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***Conditions and Possibilities of a
European Political Identity***

PHD THESIS

SUMMARY

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2012

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Keywords

Immanuel Kant, cosmopolitanism, federalism, sovereignty, state sovereignty, national sovereignty, constitution, constitutionalisation, European Union, Europeanization, Euronationalism, nationalism, cosmopolitan law, condition of public right, international right, culture

Conditions and Possibilities of a European Political Identity

Abstract

The purpose of this research project is to examine the character of the European Union's present jurisprudence as it relates to cosmopolitan ideals, which has often been understood as being grounded within a broader Kantian cosmopolitan vision. This aim is pursued by dealing with two interrelated questions: 1. *Is the European Union a cosmopolitan legal and political entity in the Kantian sense?* 2. *Does the European Union have a cosmopolitan future?* These research questions are formulated against the backdrop of a broader philosophical question about the possibility of a *European political ideal*.

After the collapse of the bipolar Cold War system, the European Union was often perceived as offering promise for a peaceful liberalization on the continent and as a successful experiment for the cosmopolitanisation of Europe. Yet, this cosmopolitanization is not as straight-forward as it has often been assumed within the Europeanization literature. This is because there remain considerable empirical questions about the EU as it is experienced by different countries, with a resurgence of nationalism in Eastern Europe and a continued failure to navigate a form of EU citizenship that is distinct from ethnicity. Another acute problem – especially in the Western-European countries – is the massive immigration wave that continues to foster increased identity-based political debate. Lastly, the EU as a security community seeks to address not only internal risks, but to tackle global economic and political challenges as well. This complex set of problems, with diverging logics of interest and priorities, results in serious difficulties for the EU as a potentially cosmopolitan political project.

These difficulties are exacerbated by the recent „failures” of the European political and economic community. Events such as the controversy of Turkish integration, a lack of common position on Foreign Policy issues (2003, Iraq war), the continued failures of European constitutionalisation processes (think of the French and the Dutch refusal of the Constitutional Treaty in 2005) and the recent economic crisis has challenged the optimistic views of the European project and strengthened euroscepticism, or worryingly, a seemingly rising euronationalism. Arising from these difficulties is a central question, which concerns the

normative direction of the European Union, especially as it relates to what philosophical principles are meant to underwrite this vision.

The underlying assumption of this project is that there is a general confusion related to the European Union, as understood by the European people, what is caused by the lack of a coherent vision for the EU as a political entity. As a result, the European citizen largely does not understand what their Union is about, how the system of nation states' fits into the logic of the new supranational constellation, and in what ways the European Union can serve their purposes. The different ideals regarding a political Europe that are transmitted by the politicians and the media serve more as a source for further confusion, since they contain some of the arguments related to ongoing intellectual debates, but that those arguments are represented only in a fragmentary manner and appear without constituting the 'European ideal' as a coherent whole.

Instead of a descriptive approach that enlists and examines the competing visions of the European political ideal, this work is focused on a thorough examination of the most widespread normative vision as it is found in the scholarly work. This view holds that the European Union can be best characterized as a cosmopolitan entity. In the most recent cosmopolitan work, this perspective is represented by a tendency to see the EU as a prelude toward a more regional or global form of cosmopolitan order. This approach depicts the EU's legal and political institutions as if they are constituting a post-national order and claims that the EU acts like a normative and practical source for future cosmopolitan innovation (Habermas 2006a; 2012). It is also common to make allusions to a Kantian based cosmopolitan legal system in discussions of the jurisprudence behind the European Union (scholars to be mentioned here: Archibugi 2008; Benhabib 2006; Cabrera 2004; Delanty 2000; Habermas 2001; Hayden 2005; Held 2003; Marchetti 2008; Yunker 2007; Eleftheriadis 2001).

However, these visions are problematic, as they unintentionally suggest more extended analogies between the EU's present jurisprudence and Kantian cosmopolitan law without deeper analysis and investigation. In terms of investigating the analogies between Kant and the EU, as far as I know, there has not been a great deal of in-depth research. Although, James Tully raised this concern in his research (2008), and Garrett Wallace Brown wrote an important article (2012) to set up this line of investigation as a comparative study, little other attention has been given to this subject. What both Tully and Brown argue against is the idea of depicting the European

Union as a Kantian Cosmopolitan Federation. They highlight the critical (Tully 2008) and heuristic (Brown 2012) potentials of Kantian theory in the process of understanding the EU's jurisprudence. However, their argumentation points toward quite different directions regarding how a Kantian cosmopolitan vision could serve as a useful heuristic tool for exploring a systematic analyses of the EU's current legal and political system.

Based on their methodological intuitions, this work first seeks to answer: 1. To what extent is the analogy between Kant's federation and the EU's system valid? In order to answer the question, a historical analysis will first be pursued guided by Kant's own cosmopolitan *reflective judgment* (Karl-Otto Apel, Allen Wood etc.), which understands his teleological argument as a specific method for reading history *as if it were* cosmopolitan in purpose. Secondly, a comparative analysis between current EU practice and Kant's vision will be delivered, focusing on the European Union's jurisprudence and its cosmopolitan potential as evidenced within the Lisbon Treaty. The basis of the comparison is provided by examining the meaning of the terms of constitutionalisation and cosmopolitanisation, and by clarifying the relationship between the two as it is witnessed within the *Lisbon Treaty*.

Through this analysis, it will be argued that these similarities are not as robust as it is generally assumed. Although the Kantian analogies in terms of the aims and motivations behind the EU project are considerable, and largely satisfy the first two levels of Kant's tripartite of law, the EU fails to be a cosmopolitan system, since it fails to consistently apply any notion of Kant's cosmopolitan law as it relates to the Third Definitive Article in its external relations. I will conclude that there are only limited signs of cosmopolitan order within the current structure of the EU. In other words, Part One of the book seeks to illustrate that the history of the European integration, as read as a history of cosmopolitanisation, shows a growing number of cosmopolitan elements, both at the empirical and normative level. However, focusing on the normative elements of Kant's theory, it will be concluded that the EU fails to be cosmopolitan in Kantian terms, since Kant demands simultaneous and consistent enforcement of a minimum cosmopolitan legal condition. As a result, the European Union can be seen as an internally coherent cosmopolitan entity; however, it fails to fulfill the minimum cosmopolitan legal conditions in terms of its external affairs.

This finding leads to a second question: 2. Does Europe have a Kantian cosmopolitan future? The claim here is that after a series of historical changes that aimed to stabilize and pacify the continent, the European Union needs to take a more globally-minded cosmopolitan turn. To do so many cosmopolitan-minded thinkers argue for a *cosmopolitan realism* (the term was coined by Ulrich Beck, 2006), which roughly refers to exchanging the logic of homogeneity – that underpinned the national system – to the logic of heterogeneity. It is often argued that similarly to the historical distinction between the state and the church, a new distinction between citizenship and nationality could bring the desired result (Pierre Manent). Furthermore, it is also highlighted that the European Union can be successful if its constitution proves to be more democratic than the constitutions of traditional nation-states. (Balibar 2004. ix).

In light of these positions, the argument pursued in this book is that a Kantian cosmopolitan model offers a stronger normative guideline for fulfilling a cosmopolitan purpose by focusing on establishing an institutional design based on the normative principles of a legal cosmopolitan order. This is because the success of this process is conditioned on the simultaneous enforcement of three normative criteria, which holistically respond to the development of a more robust cosmopolitan condition: 1. The internal and external policies of each member state have to be grounded within a cosmopolitan constitution. 2. The institutional design of the federation has to mirror a Kantian condition, namely to be a voluntary association of free states 3. The rules of hospitality have to be applied in relation to both internal and external affairs. The question to be answered here is how these normative requirements can be fulfilled under current internal and external empirical circumstances. Or otherwise formulated, how can a Kantian cosmopolitanism respond to ongoing challenges? Considering current challenges to the existence of the EU, these cry out for an ever-closer union. Nevertheless, at the same time, the failure of EU constitutionalisation in 2005 and beyond shows that the European people are far from voting in favor of a tight union. Moreover, European states still tend to think in terms of pure national interest and give priority to intergovernmental and unilateral solutions versus federated ones. It is in response to these persistent challenges, and to provide an alternative Kantian vision, that this book is dedicated.

Structure

Part I (*Theoretical Foundations for the EU in the Kantian tradition*) is devoted to the theoretical foundations for the European Union as traditionally portrayed within the Kantian tradition. Chapter 1 (*The European Political Ideal, Kant, Cosmopolitanism and the Future of the European Project*) clarifies the theoretical and empirical assumptions underlying the project and outlines its conceptual frame. The analysis is provided by giving a close exegesis of Kant's cosmopolitan theory in Chapter 2 (*System of the Kantian Federation and its Philosophical Grounds*), and by positioning this reading in the context of contemporary debates on his cosmopolitanism in Chapter 3 (*Formal Principles of the Kantian Jurisprudence*). Through this, Kantian theory is revisited for the purposes of establishing a cosmopolitan-minded critique of the European Union's jurisprudence, which serves as a methodological guideline for an examination of the European experiment in Part II (*Between Theory and Practice: The European Experiment*) of the book. As a result, Part II is intended to operate between theory and practice, by examining the analogies between Kant and the EU, and by high-lighting the disanalogies between Kantian cosmopolitan theory and the EU's historical, empirical and legal context in Chapter 4 (*Legal Philosophical Ideal of Europe*). The reconstructed Kantian normative theory will serve as a reflective heuristic tool in Chapter 5 (*Creating the Federated Kingdom of Ends*) by rectifying the European Union's disanalogies with Kant's vision and offering an alternative reading with reference to the possibility of a cosmopolitan future.

Relevance in the field

This topic relates to at least four disciplines and engages with major debates within them. Since this project is interdisciplinary in nature the book utilizes Kantian *political philosophy* as a useful tool for applied theory and engages with several areas of study. First, this book is a piece of Political Philosophy since it relates to the raising popularity of Kantian legal and political philosophy. Second, this book will appeal to those working in the area of *International Relations Theory*, since it seeks to reexamine the role of cosmopolitan theory in contemporary debates about the EU and the role of the state. Third, it is a contribution to the field of *European Studies* and to broader debates about the cosmopolitan future of the EU. Finally, this book makes firm engagements with *international legal theory* and foundational ideas of constitutionalization, which as a result, makes it of interest to those studying EU and International Law.

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