

## PREFACE

The European Union seems to be the most successful example of a international model of governance since the large historical empires, including the Holy Roman Empire, the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires etc. However, we still face the question: How do we define its identity? On the one hand it is not a typical example of intergovernmental organisation, but on the other neither has it become a clear supranational polity, e.g. a kind of United States of Europe.

It should be kept in mind that none of the above-mentioned historical empires developed in such a short period of time as the EU, which within a period of less than fifty years passed from organisation of six to twenty eight states, and from an economic union to a monetary and political union. Moreover, it should be emphasised that the EU arose as the result of voluntary and equal cooperation between states. At the same time, the European Union's important role as a world economic and political power did not prevent it from falling into a phase of crisis due to the big bang enlargement of 2004/2007, the Constitutional referenda in France and the Netherlands in 2005, the financial crisis in 2008, the rising role of Asia and present developments concerning Russia's invasion into Ukraine. At this moment Europe no longer appears so mighty. Indeed, it has become turbulent as tensions and disparities spread across the continent, feeding increasing Euro-scepticism.

The present volume, prepared within the programme of the Jean Monnet Chair "European integration at the turn of XX and XXI century", is a collection of papers delivered during a series of lectures and seminars organised at the Faculty of International Studies and Political Science of the University of Lodz in the time span of 2011–2014. A vast majority of the texts is devoted to various aspects of the European Union, which has been in a time of crisis for almost ten years.

The first paper, by Paul Michael Lützeler, is devoted to the idea of Europe as an imagined community. From the very beginning the debate on European integration has rarely promoted European identity as an overarching and consolidating concept, superseding all other collective identities. Instead, it has rather actively striven to reinforce other collective identities, including familial, religious, gender, professional, local, regional, national or, for that matter, cosmopolitan/global ones. Over the centuries, writers, politicians, philosophers, church leaders

and scholars from all branches of the social sciences and the humanities have contributed to the discourse on Europe. According to the author, the discourse on Europe has been, in its essence, a discourse on peace. It might be perceived as the answer to a succession of great continental wars. The above-listed writers created imaginary scenarios that, either in terms of memory or as utopia, articulated visions of a peaceful and united Europe that would prevent a recurrence of war.

The text by Leszek Żyliński is an apt completion of the previous one. The author focuses our attention on the conceptions of Europe proffered by German intellectuals in the 19<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> centuries. He notes that in the 19th century the idea of any kind of federation of free European nations was popular only among German expatriates, including Josef Görres, Heinrich Heine, and Ludwig Börne. Contrary to the political reality of the Holy Alliance, they actively promoted projects supposed to give rise to European patriotism in the future. However, the most interesting projects of a unified Europe did not appear in German-language literature until after the first, and then second, world wars. The first war resulted in radical revisions of views among intellectuals. Leszek Żyliński traces the development of German thought on Europe at the turn of two centuries and ends his considerations with Habermas's reflections on an united Europe whose future depends on the extension of the democratic basis of its political acceptance. The German philosopher postulates that the elites' projects can turn into a community only through grass-roots participation and acceptance. Only then would the populace be ready to make the considerable sacrifices necessary to follow a common policy in various areas and to show solidarity with other fellow citizens in the whole 'cosmopolitan' area. It is worth mentioning that for German intellectuals 'Europe' has value as an utopian project of a political community, emerging in the process of europeanisation of the citizens and states of our continent.

Jakub Gortat tries to juxtapose German and European experiences in developing national identity and patriotism after the end of World War II. He finds an interesting resemblance between the development of German identity following its Nazi past and the similar process in the European Community. The article explains these profound similarities and discusses their relevance for the project of creating a 'European identity'.

In his paper Zbigniew Rudnicki tries to address the issue of whether in a region of eternal and conflictual divisions, differences and antagonisms, "there is sufficiently strong bond-creating potential to overcome these divisions within the institutionalized framework of European identity. And in practical terms it also raises the matter of *how* one may talk about Europe". This is especially valid for Europe being in the present crisis.

Dora Kostakopoulou's paper is devoted to European Union citizenship, which remains an unfinished institution. She argues that 'national ways of doing things' and 'state autonomy' have often disempowered citizens and been used to justify the raw force of restrictive and coercive practices. Bettering citizens' life opportu-

nities, meeting their needs and enhancing their protection, should not be perceived as a matter of accident or rebellion, and neither praise nor blame should be placed on the ECJ. Instead, the defective exercise of jurisdiction and anomalous bypassing of democratically-elected legislatures should be addressed. Fixing these problems should be seen as a natural part of the evolving trajectory of European Union citizenship and of the need for the EU to realize its potential and create an inclusive community in the European Union.

Artur Niedźwiecki, in his article, tries to substantiate the hypothesis that the European Constitutional Sphere can be perceived as a battlefield for the process of globalization of the law and politics existing between Centre and Periphery of our continent. He also argues that there is currently a creeping crisis in traditional international law, understood as a normative order pursued by the nation states through conventions, agreements, etc. The process of weakening both nation states' institutions and their national identities has brought with it a slow but steady shift of power from the national to supranational level. We are gradually experiencing the emergence of a "Cosmopolitan Law" as the type of new post-modern legal order, one which goes beyond traditional concepts.

Danuta Kabat-Rudnicka draws our attention to the fact that, when it comes to clashes between the EU and the Member States, *i.e.* between the fundamental principles of the EU and the national constitutional principles of the Member States, such clashes take place in front of the Supreme and Constitutional Courts of the Member States. Today the Constitutional Courts find themselves in a very awkward situation since, on the one hand, they are guardians of the national Constitutions (*i.e.* the principles and values contained therein), at the same time jealously safeguarding their position in the legal systems; while on the other hand they must negotiate between multiple jurisdictions (national, European, and international). Such a role is also played by the Polish Constitutional Tribunal (PCT), which sets the limits to European integration, *i.e.* limits to the interference of EU law into the constitutional order of the Republic of Poland. She examines how the PCT has adroitly dealt with these issues.

Rouben Azizian notes that a favourite theme in the international debate nowadays is whether Asia's rise signifies the West's decline. The current focus on the economic malaise in Europe and the United States is distracting attention from the many serious challenges that call into question Asia's continued success. To be sure, today's ongoing global power shifts are primarily linked to Asia's phenomenal economic rise, the speed and scale of which have no parallel in world history. With the world's fastest-growing economies, fastest-rising military expenditures, fiercest competition for resources, and most serious hot spots, Asia obviously is a major player in the future global order; one may even postulate it holds the key thereto. But Asia also faces major constraints, which the author points out in his article.

In a similar vein, Tomasz Kamiński notes that China seems to be one of the major beneficiaries of global disorder. There is already a growing Chinese economic presence in Europe. Therefore, many experts have expressed their anxiety over the raising political influence of China, and 41% of citizens from twelve EU member states claim that they are afraid of China. The article aims at confronting the hopes and worries with facts and at answering the following questions: 1. Do the Chinese economic activities in Europe during this turbulent time of crisis pose a real danger for the EU? 2. To what extent has China gained a better political position in Europe, and should we be afraid of a so-called “Chinese lobby in the Council”? 3. Could China really be an important part of the solution to the economic crisis in Europe?

Oleksandr Poltoratskyi’s paper was written a couple of months before the tragic and painful developments in Ukraine. The author argues that Ukraine is destined to serve as a civilization bridge between the larger Europe and Eurasia. According to him, posing the question – West or East? – in terms of shaping Ukraine’s foreign policy course seems inexpedient, as it will limit effective national development in the geopolitical sense and become irrational in the social context. The proper approach for Ukraine in this regard is to determine the mechanisms of interaction between national culture and those cultures which for centuries have carried out a productive coexistence with the Ukrainian one.

Mariusz Ruszel starts by pointing out Europe’s need for a competitive economy, one that will be able to compete with the dynamically developing United States of America, China and India. It is not an easy task, since the European economy faces numerous problems. It seems that one way to improve its competitiveness is to lower energy costs and to improve the freedom of its delivery to end users. The European Union (EU) has adopted a climate policy which increases industrial production costs in Europe, which in turn contributes to workplaces being shifted to other parts of the world. Thus EU enterprises require policies which have as their goal the creation of their competitive advantages on world markets. One way to achieve this goal could be the creation of a common energy market, which will combine the previously monopolistic European markets of natural gas and electricity. This article analyses the challenges and opportunities related to the creation of a common EU energy market.

Timm Beichelt argues that problems of political and socio-economic development in the East and in the West are tightly intertwined. Already during the systemic transformation the politics, economy and societies in East Central and Eastern Europe were strongly influenced by the EU. Allegedly specific East-European phenomena have in fact become the pan-European ones. This fact is illustrated using the examples of the quality of democracy; of the increasingly transnational character of the European societies; as well as of the return to the inter-governmental decision-making process at the EU-level.

Thomas Daiber argues that all actions which result in setting up supranational organisations are also accompanied by respective movements towards smaller regional units. The formation of regional entities seems to be triggered by economic interests, but are always accompanied by arguments of culture and historically-based identity, the latter often supported by the notion of one's own (regional) language. The author emphasises that in the case of Silesia "language" is a prominent argument in the discussion about the regionalist movement. He analyses users' comments on the internet about the subject "Silesia" and shows not only the semantics of language terms, but also the value of language performance in relation to the formation of political opinion towards separatist movements.

For Russians, Europe has traditionally held a distinctive place among the most important "Others" who help to define "what it means to be Russian". In a revealing article, Oleg Riabov and Tatiana Riabova examine the role of gender discourse in answering the question whether Russia belongs to Europe. Their study is based on an analysis of contemporary Russian public discourses, and focuses on the alleged "gender deviancy of Europe", as reflected in the speeches of politicians, journalists, and comments on Internet-forums.

The paper which concludes the volume, prepared by Gilles Guyot, is devoted to the possibility of a common university policy in Europe. It provides evidence that, in the field of higher European education, Europe is not free from crisis either.

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