Introduction

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In 1999 Edward Elgar published our *Public Policy in the New Europe: Eurogovernance in Theory and Practice*, which sought to analyse the institutions and processes of multi-level governance in Europe. The text addressed a number of theoretical approaches to European integration, government and governance followed by an empirical analysis of key policy areas in European politics. The primary focus of the book was the European Union (EU), although the wider Europe and the influence of the USA were acknowledged. The focus of this text, *Public Policy and the New European Agendas*, is similar to its predecessor but places a far greater emphasis upon Europe's new policy agendas. We see two key themes as of particular salience for policy makers: the enlargement of the European Union; and the place of Europe in international politics.

Enlargement challenges virtually all aspects of existing EU policy from agriculture to security. Enlargement does not just expand the single market but places new demands upon public policy developed for a constituency now eclipsed, as 15 member states have become 25. Reform is therefore predicated but carries its own challenges as the balance of interests inherent in existing policy provisions, for example, in agricultural subsidies or social welfare, has to be unpacked. This in turn leads to the questions of what reform programme Europe is going to adopt and the degree of liberalization that will be introduced into social and economic policy, and what models Europe will follow and how electorates perceive change. Enlargement also has implications for the *de facto* and *de jure* constitutional organization of the Union.

The rejection by the French and Dutch electorates in 2005 of the proposed European Constitution effectively ended its political viability, questioned the direction of the European project and its relevance to voters. The enlargement agenda is therefore far from concluded and has, in prospective Turkish membership, a highly contentious postscript.

The role of Europe in international politics is also a fundamental question for the Union, for its identity, and for its relationship with the USA. The degree to which the European project remains compatible with

transatlanticism permeates debates on the development and institutional setting of defence and security policy in Europe. Approaches to security in the wider international system, epitomized by the 'war on terror', have also revealed divergences both within Europe, and between Europe and the USA. The war in Iraq divided 'old' and 'new' Europe over endorsement for the US strategy and revealed the constraints facing the European commitment to a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). At the same time Europe's counter-terrorism measures have largely been conducted in partnership with Washington in recognition of common threats. Beyond security policy the place of Europe in economic policy, development aid, environmental policy and human rights raises more questions about relations with Washington. Russia's role in the wider Europe and in relation to the USA also affects the EU. Moscow's impact is not as dramatic as in the Cold War but is still significant in policy sectors such as counter-terror, in international organizations such as the UN and in a developing raft of economic engagements.

This book has dedicated sections on enlargement and the place of Europe. The section devoted to enlargement has three chapters. It begins with Petr Drulák's study of enlargement through 'East European eyes'. The chapter examines the theories of enlargement and the motivation of the Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs) to join the EU. The transition process is shown to associate democratization with a 'return to Europe', although accession is revealed to be far from uncontested. The chapter details the impact of accession in different states and the intended and unintended aspects of Europeanization. Frank Schimmelfennig's chapter follows, providing a general analysis of the EU socialization process in Central and Eastern Europe. His study assesses the mechanisms and strategies the EU has used to promote its rules and examines their effectiveness. Three stages of the socialization process are identified and analysed: political conditionality; *acquis* conditionality; and finally the new member states' implementation of and compliance with *acquis* rules. Schimmelfennig points to the pattern of EU 'intergovernmental reinforcement by reward' and the critical importance of a 'credible membership perspective' for the export of norms. The Turkish case is considered in this context and linked to the variables of domestic politics. The pervasive nature of *acquis* conditionality is underlined but so too is its technical and élitist transfer. Conclusions are drawn about the overall nature of socialization and its prospects post conditionality.

Barbara Lippert concludes the section by analysing the political and constitutional implications of enlargement for existing and new members. The chapter provides an overview of past enlargement, treaty revision and the development of the European project. This analysis demonstrates that

enlargement was neither the cause nor the key leverage to improve the governance capacities of the EU but has made reform more urgent and complicated. Lippert then turns to the institutions of the Community, examining the impact of enlargement upon the Commission, the Council/European Council and the European Parliament. The final section of the chapter assesses the implications of enlargement for the budget and key policy areas including agriculture. The conclusion looks to the problematic future of enlargement and the Turkish case.

The section on the place of Europe also has three dedicated chapters. Fergus Carr and Theresa Callan examine the relationship of Europe and the USA in security and defence policy. The chapter analyses the erosion of transatlanticism in the post-Cold-War era, the development of EU security institutions and their relationship to NATO. It reviews the changing nature of security and contrasts European and US perspectives of threat and responses. The challenges of the new security environment from the Balkans to the Gulf are analysed and specific coverage given to the war against terror. The European divide with Washington over the invasion of Iraq, the role of the UN, and American willingness to pursue unilateral strategies are examined. The chapter is complemented by Paul McVeigh's analysis of European and US relations in trade, finance and development. The study begins by placing European integration within the broader context of the evolving international political economy. The degree to which the EU will develop as a 'counter and rival' to the USA is questioned. The potential modalities of the integration project as a 'European market', a 'Social Europe', a 'state-led' model and an 'Anglo-Saxon' model are compared and contrasted. They provide the basis for McVeigh's exploration of the reform agenda and its contemporary direction. The EU's external trade policy and relations with the US are also examined. The key features of Europe's development policy and relations with the developing world are reviewed. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the EU and global finance. In contrast to the first two chapters of the section, Paul Flenley looks beyond the EU to Russia's role. His chapter considers Russia's relations with Europe in the context of Moscow's overall foreign policy, especially with the USA. The post-Cold-War Yeltsin era in Russian policy forms the backdrop for an analysis of Putin's strategic reassessment. A particular emphasis is given to Russian responses to terrorism and the post-9/11 relationship with Washington and its domestic reception. A detailed examination of Russian relations with the EU concludes the chapter. Flenley argues that Putin's 'Westernism' marks a new pragmatism in Russian policy which reflects mutual interests and shared threats but also the Russian desire for sustained economic development.

Like its predecessor, *Public Policy and the New European Agendas* has a substantive section on specific policy areas. The majority of original chapters have been retained but updated, and, where relevant, include material on enlargement and/or Europe's external role. New chapters have been added to include material on agriculture, human rights, and pensions and ageing.

The policy section begins with Paul Norman's work on Justice and Home Affairs (JHA). Norman demonstrates that the impact of 9/11 and the EU adoption of counter-terrorism as a major policy objective constitute a significant turning point in the attainment of EU internal security objectives and their external projection. Following an analysis of third-pillar governance from 1993 to 2001, Norman details the scale and pace of change in European cooperation. His analysis reveals the links between JHA and CFSP and concludes with a study of external relations with Washington and Moscow. This chapter is complemented by Elspeth Guild's study of terrorism, EU immigration, asylum and borders policy. The chapter originally appeared in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 8 (2003) and is reprinted here by kind permission of Kluwer Law International. Guild argues that there is no direct relationship between forced migrants, normally seen as asylum seekers or refugees, coming to Europe and the risk of terrorism in the EU. The impact of 9/11 was, however, to focus attention on borders. Security was increasingly perceived in a territorial framework. EU action in enhancing visa requirements, reinforcing border controls and working through third countries is shown to have hit migrants hard. Guild reviews the rights of migrants, the significance of the Geneva Convention and the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights. Against this legal provision the association of terrorism with foreigners and the prevailing trend of forced migrants coming from Muslim countries is analysed. The chapter concludes with the observation that non-nationals of the state seeking to cross its borders inadvertently become the face of menace, and if they are from a Muslim country the threat is heightened.

The protection and promotion of human rights is the subject of Theresa Callan's chapter. It begins with an outline of human rights regimes at the systemic and the European level. The chapter then analyses the specific EU commitments to human rights integral to the enlargement process. Contemporary challenges to human rights, particularly the effects of fighting the war on terror, are then examined. In this analysis the role of the USA is given clear attention. The tension between the pursuit of security and the protection of rights is explored. The chapter concludes with a warning that counter-terrorist strategies can run the risk of undermining human rights and, therefore, become self-defeating.

While enlargement has implications for nearly all aspects of the EU, agriculture can be seen as a key sector. Wyn Grant examines current EU

agricultural policy, the 2004 enlargement and the prospects for reform. He explains the 'productionist' philosophy of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) set up to reward farmers to increase production. Grant then looks at the disproportionate share of the EU budget consequently devoted to agricultural subsidies and the wider impact of CAP upon the developing world. He analyses past EU agricultural reforms, including the failure of 'Agenda 2000' to undertake radical action and agree a real annual reduction in subsidies. 'Optimistic' and 'pessimistic' interpretations of the current reform agenda are provided and the constraints, for example in a sector such as sugar production, analysed. The 2004 enlargement is reported to have added 4 million farmers to the EU's existing 7 million, some 38 million hectares of farmland but only a 6 per cent rise in the value of agricultural production. The potential costs of this enlarged CAP have not, Grant argues, produced the expected reforms. Instead the budgetary 'crunch' has been stalled by the accession countries receiving a lower subsidy than existing EU members until 2013. Grant concludes with analyses of future challenges to CAP. He provides studies of Hungarian and Polish agriculture under CAP and the potential impact, including environmental factors, on Europe.

Environmental concerns are the subject of Pamela Barnes's chapter. Environmental policy is shown to be highly Europeanized and the accession process an effective driver of national policies for new member states. Barnes reviews the extensive environmental *acquis* and the EU's Environmental Action Programmes. The EU commitment to sustainable development is assessed and the threats posed by climate change and global warming analysed. The EU's role in promoting global agreements is examined, as are the consequences of Washington's resistance to environmental measures such as Kyoto. The chapter then undertakes a substantive analysis of the impact of enlargement on EU environmental policy. The need for the accession states to be part of the policy process, the involvement of civil society and the qualities of national administrations are examined. The concluding analysis considers the overall consequences of enlargement, potential alliances among 'laggards' and 'leaders' and the overall probability of a slowing of the EU environmental dynamic.

Mike Mannin looks at the challenges confronting regional policy in the EU after enlargement. His analysis begins with a review of the objectives of EU regional policy (EURP), the constraints – political, financial and administrative – facing the reduction of disparities in regional economic performance and the role of structural funding as the main financial driver. The chapter outlines in detail the development of regional policy from principles in 1957 to a policy framework in the 1970s. The 1988 reforms and subsequent initiatives, policies and objectives are examined. The concept

of 'cohesion' is unpacked and its relationship to the single market assessed. The components of Structural Funding policy are identified in depth and a comparative analysis of sub-state policy undertaken. Enlargement is then specifically considered and the scale of the task facing new member states in 'catching up'. The potential costs for EURP are depicted, linked to the budgetary implications of a non-reformed CAP and possible time scales for change in Central and Eastern Europe outlined.

The final two chapters of the book concern social policy. Graham Moon examines health policy and concentrates upon two issues: emergent diseases and tobacco. His chapter begins with an analysis of the EU role in health protection and its evolution from Maastricht to proposals in the draft constitution. The focus then turns to emergent diseases and the salience of public health matters given HIV/AIDS, SARS/Asian flu. Moon links public health to security concerns and the notion of outside 'threats' to Europe's well-being. Enlargement, he argues, has brought some of the 'outside' inside while migrants and asylum seekers 'threaten' by crossing borders. Moon also examines a second linkage of health and security – the threat of bio-terrorism. The formation of the Health Security Committee in 2001 and post-9/11 developments are reviewed. As the EU moves to a cross-sector approach in protection Moon tests its consistency with an analysis of the tobacco industry in Europe. The health effects of tobacco, the significance of consumption in Central and Eastern Europe and the tobacco lobby in Europe are analysed. The challenges facing the EU are assessed as the contradiction between economic and social priorities for policy makers is depicted.

Europe's demographic profile, with older people comprising an increasing proportion of the population, is the subject of Kay Peggs's chapter. Peggs traces how societal ageing has been allied with discourses of individual and collective risks. Concerns about the viability of pensions have led to worker and pensioner demonstrations in Europe and governments to change policy. Enlargement can be seen to have further exacerbated the situation, with additional ageing populations being supported by what are perceived as unsustainable pension systems. The chapter begins with an analysis of theoretical perspectives of risk associated with pensions and ageing. The study reveals how marketization and individual responsibility have been posed as a solution. The study then examines the nature of societal ageing in European member states. The combination of weak birth rates and declining mortality rates as sustained trends are shown to shape current and future demographic structures. Within this overall profile variations between states are examined and specific attention given to the ageing profile of the accession countries. The negative consequences for state provision of pensions, the main source of income for older people, are analysed

and the implications of alternative occupational and private pensions for Europe's population are assessed. The limits of EU policy effectively leaves individual states responsible for pension provision. The prospect for reform is seen as problematic, with pensioners fearing change that seems to erode their benefits and states unable to sustain responsibly. In conclusion the chapter points to the presentation of ageing as a burden and the specific consequences for women, who make up the majority of older people.

The book is introduced by two chapters, one concerning the nature of public policy and the other, the place of Europe in the international system. Andrew Massey's study of public policy is designed to provide an analytical setting for the subsequent empirically based policy chapters. Massey's purpose is to provide a framework for understanding the making of policy in states that are subject to the focus of globalization, members of the European Union and international organizations. The chapter considers the relationship between domestic politics and government in this context. The approach adopted is to examine the utility of the concept of governance as a means to explain the process of governing in a multi-level political system and, as Massey terms the EU, a differentiated polity. The chapter analyses how a wide range of actors beyond the core executive are involved in the policy process, albeit in unequal measure. Policy networks inform this approach and Massey reveals the complexity of contemporary multi-level governance. This process of managing interdependence can be seen as inevitable but, as Massey argues, raises questions of democratic accountability. This leads to an analysis of the democratic deficit in the EU, of policy as a process remote from the citizen and without clear lines of accountability. The chapter looks at the nature of the Europeanization of policy, the specific consequences of regional management of interdependence and integration. The consequent impact of the EU on national administrations, domestic political systems and governments is examined. In the final section of the chapter attention is given to the importance of ethics to the public sector particularly in light of problems of democratic accountability. The conclusion warns of the dangers of contemporary governance: that European institutions may be perceived as authoritarian or politically irrelevant to citizens. The rejection of the draft European Constitution by the French and Dutch electorates in 2005 can be seen to be a case in point, underlining the need for reform in the management of governance.

The chapter 'Whither Europe?' investigates the place of Europe in the international system. Fergus Carr asks if the EU has an external influence commensurate with its economic base and what form of actor the Union constitutes. The chapter begins with a review of the breadth of EU external relations comprising pillar-one competencies in trade, finance and development and pillar-two provisions for a Common Foreign and Security

Policy (CFSP). The evolution of these roles is analysed and treaty revisions detailed. The constraints facing CFSP are discussed and illustrated with reference to Europe's response to the break-up of the former Yugoslavia and the crises in the Gulf. Enlargement is linked to the challenge of finding consensus in this intergovernmental framework. European security strategy is analysed and its linkages to development, human rights and 'good governance' explored. The role of enlargement in the stabilization of the European political space is discussed and the importance of new border regions beyond the accession countries identified.

The EU role in the Middle East is examined as a case study of external relations. EU motives to promote stability on its southern flank, ensure energy access, develop trade and address migratory pressures are identified and the process of engagement with the actors concerned, evaluated. A particular focus is given to EU relations with the Palestinians. The fate of EU policy in seeking to underpin and legitimize the peace process is examined under the post-9/11 conditions in the region. The impact of terrorism, the 'closure' of Palestinian territories and rising violence are seen to undermine a strategy based upon 'soft power' and the export of norms. EU policy after 9/11 and solidarity with the USA is examined. The erosion of transatlanticism as Washington pursued its 'axis of evil' agenda is discussed and European divisions over Iraq analysed. The schism of 'old and new' Europe is examined and the policy of the accession states outlined.

The chapter concludes with an examination of the role of the EU, the variable nature of Europeanization in foreign and security policy and the impact of institutionalism in this sector. Carr argues that CFSP has failed to eclipse national policy but member states have recognized that common strategies may be the only appropriate response to contemporary security challenges such as terrorism. The result is an actor uneven in performance, difficult to categorize but significant to third parties, not least in economic affairs.

Carr and Massey conclude the book seeking to draw out the implications of each chapter for Europe's new policy agendas and the overarching themes of the text.