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Catherine Guisan. A Political Theory of Identity in European Integration

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Most readers will appreciate the time spent detailing the origins of the CoG which grew out of the need to better coordinate the international monetary and payments system within the European Economic Community (EEC). Established under the Treaty of Rome, the EEC came into existence at the beginning of 1958 with a primary agenda built around the development of the Common Market. Significant progress would crucially depend on promoting more liberalized capital flows in an environment of increased exchange rate stability. While the Council of Ministers of the EEC (ECOFIN) shepherded the initial directions in these policy areas, by 1964 the ECOFIN decided to create a more specialized CoG to provide continuity in policy guidance over these domains.

The remaining chapters follow the work of the CoG in developing and implementing the European Monetary System (EMS) and the evolving set of exchange rate regimes including the "currency snake" and the establishment of the Exchange Rate Mechanism. The policy and institutional developments are laid out within the context of the changing nature of international macroeconomic conditions and resulting problematic pressures on interest and exchange rates.

Most readers will be well-prepared for the presentation of the more commonly recognized material describing the work of the Delors Committee and the unfolding of the design steps toward the establishment of the ECB. The book culminates with a detailed examination of the turmoil spun out of the early 1990s EMS crisis and resulting negotiations toward the final draft of the Maastricht Treaty and its ratification process.

In addition to laying out the detailed central historical record of the run up to Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) the book offers a set of important appendices covering stages in the development of the text of the Maastricht Treaty, a comprehensive list of primary institutional actors, and an extensive institutional chronology covering the second half of the twentieth century. In aggregate, the contents will serve as a useful reference book for scholars and students of the historical record of EMU. The details and the general text are sufficiently technical in nature as to require a solid background knowledge of the fundamentals of international financial markets and monetary policy tools and practices.

The book is an exceptional example of the explanatory power from combined insights rendered by professional archival research and reasoned judgments about the motivations and guiding principles of the active agents. The ECB and the BIS have done excellent service in sponsoring these efforts and our knowledge of this important period of monetary history has been much advanced by the author's tireless efforts.

What is much less useful is the final section titled "The Euro and the Legacy of the Committee of Governors." The BIS-ECB commission was to cover the period from 1958-1993 but the author could not resist writing a short addendum attempting to offer a number of insights garnered from the historical record to the lingering current euro crisis. The opportunity to attempt to show relevancy to a major current policy event proved an irresistible temptation. The ruminative nature of the conclusion should not detract from the excellent record, during the euro era, of the ECB's success in operations under severe policy domain constraints. An example would be the clearly successful record of inflation targeting policy. Speculation about how institutions might have performed if given other operating prerogatives and goals, e.g., restructured banking regulatory authority, serves no productive purpose.

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Catherine Guisan. *A Political Theory of Identity in European Integration*. Routledge, 2011

The reader of Catherine Guisan's book needs to take some time to engage with the terminology and the principles of thinking of Hannah Arendt and other contemporary political philosophers. But he gets compensated by an innovative – albeit eclectic – reading of the roots and contents of European political identity and a fine-grained reflection of the principles and motivations for action of actors at different stages of the integration process and their repercussions today. Guisan manages to provide some meat to the bones of the beast…

Starting from the puzzle of how actors that less than a decade before had still fought against each other could decide to put together the resources for their armed forces, Catherine Guisan interprets "speech and deed" of EU initiators. She proposes the introduction of a new branch of EU identity studies analysing the ethical and political practices of the founding actors to get closer to the "founding myth(s) of the European Union". Guisan points to a striking gap in European political

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philosophy: unlike in the tradition of political theory in the United States, there are only few studies on narratives or self-interpretations of what the myth of 'European reconciliation' means, at least in the breadth proposed in her book. With the help of political theorists such as Arendt, Jaspers, Habermas, Taylor, Ricœur and Berlin she tries to critically derive elements of EU's shared identity from different steps of the integration process starting from the ECSC up to the latest accession negotiations.

Her book is a welcome and timely investigation into the ideational causes of the complex phenomenon: politically, because paradoxically (or not) the European Union gets the Nobel Prize for Peace at a moment in which it is undergoing one of its severest legitimacy crises, and academically, because the majority of other studies on European integration focus mainly on the economic interests of the actors involved.

Drawing on Hannah Arendt's concept of reconciliation as principle of action Guisan proposes a new reading of the Treaty of Paris. For Guisan the idea of reconciliation is not a 'feeling' or emotional motivation external to a 'purely technical' treaty, but instead a political capacity based on hard-headed realism which was built directly into the wordings of the agreements. She identifies five practices which make up this capacity and illustrates them examining discourse and practices of Monnet, Adenauer, De Gasperi and others and having a deepened look at the relevance of shared material interests and the role of the USA as important mediating party in the early integration process. In a second step the book makes an attempt to trace these practices of reconciliation today: in state policies and grassroots initiatives between Kosovo and Serbia and in several attempts to understand the meaning of European integration through books, museums and school projects.

Guisan turns from reconciliation to the affirmation of a common destiny - the second precondition for a lasting peace project. In her understanding early European actors found their common destiny in a shared redefinition of power as action in concert. The early treaties were fruits and symbols of this reconceptualisation – albeit under US military protection. Through interviews and documents she shows that deliberation and persuasion were guiding principles for the negotiations of the EEC treaties. Concluding, the author questions the European Common Foreign and Security Policy and tries to understand how power as action in concert can still be possible today with a multiplication of actors and projects.

The book proceeds from the deepening of the Union to the accession of new member countries. Guisan draws on Charles Taylor and his ideal-concept of recognition as mutual transformation to show how policies such as programmes of economic and social cohesion have facilitated forms of mutual recognition, while some accession processes – especially the negotiations with Turkey – seem to lack the necessary reciprocity to lead to Taylor's 'higher stage of self-realisation' for all parties. Guisan borrows the concept of 'gift' from Ricœur to explain how events like the tragical earthquakes in Turkey and Greece in 1999 may nevertheless temporarily suspend a blocked process of recognition.

Ultimately, the author turns to the inwards and outwards relationships of the Union today. She uses Habermas' discourse ethics to discuss the question of democratic deficit from the ECSC to the failure of the project of the European Convention. Arendt's reflections on the capacity to look at an issue from other standpoints than just one's own serves her in turn as scheme to examine today's discourses on EU borders and immigration.

The author comes to the conclusion that the lack of analysis and thought about own self-definition(s) is a more fundamental problem for the European Union than the lack of persuasive discourses. In her view this is all the more challenging as the necessity of more direct democracy in the EU will in the future demand more and more pedagogical effort from EU leaders.

Guisan's work is not looking for one-dimensional causes for the process of European integration but a work of memory and explanation. It is a rare attempt to bring together political philosophy with empirical evidence from numerous primary and secondary sources. A multitude of documents and interviews with key actors are analysed with precaution, guiding the reader with ample reflections on the limits of such testimonies and on the strategies of the author to highlight their contradictions.

The book provides an interesting piece to the puzzle of the current identity and legitimacy crisis of the European Union, in which European institutions seem to be deprived not only of material influence and power but also of discoursive resources for legitimation.

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Finn Laursen (ed.). *The EU's Lisbon Treaty: Institutional Choices and Implementation*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.

History will note that there would be no honeymoon for the Lisbon Treaty. A less ambitious successor to the failed (though substantively similar) European Constitution, the Treaty would take effect on 1 December 2009 only to be greeted by a stubborn global economic downturn, the Eurozone sovereign debt crisis, and – within a year - the Middle East uprisings. For better or worse, whatever institutional architecture, decision-