

## **The Future of Europe: Integration and Enlargement**

by

Fraser Cameron (Ed.)

Routledge New York & London, 2004,

pp.170

## **The Future of Europe Revisited**

by

Peter Cofey

Edward Elgar,

Cheltenham (UK) & Massachusetts (USA), 2003, pp.215

Reviewed by

**Alok Rashmi Mukhopadhyay\***

[\*Alok Rashmi Mukhopadhyay is an Associate Fellow with the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi, India. The views expressed in this review essay are his own].

On May 1, 2004, the expansion of the European Union (EU) included 10 new members namely the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovak Republic and Slovenia into the present 15-member organisation. So far this enlargement remains the largest and historical for EU. The core idea of EU was the essentially economic union of European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) formed on April 18, 1951 by six member countries comprising Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

The political union, established by the landmark Maastricht Treaty of 1992, has so far been considered to be a union of same kind of nation states. From May 1, 2004, the EU extended its frontiers from its acknowledged area of prosperity to the areas of economic stagnation, from the history of freedom and democratic governance to the history of occupation and totalitarian regimes.

On June 18, 2003 the member countries agreed upon a European Constitution subject to referenda in their respective countries at the Brussels Intergovernmental Conference (IGC). So far, this agreement is considered to be a milestone in European history, as the members failed to reach an agreement on the same issue in December 2003. As a follow-up, on October 29 the European heads of the states and the governments signed the future European Constitution, which has to pass the national referenda and any refusal by one of the member states would make the whole process time-consuming and very complicated. In quintessence, the whole experiment of the European Union integration process has an historical impact for world affairs inviting global interest.

Some significant issues emanating from the recent developments are bound to draw the attention of economists, strategic thinkers, security analysts and international relations experts worldwide. What will be the role of an enlarged EU in the present global scenario? Will

it become a global player or a global power challenging the US? What would be its ultimate goal— a United States of Europe, a Confederacy of European nations following the Swiss model or a Commonwealth of European States? Will there be a plausible shift of axis from Paris-Berlin to Warsaw-Madrid? What will be the future of a Common Foreign & Security Policy (CFSP)? Will there be a future clash of interests between “Old Europe” and “New Europe” within the EU? The two recent books reviewed here seek to depict the European integration process and answer such posers.

The first book forwarded by the EU Commissioner for Enlargement, Günter Verheugen, is a collection of nine treatises written mainly by the European experts while the editor, Fraser Cameron, has written the first and the last of the essays. Besides, it also contains useful figures and tables concerning enlargement. The first paper “Widening and deepening” by Fraser Cameron, who has been advising The European Commission on foreign policy for more than a decade, deals with the chronology of the recent enlargement, the major European institutions (e.g., European Council, Council of Ministers, European Commission, European Parliament, European Court of Justice and European Central Bank) and the division within the Union caused by the debate of US-led war against Iraq. Finally, he suggests a process of multispeed integration within the union and a hybrid form of governance comprising supranational and intergovernmental tools. The second paper titled “The Convention and the draft constitutional treaty” by David Allen presents the history and challenges faced by the European convention and the process of drafting the constitution establishing the foundation of union.

Graham Avery in his paper on “The enlargement negotiations” deals with the important three point Copenhagen Criteria formulated by the European Council of Copenhagen in 1993 for the candidate countries. Here, readers would also find the list of the so-called Luxembourg group and Helsinki group of candidate countries. While predicting that future enlargement will not be easier, he however describes the present enlargement negotiations as a success. The next paper, “The Newcomers” by Heather Grabbe, which depicts the political history of the new members, present political trends therein and the future challenges faced by them. While it provides the expected behaviour of the new states towards the US i.e., they would remain by and large atlanticist but would not support US in all issues, on the otherhand, it rightly represents the newcomers’ apprehension of the idea of a core Europe consisting mainly of France and Germany.

Students of economics and researchers would benefit from both the papers, “The political economy of enlargement” by Andrew Scott and “The wider Europe” by Geoffrey Harris.

For the strategic community, the next two papers, “European security in flux” by Antonio Missiroli and Gerrard Quille and “The transatlantic dimension” by Simon Serfaty would certainly be of interest. Missiroli and Quille deal with the genesis of European Security & Defence Policy (ESDP) and its focus on the four areas: new institutions, Helsinki headline goal, EU’s military capabilities and the most important EU-NATO relations. One ought to read the paper alongwith the European Security Strategy document issued as a draft in June 2003 by Javier Solana, the EU High Representative for CFSP and eventually adopted in December 2003. The paper also makes a comparison between the defence spending of EU and US. Providing the

history of the EU military missions since 2003, they underscore the dependency of these missions on the leadership, commitment and interest of the major EU states.

Serfaty in his paper deals with the US perception of EU integration and conceptualises the transatlantic consensus based on two complimentary and compatible propositions: (i) indispensability of US commitment to Europe and (ii) desirability of unity among the European states. Serfaty also highlights the advantages of the new member states for joining the EU and NATO. While acceding to the former would bring in stability and prosperity, joining the later would give security and legitimacy. Serfaty concludes optimistically that the vision of parallel integration of NATO and EU can be completed in 21st century. In the last paper "Europe's future" Fraser Cameron reiterates the *leitmotif* of the present European integration process as already mentioned in his earlier paper "Widening and deepening", i.e., to broaden the area of the union and simultaneously providing strong institutional foundations.

Two suggestions, which may be included in the next edition of this book, are that: (i) the relevance and future significance of Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which as a regional security organisation of fifty-five members (including Russia and states from Central Asia) is active in conflict prevention and trying to create a conducive neighbourhood, gets scant mention in this book and (ii) the glossary has all the appropriate entries, but some important terms like *acquis communautaire* (the set of EU laws), supranationalism (though given in community system) would make the book more reader-friendly. All in all, the book, because of its size, illustrations and lucidity, is set to become a textbook for all students and researchers attempting to understand the EU integration process from different angles. Fraser Cameron needs to be thanked for the timely publication.

The second book, "The Future of Europe – Revisited" by Peter Coffey is another valuable inclusion in the list of books written on EU integration. Professor Coffey, an Emeritus Professor of the University of St. Thomas, Minnesota, USA, divides his book into five parts. Moreover in eight appendices, he details some important documents concerning EU enlargement and negotiation process. The first two parts provide an insight about the introduction of the European common currency, Euro, and its future. Part Three deals with the reforming EU institutions and some proposals. The author is right while referring the French, British and Spanish proposals and especially the Robert Toulemon project. (Robert Toulemon, the former Director General of European Commission, proposed a synthesis of community method and supranationalism to overcome the constraints of enlargement.) Part Four and Five concentrate on the European Convention and the Future. Chapter 13 of Part Five, "Toward a Common Foreign and Defence Policy" is an interesting one, where the author emphasises on the indispensability of the idea of an emerging a bloc of states which would move further ahead with a deeper degree of defence integration. He also warns of the danger of logistical dependency of EU Rapid Reaction Force on NATO. He concludes the chapter by underlining the possibility that trade, which remains the least contentious one among the member states may be reinforced and extensively used. In the last chapter, "The Future-What Might Happen", the most important possibilities and solutions as foreseen by the author are given, to name a few, future constitution of European Parliament from the members of the national parliaments, evolution of a confederation of nation states like Switzerland or the permanency of a Franco-German nucleus within the union.

In comparison with the first book, it appears that in the second book, the chapter dealing with European security seems to be completed in haste. An elaborate conclusion is expected from the author, who is otherwise meticulous in compilation of important documents. In Appendix 1 of the second book (pp.130-132), it is given that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was created in 1990, but the fact is that the CSCE was created in Helsinki in June 1973 and the whole process concluded on August 1,1975 in Helsinki.