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The Catholic Origin of the European Union and Its Transformation



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Preface: Rudolf Steiner's Prediction

During his lecture of April 11th, 1924, Rudolf Steiner stated:

“Leading personalities say: those that represent the principle of the Roman Church, will do everything to make the states of the former German Empire independent, and to unite those independent states, with the exception of – I’m just repeating – the abundance of power of Prussia, into a refounding of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which, as a matter of course, when it is refounded by such an eminent group, will expand its power over the surrounding territories. Because – so say these people – we need this to eradicate the most dangerous, most terrible movements of the present age. And – so continue these people – if we don’t succeed, and we will succeed, then we will find other ways to eradicate the most dangerous movements of the present age, and they are the anthroposophical movement and the movement for religious renewal. I’m quoting almost verbatim.” [1]

Is Rudolf Steiner talking about the European Union here? If so, what about the eradication of anthroposophy? What are the essential traits of the Roman-Catholic movement that wants to refound the Holy Roman Empire? And what can we do to transform this situation into something better?

Those questions are the focus of the present working paper, which as its name suggests is of preliminary character and can hopefully be used for debate and exchange. At this point this paper has many deficiencies, which can hopefully be corrected in a future longer publication. Please also excuse the errors in language (I’m no native speaker!) which no doubt will be in here.

I’d like to thank in alphabetical order the following people for various kinds of help, reading tips and feedback (sometimes just one crucial sentence or idea) from which this paper benefitted: Ezra Bakker, Heiko Dittmer, Michael Efler, Michel Gastkemper, Stephan Geuljans, Jac Hielema, Gerald Häfner, Ivar Hermans, John Hogervorst, Barbara Hoheneder, Roman Huber, Marc Janssens, Bruno Kaufmann, Michiel Klinkhamer, Ebeth van Loon, Marco Matthijsen, Paul Nollen, Evelien Nijeboer, Kees van der Pijl, Thomas Rupp, Harrie Salman, Jan Willem Sap, Daniel Schily, Jos Verhulst, Richard Wouters and Reinout Wijbenga. Of course, the usual disclaimer applies.

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Christianity in the First Centuries

In the first centuries, Christianity was unorganized and there were many autonomous centers who each had their own Christian visions and traditions. Next to Rome, they were especially Athens, Byzantium (the later Constantinople/Istanbul, which for centuries was more important for Christianity than Rome), Cyrene (now in Libya), Antiochia and Ephesus (Turkey), Carthage (Tunisia) and Alexandria (Egypt). There was hardly a church hierarchy and the bishops were the first among equals. Only on the Council of Nicea in 325 A.D., the first Credo was formulated which summed up the fundamental doctrines of Christianity.



Image: The spread of Christianity, 325-600 A.D.

All early centers of esoteric Christianity were located outside Rome. The first Christian mystery school founded by the apostle Paul in Athens, where Dionysus the Areopagite taught, is seen as the first esoteric school. Important other schools were led in Alexandria by Clemens and his pupil Origen, whose teachings were banned in 553, and by Lucian in Antiochia. [2]

Ireland

An often unnamed, but very special center of esoteric Christianity was located in Celtic Ireland. According to Rudolf Steiner, Ireland "does not belong in the same way to the rest of the earth, because before Lucifer entered the Paradise, an image of this Paradise was imprinted on the earth, and this print has become Ireland. One should realize that Ireland is the part of the earth that has nothing to do with Lucifer, to which Lucifer has no relation. [3]

The Celts still possessed a natural clairvoyance [4] which gave them an experience and position which was unique in the world then according to Steiner: "The Mysteries of Hibernia were covered in an atmosphere of enormous seriousness. They were there in the first centuries before the Mystery of Golgotha, they were also there while the Mystery of Golgotha happened. In Asia the Mystery of Golgotha took place, in Jerusalem the things happened that are reported by the gospels. But without a human mouth talking about it, without some kind of connection, the people in the Hibernian Mysteries knew that the actual Mystery of Golgotha took place while it tragically happened. In the mystery places of Hibernia, the same image realized itself simultaneously." [5] Elsewhere, Steiner says of Ireland: "It was really guarded against all kinds of illusions, more than any other place on earth. That's also the reason why so many spreaders of Christianity went out of Ireland in the first Christian centuries. In the fourth and fifth centuries, Irish initiates worked in Central Europe; they started there and worked to prepare what had to happen in the future. In a certain way they were under the influence of the initiated knowledge that in the fifteenth century, the fifth post-Atlantean epoch should start. So they knew that they had to prepare a whole new era..." [6] Later, Rome pushed forward Saint Patrick (who lived during the fifth century) as the founder of Christianity in Ireland, but in the only letter he left behind Patrick speaks of the Irish, who came to Christianity all by themselves. [7]

The Roman-Catholic impulse developed itself often in fierce opposition against other Christian centers, increasingly with deceit, force and physical violence: in 380 AD, Christianity becomes the state religion of the Roman Empire and only five years later, in 385, the first Christians are tried and killed by other Christians. In that year, the Christian bishop Priscillian of Ávila (Spain), a mystic and Manichean, was tried, tortured and decapitated in Trier together with 5 comrades on the charge of witchcraft and indecency (Priscillian was an ascetic who advocated equal rights for women and men on, for example, priesthood). [8]

Not just the Irish Celts had a correct view of the future, according to Rudolf Steiner also the Roman Catholic Church has always had a good historical preview because of the highly qualified individuals it manages to recruit. [9] Regarding the future, Rome has always had an eye specifically on the Germanic peoples of (Central) Europe. And since the Irish had a large influence there, both exoteric and esoteric, the Irish-Christian stream was public enemy number one for Rome.

By far the most influential Catholic Church father was Saint Augustine (354-430 AD). Augustine is the great promoter of concept such as 'original sin' (all people are guilty and sinful because of the wrong deeds of Adam and Eve in Paradise) and 'predestination' (God has decided everything already, including who goes to heaven or hell, and man cannot change this). Plato had a large influence on Augustine. (These ideas were not, incidentally, ousted by the Protestants but – especially by Calvin – rather taken ad absurdum: nobody is quoted more often by Calvin than Augustine and Luther was an Augustine monk.)

The big opponent of St. Augustine was Pelagius, an ascetic Celt from the British isles. Pelagius defended free will and rejected the idea of original sin. According to Pelagius, man is capable of a free choice for good and evil, independent from the deeds of forefathers. [10] Augustine made sure Pelagius was persecuted and condemned by various Church councils.

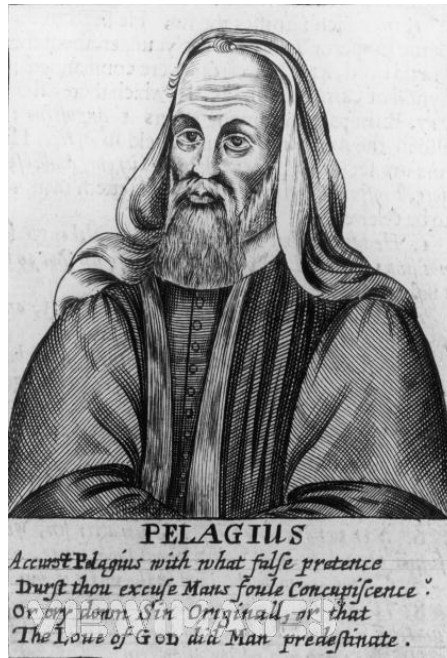


Image: Pelagius (c. 390-418 AD), who quoted Deuteronomy 24:16 to support his denial of Original Sin.

The Holy Roman Empire (800-1806)

The ninth century, so important from an occult perspective [11], starts with the crowning of Charlemagne by pope Leo III on Christmas Day of the year 800.

Within Charlemagne, the (Irish) esoteric and the (Roman) exoteric stream come together. Floris and Blanche-flour, the main figures from the legend recorded by Konrad Fleck, are in reality the maternal grandparents of Charlemagne. Floris' symbol is the red rose, the image of the soul who has entirely taken up the human "I" or the personality, while Blanche-flour's symbol is the white lily, the image for the soul who can only remain pure because the "I" stays outside it. Floris is no one else than an incarnation of Christian Rosenkreutz. [12] Lutters mentions as his outer name Charibert (also: Heribert) of Laon. [13] A high Indian adept was incarnated in Charlemagne, and Titarel worked through him. [14]

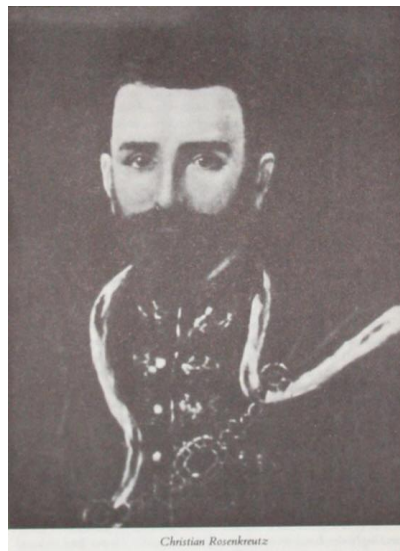


Image: Christian Rosenkreutz

The Irish and Roman streams were also represented at Charlemagne's large court. Its leaders were seen as the Irish mathematician and poet Alcuin of York, the leading intellectual of what is called the Carolingian Renaissance, and the German-Frankish lay preacher Einhard, who wrote Charlemagne's biography (*Vita Karoli Magni*). Steiner was not terribly impressed by that Renaissance: he writes that Einhard, Charlemagne himself and the other people at his court were rather primitive, and points out that Charlemagne was an analphabetic until his death. [15] Einhard's works for example are doubtful: it is unclear what he actually had to do with the cathedrals of whom he is listed as the builder, and his *Vita Karoli Magni* (still sold in many recent translations today) is full of historical falsifications, hagiography and deceitful omissions. Einhard for example spreads the myth that Charlemagne only realized at the very last moment that pope Leo III would crown him as European emperor, says nothing about the mass killing of Saxons in Germany and deletes all Iro-Celtic people from the historical record, including Alcuin who was the leading intellectual of his era as well as Einhard's teacher. [16] And while Alcuin is supposed to be the leading Iro-Celtic around Charlemagne, Steiner places Alcuin rather in the Roman-Catholic stream and states that he turned his back on the spiritual world. [18] In short, the Iro-Celtic stream around Charlemagne wasn't very strong and both Steiner

and other anthroposophical authors like Markus Osterrieder and Frans Lutters conclude that the exoteric, Roman Catholic element had taken the lead in and around Charlemagne. Steiner is ambivalent about Charlemagne; he states on the one hand that Charlemagne worked for the right historical development but says on the other hand that his empire turned against Christ; says on the one hand that Charlemagne's coronation was a symbol of the connection between the exoteric and esoteric streams, but makes critical remarks on the other hand that this coronation expresses a dubious mix between the political and religious spheres. [19]



Image: Charlemagne with sword

Charlemagne created his European empire with brute violence. During his 43 year reign he was almost continuously fighting wars, in among others Spain, Lombardy, Bretagne, South-Italy, Austria, Hungary and the Mediterranean area. Most infamous, however, were the 18 (!) wars waged by Charlemagne against the Saxons of Central Europe. Together, the wars took 33 years. The Saxons refused to give up their own religion and resisted the annexation of their people into Charlemagne's empire, both through open battles, uprisings and guerilla-like tactics.

Already during the first Saxon war, Charlemagne destructed the Irminsul, a central holy place of the Saxons comparable to the Yggdrasil – the World Tree – of the Nordic peoples. The Saxons sometimes concluded peace treaties, but broke them later on. Charlemagne would be ruthless to them. When he lost some twenty comrades in 782 due to Saxon resistance activities, he had 4,500 imprisoned Saxons who were suspected of any resistance, decapitated in October 782 at the Bloodbath of Verden in Lower Saxony. [20]



Image: 'The Destruction of the Irminsul by Charlemagne'- painting by Heinrich Leutemann (1882)

Charlemagne controlled his empire by introducing and/or expanding the feudal system. Feudalism is a system of government that is based on land ownership, just like its successor capitalism is a social system based primarily on ownership of capital. Because Charlemagne was the principal owner of the lands he conquered, he could then hand it out to lower nobility and war lords – his 'subsidiaries' - who had assisted him. They had to swear oaths of allegiance and had to join his army when he needed it. This way, the nobility gained a strong regional position of power which they used to exploit the population in 'their' territories. In medieval Europe, farmers were often forced to hand over their land to their lords and especially to the Roman Catholic Church, which became very powerful within the feudal system. Then, the farmers had to rent their land from the lords and church again against ever increasing tariffs. Farmers had ever decreasing rights and increasing duties towards for example military service as foot soldiers to be slayed by trained professional knights and archers. [21]

The leaders of the Roman Empire received a – at least for us – unexpected alliance partner: the Vikings or Normans. Contrary to the popular image of the Vikings as dedicated heathens and church plunderers, the Vikings actually took over Roman Catholicism quickly and radically, and they often became the most effective soldiers for the Roman cause.

Around 860, something special happens, which Rudolf Steiner called the occult 'Einkreisung' (encirclement) of Central Europe. [22] From Scandinavia, the Vikings trek past the Atlantic coasts of France and Spain via the Mediterranean to Constantinople (present-day Istanbul). From the other side, the Normans also trek to Constantinople through Finland, past the Wolga and the Slavic peoples. In Constantinople, the occult circle was closed. [23] The occult effect of this move, according to Steiner, is that the esoteric-cultural content of Central Europe got locked up in itself, it could not flow freely anymore. [24]

But also the outer effects are large and decisive for world history: during their reign, the Normans remained behind in some areas and created colonies in cooperation with local rulers, such as the Viking duchy in France (present-day 'Normandy' comes from 'Norman') where they quickly adopted Roman Catholicism. These Norman, Romanized Vikings are the people who lead the Roman Conquest of England. The Normans under William the Conqueror – a descendant of Rollo, the Viking who colonized Normandy – invaded England in 1066 and win the infamous Battle of Hastings – generally recognized as maybe the most important battle ever fought on British soil. Eighty percent of the Anglo-Saxon army under king Harold Godwinson was killed, including Godwinson himself who was hit in the eye by a Normandic arrow – the hills were red of blood. On Christmas day 1066, exactly 266 years after the papal coronation of Charlemagne, William the Conqueror was crowned king of England.

Prior to the Norman Conquest, the Normans were the best knights of Europe who had introduced important military innovations, but they didn't have enough troops to conquer England. That's where pope Alexander II moved in. He publicly blessed the war preparation by William the Conqueror and sent him his papal banner as a visible token of his support. Then, William's efforts became part of the Crusades and knights from all over Europe flocked to his support. Afterwards, pope Alexander II also gave his blessings by sending three representatives to England who repeated the coronation of William on Eastern 1970.

William violently and radically Romanized England in just a few decades. After that, the whole of England is radically and violenty Romanized in just a few decades. The whole Anglo-Saxon nobility, from high to low, is replaced by Normans and the same goes for most church officials. Even most Christian churches are torn down and replaced by Romanesque buildings. The French-Norman language becomes the leading language and the basis for modern English (for example, the French 'château' becomes 'castel' in French-Norman and 'castle' in English). For centuries, high French was even the language at the courts. Tax and military obligations of farmers to their lords were drastically reduced, they were forced to pass over land to the Roman Catholic Church and the number of free farmers is considerably reduced. This all went with much more violence than is normally assumed. [25] From 1169 on, Ireland – which had never been subjected to Roman rule in previous centuries - was also conquered by the Normans.

And the occult 'Einkreisung' of 860? According to Steiner, his eventuated in the 'encirclement' by the Entente powers France, England and Russia in the decades up to the First World War: already in 1892, France and Russia concluded the secret, anti-German military convention which specified with how many troops they would attack Germany from two sides simultaneously. [26]

The European Union

In 1806 Napoleon ended the Holy Roman Empire. However, according to Rudolf Steiner the impulse working in this empire did not disappear, but went over to the house of Habsburg in Austria-Hungary. [27] Catholics are always thinking how to blow new life into the beautiful feudal Catholic European; a prominent example is the Norman Catholic priest Charles de Saint-Pierre who in 1728 proposed a European federation of 18 states that had a common currency, an economic union and no internal borders. [28] After the First World War and especially the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, this Catholic movement for a European government gained momentum. Had Europeans not shown that it could not produce their own solution to the problem of nationalism and social issues? Didn't Catholicism have time-tested recipes? In addition, every political insider knows that the time just after a war or general crisis is the best time to get major changes adopted quickly.

The German author Manfred Barthel mentions that the Jesuit General Ledochowski sent a memorandum in 1918 to governments in Europe to set up a federation of Central European states. The primary aim was uniting Europe against Communism. [29] Between the world wars, the Catholic movement for European unification flourished. The most important organization was the Pan-European Union of Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi. In his book 'Paneuropa' (1923) he defends a United States of Europe rooted in Catholic spirituality and in which Russia and England were not included. [30]

The Pan-European Union had a strong Catholic tendency, but nevertheless managed to recruit all sorts of prominent members: Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Charles de Gaulle, Aristide Briand, Konrad Adenauer, Kurt Schuschnigg, Franz Josef Strauss, Bruno Kreisky, Georges Pompidou and others. In 1950, Coudenhove-Kalergi was the first recipient of the Charlemagne Prize, which is awarded annually by the city of Aachen to people who have worked pre-eminently for European unification. He was an ardent Catholic, but also a Freemason: in 1920 he became a member of the Humanitas lodge in Vienna in which he received different degrees. [31]



Image: Robert Schuman (1886-1963)

The interwar period was dominated by nationalism and protectionism in response to the crisis of the 1930s so a practical start with European unification could not be made. But the European movement used that period to achieve a prominent status in publicity and build an excellent Catholic network even extending across the Atlantic Ocean. Most of all the Founding Fathers of the EU, including those who worked more behind the scenes, were committed Catholics and Christian Democrats. [32] As a devout Catholic, Robert Schuman – the main author of the plan for the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1950 – led a celibate life and attended Holy Mass each day during his entire adult life. [33] De Gasperi, a close friend of Schuman and the first postwar German Kanzler, Konrad Adenauer, worked from 1927 to 1943 in the Vatican as a librarian. Adenauer hated the Prussians and the Nazi regime had convinced him that the German people had to be reeducated under Catholic spiritual guidance. For him, Europeanism and Catholicism were two sides of the same coin. He maintained personal contacts with the Pope, even if these were not as intensive as for example in De Gasperi's case. [34] Also key people who worked behind the scenes were staunch Catholics. The illustrious Pole Józef Retinger (a kind of freelance agent with unknown masters and unknown but sizeable sources of income) who in 1954 with the Dutch prince Bernhard would start the Bilderberg Group - which would become so important for European unification [35] – was a staunch Catholic who as a boy had wanted to become a priest. [36] Another key person was Otto von Habsburg (the son of the last ruling Habsburg monarch of Austria-Hungary) who combined his official functions in the Pan-European Union and European bodies with influential private networks such as the Rome based Sovereign Military Order of Malta (an order consisting of Catholic European nobility as well as prominent Americans) to further his life goal: creating a new European state under a Catholic aegis. [37]



Image: the European 'eminence grise' Józef Retinger was the model for Ian Fleming's James Bond

After 1945, the situation for the Catholic-European movement was much better. Nazism had not proved to be the viable alternative for Communism that some Catholic leaders hoped it would be. Instead, the dangers of extreme nationalism had been shown for all. The USSR had used World War II to expand its power sphere over half of Europe. In the first post-war elections, the Communists did excellent - in Italy, France and Greece, there was a serious threat that communism could be entered through the ballot box. In Western Europe, leaders became nervous.

In 1950, Robert Schuman publicly launches his supranational plan – of which most of the French Government members at that time did not know! [38] - for a European Coal and Steel Community, which already started in 1952. Only five years later, the same 'Inner Six' states sign the Treaty establishing the EEC in Rome.

Does the European Union look like the Holy Roman Empire? Yes, says political scientist Mark Stout from the University of Maastricht in his highly interesting study *EU: Papacy Reincarnated?* (2005). In the preface, Stout explains how he professionally researched the EU and how he, as he took the train back from Brussels, and always read specialized studies on the medieval Roman Catholic Church for leisure. Gradually, the many parallels between the European Union and the medieval Church became clear to him. [38]

Not mentioned by Stout is the fact is the territory of the ECSC (Treaty of Paris, 1951) or the EEC (Treaty of Rome, 1957) is almost entirely the same as the boundaries of Charlemagne's empire in the year 800.

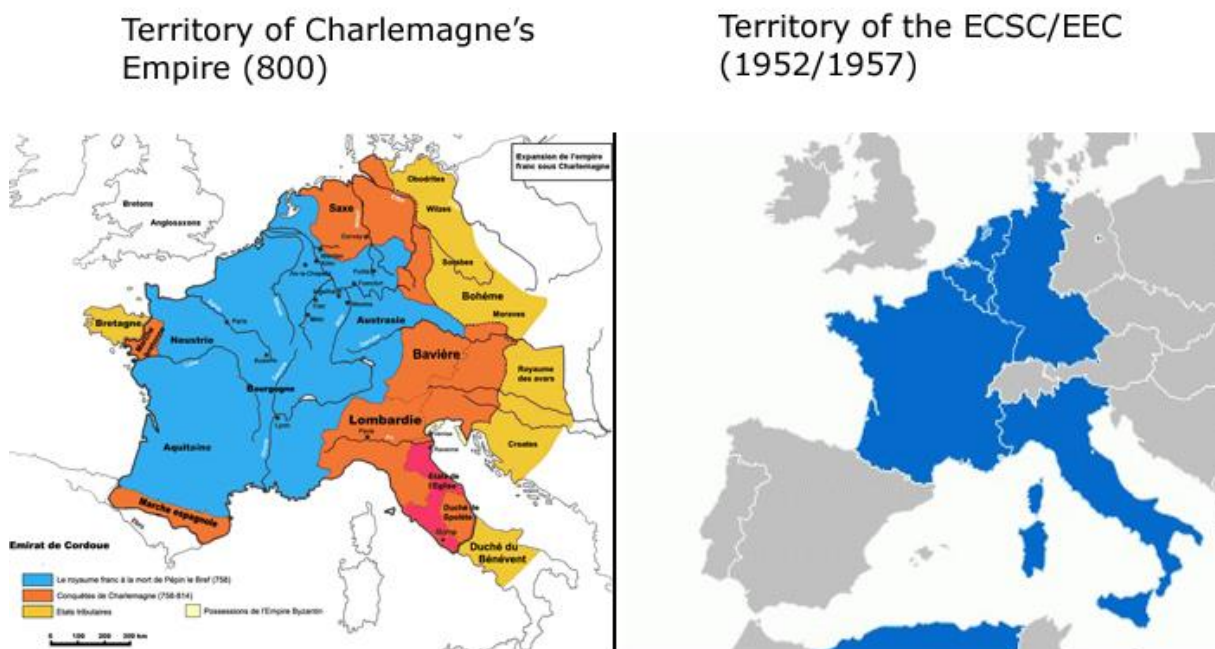


Image: Charlemagne's empire versus the territory of the ECSC/EEC

In the European Union, Catholicism can be found literally everywhere as a cultural movement, as organizational principle and as policy goals and principles. Catholic social teaching can simply be read in the preambles and the value statements and policy goals of the various treaties. The leading organization principle of the EU is 'subsidiarity': powers should be given to the lowest possible level. This concept originated from the papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), which was ghost written by the German Jesuit Oswald von Nell-Bruening under direct supervision of its General Ledochowski. [40] Superficially, 'subsidiarity' sounds fine, but in reality this way of organization is totally top-down. In the ideology of subsidiarity, it is the top that has all the power and determines how many powers are laid to lower levels, and also when they are taken back. (Subsidiarity comes from 'subsidiaris' which means 'auxiliary': the top cannot do everything alone and needs auxiliaries

to help carry out its goals. The term 'subsidy' is also derived here: the state sets a variety of goals and objectives which it cannot (entirely) achieve on her own, so she hires additional forces financed with subsidies.) Indeed, this is unfortunately exactly how Europe functions: after all, the European treaties are concluded by the European heads of state behind closed doors. The European Parliament has no say over them and the national parliaments cannot exercise their regular control because they do not know what their head of state has said or done. They can only say 'yes' or be held responsible for a European crisis which can probably best be compared to a swamp. The European treaties, on their turn, set the space in which the lower levels – the nation states – can operate, because European law is supreme over national law (as stated by e.g. the Dutch Constitution in articles 93 and 94).

The opposite of subsidiarity is federalism: lower political units – actually their citizens – are the original owners of all political power and they can decide – preferably and typically through binding referendums – to unite themselves in a larger political body. But the lower political units always retain their principal sovereignty, they can take back their powers and they can leave the union. So in a certain sense, the lowest political bodies and their citizens are actually the highest level. Unfortunately, in our very modern and civilized age there's such a mist around these concepts that (especially British) Eurosceptics start to scream when the F-word (federalism) is mentioned, while they don't have a big problem with the concept of subsidiarity. [41]

And if the EU doesn't like its own rules, it may ignore them. A recent example is the illegal annexation of further powers through e.g. the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) treaty and the Fiscal Pact treaty. These are illegal because they hand over more power to Brussels and according to article 48 of the base European treaty (the Treaty on European Union or TEU) – this requires a change of the TEU and this can only be done through a Convention which meets and discusses in public for a considerable time period and consists of representatives of all member states' parliaments and governments as well as the EU institutions. The mentioned treaties were typically quickly approved by national parliaments without any discussion.

The Catholic EU culture is regularly described by Derk Jan Eppink – a journalist, former employee of European Commissioner Bolkestein and currently MEP for the Flemish party Libertarian, Direct Democratic (LDD). [42] Eppink describes the departure ceremony in the European Parliament administered by its President: "Pottering (...) received the departing members as the pope receives faithful Catholics during an audience. (...) Being a Calvinist, I had never experienced so much semi-religious symbolism in one day before. Catholics love rituals: their thinking is dominated by it. (...) Maybe the 'European conviction' is a secular religion, a kind of religion without God? Europe as an Ersatzreligion." Eppink and many others have described how criticism of the EU in the European Parliament is not welcome and one quickly has a reputation as one who fouls his own nest. "But it is time that someone asks questions, even in the European Parliament that presents itself as the cathedral of orthodoxy. Such questions do not stem from heretics, but from the people." [43] European top politicians joke about the Catholic connection. At a religious conference in Florence, Herman van Rompuy recently said grinning, "We're all Jesuits", referring to the fact that, among others, he José Manuel Barroso, Jean-Claude Juncker and ECB President Mario Draghi were all trained by Jesuits. [44]

Even the European flag has a Catholic background. One of the designers, the Strasbourg artist Arsène Heitz, revealed several times the source of his inspiration: the Virgin Mary. This was linked to the

image of the Revelation of John (12: 1): a woman generally associated with the Virgin Mary general who wears a crown of 12 stars gives birth to a child who is threatened to be devoured by a dragon. Blue is generally seen as the color of Mary. The current EU flag was already adopted on 8 December 1955 by the Council of Europe (not to be confused with the European Council); December 8 the feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, which is very important for Catholics. [45]



Image: The Virgin Mary with 12 yellow stars on a blue background

Transforming the EU

The Catholic influence in the world is still large. The 'Holy Alliance' formed in 1815 between the Vatican and the Reagan administration in the USA, effectively put an end to the USSR [46]. The current Jesuit pope achieves new PR successes every week or month, and with each further step in European integration the people in the Vatican open a bottle of champagne. That large Catholic influence is related to the fact that, according to Steiner, the fourth culture era – which ended in 1415 and in which Roman Catholicism had a *raison d'être* – tends to have strong influence throughout the fifth (current Anglo-German) epoch, particularly in the first third, meaning until the year 2135 (as one cultural epoch lasts 2160 years). [47] Incidentally, this is also the year that comes out of calculating some years spoke about in relation to the Apocalypse. I suspect we won't get rid of the EU easily anytime soon.

What to do? The following is only a summary of some main points, to be expanded in a future publication.

We must look how we, through relatively simple but fundamental interventions, can limit or transform the (typically Catholic) universal, legalistic and centralized forms of governance in the EU. Brussels in effect works towards a universal legal regime: the same for all EU member states. This should be traded for a flexible EU in which groups of states can have common policies or laws on particular topics. There can be several groups of countries with the same topic, so competition is created between various groups of states to outperform the other, and the coalitions between countries can change from topic to topic. This creates an ever-changing patchwork of common policy in which states can always join that group that has a specific theme arranged best. The leading economists Frey and Eichenberger have previously made interesting proposals. [49]

EU centralism can be reduced by giving only those powers to the EU they really need for a minimal job description. In this respect, the EU is the world upside down: logical federal powers such as foreign policy and defense (see the American example) are still largely at the national level while the EU is however seems obsessed with trivialities that are better regulated at the national or even local level. Those critical of the EU should understand that we all benefit from a EU that is as small as possible, so opponents of a federal European superstate should not complain that the EU isn't doing anything against e.g. bull fighting in Spain. It is the job of progressive Spaniards to do that. Or the EU cannot delve into e.g. cultural issues, or it cannot. But you cannot have a small EU with full sovereignty of the member states (or actually their citizens) and have your personal wish list fulfilled by the EU.

Legalism - the love for ever more and more complex laws and regulations - is another issue. Just as in e.g. France the EU people simply adore legalities and bureaucracy, and a culture reigns that every social problem can be solved with more regulation. The EU has already produced nearly 700,000 pages of legislation since 1957 (about a quarter of which is still valid, because politicians keep changing them at the highest possible rate) and the increase has been accelerating. [50] But the 'more is better' may (or may not) apply to spiritual life, but it certainly does not for legal life. More laws and court cases etc. are not always good, quite the contrary.

The EU They can also be a system of direct democracy much more: both at national level (when it comes to the adoption of the EU primary law or the treaties, each Member State should remain sovereign mi) and at the EU level (secondary law or the regulations and directives, etc.) could citizens always have the last word through binding referenda and self launch proposals through popular initiatives. have Concrete proposals previously made by my colleagues Michael Efler, Gerald Häfner, Roman Huber and Percy Vogel. [51]

About the European Parliament, I'd like to quote the current Dutch minister of the interior, Ronald Plasterk, in his previous life as a columnist: "A real parliament would try to represent the opinions of the people, but the European Parliament tries it the other way around – to influence them. The European elections don't mean anything, because unless you vote for the SP or the SGP [two small eurosceptic parties] your vote will end up with those parties that support the [European] activism. There will be a referendum [in the Netherlands in 2005], but they add that the correct answer is 'yes'. (...) The European Parliament is not a parliament, but a campaign group for European unification." [52] I think the European Parliament should be replaced by a European gathering of representatives of national parliaments, who travel each month for a few days to Brussels and can only stay in function for two years maximum. This will prevent the creation of a European political class with an interest of its own that goes against the people. We may rename the new institution as European Chamber of Representatives or something similar.

Especially, it is of high importance that people – everyone is a citizen and carries a part of the total responsibility – form an exacter picture of what Catholicism means in terms of governance and political and organizational culture, and begin to wonder if this really is the path they want to follow. Preferably before the European super state is a fact.

Notes

- [1] In R. Steiner, *Esoterische Unterweisungen für die erste Klasse der Freien Hochschule für Geisteswissenschaft am Goetheanum* (GA 270/1) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1999), p. 130. Steiner probably quoted a certain Dr. Hans Eisele, leader of the press agency of the Bavarian government (ibid, p. 213n).
- [2] H. Salman, *Europe: a continent with a global mission* (Sofia: Kibea Publishing, 2009), p. 132-3
- [3] Lecture of 19 November 1917, in R. Steiner, *Individuelle Geistwesen und ihr Wirken in der Seele des Menschen* (GA 178) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1992), p. 207-8
- [4] Lecture of 15 March 1924, in R. Steiner, *Die Geschichte der Menschheit und die Weltanschauungen der Kulturvölker* (GA 353) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag,), p. 92
- [5] Lecture of 29 December 1923, in R. Steiner, *Die Weltgeschichte in anthroposophischer Beleuchtung und als Grundlage der Erkenntnis des Menschengestes* (GA 233) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1991), p. 105-6
- [6] Lecture of 18 November 1917, in op.cit., GA 178, p. 187
- [7] Quoted in E. de Munck, *Shamanen en farao's, kopten en ketters* (Hemrik: Nearchus, 1997), p. 164
- [8] Salman, op cit., p. 133
- [9] Lecture of 6 June 1920, in R. Steiner, *Heilfaktoren für den sozialen Organismus* (GA 198) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1984), p. 125-6
- [10] De Munck, op. cit., p. 163-167; see further H. Gsänger, *Irland: Insel des Abel* (3 parts) (Freiburg: Die Kommenden, 1969); B. Cuncliffe, *The Celts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- [11] See W.J. Stein, *Weltgeschichte im Lichte des Heiligen Gral: das neunte Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: J.Ch. Mellinger, 1977 [1928])
- [12] Lecture of 6 May 1909, in R. Steiner, *Wo und wie findet man den Geist?* (GA 57) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1984), p. 438
- [13] F. Lutters, *An exploration into the destiny of the Waldorf school movement* (Ghent: AWSNA, 2011), p. 10; this historical work draws parallels between the founding of schools by Charlemagne and the impulse of Waldorf education by Rudolf Steiner and Emil Molt.
- [14] Lecture of 27 August 1909, in R. Steiner, *Aus den Inhalten der esoterischen Stunden* (deel 1) (GA 266a) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1995), p. 506-7
- [15] Lecture of 2 March 1924, in R. Steiner, *Esoterische Betrachtungen karmischer Zusammenhänge* (deel 1) (GA 235) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1994), p. 169-70
- [16] F. Lutters, op cit., p. 13

[17] Lutters (op cit., p. 13) places Alcuin clearly in the Iro-Celtic stream, together with Waldo of Reichenau and Hugo of Tours, but writes on the other hand (p. 29) that Alcuin, especially in his later life, “unconditionally accepted the primacy of Rome, both in regard to dogmatic faith and ecclesiastical politics”. Alcuin defended the papal coronation of Charlemagne as European emperor. Alcuin did ask Charlemagne to treat the Saxons well, apparently without real results.

[18] Lecture of 17 oktober 1920, in R. Steiner, *Die neue Geistigkeit und das Christus-Erlebnis des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (GA 200) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 2003), p. 17

[19] See among others Steiner’s lectures of 27 August 1909 (GA 266/1), 19 July 1904 (GA 51), 6 May 1909 (GA 57), 14 November 1908 (GA 57)

[20] See M. Springer, *Die Sachsen* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2004)

[21] See J. Fried, *Karl der Grosse: Gewalt und Glaube* (München: C.H. Beck, 2013)

[22] See Steiner’s lectures of 21 February 1915 en 7 March 1915, in R. Steiner, *Das Geheimnis des Todes: Wesen und Bedeutung Mitteleuropas und die europäischen Volksgeister* (GA 159) (Donach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1980), p. 58 en 70

[23] These travels around the European continent are confirmed by outer science: see J. Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings* (Londen etc.: Penguin, 1995)

[24] See note 22.

[25] See M. Morris, *The Norman Conquest* (Londen: Windmill Books, 2013)

[26] See for the French-Russian secret treaty of 1892 J.H.J. Andriessen, *De andere waarheid: een nieuwe visie op het ontstaan van de Eerste Wereldoorlog 1914-1918* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1999), p. 15-7

[27] Lecture of 15 November 1918, in R. Steiner, *Entwicklungsgeschichtliche Unterlagen zur Bildung eines sozialen Urteils* (GA 185a) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 2004), p. 79

[28] For a compilation, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ideas_of_European_unity_before_1945, consulted 7 October 2014

[29] Cf. M. Barthel, *The Jesuits: history and legend of the Society of Jesus* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1984), p. 256

[30] R.N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Pan-Europa* (Wenen: Pan-Europa-Verlag, 1923)

[31] R.A. Minder, *Freimaurer Politiker Lexikon* (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2004), p. 158; for more about Catholic-masonic cooperation, see Steiner’s lecture of 4 April 1916, in R. Steiner, *Gegenwärtiges und Vergangenes im Menscheingeiste* (GA 167) (Dornach: Verlag der Rudolf Steiner Nachlassverwaltung, 1962), p. 103-4

[32] D. Baster, “Catholic origins of the European Union: interview with Catholic historian Alan Fimister”, *Zenit*, 22 September 2008

- [33] M. Krijtenburg, *Schuman's Europe. His frame of reference* (PhD. dissertation) (Leiden: Leiden University, 2012), p. 34ff
- [34] M. Stout, *EU: Papacy reincarnated?* (Maastricht: Metajuridica Books, 2005), p. 19-27
- [35] M. Peters, "The Bilderberg Group and the project of European unification", *Lobster - Journal of Parapolitics* 32 (1996)
- [36] J. Pomian, *Joseph Retinger: Memoirs of an eminence grise* (Sussex: Sussex University Press, 1972)
- [37] The SMOM is recognized as a sovereign state up to this day by e.g. the Vatican.
- [38] Cf. P. van de Meerssche, *Van Jalta tot Malta. Politieke geschiedenis van Europa* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1990), p. 56
- [39] This is – unconsciously, as an email to Mark Stout taught me – conform Steiner's advice to historians to also pay attention to what happens in their private lives when they conduct research in their professional lives, because there are connections between both from which the historian can learn.
- [40] O. Von Nell-Bruening SJ, "Documentation: the drafting of Quadragesimo Anno", *Crisis Magazine*, 1 February 1985
- [41] The contradiction between subsidiarity and federalism is explained in J. Verhulst en A. Nijeboer, *Direct democracy: facts and arguments about the introduction of initiative and referendum* (Brussel: Democracy International, 2007), chapter 3
- [42] See D.J. Eppink, *De toren van Babel staat in Brussel: pleidooi voor een Verenigd Europa van Staten* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2010); *ibid*, *Europese mandarijnen: achter de schermen van de Europese Commissie* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2007); Eppink's interesting blog at <http://www.djeppink.eu>
- [43] Eppink, *De toren van Babel staat in Brussel*, op cit., p. 17-23
- [44] D.J. Eppink, "We are all Jesuits", blogpost of 10 October 2012 at <http://www.djeppink.eu/en/blog/we-are-all-jesuits>, consulted 7 October 2014
- [45] J.A. Schippers, "Een katholieke Europese Unie?", *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, 1 July 2009; "The European Commission and religious values", *The Economist*, 28 October 2004; Th. Meyer, "Die apokalyptische Jungfrau und der katholische Geist der europäischen Union", *Der Europäer*, January 1997
- [46] See C. Bernstein, "The Holy Alliance: Ronald Reagan and John Paul II", *Time*, 24 February 1992; C. Bernstein and M. Politi, *His Holiness: John Paul II and the history of our time* (Londen: Penguin, 1997); P. Schweitzer, *Victory. The Reagan administration's secret strategy that hastened the collapse of the Soviet Union* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994)
- [47] Lecture of 14 January 1917, in R. Steiner, *Zeitgeschichtliche Betrachtungen: Das Karma der Unwahrhaftigkeit*, part II (GA 174) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1983), p. 155; here, Steiner explicitly mentions the year 1415 as the starting point of the (current) 5th cultural (Anglo-German) epoch, and not 1413 as he usually does.

[48] See various lectures in R. Steiner, *Apokalypse und Priesterwirken* (GA 346) (Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 2001)

[49] B.S. Frey en R. Eichenberger, *The new democratic federalism for Europe: functional, overlapping and competing jurisdictions* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1999)

[50] Open Europe, “Just how big is the *acquis communautaire*?”,
<http://www.openeurope.org.uk/Content/Documents/PDFs/acquis.pdf>, consulted 7 October 2014

[51] M. Efler, G. Häfner, R. Huber and P. Vogel, *Europa: nicht ohne uns! Abwege und Auswege der Demokratie in der Europäischen Union* (Hamburg: VSA Verlag, 2009)

[52] R. Plasterk, “Tien ware verhalen over Europa”, *Volkskrant*, 28 January 2005

Appendix: Politicians' Quotes about the EU

On democracy in Europe

"We decide on something, leave it lying around and wait and see what happens. If no one kicks up a fuss, because most people don't understand what has been decided, we continue step by step until there is no turning back." – Jean Claude Juncker, then prime minister of Luxembourg, in *Der Spiegel*, 27 december 1999

"The European Parliament is not a parliament, but a campaign group for European unification." – Ronald Plasterk, then a scientist/columnist, later Interior Minister of the Netherlands, the *Volkskrant*, 28 January 2005

"If the EU would apply to us [the European Commission] for membership, we would have to say: democratically insufficient." – Günter Verheugen, European Commissioner for Enlargement (1999-2004), quoted in Oldag & Tillack, *Raumschiff Brüssel* (Berlin 2003), p. 17

"I think most people have never understood Europe. That's logical indeed, because Europe was largely built behind closed doors by a generation of convinced Europeans who thought: if we play this too openly, we won't get the people along." – Karel de Gucht, European Commissioner of Trade, *De Standaard*, 20-21 August 2011

"Imagine a large airplane. You go into the cockpit and then nobody is sitting at the steering wheel." – José Manuel Barosso, then prime minister of Portugal, describing the European Union in 2002, quoted in Oldag & Tillack, *Raumschiff Brüssel*, p. 43

"When it gets serious, you have to lie." – Jean Claude Juncker in April 2011, quoted in *Der Spiegel*, 9 May 2011

"Yes, there is a French mafia in the European Commission. But there's also a British mafia. We have mafioso everywhere, but they are different types of mafioso. There's a gay mafioso, the freemasons mafia, an Opus Dei mafia, a socialist and a communist mafia. It's about mutually neutralizing them – that was my goal when I became head of human resources." The key was to first find out "which mafias there were and who belongs to whom." – An anonymous director-general at the European Commission, quoted in Oldag & Tillack, *"Raumschiff Brüssel"* (Berlijn 2003), p. 83

The EU is a "soft tyranny". – Jacques Delors, former chairman of the European Commission, quoted in Oldag & Tillack, *Raumschiff Brüssel* (Berlin 2003), p. 35

On the European Constitution (a.k.a. the Lisbon Treaty)

"This is crossing the Rubicon, after which there will be no more sovereign states in Europe with fully-fledged governments and parliaments which represent legitimate interests of their citizens, but only one State will remain. Basic things will be decided by a remote 'federal government' in Brussels and, for example, Czech citizens will be only a tiny particle whose voice and influence will be almost zero.

... We are against a European superstate.” - Czech President Vaclav Klaus, Mlada Fronta Dnes, 29-9-2003

Reactions to the French and Dutch “no” referendum votes of 2005

“If it's a Yes, we will say 'on we go', and if it's a No we will say 'we continue'.” – Jean Claude Juncker, days before the French and Dutch referendums, quoted in The Telegraph, 26 May 2005

The EU as a Superpower

“Are we all clear that we want to build something that can aspire to be a world power? In other words, not just a trading bloc, but a political entity. Do we realize that our nation states, taken individually, would find it far more difficult to assert their existence and their identity on the world stage?” - Commission President Romano Prodi in the European Parliament, 13 February 2001

“If you don't want to call it a European army, don't call it a European army. You can call it 'Margaret', you can call it 'Mary-Anne', you can find any name, but it is a joint effort for peace-keeping missions - the first time you have a joint, not bilateral, effort at European level.” - EU Commission President Romano Prodi, The Independent, London, 4 February 2000

“We argue about fish, about potatoes, about milk, on the periphery. But what is Europe really for? Because the countries of Europe, none of them anything but second-rate powers by themselves, can, if they get together, be a power in the world, an economic power, a power in foreign policy, a power in defence equal to either of the superpowers. We are in the position of the Greek city states: they fought one another and they fell victim to Alexander the Great and then to the Romans. Europe united could still, by not haggling about the size of lorries but by having a single foreign policy, a single defence policy and a single economic policy, be equal to the great superpowers.” - Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, The Listener, London, 8 February 1979

“The problem is that the [EU] institutions always want more. The European Parliament wants the EU to do everything. The European Commission shows the regular bureaucrat instinct: more tasks means more jobs, more money and everything that comes with it. And often, a member of the Council of Ministers tries to achieve via Brussel what he couldn't get done at home.” – Frits Bolkestein, then European Commissioner, NRC Handelsblad, 30 May 2005

“In many respects, the European Union is much more autonomous, and much more direct in its projection of power, than a national government.” – Günter Verheugen, former European Commissioner of Enlargement, quoted in Oldag & Tillack, “Raumschiff Brüssel” (Berlin 2003), p. 75

On ‘functionalism’ e.g. the Monnet Method

“The fusion (of economic functions) would compel nations to fuse their sovereignty into that of a single European State.” - Jean Monnet, one of the Founding Fathers of the EU, 3 April 1952

“We aren't just here for the internal market – that doesn't interest me at all – but to construct a European political union.” – Jacques Delors, father of the European internal market, in 1999, quoted in Oldag & Tillack, Raumschiff Brüssel (Berlin 2003), p. 37

"We've got to be explicit that the road to greater economic success does not lie in this cosy assumption that you can move from a single market through a single currency to harmonising all your taxes and then having a federal fiscal policy and then effectively having a federal State." - Gordon Brown, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, The Guardian, 5 November 2003

"We already have a federation. The 11, soon to be 12, member States adopting the euro have already given up part of their sovereignty, monetary sovereignty, and formed a monetary union, and that is the first step towards a federation." - German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, Financial Times, 7 July 2000

"Common responsibility for the European currency will also engender a common decision-making instance for the European economy. It is unthinkable to have a European central bank but not a common leadership for the European economy. If there is no counterweight to the ECB in European economy policy, then we will be left with the incomplete construction which we have today... However even if the building is not finished it is still true that monetary union is part of a supranational constitution... It is our task for the future to work with the appropriate means for the transfer of traditional elements of national sovereignty to the European level." - Italian President Carlo Ciampi, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 8 February 2000

The Euro

"Thanks to the euro, our pockets will soon hold solid evidence of a European identity. We need to build on this, and make the euro more than a currency and Europe more than a territory... In the next six months, we will talk a lot about political union, and rightly so. Political union is inseparable from economic union. Stronger growth and European integration are related issues. In both areas we will take concrete steps forward." - French Finance Minister Laurent Fabius, The Financial Times, 24 July 2000

"The single currency is the greatest abandonment of sovereignty since the foundation of the European Community... It is a decision of an essentially political character... We need this united Europe... We must never forget that the euro is an instrument for this project." - Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, May 1998

"The euro was not just a bankers' decision or a technical decision. It was a decision which completely changed the nature of the nation states. The pillars of the nation state are the sword and the currency, and we changed that. The euro decision changed the concept of the nation state and we have to go beyond that." - EU Commission President Romano Prodi, Financial Times interview, 9 April 1999

"Federalism might make eurosceptics laugh but, with the creation of the euro, the halfway stage would be reached. Four key organisms would have a federal or quasi-federal status: the Central Bank, the Court of Justice, the Commission and the Parliament. Only one institution is missing: a federal government." - Jacques Lang, Foreign Affairs Spokesman in the French National Assembly, The Guardian, 22 July 1997

"Our future begins on January 1, 1999. The euro is Europe's key to the 21st century. The era of solo national fiscal and economic policy is over." - German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, 31 December 1998

“The euro is a sickly premature infant, the result of an over-hasty monetary union.” – Gerhard Schröder, as opposition leader, March 1998

“The Euro is a means of payment, but especially a means to drive European integration.” – Helmut Kohl, former Chancellor of Germany, quoted in Oldag & Tillack, “Raumschiff Brüssel” (Berlin 2003), p. 17

“A European currency will lead to member-nations transferring their sovereignty over financial and wage policies as well as in monetary affairs... It is an illusion to think that States can hold on to their autonomy over taxation policies.” - Bundesbank President Hans Tietmeyer, 1991

Ever Closer Union

“We will have to create an avant-garde.... We could have a Union for the enlarged Europe, and a Federation for the avant-garde.” - Former EU Commission President Jacques Delors, Libération, 17 June 2000

“In Maastricht we laid the foundation-stone for the completion of the European Union. The European Union Treaty introduces a new and decisive stage in the process of European union, which within a few years will lead to the creation of what the founding fathers dreamed of after the last war: the United States of Europe.” - German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, April 1992

“After one of our conversations, Giscard d'Estaing, who was the speaker, addressed me, and said in a very meaningful way: ‘Be ready to deal with a united federal state of Western Europe’.” – Michael Gorbatsjow, former leader of Russia, during an interview with him and George H.W. Bush, 2-3 December 1989

The Solution

“We must go back to teach Europeans to love Europe.” - Jean Claude Juncker, El Pais, 6 February 2004

The EU as a step towards World Government

“We do not, of course, pretend that a United Europe provides the final and complete solution to all the problems of international relationships. (...) The creation of an authoritative, all-powerful world order is the ultimate aim towards which we must strive.” – Winston Churchill, in a broadcasted speech for Danish radio on 12 October 1950, quoted in The Canberra Times, 13 October 1950

“We are engaged in the process of creating a European unit in the world organization of the United Nations. I hope that we shall become one of several continental units which will form the pillars of the world instrument for maintaining security, and be the best guarantee of maintaining peace. I hope that in due course these continental units will be represented in the world organization collectively, rather than by individual States as in the present system, and that we shall be able to settle a great mass of our problems among ourselves in Europe before they are brought, or instead of them being brought, to the world council for decision.” - Winston Churchill, Speech before the Council of Europe (Strasbourg), 17 August 1949

The EU as a means to an end for national politicians

“I have always found the word ‘Europe’ on the lips of those who wanted something from others which they dared not demand in their own names!” - German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, 1880

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