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***The EU in a Changing Global Order –
Challenges and Prospects,***
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The European Union was originally created as European Coal and Steel Community ECSC (without the Netherlands), and later European Economic Community EEC with the overall goal to integrate the economies of the six member states: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. That trading arrangement between those six countries has grown over 60 years. Today, the arrangement includes 27 very different countries, and some of them used to be communist countries.

European integration is primarily a political process, but its economic dimension is far more visible. Since it is essentially a political integration, EU has a number of important political institutions whose goal is decision-making, resolution of various disputes among its members, and Union's governance toward further integration and global positioning. However, the functioning of these institutions in practice is not satisfactory. There are some opinions according to which EU institutions do not have a clearly defined legitimate democratic basis. Lack of stable institutions and unified policies, are just some of the reasons why it has been facing a number of political, economic and social challenges lately.

Looking for answers to those challenges, Center for China-EU Relations, Fudan University and Shanghai Institute for European Studies prepared a book named "*The EU in a Changing Global Order – Challenges and Prospects*". Their starting point was that the EU is making difficult adjustments and reforms in order to adapt itself to the drastic internal and external changes and in the same time find a more appropriate road of integration. The intention of those "young scholars" from Shanghai was to sum-up those challenges that EU is facing. This book is divided into the four thematic units: At the EU's level, At Member State's level, At Transnational level, and At International Level. Each of these units consists of several papers related to those units. In the first one, named *At the EU's level*, are following papers: 1. Between Theory and Reality: The Limit of the EU as a Transformative Power; 2. The EU's Legitimacy Deficit: The Institutional Reform and its Future; 3. Challenges of European Integration: "Fiscal Unions" as a Case; 4. Challenges of Euro-skepticism: How the EU responds?; 5. Challenges of the Populist: How Extreme Political Parties Attack the EU?; 6. "Two Speed" or "Multi Speed"? The Quest for a Model of European Integration. The second chapter, named *At Member State's level*, consists of several following papers: 1. From Kosovo to Catalonia: The Logic of the EU's Attitudes toward Secessionism; 2. Multiculturalism in Eu-

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rope: the Dilemma and the Future; 3. Brexit Negotiation: How to Impact European Integration?; 4. "Rebels" of the EU? From Poland to Hungary. Third section named *At Transnational level* includes several following papers: 1. Dealing with Immigrants: Is German Leadership Effective?; 2. Homegrown Terrorism in Europe: Dynamics and Prospects?; 3. Clash of Civilization? When Christians Encountering Islamist; 4. Digital Governance of the EU: Progress and Challenges. The last section, named *At International Level*, is composed of following papers: 1. The EU's Eastward Road: Competing and Cooperation with Russia?; 2. The EU's Neighborhood Policy: Toward the Middle East and North Africa; 3. The EU in the Era of "Anti-globalization": Future of Liberal-democracy and Rules-based International Order?; 4. Disputes between Europe and the US: Transatlantic Relations Facing New Challenges. The book has a total of 157 pages. Given that there are a large number of quite different papers, which are subsumed to those thematic chapters in this book, this review will not analyze them individually, but will indicate the most important conclusions of each chapter. Future challenges and dilemmas of the EU are analyzed in the first chapter of the book (*At the EU's level*) through several key concepts or processes, such as: transformative power, legitimacy deficit, fiscal union, Euroscepticism, political populism and Eurointegration. Each of the abovementioned papers in this chapter starts from the same assumption, and that is the EU today faces new challenges and new reality in the sphere of politics, economics and social policy, which also requires new solutions and new mechanisms for fighting crisis situations in these spheres. The transformative power of the EU is dependent on the success of its economic and social model. However, there is no coherent regulatory regime and economic governance model, which results with legitimacy deficit – EU's decision making is institutionally extremely limited, therefore much weaker. Take, for example, an attempt to establish a fiscal union. Eurozone countries are working to introduce a fiscal union in order to overcome the debt crisis. This requires fiscal discipline, which requires amendments to the Lisbon Treaty. What fiscal unity means, the leading European countries interpret differently. France is playing a bigger role for the European Central Bank, which is unacceptable for Germany, which does not want to bear the burden of debts of indebted countries. The problem of inconsistency in making political and economic decisions results in the emergence of a growing Euroscepticism. In the sphere of politics, this can best be seen in the growing populist and nationalistic political attitudes. Populist European political parties used the public's dissatisfaction with the EU to gain political power. Overcoming the above problems, somewhat naively, is located in the European identity: Euroscepticism is "the poison", but European identity is "the recipe". We are deliberately stressing that this is a truly naive concept of Euroscepticism, because its causes do not concern European identity, as an abstract category, but can be found in the realistic political and economic activities of European institutions, which abound with pragmatism and "double standards". The inconsistency of politics and economic policy of the EU results in the absence of stable political and economic institutions. The impression is that in the form of conclusion this is what missing in this chapter, which is too descriptive.

Second chapter (*At Member state's level*) deals with the concepts such as secessionism, multiculturalism, Brexit and the "rebels" of the EU: from Poland to Hungary. In addition to multiculturalism, based on political correctness, as a deficient concept, special attention is drawn to the analysis dealing with secessionism – from Kosovo to Catalonia. For example,

it is stated that EU policy on Kosovo can in practice be understood as undertaking and developing economic and political issues without touching the still controversial issue of sovereignty. However, certain illogicalities can be observed at moments, so it is immediately stated that the EU is treating and cultivating Kosovo as an independent political and economic actor. On the other hand, it is clearly stated that the EU's attitudes towards secessionism in different regions vary from support to opposition. The explanation is, indeed, naive and extremely superficial and is found in the concept of "EU autonomy" - the EU's attitude toward secessionism depends first upon whether the country in which the secessionist region is located is EU member state. If it is a member state, then the European Union will certainly not support secessionism of the region. What is the conclusion? It is stated that Serbia is not a member state, and the EU does not hold a clear disagreement with secessionism in its region as it does with Spanish and British secessionism. Involving in the affairs of Balkans and recognizing the independence of Montenegro will help maintaining the stability of the Balkans. We cannot agree with these claims for several reasons, of which we will only hint at some: political sovereignty and territorial integrity as a constitutional category – for which there cannot and should not talk about be double legal norms and standards in practice; UN Resolution 1244 - which guarantees the territorial integrity and political sovereignty of Serbia and prevents the independence of Kosovo. We have not encountered such explanations and critical reviews in this paper. Regarding Brexit, it will definitely diminish the chances and opportunities of the EU towards greater integration. That standpoint is clearly engaged in this section. After the Brexit, Britain and the European Union will unintentionally become competitors to free trade. In particular, the United Kingdom will have regained the banner of free trade and reshaped the trade agreements with the European Union. It will have exerted pressure on EU members under the Customs Union and secretly encouraged the populist member states to follow the British model. After the Brexit came to the EU, the European Union's "rebels" Poland, Hungary, and also Czech Republic and Slovakia, jointly boycotted the EU's refugee quota allocation and the internal affairs and justice reforms of Poland and Hungary, which conflicts within EU value. Even if these countries are known as "good students" of the EU, the change in the behavior pattern of the new member states of the Visegrad Group in EU reflects the gradual emergence of the differences in the interests of EU member states and the EU itself, especially since Europe debt crisis, which is also analyzed in this section of the book.

The third chapter (*At Transnational level*) analyzes processes such as refugee crisis, terrorism in EU, encounter between Christianity and Islam in EU and digital governance in EU. So, as one can imagine, it is a rather diverse approach in analyzing the challenges and dilemmas of the EU at its transnational level. The impact of refugee crisis in the EU is the most lasting and prominent one. The main problem considers the refugee quotas. The large number of war refugees continued to flow into the EU, leaving Italy, Greece, Hungary and other countries to bear the brunt of the refugee crisis. The subject of the analysis in this section is the influence of Germany on the establishment of a system of refugee quotas – its effectiveness. One of the main conclusions is that given the differences in positions of the European Union on mandatory refugee quotas and the difficult implementation of refugee quotas, the promotion of a quota system under the leadership of Germany has had little effect. When weighing the advantages and disadvantages (increase in the unemployment

rate, increase in social destabilizing factors, etc.) and considering that the cost of implementation is greater than the benefits, the member states would rather accept punishment and refuse to implement the refugee quota system. Regarding the homegrown terrorism in EU, it is clearly stated that EU member states should take more effective measures on how to integrate Muslim communities into society. The EU's anti-terrorist actions must be lead by crisis-driven changes in institutionalization. A very interesting analysis in this section considers the Islam in the EU. More precisely, how Islam spreads on the European continent and encounters the dominant Christianity in a peaceful way. This is what we should be concerned about, according to the author of this paper. However, the analysis of this problem offered in this paper is too descriptive, which is very difficult to claim that changes ("Islamization", "De-christianization", migrants and refugees problems, etc.) in European society are further exacerbating the living environment of Muslim ethnic groups in Europe, and it is very likely that this round of encounter between Christianity and Islam will lead to an even worse situation in which the conflict will increase and religion extremism will aggravate. Such strong claims should be supported by some concrete data on which they are being made. This way unconfirmed and lightly presented, they remain only at the level of layman's assumption.

The last chapter (*At International level*) deals with the EU actions and policies at international level. Therefore, the key concepts of the analysis given in this chapter are: the EU's eastward enlargement – relationship with Russia, the EU's neighborhood policy toward Middle East and North Africa, disputes between the EU and USA, and the EU in the era of "Anti-globalization". The impression is that this is the most interesting chapter, and it seems to be best structured in relation to its title. The common idea that links the works in this chapter is the EU's attitude towards its neighbors, but also towards other countries, especially the United States. It is clearly stated that EU is trying to build and cultivate relations with European countries which are still outside the EU. It treats them differently: one is to change the unstable and backward status of the Western Balkan countries, which is the southeastern European Union's barrier, and to promote Western Balkan countries final integration into the EU. The EU tries to establish a stable and prosperous region along its eastern borders, promote economic integration and personnel mobility, and have more channels and multilateral cooperation in maintaining regional security and conflict resolution. But, the Ukrainian crisis (the end of 2014) has worsened relations between EU and Russia. In particular, its "Eastern Partnership" (EaP), as an initiative of the European External Active Service of the EU, governing its relationship with the post-Soviet states: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Belarus, Georgia, and Ukraine. The "Eastern Partnership" program makes the EU's advancing to Russia's "spheres of influence" even the borders of Russia. Russia regards the EaP as a strict anti-Russian initiative and considers this to be coordination even a substitute for NATO's eastward expansion. Because of that, the EU had to postpone implementation of the association agreement with Ukraine to 2016 in order not to further infuriate Russia. This kind of agreement cannot be achieved without cooperation with Russia. Hence, this kind of initiative does not bring stability and security to EU. The EU must reconsider its decisions and moves in international political and economic relations, especially with Russia. Regarding the Middle East and North Africa and its relationship with the EU, it is clearly stated that EU cannot ignore the dramatic changes in these regions. The

EU overestimated its ability in promoting democratization in these regions, so it has taken a more pragmatic readjustment in its foreign policy, giving priority to fight against terrorism and deal with the refugee crisis. As for the EU and USA disputes, in this section it is clearly emphasized that the current transatlantic disputes reflect the contradiction between the EU's pursuit of international status and the US hegemony (leadership). Against the background of the deepening of global multipolarity, unless the EU completely follows the US's leadership and rules, transatlantic disputes are inevitable. At the end, analysis of the EU in the era of "Anti-globalization" is based on liberal democracy and rules-based international order concept. Because of the "double standards" in its internal and foreign policy, EU is facing with the growing challenge of anti-globalization, which additionally complicates one of its goals - Eurointegration. This concept of international order has been severely challenged under today's drastically changing international situation and accordingly, it is difficult to become a reality to be accepted universally.

After a brief overview of the contents of this book, we will point out several general characteristics. This book is quite an easy read, trying to introduce a lot of new information. It is presented as a survey of what EU is for and why we need to have an integrated Europe, both economically and politically. We would like to commend the efforts of researchers to tackle serious challenges and dilemmas of the EU today. It turns out that it was not an easy task for them. Such an impression arises from the fact that, in addition to the interesting conclusions and claims we have pointed out in the previous part of this review, one of the things we found interesting is the attitude on certain issues is completely upside down. One of the reasons for this can be in a broadly defined framework of research. The impression is that the analyzes in this book would be far more productive and better if the subject of the research was reduced to a few of the most important dilemmas, for example, only in the field of EU foreign policy. However, we believe that the main problem is methodological. The serious disadvantage of this book is the lack of precisely referenced sources on which the papers in this book are based. The author is responsible for the accuracy of the references. This is also one of the criteria on the basis of which the seriousness and scientific validity of the stated attitudes and the claims of each scientific work, and thus of this study, are assessed. Unfortunately, this book lacks this, which notably reduces its scientific significance and contribution.