BOOK REVIEW

Martinez Arranz, Alfonso / Doyle, Natalie J. / Winand, Pascaline (eds.), New Europe, New World? The European Union, Europe and the Challenges of the 21st Century,
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More than a decade ago, Ole Wæver noted that the discipline of International Relations was actually "not so international", and pointed to its geographic concentration in terms of writing and publication. Today, a quantitative assessment of the literature on European integration might suggest that the field is "not so European", or at least less European than expected. The EU has become an attractive research topic for overseas scholars, whose dialogue with their European counterparts is increasingly productive. From this perspective, the study of European integration can also offer insights and models for understanding cooperation and integration in other regional settings.

New Europe, New World? The European Union, Europe, and the Challenges of the 21st Century is a collective work that emerged from such an academic engagement generated by the Monash European and EU Center (at Monash University, Australia) in collaboration with the Austral-Asian Center for Italian Studies. The editors, Alfonso Martinez Arranz, Natalie J. Doyle and Pascaline Winand, succeeded in turning the conference debates into a coherent volume that will certainly contribute to the academic debate. The strong "extra-continental" perspective on EU dynamics is helpful to the analysts of European integration, while scholars working on cooperation and integration in the Southern hemisphere and in other regions should gain from the European experience.

In their introductory chapter, the editors offer an articulate account of the challenges and opportunities raised by the current stage in the development of the European project. It is a useful way of opening the debate: one can think of a study published in 2006 by the EU Institute for Security Studies (*The New Global Puzzle. What World for the EU in 2025?*), concluding that EU reform should be

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inspired by a reflection on its values, interests and goals on the international stage. Today, the main issue is essentially EU's capacity to balance its external and internal challenges: it must define the European values, culture and identity, as well as the sources of its soft and hard power on the international arena. In the light of the new Lisbon Treaty and of the structural changes on a global scale, self-reflection is crucial. The editors of the work under review argue that "[t]he 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" (p. 21).

The issue of *unity in diversity* brings together the first part of the volume, comprising the chapters authored by Giancarlo Chiro and Katherine Vadura, Natalie Doyle, Willfried Spohn, and Sonia Morano-Foadi. It deals with fundamental issues such as values, culture and identity, which have long been at the core of the European project. There is an impressive body of research, developed mainly during the past two decades and particularly following the Maastricht Treaty, with its commitment to an "ever closer union" that would go beyond the limits of to the single market. Empirical and normative approaches are mutually enriching, in an attempt to capture the dynamics of Europe's permanent need to invent and re-invent itself, in order to fulfil its promise.

Citizenship is a critical topic in the current debates on the present and future of the increasingly multicultural EU, in an increasingly globalised world. A democratic polity above the nation state requires a coherent vision on citizenship, based on the fundamental legal and political values of the EU. In their contribution to the volume, Chiro and Vadura advance a possible model, building on the insights provided by political theory and by various experiences with multiculturalism, within and outside Europe. They favour an inclusive citizenship, based on various levels of belonging and respectful toward other forms of identity. Of course, national identity is particularly powerful, and the nation-state will remain salient in the future. European integration should not be hostile or indifferent to the nation-state; in fact, as Natalie J. Doyle forcefully argues in her contribution, the European project must view the national community as the original *locus* of democratic politics, and perhaps attempt to emulate the way in which various nations in Europe developed their particular visions of legitimacy and solidarity.

The growing religious pluralism in the EU and the uneven pattern of secularization, caused by intensive migration and the Eastern enlargement, inspire Spohn's case for a non-Eurocentric, "multiple modernity" approach to Europeanisation and religion. This would help reconcile the often conflicting religious identities and would allow for a broad, multicultural vision of citizenship. However, the issue of migration in contemporary Europe should not be approached exclusively as migration towards the EU, but also within the EU. The propensity of scientists from the less advanced Southern and Eastern member-

states to settle and work in Northern European cities amounts to a "brain drain" that affects, albeit in different degrees, their home countries and regions, hampering their development and undermining the cohesion objective of the EU itself. In her chapter, Morano-Foadi approaches this clustering of scientists within the more prosperous North, and emphasises the need for a better coordination of migration policies between Brussels and the national governments.

 Such efforts to prove that the EU lives up to the promises made to its citizens will surely contribute to its attractiveness and prestige on the world stage – in Joseph Nye's terms, to its *soft power*. Ever since this concept entered the field of International Relations, the EU has been constantly associated with this type of power. Its reluctance to develop significant coercive resources of its own – *hard power* – reinforced this identification. Such issues are analysed from a European point of view, in the second part of the volume, by Andrew Scott, Eva Polonska-Kimunguyi, Patrick Kimunguyi, Franz Oswald and Remy Davison.

In his chapter, Scott argues that EU soft power would be furthered by the adoption of a social model derived from the Nordic experience. Shaped by decades of social-democratic policies, the Scandinavian polities and especially Sweden could offer Europe a new and attractive vision of social fairness, which would improve its image in the eyes of the international community. Polonska-Kimunguyi's study tackles EU-US competition in the field of the audiovisual, widely seen as one of the most important soft power resource available to a state actor on the international arena. However, the European case for protection of the home markets for cultural goods and services, deemed to be vectors of collective identity, gained a convincing international approval. The EU tends to put this concern, widely shared among the community of nations, above its commitment to international free trade.

International aid has long been considered to be one of the main sources of soft power in the international system. Patrick Kimunguyi's argument about the extent to which these efforts raised EU's prestige in the world confirms the salience of international aid, and accounts for EU's attempts to improve its international standing by using society-to-society relations in dealing with its partners in the developing world.

The calls for a European hard power infrastructure could not be dismissed, given the EU's growing security commitments outside the area, and its overall orientation towards more independence and even soft balancing in its relationship with the United States, in the post-Cold War world. According to Franz Oswald, this explains the more recent hard power concerns of the EU, which aims to be a security provider in the international system, in the face of new threats such as terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) was EU's institutional response to these new challenges; however, as Davison argues in his chapter, there are significant structural and policy impediments that prevent Europe from enhancing its crisis

management capabilities. Among them, one should note the relatively small military budgets and the fragmentation of the arms procurement market, which has not yet evolved into a EU integrated market.

The final part of the volume is a special section in which the reader is introduced to the "extra-continental" perspective represented by the studies of Saponti Baroowa, Yoon Ah Choi, and Natalia Chaban, Sile Sammons and John Condren. The focus of the volume turns to the perceptions of European integration in the Asia-Pacific, as well as of the EU's extra-regional role. Baroowa's chapter discusses the EU potential in promoting security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, arguing that its experience with ESDP, as well as its crisis management record should prove useful in that particular region. Most probably, this potential for extra-regional action will grow if EU institutions and policies are better known overseas. Ah Choi's chapter on the image of the Euro in the French Pacific, as well as the study authored by Chaban *et al.* on the reactions of New Zealand newspapers and elites to the rejection of the European Constitution, in 2005, suggest that there is still a significant information deficit regarding the EU in the Asia-Pacific, and maybe in other regions, as well.

It is clear that the present volume highlights some of EU's most pressing and special issues. By creating an image of the prospects and difficulties of the European construction, the contributors managed to draw clear contextual and factual portraits of EU's major internal and external European problems, especially in the new post-Lisbon context. The studies offer new methods of approaching the field of EU analysis, by imputing certain external perspectives on the whole construction and its phases. On the other hand, the clarity of the statements and conclusions provided by the contributors underlines the need for new approaches and research on the EU as a new international player of the 21st century, in the context of globalization, as well as of economic and social interdependence. The new unity cannot be maintained just by accepting the communal diversity, but needs the adequate balance of an international presence – by creating, mixing and adapting the rules of soft power and hard power equilibrium.