Salomeea Romanescu

Perspectives on the challenges and opportunities of the future EU enlargement towards CEEC

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Abstract

The hypothesis: for all the progress in the construction of the new identity of European Union, the European Civil Society (resistance against the coercive European Political Society) cannot accept "the embedded neo-liberalism" (the EU's actual hegemonic Project) without finding real solutions for so-called "social fracture" of globalisation and this represents a big threat to the soft security model of Europe. This research is based on the neo-Gramscian integrative theoretical perspective. The question is: could Civil Society from CEEC, as social power participate in the potential anti-hegemonic Project of European Civil Society (in neo-Gramscian terms), able to face the hegemonic project of European Political Society, "embedded neo-liberalism"? After examining CEEC case study the answer is negative because this Civil Society is not yet well organised, even it is ripe to understand their social situation and the possibilities to change it in alliance with other transnational forces of Social and Christian Democracy from Europe. This study of the CEEC's EU integration was made from two perspectives: as a challenge, but also as an opportunity for the Western European and Eastern European winners and losers: European Round Table of Industrialists, European Civil Society, European Union and CEE Governments and Civil Society, by examining the connections between power in production including social power, power in the state, and power in international relations and proposing a new project by shifting from a paternalistic policy paradigm of "embedded neo-liberalism" towards a new and more enlightened policy paradigm towards integration, in the frame of a comprehensive humane security concept in Europe and humane governance, from a feminine perspective, by adapting the emergent geo-governance to the realization of human rights.

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List of Abbreviations

FPO - Austrian People Party (Austria)
AWS - Solidarity Electoral Action (Poland)
CEEC - Central and Eastern European Country
CFSP - Common Foreign and Security Policy
EC - European Commission
EU - European Union
ESC - Economic and Social Committee
EP - European Parliament
EMU - Economic and Monetary Union
ERT - European Round Table of Industrialists
FDI - foreign direct investment
IR - International Relations
MIEP - Party of Hungarian Truth and Life
MP - Worker's Party
NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OSCE - Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PSL - Polish Peasant Party
ROP – Movement of Rebuild Poland
SPR-RSC - Republican Party (the Czech Republic)
UN - United Nations
USA - United States of America

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Credo

I hope that my thesis will be a small contribution to the historic necessity of adapting the emergent geo-governance to the realization of human rights.

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Introduction

Challenges and Opportunities for a new European Humane Security Order

This introductory chapter has three sections: first deals with ignored types of threat showing the economic influences on popular disturbance and the link between Globalisation and European integration, the second introduces the common opportunities and challenges of EU enlargement towards CEE space and the third one, proposes the paradigm of cooperation, starting point for a new Model of Global Humane Governance. All three sections present the issues from a feminine perspective: new paradigm of Humane Security taking into account the ignored types of threats, the opportunity of Cooperative relationship instead of Competitive relationship for overcoming the main common challenges of all actors involved on European, humane governance for sustainable development.

This first section of the introductory chapter evaluates how structural change in the international system level, such as Globalisation and the end of the Cold War, have impact on the Security agenda, by looking at those ignored types of threats[1] related to security in post-Cold War Europe, from a feminist point of view; hunger, disease, illiteracy, person abuse and exploitation, pollution of the air and water and especially unemployment.

[1] The complexities involved in trying to understand the ignored security challenges have been and continue to be discussed, for example by N.Dimitris. Chryssochoou, M. J. Tsinisizelis, Stelios Stavridis and Kostas Ifantis, Europe in Change, Geopolitical imperatives of system change order and security in post-Cold War Europe, Theory and reform in the European Union, Manchester University Press, 1999, New York, pp.83-104

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Comprehensive security concept is a big challenge for state and other existing institutions. This type of challenge consists on new linkages between political, security and economic threats, which have challenged the capacity of the state to perceive and to respond to new challenges and needs for action in one side and on institutional challenge relating to the competence of existing institutions for international action in the other side and finally to the potential for co-ordination between state and other non-state (transnational and subnational) forces.

This first section also explains the relationship between Integration and Globalisation, by warning on the present and future impact of integration on the poor of the most of the CEEC. An analysis of challenges and opportunities of European Enlargement is not an end in itself; it is a useful way of understanding the social and political world in order to change it, in a neo-Gramscian, feminist perception, producing a more "feminine" society and a new model of governance, by adapting the emergent geo-governance to the realization of human rights.

We continue trying to answer what is the relationship between these three simultaneous processes in the most of the CEEC: multilevel and multidimensional process of transformation, the process of integration into the EU and both of these processes are occurring in the larger context of the Globalisation process. All these three macro-processes are strongly interrelated and it is difficult or even impossible to distinguish clearly the transformation, integration and global processes and their impact on the economies and societies of the transition countries because we don't have a theoretical approach able to explain this simultaneity and existent theory of integration are limited.

We assume that if we would like to find solution in the real life we have to find solution also at the theoretical level, taking into account the power of ideas for change. We need a new theory of integration as a useful instrument for generating alternative models of governance adequate to the reality of European Integration. We need new theory because the old ones are limited and are not able to explain the reality.

Despite the continuing domination of states, multinational corporations, non-governmental organisations, intergovernmental organisations and supranational institutions such as the EU share the stage of global

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politics affected by economic and political development combined with technological changes. The inability for governments to manage problems arising from trans-border transactions requires co-operation even at the cost of losing autonomy. The first section of the second chapter will demonstrate the impotence of state - the Romanian case study - to guarantee humane security and sustainable development and consequently their priorities of foreign policy to fill this vacuum of security, by the CFPS regime of EU and by integration, potentiality for a win-win game instead of zero-sum game scenarious. We will also demonstrate that state sovereignty and personal sovereignty are myths only, because in reality, multi-national corporations are not subordinated to states and International organisations, such EU and law have superior authority and for this reason states can't determine their own policies. These actors have different interests and power politics is made less important because they are operating within the societal domain and beyond direct state control. We are summing, in this section, the existent theories of integration pointing out their limits.

Neo-functionalism explains European Integration through an emphasis on the internal dynamics of European Politics, of spill - over, from different sectors of economy to political sector. The wider structure, within European Integration is situated, is completely ignored. It is impossible to take into account structural change such Globalisation and the end of the Cold War.

In contrast to neo-functionalism, which emphasizes the importance of non-governmental interest groups in the process of European integration, inter-governmentalism considers the international structure to be an anarchic system in which states are the only important actors. This approach argues that states pursue rationalist policies of power maximisation and security in order to ensure their survival in the absence of a central power at the International level.

Liberal inter-governmentalism put the predominant emphasis on state as the main actors in international relations neglecting the power of ideas and transnational actors as independent forces behind integration. The behavior of TNCs, after1980s in the EU, is interpreted as rational adaptation of intergovernmental commitment, while policy involvement and

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ideas of TNCs are view as the result of intergovernmental demands, but not as independent force.[2]

Neo-Gramscian alternative gives another answer to this behavior, showing the role and power of influence and control of this transnational capital and financier actors at the European level, being a critical theory which tries to explain the change and treating the human nature and all structures, including the international system, as product of history and consequently subject of change.

The revival of European integration since the mid-1980s has reconciled regional integration with Globalisation. How it was possible? The answer is obviously simple, the same transnational fractions of capi-tal that are behind the current drive of European integration are components of a wider transnational historical bloc, working within high profile fora such as the G-7 meetings (now G8) and including also private organisations such as the Trilateral Commission and the European Round Table of Industrialists (ERT). It is this bloc which has generated the ideas, institutions and material capabilities for a global shift towards more neoliberal forms of state and which influenced the development of European integration making it compatible with Globalisation, not opposed to it. It is correct to agree with Cox, that the task to change World Order begins with the long laborious effort to build new historical blocs and our thesis will try to analyze the potentiality of such occurrence in the post Cold Europe.

Change of the polarity of the international system after the Cold War, reflects the development of new structural variables, as results of trends aiming to revise institutional entities as European Union and state policies. Not all elements of change are causes of conflicts, because it is not polarity but polarisation that can lead to conflicting situations. There is no evidence that such a process will occur in the European subsystem yet, but the coming situations are not predictable, thus this thesis will try to analyze the potential polarisation in Europe, as a product of willingness for change of the losers representing the social power of the European

[2] A.Bieler, Globalisation and the Enlargement of the European Union, Austrian and Swedish Social forces in the struggle over membership, Routledge, London and New York, 2000, pp.1-18.

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integration process with its both aspects deepening and enlargement, process which is driven by the transnational forces of globalisation, which are the real winners.

What is important to notice is that the states become "a transmission belt" from the global level to the national economy level, "undermining the sovereignty and autonomy in all aspects of security". This phenomenon "can be called internationalizing of the state", according to Robert Cox .[3] This phenomenon created the so-called "social fracture", engine of the conflicts of globalisation. (see annex 1,Conflicts of globalisation, first neo-Gramscian analysis of the author of this thesis).

Linked with this social fracture of Globalisation and European enlargement towards CEEC, we have to start our analysis by looking to the ongoing hegemonic project of "embedded-neo-liberalism" synthesis aimed to unify the transnational capitalist actors (TNCs) and first subchapter of the first chapter elaborates on it. This includes the social purpose supporting the emergent European Order. The Maastricht compromise reflects the gradual rise of what can be called an "embedded neo-liberalism". This is neo-liberal view as it emphasizes the primacy of global market forces and the freedom of the movement of the transnational capital. So, as a result of such processes, markets become increasingly disconnected from their post-war national social institutions and we risk a shift from a "national dictatorship" to an "international dictatorship" in these so called transition countries. In one side, one may read "embedded neo-liberalism" as the outcome of the transnational struggle between the three projects of neo-liberalism, neo-mercantilism and supranational social democracy. This was a struggle in which the neo-liberal became dominant but still had to accommodate the concern both of the former neo-mercantilist and of the social democrats. The neo-liberal project incorporated these rival concerns in such a manner that they were subordinated to the interests of globalising capital (neglecting the social democratic concerns in this compromise). In the other side, "embedded neo-liberalism" can also be interpreted as the emerging hegemonic project of Europe's transnational capitalist class. This class has become dominated by- the leadership of a

[3] R. Cox, Global Restructuring: Making Sense of the Changing International Political Economy, in Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey R. D. Underhill (eds), Political Economy and the Changing Global Order, London: Macmillan, 1994, p. 49.

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