



# The International Spectator

## Italian Journal of International Affairs

ISSN: 0393-2729 (Print) 1751-9721 (Online) Journal homepage: <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rspe20>

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To cite this article: Sharon Pardo (2007) Does the EU have a Value-Driven Vision of the World?, *The International Spectator*, 42:1, 141-143, DOI: [10.1080/03932720601160492](https://doi.org/10.1080/03932720601160492)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03932720601160492>



Published online: 20 Jun 2007.



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## Does the EU have a Value-Driven Vision of the World?

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*Values and principles in European Union foreign policy*/edited by Sonia Lucarelli and Ian Manners. - London and New York: Routledge, 2006. - xvi, 254 p. (Routledge Advances in European Politics). - ISBN 0-415-37136-0

Six years ago Romano Prodi, then President of the European Commission, argued that “Europe needs to project its model of society into the wider world. We are not simply here to defend our own interests: we have a unique historic experience to offer. . . . We have forged a model of development and continental integration based on the

principles of democracy, freedom, and solidarity – and it is a model that works. . . .”<sup>1</sup> Prodi’s declaration was an important testament to the role that values, images and principles (VIPs) play in EU relations with the rest of the world. Equally important, it sheds light on how norms shape the Union as a social and political agent.

Since Francois Duchêne’s well-known description of the EC as a “civilian power”,<sup>2</sup> academics and scholars have tried to analyse the meaning of the EU’s international identity and its participation in the international arena. Among them is of course Ian Manners, the co-editor of this volume who, in his influential article,

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<sup>1</sup> Prodi, Romano. “2000–2005: Shaping the New Europe”. Speech to the European Parliament, Speech/00/41, Strasbourg, 15 February 2000, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Duchêne, F. “The European Community and the Uncertainties of Interdependence”. In *A Nation Writ Large? Foreign Policy Problems before the European Community*, edited by M. Kohnstamm and W. Hager. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973; see also Duchêne, F. “Europe’s Role in World Peace”. In *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead*, edited by R. Mayne. London: Fontana, 1972.

described Europe as a 'normative power.'<sup>3</sup> In Manners' words: "the concept of normative power is an attempt to suggest that not only is the EU constructed on a normative basis, but importantly that this predisposes it to act in a normative way in world politics. It is built on the crucial, and usually overlooked observation, that the most important factor shaping the international role of the EU is not what it does or what it says, but what it is."<sup>4</sup>

While Manners is the exception, the analysis of EU foreign policy has routinely focused attention on the "hardware" rather than the "software" dimensions of EU external policies. Indeed this process of understanding what the EU does in relation to the rest of the world concentrated mainly on the content of these policies and hardly on their implications for the Union itself.

Following the footpaths of Duchêne's and Manners' influential works, this skilfully edited volume brings together an impressive list of scholars, who aim at exploring how this series of values, images and principles shape, and are shaped by, EU foreign policy towards the wider world. These excellent contributions, reflecting a wide range of perspectives, struggle with four common questions regarding the relationships between values, principles, foreign policy, the international identity of the EU and the political identity of the Europeans:

1. What are the values and principles that shape EU external behaviour?
2. Where do these values and principles originate?
3. Are EU values and principles specifically European, Western (with a European interpretation), or universally recognised values and principles?
4. What role does the external projection of values and principles play in the EU identity formation process? How does this process contribute to the construction of an identity that differentiates the EU from significant "others"? (p. 14).

In their answers, the authors provide important insights into the international conduct of the EU, while also investigating the implications for the process of identity formation of the Union itself.

Much credit for this successful volume should go to the editors who have succeeded in building a coherent whole out of the individual chapters. The basis of this success is to be found in the fine introductory chapter by Sonia Lucarelli which contains a comprehensive review of the ways that key actors in EU foreign policy, together with other scholars, usually refer to VIPs that characterise the EU and provide the basis for the Union's role in the international arena. Furthermore, the introductory chapter analyses the basic concepts employed in the volume and presents the authors' claims regarding the VIPs embedded in the Union's external political behaviour. This focus on VIPs helps the readers understand the nature of the EU and of the European integration process, while offering a better tool for a comparison between the EU and other international actors.

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<sup>3</sup> Manners, I. "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, no. 2 (2002): 235–58; and by the same author, "Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads". *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, no. 2 (2006): 182–99.

<sup>4</sup> Manners, "Normative Power Europe", p. 252.

The individual chapters – three conceptual contributions and eight case studies – examine the EU VIPs from three different angles: a theoretical perspective (Ian Manners and Knud Erik Jørgensen); gender equality, democracy and human rights, and the use of force (Andrea Pető and Ian Manners, Rosa Balfour, Stefania Panebianco and Sonia Lucarelli and Roberto Menotti); and the areas of science, environment, development cooperation and multilateral trade negotiations (Ian Welsh, Susan Baker, Federico Bonaglia, Andrea Goldstein and Fabio Petito, and Adrian van den Hoven). The volume shows the advantages of using a firm methodological approach based on comparative analysis. Despite their different angles, the chapters assist the readers in tracing the relationships between EU values, images and principles and EU foreign policy.

From the individual chapters, Lucarelli and Manners have identified several ways in which principles are put into practice in EU foreign policy. The editors

draw the important conclusion that EU values and principles are at the heart of EU foreign policy, both in shaping the Union's foreign policy, and in putting these policies into effect.

This book is multidisciplinary, as it contains contributions from scholars specialising in political science, political economy, environmental science, gender studies and sociology. Overall the book provides an original, stimulating and valuable analysis of the changing nature of EU foreign policy and the European integration process, and this makes it necessary reading for scholars and students of EU foreign policy. Those interested in the European integration process and in Europeanisation and democratisation will also welcome this volume, and others may use the vast bibliography for further research. One can only hope that other scholars will take up the challenge to study the values, images and principles underlying EU self-identity and the Union's position in the world.