



**Alfonso MARTÍNEZ ARRANZ,  
Natalie J. DOYLE &  
Pascaline WINAND (eds.)**

# **NEW EUROPE, NEW WORLD?**

**The European Union, Europe  
and the Challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**



**P.I.E. Peter Lang**



The EU has long played a central role in promoting economic prosperity and political stability in Europe. With twenty-seven countries, it is a powerful trade negotiator and is seen by many as a growing force for global security and welfare. But does the EU giant have feet of clay? Is it recognized as a legitimate political and social project by its own citizens? How well does it respond to global challenges, such as environmental degradation and terrorism? How successful is it in projecting its image as a promoter of human rights, of conflict prevention, social justice, development cooperation, environmental protection and multilateralism?

This volume contributes to the debate about the changing face of Europe and the way it works, not just internally, but also with the rest of the world. It first explores the merits of fostering inclusive multi-cultural citizenship and religious pluralism in Europe, the necessity of reinventing the EU from below, and the urgency of addressing EU internal migration problems. It then examines the new role of the EU in world politics and how other countries view it in terms of hard and soft power. Can the EU inspire by its development aid, conflict prevention, social and audiovisual policies? How efficient is it in exporting security to the rest of the world? The final chapters deal with the EU in the Asia Pacific region.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific group of states
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AMM	Aceh Monitoring Mission
APF	African Peace Facility
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
AU	African Union
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Forces
CPA	Cotonou Partnership Agreement
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DM	Deutsche Mark
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAA	European Armaments Agency
EADS	European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company
EC	European Community
ECAP	European Capabilities Action Plan
ECB	European Central Bank
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Aid Office
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECPDM	European Centre for Development Policy Management
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDA	European Defence Agency
EDC	European Defence Community
EDEM	European Defence Equipment Market
EDF	European Development Fund
EDITB	European Defence Industrial and Technological Base
EEC	European Economic Community

EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EP	European Parliament
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EPC	European Political Cooperation
EPLO	European Peace Liaison Office
ERA	European Research Area
ESDI	European Security and Defence Identity
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
EUMC	European Union Military Committee
EUMS	European Union Military Staff
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FRES	Future Rapid Effect System
GAC	General Affairs Council
GAEC	General and External Affairs Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
GPS	Global Positioning System
ICG	International Crisis Group
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
ITAR	International Traffic in Arms Regulation
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MRAV	Multi-Role Armoured Vehicle
NAMA	NATO Airlift Management Agency
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NRF	NATO Response Force
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
PRC	People's Republic of China

R&D	Research and Development
RAND	Research AND Development (Corporation)
RRF	Rapid Reaction Force
RRM	Rapid Reaction Mechanism
SAP	Swedish Social Democratic Party
SEA	Single European Act
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAF	United States Air Force
WEU	Western European Union
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization



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Pascaline Winand  
Melbourne





## CHAPTER 1

# **A New Europe in a Changing World**

## **Challenges and Opportunities**

Pascaline WINAND, Alfonso MARTÍNEZ ARRANZ  
& Natalie J. DOYLE

### **Introduction**

Over the past few years, the European Union has seen some of the most significant events in its history. Now comprising of twenty-seven countries and with a population of 497 million, it is a key player not only in Europe but also in the world. As a powerful trade negotiator and a leading player in global issues such as the environment, development aid and human rights, the EU is recognized by many as a new force for global security and welfare. It has long played a central role in promoting economic prosperity as well as political stability and democracy in Europe, and this role has been recognized by its partners, including the United States. But does the EU giant have feet of clay?

Eastward enlargement, Turkey's application for membership, the constitutional process and the European Parliament elections have all featured prominently in the recent literature on the EU. The 2004 Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe and the 2007 Treaty of Lisbon were both intended to make the European Union work in the context of increasing membership. Yet the French and the Dutch "No's" to the Constitutional Treaty and the 2008 Irish "No" to the Treaty of Lisbon signalled an increasing divide between EU citizens in certain member states and their political class on key issues at both the national and Union levels. The global financial crisis only served to magnify this trend as angry citizens took to the streets to vent their frustration with the handling of the crisis by their governments. As economies further sank into recession and unemployment, some of the new EU member states seemed hardest hit. Meanwhile, Ireland, now equally mired in a severe economic crisis, started to reconsider its vote to the Lisbon Treaty as the EU appeared as "Ireland's safe harbour" in the midst of "the financial storm".<sup>1</sup> Even more recently, the low turnout in the 2009

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<sup>1</sup> Garton Ash, T., "It takes an Irish poet to remind us of the grandeur of the European project. Seamus Heaney has raised the debate on the Lisbon treaty. A yes vote would

elections of the European Parliament at 43% of the 375 million eligible voters pointed to a lack of interest of EU citizens in the European Parliament, in spite of the constant increase in power of this institution and of the inventive media campaign of EU institutions to attract attention to the elections. A shift of the European Parliament to the centre-right also signalled a disenchantment of citizens with some of the leading political parties. Thus, even though the EU seems to be working well in many important fields such as trade and the environment, there is a widely felt need for reflection on how to enable it to develop into a more successful polity with a coherent and appealing political and social project for its citizens. This in turn has an impact on how the EU is being perceived on the world stage.

This volume intends to contribute to the debate in academic, business, legal, political and cultural circles about the changing face of Europe and the way it works, not just internally, but also with the rest of the world. At a time when regional alliances are very much on the agenda, including in the Asia Pacific region, we are in a unique position to reflect on the many advantages and also on some of the challenges presented by an “ever-closer union”. This volume includes contributions from noted international experts from different disciplines and addresses a wide range of current issues relating to the EU as a political and economic space and as a global actor involved in such areas as mobility, culture and identity.

## **External and Internal Challenges**

If the challenges the EU faces today are as varied as they are difficult, it is because Europe has changed and is in the process of re-imagining itself to confront new internal and external forces which could imperil the foundations of its very existence. The EU has transformed itself in response to sweeping European and world events such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Balkan crisis and the international actions engendered by the terrorist attack of 9/11 in the United States, not to mention other terrorist attacks in Europe and in the world. In response to shifts in global security, it has adapted its development policy and its instruments for humanitarian assistance to place more of an emphasis on security, stability and democracy through conflict prevention and resolution in Africa and elsewhere. The EU is changing in response to global challenges, such as climate change, which it cannot address on its own, but in which it claims a certain leadership or recog-

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be good for Ireland and the EU – and Iran too”, *The Guardian*, 24 June 2009. The quotation is from the website of Generation Yes, “a campaign organized by young Irish pro-Europeans”.

nition in international circles. It is changing in response to the current financial crisis, as it attempts to find common solutions in partnership with key international players, thereby addressing some of the dire difficulties of its own member states, including in central and eastern Europe. The EU is also changing in response to internal tensions. Not least among these tensions is the EU's difficulty in being seen by its own citizens as a political project rooted in popular legitimacy rather than as an economic, institutional and elitist undertaking. The difficulties inherent in European unification also affect the international community's perceptions of the EU.

The EU of today is a different organization to the one that witnessed the fall of the Berlin Wall and is undeniably different from the European Communities of the 1950s when the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) took its first fledgling steps, soon to be followed by the European Economic Community (EEC) and Euratom. The end of the Cold War made it possible for Germany to reunify and for NATO and the EC/EU to embark on their most ambitious enlargements ever. As a result, the EU increased in size from 15 to 27 countries and its population jumped from 392.61 million to 495.88 million inhabitants, an increase of 26.3%. This also meant more diversity in political systems and in religious affiliations. In contrast to the secularized societies of the western EU member states which can be said to have been largely post-Christian, many of the new east-central member states experienced a revival of religion, with an organic relation with national identity.<sup>2</sup> Enlargement further meant a higher number of small and middle-sized member states, with the concomitant challenges this posed in terms of representation and votes in EU institutions, in particular for some of the larger member states. Faced with the necessity to embark upon ambitious institutional reforms as a response to enlargement, which included extending the use of qualified majority voting in the Council, large member states soon moved to protect their voting weight in this institution. They proposed to reduce the number of seats per member state in the Commission, while also adapting representation in the European Parliament to reflect their populations. Meanwhile, France experienced at first some difficulty in coming to terms with the prospect of a reunified Germany. During the Nice Treaty negotiations the French pushed to keep the same number of seats as their powerful neighbour in the Coun-

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<sup>2</sup> W. Spohn asks whether the growing conflictive role of religion in Europe could potentially endanger the secular-humanist and religious-ecumenical value system of the western cultural integration mode. See Spohn, W. in chapter 4 of this volume.

cil, in spite of a German population now significantly larger than that of France.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding the initial exhilaration of a reunited Europe, the likelihood of increased migration flows from eastern and central Europe was a source of concern for western European governments and populations alike, a concern compounded by further immigration as a result of the Balkan crisis. The new security situation also led to tensions in the Atlantic Alliance. Whilst the relationship between a uniting Europe and the US had remained largely asymmetrical in security terms after the Second World War, the EU now claimed a more autonomous foreign, security and defence policy from the US in the new post-cold war architecture. Washington seemed less likely to play the security role that it had fulfilled in Europe in the past. This new function seemed also, increasingly, to extend beyond Europe.

The necessities of tackling the new security environment and economic and monetary challenges were reflected in a number of new treaties, namely the Maastricht Treaty, the Amsterdam Treaty and the Nice Treaty. The treaties gave the new European Union more responsibilities in home affairs and justice, security and defence, while ushering in a single currency, the Euro, and introducing the concept of EU citizenship. Yet the Maastricht Treaty also seemed to go hand in hand with an increasingly apolitical management of the European economy and the dismantling of labour law or social legislation in a context of growing unemployment.<sup>4</sup>

The 2000 Lisbon Strategy was meant to answer the challenge of globalisation by transforming the EU into a knowledge-based economy, which would make it grow faster while becoming more competitive and more socially cohesive.<sup>5</sup> As the strategy faced some difficulties in implementation, it was later revised in 2006. The emphasis was now on knowledge and innovation, on fostering a better business environment, including for small and medium-sized enterprises, helping people to find

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<sup>3</sup> Today's EU comprises very large member states, with a reunified Germany taking the first place with 82.0m inhabitants and France second, with a population of 64.3m, the UK with 61.2m, Italy with 60.0m and Spain with 45.8m. Among the new member states, Poland comes in sixth position with 38.1m and Romania seventh with 21.5m. Other member states range from 16.5m (The Netherlands) to 414,000 inhabitants in Malta, the smallest EU state. Among the new member states the inhabitants of the Czech Republic number 10.5m, Hungary 10.0m, Bulgaria 7.6m, Slovakia 5.4m, Lithuania 3.3m, Latvia 2.3m, Slovenia 2.0m, Estonia 1.3m and Cyprus 797,000 inhabitants (Source: Provisional and definitive statistics from Eurostat, last update 21/1/2010)..

<sup>4</sup> See Doyle, N.J. in chapter 3 of this volume.

<sup>5</sup> European Council, *Presidency Conclusions*, Lisbon European Summit, Document No. 100/1/00, 23-24 March 2000.

paid employment and, last but not least, on energy and climate change. The new priorities mirrored the necessary adaptation of the EU to ongoing challenges, such as high levels of unemployment, the increase in low-paid jobs, and climate change. In 2008, these priorities were reconfirmed with a recognition that the social dimension of the strategy should be strengthened with the support of a “renewed Social Agenda, addressing Europe’s new social and labour realities and also covering issues such as youth, education, migration and demography as well as intercultural dialogue”.<sup>6</sup> This renewed, fine-tuned commitment to the Lisbon Strategy implicitly signalled an acknowledgment of the social challenge the EU faced.

Internal crises and external challenges such as energy dependence, global terrorism, organized crime, regional conflicts and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction made it essential for the EU to redefine itself. Building on previous initiatives and treaties, the 2003 European Security Strategy (ESS), the failed 2004 Constitutional Treaty and the Lisbon Treaty all attempted to deal with these challenges by finding ways of addressing the new threats of the post cold war world while identifying the EU core values. Some of these values were already embedded in the 1993 Copenhagen Criteria which required candidate countries to have national institutions guaranteeing democracy, human rights, the rule of law, the respect of minorities, an operational market economy, and the ability to implement EU legislation.<sup>7</sup> Faced with the prospect of its largest enlargement ever, the EU was forced to reflect on the essence of its identity. The 1997 Amsterdam Treaty focused on much the same values already identified by Copenhagen and specified that the “union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law”. In the wake of the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the ESS adopted in December 2003 by the European Council identified the main achievements of a united Europe as having fostered peace and stability within

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<sup>6</sup> H.E. Bruno Julien, Ambassador and Head of Delegation of the European Commission to Australia and New Zealand, “The EU Lisbon Strategy – Parallels to Australia’s Reform Agenda”, speech presented to the Committee for Economic Development of Australia, Sydney, 15 October 2008.

<sup>7</sup> On 22 June 1993, EU Heads of state and government gathered in Copenhagen to define entry condition for candidate states: “Membership requires that the candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and, protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate’s ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union”. See European Council in Copenhagen, 21-22 June 1993, *Conclusions of the Presidency*, SN 180/93, Brussels, Council of the European Communities, pp. 10-15.

its own borders by “dealing peacefully with disputes” and “co-operating through common institutions”, thereby spreading the rule of law and democracy. As an inherently peaceful community, both prosperous and stable, based on the rule of law and democracy, the EU seemed also uniquely qualified to spread its model of governance beyond its own borders, thereby promoting democracy, the rule of law and the protection of human rights in the world. To do so, the ESS recommended promoting effective multilateralism by backing international institutions, international law and regional organizations. The EU would play to its strengths. Since it was “the world’s largest provider of official assistance and its largest trading entity”, the EU would harness economic tools such as development policy and trade to achieve political objectives such as the reform of the international system. But it would also go beyond using economic tools to project its influence on the world stage. It would encourage “a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid and, when necessary, robust intervention”<sup>8</sup> while combining civilian and military instruments in addressing emerging conflicts, and backing the United Nations in crisis management. Did this mean, then, that the EU would be increasingly willing to flex its military muscles, in addition to using its tried and trusted economic tools, to achieve political objectives? Did this change its very nature as a peaceful, essentially civilian power? Was the EU on its way to becoming a great power, or a powerful nation-state writ large?

In the academic community, Ian Manners echoed practical developments in the EU by speaking of a “normative power Europe” characterized by five core norms or values – peace, liberty, democracy, the rule of law and the respect for human rights – and four subsidiary ones – social solidarity, anti-discrimination, sustainable development and good governance.<sup>9</sup> But he soon pondered whether the introduction of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) did not undermine the EU’s normative power on the international scene by making it more akin to a large state,<sup>10</sup> a “great power Europe”. Such discussion harked back to François Duchêne’s description of the European Communities as “civilian power Europe” in the early 1970s. A close collaborator of Jean Monnet – the mastermind behind the Schuman Declaration and the

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<sup>8</sup> “A Secure Europe in a Better World”, *European Security Strategy*, Brussels, 12 December 2003, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>. See also “Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy – Providing Security in a Changing World”, Brussels, 11 December 2008, [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/TN/reports/104630.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/TN/reports/104630.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> Manners, I., “Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?”, *JCMS*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 2002, pp. 235-58.

<sup>10</sup> Manners, I., “Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2006, pp. 182-99.

first president of the High Authority of the ECSC – Duchêne argued that the European Community (EC) should not become a “military power Europe” or a “European super-power”.<sup>11</sup> The EC was indeed “a large political cooperative formed to exert essentially civilian forms of power”. As “a civilian group of countries long on economic power and relatively short on armed force”,<sup>12</sup> economic power should be its key role, with military power taking the back seat. In this way the EC would be a force for social justice, democracy and generosity.<sup>13</sup>

The question nowadays is whether the EU has really succeeded in conveying the image that it truly promotes the values that it seeks to project, be it *vis-à-vis* its own citizens or towards the outside world. Is the EU really seen by its own citizens and citizens in other parts of the world as a promoter of human rights, social justice, democracy, development cooperation, environmental protection and multilateralism? Is it perceived as a model of peace and prosperity that can be emulated in other regions of the world? Or, rather, is it seen as a “Fortress Europe”, as a club of prosperous countries bent on protecting their own borders from immigrants, and denying accession to new countries to the South and the East? Is the EU perceived as having an exclusive or an inclusive identity?<sup>14</sup> What do its member states, old and new, think of its model for social justice?

## **Challenges and Opportunities**

### ***Unity in Diversity: Values, Culture, Migration and Identity***

Part one of this book focuses on values, culture, migration and identity. Several contributors ask to what extent attempts to redefine the EU and identify its core values have been successful. They investigate the key elements of the EU project and what made it distinct from others. Was it common cultural, humanist and religious roots? They ask how EU institutions have addressed the so-called democratic deficit and whether the European integration project is rooted in no more than “a

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<sup>11</sup> Duchêne, F., “Europe’s Role in World Peace” in R. Mayne (ed.), *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead*, London, Fontana, 1972, p. 37; Duchêne, F., “The European Community and the Uncertainties of Interdependence” in M. Kohnstamm and W. Hager (eds.), *A Nation Writ Large? Foreign Policy Problems before the European Community*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1973, pp. 1-21.

<sup>12</sup> Duchêne, F., “The European Community and the Uncertainties of Interdependence”, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Duchêne, F., “La Communauté européenne et les aléas de l’interdépendance” in M. Kohnstamm et W. Hager (dir.), *L’Europe avec un grand E. Bilan et perspectives*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1973, pp. 17-45.

<sup>14</sup> See Bretherton, Ch. and Vogler, J., *The European Union as a Global Actor*, Oxon, Routledge, 2006.

plurality of nationals with rival and contrasting identities”.<sup>15</sup> Do a “European public” and a “united self-consciousness” exist in the EU or should they be fostered, or even, invented?<sup>16</sup> Is something more needed than the “market citizenship” of the Maastricht Treaty and is it possible to go beyond such citizenship?<sup>17</sup> Is Cris Shore right in pointing out that EU legitimacy will always pale next to the historical and social legitimacy of EU nation-states? How should one tackle the growth of immigrant communities in the EU and the concomitant increase in anti-immigration sentiments? One contributor investigates what it really means to be EU citizens for scientists and researchers from southern and eastern European countries, given the varying degrees of development in R&D in these regions, as opposed to Northern Europe.<sup>18</sup> Other contributors question the boundaries of the EU project and its legitimacy. Should only secular criteria for enlargement prevail?<sup>19</sup> Should one reinvent Europe from below and re-politicize the EU to lend it more legitimacy?<sup>20</sup> How should one deal with increasing anti-immigration feelings in the EU and the feeling of an absence of belonging of EU citizens?<sup>21</sup>

In an effort to move away from a European identity that appears excessively focused on the European-ness of Europe and on negative representations of non-Europeans, Giancarlo Chiro and Katharine Vadura argue for the construction of a different kind of European identity which recognizes the many different levels of belonging of EU citizens. In doing so they draw on the Australian experience with multiculturalism, on Ulrich Beck’s conception of Europe as a cosmopolitan system on its way to becoming a transnational state with “the constitutional enshrinement of the principle of national and cultural and ethnic and religious tolerance”<sup>22</sup> and on Jürgen Habermas’ emphasis on a multiculturalism that allows for the “co-existence of different life forms as equals”, with the “mutual recognition of their sub-cultural memberships [...] in a common political culture”.<sup>23</sup> They conclude that an inclusive multicultural citizenship in the EU, made possible by policies which foster multicultural coexistence, could contribute to building a new European identity.

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<sup>15</sup> See Chiro, G. and Vadura, K. in chapter 2 of this volume.

<sup>16</sup> See Chiro, G., Vadura, K., Polonska, E. in chapters 2 and 7 of this volume.

<sup>17</sup> See Chiro, G. and Vadura, K. in chapter 2 of this volume.

<sup>18</sup> See Morando-Foadi, S. in chapter 5 of this volume.

<sup>19</sup> See Spohn, W. in chapter 4 of this volume.

<sup>20</sup> See Doyle, N.J. in chapter 3 of this volume.

<sup>21</sup> See Chiro, G. and Vadura, K. in chapter 2 of this volume.

<sup>22</sup> Beck, U., “Understanding the Real Europe”, *Dissent*, Summer 2003, pp. 32-38.

<sup>23</sup> Habermas, J., “Intolerance and Discrimination”, *ICON*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2003, p. 10.



Natalie J. Doyle explains the history of the European Union as a reaction against nationalism that in reality implied an un-reflexive process of cosmopolitan acculturation of European nations to one another, with Franco-German acculturation playing a key role. The dream of a European integration transcending the nation-state, ultimately led to the construction of an a-political Europe constructed from above, with an excessive focus on monetary union and lacking legitimacy from below. She recommends rediscovering the unique brand of social solidarity and democracy which Europeans developed at the level of the nation-state to assert a European political dimension and to reinvent the EU from below.

Willfried Spohn argues for the recognition of organized religion as a key factor in studying the EU in light of the rise in immigration and religious minorities in Europe, and of the increased frequency of inter-religious encounters as a result of globalisation. This is so particularly in the context of the latest EU extension to the East and prospects for future enlargements, with new and candidate member states coming from Catholic, Orthodox Christian and Islamic traditions. The dynamics of the EU enlargement to the East cannot be understood without considering the clashes between a largely secularized Western Europe and a more religious east-central Europe with a lower degree of cultural secularization. Spohn recommends addressing the challenge of reconciling these differing legacies by relying on a “multiple modernities” approach to Europeanisation and religion. Instead of focusing on the secular-humanist western core of European cultural integration and limiting religious diversity, he sees the encouragement “of a form of multicultural citizenship and religious pluralism inside European societies” and including “Turkey as a crucial multi-religious and multi-cultural pillar of European cultural integration and collective identity” as possible solutions. Even though he recognizes that this may be currently unrealistic and that Turkish-EU relations may be confined for the foreseeable future to a “privileged partnership” he does see some advantage in his more inclusive strategy for a better integration of Muslim populations in Europe. As with Giancarlo Chiro and Katharine Vadura, his approach thus encourages the emergence of a more inclusive identity which would fit in better with the diversity of the EU in its current form, and with future prospects for enlargement.

Sonia Morano-Foadi addresses the consequences of EU policies that encourage the intra-European migration of scientists, and focuses in particular on Italian scientists and researchers. She first examines the EU “clustering” policy, which fosters the development of science in those regional areas which allow for inter-linkages between nearby organizations. One of the unintended effects of such a policy, she says,

is that the research clusters are located mainly in large cities in Northern Europe, thereby unwittingly contributing to uneven regional development. The problem is compounded by the limitations of EU citizenship, which although it gives EU citizens the full right to move throughout the EU with virtually similar rights in the destination country, does not provide an adequate mechanism to allow highly-skilled scientists to return to their home countries. To make Europe more competitive, the Lisbon Strategy and the Commission's December 2007 Strategic Report on the four priority areas of the renewed Lisbon Agenda strategy identified as a key goal the realisation of a real European Research Area. But what does this mean in practice for researchers from southern European countries, where investment in research is mostly low and prospects for securing permanent positions are even lower? Can scientists return to their home countries after a period of research in Northern Europe? She suggests that there is an internal brain drain in the EU, particularly from the South and East to the North, which undermines overall "brain circulation" in the EU. The solution might be to move away from the soft law, non-coercive tool of the Open Method of Coordination used to implement the objectives of the Lisbon Agenda and to opt for a more regulative system better adapted to the needs of southern and eastern European countries. In addition, there should be better coordination of science and migration policies between the national and European levels. Finally, the EU should promote return policies as part of its citizenship provisions, and perhaps introduce a common selection procedure for scientists. Only then would the free movement of knowledge, the "fifth freedom"<sup>24</sup> really take on its full meaning.

### ***The EU between Soft and Hard Power***

The second part of this volume addresses the new role of the EU in world politics. The EU has been grappling in recent years with its geopolitical positioning: "good cop", dormant superpower, power in demise, metrosexual<sup>25</sup> superpower, Venus, normative power. The qualifications are many and pose the question of how strong the EU is seen in terms of hard and soft power by various players on the international stage. In the view of Joseph Nye, military and economic power can be used directly to apply pressure to other actors, even to the point of coercion. But there is a more indirect way of exercising power. "Soft power" as it is called, could be summed up as "getting others to want what you want" and is based first and foremost on the values that a country defends and which are seen in its internal policies and the

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<sup>24</sup> Julien, B., *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>25</sup> Khanna, P., "The Metrosexual Superpower", *Foreign Policy*, July/August, 2004.

manner in which it acts on the international stage.<sup>26</sup> So can the EU still inspire by its social and development policies? How do other countries view its audiovisual policy? To what extent does the introduction and evolution of the ESDP clash with some member states' commitment to neutrality and development aid? While the ESDP is seen as a necessity for many EU states, the reasons for this necessity are all but homogeneous. For example, the UK aims at better supporting the US while France and Germany would like to see EU actions more independent from American policies. What then is the relation of a constantly evolving European Union to seasoned world players such as the United States and Japan, and new world players such as China and India? How are EU development policies viewed in Africa?

Andrew Scott is confident that much can be learned by “liberal market” economies of the English-speaking world – and this includes Australia – from the success of the “social market” economies of Nordic nations. Their economic success goes hand in hand with responsible environmental and energy policies and socially fair practices. Egalitarian income distribution and a decent minimum income for all, reasonable working hours, family-friendly work policies, low child poverty, high spending on R&D and a generous aid policy all contribute to paint an idyllic picture of Nordic Europe. In spite of the recent election of conservative governments in some of the Nordic countries, the policy legacy of the Social Democrats seems to endure. Andrew Scott is confident that in spite of the victory of Nicolas Sarkozy in France with its potential for undermining the French social model, the French Socialist Party will be strengthened in future by the very economic issues the current French government failed to address. Thus, the situation has striking echoes of when Kevin Rudd defeated Australian Prime Minister John Howard in the 2007 elections, largely because many Australian citizens deemed Howard's industrial relations policy unfair. Scott concludes that the US, the UK and Australia could benefit from gaining a better understanding of the achievements of Nordic Europe and in particular Sweden. In answer to Natalie J. Doyle, Scott thus seems to suggest that the best way of rediscovering the roots of the European social project and its unique brand of social solidarity might be to study Nordic Europe, thereby helping to revitalize the European political project. In turn this would also be a way of projecting a positive image of Europe on the international scene, and of finding some resonance in governments which seem more attentive to economic egalitarianism than their predecessors, as in the United States and Australia. This would be soft power at its best.

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<sup>26</sup> Nye, J.S., *The Paradox of American Power*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 9.

Eva Polonska's contribution illustrates the uneasiness in US-EU relations as the two economic giants vie for soft power in the cultural sphere through the audiovisual sector. She also shows the influence of the EU in protecting cultural diversity on the world stage, as an offshoot of its efforts to foster the development of a European identity. Faced with the challenge of creating a "common European feeling" to back the European project, the European Commission sought to achieve political aims by using cultural means "initially with no budget and no legal basis" and by focusing on the economic lines of cultural policy in building a "powerful European culture industry".<sup>27</sup> In the wake of the Maastricht Treaty, the EU intended to foster the emergence of a "People's Europe", European self-awareness and identity in order to back the European project. Keeping European citizens "adequately informed"<sup>28</sup> was to be achieved essentially through the mass media, and particularly television, with an emphasis on trans-national television channels. The EU accordingly was on a head-on collision course with the US. While the EU aimed to protect its audiovisual goods and services industry as a way of strengthening the European identity of its citizens, the US was bent on liberalizing trade in the sector, thereby most likely continuing the US productions' domination of the audio-visual market. The 1989 "Television without Frontiers Directive" lent support for European TV programs and films and introduced quota requirements for European works on television. The EU later extended its quota regime to all audiovisual media services, a policy that resulted in strong growth in European domestic film production. Whatever its successes as a policy, it did not sufficiently encourage the circulation of European films across European countries or the propagation of works from Central and Eastern Europe to Western Europe. On the international scene, the debate on cultural goods and cultural diversity shifted from the World Trade Organization (WTO) to UNESCO. While the EU, together with most other nations, supported the UNESCO approach towards the protection of cultural goods and services as "vectors of identity, values and meaning" which "must not be treated as mere commodities or consumer goods",<sup>29</sup> the US did not. At the same time, by making itself the champion of the "promotion and preservation of cultural diversity" considered "among the

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<sup>27</sup> See Polonska, E. in this book; Jacques Delors, speech to the European Parliament in 1985, as quoted in R. Collins, *Audiovisual and Broadcasting Policy in the European Community*, London, University of North Press, 1993, p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> "Television without Frontiers: Green Paper on the Establishment of the Common Market for Broadcasting especially for Satellite and Cable", COM(84) final, Luxembourg, OOPFC, 1984, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Article 8 of the 2001 UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity.

founding principles of the European model”,<sup>30</sup> the EU also seems to have imprisoned itself in a set of contradictions. How does it reconcile the image it attempts to project as a defender of global trade liberalization with its image as defender of cultural diversity, also implying a protectionist attitude in the cultural field? The need to foster European identity and to support the cultures of linguistically disparate groups seem to trump the imperative of free and untrammelled market forces here, and, thus Eva Polonska argues that the sector should not be opened to free trade.

Patrick Kimunguyi examines one of the greatest claims of the EU in terms of soft power: its leading role in development aid. He explores the interrelated development and conflict prevention policies of the EU, thereby underscoring both their soft and hard power dimensions. African-EC/EU relations were initially mostly focused on economic development and humanitarian aid. This is no longer the case. As the EU attempts to deal with the security threats of the post-cold war period, it has reframed its development cooperation and humanitarian assistance instruments to include the promotion of security, stability and democracy, without which there can be no sustainable development. In so doing, it has continued to develop political conditionality clauses for the promotion of human rights, democracy and the rule of law, in its development policy. This has increased its influence on recipient states, particularly in Africa. It could also be argued that these values are the very ones which the EU seeks to put forward as part of the European model *vis-à-vis* EU citizens and citizens in the wider world community. Particularly in Africa, but also in other parts of the world, the EU has improved its conflict prevention capacity by developing its instruments for crisis management within the framework of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). This has made it a more visible actor on the world scene, while further developing its profile and improving its image in Africa, an image, which the EU has tried to picture as distinct from the colonial past of its member states. This visibility has further been enhanced by the creation of the European Community Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO) in 1992, which in addition to better enabling the EC/EU to deal with emergency aid situations, has made it possible for the EU to project a highly visible image in the media. Finally, the EU, in redefining its partnership with Africa in 2007, has placed an emphasis on strengthening civil societies in the EU and Africa. This once again underscores efforts on the EU side to reinforce “people-to-people” links in order not only to facilitate the emergence of a “People’s Europe” but

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<sup>30</sup> “Towards an International Instrument on Cultural Diversity”, *Communication from the Commission*, COM(2003) 520 final.