

## [*The Ideals of Integration*]

JOSEPH H.H. WEILER

### 17 **The Constitution of Europe: „Do the New Clothes have an Emperor?”**

It started with a bang: The signing of the Treaty on European Union at Maastricht in February 1992. It ended in a whimper: Its entry into force in November 1993 – a low, anti-climatic moment in the history of contemporary European integration not its crowning achievement. A would-be triumph turned sour. Does that crisis mean that the formative ideals of European integration lost their attractiveness? In this article Weiler asks the question whether the weakening of the idealistic attraction of the European project is not by any chance an inevitable cause of its success.





## [*European Identities*]

LIESBET HOOGHE, GARY MARKS

### 56 **Multiple Identities**

The founding fathers of the European construction assumed that European identity would become a by-product of integration. They were ready to build European institutions in the absence of Europeans. According to them it was enough to address the elites, which were able to appreciate the advantages of collective decision-making at the European level. Today, along with the politicisation of European integration, this luxury is gone.

FRANZ C. MAYER, JAN PALMOWSKI

### 85 **European Identities and the EU – the Ties that Bind the Peoples of Europe**

This article addresses a crucial issue underlying enlargement and constitutional reform: the ways in which the EU has come to relate to a common European identity. The discussion problematizes the concept of identity in order to distinguish between different types of identities. It proposes that, while a meaningful common European historical identification barely exists, European identities have come to be expressed first and foremost through EU institutions and EU law. The best way for EU institutions, and the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, to respond to and promote such identifications are through enhancing distinctive common citizenship rights and strengthening Europe's supranational institutions.

ULRICH K. PREUSS

### 125 **The transformation of European nation state – a stimulus for the formation of European public opinion?**

Does the openness of the European Union and member states may lead to the formation of a new trans-national type of public opinion? Is the national context still dominant even in the face of the progressive erosion of the dominance of introverted nation states? In his text Preuss tries to sketch out the conditions necessary for the future formation of a homogenous European public sphere.

JAN BEYERS

## 149 Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials

Neofunctional, supranationalist, and constructivist scholars studying European integration hypothesize that social interactions cutting across national borders lead individual actors to shift their allegiance toward the European level. This strong socialization hypothesis presumes that, as a result of prolonged exposure and interactions, individuals adopt role conceptions that promote a sense of “we-ness” and that fit into a view of the European Union (EU) as an autonomous level primarily designed for finding policy solutions in the interest of a common, European, good. In contrast, this article offers an institutional understanding of role enactment that argues that socialization—that is, the adoption of role conceptions—is considerably shaped by actors’ embeddedness in multiple European and domestic contexts.

TADEUSZ SZAWIEL

## 208 Polish Identity vs. Europe

How do Poles relate to Europe? The relation is dependent not only on the salience of the European issue in the public discourse but also on personal experience. Such experiences as voting in the accession referendum or receiving direct payments, which concern an ever increasing number of Poles, transform our perception of the European Union. The EU does not longer constitute an abstract term it used to be associated with at the beginning of the nineties of the twentieth century. How do Poles thus perceive themselves in the new European context?





# [*Essay on Europe*]

JERZY KŁOCZOWSKI

## 330 Polish and European Identity Today


Asking questions concerning the relation between identity and culture is especially pertinent in the era of globalisation, when opinions on European identity, identity of nation states and the perspectives for the formation of homogenous European culture are so varied and sometimes even contradictory. In his essay Kłoczowski attempts to paint the panorama of the most prominent trends in thinking about the above mentioned issues.

RAFAŁ TRZASKOWSKI

## 345 Jean Monnet in Warsaw

In the twenties of the previous century Jean Monnet made a short appearance on the Polish domestic scene. It is not a very well-known story. Not that many people are aware of the fact that in 1927 the future founder of the European Coal and Steel Community played an instrumental role in the process of granting Poland the stabilisation loan.





## [Reviews]

ZDZISŁAW NAJDER

### 360 Teaching what it means to be European

JERZY ŁUKASZEWSKI, *Cel: Europa*, Noir sur Blanc, Warszawa 2002;  
JERZY ŁUKASZEWSKI, *O Polsce i Europie bez niedomówień*, Noir sur Blanc,  
Warszawa 2006.

JADWIGA EMILEWICZ

### 366 Diplomatic Academy

PIOTR WANDYCZ, *Pax Europea. Dzieje systemów międzynarodowych w  
Europie 1815-1914*, Arcana, Kraków 2003.

OLAF OSICA

### 370 On Europe

TONY JUDT, *Postwar Europe. A History of Europe since 1945*, Penguin  
Press, New York 2005.

### 373 [Contributors]