies and developed in the conquered regions. Then it was the German Empires that were defeated by European nations and the Russian Empire. Finally, it is the Empire of the European Union of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, an Empire modelled on the Empire of Charlemagne and the Empire of Napoleon, a new Empire that absorbs most of Europe but which meets the opposition of several Peoples who refuse 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.

⁴ BRAGUE, Rémi, *Europe, la voie romaine*, Folio-essais, Paris, NRF, 1999.

Centrifugal thalassocratic West, centripetal continental center

After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the most geographically extensive imperial revival was probably the Empire of Charles V, whose President Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, the true Father of the Empire of the European Union, regretted that he had not been able to overcome French power⁵. France and England were at that time the two great free and independent European nations. Over the centuries, it was the oceanic nations that maintained their independence from the Holy Roman Empire. If we take an analogy with the sciences, we could say that the thalassocratic nations, the maritime nations, tend to remain free, as if they were caught in a centrifugal movement pushing them outwards, while the continental center, along a Berlin-Vienna-Rome axis, tends to integrate itself into Empires that are constantly reborn. spaces caught in a centripetal logic pulling them inwards.

Partial conclusion: while the westernmost nations of the European isthmus and the British Isles historically chose to govern themselves freely, the central peoples, especially in the Germanic world, chose the Empire.

Conclusion and transition: we have seen that the Western Empire has fractured into two parts, that it is the Latin Church that has transmitted the treasures of the culture of Athens, Jerusalem and Rome to Europe, that the European political organization has hesitated between the model of nations constituted as states, in the western part of Europe, and the model of supranational organizations, Empires, in the central and eastern part of Europe. To place the State at the level of the Nation or at the level of the Empire: this is the great European question.

III. At what level should the State be placed: the great European question

The City, the Nation and the Empire: Three Levels on which the State can be placed

There are three great traditions of political organization in European history: the City constituted as a State, the City-State, the Nation constituted as a State, the Nation-State and finally the Empire which by nature is a State because the domination of several Peoples and Nations can only be achieved with the prerogatives of the State. As a reminder, Peoples and Nations are natural communities that can survive without a state in a very long period of time, like Israel, or for several centuries, like Poland. City-states still exist today, such as Liechtenstein, the Vatican and Andorra. Nation-states were numerous before most European nations disappeared as a state to merge into the Empire of the European Union. There are hardly any nation-states left in Europe except in Norway, the United Kingdom or Switzerland, to mention only the most emblematic.

Partial conclusion: we see that there are several traditions in Europe: the State at the level of the City, the State at the level of the Nation, or the State at the level of the Empire. Let us retain the two most costly, the Nation and the Empire, to continue our reasoning.

The European Union: a supranational federal state

Perhaps it is necessary first of all to recall the characteristics of the State in constitutional law. Four elements are needed to make a state: a population, a territory, an organized power, and sovereignty⁶, which in turn brings together four prerogatives: making laws, administering justice, minting money, and deciding on peace and war. After the Second World War, the very first draft of a supranational state, including a court of justice, was the European Coal and Steel Community, or ECSC. As long as each member, each Nation, retains its right of veto and decisions are therefore taken unanimously, the State remains at the level of the Nation. From the moment qualified majority voting appeared with the Single Act adopted in 1986 and especially with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the Member Nations ceased to exist as a State, even if they retained some attributes such as defence and armies. The logic of the Luxembourg Compromise, which followed the so-called "empty chair" policy, is a distant memory. Even if the ECSC or the EEC are proto-states, as long as unanimity remains the rule, it is possible

⁵ COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa, One Hundred Thousand Billion*, 2019, p 189.

⁶ GOHIN, Olivier, *Droit constitutionnel, 3rd edition*, Paris, LexisNexis, 2016, p 17.

to consider that the "construction of Europe" is more of a confederation governed by public international law⁷ than a federation by nature governed by a supranational treaty.

Partial conclusion: the first embryo of a European continental state was the ECSC seventy-one years ago. When the European Union adopted a constitution that does not speak its name with the Maastricht Treaty, its members largely abandoning the prerogative to make laws, to administer justice or to mint money, the European Union became a supranational federal state. As a result, member nations ceased to exist as states.

The European Union: a veritable Empire

Without repeating my speech at the colloquium "European Union: An Empire against Nations" organized last December at the Maison de l'Amérique latine in Paris, it is perhaps useful to recall very quickly the main characteristics of an Empire, which are first and foremost a government, i.e. a State, destined to govern several Peoples and Nations, but also some other characteristics that are true for the European Union: the logic of extension with successive enlargements, the last of which planned 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 adore, the mixing of temporal and spiritual dimensions with the promotion of a new anthropology, citizenship become a reality with the Maastricht Treaty, territorial continuity, without which there is no sustainable supranational order. Let us take this opportunity to recall that the term Empire used to qualify the colonial possessions of thalassocratic nations such as France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Spain or Portugal are inappropriate because colonized lands are possessions. The inhabitants do not have common citizenship, which is characteristic of an Empire. In colonial spaces, the separation by seas and oceans doomed any attempt at a lasting imperial construction. The emergence of the United States as a state after its emancipation from British tutelage is an example of this.

Partial conclusion: the European Union is an empire because it has all the characteristics of one.

Conclusion and transition: We began by recalling that Europe is first and foremost a historical and cultural adventure before being a geographical space. We then showed that European history has seen the revival of empires and the fierce struggle of some nations not to submit to them. Finally, we reflected on the question of the level at which the State is placed in European history: at the level of the City, at the level of the Nation or at the level of the Empire. Finally, we have characterised the European Union as a supranational federal state and a veritable empire.

Conclusion:

88-1: symbol of the coup d'état that made France disappear as a state

There are many of us French people tonight. Allow me to conclude, on this anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic, exactly sixty-five years ago, with an analysis that is more French than European, even if, to return to the very first point of this speech, the people of Constantinople but especially those of Baghdad called the inhabitants of the West "Europeans" but more often "Franks".⁸

I think it is useful to recall the method used by François Mitterrand, a method consistent with the troubled character that he was, to make France disappear as a state and submit it to the new Empire of the European Union. François Mitterrand wanted to hide from the French that the Maastricht Treaty required the rewriting of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic in order to modify certain fundamental articles, including Article 3, which states that "national sovereignty belongs to the people". The gravedigger of the Fifth Republic therefore invented a stratagem consisting of "simply inserting the treaty into the Constitution. (...) without the constitutional

⁷ GOHIN, Olivier, *Droit constitutionnel*, 3rd edition, Paris, LexisNexis, 2016, p 57.

⁸ BRAGUE, Rémi, *By means of the Middle Ages: Medieval Philosophies in Christendom, Judaism and Islam*, Paris, Flammarion, 2008, p 319.

provisions to the contrary being detailed".⁹ I invite you to go through the minutes¹⁰ of the Constitutional Council, nearly one hundred and fifty pages, to realize the betrayal of the so-called "constitutional" judges.

1992 thus marked the transition from the confederation of the "European Community" to the federation of the "European Union". 1992 marked the disappearance of France as a state. 1992 marked the end of the Fifth Republic and the beginning of the Sixth Republic, a Republic that was no longer synonymous with a state, and therefore no longer even a "republic" in the true sense of the term¹¹.

A coup d'état. A coup d'état that doesn't have a name. A coup d'état that bears three figures: 88-1. The number of the article of the Constitution of the French Republic that subjected France to the Empire of the European Union. But the Constitution Act adding section 88.1 was not compatible with the 1958 constitution. Article 3 should have been amended to remove the reference to national sovereignty. Since Article 3 of the 1958 Constitution has not been amended, since the French people have not been asked by referendum to renounce national sovereignty, Article 88.1 is null and void as of the 1992 constitutional revision. Section 88.1 must be rescinded retroactively. "Such nullity must be expressly declared."¹² We will¹³. We will re-establish "republican legality".¹⁴

Thank you.



Are available on the website of the France Libre Vrai Europe movement at the following address <https://francelibreveraieurope.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, as well as the conference "From Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's dream to Ursula von der Leyen's Empire" on 4 October 2023 and the symposium "EU: an Empire against Nations" on 9 December 2022.
- 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.
- Audio and text of the conference "From Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's dream to Ursula von der Leyen's Empire" given on October 4, 2023 just before this speech.
- Articles, interviews, conferences, etc.

⁹ GARAUD, Marie-France, *Impostures politiques*, Paris, Plon, 2010, p 50.

¹⁰ Minutes of the sitting of 7 April 1992, Meetings of 7, 8 and 9 April 1992, www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr.

¹¹ LYNCH, Emmanuel, *La France face à la République*, Paris, ML Éditions, 2022, 4th cover.

¹² Ordinance of 9 August 1944 on the Restoration of Republican Legality on the Continent, legifrance.gouv.fr.

¹³ LYNCH, Emmanuel, *La Nation face à l'Empire*, Paris, ML Éditions, 2021, rééd. Paris ML Éditions, 2022, p 213.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 304.