



*The Abduction of Europa  
(on a wall fresco in Pompeii)*

# Technical Note:

## Who and what is Europa in 2009?

authored by:  
Peer Ederer

**October 2009**

©2009 Wageningen University – EFAS  
All rights reserved. Cases are developed for discussion only, and are not intended to serve as source of data. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored, transmitted or used without permission of Wageningen University.



*editing*

International Meeting Point, Joy Christensen (jjss@c.dk)

*layout*

Grafisch Atelier Wageningen, Jeroen Brugman (www.gaw.nl)

*print*

Print Service Ede (www.printservice-ed.nl)

*Europa – either derived from Semitic 'ereb' = evening and Phoenician 'erob' = dark, the lands where from the view of the early Fertile Crescent civilizations the sun was setting, or derived from the Greek 'eurys' = broad and 'op' = face, the broad open lands available for settling*

*Europa – the official name of Europe as decided by the European institutions, following the Latin and old Greek spelling*

## The European Union

### **The European Union and its citizens**

Legally, the European Union is the result of a treaty signed in the Dutch city of Maastricht in 1992 by governments of what then were member states of the European Communities. Technically, the European Union possesses almost all factual and symbolic trappings of an independent country: it has an anthem (of Beethoven's Symphony No 9 the final movement incorporating the text known as *Ode to Joy* by Friedrich Schiller, expressing his idealistic vision of the human race joining hands in brotherhood), a national day (though not a holiday, the 9th of May commemorates Robert Schuman's proposal in 1950 to create commonality in organized Europe), a flag and emblem (12 golden stars on dark blue, the number 12 standing for perfection, unity and completeness – designed by the Council of Europe in 1955, adopted by the EC in 1985), a common currency (the euro in use since 1999 and in circulation since 2002, formerly the ECU), a common passport, a common driver's licence system, a common road numbering system, and a number of other symbolic and substantive common features.

The European Union has a *de facto* capital (Brussels) and a long-term secured budget for use at independent discretion. It maintains quasi-embassies around the world, a separate military command structure (60,000 troops in the European Rapid Reaction Force), and its own police force (Europol). It is governed by a democratically elected parliament with a well practiced legislative process, high court jurisdiction empowered to overrule national courts of justice (European Court of Justice), a ministerial bureaucracy with a staff of 25,000 (the DGs and agencies), and an executive government (Council and Commission). Finally, as agreed by ratified law, every member state citizen is also a citizen of the European Union.

If the European Union does not feel like an independent country in its own right, the reason may be that no majority in any of the member states identifies first with Europe, and then with nationality in the homeland. Whether this important and as yet missing property of countryhood will ever emerge in the EU may be one of the most intriguing questions of the 21st century. Will Europeans eventually develop a sense of European citizenship by spending the same money, travelling and working without borders, electing a common parliament, graduating from universities with European degrees (from 2010), or having their speeding tickets enforced across Europe (not yet enforced), to name a few of the commonalities? Or will the undeniable and deep diversity of cultural, historical and linguistic features among the European nations prevent them from growing together for many more generations? The official guiding principle of Europe is: "*United in Diversity*". How the European citizens put this into practice has significance beyond the borders of Europe.

### **The EU Member States and their neighbours**

Pre-2004 members of the European Union are usually referred to as the EU 15. That group comprises: the six west-central countries France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany, and Austria; the four southern countries Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece; the two Atlantic coastal countries Ireland and the United Kingdom; and the three Scandinavian countries Denmark, Sweden, and Finland. In 2004 ten new members joined the European Union: the five east-central countries Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Slovenia; the three Baltic nations Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia; and the two southern islands Malta and Cyprus. Romania and Bulgaria, two more east-central countries, joined in 2007. From that year on, the member states in total are referred to as the EU 27.

Three countries have candidacy status in 2009: Croatia, Macedonia, and Turkey. Iceland applied in 2009, but is not yet a candidate. Croatia was expected to join the EU in 2010, but uncertainty with regard to the Lisbon Treaty and border disputes with Slovenia have delayed the process. The current anticipation is that Croatia and Iceland might both join in 2012. No date has been set for Macedonia's entry. Entry negotiations with Turkey began in October 2005, but have largely stalled since then. It is not expected that Turkey can attain membership in less than ten years. Several European leaders would prefer for Turkey (along with Israel) to have a "Privileged Partnership" status. Albania and Montenegro have applied for membership, but they are not yet candidates. So-called potential candidates are the remaining three Balkan nations Serbia, Bosnia Herzegovina, and Kosovo.

Seven countries in Western Europe are neither members of the European Union, nor are they currently considering it. These are Switzerland and Norway, and the five tiny countries Vatican City, Monaco, San Marino, Liechtenstein, and Andorra. Political leaders in Switzerland and Norway have repeatedly proposed entering the EC/EU, but their citizens have repeatedly rejected these proposals.

Governments of the East European countries Georgia, Ukraine, Armenia and Moldavia have openly stated that eventual membership in the EU is a target. The countries Byelorussia, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan are not expressing interest, though Azerbaijan works closely with the European Union. None of these seven are considered close to fulfilling membership criteria. It is considered that Israel would be quickly eligible, and 85% of Israelis look at membership favorably, but the issue has been stalled, mainly due to the on-going Palestinian crisis in Israel. Morocco applied for EU membership in 1987, but was not deemed eligible on the grounds that it is not a European country. The government of the Cape Verde Islands is considering application.

All neighbouring countries of the EU, that is all of the North African countries plus Israel, Syria, Jordan, the three Caucasus nations Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, as well as Byelorussia and Moldavia are members of the *European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument*. (However, for political reasons Syria, Libya and Byelorussia are not full members.) Russia objected to this assumed junior status and defined a separate instrument called the *Four EU-Russia Common Spaces*, which fulfills essentially the same function, providing a framework for aligning Russia's and the EU neighbours' political and economic policies with the European Union. In 2008 the *Union for the Mediterranean* was founded with a seat in Barcelona and membership comprising all Mediterranean countries plus all EU Member States. In 2009, the *Eastern Partnership* was agreed with the six countries Byelorussia, Ukraine, Moldavia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

### **The European Communities**

Since 1949 the European Project has created numerous treaties, three of which formed the *European Communities*: the European Economic Community (EEC of 1957), the European Steel and Coal Community (ECSC of 1951), and Euratom (also 1957). Two other significant treaties are the Economic Monetary Union (EMU of 1992, emerging from the EMS of 1979), and the Schengen Acquis (in force since 1995). Participation in the latter two treaties is not identical with membership in the three organizations of the European Communities.

When the Maastricht Treaty established the European Union in 1992, the Three Pillars were introduced – together constituting the European Union. The First Pillar is comprised of the previously established three communities, but authorized to take greater responsibility (notably health and food safety). The Second Pillar is built on the *Common Foreign and Security Policy*, which subsumes treaties of the European Political Cooperation (EPC) of 1970, the *Single European Act* (SEA) of 1986, and the *Western European Union* (WEU) of 1948. The Third Pillar is *Cooperation in Justice and Home Affairs*.

For the most part, the European Union uses the legal framework and established institutions of the European Economic Community (EEC) in legislative and administrative practice. This explains in turn why most of those institutions were renamed in 1993 when the EEC became the European Community or EC (dropping the word reference "economic").

However, the legal situation of the European Union remains highly complex. For instance, the European Monetary Union (EMU) continues to function outside the Three Pillars, where the European System of Central Banks (ESCB) is in the First Pillar under EC Treaty Article 8. So today "the European Community" is one of "three European Communities" which all together form one of "Three Pillars" of "the European Union", of which most "Member States" use the common currency (EUR) in the EMU framework, supervised by the wholly independent European Central Bank (ECB). A different group of countries are signatories to the Schengen Acquis which abolishes internal border controls. Again a different group of members are part of the defense-oriented WEU, while yet another group of members and non-members participate in the economic Single Market through the EEA/EFTA, and so on and so forth. This institutional melange has led to *Europa à la carte*, where member and non-member states choose whatever best suits their needs from the menu that Europe offers.

Furthermore, the Maastricht Treaty which established the EU in 1992 has been renegotiated and superseded or partially replaced by the Amsterdam Treaty in force since 1999 and by the Nice Treaty in force since 2003. These three and the 1986 SEA (which provided for transformation of the Common Market into a Single Market on 1 January 1993) are the four major Inter-Governmental Treaties, known as IGTs.

As the legal state of affairs surrounding the multiple, overlaying treaties is both cumbersome to operate and almost impossible to communicate to any stakeholder, it was decided in 2001 in the Belgian town of Laeken that a single encompassing treaty would be developed which would subsume all previous ones within a single framework. This single treaty was to be the European Constitution and the fifth IGT.

### **European Constitution and recent institutional reform**

The European Constitution was formulated between 2002 and 2004 in what was called the European Convention. The outcome of the convention was a "Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe". To come into force, this treaty, as all treaties before, had to be ratified by the governments of each EU Member State. But then, in contrast to previous practice, many European governments decided to hold a national referendum in order to achieve popular mandates for the ratification. When both the French and Dutch referenda failed at the end of May 2005, it became clear that the constitution would not be ratified.

During their summit meeting of June 2007, EU government leaders agreed on a compromise that implements a "Reform Treaty" which preserves most elements of the constitution draft, but does not require national referenda for ratification.

The European constitutional effort was an attempt to achieve many ambitious targets all at once. For one, the convention tried to accomplish its original task of streamlining the legal framework of the European Union, which was thought to be essential on expansion of the membership to 27 and more countries. That is the principle reason why the constitution developed into a document of 500+ pages and offered so many inherent contradictions. Most of the contradictions did not originate in the constitution draft, but were the contradictory essence of current treaties that could not be resolved under the limited authority of a constitutional convention.

The need to achieve this streamlining becomes apparent when considering that legislative powers of the European Union meanwhile encompass more than those invested in the federal government of the United States of America, both in quantity and in areas of responsibility. More than 70% of all legislation in the member states is caused or triggered by initiatives of the European Union, and essentially all their national legislation must now be harmonized with EU law in one way or the other.

In October 2009, the scaled down Reform Treaty which became known as the Lisbon Treaty has still not been ratified, as several countries experienced ratification challenges. Most prominently, the constitution of Ireland required the new treaty to be subjected to a referendum, which failed in June 2008. However, a second referendum in October 2009 approved the treaty with a solid majority of 67%. In Germany, the treaty could only be ratified after the Constitutional High Court ruled that many EU decisions will have to be approved by the German parliament, and not the executive branch. As of October 2009 the Czech President Vaclav Klaus is withholding his ratification signature, pending Czech constitutional court decisions.

If (or once) the Lisbon Treaty comes into effect, it will change the institutional landscape that determines how Europe functions. It brings nearly all policy areas (including the budget) under the codecision procedure, hence increasing the power of the Parliament. The Commission will shrink in size, and it will include the High Representative. Appointment of the President will be more dependent on the last EU elections. The EU Council will adopt more Qualified Majority Voting and it will be made more formal, with its own, permanent President of the European Council. The European Central Bank will also become an institution of the EU.

## EU Institutions as of 2009 before the Lisbon Treaty

The institutions of the EU are, in a narrow definition, the three "triangle institutions" and seven others such as the European Central Bank (ECB) plus a few executive agencies such as the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA). In a broader definition, "EU Institutions" sometimes refers to the numerous official and semi-official governance systems of the EU, though "European Architecture" is a more frequently used term to cover this broader range.

The three triangle institutions are the *Council of the European Union*, *European Parliament*, and the *European Commission*. They are called the triangle institutions because in a mixture of formal and informal procedures, these three institutions working together manage the entirety of decision making processes and power flow inside the European Union.

The power balance between the triangle institutions is in constant flux, and it is heavily influenced by personal leadership constellations. It is said that when the Commission was headed by Jacques Delors in the 1990s, power shifted to a large degree from the Council towards the Commission and the Parliament. During the Prodi Commission, some of that power supposedly swung back to the Council. The Barroso Commission got off to a rocky start, then became established as a competent operator of the system, rather than a driver.

Technically, the Council could be the strongest of the triangle institutions, since it holds the purse strings and since the EU Member State governments of which it is composed generally enjoy a higher degree of legitimacy with their citizens than the eurocrats in Brussels. However, the Council is handicapped in that its governance structure rotates every six months among the member state governments – who often have diverging views on the European agenda.

The Council has addressed this weakness by strengthening the Brussels system of Permanent Representation (member state embassies or missions) and two so-called "Corepers" (regular meetings of the deputy permanent representatives, stationed in the member state missions). The latter position is rising in status and becoming one of the most important posts that a national government has to staff. The Lisbon Treaty will establish a Council presidency to match the power base of the Commission president. However, for the Council this is an irresolvable dilemma: providing itself with more permanent Brussels-based structures will automatically weaken direct national influence on the European agenda. But if the Council does not build its own structures, the established Brussels-based institutions are likely to maintain their momentum and keep the initiative in their hands. It seems that, institutionally speaking, the long-term trend of increasingly Europeanized political governance mechanisms, moving away from national governments and towards the center, is likely to continue.

### **European Commission**

The European Commission consists of 27 commissioners, one of whom is the president. First, a candidate is proposed by the EU Council for the office of Commission President (José Manuel Durão Barroso was reelected in 2009 for a second term). This candidate selects the 26 commissioner colleagues, and the proposed commission is presented to the EU Parliament for approval – the Commission also reports regularly to Parliament. Although one commissioner each is appointed from every member state, the role of EU Commissioners is not to represent their respective countries, but to represent and guide a functional portfolio.

The European Commission embodies a unique power position in that this organ is solely empowered to initiate legislative processes.

### **European Parliament**

The European Parliament has 736 members, who were directly elected in 2009 by citizens in all the EU Member States. The European Parliament functions similarly to any other national parliament, with two exceptions. First, it cannot enact legislation alone – most EU legislation has to be agreed upon in a complicated co-decision process with the EU Council. Second, the EU Parliament does not have sovereign budget control – that is still vested in the Council.

### **Council of the European Union**

The "Council" (in short) is the institution through which the member state governments are represented in the legislative process of the EU. By participation in the co-decision process with the EU Parliament, the European Union achieves its ultimate legitimacy, as each member government is granted these executive powers by their national political systems.

### **European Council**

The European Council is the quarterly meeting of all the heads of government of EU Member States. Formerly, these meetings took place in the country of the current Council Presidency, which changes every 6 months. Since 2004, all councils are held in Brussels.

### **Agriculture (Farm) Council**

All the ministers of agriculture in the member states meet officially on a regular schedule (as do eight other subject-oriented minister level councils with other names).

### **DGs**

DGs are the "Directorates General" of the European institutions. The best description might equate them with the functional ministries of a European government, but there are some significant differences. The DGs typically work very closely with the Commission, but they are *de jure* not under its direct or sole control. Likewise, the EU Commissioner position is invested with some chancellery powers, so they are not exactly only ministers. While the commissioners are matched to the functional portfolio of a corresponding DG, the DGs are not headed by their commissioner, but by a Director General. Also, the commissioners (27 in total) outnumber the DGs. Where DGs used to be designated with Roman numerals, they have acquired informal short names. The DG for agriculture and rural development is called "DG Ag", and the DG in charge of food safety is called "DG Sanco" (Health and Consumer Protection).

### **European Court of Justice**

The Court of Justice of the European Communities was installed under the ECSC Treaty in 1952. Based in Luxembourg, its role is to ensure that EU legislation is applied in the same way in all EU countries, so that the law is equal for everyone. It ensures, for example, that national courts do not give different rulings on the same issue. The Court also makes sure that EU Member States and institutions do as the law requires, and it has the power to settle legal disputes between EU Member States, EU institutions, businesses and individuals. The Court is composed of one judge per member state, so that all 27 of the EU's national legal systems are represented. For the sake of efficiency, however, the Court rarely sits as the full court. It usually sits as a "Grand Chamber" of just 13 judges or in chambers of five or three judges.

## Some other European keywords

### **Euro-zone, euro countries, Euroland**

The above terms cover those countries that have adopted the euro as their currency. These are the EU 15 countries without the UK, Denmark, and Sweden, but with the addition of Monaco, San Marino, Vatican City, and also Andorra (although it does not mint its own coins). Slovenia adopted the euro in 2007, Cyprus and Malta in 2008 and Slovakia in 2009. Most other non-adopters are planning to join the Eurozone at the earliest possible moment. Contractually speaking, all present and prospective EU countries have the obligation to adopt the euro as soon as their macroeconomic condition allows them to do so. The UK and Denmark enjoy contractual opt-outs, while Sweden remains more or less in technical violation of the treaties. Kosovo and Montenegro use the euro as their currency on a unilateral basis. Poland introduced the euro officially as a second currency. In West Africa the 14 CFA franc countries plus Morocco, Cap Verde and Comores, are *de facto* using the euro, as their currencies are pegged to it. In total the euro is used in 44 territories by 503 million people directly or through a currency peg. Initially, the euro coins only showed the individual EU countries. As per January 2007, they show a geographical map of Europe, as do the banknotes. Already in 2006, more euro notes were in circulation than US dollar notes (630 billion worth). Global reserves held in USD are constantly shrinking, amounting to 62% at last calculation, while the reserves held in EUR are constantly rising, at last calculation 28%.

### **European Economic Area (EEA)**

EEA refers to an agreement of the EU with Norway, Iceland, and Liechtenstein, allowing their full participation in the economic Single Market of the EU without having to assume full responsibilities of the political EU membership. The EEA was supposed to emerge from the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1994, but Switzerland, the fourth EFTA member, decided by referendum not to participate in the EEA. Therefore, both organizations exist and are typically referred to as EEA/EFTA.

### **Lisbon Agenda**

A 10-year plan agreed upon by the Council in 2000, called the "Lisbon Agenda", aimed to make Europe the "most competitive and dynamic knowledge-driven economy by 2010".

### **Eurojargon**

The European institutions have developed a eurospeak nomenclature in which targets or coordination processes are called by the name of the city in which these matters were originally decided upon. For instance, the Lisbon Agenda was decided upon during the Council meeting in 2000 that happened to have been held in Lisbon. The Maastricht Criteria evaluate the fiscal performance of EU Member States because the corresponding treaty was signed in that city. The Copenhagen Criteria are those that applicant countries have to fulfill before they can join the EU, as decided in 1993 in Copenhagen. The Bologna Process dictates that in the year 2010 all European university degrees and professorships must be compatible, and credits earned must count towards a degree anywhere in Europe – a decision taken in 1999 in Bologna. Even though the naming of several hundreds of such processes, targets and criteria with city names is confusing to the outsider, it is rather practical. Using city names removes the need to translate the matter into all of the 23 official

languages of the EU (which include Irish Gaelic and Maltese), possibly eliminating a source of even greater confusion. It also prevents ideological wrangling over the titles of these acts. There are many other EU specific terms such as "communitisation", "comitology", "eurocrat", "Open Method of Coordination", "Qualified Majority Voting", "Four Freedoms", "Single Market", "harmonization", "federalisation" – all of which are special political terms that need to be employed with care when communicating inside European political circles. The correct usage and knowledge of such terms differentiates Brussels insiders from outsiders.

### **Brussels**

Most of the European institutions have their seats in the Belgian capital of Brussels, with only few exceptions. For instance, the Parliament officially resides in French Strasbourg, but it *de facto* works in Brussels. The ECJ Court and EuroStat reside in Luxembourg a three-hour drive away, the European Central Bank resides in German Frankfurt, EFSA resides in Italian Parma, and the Office for the Harmonization in the Internal Market (OHIM) is in Spanish Alicante. In the press and casual jargon (like "Brussels decided / is responsible for") Brussels is an unofficial abbreviation that actually describes the whole decision making machinery of the EU. More journalists and diplomats are accredited in Brussels than in Washington DC.

### **Schengenland or Schengen countries or Aquis**

Technically, the Schengen Aquis is an "umbrella" understanding under which a number of different agreements and protocols are in operation concerning internal and external border controls. The practical ultimate effect is that for most members of the European Union there are no internal border or custom controls. All EU 27 members plus Iceland, Norway and Switzerland have signed the Schengen Aquis, though the UK and Ireland are not participants in the immigration elements of the agreement. The recent EU entrants implemented the Schengen Aquis by March 2008, Switzerland by November 2008, Romania and Bulgaria by 2011. Schengen is a city in the country of Luxembourg.

### **European Patent Office**

The patent office is the second largest European organization after the European Union. It has 36 member countries, a staff of 6000, a budget in excess of €1 billion, and it is headquartered in Munich, Germany. The member countries are all EU 27 plus Turkey, Switzerland, Iceland, Norway, Croatia, Macedonia, Monaco, San Marino and Liechtenstein. Albania and Serbia are invited to accede.

### **Council of Europe (COE)**

This sounds similar to, but is different from the European Council. It refers to a political institution that was started in 1949 and today has 47 members (every European country except Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, and the Holy See; the last entrant was Montenegro in May 2007). Any European country can become a member of the COE, if it accepts the principles of the rule of law (which precludes the Holy See) and guarantees the human rights and fundamental freedoms (so far ruling out the other two). The COE and the European Union are completely separate organizations.

**European Court of Human Rights (ECHR)**

The Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms was drawn up within the Council of Europe. It was opened for signature in Rome on 4 November 1950 and entered into force in September 1953. Taking as their starting point the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the framers of the Convention sought to pursue the aims of the Council of Europe through the maintenance and further realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The Convention was to represent the first steps for collective enforcement of certain rights set out in the Universal Declaration. In addition to laying down a catalogue of civic and political rights and freedoms, the Convention set up a mechanism for the enforcement of obligations entered into by the contracting states.

Three institutions were entrusted with this responsibility: the European Commission of Human Rights (set up in 1954), the European Court of Human Rights (set up in 1959), and the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, the latter organ being composed of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the member states or their representatives. The ECHR resides in Strasbourg.

**European Bank for Reconstruction and Development**

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was established in 1991 when communism was crumbling in Central and Eastern Europe and ex-soviet countries needed support to nurture a new private sector in a democratic environment. Today the EBRD uses the tools of investment to help build market economies and democracies in 30 countries from Central Europe to Central Asia. The EBRD is the largest single investor in the region and mobilizes significant foreign direct investment beyond its own financing. It is owned by 61 countries and two intergovernmental institutions. Despite its public sector shareholders, it invests mainly in private enterprises, usually together with commercial partners.

**European Broadcasting Union (EBU)**

The EBU was started in 1950 in order to exchange newscasts among the European TV and radio stations. Since 2005, the EBU has listed members from 56 countries. Members from outside the European continent include Cyprus, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Armenia, and Georgia.

**Eurovision Song Contest**

In this annual tele-voting event, Europeans select their favorite pop song among national candidates previously determined in each country. Any nation that is a member of the EBU can take part and in 2009 the participants came from 42 nations, among which Israel has been a long-standing and successful participant.

**UEFA**

The governing body of European football (soccer) is known by its abbreviation UEFA. Besides members from the European continent this organization includes Cyprus, Israel, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Kazakhstan. It also lists Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the Faeroe Islands among a total membership of 53 nations.

## General Definitions for Europe

### **Geographical Europe**

The geographic extent of the European continent is not uniformly defined. Commonly, the continent is held to include Iceland and the Atlantic Ocean islands of the Azores in the west, but to exclude the Danish territory of Greenland (North America) and the Spanish Canary Islands (Africa). To the south it includes all islands of the Mediterranean Sea, except for Cyprus which belongs to Asia. The geographic border to the east (running north to south) passes along the Arctic Kara Sea, the Ural Mountains, following the Ural River to the Caspian Sea, further in a western direction into the Kuma-Manych Depression to the Sea of Azov, leaving the Crimean peninsula inside Europe, and then following the Black Sea into the Sea of Marmara south of Istanbul and further to the European Mediterranean Sea.

This geographic demarcation at the eastern reaches includes only small percentages of the areas of the mostly Asian countries Russia, Kazakhstan, and Turkey (though the European landmass of Russia represents a quarter of the whole European landmass). Both Russia and Turkey have major cities located on the European peninsula: Moscow and Istanbul. This definition of Europe includes fully the countries of Byelorussia and Ukraine, but excludes fully the Caucasian countries of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. The Caucasian mountain ridge serves as another commonly used definition of the eastern demarcation of the European continent. This would then partially include the countries of Georgia and Azerbaijan as well, but still not Armenia. Regardless of geographic definition, the European continent is the second smallest continent after Australia, but the one with the longest inhabited coastline of 37,000 km.

### **Political Europe**

The nations which are either part of or have defined aspirations to join the European Project are considered to fall under the term "Political Europe". Besides essentially every nation of Western and Central Europe, this definition also includes Ukraine, Georgia, and Turkey in the East. It typically excludes the European nations of Byelorussia, Moldavia, and Russia.

### **Outermost Regions (OR) and Overseas Countries and Territories (OCT)**

These include islands and regions around the world that are still sovereign territory of various European countries but where numerous exceptions to EU law are granted. The OR are the Portuguese Azores and Madeira, the Spanish Canary Islands, three French Caribbean islands and French Guiana in South America. OR are part of the EU, and therefore for instance are shown on every euro banknote. The OCT are twelve British island groups sprinkled around the world, six French island groups, Danish Greenland, and the six islands of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. The Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in Morocco enjoy yet another status. The OCT are not part of the EU.

### **European Identity**

The concept of European Identity refers to all the nations that share or strive towards some form of common identity based on the cultural history of the European continent. This definition typically includes Georgia and Armenia in the Caucasus, and Israel, Turkey, and Cyprus in Asia Minor. In a wider definition, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Mongolia share European identity due to the 20th century Soviet-Russian

domination. Parts of West Africa are still culturally and legally oriented to France, and parts of the British Commonwealth countries in Africa and South Asia are culturally and legally oriented to England, as are Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. In an even wider definition, virtually all North and South American nations share cultural roots of European identity.

### **European Project or Agenda**

The words "project" and "agenda" are typically used to describe the encompassing effort of European nations to achieve European commonality and a better future for the European citizens through supranational institutions to which some sovereign powers are ceded. The European Union is the major such supranational organization, but not the only one.

### **Europeans and European countries**

By the most common usage, 50 countries are considered to be European. There are roughly 700–800 million people who call themselves Europeans, or about 11–13% of the world's population (493 million of whom are citizens of EU Member States). Those 50 countries include Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan mostly for geographic reasons, and they include Georgia, Armenia, and Cyprus for cultural reasons, although the latter two are geographically located in Asia. Though the list includes Turkey, it excludes Israel. Besides the difficulty of defining an eastern border of Europe, there is also the contention of what constitutes a country on the whole. The above list of 50 includes the tiny countries of the Vatican City (Holy See), Monaco, San Marino, Liechtenstein, and Andorra, in addition to the not so tiny, but still small countries of Luxembourg, Malta, and Montenegro. But it does not recognize the Faroe Islands or Greenland as separate countries, even though these two for all practical intents and purposes are independent countries with their own independent political and economical systems. Legally these two still fall under Danish territory, but by their own popular vote they decided to stay outside the European Union.

There are various other regions with varying degrees of autonomous government and special status illustrating European idiosyncrasies of country-, state-, and nationhood. To mention only a few, there are the Finnish Åland Islands, the Greek Mount Athos, German Helgoland, the Finnish lease of the Russian Saimaa Canal, Gibraltar, the British Channel Islands and Isle of Man. The latter two are not part of the UK (they belong to the Crown) and are therefore also not part of the EU, but Gibraltar is. Gibraltar's British sovereignty is, however, contested by Spain, which among other things prevented harmonization of European air traffic control until 2006, as well as preventing Gibraltar from becoming a member of UEFA. While the Finnish Ålanders voted to become part of the European Union, they remain outside its value added tax (VAT) system. So do two cities, German Büsingen and Italian Campione, which are enclosed by Swiss territory and are economically and fiscally part of Switzerland, but politically part of the EU. The Italian Alpine valley of Livigno is not part of the customs union. Northern Cyprus is officially part of the EU and its citizens may vote for the European Parliament, but their accession is suspended until reunion of the Republic of Cyprus occurs.

New European countries are forming. Kosovo is recognized by 62 countries, but only by 22 out of 27 EU member states. South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Nagorno Karabakh have seceded, but are barely recognized. Other secessionist movements are either subsiding or not given much of a long-term chance, like the Basque movement in Spain, the Corsica troubles of France, or the left river bank or Transdniestria slice of Moldavia.

## Historical Europe

In Greek mythology, Europa is a Phoenician princess who became the mistress of Zeus, who appeared to her as a gentle white heifer. Zeus persuaded Europa to take a ride on his back, then abducted her away across the sea to the island of Crete where she gave birth to Minos, a semi-legendary Cretan king.

Typical of Greek mythology, this account of the European abduction provides an allegorical explanation (or justification) of the rise of Greek civilization. The Phoenicians, settled on the coast of today's Lebanon, were the first maritime superpower on the Mediterranean Sea and held trading posts as far west as the Atlantic Ocean. That culture flourished from 1200 to 900 BCE. Their role as maritime trading power was succeeded by the Greeks whose expansion began around 700 BCE, and who in turn were succeeded by the Romans. Before 500 BCE, Europa was the customary name for the Greek mainland peninsula, while after that date the definition gradually extended to the lands further north. In later Greek times, Europa became the name for one of three parts of the world known to them, the other two being Asia (to the east) and Libya (to the south).

During Roman and medieval times, the term Europa was barely used. For instance, the speech by Pope Urban II in 1095, calling for the crusades against "that accursed race from Persia utterly alienated from God" in order to free Jerusalem, is generally seen by historians as one of the key founding moments of a European sense of cultural and political identity (alas not the most flattering part of it). However, Pope Urban II did not refer directly to Europe in his speech. The 10th and 11th century historians and thinkers only occasionally used the term Europae to describe its geographic extent as far as the Caspian Sea, thus demarcating themselves against peoples and lands on the unknown land masses to the east and to the south of the European peninsula, following the ancient Greek naming tradition.

Only during and after the Renaissance did the term Europae enter into more general usage. The leading Austrian humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405–1464, Pius II from 1458) was the first historian and intellectual who frequently referred to Europe as having a cultural and ideological identity. He used the name to describe those nations who derive and rediscover much of their cultural identity from the ancient Greek polis and civilization. Progressive Renaissance thinkers and leaders also hoped this connection would promote assimilation of the liberal, scientific, and democratic mindset of ancient Greece into a European continent torn and worn by hegemonic and ideological battles between an outmoded aristocracy and an even more outmoded Roman Catholic church, neither of them in tune with the economic and political needs of the time.

While Europe has been many things to many people in many ages – the most consistent theme since the Renaissance has been to associate the European Idea with humanist ideals and progress. The draft European Constitution for instance referred in its first paragraph to "... *the values underlying humanism: the equality of persons, freedom, respect for reason*".

The well known contemporary Italian intellectual Claudio Magris recently defined Europe as

*"the Dignity of the Individual above all that is Totalitarian"*.

## Exhibit 1

## EU Member States and Trade Partners in Comparison

2008		GDP/cap ppp (EU 25 = 100)	Employment 15–64 yrs. (%)	Population (millions)	Fertility (reprod. rate)	GDP growth (real%)	Public debt (% of GDP)
	EU 27	97	66	498	1.6	0.9	62
	EU 15	107	67	394	1.6	0.6	66
	USA	149	71	304	2.1	0.4	70
	Japan	107	71	128	1.2	-0.7	170
Benelux	Netherlands	130	77	16.4	1.8	2.0	58
	Belgium	111	62	10.7	1.8	1.1	90
	Luxembourg	262	63	0.5	1.6	0.0	15
Alpine	Germany	114	71	82.2	1.4	1.3	66
	France	104	65	64.0	2.0	0.4	68
	Italy	91	59	59.6	1.4	-1.0	106
	Austria	119	59	8.3	1.4	2.0	63
	Slovenia	88	69	2.0	1.5	6.2	23
Mediterranean	Spain	100	64	45.3	1.5	1.2	40
	Greece	91	62	11.2	1.5	2.0	98
	Portugal	73	68	10.6	1.4	0.0	66
	Cyprus	91	59	0.8	1.8	3.7	49
	Malta	73	55	0.4	1.4	2.1	64
Atlantic	UK	113	72	61.2	1.9	0.6	52
	Ireland	132	68	4.4	1.9	-3.0	43
Scandinavia	Sweden	117	74	9.2	1.9	-0.2	38
	Denmark	114	78	5.5	1.9	-1.2	33
	Finland	111	71	5.3	1.9	1.0	33
Baltic	Lithuania	59	64	3.4	1.5	2.8	16
	Latvia	54	69	2.3	1.5	-4.6	20
	Estonia	66	70	1.3	1.7	-3.6	5
Central	Poland	56	59	38.1	1.2	5.0	47
	Czech Rep.	77	67	10.4	1.5	2.5	30
	Hungary	61	57	10.0	1.4	0.6	73
	Slovakia	69	62	5.4	1.3	6.4	28
Southeast	Romania	44	59	21.5	1.4	6.2	14
	Bulgaria	39	64	7.6	1.5	6.0	14
Candidates	Croatia	61	58	4.4	1.5	2.4	34
	Macedonia	31		2.0	1.6	5.0	
	Turkey	44	46	70.6	2.1	1.1	40
EFTA	Switzerland	137	80	7.6	1.5	1.8	41
	Norway	184	78	7.6	2.0	2.1	50
	Iceland	116	84	0.3	2.1	1.3	40

 two lowest EU 27 values  
 two highest EU 27 values

Sources: Eurostat; U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division; Mapsofworld; NationMaster; Flagcounter; CIA; IMF

**Exhibit 2** Geopolitical map of Europe



Source: [http://europa.eu/abc/european\\_countries/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/abc/european_countries/index_en.htm) © European Commission 2009