



EUROPEAN UNION CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE  
**NEWSLETTER**

CARLETON

DALHOUSIE

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TORONTO

**The European Parliament: a victim of the democratic deficit?**

Ingeborg Tömmel, University of Osnabrück, Germany

Sunday, June 7, 2009 is election day in most countries of the European Union (some countries do not hold elections on Sunday, mostly because of religious traditions). The “peoples of Europe” are called to directly elect the European Parliament (EP). Direct elections were introduced in 1979, at a time when the Parliament was merely an advisory body. Since then, the role of the Parliament has dramatically changed. Several Treaty revisions, from 1986 onwards, resulted in the introduction of the cooperation procedure, followed by the co-decision procedure. Co-decision implies that the Parliament, along with the Council of Ministers, has a decisive say in legislative matters. Initially, the procedure was only applied to a small set of policy areas, particularly those relating to the Single Market. However, once in place, it was quickly extended

to a larger number of policies and issues. The Treaty of Lisbon, scheduled to be ratified by the end of 2009, identifies co-decision as the ordinary procedure of legislation. This means that the Parliament would become a true legislature, having the same powers of decision-making as the Council of

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Ministers. The much debated democratic deficit of the European Union would be significantly reduced.

However, the commitment of citizens to provide political support to the European legislature has not increased along with the

expansion of Parliament’s formal powers. On the contrary, voter turnout has significantly declined since the first elections in 1979. With voter turnout at 45 % in the last elections in 2004, it has reached a low. In particular, the citizens of the new member states seem hardly interested in casting their votes. How is this cleavage between the European Parliament and its electorate to be explained?

There are many reasons for the low voter turnout. Euroscepticism is only one of them. Voters often lack information about the role, performance and achievements of the EP since media coverage is rather patchy. The Parliament seems to be unimportant, as it does not elect a government. There is no clear-cut division between

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**EUCE Network in Canada  
 Upcoming Graduate Student Conference**

From August 25-26, 2009, the Centre for European Studies (CES) at Carleton University will host a Graduate Student Conference of the Canadian EUCE Network. The conference will focus on *Contemporary Issues in the European Union* and feature the following panels:

- The EU and the Islamic World
- EU Foreign and Security Policy
- EU Security Strategies
- EU Law
- EU Enlargement
- Society and Social Issues
- Mobility and Movement in the EU

For more information, please send an email to [katharinahoegl@cunet.carleton.ca](mailto:katharinahoegl@cunet.carleton.ca).

For information on ‘What’s New’ at each of the Canadian EUCEs, please see pgs. 2-4

# EU Centres of Excellence in Canada — What's New

## Institute of European Studies - University of Toronto

### Past Conference

From May 8-9, 2009, the IES hosted the conference *The European Union and State-building: Lessons for and from the Balkans*. In the two decades that have elapsed since the fall of the Berlin Wall, Europe has witnessed an unexpected and unprecedented process of state-building and state-rebuilding. Though by no means the sole actor on the stage, the EU has played a significant role in this process, both formally and informally, through rapid enlargement and the promise of membership. To mark the two decades that have elapsed since fundamental change has altered the face of Europe, this symposium brought together recent scholarship on the EU's influence on the formation or re-formation of states. The following scholars presented their work at the symposium: Florian Bieber, University of Kent, UK; Keith Brown, Brown University, USA; David Chandler, University of Westminster, UK; Zsuzsa Csergo, Queen's University; Andrew Gilbert, University of Toronto; Andrew Graan, University of Chicago, USA; Jessica Greenberg, Northwestern University, USA; Paula Pickering, College of William and Mary, USA; and Larissa Veters, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle, Germany.

### Upcoming Conference

From July 24-25, 2009, the IES will hold the conference: *The EU Twenty Years after Unification: The State of the Union*.

This year marks the twentieth year of Europe's reunification. During that period, the EU has enlarged three times and ratified three treaties. It has harmonized immigration and asylum policy, further developed EU foreign policy, and encouraged, through enlargement negotiations, the consolidation of democracy and the expansion of European rights. In economic policy, it completed the single market through the removal of non-tariff barriers and created the world's largest currency zone. The Euro is now the world's second largest reserve currency next to the US dollar. Entry to the EU is the dream of numerous states, not least Turkey. Despite these impressive accomplishments, the prevailing attitude in Brussels is one of gloom, and the attitude among European publics is one of pessimism about the European project. Over two days, the Institute of European Studies, University of Toronto, will look back on the last two decades of European integration, and attempt to account for the gap between the EU's demonstrable successes and the public and elite pessimism about its future.

For more information on the conference, please consult the Institute's website: <http://www.utoronto.ca/ies>

The IES was founded in 2003 within 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 at the University of Toronto. The Institute's research programs address several broad themes, including European integration and global governance, migration and immigration, ethics in the EU and transatlantic security. IES sponsors graduate student exchanges, student conferences, and visiting academics from Europe.



<http://www.utoronto.ca/ies>

## Institut d'études européennes/Institute for European Studies - Université de Montréal/McGill University

On May 25, 2009, IEE / IES hosted a workshop entitled *Regulating Ethics and Lobbying - What Can Europe and North America Learn from Each Other?* The workshop featured the following speakers: Thomas Henökl, European Institute of Public Administration, The Netherlands; William Dinan, University of Strathclyde, UK and spokesperson for ALTER-EU (Alliance for Transparency and Ethics Regulation); André C. Côté, Commissaire au lobbying du Québec; Andrew Stark, University of Toronto; Pierre Ricard-Desjardins, Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada; Christine Mahoney, Syracuse University, USA; Craig Holman, Government Affairs Lobbyist, Washington, USA.

For information on other past events, please go to: <https://europe.umontreal.ca/pages/viewpage.action?pagelD=1638551>

Three major events will take place at the IEE / IES over the next several months:

- June 12, 2009. *Language and Identity Politics in Europe and North America*. One-day workshop featuring Canadian, American, and European scholars on three panels: *Language Conflict and Identity Politics*, *Immigration—Challenges to Official Languages Policies*, and *Language Policies in Multilingual States—Models for the European Union?* More information is available at: <http://www.mcgill.ca/misc/language/>
- June 26, 2009. *30 years of Elections to the European Parliament: An Assessment*. International Colloquium with: Alain Lamoussure (Guest speaker), European Deputy, Vice-President of the European Movement - France (since 1999), and former Minister with special responsibility for European Affairs (1993–1995); Christophe Bouillaud, Institut d'Études Politiques de Grenoble, France; Joan DeBardeleben, Carleton University; Lawrence Leduc, University of Toronto; Hermann Schmitt, University of Mannheim, Germany; Kristof Talin, Université de Montréal; André Blais,

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# EU Centres of Excellence in Canada — What's New

## CONTINUED - Université de Montréal/McGill University

Université de Montréal; Denis Saint-Martin, EUCE, Université de Montréal-McGill University; Nicolas Sauger, Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, France; Paul Taggart, University of Sussex, UK; Markus Wagner, London School of Economics, UK; George Ross, Université de Montréal; Isabelle Petit, EUCE, Université de Montréal-McGill University; Willy Beauvallet, Institut d'études politiques de Strasbourg, France; Olivier Rozenberg, Institut d'études politiques de Paris, France; Jean-Paul Jacqué, Université de Strasbourg, France. For more information, please visit: <https://europe.umontreal.ca/pages/viewpage.action?pageId=1638551>

- June 29, 2009. Summer School in International and European Environmental Law: Adaptation to Climate Change. This course is intended for members of NGOs, civil servants, environmental lawyers, journalists, business people and interested members of the public. For more information and to register, please see: <https://europe.umontreal.ca/pages/viewpage.action?pageId=2654314>

The IEE/IES is maintained jointly by McGill University and Université de Montréal. The Institute's research is focused on institutional and legal coordination, transatlantic relations, and Europeanisation and European social policy. Through its two chairs, Chaire Jean-Monnet en Intégration européenne (UdeM) and the Jean-Monnet Chair in Law of International Economic Relations (McGill), the Institute draws EU professors to Québec and performs outreach activities.



<http://www.centreurope-montreal.ca>

## European Union Centre of Excellence - Dalhousie University

From April 26-28, 2009, the EUCE at Dalhousie was pleased to host its 3<sup>rd</sup> annual conference, entitled *The EU in a Comparative Perspective*. The opening address was provided by H.E. Karel Zbrakovsky, Czech Ambassador to Canada, representing the EU Presidency, and by Mr. Giovanni di Girolamo, Acting Head of Delegation and Chargé d'affaires, Delegation of the EU Commission to Canada. The conference had 10 panels focusing on comparative regional integration and comparative federalism, with 27 papers presented. Several of the papers from the conference are available at: [http://euce.dal.ca/CONFERENCES/The\\_EU\\_in\\_a\\_Comparat.php](http://euce.dal.ca/CONFERENCES/The_EU_in_a_Comparat.php)

Two books based on the conference are planned to be published by Ashgate. They are tentatively entitled *Comparative Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*, and *The EU and Federalism: Politics and Policies Compared*.

The Dalhousie EUCE also organized several other events throughout the Winter semester:

- **Immigration, Citizenship and Borders: Issues Facing the EU and Canada**. This one-day workshop, held on April 3, 2009, featured the following speakers from both Europe and Canada: Chedly Belkhadja, Université de Moncton; Alexandra Dobrowolsky, St. Mary's University; Karen Fog Olwig, University of Copenhagen, Denmark; Pauline Gardiner Barber, Dalhousie University; Yvan Gastaut, Université de Nice, France; Belinda Leach, Guelph University; Joerg Monar, Sussex University, UK; and Dagmar Soennecken, York University.
- **The Financial Crisis and Monetary Policy in the Euro Area**. Presented by Domenico Marchetti, Bank of Italy.
- **Institutions Without Capacities: Post-Lisbon EU and its External Relations**. Presented by Ivo Šlosarcik, Jean Monnet Chair in EU Law, Charles University, Czech Republic, and the Prague Campus of New York University.
- **European Integration as Security**. By Luke Ashworth, University of Limerick, UK.
- **Faculty of Management Study Tour**. In April, Prof. Gudrun Curri led a group of 17 MBA students on a study tour of Poland and Hungary. The objective of this European Business Programme was "to expand the numbers of students who become familiarized with, and have direct experience with, the business environment of the EU".

### Upcoming this summer:

- **Participation in EU Study Tour** - Three students from Dalhousie (Sinclair Bean, Taylor Imrie and Matilka Krow) will be taking part in the EU Study Tour to Brussels, Luxembourg, Strasbourg and Frankfurt.
- **Forthcoming books** - Two books, based on the 2<sup>nd</sup> annual conference in 2008, will be published shortly. *The EU as a Foreign and Security Policy Actor* will be published by Republic of Letters in Dordrecht, the Netherlands, and *The EU in the Global Political Economy* will be published by P.I.E. Peter Lang, Brussels, Belgium.

Created in 2006, the EUCE at Dalhousie University aims to integrate existing research and teaching activities concerning the EU carried out at the university in order to establish a framework for facilitating and promoting further EU activities. Two primary ways of accomplishing this have been the expansion of European Studies through the creation of a B.A. Honours and the recruitment of research chairs in the field. The Centre carries out research in EU-Canada relations, comparative public policy, constitutionalism and federalism.



<http://www.euce.dal.ca>

## EU Centres of Excellence in Canada — What's New

### Centre for European Studies - Carleton University

On May 20, 2009, the CES, in cooperation with the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Carleton and the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Ottawa, hosted *Climate Day*, which included: the exhibition *Renewables made in Germany*, a screening of several short environmental films from the EU; and a lecture/roundtable entitled *Climate Change and Renewable Energies: Canadian, German, and European Perspectives*. The lecture/roundtable featured speaker Patrick Lamers, a consultant for energy and climate strategies with Ecofys Germany GmbH, and three panelists: Mike Brklacich and John Stone, both of Carleton University, and David Brook, President of DBk Consulting.

The Carleton EUCE is pleased to announce its forthcoming book (to be published by Palgrave Macmillan), *Activating the Citizen: Dilemmas of Participation in Europe and Canada*, edited by Joan DeBardleben and Jon H. Pammett. This volume is based on a research workshop organized by Carleton's EUCE in May 2008 and explores reasons for declining public participation in elections and political parties in the EU and Canada. The authors seek not only to explain these declines but also to examine possible solutions such as citizens' assemblies, referendums, and electronic participation. Authors include Lawrence LeDuc, University of Toronto; André Blais and Agnieszka Dobrzynska, Université de Montréal; Paul Whiteley, University of Essex, UK; Jørgen Elklit, University of Aarhus, Denmark; Luciano Bardi and Enrico Calossi, University of Pisa, Italy.

From August 27-28, 2009, Carleton will host an international conference entitled *Solving Environmental Problems under Multi-level Governance: Lessons for/from the EU*. The conference is open to scholars, students and professionals alike. For more information, please visit the CES website: <http://www.carleton.ca/ces>.

Established in 2000, the Centre for European Studies at Carleton University has been designated the EUCE Network Coordinator by the European Commission. The multi-disciplinary Centre is housed jointly by the Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies and the Department of Political Science. Its primary research is organized around four European Research Nodes which focus on: (1) the role of the EU and Canada in regional economic development and conflict management; (2) citizenship and social integration in the EU; (3) environmental policy; and (4) regional inequalities.



<http://www.carleton.ca/ces>

## EUCE Activities - The ShareSpeaker Program

This past month, Carleton University, with the support of the Embassy of the Czech Republic in Ottawa, was pleased to welcome Ivo Šlosarčík from the Czech Republic. Dr. Šlosarčík, a Jean Monnet Chair in EU Law and associate professor of European Studies at Charles University in Prague, came to Canada to deliver several public lectures on the current challenges facing the Czech Republic during its six-month term holding the Presidency of the EU Council. But it wasn't just Carleton University that benefited from his knowledge and expertise. Through the ShareSpeaker program of the Canadian Network of EU Centres of Excellence (EUCEs), Dr. Šlosarčík was also able to deliver his lecture at three other Canadian universities: Dalhousie, Queen's, and the University of Toronto.

The ShareSpeaker program was designed to facilitate the movement of European experts between the EUCEs in North America. The program provides support for the travel of these experts to the four Canadian EUCEs, as well as other universities in Can-

ada that do not currently have an EU Studies program. Funds are also available to bring European speakers sponsored by one of the ten EUCEs in the United States to Canada.

Since its creation in 2007, the ShareSpeaker program has become an important component of the EUCE Canadian network. On the one hand, the program has allowed European experts to participate in conferences and connect with colleagues across North America. On the other hand, Canadians have gained from the knowledge these leading scholars and professionals bring to the public lectures and workshops they frequently deliver at the host destination.

This past year is a great example of the breadth and depth of the program. In the fall of 2008, Dr. Grzegorz Gorzelak from the University of Warsaw visited Dalhousie University to deliver a lecture on economic disparities in EU regional policy and the new member states.

During the Winter semester, Pierre Larouche, Anneli Albi, and Silvia Mihalikova

gave lectures to audiences at the EUCEs in Ottawa and Montreal. Dr. Larouche from Tilburg University in the Netherlands spoke on EU Law versus member state law, whereas Dr. Albi, a scholar from the University of Kent, presented a lecture on national constitutions, EU Law and sovereignty. The focus of the presentation delivered by Dr. Mihalikova, a professor at Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovak Republic, was the current state of democracy in central and eastern Europe since the fall of communism 20 years ago.

The Winter semester also saw Ingeborg Tömmel, a visiting scholar at Carleton during the Winter 2009 semester, travel to Dalhousie University to present a paper entitled: *The EU under the Treaty of Lisbon: an actor-centered federation?*

For further inquiries on the ShareSpeaker program, please contact the EUCE Network Manager in Canada, Natasha Joukovskaia, at (613) 520-2600 ext. 1179, or at [natasha\\_joukovskaia@carleton.ca](mailto:natasha_joukovskaia@carleton.ca).

### Le retour de la France dans l'OTAN : quelle stratégie pour les Européens?

Grégoire Mallard, Northwestern University, USA et Frédéric Mérand, Université de Montréal

*This article was first published by the Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue (CETD), a research network that promotes dialogue between researchers in Canada and Europe to explore responses to common policy challenges. A copy can be found in both English and French at the following website: <http://www.carleton.ca/europecluster/publications.html>*

Le sommet de Strasbourg-Kehl des 3-4 avril a souligné le soixantième anniversaire de l'OTAN. Au-delà de la question afghane et de la nomination d'un nouveau secrétaire général (le premier ministre danois Anders Rasmussen), la rencontre a surtout célébré le retour de la France dans le commandement intégré de l'Alliance. Cette décision du président français Nicolas Sarkozy gomme celle de son prédécesseur, le Général de Gaulle, qui avait quitté avec fracas en 1966. Le geste hautement symbolique de Nicolas Sarkozy suscite les passions en France depuis près d'un an, où il est présenté soit comme un reniement de l'identité de la France, soit comme une étape importante dans la nouvelle entente transatlantique.

À Strasbourg, Nicolas Sarkozy a rappelé aux Alliés que la France n'a pas abandonné l'objectif de créer une Europe de la défense. Dans son discours du 11 mars 2009, Nicolas Sarkozy avait indiqué quelques pistes, à savoir que l'Union européenne (UE) puisse disposer à court terme d'une force européenne opérationnelle de 60,000 hommes projetable hors de ses frontières; qu'elle renforce les partenariats industriels européens dans les secteurs stratégiques conventionnels ; et qu'elle amène les États à augmenter leurs investissements en matière de défense. En fait, le président français s'est contenté de répéter les objectifs déjà inscrits dans le traité de Lisbonne au chapitre de la Politique européenne de sécurité et de défense (PESD), mais n'a pas apporté de propositions concrètes pour européeniser l'OTAN elle-même. Le nouveau « concept stratégique » qu'il appelle de ses vœux pour l'OTAN n'est pas plus précis.

Pourquoi cet appel n'est-il pas lancé d'abord aux partenaires de l'UE ? Pourquoi la discussion ne s'inscrirait-elle pas dans le cadre d'un caucus européen de l'OTAN ? Car si la discussion stratégique continue à se faire sans coordination européenne préalable, les pays de l'UE auront le plus grand mal à dégager un point de vue commun, et aucune réponse européenne ne pourra être apportée aux défis stratégiques d'aujourd'hui et de demain. Le principal obstacle auquel fait face l'Alliance, en Afghanistan comme ailleurs, c'est la division des Européens, qui composent désormais 26 des 28 membres de l'OTAN. Les Européens, pour la plupart, ne sentent pas que l'Alliance leur appartient vraiment. Parce qu'ils ne sont pas capables de proposer des initiatives communes et cohérentes, la plupart des pays européens ont tendance à se défilier lorsque vient le temps de contribuer à la sécurité européenne et mondiale. L'Europe ne peut pas dans ces conditions constituer un partenaire fort pour les États-Unis.

Ceci touche à un très vieux débat, qui est celui de l'eupéanisation de l'OTAN : cette ambition, souvent souhaitée, jamais réalisée, de donner une voix singulière à l'Europe dans l'Alliance. À l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU, dans ses agences spécialisées, et à l'Organisation pour la sécurité et la coopération en Europe, l'UE applique une politique étrangère commune qui se traduit, concrètement, par une coordination permanente et institutionnalisée des États européens. Il est étonnant que l'OTAN reste une des seules organisations internationales dans laquelle l'UE ne puisse pas parler d'une voix unique. Certes, il y a des raisons ça cela,

notamment le fait que 4 pays membres de l'UE ne font pas partie de l'OTAN. Il en résulte une Europe plus faible, mais aussi une Alliance plus lourde. Avec la réintégration de la France et celle, plus qu'envisageable à court terme, de la Suède et de la Finlande, seuls Chypre, Malte, l'Irlande et l'Autriche resteront à l'écart de l'OTAN – si ces derniers acceptaient de se faire représenter par un observateur dans un caucus européen, il n'y aurait plus d'obstacle sérieux à ce que des ponts entre l'UE et l'OTAN soient formalisés.

Ce caucus européen au sein de l'OTAN devrait aborder tous les sujets, sans tabou. Le plus pressant, aujourd'hui, n'est peut-être pas seulement celui de la formation des forces armées afghanes, mais aussi celui la stratégie nucléaire. Hélas, le président français a rappelé le 11 mars dernier que, malgré l'intégration de la France dans la structure militaire intégrée de l'OTAN, « *naturellement nous allons conserver notre dissuasion nucléaire indépendante* » ; et la France a joint le geste à la parole puisqu'elle ne rentrera pas dans le Groupe des Plans Nucléaires de l'OTAN. En imposant un tabou sur le dossier nucléaire, Nicolas Sarkozy limite la portée de l'eupéanisation de l'OTAN. Or ce dossier ne concerne pas seulement la doctrine d'emploi des armes nucléaires de l'OTAN, qui continue à disposer d'un nombre important de missiles nucléaires sur le continent européen, mais aussi le désarmement nucléaire et la non-prolifération.

Certains diront que les questions de dissuasion nucléaire appartiennent à un autre temps. Mais les États européens peuvent-ils vraiment éviter une réflexion sur les risques

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## Le retour de la France dans l'OTAN : quelle stratégie pour les Européens?

et les avantages que fait peser la possession d'armes nucléaires par l'OTAN sur la sécurité de l'Europe ? La décision du Général de Gaulle de retirer les forces françaises du commandement intégré en 1966 fut justifiée par le risque que la France et l'Europe soient attirées contre leur gré dans un conflit nucléaire. Or, aujourd'hui, les forces de l'OTAN lancent régulièrement des frappes conventionnelles sur le territoire de la huitième puissance nucléaire au monde : le Pakistan. Si la nouvelle stratégie poursuivie par l'administration Obama, qui consiste à se concentrer sur l'élimination des bases arrière d'Al Qaïda au Pakistan tout en négociant une paix acceptable en Afghanistan, est sans doute la seule qui permette d'espérer une sortie au conflit, celle-ci n'est pas sans risque d'escalade.

Dans la mesure où certains segments de l'appareil d'Etat pakistanais sont soupçonnés de collusion avec cette organisation terroriste, il n'est en effet pas étonnant que les stratèges américains, friands des exercices prospectifs où sont joués les scénarios les plus catastrophiques qu'on puisse imaginer, aient l'habitude de jouer le scénario suivant : poussés dans leurs derniers retranchements, des rebelles aidés d'agents pakistanais s'emparent de bases pakistanaises où sont stockées des armes nucléaires ; l'Inde décide alors de faire avancer ses troupes au Pakistan pour éliminer les bases rebelles ; en riposte la Chine mobilise sa force en prévision d'une attaque sur Taiwan ; le Japon décide de se retirer du Traité de non-prolifération des armes nucléaires (TNP), au titre de l'article 10. Les Etats-Unis ne pourront pas rester indifférents à un tel scénario d'escalade. Quelle serait alors la réponse des membres européens de l'OTAN ? Disons-le tout de suite, ce type de scénario est heureusement fort improbable. Il ne s'agit pas d'affoler les peuples, mais d'imaginer quelles mesures de prudence l'OTAN devrait prendre aujourd'hui pour éviter que

des problèmes imprévus ne se posent demain de façon dramatique.

Or, dans la mesure où les forces européennes s'engagent dans des conflits distants, en Asie surtout, la perspective proprement européenne, et plus généralement otanienne, sur les questions politiques et territoriales au cœur de ces conflits devient plus floue. Pour éviter les risques d'engrenage dans les guerres que mènent les forces alliées en Asie, les pays de l'UE devraient insister dès maintenant pour que l'OTAN adopte une doctrine de « non-usage en premier » d'armes nucléaires. Laisser planer le doute sur sa stratégie nucléaire, comme l'OTAN continue à le faire, ne correspond plus à la réalité stratégique dans laquelle les forces otaniennes évoluent lorsqu'elles sont projetées à l'extérieur de l'Europe, surtout dans des conflits engageant des Etats disposant d'armes nucléaires. *A minima*, l'OTAN devrait adopter cette doctrine de non-usage en premier pour ses opérations à l'extérieur du sol européen, ce qui serait un geste fort dont la nouvelle administration de Barack Obama pourrait se saisir pour montrer que l'Amérique tourne la page de l'administration Bush. (On se rappellera que son Secrétaire à la Défense, Donald Rumsfeld, avait caressé l'idée d'un usage en premier d'armes nucléaires tactiques.)

Le maintien de la paix en Afghanistan est une question, la stratégie nucléaire en est une autre, ainsi que le désarmement nucléaire et la non-prolifération. Pour œuvrer à l'établissement d'une « zone exempte d'armes nucléaires » au Moyen Orient, un des buts de l'Alliance, les pays de l'OTAN pourraient montrer l'exemple, en décidant de retirer les armes nucléaires dont ils disposent dans leur tête de pont moyen-orientale, à savoir la Turquie. Les pays de l'UE devraient discuter avec celle-ci des conditions de garanties militaires qui lui permettraient d'accepter un tel

retrait, alors que les négociations d'adhésion de la Turquie à l'UE sont en cours. Une coordination avec les autres pays de l'UE dépositaires d'armes nucléaires de l'OTAN (Belgique, Pays Bas, Italie) devrait aussi permettre que les efforts en faveur du désarmement nucléaire de Barack Obama et Gordon Brown s'étendent aux forces nucléaires de l'OTAN. Enfin, parmi les mesures de confiance et de sécurité de l'OTAN, les membres de l'UE, et donc tous signataires du traité instituant la Communauté européenne de l'énergie atomique (EURATOM), pourraient promouvoir ce type d'instruments juridiques régionaux et convaincre les pays du sud de la Méditerranée de s'en inspirer, afin de mieux protéger les matières fissiles qui circuleront dans des quantités plus grande dans cette région.

En se positionnant clairement contre l'usage en premier des armes nucléaires et en œuvrant à la diminution des stocks d'armes nucléaires placées sous sa responsabilité, l'OTAN rendra plus crédible l'engagement que ceux parmi ses Etats qui disposent d'une force nucléaire ont pris en faveur du désarmement nucléaire, au titre de l'article 6 du TNP. Cette stratégie nucléaire globale aidera ses pays membres dans leur politique en faveur de la non-prolifération nucléaire au Moyen Orient. Ces mesures renforceront leurs positions morale et juridique face aux voisins de l'Afghanistan, Iran et Pakistan. Gageons qu'elles réduiront les risques que font peser les menaces d'aujourd'hui sur le monde de demain.

*Grégoire Mallard est professeur assistant de sociologie à Northwestern University ; Frédéric Mérand est professeur adjoint de science politique à l'Université de Montréal. Ils sont tous deux spécialistes des questions de sécurité européenne. Ce texte est une version allongée d'une analyse parue dans Le Devoir, 4 avril 2009.*

## Spotlight On: Doctoral and Postdoctoral Students

### University of Toronto Ruben Zaiotti

Ruben Zaiotti (PhD Toronto, MSt Oxford, BA Bologna) is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (CERES) at the University of Toronto. His main areas of interest are international security, border control, immigration and refugee policy, with particular focus on Europe and North America. Recent publications include articles for the *Journal of European Integration*, *Review of International Studies*, the *International Journal of Refugee Law*, *Cultures & Conflicts*, and an edited volume on globalization with Palgrave. He is currently turning his PhD dissertation on the evolution of border control in Europe into a manuscript for publication and working on a new research project on EU-North American cooperation over homeland security. He is a former Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of International Law and International Relations*. Beginning July 2010, he will join the Department of Political Science at Dalhousie University.



### Université de Montréal Sylvain Lefèvre

Diplômé de Sciences Po Rennes (2002) et titulaire d'un Master de science politique (Lille, 2003), Sylvain Lefèvre est docteur en science politique (Université de Lille, 2008). Sa thèse de doctorat, intitulée «Mobiliser les gens, mobiliser l'argent: les ONG au prisme du modèle entrepreneurial» explore la mise à l'épreuve du militantisme par les transformations managériales affectant les ONG, notamment via l'introduction du marketing et du management depuis une trentaine d'années. De 2003 à 2007, il a enseigné à l'Université de Lille la communication politique, la sociologie politique ou encore l'histoire de la formation de l'État en Europe. En 2007-2008, il fut chercheur invité à la Chaire de recherche du Canada en citoyenneté et gouvernance, dirigée par la professeure Jane Jenson. Dans le cadre de son post-doctorat, il mène sous la direction de Denis Saint-Martin une recherche intitulée «Le pilotage discret de l'action humanitaire: ECHO et le financement des ONG». En mettant en lumière les relations entre des ONG humanitaires françaises et ECHO (l'Office d'aide humanitaire de la Commission européenne), il s'agit de comprendre dans quelle mesure le «bras humanitaire» de l'UE, par son rôle central de bailleur, a redéfini les modalités d'action de ces acteurs associatifs.



### McGill University Andrej Zaslove

Dr. Andrej Zaslove holds a PhD from York University, Toronto, Ontario and an MA from the New School for Social Research, New York. His research focuses on comparative politics, immigration, political parties, multilevel governance, and nationalism. His geographical area of specialization is Western Europe, with a specific interest in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Austria. He also has extensive knowledge and has published and presented papers on France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Denmark in comparative perspective. He is currently finishing a manuscript on populism entitled *Populism, Padania and the 'Re-Invention' of the European Radical Right: the Italian Contribution*. In addition, he is currently engaged in two projects: one on the politics and the public policy of immigration in Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy; the other on new countries of immigration (in collaboration with Professor Phil Triadafilopoulos, University of Toronto).

### Carleton University William Biebuyck

William Biebuyck is a PhD candidate in the Departments of Political Science and Political Economy at Carleton University. His doctoral research examines the historical development of the EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). In particular, his work highlights the various political and social strategies that have underpinned agricultural governance in Europe over the post-World War II period. By adopting a 'problem' centered approach to agricultural governance, he provides an account of how welfarist, environmental and neoliberal concerns have been translated into specific CAP regimes. His work has been supported by the Centre for European Studies (CES) at Carleton University in the form of two research grants. The first grant was used to conduct archival research at the Historical Archives of the European Union (housed at the EU). The second grant was used to conduct interviews with European Commission officials and agricultural organizations in Brussels. Mr. Biebuyck has presented numerous conference papers on his research and has a forthcoming publication in the *European Journal of Social Theory*.



### Dalhousie University Abdullah Bal

Abdullah Bal is a first year doctoral student in the Department of Political Science at Dalhousie University. Mr. Bal is examining EU-Turkey relations for his doctoral thesis, specifically the impact of the EU on recent political restructuring in Turkey to comply with the political criteria for Union membership. He graduated from the International Relations Department of Ankara University, Cebeci, Ankara, Turkey (1990) and received his MA degree from the same University (2000). Between 1997-2006, he worked as a research assistant and instructor in the International Relations Department of Adnan Menderes University, Nazilli, Aydin, Turkey. In Nazilli, he contributed as a team member to the preparation of the International Relations Department's undergraduate program. In 2006, he taught a course on EU-Turkey relations. He has presented several conference papers: *In Search of Dialogue among the Plural Theories of IR: Introducing the Heisenbergian Concept of Closed Theory* at the 1st Global International Studies Conference, Bilgi University, Istanbul, Turkey (2005) and *Discovering or Inventing International Relations?* at the 44th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association in Portland, Oregon (2003).



## CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1 - The European Parliament: a victim of the democratic deficit?

governing parties and the opposition. Few voters know that the Parliament as a whole acts in practice as a counterweight to the Council of Ministers. Altogether, decision-making in the European Union appears to be opaque. As a consequence, parliamentary elections that are held separately in every member state are often perceived as a vote on national political parties and on national political affairs. It is highly probable that the voter turnout will further decline in the 2009 elections. There is a marked disconnection between the EP and its electorate. It is this situation that constitutes the most problematic aspect of the democratic deficit of the EU.

Are there any remedies to solve this problem? Simon Hix, a well-known British scholar, claims that a clear polarization along a left-right divide would make the Parliament more appealing to the citizens. He therefore proposes a series of incremental institutional innovations that would emphasize such a divide and lead to a more pronounced political polarization. I think his assumptions and the corresponding proposals for reform do not lead to a solution to the problem. I will mention only a few points in support of my argu-

ment. First, party systems at the national level are less and less polarized along a left-right divide; how could polarized parties play a major role at the European level? Moreover, the issues at stake at the European level are not issues where a left-right divide plays a major role (as the Single Market or the environment). By contrast, those issues dividing the left and the right, such as welfare state measures or social policy, continue to pertain, and with good reason, to the national government level.

Second, political polarization is not a matter of institutional design; it evolves according to the cleavages in a given society and the corresponding struggles for power and influence between political forces. As a European society and European political forces, let alone parties, do not exist, a left-right divide in the Parliament would be as much disconnected from the voters as are the actual political groups in Parliament. Therefore, in my opinion, the first step to bridge the gap between the Parliament and its electorate would be to hold European-wide elections. National political parties with similar political orientations would be compelled to unite

across borders *before* the elections. These "European" parties or party groups would then debate issues concerning European integration during the election campaign so that voters would have a choice according to their preferences with regard to European matters. This would also prevent them from making their choice according to national political issues.

I am aware that the option of European-wide elections is not a short term solution to the disconnection between the Parliament and its electorate. However, in the long run, I do not see any other solution. The European Union cannot be organized as a replica of the national state, as Simon Hix's proposal implies. If the democratic deficit is to be remedied, it has to evolve according to the cleavages that emerge around the issues of integration.

*Ingeborg Tömmel is Professor in International and European Politics at the University of Osnabrück, Germany. Most recently, Dr. Tömmel was a visiting scholar at the Centre for European Studies at Carleton University from January to April 2009.*

### Upcoming Events

#### UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

<http://www.utoronto.ca/ies/>

July 24-25, 2009

#### AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The EU 20 Years after Unification:  
The State of the Union  
Time and Location TBD

#### UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL / MCGILL UNIVERSITY

<http://www.centreurope-montreal.ca/>

Friday, June 12, 2009  
AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Language and Identity Politics in  
Europe and North America

8:15am - 5:00pm

Thomson House, 3650 McTavish,  
McGill University

#### DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

<http://euce.dal.ca>

Please consult the website  
for upcoming events.

#### CARLETON UNIVERSITY

<http://www.carleton.ca/ces>

August 27-28, 2009

#### AN INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE

Solving Environmental Problems  
under Multi-level Governance:

Lessons for/from the EU  
Senate Room (Room 608),  
Robertson Hall, Carleton University



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