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# **Newsletter Miami-Florida European Union Center of Excellence -FIU**

#### VOLUME I, ISSUE 3

#### FEBRUARY 2009

mats, teenage faces watched eagerly from far-

ther back. The youth were the competitors in

this year's Eurochallenge Competition (see

article in our next issue), "future leaders" in

Bruton's words, who expressed his admiration

for the knowledge students were able to attain

during the competition last year and for the

FIU officials present at the lecture stressed

the coincidence of Bruton's

visit with the opening of the

new School of International

moment in the history of FIU,"

said John Stack, FIU professor

of Political Science and Law

Bruton's achievements, stress-

ing his role in the 1998 Irish

peace agreement, in "settling

one of the most difficult and

intractable problems in con-

flicts in my memory as well as

Bruton kicked off his lecture

with a description of the EU's

origins as an instrument for

peace, offering an example of

what he called the union's

in the 20<sup>th</sup> century."

"This really is a signal

Stack gave a summary of

and Public Affairs (SIPA).

and the SIPA's director.

problem-solving capacity they displayed.

## EU Ambassador Addresses Miami Audience

Some six decades ago, a group of war-torn countries emerging from a vicious bloodbath joined forces to ensure they would never fight each other again. The solution was to make the two main rivals' economies so interdependent that war would no longer be an option. The union they forged, "harnessing economics to create a band for peace," has evolved today into a leading global economic and political

actor and the United States' most valuable partner, the top European Union envoy to the United States told a Florida International University audience January 12.

"We need each other," said John Bruton. the European Union Ambassador to the United States. Bruton. who also was the Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland from 1994 to 1997 and a key player in the Irish Peace Process, came to FIU as a guest of the Miami-Florida European Union Excellence Center of (MEUCE).

Primarily a crash course on the European Union's origins, strengths and modus operandi and an ea-

ger reminder of the strong economic and political partnership between the EU and the U.S., Bruton's lecture at a brimming MARC International Pavilion also offered critical insight on the current financial crisis, the EU enlargement plans, the pending Lisbon Treaty and Middle East diplomacy.

Apart from the lecture, however, organizers and Bruton himself acknowledged the diversity of the audience, which combined some of the city's most distinguished with some of its most promising residents. While the front rows featured Miami-stationed European diplo-



**John Bruton European Union Ambassador** to the United States

"transformative power" in interstate relations.

Before Britain and Ireland joined the EU, he said, British prime ministers never visited the neighboring island, expecting instead and receiving visits from their Irish counterparts. After both countries acceded in 1973, then British PM Edward Heath visited for the first time, and visits have been equitable ever since.

But the EU's transformative power extends beyond its borders, spreading democracy, the rule of law and human rights to aspiring members.

#### VOLUME I, ISSUE 3



#### IN UPCOMING ISSUES:

- Local Euro Challenge 2009 contestants spend a day with top EU economist prepping for the upcoming competition.
- Immigrants and music: Italian professor talks of men, women and labor across the Atlantic in the era of mass migration.
- Russia's neighborhood: British foreign policy expert ponders relationships after the Georgia conflict.
- Catch a glimpse: A preview of the MEUCE's annual conference.

And more...



"A county may only join the European Union, if it is a democracy and it respects all of these rights," said Bruton, who argued that several states choose the democratic road because of the incentive of joining.

Bruton walked his audience through the European Union's administrative structure and decision -making mechanisms, drawing parallels with the American political system. Similar to the United States, the EU has two legislative houses and a Court of Justice. Unlike the U.S., however, the EU cannot borrow money or impose taxes. Further, its members retain the right of seceding, something that U.S. states discovered is not an option a century and a half ago, Bruton said, drawing laughter from his audience.

Seeking to explain why the EU is important to the United States, Bruton stressed that the two invest in and trade with each other much more



than with any other state in the world, including China. This relationship should continue expanding, he said, and any obstacles should be removed. While technical barriers to trade, such as the different positions on genetically modified products, represent "genuine value choices," the two entities should try to minimize them and direct trade toward each other rather than toward anyone else.

The European Union is facing several challenges at the moment, Bruton said, the collapse of confidence in banks being a major one.

"Banks did some very stupid things," he said.

To haul the economy out of the current crisis, governments must borrow and start spending to get things moving, create a balance in the public sector to offset the imbalance in the private sector and set rules in place to prevent the same mistakes from re-occurring, Bruton advocated.

Ending, Bruton explained to his audience how the Lisbon Treaty would change the EU, were it to come into effect. First, the treaty would give the union "two major personalities with continuity:" a single voice in foreign policy and a president serving for two-and-a-half to five years, as opposed to the current system of the six-month rotating presi-

dency. Additionally, it would institute majority voting in several issues and allow national parliaments to review and possibly reject proposed legislation before it is considered by EU legislative bodies.

A vibrant Q&A session following Bruton's talk covered issues ranging from immigration to the Arab-Israeli conflict.



Dr. Elisabeth Prügl, MEUCE-FIU Co-Director, welcoming guests at the event

A recently naturalized American citizen of Swedish origins asked the ambassador to comment on the EU's immigrant integration policy. Such policy is still primarily a national, rather than an EU matter, Bruton replied; the EU has so far only instituted non-discrimination legislation. However, the ambassador stressed that immigrants are also agents in and responsible for integration.

"It's a two-way process," he said.

Bosnian student Mirsad Krijestorac asked Bruton to comment on the accession prospects of states in the Western Balkans, eliciting a response that touched on the current enlargement climate, on European identity and on citizens' sense of belonging and participation deficit.

While there are no legal obstacles to enlargement, France and Germany have decided to have no accessions before the Lisbon Treaty passes, Bruton explained. Apart from this, the EU must make sure a prospective member fulfils certain criteria before joining, as there is not much to be done after the fact.



Ambassador Bruton with MEUCE-FIU Assistant Director, Christine I. Caly-Sanchez

# Bruton answers questions on Middle East diplomacy, Europe's expectations of the Obama administration and the Western Balkans' EU accession prospects.

"We must be very tough with a country before it joins," Bruton said.

While the Western Balkans are in good shape and share the EU's overall objective, the Union is much more than a geostrategic bloc; it's also an "emotional reality," Bruton said. As such, it requires some minimum loyalty; it cannot simply be seen as a convenience. Even the existing 27 members still have a lot of work to do on reaching a sense of Europeanness, he said.

Such a sense stems largely from citizens engaging in the same issues, something not happening in Europe. In the United States, he said, during the presidential elections, everyone was having the same conversations.

"We in Europe are not having the same conversation," Bruton pointed out.

A question by Markus Thiel, visiting professor of Political Science at FIU, on the EU's hopes for the Obama administration, spurred a discussion and analysis of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the diplomacy required in the Middle East.

Bruton responded that the EU hoped Obama would close the Guantánamo Bay detention camp and put less emphasis on preconditions for international negotiations, showing itself prepared to talk with parties such as Iran.

"Talking to people does not mean giving in to them, but talking to people does show respect," Bruton said.

"Palestinians and Iranians are people too," he said. Like everyone, they get emotional, they may behave irrationally and they get upset, if something is done to them.

"If you want them to change their behavior, you have to change your behavior first," Bruton said.

A self-identified Jewish American in the audience proceeded to ask Bruton how he would communicate to Europe the United States' position on Israel's right to self-defense.

In his response, Bruton stressed the urgency of a two-state solution and also presented the Palestinians' side of the issue.

Israel, he said, occupies territory disproportionate to its population. Additionally, Hamas won EU- and US-sanctioned elections. Hamas is not prepared to recognize Israel's right to exist prior to negotiations, because such recognition is the Palestinians' only bargaining chip; if they give this up, they will have little to no leverage. He said the EU planned to work hard toward a two-state solution, which is also the key to Israel's security.

"We got to get there pretty quickly," he said, arguing that the issue will become progressively harder to solve. "Time is not on our side."

European diplomats attending the event praised Bruton's talk.

The Consul General of France in Miami, Philippe Vinogradoff, said he thought Bruton had explained the European Union very well to his mostly American audience. His German counterpart, Klaus Ranner, heralded Bruton as a great example of a former national leader speaking for the whole of Europe without losing his identity as an Irishman. The Consul General of the Netherlands in Miami, Lucita C.G. Moenir Alam, praised the ambassador for pointing out the benefits and the importance of the EU-U.S. trade and investment partnership.

#### By Cynthia Malakasis



Hon. Santiago Cabanas, Consul General of Spain; Hon. Marco Rocca Consul General of Italy Hon. Keith Allan Consul General of the United Kingdom Hon. Lucita C.G. Moenir Alam, Consul General of the Netherlands Hon. John Bruton EU Ambassador to the United States Hon. Klaus Ranner Consul General of the Federal Republic of Germany Mrs. Finola Bruton Hon. Philippe Vinogradoff Consul General of France Hon. Victoria London Honorary Consul of Romania Hon. Urs Lindenmann Honorary Consul of Switzerland



Joaquín Roy

Jean Monnet

Professor of European

Integration

MEUCE, UM Co-Director

## Symposium ponders the EU's constitutional path

The constitutional history and future of the European Union engaged the minds of diplomats and academics alike at a symposium organized by the Miami-Florida European Union Center of Excellence (MEUCE) last fall.

Joaquín Roy, the center's director at the University of Miami (UM), stressed the centrality of law and treaties to the European Union.

"The EU is a community of law. Everything is minutely legalized," said Roy, a Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration at UM.

The symposium, entitled "Europe's Constitution: the EU Treaties", took place at the University of Miami November 18, 2008. Its keynote speaker was Professor Finn Laursen, a political scientist who heads the European Union Center of Excellence at Dalhousie University in Canada.

At the first panel, two of Roy's doctoral students, María Lorca and Astrid Boening, spoke on the role of treaties as anchors of two key EU policies, the common currency and the neighborhood policy. Professor Ambler H. Moss from the UM Department of International Studies provided the closing comments.

Every EU policy, rule and decision is anchored in the treaties, Roy said. It is not "a bunch of leaders that decide."

Roy underscored the continuity of the EU's constitutional apparatus, following the Treaty of Rome, the Union's original constitutional document.

"The successive treaties are like amendments to the constitution," he said.

The second panel, on the treaties themselves, featured Roy himself and three European diplomats. Roy's talk located traces of the Schuman Declaration in the Treaties of Paris, Rome and Lisbon.

Sven Kühn von Burgsdorff of the European Commission (see article on page 7) then spoke of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the Treaties of Maastricht, Amsterdam and Nice. Subsequently the Consuls General of Italy and France to Miami, Marco Roca and Philippe Vinogradoff, lectured on the treaties that were signed in their countries, in Rome and in Paris and Nice.

Ending, Laursen gave the keynote address on the Treaty of Lisbon, aimed to "rescue" the EU's constitutional process that came to a standstill after French and Dutch referenda rejected the proposed

European Constitution.

The Treaty of Lisbon met with a similar fate, this time at the hands of the Irish in 2008. But Roy stressed that this does not mean that the EU is in shambles.

"Sure, you have a political problem, as before there was another political problem," he said.

The symposium concluded with comments from UM Law Professors Caroline Bradley and Keith Rosenn.

Elisabeth Prügl, who heads the MEUCE's branch at Florida International University (FIU), heralded this approach to the study of the European Union.

"There's so many ways you can talk about the EU, but it's interesting to hang it upon the treaties themselves," Prügl said.

Presentations given at the symposium will be published together in a volume on the Treaty of Lisbon, Roy said. He said publishing is a priority for the center.

"We don't believe in just oral presentations. We want a record," Roy said.

For a list of the publications put out by the MEUCE at the University of Miami, please visit <u>http://www6.miami.edu/</u>

By Cynthia Malakasis



Participants of the Symposium

"The successive treaties are like amendments to the constitution," said Professor Joaquín Roy, explaining the role of treaties in the European Union.

"There's so many ways you can talk about the EU, but it's interesting to hang it upon the treaties themselves," said Professor Elisabeth Prügl, pointing out the sympo-

contribu-

sium's

tion.

## Art Historian Lectures on "Totalitarian Pleasures."



A policy of sticks alone will not hold a totalitarian regime in place; carrots are also necessary to make their shortcomings more digestible. A strategy widely used by such regimes to elicit popular support is mass spectacle, an art historian told a Florida International Audience January 16.

"Everyone loves a parade," John Beldon Scott told a roomful of FIU history scholars. Scott, a professor at the University of Iowa, spoke on his latest research project, comparative urbanism and ritual across totalitarian ideologies. Using three central places in three capitals, Rome, Berlin and Moscow, in the 1930s, he sought to explain how mass ritual as a consent-fostering tool is made to fit into pre-existing, reactionary

urban spaces and how each defines the other.

"I've always been intrigued by totalitarian systems and the structures they put in place to sustain themselves," Scott said, introducing his topic. His research becomes more salient, he said, as political parties in the West have recently adopted 1930s totalitarian strategies.

While mass spectacle and urban interventions were common in all three cases Scott examined, his presentation revealed diverse spaces and rituals, reflecting the different personalities of the regimes and their leaders. In Rome, Mussolini's fascists tore down an entire urban district to cast their regime as a continuation of the ancient Roman Empire, their leader's vanity feeding on an image of himself as a "reincarnation of Augustus," as Scott put it. In Berlin, Hitler shrouded a green, lively, fun street in his own gray, regimented gloom, concrete eagles on piers replacing lime trees. In Moscow, Stalin's communists theorized spectacle and made the public, rather than the regime's officials, their events' protagonists.

Starting off with Rome, Scott showed black-and-white, fascistera pictures of the Via Dell'Impero (The Empire Street), a street the fascists constructed to connect the Coliseum, the largest amphitheatre built in the Roman Empire, with the monument built to the first king of the United Italy, Victor Emmanuel II.



Professor John Beldon Scott and Rebecca Friedman



Hitler's Birthday Motorcade, Unter den Linden, Berlin, 1939 Picture Courtesy of Professor John Beldon Scott

"The idea is to connect Ancient Rome to this more modern ceremonial space," Scott said.

The available space in front of the monument could only handle static rituals, not parades. To create space for parades that would culminate in front of the monument, the fascists tore into the dense urban fabric in the heart of Rome and carved out the Via Dell'Impero.

"It's an opportunity to exercise political power," said Scott, who showed a picture of Mussolini "taking the first blow against the clutter of the ages."

Additionally, Scott showed his audience a picture of Hitler visiting his neighboring dictator's creation.

"As you may imagine, this tremendously impressed the Germans," he said.

While they did not demolish entire neighborhoods to cut out a street, the Nazis took a landmark Berlin street and refashioned it in their own image.

Before Hitler took over, Berlin was very left wing, Scott explained. The Weimar Republic was one of the most liberal regimes in history.

"Hitler did not like Berlin," Scott said. "Berlin did not like Hitler."

Unter den Linden (Under the Lime Trees) was an aristocratic, strolling, commercial street, a heaven for the arts and culture. Featuring a wide, green lawn, it was a place where people enjoyed life.

"Hitler was opposed to all that," Scott said. "The Nazis very quickly paved that over and created a space for their ceremonial state rituals."

Also a revolutionary regime that used all means to spread its ideology, Stalin's Soviet Union had all sorts of plans for the Red Square, Scott explained. The Soviets would demolish all the buildings representing Tsarism, capitalism and religion and erect in their place their own palace and a Ministry of Heavy Industry.

While these plans never came through, the regime did use the Red Square to stage spectacle. But, while in Rome and Berlin, where political and military officials paraded for an audience of the masses, in Moscow the roles were reversed, participants far outnumbering the audience. As Scott's pictures displayed, members of the politburo watched while workers paraded en masse, "being happy to participate in this grand spectacle, which is the Soviet space."

By Cynthia Malakasis



**Philippe Vinogradoff Consul General of France** in Miami





"The institutional building of Furope was blocked still is," and Vinogradoff said. "The French Presidency started in this general institutional negative atmosphere."

### French Presidency: Grand plan derailed by crises

When France took the reins of the European Union in July of last year, it had a full agenda. It would pursue safety and security in energy sources, forge immigration policies coordinating member states' regimes and targeting the increasing lack of workers in the aging continent, integrate foreign and defense policies and bring order and cohesion in the contentious agricultural policy. Yet consecutive international crises derailed France's grand plan.

"We had a very ambitious program," said the French Consul General in Miami, Philippe Vinogradoff at a talk organized by the Miami-Florida European Union Center of

Excellence (MEUCE). "Unfortunately, we were not lucky."

To begin with, France sat at the wheel at a time when the EU was at an institutional standstill, after the Irish rejected the Treaty of Lisbon, Vinogradoff told a roomful of scholars at the University of Miami on October 14, 2008,

"The institutional building of Europe was blocked and actually still is," Vinogradoff said. "The French presidency started in this general negative institutional atmosphere."

A series of international crises added to France's quagmire.

The Georgia conflict, which kicked off at the same time as the French Presidency, and the deepening of the global financial crisis in September 2008 forced France's focus and resources away from its prior plans.

Vinogradoff outlined the four priorities the French Presidency had set.

First, in the area of energy and climate change, the presidency aimed to coordinate the member states' energy policies, which displayed considerable lack of agreement.

"One thing we agree upon is that we have to gain energy security, energy independence, and at the same time to protect the environment," Vinogradoff said.

With energy security and independence largely hinging on Russia, the main energy supplier, the French Presidency planned to focus on the EU's relationship with its eastern neighbor. In one sense, Vinogradoff said, the French were prophetic; in another, nobody could anticipate a sudden development.

"When we prepared the priorities, nobody

was thinking about Georgia," he said.

Another target was the EU's immigration policy and the coordination of the member states' visa and integration regimes.

"We have to coordinate knowing that we will need to welcome workers in Europe, if we want to keep on growing," Vinogradoff said, stressing the quagmire presented by the aging of the European population.

"We have a lack of workers, we will need immigrants."

But he also highlighted the need to tackle migration and development issues together. As

> long as starving people and wage disparities persist, undocumented migration will also continue to be an issue.

"You can build all the walls you want," he said.

The EU's security and defense policy formed another item on the French agenda. While a common policy in these areas has long been an objective for the European Union, the way it faced the crises in Yugoslavia and Iraq

"proved that we have a lot of progress to make," Vinogradoff said. Additionally, a number of added threats have arisen, such as global terrorism, food security, nuclear weapons and cyber crime. As a result, the EU must redefine its policy, build troops and coordinate with NATO, Vinogradoff said.

"We have to redefine our relationship with NATO and NATO has to redefine its relationship with us."

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was also a priority for the French, as it forms a "big, big, big problem inside Europe between the members," Vinogradoff said. Because of intra-EU disagreements, the CAP was predicted to be the greatest challenge for the presidency.

"To this day, not much progress has been made," Vinogradoff said.

Yet, despite the hurdles, Vinogradoff remained optimistic both for the French Presidency and for the European Union as a whole.

"Europe was built and made progress from crisis to crisis," he said.

His host, MEUCE co-director Professor Joaquin Roy, underlined the centrality of France to the European Union.

"If you want to understand the European Union, you have to be French or very intelligent.," Roy said.



#### PAGE 7

### First EU delegate to Cuba spends semester in Miami sharing expertise

he

International

University

(FIU) on issues

As the head of the European Union's first delegation to Cuba, Sven Kühn von Burgsdorff had a tight line to walk. Apart from fostering the budding relationship between the two polities, his role was also to aid human rights defenders

"For the first time, it wasn't just the United States supporting the cause of dissidents and human rights in Cuba," Kühn von Burgsdorff told Miami scholars in one of his numerous lectures here last fall.



at a roundtable on the U.S. Foreign Policy toward Cuba at UM on Dec. 3, 2008

related to EU foreign policy, Cuba and human rights.

"His appointment in Miami had a delicate nature," said Joaquín Roy, the UM head of the Miami-European Union Center of Excellence (MEUCE). "He gave numerous briefings to different groups, including the most influential Cuban exile organizations and he received praise for his objectivity and sensibility in combining his duties as an EU diplomat in Cuba and a keen and sympathetic observer of the troubles of the Cuban people and the exile community."

Throughout his lectures at both universities, Kühn von Burgsdorff underlined the EU's commitment to human rights and the priority of this commitment in the Union's external relations. Respect for human rights is a prerequisite for EU accession and existing members are also subject to sanctions.

"That's why we are so tough on third parties, because we are tough on ourselves," he said.

Talking of his own experience in Cuba, he said a main duty of an EU diplomat is to provide visibility to human rights defenders. Additionally, he stressed the importance of dialogue with adversaries.

"If you only talk to friends, you don't "For need diplomacy."

Like other top European diplomats (see article on Ambassador Bruton on pages 1-3), he highlighted the difference in European and U.S. approaches to diplomacy.

"If you start with a maximalist position, dissidents and that is a no-go," he said, referring to the U.S. stance under the Bush administration. "We have dialogues with all kinds of partners."

This difference in mentality displays itself in the differing attitudes toward the embargo against Cuba.

The EU, Kühn von Burgsdorff said, is opposed to the embargo. He said the cycle of migration and remittances it generates is 2003, which he "the most important supporter of the Castro headed. regime"

time, it wasn't just the United States supporting the cause of human rights in Cuba," Kühn von Burgsdorff said about the EU's first diplomatic delegation to Havana in

the first

"This contradiction is so blatant that it

is difficult for me to understand how reasonable people can support the continuation of the embargo," he said.

Kühn von Burgsdorff joined the European Commission in 1992, with foreign postings to Mozambique (1992 to 1996), Slovakia (1996 to 2000), and Cuba (2003 to 2007), where he was in charge of the Delegation in Havana. Additionally, he has held assignments in Haiti and New Caledonia. He is currently serving in DG Development as an advisor on the Caribbean and the Overseas Countries and Territories.

**By Cynthia Malakasis** 



Miami scholars, including MEUCE directors Drs. Elisabeth Prügl and Joaquín Roy, at Kühn von Burgdorff's FIU lecture, "Human Rights Promotion from a European Union Perspective," on Nov. 19, 2008

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FIU Miami-Florida European Union Center of Excellence - FIU

#### SPRING SEMESTER ACTIVITIES 2009

#### January 2009

Monday, January 12 2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.

**FIU, University Park MARC International Pavilion** 

#### Lecture:

"Prospects for European Union-United States Relations under the Obama Administration"

#### By

 Ambassador John Bruton European Union Ambassador to the United States Head of the Delegation

#### Friday, January 16 12:00 p.m. - 1:30 p.m. FIU. University Park - Dept. of History Seminar Room - DM 370

#### Lecture:

#### "Totalitarian Pleasures: Ideology and the Urban Streetscape under Mussolini. Hitler, and Stalin"

• By Dr. John Beldon Scott Professor, Art History Elizabeth M. Stanley Professor of the Arts School of Art & Art History - University of Iowa

#### 🛄 Thursday, January 22 8:30 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.

#### FIU, University Park, College of Law Courtroom 1000

#### **Student Orientation - Euro Challenge 2009**

• By Nigel Nagarajan Economic and Financial Counselor and Head of **Economic and Financial Affairs** Delegation of the European Commission

#### February 2009

Feb.10-12, 2009

FIU, University Park, GC 140 & 150 **European Romantic Film Festival** 

4 European films (France, Estonia, Russia, Finland, Spain and Poland) will be presented.

#### March 2009

Thursday, March 26, 2009 7:00 p.m. - 8:30 p.m. FIU, The Wolfsonian (Miami-Beach) Lecture:

"When you meet the expectations of women, you exceed the expectations of men"

• by Tatiana Butovitsch Temm Communication Manager for the Volvo YCC design team

Friday, March 13, 2009

8:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m. **FIU, University Park MARC International Pavilion Conference:** 

"A Low Carbon, Alternative Fuels Future: Perspectives from Europe and the Americas"

- Keynote Address: Angelos Pangratis Deputy Head of Delegation Delegation of the European Commission to the USA
- **Tuesday, March 31, 2009** 2:00 p.m.- 3:30 p.m. FIU, University Park, GL 220 Lecture: "Poland in the European Union"
  - by Marcin Korolec Undersecretary of State **Polish Ministry of Economy**

#### **VOLUME I, ISSUE 3**



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### C O N F E R E N C E

"A Low Carbon, Alternative Fuels Future: Perspectives from Europe and the Americas" Friday, March 13, 2009—8:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.

FIU - MARC International Pavilion

For detailed program, please visit our website at: www.miamieuc.org



**Keynote Address: Angelos Pangratis** Deputy Head of Delegation European Union Delegation of the European Commission to the USA 12:30 p.m.—2:00 p.m.