

THE CHALLENGES FOR EUROPE IN THE SECOND AND THIRD DECADE OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

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Abstract

After the Second World War, Europe has opted for integration. The European Communities and, later on, the European Union, proved a successful concept. With the entering into force of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009, it is a streamlined European Union which we have to look to if we want to speak about the Challenges for Europe after the turn to the third millennium.

The Union that emerged from the Lisbon Treaty is faced with quite a number of challenges: a global economic crisis, hardly overcome, an aging European society with the negative demographic development likely to endanger the competitiveness of European national economies and the sustainability of European social models, climatic change, a mounting dependence on energy provided from outside, and the shift of production and of return on capital to the East. In addition, there is a security problem constituted by terrorism, organised crime and proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The European Union will have to actively participate in the measures called for in order to bring about the necessary changes in the world. What is called for is not only co-operation between the Member States but also uniting the various social groups within the different Member States in one common effort.

As regards globalisation, a multipolar system of what once might have been called hegemonial states has evolved. This calls for the reform of global steering structures. This presupposes a system of multilateral steering. Unfortunately, there exists only a fragile consensus about such a system of multilateral steering. The European Union should therefore work in favour of a new consensus on the basis of what can be called a Grand Bargain, with mutual advantages for all involved.

There still exists a gap between the capacities of the European Union in the economic field and its capacities in the area of Foreign and Security Policy. What is needed is a common European strategic concept for reshaping the rules of world government.

The Union must remain open for every State that fulfils the criteria for membership, because it is those criteria which constitute the true borders of Europe.

The European Union is more than just a common market. It is an area of security, freedom and justice. Such an area must be based on common values; and these values have now been repeated and expanded, by the Lisbon Treaty, in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union.

Keywords: *European Union, Lisbon Treaty, demographic development, terrorism, organised crime and proliferation of nuclear weapons.*

In order to analyse the challenges for Europe in the second decade of the third millennium it is necessary to state the point from which this analysis is to be made. For a realistic approach, there is only one point to do so. After the Second World War – and that means since 1945 or, more particularly, since 1949 –, Europe has opted for integration.

This choice was conditioned both by the fact that, in the twentieth century, military conflicts between the main European powers have caused two world wars, and that the defeat of one totalitarian system, that of national socialism,¹ had not freed Europe from the threat of totalitarianism.² Rather totalitarian communism had not only survived in the Soviet Union,³ which emerged as one of the victorious powers of the Second World War and, as a permanent member of the Security Council of the newly founded United Nations,⁴ became a key player in world politics; totalitarian communism had also spread to all countries occupied by the Red Army towards the end of the Second World War⁵ and was to keep them in its grip until the political turn of the years 1989/1991.⁶

Therefore, that part of Europe that had not fallen to Soviet dominance had to develop a strategy that would make the free part of Europe both attractive and strong. For strength, many European states joined the United States and Canada in founding, in 1949, and afterwards expanding the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).⁷

For attraction, first the Council of Europe⁸ was set up in the same year of 1949, and the European Convention on Human Rights,⁹ elaborated in the Council's framework and concluded in 1950, henceforth constituted, together with the Protocols consecutively adopted thereafter, a firm protective barrier against encroachments upon the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual by any of the states parties to the Convention.

¹ Cf. WILLIAM L. SHIRER, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, New York 1960; ROBERT O. PAXTON, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, London 2005.

² Cf. HANNAH ARENDT, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York 1958, new ed. 1966; JOHN A. ARMSTRONG, *The Politics of Totalitarianism*, New York 1961; LUDWIG VON MISES, *Omnipotent Government: The Rise of the Total State and Total War*. Spring Mills (Pa.), 1985.

³ Cf. RICHARD PIPES, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*, New York 1995; NICOLAS WERTH/KAREL BARTOŠEK/JEAN-LOUIS PANNÉ/JEAN-LOUIS MARGOLIN/ANDRZEJ PACZKOWSKI/STÉPHANE COURTOIS, *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression*, Cambridge (Mass.) - London 1999.

⁴ Cf. HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK/PETER FISCHER, *Das Recht der Internationalen Organisationen*, 3rd ed. Vienna 1997, pp. 108 et seqs. and pp. 230 et seqs.; JOCHEN ABR. FROWEIN, United Nations, in: RUDOLF BERHARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 4, Amsterdam etc. 2000, pp. 1029 et seqs.; EDUARDO JIMÉNEZ DE ARÉCHAGA, United Nations Security Council, in: RUDOLF BERHARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 4, Amsterdam etc. 2000, pp. 1108 et seqs.

⁵ Cf. BORIS MEISSNER, Warsaw Treaty Organization, in: RUDOLF BERHARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 4, Amsterdam etc. 2000, pp. 1409 et seqs.

⁶ Cf. THEODOR SCHWEISFURTH, Soviet Union, Dissolution, in: Rudolf Berhard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 4, Amsterdam etc. 2000, pp. 529 et seqs.

⁷ Cf. JONATHAN S. IGNARSKI/THILO MARAUHN, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in: RUDOLF BERHARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 4, Amsterdam etc. 2000, pp. 1409 et seqs.

⁸ Cf. A.H. ROBERTSON/E. HARREMOES, Council of Europa, in: RUDOLF BERHARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 1, Amsterdam etc. 1992, pp. 843 et seqs.; PETER FISCHER/HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK/MARGIT MARIA KAROLLUS, *Europarecht*, 4th ed. Vienna 2002, pp. 91 et seqs.

⁹ Cf. JOCHEN ABR. FROWEIN, European Convention on Human Rights (1950), in: RUDOLF BERHARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 2, Amsterdam etc. 1995, pp. 1409 et seqs.; PETER FISCHER/HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK/MARGIT MARIA KAROLLUS, *Europarecht*, 4th ed. Vienna 2002, pp. 103 et seqs.

Secondly, close economic integration was initiated, in 1951, by the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)¹⁰ and – after the last-minute failure of the projected European Defence Community and, consequently, the European Political Community in 1954 – expanded by the European Economic Community¹¹ and the European Atomic Energy Community,¹² both set up in 1957.

Economic integration on the basis of supranationalism proved to be more attractive than just a European Free Trade Area,¹³ and therefore, what has begun in 1951 and was continued in 1957 as an organisation of six Member States in the meantime has expanded to an organisation of twenty-seven Member States.¹⁴ In addition, the original Communities became only one of three pillars of the European Union¹⁵ in 1994, and by adding the Common Foreign and Security Policy¹⁶ and the Co-operation in Justice and Home Affairs (later on, with the “communitarisation” of important parts of the latter, renamed into Police and Judicial Co-operation¹⁷) as a second and third pillar the European Union was as much a political as an economic Union.

With the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty of 2007¹⁸ and its entering into force towards the end of 2009, the pillar system was abolished, and the European Union has taken over the competences of the European Community. (The European Coal and Steel Community had expired already in 2002, its competences then devolving to the EC; and the European Atomic Energy Community was left aside by the Lisbon Treaty in order not to burden the Union with what has come to be, in the wake of anti-atomic movement of the recent decades, the poor cousin of European integration.)

It is therefore to the European Union which we have to look to if we want to speak about the Challenges for Europe after the turn to the third millennium

¹⁰ Cf. W.H. BALEKJIAN, European Coal and Steel Community, in: RUDOLF BERHARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 2, Amsterdam etc. 1995, pp. 139 et seqs.; PETER FISCHER/HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK/MARGIT MARIA KAROLLUS, *Europarecht*, 4th ed. Vienna 2002, pp. 26 et seqs.

¹¹ Cf. THOMAS OPPERMAN, European Economic Community, in: RUDOLF BERHARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 2, Amsterdam etc. 1995, pp. 219 et seqs.; PETER FISCHER/HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK/MARGIT MARIA KAROLLUS, *Europarecht*, 4th ed. Vienna 2002, pp. 35 et seqs.

¹² Cf. THEO VOOGELAR/J. ELIZALDE, European Atomic Energy Community, in: RUDOLF BERHARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 2, Amsterdam etc. 1995, pp. 127 et seqs.; PETER FISCHER/HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK/MARGIT MARIA KAROLLUS, *Europarecht*, 4th ed. Vienna 2002, pp. 35 et seqs.

¹³ Cf. PETER FISCHER/HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK/MARGIT MARIA KAROLLUS, *Europarecht*, 4th ed. Vienna 2002, pp. 38 et seqs.; for the EFTA see WOLFRAM KARL, European Free Trade Association, in: RUDOLF BERHARD (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 2, Amsterdam etc. 1995, pp. 237 et seqs.

¹⁴ Cf. PETER FISCHER/HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK/MARGIT MARIA KAROLLUS, *Europarecht*, 4th ed. Vienna 2002, pp. 50 et seqs.; cf. also 2004 enlargement of the European Union, *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*, in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004_enlargement_of_the_European_Union; and 2007 enlargement of the European Union, in: *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007_enlargement_of_the_European_Union

¹⁵ Cf. PETER FISCHER/HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK/MARGIT MARIA KAROLLUS, *Europarecht*, 4th ed. Vienna 2002, pp. 54 et seqs.

¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 926 et seqs.

¹⁷ Cf. NATASCHA SOLAR, Die Polizeiliche und Justizielle Zusammenarbeit in Strafsachen, in: PETER FISCHER/HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK/MARGIT MARIA KAROLLUS, *Europarecht*, 4th ed. Vienna 2002, pp. 957 et seqs.

¹⁸ Cf. KLEMENS H. FISCHER, *Der Vertrag von Lissabon*. Text und Kommentar zum Europäischen Reformvertrag, Baden-Baden 2008; INGOLF PERNICE (ed.), *Der Vertrag von Lissabon: Reform der EU ohne Verfassung?* Baden-Baden 2008; WERNER WEIDENFELD (ed.), *Lissabon in der Analyse. Der Reformvertrag der Europäischen Union*. Baden-Baden 2008.

The Union that emerged from the Lisbon Treaty is faced with quite a number of challenges.¹⁹

Europe has just overcome (if it really has done so!) a global economic crisis where states had to save banks on a large scale²⁰ and to turn to extreme forms of deficit spending in order to prevent economic collapse, with all the unpleasant social consequences such collapse might have entailed.

Europe's society is, by and large, an aging society;²¹ and this negative demographic development²² is likely to endanger the competitiveness of European national economies and the sustainability of European social models; with pressure on the costs and the wages. The problem of climatic change²³ so far has, on a world-wide scale, hardly been sufficiently grasped. The European Union is faced with a mounting dependence on energy provided from outside,²⁴ be it from a complicated neighbour, be it from regions which are less than stable. The shift of production and of return on capital to the East²⁵ constitutes a major problem that will be increasingly felt in years to come.

In addition to these economic problems there is a security problem which can be characterised by the key words terrorism,²⁶ organised crime²⁷ and proliferation of nuclear weapons.²⁸ Apart from organised crime which is a social problem resulting from poverty and from the situation that many states have to be regarding as increasingly failing to do their basic job, namely to establish the common good, i.e. security, freedom and welfare,²⁹

¹⁹ For the following, cf. *in extenso*: PROJECT EUROPE 2030. *Challenges and Opportunities. A report to the European Council by the Reflection Group on the Future of the EU 2030*, May 2010, in: http://www.reflectiongroup.eu/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/reflection_en_web.pdf.

²⁰ Cf. CONRAD RUPPEL, *Global Financial Crisis: Corporate Governance and Regulation* "Dimensions of the Global Financial Crisis [Cuvillier Verlag]", Cuvillier-verlag.de. <http://www.cuvillier-verlag.de/flycms/en/html/30/-UickI3zKPS72dEk=/Buchdetails.html?SID=28fv3UR5c792>. Retrieved May 1, 2010., Cuvillier Verlag, Göttingen 2010

²¹ The importance of the issue is shown by the fact that an interdisciplinary and international journal entitled *Ageing & Society* and devoted to the understanding of human ageing and the circumstances of older people in their social and cultural contexts is published under the patronage of the Centre for Policy on Ageing and The British Society of Gerontology. It is one of the Cambridge Journals that are also online. Cf. <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=ASO>

²² Cf. SARAH THALBERG, *Demographic Patterns in Europe. A review of Austria, Germany, The Netherlands, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania*, in: http://ideas.repec.org/p/hhs/ifswps/2003_008.html.

²³ Cf. WILLIAM F. RUDDIMAN (). *Plows, plagues, and petroleum: how humans took control of climate*, Princeton (N.J) 2005; INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE, *Climate change 2007: the physical science basis* (summary for policy makers), 2007) See also SILKE BECK, *Das Klimaexperiment und der IPCC: Schnittstellen zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik in den internationalen Beziehungen*, Marburg 2009.

²⁴ Cf. EUROPEAN COMMISSION, *Energy policy for a competitive Europe*, in: http://ec.europa.eu/energy/index_en.htm

²⁵ Behind the United States, China, Japan and India hold ranks 2-4 among the ten leading economies of the world, although they are still behind the European Union as a whole. As individual countries, Germany takes rank 5, the United Kingdom 6, France 8 and Italy 10. Russia is 7 and Brazil 9.

²⁶ Cf. *inter alia* BRUCE HOFFMAN, *Inside Terrorism*. New York 1988; LOUISE RICHARDSON, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Terrorist Threat*. London 2006; GERARD CHALLIAND, *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to al Qaeda*. Berkeley 2007.

²⁷ Cf. PAUL LUNDE, *Organized Crime*, London 2004.

²⁸ Cf. MOHAMED EL BARADEI, *Nuclear Proliferation and the Potential Threat of Nuclear Terrorism*, in: <http://www.nuclearfiles.org/menu/key-issues/nuclear-weapons/issues/terrorism/director-general-threat-of-nuclear-terrorism.html>. At the time of publication (8 November 2004), El Baradei is a former Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

²⁹ For the notion of the common good cf. ALFRED VERDROSS, *Abendlaendische Rechtsphilosophie*, 2nd ed. Vienna 1963, pp. 78 et seqs.; for the application of the notion of the common good to the international

terrorism and the proliferation of nuclear weapons have at their roots unsolved national and/or international problems where the existing state of affairs is so manifestly in contrast to what justice demands that people (and peoples) are driven to despair.³⁰

If these challenges are not met in time, the gravest consequences are to be feared. We are at a turning point of history.

In principle, the European Union is able to actively participate in the measures called for in order to bring about the necessary changes in the world, even to give the direction, and need not content itself with the role of a passive spectator. In fact, however, the European Union will be able to do so only if the Member States are prepared to co-operate, because the tasks ahead are too big for being solved by one or the other European country alone.

Moreover, what is called for is not only co-operation between the Member States but also the pulling together, in the interest of a new common goal dictated by the requirements of our time, of the various groups within the different Member States: politicians and citizens, employers and employees, producers and consumers, economists and ecologists, natural scientists, social scientists and those representing the humanities.

As regards globalisation,³¹ the claim to world dominance by one state pretending to have been left the only superpower after the end of the East-West conflict has failed; and a multipolar system of what once might have been called hegemonial states has evolved; in addition to the United States, Russia, China, India, Japan and Brazil claim to be leading states of this world. There have emerged new groups of states that are not identical with, and which set aside or add to the number of, the traditional groups known in the United Nations during the period of the cold war.³² All this calls for the reform of global steering structures.

If the European Union wants to be an international player equal to the aforementioned states, it will have to develop its own concept for such global reform. Moreover, the Union should take the lead in all efforts to give to international institutions more legitimacy and to recognise the principle of divided responsibility, because what is good for the world at large will also be in the interest of Europe. It goes without saying that here as in other contexts Europe has to speak with one voice. Where Member States are still players in the international scene, and especially those that have still a particular role in world politics – as do those which are permanent members of the Security Council³³ –, they should co-ordinate their position with the other Member States; and all Member States should support the position once adopted without exception.

community, see ALFRED VERDROSS, *Der klassische Begriff der "bonum commune" und seine Erweiterung zum "bonum commune humanitatis"*, in: *ÖZöRV*, Vol. 28, 1977, pp. 143 et seqs.

³⁰ Cf. HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK, *Internationaler Terrorismus heute – Einige Gedanken zu seinen Ursachen und ihrer Behebung*, in: EGON KAPELLARI/HERBERT SCHAMBECK (ed.); *Diplomatie im Dienst der Seelsorge, Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Nuntius Erzbischof Donato Squicciarini*, Graz-Wien-Köln 2002, pp. 139 et seqs.

³¹ Cf. KARL MOORE/DAVID LEWIS, *Origins of Globalization*. New York 2009; IVER B. NEUMANN/OLE JACOB SENDING, *Governing the Global Polity: Practice, Mentality, Rationality*. Ann Arbor 2010; JURGEN OSTERHAMMEL/NIELS P. PETERSSON, *Globalization: A Short History*. Princeton (N.J.) 2005; RAFAEL DOMINGO OSLE, *The New Global Law*, Cambridge University Press 2010.

³² Cf. HERIBERT FRANZ KOECK/PETER FISCHER, *Das Recht der Internationalen Organisationen*, 3rd ed. Vienna 1997, pp. 212 et seq.

³³ I.e. France and the United Kingdom.

Working for responsible interdependence presupposes a world, where all the important players support a system of multilateral steering and agree to work together within the framework of such a system.³⁴

Unfortunately, there exists only (if at all) a fragile consensus about such a system of multilateral steering. States that have emerged or have gained their independence only after the Second World War and that thus have not had a say in the formation of the institutional architecture set up in the form of the United Nations and its specialised agencies, are not always able to grasp, or willing to accept, the advantages of multilateralism.

The European Union should therefore work in favour of a new consensus on the basis of what can be called a Grand Bargain, a bargain that takes care of the interest of the dynamic states in the course of establishing themselves on the international scene, and of the already established states that want to sustain their position under the changed circumstances. That new Grand Bargain will have to rest on a common understanding concerning the importance – among states and thus for the international community as a whole – of multilateralism, fairness, including a fair trading system characterised not by exclusivity but inclusivity, sustainable development and collective security, and – within each state – the need of respect for, and protection of, human rights and the rule of law.

The Treaty of Lisbon has contributed in various ways to the strengthening of the instruments available to the Union for pursuing its Common Foreign and Security Policy. This does not only apply to the figure of the High Representative in its new form, combining competences deriving from the Council with the position of a Vice-President of the European Commission. The fact that foreign and security policy now permits also of closer co-operation among a fewer than all Member States will give Europe the necessary flexibility to respond more quickly to foreign policy needs even in the case of disagreement with one or the other Member State if this disagreement cannot be overcome immediately.

It is desirable that the European Foreign Service be completed and furnished with the required personnel in order to enable it to support the European Union in the establishment of its common interests and to work out common policies with due regard to the various national points of view. The setting up of a European Diplomatic Academy could contribute to developing a common European culture of diplomacy and to educating a diplomatic staff with an esprit de corps the first allegiance of which is towards the common European cause.

There exists, however, one basic shortcoming that has not been removed by the Treaty of Lisbon. This basic shortcoming is constituted by the gap between the capacities of the European Union in those areas which belonged to the core powers of the European Community right from the beginning and its capacities in the area of Foreign and Security Policy. This is due to the fact that Foreign and Security Policy has still retained much of its intergovernmental character and is therefore missing real common instruments for its implementation. Compared with the EU's otherwise wide spectrum of economic and legal instruments, its political and military instruments carry much less weight.

This notwithstanding, what is needed is a common European strategic concept for reshaping the rules of world government. It is not sufficient if the formulation of European policies is governed by external events to which the Union must react. A common

³⁴ Cf. COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, *International Institutions and Global Governance Program*, in: <http://www.cfr.org/thinktank/iigg/?co=C023702>.

European strategic concept would substitute foresighted action for mere reaction; Europe must become pro-active.

This concept should combine the policy of the European Union in the areas of diplomacy, the military, trade and development with the external dimensions of its common economic policy, especially in the fields of the common economic and monetary union, of energy, of transport, etc. If, and only if, all instruments at its disposal will be used in close connection, the Union will be able to present itself as a transformative power and to contribute to devising new rules for world government.

Such a strategic approach towards foreign affairs is necessary in order to enable the European Union to make better use of its financial efforts – which are enormous and go beyond anything done by other powers on a world-wide scale – for gaining a comparative political influence. Such influence is indispensable if integrated Europe wants to carry out a skilful development and trade policy.

Influence of the European Union will be strengthened if it pursues a credible policy in the battle against man-made climatic change, especially with regard to the less developed regions of this world which have contributed least to global warming but often suffer most from its effects. In addition, the Union should continue its efforts for the realisation of the concept of “combating poverty through trade”, especially by importing agrarian products deriving from those regions. With regard to the dead-locked negotiations on the Doha Development Agenda 2001, agriculture has become the lynchpin of the agenda for both developing and developed countries and has become the most important and controversial issue.³⁵ Here, interests are divided between the United States, on the one hand, and the European Union and developing countries, on the other.³⁶ To bring the negotiations to a successful end, European political leadership will have to make difficult political and economic decisions. But the Union could invoke its own firm commitment to fair trade in calling upon states all over the world to follow suit and to thereby making a contribution to international solidarity.

Confidence building and strategic deployment of the European Union’s various economic and political instruments could establish the Union as the most prominent, but also as a successful champion of democracy, the rule of law and respect for, and protection of, human rights.

Within the above-mentioned framework of a revised world political government, a global economic strategy should be developed that takes into account the role of the Euro as a second reserve currency and deals with the negative effects of the economic imbalance existing on a world-wide scale on the European competitive capability.

³⁵ Agriculture is particularly important for developing countries, because around 75 percent of the population in developing countries live in rural areas, and the vast majority are dependent on agriculture for their livelihoods. Cf. *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*, Doha Development Round, in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doha_Development_Round.

³⁶ The United States is being asked by the European Union (EU) and the developing countries, led by Brazil and India, to make a more generous offer for reducing trade-distorting domestic support for agriculture. The United States is insisting that the EU and the developing countries agree to make more substantial reductions in tariffs and to limit the number of import-sensitive and special products that would be exempt from cuts. Cf. *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*, Doha Development Round, in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doha_Development_Round.

To preserve its position as a turning platform of the continent, the European Union will have to optimize its attraction. Many people rightly see the European Union as an alternative scheme to traditional inter-state relationships, as a supranational legal community which has brought prosperity and cohesion to a region previously devastated by “hot” wars and torn apart by the cold war.

The Union must remain open for potential new Member States. Every application for membership will have to be considered on its own merits. The European Union has to be open for every State that fulfils the criteria for membership, because it is those criteria which constitute the true borders of Europe. Potential future candidates for membership should be offered far-reaching agreements as an intermediate stage prior to the taking up official negotiations for accession.

Equally important will be an affective neighbourhood policy, in order to contribute to the stabilisation of the adjacent regions. The present European Neighbourhood Policy, the Eastern Partnership and the Union for the Mediterranean should be continued, strengthened and enlarged. This should also lead to a strategic co-existence, especially with the Russian Federation.

People in these regions should be able to enjoy an area of democracy, of human rights, of development and of fair trade. Their inclusion into an area of free movement of persons will be both in their interest and in the interest of the European Union.

What should be borne in mind is that the European Union is more than just a common market. It is an area of security, freedom and justice. Such an area must be based on common values; and these values have now been repeated and expanded, by the Lisbon Treaty, in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union:³⁷

The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.

Aware of these values and unleashing its common forces the European Union will be able, with the support of the European citizens, to meet the global challenges ahead and even take the lead therein. To preserve and, where necessary, to regain this support, citizens must be told how big and how inevitable the problems ahead are, and that they can only be solved by efforts which are comparable to those made in the early times of European integration.

Lacking these efforts, the Union will not be able to realise its aim “to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples”.³⁸ And this would be – God forbid! – to the detriment of all.

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³⁷ *Official Journal of the European Union*, C 83 of 30 March 2010, 13 et seqs.

³⁸ Article 3, paragraph 2 TEU.

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