



Canadian Network Newsletter

Dear Colleagues and Friends,

We are happy to present the first issue of the newsletter of the Canadian Network of European Union Centres of Excellence (EUCES). The four Canadian EUCE's, established in 2006, receive support from the European Commission and from host universities. In each newsletter we provide a feature article and highlight faculty expertise, activities of particular interest, and upcoming events. In addition, in this issue you will find a special insert that provides basic information about each EUCE; we suggest that you retain this sheet as it provides essential contact details. For regular updates and additional information on EUCE activities and on European Studies in Canada, please consult our website at <http://www.euce-network.carleton.ca>.



In the Aftermath of Enlargement: The EU's efforts to deal with neighbors

JOAN DEBARDELEBEN
CARLETON UNIVERSITY,
OTTAWA

Recent enlargements have generated new dynamics in the EU's European neighborhood. Until 2004, enlargement itself was the EU's main strategy for dealing with the post-communist world, with a goal of spreading European norms and governance relations beyond its eastern perimeter. Following the 2004 expansion, the EU announced the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) to achieve these same goals with European outsiders, without promising them future membership.

Despite accelerating economic interaction, EU enlargement has complicated the EU's political relationships with its neighbors in ways ENP did not anticipate. First, Russia opted out of ENP, preferring a 'strategic partnership' with the EU. Second, without clear membership prospects the EU's normative authority with neighbors may have weakened. Finally, in important regards the relationship with neighbors has become 'securitized', in response to the risk of non-traditional security threats entering through the EU's new external borders. But additional factors also complicate the EU's efforts to ex-

tend the zone of well-being, security, and peace beyond its new eastern and south-eastern borders. First, 'frozen' conflicts in countries such as Moldova, Georgia, and Serbia seem resistant to resolution. The involvement of NATO, particularly in Georgia, has served to exacerbate the tensions between the West and Russia. Second, conflicts between Russia and adjacent new EU member states, particularly the Baltic

'Despite accelerating economic interaction, EU enlargement has complicated the EU's political relationships with its neighbors in ways ENP did not anticipate'

states and Poland, have been transposed into problems of EU-Russian relations. This became evident when Poland utilized the right to veto critical steps in developing EU-Russian relations, namely negotiation of a new EU-Russian partnership agreement (to replace the expired Partnership and Cooperation Agreement of 1997), due to Russia's embargo of meat imports from Poland. This

increased leverage of the new member states over Russia's relations with 'Europe' had, by 2007, clearly engendered new distrust and irritation on the Russian side, matched by a similar sentiment in Brussels, as the Russian leadership appeared to back off from previous democratic commitments. Furthermore, the worsening of EU-Russian relations following enlargement may feed the already festering skepticism among the European public about further expansions, as some might fear that including in the EU west Balkan countries, Turkey, or Ukraine could further complicate both the Union's domestic and external policies.

ENP itself has been of contested effectiveness. While arguably adequate for relations with the Mediterranean states that have no membership aspirations, the policy can hardly be deemed a clear success in its eastern dimension. The delayed character of benefits offered under ENP and evasiveness about eventual membership prospects have made it difficult for leaders in countries like Ukraine to generate active commitment to required reforms among diverse

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)

Don't forget to visit the new Canadian EUCE network website and check for the latest updates!
<http://www.euce-network.carleton.ca>

European Union Centres of Excellence

TORONTO

MCGILL/MONTREAL

DALHOUSIE

CARLETON

Spotlight On: New Faculty



Finn Laursen joined Dalhousie University in the summer of 2006 as Canada Research Chair in European Union (EU) Studies. He is Professor in the Department of Political Science and has recently also been awarded an ad personam Jean Monnet Chair. He directs Dalhousie's EU Centre of Excellence. His research focuses upon European integration, especially the big decisions concerning the EU Treaties and their reform and successive enlargements of the EU and the role played by the EU in the global system.

"My research deals with the longer-term trends in European integration and how we can explain the relative success of the EU. Over time the functional scope of integration has expanded and so has membership. At the same time there have been continued efforts to increase the efficiency as well as the legitimacy of the Community institutions. Is this a rational process where the Member States are in control, or does the system have a certain logic of its own that the Member States cannot fully control?"

FINN LAURSEN

Recent and forthcoming publications:

"EU Enlargement Policy: Can Widening and Deepening Be Combined?" Joaquin Roy and Roberto Dominguez eds., *Towards the Completion of Europe*. Miami: Miami-Florida European Union Centre of Excellence, 2006, pp. 125-135.

"The Politics of the Constitutional Treaty: Elements of Four Analyses," in Johan From and Nick Sitter eds., *Europe's Nascent State? Public Policy in the European Union*. Essays in Honour of Kjell A. Eliassen. Oslo: Gyldendal, 2006, pp. 37-59.



Achim Hurrelmann joined Carleton University in 2007 as Assistant Professor of Political Science. He is a specialist on West European politics and European integration. His research focuses on democracy and constitutionalism in the European system of multilevel governance, and he is coordinator of the Research Node on 'Social Integration and Citizenship' at Carleton's EUCE, the Centre for European Studies.

"My research seeks to understand how Europeans evaluate the legitimacy of the EU, and what implications such evaluations have for the Union's future development. I am particularly interested in what I call 'multilevel legitimacy': relationships between legitimacy evaluations of the EU and its member states. It is often claimed that European integration has a negative effect on the member states' legitimacy. But to what extent this is indeed the case, or whether the interplay of European and national governance is in fact assessed much more positively, is seldom studied empirically. My research seeks to fill this gap by examining political discourses about the EU, both in the media and in private communication."

ACHIM HURRELMANN

Recent and forthcoming publications:

Democratic Dilemmas of Multilevel Governance: Legitimacy, Representation and Accountability in the European Union (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), forthcoming (co-editor with J. DeBardleben).

Legitimacy in an Age of Global Politics (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), (co-editor with S. Schneider and J. Steffek).



Phil Triadafilopoulos joined the University of Toronto in 2006 as Assistant Professor of Political Science. His research interests include comparative public policy, international migration, ethnicity and nationalism. His current work focuses on how immigration and citizenship policies intersect with boundaries of national belonging in liberal-democratic states.

"International migration generates a number of interesting and important political challenges, not least of which is regulating membership for purposes of nation-building. My work explores how states have addressed various manifestations of this challenge, under different geopolitical, economic and normative circumstances. This has included comparing the dynamics of pluralization in postwar Canada and Germany; exploring how changing security contexts have influenced policies toward dual citizenship; and critically assessing the role of territorial partition and forced migration in European postwar settlements. I am beginning work on a comparison of immigrant integration policies in Europe and North America."

PHIL TRIADAFILOPOULOS

Recent and forthcoming publications:

"Dual Citizenship and Security Norms in Historical Perspective." In *Dual Citizenship in Global Perspective: From Unitary to Multiple Citizenship*, Thomas Faist and Peter Kivisto eds. (Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming).

"How the Federal Republic Became an Immigration Country: Norms, Politics and the Failure of West Germany's Guest Worker System (co-authored with Karen Schönwälder)." *German Politics and Society* VOL. 24, No. 3 (Fall 2006): 1-19.

Spotlight On: New Faculty



Frédéric Mérand left Canada in 1998 to do a PhD at UC-Berkeley, came back in 2004 to work as a policy advisor with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and joined the faculty at University of Montreal in 2005. His research interests include European politics and security and political sociology, and his current research focuses on security and defence policy.

"My book argues that the European security and defence policy is a symptom, but not a cause, of the transformation of the European state. Our understanding of the national state is changing. For a long time people saw a strong connection between the national state and military force. Today, citizens are more likely to define the state according to its social and symbolic functions. In my work I try to understand this transformation and what its implications are for relations between the state, the military, and citizenship. European Defence - which counter-intuitively enjoys broader public support than the EU itself, even in Great Britain - is a good starting point to study these processes."

FRÉDÉRIC MÉRAND

Recent and forthcoming publications:

Dying for the European Union: State Transformation and Military Integration in Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, (forthcoming).

«Strategic Partners, Different Strategies: The United States and Canada in the Transatlantic Security Community». In Stefan Gänzle and Allen Sens, eds., *The Changing Politics of European Security: Europe Alone?* London: Palgrave-Macmillan (September 2007).

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

domestic constituencies.

Second, the principle of bilateralism underlying ENP relations suggests a world in which 'all roads lead from Brussels'. Despite the fact that a 2006 Commission document cites 'joint ownership' as a strength of ENP¹, it might well appear otherwise to the target countries. While individual Action Plans are negotiated by both parties, the frame of reference for their construction has been set in Brussels. The EU-centric nature of ENP reinforces the partner countries' orientation toward the EU as the *raison d'être* for reform, and makes unclear about expected rewards even potentially more frustrating.

In late 2006 ENP was under evaluation. In a resulting strategy document, the European Commission declared ENP to be 'indispensable' and that the policy 'has already proven its worth'². The Commission suggested adjustments to address weaknesses, including improved incentives for partner countries to implement reforms. One of the tools would be the promotion of 'deep integration', still short of EU membership but involving greater trade access by addressing non-tariff barriers and achieving greater regulatory convergence, leading to 'deep and comprehensive FTAs [Free Trade Agreements]'.³ Other measures could ease obstacles to human mobility and migration between ENP countries and the EU. European neighbours could gain increased access to various EU programs along with increased funding available through ENP instruments (with benefits also made available to Russia).

The document also suggests an eventual revision to the ENP's reliance on bilat-

eral relations, noting a 'longer-term vision of an economic community emerging between the EU and its ENP partners'.⁴ Multilateral cooperation could address issues such as energy, environment, public health, research, financial services, and rural development.⁵ Without the involvement of Russia in such multilateral relations, however, many of ENP's underlying dilemmas might well remain, if Russia were to face increasing isolation. On the other hand, including Russia in multilateral arrangements would be a constructive goal, but one that could undermine EU dominance. Nonetheless, the document recognizes the importance of involving Russia in regional initiatives concerning 'frozen conflicts' but also for cooperative mechanisms in the Black Sea region.

These new approaches reflect an impressive process of self-reflection after only eighteen months of experience with ENP. Nonetheless, the EU approach to its European neighbors, however coherent on paper, remains a 'messy' one. It involves at once a mix of interest-based and value-based actions; it rests on a common policy framework (the ENP) grounded in primarily bilateral relations; it invokes principles of solidarity while forced to accommodate differences in member state diplomacy; and it appeals to universal values while implying authority over their proper interpretation. Accommodating differences across the whole expanse of Europe confronts a long history of conflict, so it is no wonder that the issues cannot be resolved quickly or easily. But the question remains. By expanding its own complex network of relations has the EU simply pushed the potential for instability further from

its own geo-political core? Or, might the mix of mechanisms generated by the EU just be adequate to the task of maintaining and extending peace and stability in Europe? If so, this would reflect the victory of politics over coercion. At the moment, the optimistic variant seems more likely, for however harsh the rhetoric between the 'strategic partners', diplomacy is the dominant game in town, as, one-by-one, conflicts on the European continent are, for the most part, being transformed into politics as usual.

Notes

1 European Commission, 'On Strengthening the European Neighbourhood Policy,' Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, 4 December 2006, COM (2006) 726 final, p. 3, on-line, http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com06_726_en.pdf (accessed 17 August 2007).

2 *Ibid.*, p.13.

3 *Ibid.*, pp.4-5.

4 *Ibid.*, p.5.

5 *Ibid.*, p.8.

This piece is abbreviated and adapted from the 'Conclusion' of the forthcoming book, edited by Joan DeBardeleben, *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement: Finding a Place for Neighbours*, to be published by Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. We are grateful to Palgrave Macmillan for permission to publish this adapted version.

Joan DeBardeleben is the Director of the Centre for European Studies, which is the European Union Centre of Excellence (EUCE) at Carleton University and network coordinator for the Canadian EUCE network (www.carleton.ca/ces). She is a Chancellors' Professor in the Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies



**Centre for European Studies-
EUCE Network Coordinator FOR Canada**

Carleton University
c/o EURUS 1311 Dunton Tower
1125 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, ON K1S 5B6
Canada

Phone: (613) 520-2600 ext.1179

Fax: (613) 520-7501

euce-canada@carleton.ca

UPCOMING EVENTS

Carleton University

Friday, November 16

Hungary and its Neighbours after the 2006 Elections

László Kéri, Institute for Political Sciences, Budapest

12:00-1:30 p.m.

A602 Loeb Building, Carleton University

Thursday, November 29, 2007

CANADA-EUROPE LAW LECTURE SERIES

The EU's Reform Treaty

Jan Winter, Senior Professor of EU Law, Free University of Amsterdam

11:30 a.m. -13:30 p.m.

Fauteux 133, University of Ottawa

February 7-8, 2008

Conference on Transatlantic Relations and International Conflict Management

608 Robertson Hall, Carleton University

University of Toronto

Friday, November 23, 9:00 a.m.-3:00 p.m. *(By invitation only)*

Workshop on European Union for High School Students

The Vivian and David Campbell Conference Facility,

Munk Centre for International Studies

1 Devonshire Place

February 29-March 1, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

Transatlantic Security Roundtable

Room 108, North Building,

Munk Centre for International Studies

1 Devonshire Place

Université de Montréal/ McGill University

November 22-24

Democracy, Law and Intimacy: Toward a Moral History of Postwar Europe.

Workshop organised by the Department of Canada Research Chair in German and European Studies and the Canadian Centre for German and European Studies in collaboration with the Institute for European Studies/EU Center of Excellence, the German Academic Exchange Service, the Centre d'études et de recherches internationales de l'Université de Montréal, and the Department of History, University of Calgary
Information on location and time to come

Friday, November 30, 10:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m.

Courts and Social Policy in the European Union and Canada. Workshop

Lisa Contant, University of Denver; Dagmar Soennecken, York University; Daniel Keleman, Rutgers University; and James Kelly, Concordia University

Information on location to come

Mardi le 4 décembre, 2007

Un traité constitutionnel modifié? Les défis de la Conférence inter-gouvernementale de 2007

Antonin Cohen, Université de Picardie Jules-Verne, Faculté de Droit et de Science politique; Romain Pasquier, Institut d'études politiques (Rennes); Jean-Claude Piris, Director General of the Legal Service, Council of the European Union (*to be confirmed*); and George Ross, Brandeis University

Informations sur l'heure et le lieu à venir

Dalhousie University

The EUCE at Dalhousie University will organize its second annual research conference late spring on **The EU in the Global Political and Economic System..**

The dates will be set in the near future and a call for papers will go out. The call will also be available on the website www.euce.dal.ca in early November.

<http://www.euce-network.carleton.ca>



Carleton University

In 2006, the European Commission designated Carleton's Centre for European Studies (CES) as the Network Coordinator for the four EUCEs in Canada. The Centre's four European Research Nodes (ERNs) bring together faculty and graduate students to plan outreach events and research workshops in cooperation with European partners. The ERNs are organized around several themes, including EU-Canada cooperation in international conflict management, citizenship and social integration in the EU, innovation in environmental policy, and regional/neighbourhood inequality after EU enlargement. The Centre is housed jointly in the Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies and the Department of Political Science and includes colleagues from the University of Ottawa. Carleton's Faculty of Public Affairs, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, and the Office of the Vice-President (Research and International) offer support to this interdisciplinary effort.

Project Manager: Natasha Joukovskaia
natasha_joukovskaia@carleton.ca

get to know

University of Toronto
Director : Jeffrey Kopstein
<http://www.utoronto.ca/ies>

Université de Montréal/
McGill University
Directors: Gérard Boismenu,
Armand de Mestral, Isabelle Petit
<http://www.iee.umontreal.ca>



Carleton University
Director: Joan DeBardeleben
<http://www.carleton.ca/ces>

Dalhousie University
Director: Finn Laursen
<http://www.euce.dal.ca>

our Centres



Dalhousie University

The EUCE was established at Dalhousie University in 2006 with a grant from the European Commission in Brussels. Its aim is to integrate existing research and teaching activities on the European Union at Dalhousie University and to facilitate and promote these activities. The BA Honours Program in European Studies was created in 2003-2006, and the Centre has recruited internationally recognized scholars as Canada Research Chairs in European and EU Studies. Plans for 2006-2009 include research projects by faculty members from the departments of Political Science, Sociology, Economics, Law and Management. These focus on EU external policies and EU-Canada relations, Canada and EU comparative public policy, as well as constitutionalism and federalism in the EU. The EUCE will also conduct annual research workshops.

Director: Finn Laursen
euce@dal.ca



<http://www.euce-network.carleton.ca>
euce-canada@carleton.ca



In 2006, the European Commission designated the Institute for European Studies (IES/IEE) in association with the Chaire Jean-Monnet en Intégration européenne (UdeM) and the Jean Monnet Chair in Law of International Economic Relations (McGill) a European Union Centre of Excellence. The Centre is an interdisciplinary unit housed at the Université de Montréal but is present in both universities through its co-directors and associates as well as through its association with the Jean Monnet Chairs at both universities. The Centre publishes an e-bulletin «quebec@europe» developed in collaboration with the Ministère des Relations Internationales of Quebec. The Centre's research programme focuses on three broad themes: institutional consolidation and the harmonisation of private law in Europe; the Europeanisation of national policies; the EU as a global actor. Visiting scholars are encouraged to speak in the EU lecture series organised in both universities.

Université de Montréal/ McGill University

En 2006, la Commission européenne a attribué le label de Centre d'Excellence sur l'Union européenne à l'Institut d'études européennes des universités de Montréal et McGill (IEE/IES), de concert avec la Chaire Jean-Monnet en Intégration européenne (UdeM) et la Chaire Jean-Monnet Chair en Droit des relations économiques internationales (McGill). Le CEUE est un centre interdisciplinaire qui a pour mandat de développer les enseignements, formations et recherches sur l'UE et de sensibiliser le grand public aux questions européennes. À cette fin, il publie notamment un bulletin électronique (quebec@europe) qu'il élabore en collaboration avec le ministère des Relations internationales et le ministère du Développement économique, de l'Innovation et de l'Exportation du Québec. Le centre s'efforce de créer une synergie entre les chercheurs québécois qui travaillent sur l'Europe en organisant des séminaires ainsi qu'en versant des bourses et subventions à des étudiants post-doctorants ou des cycles supérieurs. Son programme de recherche est essentiellement centré sur trois axes: consolidation et harmonisation juridique et institutionnelle dans l'UE; l'eupéanisation des politiques et structures nationales; l'UE comme acteur international.

Executive Director: Isabelle Petit
isabelle.petit@umontreal.ca

get to know



our Centres



University of Toronto

Designated as an EUCE in 2006, the Institute of European Studies draws upon more than a dozen departments in the Faculty of Arts and Science at the University of Toronto. The Institute is housed in the Munk Centre for International Studies, together with the Joint Initiative in German and European Studies, the European Studies Program, and the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies. The Institute's research programs currently address several broad themes, including European integration and global governance, migration and immigration, ethics in the EU and transatlantic security. IES sponsors a series of graduate student exchanges, and sponsors student conferences, bringing in academic specialists from Europe to offer intensive courses in political science, history, and economics. IES continues to hold public forum for discussion and debate of major issues in Canada-Europe relations.

Institute Administrator: Edith Klein
e.klein@utoronto.ca



<http://www.euce-network.carleton.ca>
euce-canada@carleton.ca