



CONSENT for Europe

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(Edited by Attila Agh and Judit Kis-Varga)



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I. EDITORS' COLUMN – CLOSING WORDS

After four years of its intensive activity the lifetime of the FP 6 Network of Excellence EU-CONSENT has come to an end. The integration of PhD students in various forms of activities centred on the PhD Schools has been one of EU-CONSENT's core aims. Given that Network of Excellences – like EU-CONSENT – were to establish networking structures at all levels of research the PhD Centre of Excellence has been one of the most important features of EU-CONSENT. Given the special character of EU-CONSENT as a FP6 project – Wider Europe, Deeper Integration? Constructing Europe Network – its mission statement has to be built on two pillars: (1) problematising the relationship between deepening and widening by discussing the deep impact of the latest enlargement on the former member states and envisaging the emerging EU27 and (2) constructing an all European network of scholars in the European Studies by bridging the gap between the old and new member states in this respect.

At the end of the officially funded project lifetime and summarising its results, one has to emphasise again that the special profile of the EU-CONSENT PhD Schools originates in this mission statement. The vital issue of the relationship between widening and deepening comes to the fore in research and scholarship for the PhD students, thus the PhD Schools have

to contribute to the emerging Common European Research Area through the creation of a common conceptual framework and methodological foundation for the present and future generation of scholars, and in a multidisciplinary way, by combining the approaches from political science, economics, law, history, sociology and other social science disciplines. In order to build the Common European Research Area the interlinkage of different networks was perceived to be necessary. Thus, EU-CONSENT aimed to set up a “network of networks” and to lay special focus on the integration of young researchers into the European Research Area.

Looking back to these four years EU-CONSENT's PhD Centre of Excellence can conclude that mission statement has been fully complied with. The PhD Centre has organised six PhD Schools in different cities and member states. The changing venues in the subsequent PhD Schools have given an excellent opportunity not just to get acquainted with each other but also to learn about a given country and city. Intercultural learning is perceived to contribute to the collective European identity and EU-CONSENT's PhD Schools have provided the ideal framework for an intercultural exchange. The sixth and final PhD School – “PhD Market: Lessons of the Past for Visions of the Future” – in February 2009 was both symbolical and practical, since it was in Brussels, capital of the EU and



offered rich first hand information about the job facilities of the EU institutions for our PhD students. The first PhD School was in Budapest, and a concluding PhD workshop took also place in Budapest (April 2009) .This workshop related to the Commission's Communication ("Europe After Five Years") as the five years anniversary of the new member states gave an excellent occasion to overview the deepening-widening relationship around the entry time of 1 May.

These events have demonstrated that a real "network of excellence" has emerged among the PhD students involved in these Schools. This excellence has been shown by the Award for the best three papers that has been the invention of the EU-Consent PhD Centre. The three winners of the final EU-CONSENT PhD Award were selected from the papers presented at the Concluding Phd Market and can be presented in this final issue of the Journal. So far the PhD Schools have contributed to achieving EU-CONSENT's mission that has been included in its name: Wider Europe, Deeper Integration – Constructing Europe Network, since these PhD Schools have succeeded in creating an all-European network of young researchers from many EU member states. Moreover, PhD students have been provided the opportunity to establish their own network. They already know about each other and we can say now with more hope: it is very likely that these contacts will be "sustainable", i.e. will last even beyond

the officially funded lifetime of EU-CONSENT.

The PhD Centre has initiated activities even beyond the project's lifetime. This Journal has tried to facilitate the networking of the PhD students by introducing current information on the major EU news and upcoming events. The editors of this Journal thank for the cooperation and we hope that our efforts to create sustainability of the PhD network's activity have been successful.

II. REPORTS ON EU-CONSENT EVENTS

Integrative balancing in the EU

Team Presidencies: Presidency Roles in the New Member States

22-24 April 2009

Budapest

The main topic of the workshop/conference was EU presidencies and the global crisis. These two themes, although quite distinct from each other, ran parallel in all the sessions of the conference.

The event was divided into 3 days. The first part constituted the final EU-CONSENT PhD workshop for the members of the EU-CONSENT network. The second part was dedicated to a conference centered on the global crisis and its management on the EU level, and the third day was focused on team presidencies and Lisbon strategy. The entire event was organised by Corvinus University of Budapest under the auspices of Professor Atilla Agh.

The PhD workshop attended by PhD students from 5 European universities



focused on analysing the EU presidency and global crisis. The students presented and discussed their works in 3 broad fields of interest: assessment of past and present presidencies, foreign policy and economic policies. The discussion and comments ranged from methodological to factual, with insights from the hosting professor.

The crisis management has become the main task of the EU team presidencies and it has given a new profile to the rotating presidencies in the new member states, including the new approach to the relationship between deepening and widening. Hungary has a particular concern in this since Hungary prepares its team presidency with Spain and Belgium that has to deal with the crisis management in 2010-2011. The conference with prominent speakers, such as Maurice Guyader from European Commission DG Enlargement or Graham Avery, Honorary Director General of the EC, gathered scholars from various European countries. The conference linked the economic crisis and its threats to the context of Hungary and the European Union. The speakers agreed on the imminence of the crisis and evaluated how individual member states have managed it so far and what prospect do they have. An emphasis was put on social consequences of the crisis and warning from increasing protectionism that would further endanger the results of the crisis. Several speakers stressed the need for cooperation and solidarity as means to deal with it. The role of EMU was

discussed as a possible solution for those outside the eurozone, but no clear conclusion was reached. EU as global player on the international scene has competences and responsibilities in the field of foreign policy, namely in the neighbourhood policy, where dialogue and conditionality prevail as main instruments of cooperation. The conclusion from the conference was that the EU faces a real test in the present and how it will face it will determine its position in the following years.

The third and concluding day of this workshop that was chaired by Professor Agh and had attracted attendance of numerous representatives of leading Hungarian think-tanks in the area of economic policy and innovation, concentrated on more practical issues such as implementation and role of Lisbon agenda in the context of the current financial and economic crisis. Despite the apparent importance of Lisbon and post-Lisbon strategy, participants at the workshop noted the lack of its traces in the current Hungarian policies. The importance of innovation policy in the future was stressed more than once.

A part of this concluding event of EU-CONSENT will be a publication (Attila Ágh and Judit Kis-Varga (eds): The global crisis and the EU responses: The perspectives of the SBH team presidency, Budapest: Together for Europe Research Centre), summarising the most important and significant papers presented.



As Hungary prepares for its team presidency together with Spain and Belgium, this event proves that Hungary already views this task as very important and plans to prepare for it very responsibly.

Martin Pasiak, Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia

III. PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS

The role of the PhD Online Journal is to widen the awareness for the PhD Schools and other EU-CONSENT activities where postgraduates participated. This serves as one of the EU-CONSENT missions of bringing together junior and senior researchers.

Award-winner papers in the year of 2008/2009

The PhD Award winners in the year 2008/2009 as per the decision of the Steering Group are:

1. **Flavia Zanon:** [*EU Foreign Policy: towards a marginalisation of parliaments?*](#)
2. **Simone Weske:** [*Is anybody listening?*](#)
3. **David Cadier:** [*CFSP and central European strategic culture...*](#)

Congratulations for the winners!

Flavia Zanon: EU Foreign Policy: towards the marginalisation of parliaments?

The current transformation of EU foreign policy is rendering the participation of legislatures in the decision making process increasingly difficult. This trend is due to the simultaneous effects of several elements, in particular the advantage of national governments over national parliaments in the European multilevel system of governance and the growing role of delegation and informal politics in the implementation of common policies. Altogether these elements are leading to the marginalisation of legislatures and to the creation of a new (un)balance in the EU institutional system. As the democratic control of foreign policy is connected not only to the legitimacy of decision making but also to countries' dispositions towards the use of violence in international relations, in the near future EU institutions will necessitate facing this problem, taking into consideration both the special nature of the EU polity and the specific features of the foreign policy domain. In this context, conceiving national parliaments or the European Parliament as alternative sources of democratic legitimacy—as much of the literature on the EU's democratic deficit has done until today—does not help resolve the problems inherent in EU foreign policy. By contrast, various form of inter-parliamentary cooperation may provide more viable solutions by raising the awareness of national and European MPs of the need for an alliance in defending those interests which do not easily find an expression through the governments.



Simone Wieske: Is anybody listening? An analysis of government responsiveness to public opinion in European politics

Latest since the Maastricht treaty, the “permissive consensus” is not reliable anymore. The tacit consent of the people to the elite-driven European integration can no longer be taken for granted. In particular the “great questions” of European integration arouse public interest. People form opinions that sometimes sharply contradict the policies pursued by their national government. This paper seeks to explain how national governments react to hostile public opinion in European politics. It argues that governments seek to stay in office *and* to keep a large room for manoeuvre. Politicians thus won’t act in a responsive manner to public opinion unless they are urged to do so by the risk of losing elections. The paper develops the hypothesis that governments act responsive to public opinion only if the issue is salient and causing an electoral competition. If one condition is absent, governments don’t feel the risk of being voted out of office. Using the example of Germany and the European Monetary Union (EMU), the paper is checking the plausibility of namely the second condition. The empirical results are consistent with the theoretical expectation that, even if a European policy question reaches the masses, governments won’t act in a responsive

manner unless there is an electoral competition on the issue taking place.

David Cadier

“The best campaign for the radar was the conflict in South Ossetia” This Freudian slip by Czech Prime Minister Mirek Topolanek contradicts the official stance presenting the Ballistic Missile Defense system as a protection from rogue states such as Iran and by no means as being erected against Russia. Interestingly, it hints at the signification lent by Czech decision makers to the Russian intervention in Georgia. The connection is even more salient in the Polish case: in the days following the invasion, Warsaw and Washington concluded anti-missile talks that were in deadlock until then. How could Russia’s action in the Caucasus spill-over into a US-Polish project? Threat evaluation (i.e. security perceptions) is shaped by socio-historical contexts and the Visegrad countries, due to their anxiety-inducing history, have a peculiar assessment when it comes to Russia.

The archetypal dilemma of European integration – and thus a classical puzzle for European studies – is the correlation between national interests and common policies. It is particularly acute in the field of defense and security, quintessential feature of states, and can be expressed as follows: how to attune individual security perceptions to produce collective strategic responses? This question is central to the



CFSP/ESDP processes. The discord over the 2003 Iraq war is the paradigmatic example of strategic dissonance among EU member-states and has been extensively studied as such. But today, much more than the transatlantic relationship, the relation to Russia appear as the most divisive issue.

Hence the Georgian crisis is of great importance both for the EU and for its eastern members, it represents a momentous test for CFSP. By analyzing the Visegrad countries reactions to the conflict in South Ossetia, this paper purport to bring about a better understanding both of their attitudes towards Russian and of their standpoints in the CFSP framework. Put differently, the intention is, trough the prism of the Goergian crisis, to explore central Europeans states' security preferences and to see how they channel them within the CFSP process. From a theoretical point of view, the concept of strategic culture will be mobilized as it lies at the intersection of the domestic and European levels, and most importantly because it allows to account in the analysis for ideational aspects of security. Moreover, it offers some comparative opportunities. Hence, we hope to bring a modest contribution to the topical discussions on EU-Russia relations and to the broader reflection on the progressive convergence of European strategic cultures.

The theoretical foundations of the paper will be presented in a first part through a

discussion of the concepts of security and strategic culture. Subsequently, the factual development of the Georgina crisis will be briefly recapitulated. The third part – the core of the paper – will consist in an analysis of the Visegrad countries' standpoints in CFSP, one that shall highlight their differences. By drawing on previous studies as well as empirical findings collected for the PhD Dissertation, their preferences and priorities will be sketched. Then, the emphasis will be put more precisely on their reactions to the Russian invasion of Georgia. Two other case-studies, namely the installation of the Ballistic Missile Defense system (BMD) and the Czech EU Presidency, will also be utilized to explore their security perceptions towards Russia. Finally, the concluding remarks will put in perspective Visegrad countries' CFSP preferences and EU-Russia relations.

IV. Up-coming Events and activities

SEPTEMBER

**École Supérieure des Sciences
Commerciales d'Angers (ESSCA)
Angers, Loire Valley, France
3-5 September 2009**



The 39th UACES Annual Conference is an opportunity to interact with delegates from a broad range of European-related disciplines. The previous conference in [Edinburgh](#) was the biggest European studies conference in the UK ever and they hope to match that performance in France.

A three day conference hosted by ESSCA(L'École Supérieure des Sciences Commerciales d'Angers), Loire Valley, France.

The conference will be one of the largest events of its kind in Europe during 2009 and will bring together European Union practitioners, politicians and academics in disciplines such as politics, economics and law from across Europe and beyond.

ECPR General Conference

10 - 12 September 2009

The 5th ECPR General Conference will be held at Potsdam Universität from 10-12 September 2009. The Academic Convenors for the conference are Professor Luciano Bardi (ECPR Executive Committee) and Professor Martin Bull (ECPR Academic Director).

The main academic programme will be organised in the format of sections and panels, with each Section Chair organising a variety of panels in a different field. The programme is intended to be very broad, with over 50 accepted sections.

Many faces of security in a world of complex threats

Key questions – approaches – findings of policy-oriented research in and for Europe

Post-Doc-Conference

Berlin, 16-17 September 2009, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)

The two-day conference addresses young and innovative academics (Post-Docs) from various fields of international and transnational affairs. It offers the opportunity to discuss policy-oriented research with academics and policy-makers.

The format of 25-30 participants allows for an intensive dialogue on a wide range of issues such as arms control, non-proliferation, regional security, securitization of policies (climate change, migration etc.), soft security or actors like the EU as well as formats and frameworks of global governance.

Deadline and formal requirements

Researchers (Post-Docs) interested in participating in the conference must submit a summary of their research project (3 pages max.) and a short curriculum vitae (1 page max.) by Tuesday June 30, 2009. Accommodation and travel (within limits) costs for applicants will be covered. The conference language is English. Outstanding papers presented at the conference will be considered for a SWP publication.



After the completion of the selection process invitations will be sent out to successful applicants by Wednesday August 5, 2009.

Please apply by submitting proposals to [Post-Doc-Conference\(at\)swp-berlin.org](mailto:Post-Doc-Conference(at)swp-berlin.org)

NOVEMBER

Europe at Sixty: 1949-2009
Metropolitan University
Prague, Czech Republic
20 November 2009

The Center for Security Studies, the Center for Anglophone Studies at Metropolitan University Prague (MUP) and the Institute of World History (Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, Charles University in Prague) cordially invite you to submit paper proposals to an academics and practitioners' conference that will take place at MUP in Prague on November 20th 2009.

The conference will be held in English. They will consider all papers fitting to one of the following conference panels:

- 1) The European Union: Sixty Years of Economic and Political Integration – Success or Failure?
- 2) The European Union: An Emerging Societal Security Actor?

In the first panel, they are looking for papers examining both the successes and failures of European integration within the EU framework, with a special emphasis on economic and political aspects of this process in a broader

historical perspective. In the second panel, they are looking for papers assessing the EU's role as an emerging societal security actor, reflecting the increased frequency and magnitude of both man-made and natural disasters on the European continent.

If you would like to present a paper, please send an abstract via e-mail to conference@c4ss.cz by August 31st 2009. Abstracts should be 300-400 words long and submitted in one of the following formats: Word Document (.doc; or .rtf) or Adobe Acrobat (.pdf). Please include your full name, e-mail address and institutional affiliation. Authors of selected papers will be notified via e-mail by early September 2009.

All papers presented at the conference will be considered for publication in a special issue of Central European Journal of International and Security Studies. If you want your paper to be published, please follow the guidelines for authors, which are available at the journal's webpage: <http://www.cejiss.org>. The deadline for final papers' submission is February 1st 2010.

APRIL 2010

The European Union in International Affairs II
Brussels, Belgium
22-24 April 2010



The Conference is organised in the framework of the EU-funded FP6 Network of Excellence on 'Global Governance, Regionalisation and Regulation: the Role of the EU (GARNET)'. Through the conference, GARNET aims to further develop a world-class multi-disciplinary network of scientific excellence of researchers, analysts and practitioners with expertise in key areas of global and regional governance with a particular focus on Europe's role. The conference is expressly open to participation from non-GARNET members. The multidisciplinary Conference will provide a forum for discussion and exchange of ideas among the growing number of scholars that take an interest in understanding the interface of EU and international politics and law. In order to stimulate encompassing and fully informed debate, it will be open to all relevant disciplines and sub-disciplines, including international and European law, international political economy, economics, political science and history. The Conference will also continue to foster exchange between the scientific and the policy communities, especially through keynote addresses by senior policy makers and a number of policy-link events featuring academics as well as policy makers. The Conference

broadly covers all aspects relevant to understanding the EU in international affairs, including implications for and effects of the structure of the global order (e.g. multilateralism, multipolarity), in order to allow for active participation by as many scholars as possible working on relevant subjects. To this end, we in particular invite papers that cover one or several of the following four conference themes:

1. The EU and International Institutions: Theories, Processes, Actors
2. The EU in a Globalizing World: Policy Dimensions
3. The Interplay between EU Member States, the EU and International Affairs
4. Interregionalism and Bilateral Relations of the EU

Deadline for paper proposals: 18 September 2009

Notification of acceptance: 23 December 2009

Submission of full papers to chairs and discussants (optional): 31 March 2010

Please submit your paper abstract (300 words max., text only) or panel proposal according to the instructions on the conference website (<http://www.ies.be/conference2010>).

