PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR A CONSTRUCTIVIST AND INSTITUTIONALIST RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND AUSTRALIA

BY

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Abstract

The European Union (EU) and Australia share a significant volume of historical connections in languages, cultures, economic and trade relationships, political views and ideas. These associations have had different levels of strength and frequencies in the past, depending on how these two political entities interacted with each other in the framework of international relations. Australia and the EU jointly developed an important political and socio-economic basis for working together, and cooperation between them is deeper and more common than the public might perceive to be the case. The EU is a growing superstructure; meanwhile Australia is a developed and successful nation, a successful democracy and a middle power. Nevertheless, Australia cannot expect to match the power and position of a polity, which comprises 28 different countries. This fact can produce a certain asymmetric relationship in the connection between these two political entities' communities. These asymmetric elements in the collaboration between them are liable to create certain discrepancies and disharmonies in the development of their different agreements in general. This thesis aims to examine the scope and depth of the EU-Australia working relationship, the convergent and the divergent issues within it. This exploration provides an analysis of the philosophical and sociological foundations of international relations in general, with special regard to the framework of sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism, as possible catalysers in the growth and furtherance of the many-sided EU-Australia collaboration. To reach the most effective and efficient cooperation between the European Union and Australia, which includes the efforts to alleviate the urgent environmental sustainability and related problems regionally, and in a globalising world, will go a long way to create *peace*, *security*, and *prosperity* in Eurasia and in the Pacific. The EU-Australia mutual relationship is facilitated through shared values, norms and normative principles, such as the constitutive norms of *liberty*, *democracy*, *good governance*; the regulative norms of the *centrality of peace*, *human rights*, *social solidarity*, *environmental sustainability*; and the evaluative norms of the *rule of law*, *transparency*, *human dignity* and *anti-discrimination*. The willingness of the European Union and Australia to partake in a joint experience of continuous social learning process, provide them the power to achieve their aims together in a changing world.

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Herewith, I would like to thank the National Centre for Research on Europe for the research grants that I have received on different occasions. In 2009 it enabled me to travel to Tahiti in French Polynesia, and partake in the 11th Pacific Science Inter-Congress and 2nd Symposium on French Research in the Pacific. Through this grant, in 2011, I was able to travel to Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia, and participate in the 22nd Pacific Science Congress. In 2012, I obtained a generous NCRE-EUCN funding to travel to Europe to undertake two months' research on the theme 'The EU as Exporter of Norms and Values to the Pacific', at Primorska University in Koper, Slovenia, through the Knowledge and Expertise Exchange Europe-New Zealand (KEEENZ) program. In the beginning of my travel in Europe I was invited to present my PhD thesis at the 'European Union in International Affairs' conference, held in Brussels at the Institute for European Studies. I also presented part of my thesis in Singapore.

As a citizen I have lived and worked in Australia for several years, before I went to study and work in New Zealand. Then in 2008, in Canberra, it was an enriching experience to participate as a PhD student, at the ANU European Studies Summer School, on a funded visit. In a final note: the 2010-2011 Christchurch earthquake disasters and related matters had caused some delay in the timely completion of this thesis, but in the end it proved really helpful that UWA allowed me to do the final revision of this dissertation in their main library.

Knowledge filled with love is wisdom, and...
..."love surpasses all understanding -- it will remain".

List of tables

List of abbreviations

ACP-EU	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States - EU framework
ANU	Australian National University
AUKMIN	Australia-United Kingdom Ministerial Dialogue
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
EC	European Community
ECB	European Central Bank
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEAS	European External Action Service
EESC	European Economic and Social Committee
EEC	European Economic Community
EIB	European Investment Bank
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EP	European Parliament
ETS	Emissions Trading Scheme
EU	European Union
EUCN	European Union Centres Network
FEAST	Forum for European-Australian Science and Technology Cooperation
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCRE	National Centre for Research on Europe (New Zealand)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
SEA	Single European Act
SEM	Single European Market
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Thesis about the international relationship between the European Union and Australia:

A sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist approach

International relations operate in different, intertwined layers, intricately interacting with each other. Some of these layers are the different states, the intergovernmental and transnational organisations, such as the large industrial corporations and the Internet, as well as the biosphere with the biophysical earth-system. In the past 30 years, the scope of international relations amongst socio-political entities has grown significantly, given the development of the multitude of multinational corporations, as well as the growing importance of the biosphere with its manifold environmental aspects. It is through these described layers and spheres, where the European Union (EU) and Australia need to find ways and means to fulfil their common objectives in international relations, and that is the main theme of this dissertation. Notwithstanding the competition from Asia and elsewhere, the European Union will continually have a growing driving force in regionalisation and globalisation, and it is becoming an even more powerful entity that is shaping the affairs of the world. It is in the interest of both Australia and the European Union to have an increasingly successful international relationship in all of the relevant fields. As it stands, Australia and the EU are currently (2013-14) in the final stages of negotiations leading to conclude a comprehensive treaty-level Framework Agreement for an effective future relationship.

This future in the EU-Australia international relations will be increasingly driven by an environmental sustainability paradigm shift, the full outline of which cannot be easily seen yet. However, this thesis endeavours to highlight some of the significance of this new era. In this

unfolding paradigm shift there is a growing acceptance and understanding that the natural earth system, with the biosphere and ecosystem, intertwined together and interacts in a dynamic complexity with the multiple systems created by humanity, including international relations. The growing interrelationship amongst these intertwined systems demands a somewhat new approach for policy analysis between the EU and Australia.

Sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism are useful and creative theoretical approaches to facilitate the forging of stronger and more effective links between the European Union and Australia. That is because this combined approach, while it sheds light on change, also focusing on those similar ideas and culture, and intersubjective norms between the EU and Australia that are already established. Therefore, this approach is conducive to persuade norm entrepreneurs and other agents for continuous social learning. By this, identities go through an incremental transformation, which create new interests and behaviours for both polities to reach agreements in their negotiations.

Constructivism is a broad term; nevertheless, this dissertation first of all is concerned about sociological constructivism as an approach in international relations, and with special regard to the EU-Australia relationship. Social norms are essential to the explanation of sociological constructivism, so the basic ontology of this thesis emphasizes social norms, and connected ideas in relation to the theme. Social norms are powerful understandings of the mind as they provide shared meanings, and they function to be collectively and intersubjectively perceived by a group of people. In this dissertation the material elements of the world are acknowledged through the premises of scientific realism. Nevertheless, this thesis maintains that the ideas of social norms are the structure itself in a given society, with a driving force that can be stronger than the principles of materialist international relations' theories, such as structural or neorealism and neoliberalism. Social constructivism intertwined with scientific realism, provides a balance between the reflectivist theories of environmental or green theory, and the materialist theories of neorealism or neoliberalism. Social constructivism with its emphasis on social norms as the structure of society, in the foreseeable future likely will become more powerfully established. It is able to provide a certain amount of communicative synthesis between the materialist and reflectivist theories of international relations, which otherwise do not relate to one another.

A norm may be described as a cluster of ideational terms with definite practical implication. *Human rights*, for example, is a regulative social norm and an important institution of formal rules (laws), which are intersubjectively shared by a large population, in both the European Union and Australia. This is a far reaching, substantive social and socio-political achievement. Nevertheless, this thesis aims to maintain that *human rights* in the future could, gradually, become more **humane**. *Human rights* are going through a transformation, in connection with the pressing issues of *environmental sustainability* and related matters, which is waiting to be solved. These processes in parallel precipitate the development of global social norms such as, for example, the regulative norms of *social solidarity* and the *centrality of peace*, or the evaluative norm of *human dignity*.

The institutionalist framework, used alongside social constructivism in some part of this dissertation, is sociological institutionalism. This type of institutionalist approach is in fact closely related to sociological constructivism. Sociological institutionalism is a broad description of institutionalism that includes laws, legal and formal rules and international norms. Moreover, it includes evaluations through informal norms that are often found in language and communication, or in people to people interaction. Norm entrepreneurs select new or emerging norms in order to promote them to other actors. Through an incremental process, and through persuasion and framing, actors with agency may internalise these norms. The effect of internalisation and the actors' embeddedness in the social environment is capable to accomplish a gradual transformation of identities, which create new interests and behaviours.

Sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism highlights the importance of norm internalisation in the European Union and in Australia, in connection to the dynamics of the negotiations between the two polities, in the past and during the current era, up until 2013-14. These negotiations sometimes involved occasional disagreement with socio-economic and other implications. Norms work through internalising them, and as a result the agents follow a *logic of appropriateness* - and not simply a *logic of consequentialism* - and this is achieved without the involvement of any coercive manipulation. In following these norms there maybe rational choice involved in the form of economic or other social incentives. However, the premise of sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism is that through these norms, for any agents (states, industrial corporations, NGOs and group of people, depending on the social environment and situation) the power of the internalised norms that is guiding them to follow a *logic of appropriateness* in their actions, could be greater than the power of their economic or other self interests.

1.2.   Methodology of the thesis

This dissertation and research employs a wide range of relevant literature, including journals, as well as the Internet with regard to EU and Australian policy documentations, speeches of dignitaries and diplomats that relate to the time-frame between 1962–2013 of the EU-Australia international relationship. Sociological constructivist qualitative and holistic methodology, and occasionally, short historical analyses are employed to examine the discourse of concrete events, negotiations or speeches, documents, trade agreements with the following specific purposes: to

- uncover the sources of the dynamics in the interactions and in the communication and discourse (in significant events, government documentations and speeches etc.), which have helped to bring forth those elements that resulted in that part of the EU-Australia relationship-development, which is successful and satisfactory for both sides;

- uncover the source of the dynamics in the collaboration, which have played an important part in creating some of those elements that has caused divergent issues in the EU-Australia relationship, and which is unsatisfactory for both or either sides; and,

- undertake a policy-analysis to evaluate the past and current situation, and describe some possibly preferable actions, which may bring an increasing number of favourable developments in the EU-Australia future cooperation, within the described approach and theoretical framework of sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism, and with regard to the needs of an interdependent, regionalised and globalised world.

- This dissertation should include some analysis of major theories of international relations, with special emphasis on environmental theory, in order to shed insight on the complex interconnection of the biophysical earth-system with the human economic and socio-political systems, including international relations. The interactions between these major systems are quite significant and far reaching, even though the exact scientific nature of these relations is as yet difficult to understand.

1.3.   Objectives for the research of the thesis

- An exploration in the philosophy of social science for the possible creation and development of new and relevant knowledge in international relations, with special regard to the ongoing relations between the European Union and Australia, through the approach and theoretical framework of sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism.

- Sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist analysis to describe EU integration, and the Australian society, through their cultures and identities, in relation to the EU-Australia international cooperation for a common benefit. To include some historical description and the possible further development of the manifold EU-Australia relationship.

- Basic introduction to some other major international relations and integration theories, in order to compare them through the metatheory of constructivism, and to shed more light on the characteristics of sociological constructivism itself. Theoretical and policy analysis regarding European Union and Australian practices and institutions, as well as a sociological constructivist research of the previous and more recent negotiations and agreements between the two polities.

- Highlight the regional and global environmental and related responsibilities in the EU-Australia international relationship. Uncover the dangers of inaction in the face of possible wide-spread environmental and socio-economic deterioration, which might culminate in a global symbiosis of man-made versus natural disasters of unprecedented scale.

- A sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist exploration of the emergence, selection, diffusion, and the power of norms concerning the European Union and Australia as norm entrepreneurs in their international relations. An analysis of some of the ideas, values, norms and normative principles employed in the previous and current negotiations (2012-2013), which may lead to conclude a comprehensive treaty-level Framework Agreement between the EU and Australia.

Chapter Two

Sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism in international relations, and in the EU–Australia cooperation

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2.1.　　　　　Introduction

Social norms are the structure of society in both the European Union and in Australia. Sociological constructivism provides an alternative analysis, and view the gradual change of the European Union-Australia relationship through the lenses of the different, established social norms. "There is general agreement on the definition of a norm as a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity" (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 891). The norms of the European Union (Manners, 2002:235-258) such as the constitutive norms of *liberty*, *democracy*, *good governance*; the regulative norms of the *centrality of peace*, *human rights*, *social solidarity*, *environmental sustainability*; and the evaluative norms of the *rule of law*, and *anti-discrimination* are the result of a long historical, philosophical, and sociological process. "Norms do not appear out of thin air; they are actively built by agents having strong notions about appropriate or desirable behaviour" [...] (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 896). Through its history and the structuration of its society, Australia acquired similar norms through social learning and other similar processes, as those of the European Union.

　　The first part of this chapter will examine these processes of the past, through the insights of four important philosophers and scholars, who created substantial works in their time. Some of the most important knowledge of each philosopher is projected to a historical canvas of events, which is related to the past connections of Australia with some of the European countries. In

these subsequent projections there are certain elements of progression of a sociological constructivist nature. Here, at the beginning of this dissertation, sociological constructivism is examined in a general sense as a metatheory, which is able to accomplish some synthesis within the major theories of international relations. It is through this metatheoretical lens, under which the four philosophers and some of their works are briefly examined, as follows: Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and his work *The Leviathan*; John Locke (1632-1704) and his *The Second Treatise of Civil Government*; John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) and his scholarship on *Utilitarianism* and *On Liberty*; as well as Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and his *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*.

In order to understand social constructivism as a useful approach to examine international relations, it is helpful to scrutinise it from the outset in parallel with some other theories, and analyse it alongside with them, to draw conclusions accordingly. Therefore, the middle part of this chapter offers some brief introductions to some of the main theories and epistemologies of international relations and integrations, with special emphasis on environmental theory. Realism seemed to be timeless as an international theory and statecraft, and throughout history it became the most important, and for a long time the only dominant theory. The international relations' scholar Kenneth Waltz aimed to rework and deductively systematise classical realist theory. His efforts resulted in his decisive work: *Theory of International Politics* (1979). Waltz received credit as the creator of structural realism. Robert Keohane brought forth neoliberalism as an international relations theory. His scholarship resulted in *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (1984) and had persuasive, powerful effects. Through the right circumstances international relations can lead to international integrations and the European Union is an example of a constantly evolving international integration. Intergovernmentalism and neofunctionalism are theories of integrations created in the first place in order to describe the evolution of the European Union.

The word neoliberalism is often used to describe a particular way of economic organisation in the philosophy of economics. Currently, the EU-Australia relationship largely operates through the combined material and institutional economic structure of neoliberalism. Nevertheless, the purpose of this dissertation is to examine some of the development of the European Union and Australia, especially the EU-Australia international relationship - their

converging cooperation, or diverging issues - through manifold normative lenses of a sociological constructivist description. States in the 21st century, gradually, occupy their place in a world of norms, for example: EU integration according to the *acquis communautaire* that is through the body of law, rules, values, norms and normative principles accumulated by the European Union.

The final part of this chapter analyses the theoretical works of sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist scholars, with relevance to the European Union-Australia international relations. During the past three decades, social constructivist scholars produced a significant volume of work, and some of their findings are referred to in this chapter. According to some observation sociological constructivism is not a substantive theory (Onuf, 1998:58); rather, it is an approach with an alternative ontology. "It finds value in diverse materials and forges links where none seemed possible" (Onuf, 1998:58). It has the capacity to shed light on what is happening in the world, from a different angle, and from a different ontology based on social norms. Sociological institutionalism (March and Olsen, 1988), similarly to sociological constructivism, highlights the culture as well as rules and norms in social interactions. Rules, norms and connected culture-specific practices bring forth institutions: [...]"the norm definition isolates single standards of behaviour, whereas institutions emphasize the way in which behavioural rules are structured together and interrelate"[...] (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 891).

2.2.   A dangerous Hobbesian world:

Australian involvements in the European war theatres

In 1648 the Treaty of Westphalia was signed, which ended the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and it brought forth the Western international system of sovereign states. These events probably influenced the scholarship of Thomas Hobbes. Three years after the Treaty of Westphalia, Hobbes published the *Leviathan*, his greatest work. It is the beginning of the concept of a social contract, where the subjects agree that the state, ruled by a sovereign, has

ultimate power over them. This arrangement, according to Hobbes, is beneficial to the subjects, because otherwise everyone among the populace would have the inclination, coupled with the possibility, to commit brutal acts against one another. Hobbes writes in the *Leviathan* as follows:

> In such condition there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no culture of the earth; no navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea; no commodious building; no instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force; no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short (Hobbes, 1660: chXIII).

The social contract as described by Hobbes in *Leviathan*, alleviate the danger in general that the subjects would have to face to be dominated through such a miserable fate. In this sense Thomas Hobbes was a precursor of constructivism based on the prototypes of certain norms.

In the *Leviathan*, written more than 360 years ago, natural science and social science were conflated in a rigid and inflexible way, which is not really conducive to a lasting peace. Hobbes in his time was a shining light; however, in the perspective it is worth to consider why in the current era scientific realists are reluctant to place the natural sciences and the social sciences under the same epistemology and methodology (Bhaskar, 1975).

Scientific realism employs deep ontological views, and through them describes the interaction of the elements of sociological constructivism, such as that the world is social, and the power of social constituents overrides any material elements in the agency-structure dynamics. Such social constituents are the shared norms, the shared ideas and shared understanding, legitimacy, debate, the power of language, shared values, shared experiences, shared knowledge and social learning, shared interests and rules etc. Many of these social constituents become intersubjective and internalised through time and space, and create new

and evolving relationships between actors endowed with agency. Through this power, agency and structure *mutually constitute* each other in an incremental way, through time and space; therefore, it alleviates the ever present danger that the structure may implode through war.

Such implosions with dramatic consequences took place in 1914 and in 1939; at the breakout of WW I and a quarter of a century later at the arrival of WW II. Andrew Fisher (1862-1928) Australian Prime Minister offered complete support for Great Britain. On the 25th of April 1915 the Australian Imperial Force landed at Gallipoli, in the then Ottoman Empire, to join with British, French and New Zealand troops against the Ottoman Turks. Their aim was to conquer Istanbul and open up a sea passage to Russia. After several fights under horrendous circumstances, exacerbated by hot then cold weather, the Battle of Gallipoli resulted in immense casualties on both sides. The campaign failed and ended in the evacuation of the Allied troops. During this time the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) were forged, which contributed to the identity creation of both countries (Australian War Memorial: 2012).

The Battle of Somme was one of the bloodiest battles of World War I. The Australian Imperial Force fought here together with British, French and British Dominion troops against the army of the German Empire. The Germans were firmly entrenched and maintained a powerful defence, which in the end resulted in tremendous casualties on both sides. The most important fighting of the Battle of Somme, where the Australian Imperial Force took their part, was around Pozieres, a French village, which was completely destroyed during World War I. Here the Australians suffered more than 24,000 casualties, including 6,741 who died. During the Battle of Somme more than a million people died. The village of Pozieres was rebuilt, and now the Australian flag and the Australian War Memorials remind everyone in Europe about the sacrifices of the Australians and the ANZACs (Australian War Memorial: 2012).

Two days after World War II begun, on the 3rd of September 1939, Australian Prime Minister Sir Robert Gordon Menzies broadcasted the start of Australia's engagement in World War II. Nearly a million Australian men and women put on uniform and went to serve. Japanese aircrafts bombed Darwin and some of the other towns on the north-west coast of

Australia. In Europe, some Australians flew fighter jets to protect the United Kingdom during the Battle of Britain. As part of the British Commonwealth's war participation Australia fought against Germany and Italy. Australia was also involved in the defence of Greece against German invasion. During March, 1941, in the north of Greece together with Greek, British and New Zealand soldiers they wanted to stop the advance of the Germans. The Allied forces were outnumbered and in April and May had to be evacuated under the protection of warships, some of which were Australian. During this operation 320 Australians were killed and more than 2,000 were captured. Some of the Australian units were also employed in the defence of Crete, and initially succeeded against the German paratroopers. Nevertheless, later they were forced to give up on their positions, as the Allies suffered defeat during the Greek Campaign. In Crete 3000 Australians were taken as POWs.

Australians took their part in the Allied invasion of Italy and in the Allied invasion of the southern part of France. They also helped the Balkan Air Force to drop supply for the Yugoslav resistance against the Germans. Thousands of Australian airmen served in the bombardment against Germany, for example in the Battle of Berlin towards the end of the war. The Royal Australian Navy and the Royal Australian Air Force had an important part in the Allied victory. Australians had an important position to play in the bombing against occupied Europe. Throughout this time 3,500 Australians were killed (Australian War Memorial: 2012). During both World Wars the Australians brought forth huge sacrifices in the European war theatre, for the sake of the future, and helped to lay the foundation for one of the most important norms of the European Union (Manners, 2002: 235-58) that is the *centrality of peace*.

2.3. John Locke's theory of social contract: European world colonisation and its effect on Australia

John Locke's work and scholarship had a very significant effect in many areas of government administration and the philosophy of government, including international relations. He was a medical doctor, as well as a legal scholar and empiricist philosopher with a foundation firmly rooted in free thinking and an opposition towards authoritarianism. In 1689 John Locke's work

the   *The Second Treatise of Civil Government*   was published. Locke, in his influential writing, emphasized the natural rights of humans concerning life, liberty and property. According to Locke a legitimate government has to be accomplished through compromise and agreement with civil society, and must be constituted with due regard to the separation of powers. The separation of powers consists of the different and independent authorities and divisions of the state. The usual divisions are the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. The executive division of the government runs the daily affairs of the state, with leading authorities such as the head of the government or the prime minister, the foreign minister, and the commander of the armed forces. The legislature is the parliament with power to enact new laws. The judiciary is where the system of courts operates to interpret and apply the law and to provide dispute resolutions. John Locke also advocated the separation of church and state. Locke writes as follows:

> Hence it is evident, that absolute monarchy, which by some men is counted the only government in the world, is indeed inconsistent with civil society, and so can be no form of civil-government at all [...] For he being supposed to have all, both legislative and executive power in himself alone, there is no judge to be found, no appeal lies open to any one, who may fairly [...] with authority decide [...] For he that thinks absolute power purifies men's blood, and corrects the baseness of human nature, need read but the history of this, or any other age, to be convinced of the contrary (Locke, 1690: 90).

According to Locke, a government's usefulness is to protect property, which includes the human body itself. Government is to facilitate the citizens' acquisitions of goods which they produce through rational labour. Lock was a forerunner of capitalist political economic theory. Between the government and those being governed, a social contract implies that a legitimate government protects the citizen's rights to life, their liberty, health and property, and the authority prosecute those whose acts result in a criminal violation of these rights. If a government does not protect the civic society, or if a government may even violates their rights, then it becomes illegitimate and the citizens have the liberty to free themselves of it, and constitute a new, trustworthy government.

Locke writes about slavery and in certain instances he approves slavery, but only if it is the consequence of the acquisition of war prisoners during a 'just war' scenario. Through a just war captives may be killed, or become slaves. During the time of Locke the colonisation of the world was in full force, first and foremost by the Western European countries. His time marks the beginning of the industrial revolution and the growing power of Great Britain. Capitalism and world colonisation were growing, culminating in the colonisation of Australia. Australia was the final continent to be colonised.

It was 1606 and this was the year, when according to current knowledge, a European vessel sailed into Australian waters; the first time ever. This continent was *Terra Australis Incognita* (unfamiliar southern land). The ship's name was *Duyfken* and its captain Willem Jansz, from Holland. Soon after landing, the Aboriginal people chased him away with his crew. 164 years later, in 1770, Captain James Cook arrived with his vessel, *Endeavour*, and he claimed parts of Australia for King George III of England. Cook gave the name New South Wales for the east coast (Australian Government, 2012).

In January 1788 the First Fleet arrived under the leadership of Captain Arthur Philip. The First Fleet had 11 ships and carried around 1,350 people, including civil officers, Royal Marines as well as officers with their wives and children; plus 81 free persons, 504 male convicts and 192 female convicts. Captain Philip became the Governor and he started to organise the British Colony. The Second Fleet arrived in 1790, with provisions of food and supplies. During the voyage of the First Fleet 48 people died. During the Second Fleet's journey to Australia 278 people died (Australian Government, 2012).

In 1791 George Vancouver started the British colonisation of Western Australia. In 1801 Captain Matthew Flinders circumnavigated Australia, confirming that Tasmania was an island. Matthew Flinders made friendly contacts with the Aboriginal people, the original inhabitants of Australia for thousands of years. Initial contacts between the Europeans and the Aboriginal native inhabitants of the land were often friendly. However, when the Aboriginal natives started to understand the consequences of the encroaching presence of the Europeans, some of them decided to take up a fight, and this situation culminated in disastrous consequences for many people (Australian Government, 2012).

Initially, the Europeans considered Australia as *terra nullius*, where the land was not under any ownership. However, in 1992 the High Court of Australia rejected the notion of *terra nullius*, and recognised the rights of Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders to bring before the court system their claim for recognition of a native title, in order to decide the outcome through a fair and lawful process:

> Specifically, the Court recognised a claim by Eddie Mabo and others on behalf
> of the Meriam people of the Island of Mer in the Murray Islands in the Torres
> Strait, that the Meriam people owned the land at common law because they were
> the traditional owners of their country under Islander law and custom (atns, 2012).

On the 13th of February 2008, the Honourable Kevin Rudd, then Prime Minister of Australia, apologised in the Parliament House in Canberra, for past injustices, the multitude of sufferings and indignities perpetrated upon the Aboriginal people (Dunn *et al.*, 2004). This significant event appeared on live television, and it was transmitted all over Australia. This day may be counted as a symbol of identity creation, when the norms and normative principles of *human dignity*, *anti-discrimination* and *social solidarity* have been demonstrated, and the Australian Aboriginal people were honoured through an Australian Prime Minister. With this apology Australia has opened a new chapter in the nation's history.

2.4. John Stuart Mill and liberty:

Europeanisation, globalisation and its effect on Australia

John Stuart Mill was a utilitarian philosopher with an immense intellect. He had great concern for the moral and intellectual development, emancipation, emancipation of women, and the general welfare, freedom, security and happiness of the whole of humanity. In *Utilitarianism* Mill writes, as follows:

> Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle, holds that actions are
> right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they

tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain and the privation of pleasure (1863: Ch.2).

Mill also held that intellectual pleasures, or pleasures of the higher faculties, were of a higher order then the sensual pleasures; nevertheless, whilst they are separate things, both types of pleasures are important and valuable. The Greatest Happiness Principle refers to a crucial point where the most important goal is the aggregate happiness of the greatest number of people. Mill's concerns related not to the abstract, but to concrete happiness, and in a similar vein when he thought about liberty, he described the concrete civil liberties needed in society.

In his work *On Liberty* (1869), John Stuart Mill provides profound insights. He elaborates on the power of government, which it can use to impose over individual citizens. Nevertheless, it is vital that the civic societies' civil liberties, the civil rights, the integrity over one's own body and mind, the freedom of the press, freedom of thought, the right to privacy etc. should all be preserved. At the same time, according to Mill, government still need enough power to protect the individuals and society.

Liberty is also a fundamental and defining norm of the European Union, where the Treaties, and Europeanisation itself are based on *liberty*, *democracy*, *anti-discrimination*, *social solidarity*, *human dignity* and *human rights*. These values, norms and normative principles are creating the identity of the European Union, as well as encompassing the Member States' identities. Europeanisation is a widespread and powerful transformation. For the sake of a successful Europeanisation the institutions of the European Union, especially the European Commission, the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers), and the European Parliament would continually need to be not only norm entrepreneurs and norm diffusers, but also norm consumers (Park, 2006: 342-361). This also applies concerning the recent negotiations (as of 2013-14) in relation to a treaty-level Framework Agreement between the European Union and Australia. For the sake of a successful outcome, both polities on their own accord should choose to focus on social learning, to be able to become norm consumers.

Europeanisation has an effect even on those countries which are not (yet) in the EU, such as Iceland, Norway or Switzerland. Europeanisation helps to facilitate regionalisation elsewhere in the world. It is also a facilitator of globalisation (Wallace, 2000:369-382), as well as an answer to the power of globalisation. The values, normative principles and norms of the European Union (Manners, 2002:235-258), such as the constitutive norms of *liberty*, *democracy*, *good governance*, *'federalism'*; the regulative norms of the *centrality of peace*, *subsidiarity*, *multi-level governance*, *human rights*, *social solidarity*, *environmental sustainability*; and the evaluative norms of the *rule of law*, *human dignity* and *anti-discrimination*, as well as more recently *austerity*, are the structure of Europeanisation and the EU's answer to globalisation.

Through its transformation during the past three decades, Australia has benefited from the phenomena of regionalisation and globalisation. In economic terms Australia achieved an outstanding result during the relatively recent past, and also adhered to the norm of *repaying international debt* (Downer: 2003). Australia has strengthened the regional and global emergence of the norm of *trade liberalisation* (Downer: 2003). Australian dignitaries internalised the norm of *free trade*, and Australia institutionalised it. According to the Honourable Alexander Downer, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia, by increasing the *freedom* and *liberty* of Australians to travel, work, trade and invest beyond the national borders, the economic and other benefits have been multiplied. Australia as a country is more open to international trade than most countries. Australia gave up protectionist policies and brought in new economic reforms. Productivity growth reached to become the second largest amongst the industrialised countries during the 1990s. The Australian Government has repaid $63 billion of debt since 1996. By 2002, Australia had the 4th greatest real GDP per capita among the world's major industrialised economies. From 1985 to 2002, Australians' real income per person was raised by over 55 per cent, from $23,000 to $36,000.

So what does Australia do; which norms it may diffuse to other polities, including the EU with its 28 individual countries, in order to help spread the gains from regionalisation and globalisation? In general, *free trade* (Downer: 2003) and the internalisation and institutionalisation of the norm of *trade liberalisation*, is very important. For a country to prosper it is also necessary, that it adheres to the norm of *repaying its own debt*. These acts

strengthen economic and legal institutions, increase *market efficiency*, create and *upgrade infrastructure*, provide *quality education* and *health delivery*. Good government (Downer, 2003) that adheres to the values and norms of *democratic responsibility*, *transparency* and *accountability* is critical. The strength of Australia's own institutions means that it actually diffuses these norms, and helps others to improve their own institutions to refine key policies.

2.5. Immanuel Kant's permanent peace:

EU-Australia relationship in an era of peace and environmental sustainability

Immanuel Kant wrote his essay of *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* in 1795. This relatively short piece of writing had been very influential. It provided the basis for the idea and possibility for a practical outcome of general and *permanent peace* in a world, where, according to many, war is supposed to be a necessity, and ultimately a 'good thing', and peace without the presence of war could have no meaning.

However, Kant outlined a scenario where perpetual peace is possible and desirable, and accordingly, the following conditions would serve towards this end:

- Peace treaties should be genuine, without any reservations for future war.
- A state is not a piece of property, but it is a genuine society and it should be allowed to preserve its independence.
- Armies prepared for war, in due time, should be abolished.
- In case of war the parties should refrain from committing war crimes against each other, in order not to jeopardise a genuine peace treaty.
- States should have 'republican' constitution.
- The foundation for the Law of Nations must be placed on the creation of a Federation of Free States.
- World citizenship should only be conferred on those who adhere to universal hospitality (Kant, 1795).

Kant has placed great emphasis on those measures which remove the incentives for war. This makes the widespread and effective internalisation of the norm of the *centrality of peace*, possible:

> Since the narrower or wider community of the peoples of the earth has developed so far that a violation of rights in one place is felt throughout the world, the idea of a law of world citizenship is no high-flown or exaggerated notion. It is a supplement to the unwritten code of the civil and international law, indispensable for the maintenance of the public human rights and hence also of perpetual peace. One cannot flatter oneself into believing one can approach this peace except under the condition outlined here (Kant,1795).

Kant's essay is strongly based on values, norms and normative concepts, such as the precursors of the *centrality of peace*, *human rights*, *good governance* and the *rule of law*. He writes about global effects, world citizenship, human rights, international law etc. These are some of the prototypes, necessary for an 'ever closer' integration of the European Union. They are defining features, which correspond to the socialisation, internalisation and institutionalisation of the norm of the *centrality of peace*. The *centrality of peace* connects with other values, norms and normative principles, such as *environmental sustainability*, **humane** *rights* and *human dignity*.

In this possible future era of *permanent peace* and **humane** *rights* the current situation and major questions of *environmental sustainability* and *clean energy supply*, and the research programs with projected solutions, will have been seen as those which lead to an all-encompassing worldwide situation to attain conformity to the norms of a *post-carbon economy* with *environmentally safe* and *clean energy production*.

One of the major EU project to solve the environment-energy questions is ITER that is the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor. ITER is a collaborative effort by the EU, Japan, India, China, United States, Russia and South Korea. The EU, as the initiator of the ITER scientific and research project, is paying for 45% of the cost, with the other six countries each contributing 9% of the expenses. Through ITER, the European Union in Southern France is currently building the most powerful and highly developed experimental nuclear fusion reactor in the world. The first stage of ITER will be operational by 2019 (ITER, 2012).

Australia has an advanced fusion research facility at the Australian National University in Canberra. Australia, as a non-ITER party, also aims to contribute to ITER and this is possible through negotiation and eventual signing of the Cooperation Agreement with the ITER Organisation. The ITER project attracts excellent nuclear fusion scientists from all over the world, with the potential of providing *clean*, *safe* and *sufficient energy* in the future (ITER, 2012). To reach the reality of possible emergence of norms of a *post carbon economy* requires a breakthrough in energy solutions, because it seems that a huge increase in the world-wide energy need is on its way. Traditional nuclear reactors and renewable energy developments such as wind, solar, geothermal, tidal-wave etc. energy projects are important. However, it seems that these technologies, significant as they are, will not be sufficient to create a prosperous post-carbon economy with related global environmental solutions and sustainability. The Australian nuclear fusion scientists' efforts to contribute to the European Union's ITER project is important, as ITER is having the potential of providing secure and really cost-effective energy supply, perhaps in the not too distant future.

The real emergence of the norm of *environmentally safe energy supply* in the European Union and in Australia, moreover in an interdependent world, would help to achieve the widespread institutionalisation and internalisation of the norm of *environmental sustainability*. This could create a different way of thinking, on the whole, resulting in a powerful paradigm shift. It would also remove some of the incentives for war. As a result, through an incremental socialisation process, the norm of the *centrality of peace* and the norm of *human dignity* could be internalised, in parallel with the emergence of the norm of **humane** *rights*. In the future, through a widespread socialisation, internalisation, and institutionalisation of the norm of the *centrality of peace*, the available resources will have been increased, and these resources were to be there to alleviate other pressing problems, which the world going to be increasingly facing.

Hypothetical nevertheless progressive approaches such as the above, may find expressions through sociological constructivism. At the same time sociological constructivism is a relatively new approach, and does not claim to have any superior status amongst other theories, neither does it oppose other theories. Social constructivism aims to create some synthesis and

highlights some important aspects of international relations that other theories may have missed. Through these effects sociological constructivism is able to make other theories more precise. To achieve this, the middle part of this chapter briefly describes the foundations of some major international relations and integrations theory, including the epistemology of these theories knowledge creation.

Kenneth Waltz, the well-known international relations' scholar, in his foundational work of the *Theory of International Politics* (1979) systematised the knowledge of *realism*. The realist theory has a long tradition, and Waltz became the creator of structural or *neorealism*. Neorealism may have inspired the scholarship of *intergovernmentalism*, which is a way of describing EU integration. Intergovernmentalism appears in the work of academics Stanley Hoffmann (1995) and Andrew Moravcsik (1991). Robert Keohane is famous for *neoliberalism*, as described in his academic work of *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (1984). It provided the foundation for the neoliberal-neoinstitutionalist international relations theory. Neoliberalism and *neofunctionalism* share some common thread between them. According to Ernst Haas (1968) neofunctionalism is useful to describe European integration. Neofunctionalism's approach through institutions and its concept known as spill-over, have described European integrations similarly, as the neoliberal international relations theory explained the practices of the neoliberal metastructure of embedded worldwide institutions through globalisation. Increasingly useful and often connects with sociological constructivism, is *environmental theory* (Grant and Papadakis, 2004; Schlosberg, 2007). It has gained importance through the study of environmental international relations. This dissertation attempts to raise awareness about the urgent need to find solutions for environmental sustainability, especially within the EU-Australia cooperation.

2.6. Empiricist and rational foundationalist epistemology

"Constructivism's distinctiveness lies in its theoretical arguments, not in its empirical research strategies" (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001:392). Theories based on positivist methodology are empowered through an empiricist or rational foundationalist epistemology. Generally, for the purposes of research, positivism perceives the social and the natural world as the same. It is

taken for granted that this world is completely separate from the theory about it, an objective entity, which can be independently experimented, examined, quantified and measured. These ideas would oppose any assumption that a theory itself might have an effect on the construction and workings of that 'external world'. As more than 150 years ago Auguste Comte put it: "The study of Positive Philosophy affords the only rational means of exhibiting the logical laws of the human mind, which have hitherto been sought by unfit methods" (Comte, 1853:10).

It is significant that through its scientific method, (logical) positivism gathered a tremendous power, and it was able to claim that it was the only way to deliver useful knowledge and profitable results. Positivist methodology does not allow to point towards the possible limitations of the scientific method and the foundationalist epistemology. Nevertheless, to try to unify the natural and social sciences in such a rigid manner, by using the principles of physics, may have been a serious mistake, which may have created untold damage in the natural world and consequently to humankind. Although, it is impossible to prove it empirically or rationally, that this is indeed the case.

Empiricism has its root in the theories and writings of English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) and Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-1766). The basic ideas of empiricism are as follows:

- the human mind begins as a tabula rasa and knowledge of the world enters in through our sensory experience;
- a knowledge claim must be testable by experiment or observation;
- there can be no knowledge claim of such things that are unobservable;
- scientific laws are able to explain repeated experience;
- scientific explanation is done by a sample of scientific law (covering law);
- scientific laws enable scientists to predict phenomena;
- objectivity requires the strict separation of (testable) statements from (subjective) value judgements (Benton and Craib, 2001:14).

There are serious criticisms and concerns with regard to the limitations of these ideas. Smith refers to three of these as the most important ones:

- international structures and social matters are unobservable;

- empiricism cannot consider causes since causes are also unobservable;

- it does not give due concern to the large volume of theory related to perception and observation resulted in interference between these (Smith, 1996: 19-20).

Rationalism is a historical contender with empiricism. Plato, Greek (427-347 BC), Rene Descartes, French (1596-1650), Baruch Spinoza, Dutch (1632-1677) and Gottfried W. Leibniz, German (1646-1716) philosophers were all important contributors to rationalism as an epistemology. Rationalism creates knowledge through reason that is a faculty of the human mind. In rational choice theory, it is supposed that an entity, through having the necessary amount of information, can make rational choices by which it can maximise its own interest and act accordingly. Regarding rationality, the problem may be that there is more than only one 'reason'. Intuitions may differ, and rational interests are not seen as the same amongst the different actors; therefore, they cannot simply be transferred from one entity or culture to the next.

2.7.   Neorealism and intergovernmentalism

Ideas count but when it comes to global altruism, the economic and political interests of states, and the elites who manage national affairs, take priority. A realist analytical perspective must lie alongside our constructivist approach. (Hulme and Fukuda-Parr 2011: 32).

War, balance and distribution of power, state-sovereignty, survival and security, as well as anarchy as the result of a worldwide lack of an ultimate central authority among states, are key terms for realist scholars in international relations. Classical realists often relied on notions of human nature and human characteristics, as well as on frequent inductive analysis of particular historical events, in order to explain the behaviour of states and occurrence of wars amongst states. Nevertheless, they deemed international relations too complex, and did not produce a complete systematic theory.

Kenneth Waltz placed chief emphasis on anarchy, as the foremost factor in the world-scale politics of international relations, and used it to produce a top-down, deductive, systematic theory (Waltz, 1979). Many scholars in the field considered Waltz's theory a great intellectual accomplishment: the birth of structural or neorealism. According to Waltz, states are self-interested rational actors, and in the international level they are given over to an anarchic realm due to the lack of a world government, or any meaningful and powerful international judicatory authority. This anarchic realm itself becomes an organising principle, where, in order to survive, states have to create their own security. Through the distribution of power or capabilities amongst states, those with greater capability, set the scene for others. When a state becomes too powerful, others tend to band together to form alliances in order to secure the balance of power.

Within a state at its domestic level and amongst its people, there is a potentially functioning order of hierarchy, with the capacity to provide security and possibly welfare to its own people. However, as the bare facts of neorealism explain, at the worldwide international level, through the lack of a hierarchy of authority, or a superordinate central power, states have to make do with anarchy. Anarchy is basically the opposite of hierarchy. For states, anarchy becomes a constant factor of life in the international state system. These matters seem to be crucial, because in order to understand how peace might be achieved, first the causes of war should be known (Waltz, 1999: 131).

Waltz and his neorealism received its share of criticism. Alexander Wendt critically highlights Waltz's argument, "that attributes of states which do not concern material capability, like ideology or bellicosity, as well as the quality of relations between states, like amity or enmity, should *not* be included in the definition of structure" (Wendt, 1999: 99). […]"Neorealists avoid talk of socialization altogether" (Wendt, 1999:102). According to Richard Lebow, "Neorealism is a parody of science" (Lebow, 2007:53). Neorealism, similarly to many other ideologies, is unfalsifiable. It appears to operate on simplicity, by which on the surface looks scientific and rather resembles its adherents (Lebow, 2007:53). Neorealism failed to explain the end of the Cold War. Therefore, realism in the new situation, finally reached its nadir in neorealism, and became irrelevant (Lebow, 2007:53).

If anarchy is a condition of rule unrelated to any agent's intentions, then inter-

national relations is no anarchy. We need another term to indicate the form of rule in which agents intend that they be ruled by what seem to be unintended consequences of exercising their rights. (Onuf, 1998:77)

Agents decide of being ruled through the unintended consequences of anarchy, but by doing that they basically 'agree'. Therefore, the situation of international relations in a world-wide scale should be described by the term: *heteronomy* (Onuf, 1998:77).

Structural realism may have influenced intergovernmentalism as a theoretical framework to explain EEC and EU integration. Intergovernmentalism has a state-centric methodology, where the most powerful states of the EU, like Germany, France and the UK dominate policy making (Moravcsik 1991:68). The Member States are main actors, and locked into the process of EU integration. Intergovernmentalism, unlike neorealism, relies on domestic politics as a significant factor of policy making at the government level, which in turn has an effect on the institutionalisation process of the international system.

A good example concerning the development toward intergovernmentalism occurred during the early 1960s, when French President Charles de Gaulle asserted French national policy, and in 1965 objected to a proposed system of qualified majority voting (QMV). French withdrawal from EEC matters resulted in the 'empty chair crisis', which in turn hindered EEC institutional reforms. Through the objection of France at this stage, the United Kingdom could not achieve EEC membership. The Luxembourg Compromise resolved the crisis, but it meant that national interests prevailed, and the EEC and EU found it hard to facilitate QMV. Intergovernmentalism would prevail over supranationalism's aim to bring states' borders, interests and powers into a transcendental unity.

Rosamond provides an analysis (2000:75) of Stanley Hoffmann's scholarship (1995). Hoffmann finds an inherent dichotomy between Haas's neofunctionalism (1968) combined with the optimistic 'Monnet method''s (Hoffman, 1995:32) incremental processes, and the national self-interests as well as identity revealed in intergovernmentalism. A state-system, based on international collaboration, would produce diversity at the expense of the unity and synthesis amongst states. The EEC and EU, according to Hoffmann, is no exception. The

domestic and global forces together exercise manifold pressures, which result in a diverging, rather than converging interests among states. The global order creates perturbation, and the EEC member-states, for example during the 1960's, could not arrive with common confidence to a decision regarding supranational unity adjusted into the worldwide system (Rosamond, 2000:76). Hoffmann differentiated between 'low' and 'high' politics in order to show that some economic and technocratic areas are conducive for integration, whilst the sensitive matters of national character and individuality, as well as the national governing rights would resist integration, and to tamper with those would result in conflict generation (Rosamond,2000:77).

Andrew Moravcsik's liberal intergovernmentalism comes, in certain aspects, somewhat closer to the optimism of neofuctionalism. As the different states manoeuvre at the European level, they can work themselves into a relative independence from the pressures placed on their policies by domestic expectations and demands (Rosamond, 2000:145). National governments play a major part in EU integration and policy formulation; moreover, they take economic liberalisation into the driving force, which they deem far more important, than the strategic or military concerns. According to the analysis of Scully, the three main pillars in Moravcsik's liberal intergovernmentalism revolve around negotiations (Scully, 2006:23). Each state-government decides their best options in '*National Preference Formation*'. Then Member States negotiate it through '*Inter-State Bargaining*'. Finally, the process of institutions' building uses some of the outcome at the interstate EU level (Scully, 2006:23). The recurring Intergovernmental Conferences play an important part, and are landmarks in the development of EU integration.

The main criticism levelled at liberal intergovernmentalism expresses scepticism of the theory's *a priori* feature, concerning intergovernmental bargaining explained through economic focus which, in the end, is bound to have similar findings (such as intergovernmental economic agreements) in its research (Schimmelfennig, 2004: 81-82). In addition, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) played a crucial part in empowering the Commission, and the ECJ's interpretations regarding integration were often different from governments' expectations (acknowledged by Moravcsik with some qualification). The ECJ used its power, "and influenced the distribution of gains from market integration" (Schimmelfennig, 2004: 82).

2.8.   Neoliberalism and neofunctionalism

In the creation of knowledge, the neorealist and neoliberal theories commonly share a positivist methodological position, and rational foundationalist epistemology (Smith, 2007:5). Neoliberalism is at odds with the form of liberalism, which is rooted in idealism. Neoliberalism in international relations theory also contests some of the realist and neorealist's premises. Robert Keohane recognised the occasionally precarious, but overwhelmingly important motivations of states to cooperate with each other in the international economic arena, facilitated by institutions (Keohane, 1984:43). Neorealist theory does not provide any equal recognition between the international states-system and the embedded worldwide institutions. It does not give sufficient explanation concerning these relationships. Nevertheless, the EU, ECB, IMF, World Bank, and the WTO came into being through institutionalised cooperation amongst states. Although states, according to Keohane, are still more powerful than these institutions; notwithstanding, states allowed themselves to a certain degree to be constrained, for the sake of material gains. For example, states lowered trade tariffs through a common and cooperative understanding. This cooperation between states is not definite; nevertheless, according to neoliberalism, it does take place for the sake of a common material interest and profit.

The IMF, the World Bank and other organisations and institutions create some spill-over, by which they effectively maintain globalisation. There are some common threads between neoliberalism, as an international relation's theory, and neofunctionalism as a theory of European integration, where spill-over is recognised as an essential concept, responsible for influencing policy-analysis and practice in other, including political sectors, through technical and economic cooperation and exchanges.

Multinational corporations are transnational, endowed with great power, and in need of a set of rules provided in part through the WTO, to secure trade and profit. The importance of the norm of *environmental sustainability* gradually recognised as well, and information technology through fibre optics communications plays a very important part in providing relevant data to reduce uncertainty. It is accepted that increasing competition and increasing liberalisation

results in winners and losers. Gradually, some of the institutions become powerful giants, and questions concerning the adherence to the norms of *democracy* and *democratic accountability* come to the fore. In Keohane's view there are different kinds of accountability, other than the democratic one, which is difficult to achieve due to the lack of a world government. Anyhow, a world government at this stage, given the overriding lack of consensus and common values, probably, would not be created. However, there are pluralistic and reputational accountability, or accountability to the judiciary system of the WTO (Keohane, 2004).

Those scholars, who are aware of the rivalry and debate between neoliberalism and neorealism, have provided their sharp criticism (Keohane, 1986). They note that this mainstream debate, perhaps deliberately, excluded some very important questions. Issues like the moral dimension regarding the occurrence of war, and the serious economic and other inequalities in the world-system (Lamy, 2001:192-193).

The concern regarding economic problems and sharp inequality amongst the different states of Europe, were an important motivation for the formulation of the functional theory of policy analysis in the international states-system, during the 1940s and 1950s. David Mitrany, a well-respected British scholar of Romanian origin, developed the sophisticated theory of functionalist integration (Mitrany, 1975). He had a deep conviction that there is a possibility to avoid and eliminate future wars amongst the nations. He argued that the peace of Europe had to be maintained and developed through productive collaboration amongst states, with special concern for the welfare of its people. States should concentrate in developing technical-economic and institutional projects in cooperation, where the combined results in the increase of the welfare of the population would be substantially greater, in comparison to states, which would work in isolation, driven simply by their own resources and national pride. Taylor provides a summary, that "Functionalism holds that violence has its roots in the social and economic circumstances of people"[…] (Taylor, 1975: xi).

The fruitful collaboration amongst states produces benefits to the individual and the different groups, who increasingly work together and create interdependencies resulting in a branched structure. The functional approach would gradually enmesh state governments in an expansive network where a limited pooling of state sovereignty would develop in parallel ways. This was the case with the development of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) from 1952.

Ernst Haas's gifted scholarship (1968) went further in the European integration theory of neofunctionalism. Economic unification often worked as expected, and it aimed to contribute to political unification through the process of spill-over. The 1986 Single European Market - Single European Act (SEM-SEA) developed further, and included the ultimately successful currency the Euro; moreover it produced improvement in social matters (Nugent, 2006: 563-564). Political spill-over occurred in the supranational decision-making role of the Commission, and in the use of qualified majority voting (QMV) employed by the European Council, as well as through the legal integration work of the European Court of Justice (Nugent, 2006:563-564). Haas' theory aimed to use a scientific, positivist methodology. It narrowed the theory's options when political integration did not occur as expected. This battered neofunctionalism - probably somewhat unfairly - with heavy blows of criticism on every side. Yet neofunctionalism, to some degree, is still relevant as a transformative framework.

2.9.   Methods and debates

The philosophy of science and the philosophy of social science were most of the time conflated throughout their history. The naturalistic view caters for theories where social science is studied through the same methodological position of positivism, which was used to study, for example, physics. Positivism assumes that the facts of the natural world exist, independent from human beings. On the other hand, sociological constructivism assumes that the facts of the social world came to being through human beings, through their structuration and construction of the social world:

> Constructivism shows that even our most enduring institutions are based
> on collective understandings; that they are reified structures that were once
> upon a time conceived *ex nihilo* by human consciousness; and that these
> understandings were subsequently diffused and consolidated until they
> were taken for granted (Adler, 1997: 322).

If the facts of the social world are viewed the same way as natural scientists perceive the facts and objects of the natural world, then the conclusion is that these are all fixed entities. So, for

example, the international relations' theory of neorealism and the neorealist's notion of anarchy as an organising principle are seen as fixed and unchangeable. However, the social realm is not determined simply through rational choice. In fact the social realm comes to existence with interpretation and explanation. Agency (human and state actors) create their own reality and construct their own social facts.

The understanding of natural science and social science determines not only the current and future situation of the norm of *environmental sustainability*, but also the socio-economic situation of the world, including the development of the EU-Australia relationship. In order to increase the understanding of international relations, and in particular the EU-Australia cooperation and relationship, with its manifold potential, it is useful to examine the connection between the philosophy of science and the philosophy of social science.

> It is not possible to grasp the development of philosophical debates in the
> social sciences or indeed the development of the social sciences themselves
> without a knowledge of the way in which the natural sciences have thought
> about themselves, and the way philosophers have thought about them, as
> they have developed (Benton and Craib, 2001:

There is much at stake with regard to the philosophy of science and social science. Since the last 300 years science aims to provide an objective description of the world, where the subjective views or values of the observers do not seem to be scientifically important. Analytical science aims to study, dominate, rule and overcome nature, by dividing it to elemental parts, and then put it together again as some clockwork. This has served the needs of large industrial and multinational corporations, and the defence industry well. However, certain things, if they are taken apart, may become qualitatively different from the original. A more holistic account of nature can discover and create useful knowledge, and use them to provide effective persuasion for actors in society to internalise and institutionalise the norm of *environmental sustainability*.

The development of natural science has an effect on social science (on humanities as well) vice-versa - they are intertwined in complexity. The creation of knowledge could serve more pragmatic purpose, such as to realise the urgent need for *environmental sustainability*. A

development of regional and global environmental science embraces the future, and part of that is the scientific cooperation and initiatives of the European Union and Australia. In the European Union and in Australia the norms for a *post-carbon society* with a *post-carbon economy* could gradually emerge. Through social learning, social and natural science of the 21st century may benefit from past mistakes. The philosophy of natural science and the philosophy of social science of the 20th century maybe seen as embodied by the work of three academics: Karl Popper (1902-1992), Thomas Kuhn (1922-1996), and Imre Lakatos (1922-1974).

> [...] no matter how many instances of white swans we may have observed, this does not justify the conclusion that *all* swans are white (Popper, 1972:27).

The problem of induction, originated from David Hume (1711-1776) and referred to in the above quotation from Karl Popper, has never been satisfactorily solved. To derive general principles from particular facts is a matter of course occurrence, both in the development of scientific theories and in the practical flow of everyday life. Induction is to draw general conclusions or universal truth from a finite set of experience (empirical or experimental data). Because the different scientific theories are created through induction, and induction is logically untenable, therefore, to try to conclusively prove that a theory is true, invites insurmountable difficulties.

Popper aimed to differentiate with clear demarcations between science and pseudoscience or metaphysical speculations; and to this end, he provided a novel way for theory testing. Instead of trying to prove a theory through verification, the key question became whether or not a theory was falsifiable. If the theory could not be tested through falsification then it was not a scientific theory. A scientific system, if it is to be scientific, had to offer itself up for the process of falsification. "If the conclusions have been *falsified*, then their falsification also falsifies the theory from which they were logically deduced" (Popper, 1972:27). Through the way of falsification Popper was able to turn an untenable inductive methodology into a deductive theory testing. Deduction is much safer, where reasoning takes place from the general principles to the particular facts. Through this procedure verification was exchanged by corroboration; corroboration was the result of unsuccessful falsification.

According to Popper: [...] "a high degree of falsifiability, or refutability, or testability, is one of the aims of science" [...] (1963:219). If through unsuccessful falsification the test is in harmony with the theory, this is still not an absolute verification or a final proof. It is just a corroboration where the theory proved correct, and temporarily passed the test, successfully, without any reason to discard it now. Falsification can be used to separate science from charlatanism, with clear demarcation, because a charlatan would not be willing to go through an empirical test, whilst honest science and scientist would agree to it. Honest science, though it cannot be proved in a final sense, nevertheless, it is at least falsifiable.

Another important contribution by Popper to the philosophy of science is the concept of verisimilitude (truth-likeness). This word is to signify that the scientific theories, in both the natural sciences and the social sciences, are no more than approximations. Especially in the case of social science, it may be known clearly, if a theory about it is simply not true. Popper hoped that "In these cases we can still speak of better or worse approximations to the truth" [...] (1963:219). However, the logical and mathematical aspects of the concept of verisimilitude in the philosophy of science had been completely undermined by followed-up research (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2010). Nevertheless, its original aim was to establish how and why it could be possible that amongst theories which proved to be false, one or other particular theory might still be closer to the truth. It was a fundamental question whether the new theories or best theories are closer to the truth at all, whether it can be concluded that the products of scientific research do embody a linear progression? In spite of all the criticisms levelled at Popper's work, he remains one of the most important, well-known and influential philosopher of natural science and social science of all time.

Thomas Kuhn philosopher-historian of science had a completely different approach in his writings, when compared to Popper, and to most of the philosophers of science. He decided to view the development of natural science from a historical perspective. By thoroughly examining the research activities of scientists throughout the ages, Kuhn noted, that the widespread understanding of science written in textbooks, which suggested that scientific progress and development takes place through the "concept of development-by-accumulation" (Kuhn, 1970:2), had been based on faulty and naive premises, as well as false teaching. Scientific theories are far from being in a linear progression and development; instead, they overthrow each other and create their own completely new world. The new theory, or the new

world-view, new paradigm as Kuhn named it did not seem to have much need at all to be concerned of, or to learn from and try to communicate with the previous one. This communication could be almost impossible anyway, given, that the new theories and paradigms are incommensurable (had no common qualities) with older theories and with each-other. Kuhn astonished many intellectuals with his radical ideas and he gained a lot of supporters as well as distractors.

Kuhn arrived at the novel conclusion, that during the process of scientific research, normal science (Kuhn, 1970:10) and revolutionary science (Kuhn, 1970:111) exchange each other in a cyclical way. During normal science scientists stand by the prevailing paradigm without questioning it too much. If the scientific community notice some anomalies around their accepted paradigm, then without tampering too much with it, or rocking the boat, they try to eliminate the discrepancies as much as possible. Nevertheless, if that is not possible, then they simply ignore them. The scientists do not question the current paradigm itself; rather, they conduct their research, their puzzle solving activities within the set limits.

> Normal science is a highly determined activity, but it need not be entirely determined by rules. [...] Rules, I suggest, derive from paradigms, but paradigms can guide research even in the absence of rules (Kuhn, 1970:10).

Some of the most important elements in Kuhn's deliberation seem to stand not by strict rationality, but perhaps in the twilight of mystery. What is more, Kuhn firmly rejected the Popperian idea of falsifiability. He insisted that it is the revolutionary phase of science, or the paradigm shift that will bring change, even if without the envisaged cumulative effect of a linear scientific progress or scientific growth.

In Kuhn's view the paradigm is more powerful and more important than the procedures of the scientific method that start with questions, background research, followed by hypothesis construction and experiments (conclusion). As a result of external or internal pressure, too many anomalies may be appearing during the period of normal science, and a time of crisis begins. The crises start a paradigm shift where the prevailing paradigm begins to fail. Revolutionary science arrives and the underlying suppositions of the old paradigm collapse; a

new paradigm becomes established. With the institution of the new paradigm, established by a common consensus, the time of normal science returns. The paradigm is a set of shared theoretical suppositions or a common ontology, with accepted self-contained facts.

In general, many philosophers and scientists found it difficult to accept that the theory of Kuhn's paradigm shifts went totally against the prevailing views of the logical positivists. Strictly speaking even Karl Popper did not belong to the well-known Vienna Circle of contemporary logical positivists, and he revised some of their ideas; nevertheless, he sympathised with them greatly, and never agreed to Kuhn's main ideas. For the logical positivists, reality, facts and truth was objectively out there to be discovered and proved through the scientific method. They too, promoted the unity of method, which prescribed that the natural and social sciences should be developed and treated through the same methodology and scientific principles. Whilst for Kuhn reality and the facts were paradigm-dependent, and when the paradigm shift and change occurred, the world and the facts about the world changed with it. The scientific facts about the world and reality itself became relative to the new prevailing paradigm.

As a result of all these radical ideas, Kuhn was criticised on many accounts; though, arguably, in the second half of the twentieth century he became more influential than Popper himself. When the opposition mounted against, for example, his incommensurability, Kuhn explained the theory with some modification. He allowed that there may be some communication between two paradigms, but because of the theory-ladennes of data, objective choice between paradigms is impossible. The facts, the data themselves are influenced by the theory resulting in the concept of theory-ladennes, which occurs because the perceptions of scientists are influenced by their situation. Be that as it may, Thomas Kuhn's work very significantly influenced both the philosophy of natural science and of social science, to this day.

> The clash between Popper and Kuhn is not about a mere technical point in
> epistemology. It concerns our central intellectual values, and has implications
> not only for theoretical physics but also for the underdeveloped social
> sciences [...] (Lakatos, 1978: 9).

Imre Lakatos was a rationalist, a philosopher of mathematics and science. Nevertheless, he was also a philosopher of social science, with great concern to preserve and improve freedom in academia, and to preserve the integrity of scientific endeavour in both the natural as well as in the social sciences. Throughout his academic career, Lakatos worked with Karl Popper at the London School of Economics, and later became Professor of Logic.

With Popper the notion was established that scientific theories are not only equally not provable, they are also equally improbable. Naturally, this was a blow to the contemporary logical positivists. Popper insisted that to demarcate science from pseudoscience, the scientist should be willing to specify in advance a potential falsifier; specify some data or crucial experiment, or observation, which could falsify the theory. Any lack of intention to facilitate falsifiability would prove that the theory is in the realm of pseudoscience. Nevertheless, according to the elaboration of Lakatos (LSE, 2010), in this way one does not demarcate scientific theories from pseudoscientific theories; instead, one separates scientific methodology from non-scientific one. In reality, Popper's theory is not suitable to provide a clear-cut solution for the problem of demarcation, because scientists defend their theories through thick and thin, and they often not very much concern themselves with a few anomalies.

Lakatos could see that if this is the case with the theory of Popper, and if Thomas Kuhn's theory of revolutionary science and paradigm shifts could gain final credence, with its mystifying elements, then that could spell the end for the rationality of sciences, with potential hindrance to endeavour for freedom and integrity in general. Therefore, Lakatos set out to provide a clear distinction between scientific progress and intellectual decay or intellectual degeneration. He created a methodology of scientific research programs, with the hope of solving some of those problems which both Popper and Kuhn failed to solve. For him, both the crucial experiments advocated by Popper and the scientific revolutions explained by Kuhn, were more or less fictions. Not the single theories, but the research programs are the most important, broad units of science, and these programs are not trivial 'all-swans-are-white-until-one-finds-a-black-swan' type of trial and error conjectures, which is not too reminiscent of real science. With scientific research programs, Lakatos aimed to provide a synthesis of the accounts of science theorised by Popper and by Kuhn (LSE, 2010).

These research programs have a hard kernel, or core, which are protected from refutations or falsifications by a flexible but powerful belt of additional hypotheses. These research

programs themselves are armed with powerful and clear-cut heuristic (problem-solving) principles, which by the help of refined mathematical techniques can transform anomalies into evidence. Lakatos theorised in a very smart way for the success of his own scientific account, through which he aimed to create a sharp demarcation between progress and degeneration, which Kuhn have failed to present.

Equally, it is an error to think that the correctness of theories lay in falsification, because - at least according to Lakatos - every outstanding scientific theory have a lot of anomalies, and come to being already as falsified (Larvor,1998: 50). Inductivists, who tried to prove that a theory is correct, or conventionalists who argued that a theory is better if it is simpler, were just as mistaken in solving the problem of demarcation as the falsificationism of Popper. History of science provided proof to justify these statements and through this proof Lakatos bound himself to pursue his methodology of scientific research programmes. Progressive research programmes, at their heart, do possess an unfalsifiable hard core, supported by surrounding supplementary conditional statements (hypotheses). Here a theory leads to the discovery of previously unknown new facts. Degenerating programs work to the contrary, where theories are only concocted in order to try to incorporate known facts. When social science is used for manipulation, then there is an attempt to justify it through a decaying or degenerating research programme. The academic works of these three scientists may also teach that it is too much to expect social science to be able to stand up to the scrutiny of the standard of natural science.

The development of both natural science and social science may have their own limit. Post-structuralism with its meta-theoretical implications shows this limit. Poststructuralism in the social sciences, including international relations, is able to provide a powerful criticism towards foundationalist theories, because in the eyes of poststructuralism, theory and practice not only inform each other but are the same things. Poststructuralism "sees theory *as* practice" (Campbell, 2007:206). This fact underlines its meta-theoretical concerns. Neorealism with its rationality and poststructuralism with its reflectivism are at odds with each other. There is no communication between the two different ideas. Sociological constructivism may be able to provide a certain measure of connections between these otherwise totally opposed notions.

> While 'postmodernity' is the cultural, economic, social, and political formation
> *within* modernity that results from changes in time-space relations, poststructu-

ralism is one of the interpretative analytics that critically engages with the production and implication of these transformations (Campbell, 2007:206).

Poststructuralism questions that human beings are able to perceive or comprehend the world, or comprehend reality. It describes that the only access one can have to reality is through language. However, language itself is unstable because it often relies on opposite concepts whose meanings cannot be 'objectively' determined. Through textual (discourse) analysis one can deconstruct these opposites, which then leads to an exposure of the epistemological limit.

Several poststructuralist scholars, like the French Roland Barthes (1915-1980) started out as structuralist. Structuralism is the theory that language - through the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) - ideologies and literatures are all subject to unconscious codes and rules. Structuralism stated that the signifier (a word) were independent from the signified (a meaning); nevertheless, poststructuralism decided that the signifier is inextricably linked with the signified.

> What is called poststructuralism does not translate neatly into research methods, although it does give rise to certain ways of working and specific approaches. Methods such as deconstruction, interpretative analysis, discourse analysis […] are used to analyse the data […] (Griffiths, 2005: 152)

This type of research with the data and text can uncover power relationships, interests in a new light, and often have to contend with opposition, which comes from so many different quarters with the aim of trying to eclipse the poststructuralist view, and occasionally brand it as confusing or even outright dangerous. If poststructuralism maybe viewed as dangerous, then hermeneutics maybe described as mysterious.

> Hermeneutics, in short, has ontological significance, which means that the traditional concerns of epistemology are inappropriate for understanding and making sense of our beliefs, since they posit the interpretive or observing subject as in some way prior to questions about the nature of being (Smith, 1996: 26-27).

Hermeneutics is an epistemology founded on the process of the consecutive as well as circular understanding and interpretation of the fullness and parts of a particular text. This understanding must happen through an embrace of the entire historical and contemporary context, out of which the given social or cultural phenomenon emerged. A culture is constructed through a long common bonding between people, and facilitated by language, customs, behaviours, rituals, lifestyle, and historical experiences in such a way that there are built-in barriers that would remain impenetrable, and would always withstand even the best intended scrutiny of intellectual search and deliberation. However, through the hermeneutic circle of constant understanding, followed by interpretation, one immerses and becomes part of the whole process; thereby, understanding becomes reachable when the historical horizons of past and horizons of the present merge.

> Crucially, hermeneutics reverses the argument of traditional epistemology and instead of a being interpreting the world sees a being formed by tacit know-how which is prior to the interpretations of facts, events or data (Smith, 1996: 26).

Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), thoroughly examined the question of *being,* which he himself believed to be the most important ontological issue in the history of Western philosophy. Ontology has come to its important position, whereby a (human) being is constructed through the present time and through history. The dividing effect of history will not simply become a chasm between present and past, or between the one who understands and who is aimed with understanding, because the one who understands receives insight through the effects of history, resulted in hermeneutics, with the freedom to accommodate different understandings.

Hermeneutics and social constructivism has important common elements regarding meaning, explaining, learning and understanding. Hermeneutics holds a mirror for social constructivism where understanding is a human construct and reality is present in a mutual agreement. "*Constructivism* asserts that reality is socially constructed and can be understood only in context" (Willis *et al*., 2007:54). Ideas and norms are powerful elements, and the answer to the question of where do ideas and norms come from, and why do they change, might be recognised in the connection of hermeneutics with memory and history. The horizons of history and the horizons of the present interact in the mind of the individual, in his or her

continuous understanding and interpretation through the hermeneutic circle. According to hermeneutics a written text can never be understood and interpreted exactly the same way. These differences can help to bring forth different understandings and ideas through time and space. The process of hermeneutic understanding and interpretation brings forth new ideas through complexity, and this factor makes prediction difficult if not impossible.

The endeavours of hermeneutics and social constructivism explain some similar problems with regard to the world; that is the specialties of human knowledge, technology and science, their function and changes in a particular historical and social milieu. Even though the concepts and methodology, as well as the manifold theoretical implications of hermeneutics, compared with social constructivism, are quite different; nevertheless, their academic performers understand that occasionally these two different approaches may be proper parts of an encompassing view of social scientific research. There is also a special type of knowledge, that is *tacit* knowledge (Willis *et al.*, 2007:120), which is connected to certain hermeneutical aspects. Tacit knowledge cannot really be explained or taught; nevertheless, it is very useful. Tacit knowledge has further implications in hermeneutics and in the philosophy of science. It is gained and constructed through experience, and a person can be completely unaware of the power he or she is bestowed upon by this hidden knowledge.

The creation of scientific knowledge and social science in connection with their theories has important implications for international relations and integrations. This is manifested through the historical great debates:

> All three 'great debates' as the origin myths of the field are usually called, have
> turned around the status of knowledge. In all three, the camp that has been able
> to play the card of science over its contenders, has been able to win the debates,
> at least in points (van der Ree, 2013: 29).

The first great debate took place between the idealists and realists after the Great War. The realists criticised the idealists that they were naive and placed too much faith in rational progress, which could avoid the catastrophe of war, again and again. The realists were able to claim the 'scientific banner' and liberalism was seen as an idealistic 'proto-science' (van der Ree, 2013: 29). Nevertheless, the realists initially rejected the formulation of scientific laws in

the social science of international relations, and around the second debate, they were on the defensive. The second debate allowed the methodology of the natural sciences to enter into the realm of the theories of international relations. The behaviourists' powerful theoretical advances took the ground and positivism became the winner. Positivism effectively decided of what kind of science international relations might embrace and develop.

> [...] positivism is a methodological position reliant on an empiricist epistemology which grounds our knowledge of the world in justification by (ultimately brute) experience and thereby licensing methodology and ontology in so far as they are empirically warranted (Smith, 1996:17).

The third debate or inter-paradigm debate took place around the 1970s and 1980s, and by this time positivism became firmly established. Positivism's importance ...

> [...] has been not so much that it has given international theory a method but that its empiricist epistemology has determined what kinds of things existed in inter- national relations (Smith, 1996:11).

During the latter half of the 1980s the fourth debate emerged and according to some academics this is still the current contemporary debate today (Kurki and Wight, 2007: 16-21). The fourth debate (some call it the third) is a debate between explaining and understanding, positivism and post-positivism and also between rationalism and reflectivism. Here the explanatory view of social science is strongly positivist; therefore, this way goes parallel with the treatment of the natural sciences. Nevertheless, with this kind of treatment the complex ontology of a social science and the social world is reduced. Scholars who stand for the understanding aspect, reject positivism, and embrace an interpretive methodology (which can be discursive, historical or qualitative).

In his paper, Gerard van der Ree writes about the current debate:

> While it has certainly created and enlarged spaces for non-positivistic research, it definitely has not been able to overthrow the dominance (at least in the US) of neo-positivistic IR (2013: 30). [...]

Positioning itself as an alternative to both sides in the third debate, scientific realism explicitly propagates itself in terms of scientific progress. Thus, post-positivism is viewed as unsuitable for social science research, while neo-positivism is regarded as an obsolete methodology (2013: 30).

2.10.   Scientific realism

Constructivism[...]does not, by itself, produce specific predictions about political outcomes that one could test in social science research (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001:392). To frame research designs [...] scholars have supplemented constructivism's minimalist social-theoretic claims with a variety of more specific, often more substantive, theories [...]. Constructivists have explored analyses of the power of discourse [...]. They have explored theories of agency and culture [...] analyses about self-presentation in public life [...] notions about security communities [...] theories about organizational behaviour [...] social movement theory [...] theory about communicative action [...] mediation theory [...] to name a few (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001:394).

This dissertation relies on scientific realism as an epistemology for the creation of its knowledge. Scientific realism is different from the empiricist and rational foundationalist approach. It creates a broader understanding about the structure of science; whereby, scientific development takes place under a construction of criticism and scrutiny. According to Bhaskar: "The world is structured and complex and not made for men. [...] It is important to avoid the epistemic fallacy"[...] (Bhaskar, 1975: 250). There are more things in the world than empiricism would allow us to know or experience them through our senses. Yet if the questions of ontology of 'what is possible to know', or 'what is it to be', or 'how is the world possible', becomes, through fallacy, of 'how do we know what is possible to know', or 'how do we know what is it to be' and 'how is the world'? [...] then, epistemology simply takes over ontology, and tries to place itself before ontology. Bhaskar rejects rationalism as well, because rationalism too has a reducing effect with regard to ontology (Smith, 1996:26).

Scientific realism is a sophisticated approach due to its commitments to a pluralistic epistemology and manifold methodological possibilities, depending on the task ahead. Each assignments and problems are judged by their own merits, through a more flexible scientific methodology. Scientific realism does not simply resign to a rigid and unchangeable world, but rather strive for the accumulation of knowledge, where the invisible structures of the world are taken into account too, and to a certain extent, for example through discovery, the world does change. This is different from positivism where, from the beginning,

> [...] those who first endorsed the 'unity of method' and sought to transform the study of society from speculation to 'social science' did so by nullifying ontological differences between natural and social reality. Comte was prototypical and his terminology is fully revealing: riveted by Newtonian mechanics, he conceived of its direct parallel in 'social physics' (Archer, 1998: 189).

Scientific realism phases out positivism from the social sciences, as it has also been incrementally abandoned from the natural sciences. Scientific realists do not advocate that the natural sciences and the social sciences should be put under the same treatment. Scientific realism employs deep ontological views and it can be well suited to describe the interaction of the elements of sociological constructivism. Such as that the world is social, and the power of the social constituents (logic of appropriateness) is just as important as the possible material elements (logic of consequentiality) in the agency-structure debate. The social constituents become intersubjective and endogenous through time and space, and create new and evolving relationships between agency, institutions, and between states.

The unity of the natural sciences and the social sciences has come under a serious scrutiny through the premises and theoretical framework of scientific realism. Scientific realism rejects

> any attempt to arrive at a set of clearly defined procedures that fix the content of the scientific method. For scientific realists, each science must arrive at its own mode of operation on the basis of the object domain under study (Kurki and Wight, 2007: 24).

Both the natural and the social world do have some organisation, or a certain structure; nevertheless, in living or human social settings this organisation must be exercised, otherwise it

would cease to exist. The existence of the human social structures depends upon the understanding of the human mind, whilst the factual workings of nature itself seemingly independent from the workings of any human cognitive construction. Human societies are changing, because people can change them (Onuf, 1989; Wendt, 1992); however, the underlying arrangement of the natural world remains fixed. Nevertheless, these complex notions may provoke and produce deliberations almost endlessly, especially, if the vital issue of environmental sustainability gets included:

The biophysical earth-system itself is in a constant and continuous interaction with the human socio-political and economic systems, and vice-versa. Nevertheless, much of these underlying connections are undetectable processes, and their clear nature has not been scientifically discerned and discovered yet. The exact scientific nature of these relations is difficult or impossible to understand, and it may never become possible in a clear-cut scientific and rational sense. For example the interactions between the major economic systems, and their influence on the environment as a whole, are very significant and becomes impossible to ignore. Economics then is connected with politics and international relations, and with a huge array of sciences and practices. The widespread acknowledgement of this entire dynamics may create an understanding and a view in process, that the natural earth system with the biosphere and ecosystem is ultimately finite, whilst the theories of the multiple social systems of humanity, including international relations, are produced by the potentially infinite creativity of languages and the human mind. Whilst the human imagination may be unlimited, the material and environmental world is a more restricted place, and may only provide chance for a limited amount of experimentation to prove who is right in terms of the proper philosophy of science, political economics and modes or methods of production.

2.11.   Environmental theory

Environmental theorists understand that neorealism can present only a relatively crude account about why there have been a clearly significant increase concerning the number of international treaties in the environmental field (Eckersley, 2007:257)? The framework analysis of international environmental treaties requires an examination of the normative dimension of

environmental regimes. Normative analysis is difficult or impossible to do within the structures of materialist theories, like neorealism or neoliberalism. In fact, environmental theorists of international relations are increasingly developing social constructivist foundations, based on a normative ontology, for the successful conduct of international environmental policy analysis (Eckersley, 2007: 257). Environmental theorists explored new ways of democratic and financial accountability, direct democratic representation and participation without discrimination, where the interests of non-human species, such as *animal rights* (White, 2007) and the sustainability of ecosystems are vital matters. The norms of *environmental sustainability* and *environmental justice* (Schlosberg, 2007) are related and interdependent terms. The adherence to the norm of *environmental justice* strives to lessen ecological risks and aims to eliminate their unjust externalisation to third parties.

Climate change, and the concern because of melting ice around the North and South Pole, ozone layer recuperation, water and atmospheric pollution, land degradation, soil erosion and desertification, protection of natural biodiversity, and the increasingly frequent very powerful world-wide natural disasters are all important issues, connected with relevant ideas, norms and values, shared between the EU and Australia. Most of these problems are generally acknowledged by all of the countries on Earth. If the outcome of the current negotiations (as of 2013-2014) of the EU-Australia treaty-level Framework Agreement will be positive, and followed with a successful internalisation of the norm of *environmental sustainability*, then that may show a decisive leadership to both China and India to find solutions to the regional and global environmental questions. It is becoming clearer that the way which would be safe and secure, humane and prosperous on Earth, could only come about through a new era of international cooperation.

> Despite the attention of media and academic commentators to divisions between the EU and Australia on climate change, the reality is that the underlying trends in the two jurisdictions have been very similar. There are certainly time lags both in the influence of ideas and the adoption of policies. Yet adopting a historical perspective serves to dissipate some of the sharp contrasts (Grant and Papadakis, 2004: 287).

The environmental laws of the European Union are not standard across the 28 Member States. That would be difficult to enforce, given the widely different economic and socio-political

development between the more established and the relatively recently joined EU countries. The relatively recently joined Member States are allowed to have their own development of their otherwise strict environmental regimes, albeit which is within their own limitations and standards. These factors make 'common action' across the EU difficult if not impossible, even if the goals and urgent requirements are clear. There can be serious financial hindrance to implement the laws even for the wealthy EU countries (Nugent, 2006: 380-381), let alone for those ones that are still undergoing economic and social transformations. The Emission Trading Scheme (EU ETS; 2009) is one of the EU's answers to the problems of *environmental sustainability*. It is embedded to the neoliberal economist philosophy, which explains that the market and its instruments are the most efficient and effective to solve the problems on Earth. According to this scheme, everyone who wishes to pollute above limit, they still can, as long as they pay for it, and buy carbon credit from those who polluted less and are within their limit.

Nevertheless, the Earth is a global natural entity, and it requires focused collaboration between nations to solve the well-known, and less well-known environmental problems. The loss of biodiversity, like the severely depleted codfish stock in the North Sea, does have a serious impact on the livelihood of many people. Indeed eco-innovation is necessary and that is able to provide some solutions. The free market has a part and place in this, such as providing the necessary capital, as well as incentives for the continuous research and development of environmental technology. However, the neorealist-neoliberal analysis alone may not be able to cope in a 'postmodern' world of growing dissemination of knowledge, where ideas and news spread fast in the constantly increasing information superhighway. Although, the production of environmental inventions and solutions may be enhanced by the rationality and dynamics of the free market; nevertheless, it is obvious that the environment as such ultimately cannot be privatised. Who could buy or privatise the air, sunshine or water resources as a whole? Would it not be absurd to imagine that some people might buy planet Earth (or part of it) and try to put it up as leverage in a hedge fund or use it as some collateral? Environmental economists accept that market mechanisms may be able to achieve an efficient allocation of resources. However, the market alone struggles to provide sufficient distribution of food, let alone goods, for the present and future human necessities (Eckersley, 2007: 253). How does the market fair when it comes to provide security of at least for a minimum income, for every human being on planet Earth who is being born? Is the market able to secure the *most basic needs*, such as the need for clean water, food, shelter, and health care, education, with regard to humanity as a whole, in relation to *human dignity* and **humane** *rights*, and a life without fear?

An information of the World Bank from 2008 states that on Earth 1.23 billion people (18.4%) live in extreme poverty, which is one dollar or less income a day per person. 3.2 billion people (48%) have two dollars or less a day. A fifth or 20% of the Earth's population, those who are the poorest, consume a paltry 2% of the world's goods (Kegley, 2009: 224). Another fifth or 20% of the Earth's population, those who are the richest, consume between 67-90% of all the goods and services in the world (Kegley, 2009: 225). Inequality is also significant even in some of the developed countries, with a curious example of the US. It has one of the highest Gini coefficient indices (40.8) amongst the OECD countries. The Gini index is a ratio between 0 and 100 for the measure of inequality in income distribution. A lower index shows a less unequal distribution. The Scandinavian countries are amongst those in the OECD, which have the lowest Gini coefficient indexes. These values are for Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland, in order, as follows: 24.7; 25.0; 25.8; 26.9 (Human Development Report, 2007/2008: 281).

Ethical principles do recognise that the Earth is endowed with natural goods and resources. However, is the free market able to provide security towards the preservation of the ecological carrying capability of ecosystems? (Eckersley, 2007:253-254). Beyond market mechanisms a political will need to operate through NGOs, community and international cooperation, negotiation and regulation (Mies, 2001: 499-504).

The successful cooperation between the two polities of the EU and Australia in a worldwide context requires a thorough work across cultures. The current global use and power of the English language is significant. Nevertheless, regarding communication with for example China or India, the EU and Australia could learn more of the intricacies of languages and cultures of a very different nature. India's most important national language the Hindi is an Indo-European language; thereby related to most of the European tongues. Nevertheless, Chinese Mandarin is completely unrelated to any European tongue. According to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Strazny, 2005: 927-928), languages may be the most important instruments that decide how people view the world. Seemingly similar concepts and things can project different notions in the minds of people, who belong to completely different background. This can hinder cooperation; therefore, it requires an understanding and interpretation to be able to see that the other person's viewpoint - who belongs to a very different culture - may well be just as much valid.

In the coming decades, the EU and Australia may well have to face a number of important challenges. Lately it has been acknowledged that the Earth does not have 'unlimited' resources; in fact, the natural earth system is a fragile and intricate network, which requires even more environmental care than previously agreed to. The question of energy supply in connection with *environmental sustainability* is a challenging one, especially if the concerns of the EU and Australia would be connected with, for example China and India. For a number of years China and India are growing between 6-12% of their GDP. They have decided that through constant high growth, they can actually reach an economic development on a pair with the current developed countries. Neoliberalism's *laissez faire* philosophy encourages these nation's ambitious goals, without seriously scrutinising their general environmental viability. India, with its growing economy, is fully in line today with the economic doctrine of neoliberalism (Oza, 2006). The country's aim is to reach as soon as possible, the level of wealth and general living standard, similar to what the US has. In China neoliberalism could not take over in the political arena; nevertheless, it is operational in full force in the economic sphere, and China is perfectly in the competition, aiming higher than India. At the same time, amongst the population of these countries, a deep socio-economic chasm is growing continually and relentlessly, with unforeseeable consequences.

The question remains: are these ambitions environmentally sustainable? Is it possible that the growing number of the combined middle and upper middle class population of both China and India - that is already around the same number as the present population of the whole of the EU - going to acquire the consumption habits of the US middle and upper middle class? What will be the likely repercussion on the environment locally, versus globally? Does neoliberalism have answers here? Alternatively, perhaps a new approach or a new way of thinking is required. Indeed, it is very likely, that the old ways of rationality, the old frameworks, are not sufficient here. If the discourses of the future would only have some inevitable effect of simply preserving the status-quo of neoliberalism and neorealism, that may consequently increase the likelihood of multiple catastrophes and disasters. To construct the old notion of 'realist' paradigm in a framework that present a version of reality to be accepted by the world, in the end, may result in a nuclear conflagration. There is a growing need that the EU-Australia cooperation would succeed and help to avoid any wide-scale men-made disasters. The EU and Australia may set and undertake an effective common agenda in the socialisation and internalisation of the norm of *environmental sustainability*, and other related areas.

The challenge to achieve a widespread socialisation and internalisation of the norm of *environmental sustainability* requires broader horizons, and a more generous acknowledgement of reality. Not only in the neorealist-neoliberal framework, informed by positivist methodology, but especially in a sociological constructivist framework, informed by scientific realism. Amongst the socio-economic and environmental questions are, for example:

- Who is willing to give up their own lifestyle in order to lead an environmentally more sustainable way of life, perhaps with different norms concerning *standard of living*?
- How to facilitate globally a successful persuasion to internalise and institutionalise the emerging and relevant norm of *environmental sustainability*?
- How to protect current and future generations from the possible danger of a global symbiosis of man-made versus natural disasters of unprecedented scale?

The dangers of inaction in the face of the growing questions of the regional and global *socio-economic* and *environmental sustainability* situation, may be exponentially increasing in a complex dynamism. It may threaten with an increasing frequency of a symbiosis of man-made versus natural disasters. A new powerful paradigm unfolds as a lingering phenomenon of some all-encompassing natural and man-made catastrophe, coupled with new scientific and philosophical advances. In their cooperation the EU and Australia should, as much as viable, prepare themselves for it, as it may well be that these two socio-economic and political entities gradually have to take on stronger leadership roles in the future, with regard to the socialisation and internalisation of the norm of *environmental rehabilitation* in a connected and interdependent world.

2.12. Sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism in the EU-Australia international relationship

Institutions include rules, norms, identities and interests. Institutions are perceived in a cognitive way, depending on how the actors involved with the institution understand the workings of the world. Sociological institutionalism examines culture as the most important element by which institutions can be explained. Culture is also the defining factor amongst those institutions which are recognised as efficient bureaucratic structures.

The distinction between *homo economicus* and *homo sociologicus* is not, as some constructivism seems to suggest, that the former is strategic and the latter is normative; rather, it is that the strategies of *homo sociologicus* are always socially embedded (Jenson and Merand, 2010: 79).

What a bureaucrat may see as a rational action or rational efficiency, it is in itself socially constructed. Rational choice institutionalists recognise institutions and organisations, and the actors in them as entities, who are there to maximise their material benefits. Sociological institutionalists describe these actors as those who seek to express their identity in socially and culturally defined terms, such as norms and values.

During the past three decades, sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist scholars produced a significant volume of work, and some of their findings are referred to in this chapter. Sociological constructivist theorising of international relations have gained a lot of ground, especially during the two decades after the end of the Cold War. The current consensus considers sociological constructivism as one of the most important analytical approach to international relations, which is capable to provide progressive development regarding theorising and conceptualisation of the discipline. In order to get a comprehensive understanding of the EU-Australia relationship through a sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist analysis, it is helpful to get to know some of the most important, contemporary sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist scholars. The following academics listed and briefly introduced here are relevant to the subject matter, and theme of this dissertation; therefore, some of their insights are incorporated with the thesis' analysis of the EU-Australia cooperation. Especially Martha Finnemore, Kathryn Sikkink and Nicholas Onuf are those academics whose ideas, in part, adopted in the context of this dissertation.

Martha Finnemore, from George Washington University, is a well-known academic and a sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist theorist and scholar, with a specialised knowledge on norms and norm dynamics.

Kathryn Sikkink, from the University of Minnesota, is also a well-known academic and a sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist theorist and scholar. Together with

Martha Finnemore they produced seminal articles, which provided much of the foundation of sociological constructivism as an approach for research.

Nicholas Greenwood Onuf is a North American professor of international relations, an outstanding, well-known sociological constructivist scholar. In connection with the discipline he coined the word: constructivism. Onuf is interested in the linguistic and normative legal aspects of constructivism, and maintains that it is actually up to human beings, to decide and act according to what they think the world should be like.

Alexander Wendt is a North American academic of German origin. He is an influential sociological constructivist scholar, well known for his ground-breaking works.

Jeffrey T. Checkel is a North American academic, specialising in European integration and Europeanisation, socialization dynamics, persuasion, identity formation and as a sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist scholar, constantly working on new testable research methodologies.

Peter J. Katzenstein is a North American academic, originally from Germany. He is also a founding sociological constructivist scholar, specialising in the fundamental importance of norms, roles, culture and identity in international relations.

John Gerard Ruggie is a North American academic and sociological constructivist writer, originated from Austria. He has been involved with practical policy work at the United Nations. Ruggie describes constructivism's ontology (how it views the world) as based on ideas such as norms, which have an instrumental relation to the material constituent. These social norms partake of a collective intentionality, or in other word, according to Alexander Wendt and other constructivist scholars, they have an intersubjective quality (Wendt:1999). It is an important cornerstone of social constructivism that ideas and identities will change through time and space:

> At bottom, constructivism concerns the issue of human consciousness: the
> role it plays in international relations, and the implications for the logic and
> methods of social inquiry of taking it seriously. Constructivists hold the view
> that the building blocks of international reality are ideational as well as

material; that ideational factors have normative as well as instrumental dimensions; that they express not only individual but also collective intentionality; and that the meaning and significance of ideational factors are not independent of time an space (Ruggie, 1998: 33)

Ruggie identified several streams of social constructivism. Constructivism can be seen as neo-classical, poststructuralist or naturalistic. Neo-classical constructivism (Katzenstein) is distinct from naturalistic constructivism (Wendt), given that the epistemology used in naturalistic constructivism is based on scientific realism, where the unobservables are also taken into account. Hard core neorealists, who are perhaps highly critical of the international relations' approach of sociological constructivism, may express that sociological constructivists are dreamers or wishful thinkers, such as those from the '*Land of Oz*', and try to nullify the potential for conflicts and war in international relations (Ruggie, 1998: 32-33). However, sociological constructivists' scholars do understand that the potential for war could still be an important factor, although they place the emphasis on the positive and powerful capacity of norms. Ruggie refers to Emanuel Adler and through him provides a reply: "If international reality is socially constructed, then World War II, the Holocaust, and the Bosnian conflict must also have been socially constructed," [...] (Adler, 1997: 336). Constructivists do understand that norms can be ignored and the structure could collapse. Nevertheless, social learning, collective intentionality and intersubjectivity, where norms are endogenised, make this collapse far less likely. Especially, in contrast to the neorealist international relations theory based on the system of anarchy, which is supposed to be an organising or stabilising factor. Social learning and collective intentionality is enhanced through the expertise of epistemic communities.

An epistemic community is a significant concept in sociological constructivism. These are knowledge networks consisting of experts who form a knowledge society or community. For the sake of a successful communication, epistemic communities create a common framework and communicative methodology for dialogue. In order to keep regionalisation and globalisation economically viable, actors must be able to understand one another, and through intellectual vigour they need to be able to choose and work with the relevant information. Scientists and professionals comprise a significant think tank in epistemic communities through defining procedures, and focusing on relevant issues in order to bring forth a powerful

shared framework for policy makers. In international relations an epistemic community may be a global network of expert professionals, who in scientific matters often have an influence on policy decisions.

Epistemic communities are also important with regard to the EU-Australia relationship. The EU-Australia *economic and trade relationship*; the *cooperation in science and technology*; the *cooperation in environmental sustainability* and *energy security*; the *cooperation in higher education, art, culture and tourism*; as well as the EU-Australia *cooperation in peace and security*, are all areas where expert advice is provided for negotiators and policy makers to create a profitable EU-Australia working collaboration through a peaceful and constructive relationship with the interdependent, regionalised and globalised countries of the world, in the present and for the future.

The European Union can be perceived as a normative power in international relations, and the social constructions and structures, such as the different norms, have to be taken into account to give them due and proper recognition. To consider only material factors and connections of international trade may not be sufficient for a thorough analysis. Sociological constructivism emphasizes that there is no *a priori* national interest, because the national interest itself is the result of a sociological course in society, which is changeable and the identities can change accordingly. States in the 21st century, gradually, occupy their place in a world of norms, for example: EU integration according to the *acquis communautaire* that is through the body of laws, rules, and norms accumulated by the European Union. The EU institutions through their creation of regulative, constitutive, evaluative and other norms bring forth structures and events globally and, especially, for the purposes of this research, in the EU-Australia relationship.

The two main developers of sociological constructivism have been Nicholas Onuf and Alexander Wendt, amongst other North American and European scholars. Sociological constructivism received substantial theoretical influence from sociology, especially from Anthony Gidden's social theory of structuration (Giddens:1984). The social theory of structuration elaborates on the crucial ideas of the connection, interaction and relationship between agency and social structure. It is an important question whether or not agents (states or humans, as actors) can influence or transform structure? Structure itself can be described as the system of the combined social and natural environment.

Structural or neorealists, and to a lesser degree neoliberals view agents as having little or no possibility or means to change the structure. Whereas according to constructivists, the culture of society, and the intersubjective quality of ideas and social norms provide a transformative effect through time and space, which is why agency and structure are able to arrive into a mutual constitution. Social constructivists' scholars shed light on the powerful factors of culture and the change of ideas, which gradually transform identities, and consequently create new and different interests and behaviours in the international and domestic level. Constructivist explanation highlights the interconnection of culture, language, norms, identity and transformed interests, and it points to other manifold social instruments of the different International Organisations (IO), NGOs, transnational actors, agents, or states. These social elements are invisible building blocks with creative effects in international relations. Language is an important part of this process. Neorealism and neoliberalism do not sufficiently recognise the abstract power of language, because they are materialist theories with a positivist methodology, which is reliant to acquire knowledge through rational choice and empiricist epistemology.

The *Social Theory of International Politics* (Wendt: 1999) is a ground-breaking work, which explains the interactions of states that is guided among other things by institutions, historical experiences, social learning and norms. It clearly suggests that anarchy, in which the different states have to survive through self-help is changeable, and not simply a static or 'everlasting' concept. According to sociological constructivism, principles are not objective and the social world is not located outside the theories about it. Through the cognitive processes of intellectual explanations and interpretations human beings construct their world; therefore sociological constructivism is a constitutive theory. Social reality is constructed through an ongoing mutual constitution of agents and structures. The mutual interplay between agency and structure of the domestic and international system reconstructs the identity, and consequently the interest as well as the behaviour of states. The incorporation of sociology into constructivism brought forth the decisive importance of norms and identity, as instruments in the foreign relations of states, within the over-arching system of international relations. Wendt writes about the European Union, its norms and identity, as follows:

[…] in the European Union some states have managed to form a collective identity.
 The vast majority of states today see themselves as part of a 'society of states'

whose norms they adhere to not because of on-going self-interested calculations that it is good for them as individual states, but because they have internalized and identify with them. This is not to deny that states are self-interested in much of what they do *within* the boundaries of that society. But with respect to many of the fundamental questions of their co-existence states have already achieved a level of collective interest that goes well beyond 'Realism' (Wendt,1999: 242-243).

According to the neorealist understanding of international relations, the chief emphasis is on anarchy, which is due to the lack of any meaningful international judicatory authority, and this anarchic realm itself becomes an organising principle, where in order to survive, states have to create their own security. Wendt's social constructivism says that anarchy can be a structural fact in the world consisting of states; nevertheless, it is in the power of leaders, diplomats, intellectuals and scholars to decide how to deal with anarchy (Wendt, 1992:391-425). Neorealism and neoliberalism are using empiricist and rational choice epistemology, and they are based on an individualist ontology, which is largely incommensurable with sociological constructivism. Sociological constructivism relies on the epistemology of scientific realism, and some scholars use post-positivist methodology. Its ontology revolves around social norms, intersubjectivity, collective intentionality, collective social practices, collective actions, and institutions.

Table 1 on page 55 describes sociological constructivism in the theoretical middle range, between the rationalist and reflectivist theoretical positions. The third diagram shows the initials of the different scholars, and their constructivist positions relative to rationalism and reflectivism, and to each other. Checkel was mentioned before. Some of these mostly European academics and their names are, respectively: Ben Rosamond, Jeffrey Checkel, Rey Koslowsky, Martin Marcussen (*et al.*), Kenneth Glarbo, Jo Shaw, and Thomas Diez (Christiansen *et al.*, 2011: 542-543).

Emanual Adler worked out in part the theoretical foundations of sociological constructivism. His analysis shows, amongst other things, that there is much at stake regarding social constructivism, including the future of the discipline of social science:

> In other words, the issue pits a naturalist conception of science, almost entirely based on contested philosophies of science and on physical concepts and theories that physics has long since abandoned, against a conception of social science that is - *social* (Adler, 1997: 319).

The social interaction, ideas, meanings, shared understanding and shared intellectual outlook, knowledge, intersubjective norms among the participants have created the system of relationship between the European Union and Australia. According to social constructivist understanding this system of ideas is the most powerful factor during the different negotiations, pointing far further than the actual physical assets and the manifest material profit, which are usually at stake during the manifold interactions. The EU-Australia relationship and the on-going Ministerial Consultations between the two entities relates to the constant change and development of the EU itself, which is briefly scrutinised in this dissertation, according to a social constructivist approach. A holistic sociological constructivist account examines the systemic (supranational) as well as the unit level (sociological and legal norms within the states) changes, always leading to a somewhat different identity of the European Union, from the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) until the Treaty of Lisbon.

The EU and Australia both have vitally important interests in Asia, including the *Association of Southeast Asian Nations* (ASEAN), the *Pacific Rim countries*, and trough *Asia-Europe Meeting* (ASEM) where, broadly speaking, both the European Union and Australia are in the same regional grouping. The *Asia-Europe Meeting* was established in 1996 at a conference in Bangkok. It is an interregional forum, currently comprised of the European Commission, the European Union with its 28 Member States plus Norway and Switzerland, as well as the 10 members of the ASEAN countries, the ASEAN Secretariat, plus India, Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Bangladesh, Mongolia, Pakistan and Russia. The main purpose of ASEM is to *deepen the relationship* between Europe and Asia through a *systematic political dialogue*, *economic cooperation*, as well as *cooperation in security*, moreover in *education and culture* (Asia-Europe Meeting, 2012). The cooperation of Australia with the Asian countries, where the EU is also present through ASEM, is a long way from the situation in 1973, when the United Kingdom joined the European Community (EC).
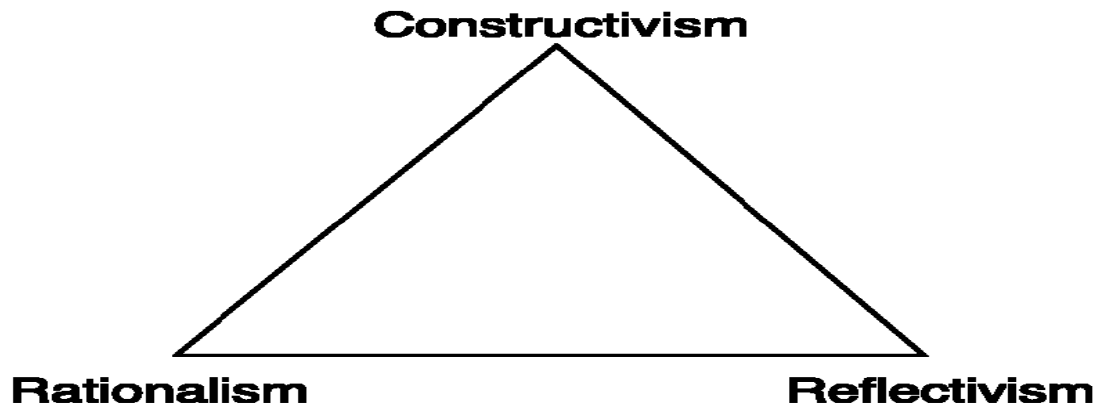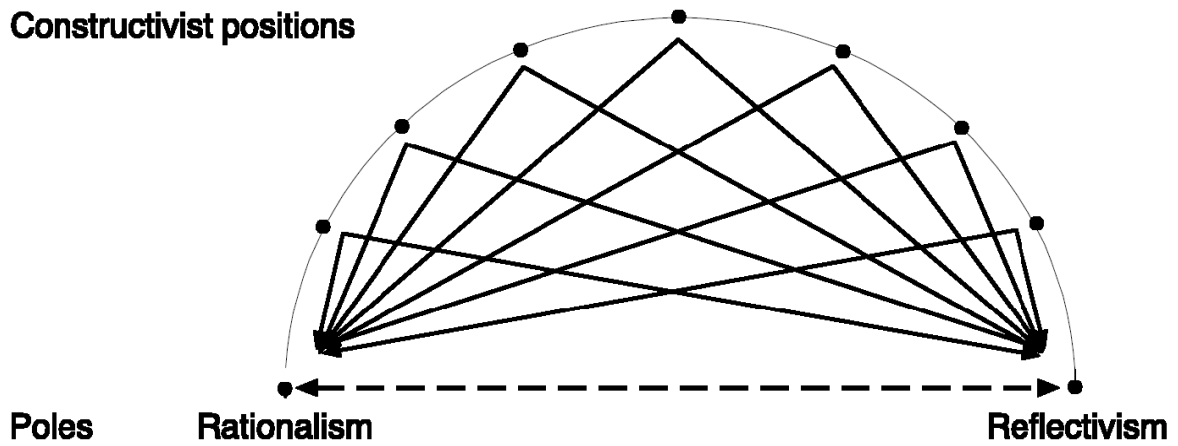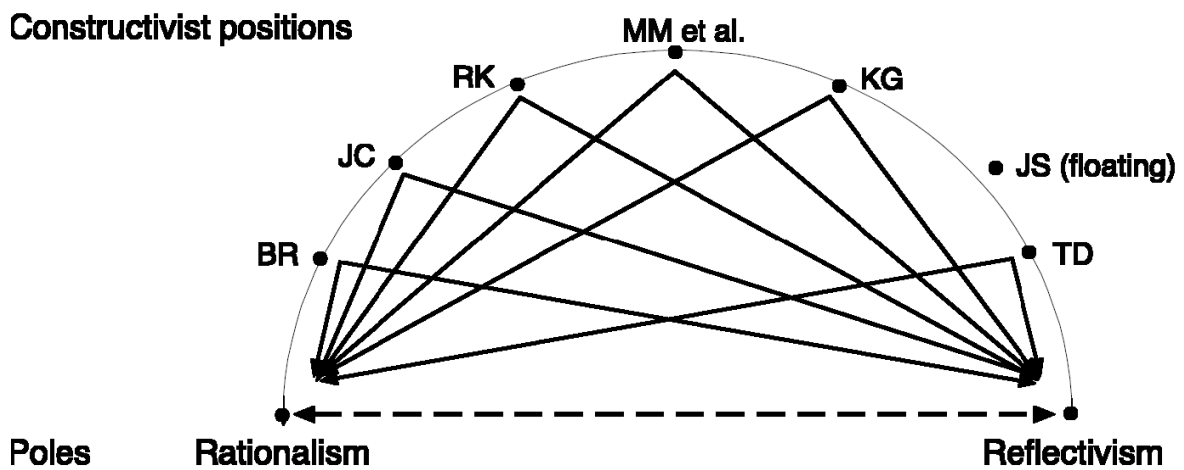
Table 1 : Sociological constructivism is in the middle range between rationalist and reflectivist theoretical fields (Christiansen *et al.*, 2011:532,536,543).

The ontology of social constructivism has some important implications with regard to the current and future development of the EU-Australia relationship. The Honourable José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, in a keynote address in 2011 at the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra, titled "Shared futures: Europe and Australia in the 21st century", emphasized a largely constructivist future relationship that is ultimately based on social norms, as follows:

> Finally, let me conclude that the European Union-Australia relationship has huge potential, which we are only just starting to unlock. I have travelled here because I want Australians and the Australian Government to know that the European Union is committed to achieving this potential. I also want to convey the message that despite occasional portrayals, the European Union works effectively. It has worked for sixty years as a driver of peace and prosperity through compromise. It is these aspirations that we will bring to the table as we continue to deepen our relationship with Australia. We have long shared interests; we have been building closer relations; it is now time to build on that through sharing further action (Europa: 2012).

These aspirations includes the European Union's growing identity, in connection with the foundational norms of the European Union (Manners, 2002: 235-258), and similar norms are also shared by Australia, such as the constitutive norms of *liberty*, *democracy*, *transparency* and *good governance*; the regulative norms of the *centrality of peace*, *human rights*, *social solidarity*, *environmental sustainability*; and the evaluative norms of the *rule of law*, *human dignity* and *anti-discrimination*.

   Social constructivist scholars acknowledge the importance of rational materialism and rational choice, as part of the driving force of the nations; albeit it is argued, that the most important dimensions, which give meanings to the material, are social in their nature. This social context is so powerful that it may override the momentary rational precepts of the corresponding material aims and objectives. The material aims and objectives are present, but they are not simply some all powerful factors that are independent from the social structures into which they are embedded. Ideas, collective identities, rules and norms, institutions and discourses play a significant, interactive and decisive part in the different negotiations and working relations.

The *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* (2010) is a legally binding normative text, which through the course of its fulfilment requires actors to follow a *logic of appropriateness*. It has provisions about *dignity*, *freedoms*, *equality*, *solidarity*, *citizen's rights*, and *justice*. Regarding dignity, the *right to life*, *right to personal integrity*, *prohibition of torture* and *prohibition of slavery* are stipulated. Regarding freedoms, the *liberty* and *security*, *privacy*, *protection of data*, *freedom of thought*, *freedom of conscience and religion*, *freedom of expression*, *freedom of assembly*, *freedom of arts*, *right to education*, the *right to work*, the *right to do business*, the *right to own property* and the *right to asylum* are all mentioned (Charter of EU, 2010: 389-403).

The actors' interactions with the institutions of the European Union create a continuous sociological course, aiming for the internalisation of norms. Socialisation facilitates the internalisation of the norms and rules of a given polity. Nevertheless, the extent of the internalisation of norms, the outcome of socialisation, quite often differs amongst actors. Persuasion, framing, argumentation, deliberation and socialisation through social learning are all instruments in sociological constructivism to encourage agents to follow a *logic of appropriateness*. When socialisation is successful, then powerful actors with agency are willing to internalise the norm, in order to follow this logic of appropriateness. Without the genuine internalisation of norms, *logic of consequentialism*, based on rational choice, may prevail. Through logic of appropriateness actors agree to the norms and perceive them that they are the right things to internalise and act upon. Actors gradually share the common interests and identify with the polity and community (Checkel, 2007:6).

These theoretical insights could, to some degree, also apply to the contemporary EU-Australia relationship. Especially, during the current (2013-14) negotiations as they are taking place between the European Union and Australia, in the accomplishment of a new and comprehensive treaty-level Framework Agreement. To get the most successful outcome and the best result of the negotiation process, it may be that Australia considers following not only *logic of consequentialism*, but also *logic of appropriateness* in its dealings with the European Union. According to different observers Australia has an eminently successful democratic system, therefore its representatives and negotiators may well have internalised those norms, which are the foundational norms of the European Union. Are there maybe only some differences in style, which sometimes have the tendency to create certain disharmony between the two polities?

In the journal article, titled "International Norms and Domestic Politics: Bridging the Rationalist-Constructivist Divide" (Checkel, 1997:473-495), the author examines the difference of how neoliberals and sociological constructivists understand norms. Neoliberals see norms as they create incentives and constrain the behaviour of actors. Constructivists, however, argue that norms become internalised and create a powerful intersubjective understanding with far reaching effects, as they constitute the actors' identity and endogenously the actors' interests. Each argument has its own merit, because norms occasionally do create constraining power, albeit at other times they have constituting effects. International norms can constrain the behaviour of domestic decision makers. Powerful actors who have significant agency are capable to be taught new values and interests through an interactive process, by the power of universal norms. It could be argued that some of these norms are on their way to become universal, such as the *centrality of peace*, *environmental sustainability*, or for example *human dignity*. Through the internalisation of these norms the actor's behaviour is guided by *logic of appropriateness*. This is what is called the *mutual constitution* and this concept is placed at centre stage in sociological constructivism (Checkel, 1997: 473-495). Through mutual constitution norm diffusion can be quite effective. Between the EU and Australia norm diffusion takes place vice-versa. The European Union diffuses human right norms globally. Through international collaboration, trade negotiations and cooperation the EU diffuses human right norms also in Australia. Occasionally, the diffusion of these human right norms by the EU in Australia may create some 'sensitivity', because Australian dignitaries view the human rights' records of Australia as excellent, and second to none.

Dignity, as a personal right has gained a crucial clout and foremost importance in the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*. Checkel tends to give about equal importance between the neoliberal rational choice of following *logic of consequentialism*, and the constructivist notion of following *logic of appropriateness*. Nevertheless, the constructivist idea of following logic of appropriateness could create a solid foundation for the normative principle of *human dignity*. Constructivism is instrumental to bring forth a communicative synthesis between the different theoretical views, so as to facilitate the norms of *human dignity*, as the pre-eminent part of the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*.

Katzenstein, who is a specialist on the fundamental characterisation of norms, in a recent book chapter, co-authored with Checkel and titled the "Politicization of European Identities",

comes to the conclusion that there is no single European identity (Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009: 1-27). Rather, there are different European identities in the pluralist sense, and these are in constant development (Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009: 213-227). For the EU-Australia relationship European identity creation is an important matter. Through social learning and deliberation Australia understands that Europe or the EU is not a monolithic entity, driven by an endlessly bureaucratic regime. The EU is a kaleidoscope of different cultures and polities with multilevel supranational, national, regional and local governments, operating through the principle of subsidiarity. The European Union is a legal creation, a legal superstructure with constantly developing plural identities. This supranational superstructure is in a state of flux, and Australia has had many experiences to manoeuvre its way through a significant number of negotiations with the EU, in order to position itself to the best possible socio-economic situation, and to maximise the economic and other benefits.

The 2004 enlargements of the EU with ten new Member States have created a much different Union. These relatively new Member States with their different memories and experiences are not just conduits for Brussels' ideas. They have their own visions, policies and problems too. There are proponents and opponents to the idea of an 'ever closer union' in the identity building of the European Union. The elites, the middle class or the young professionals who can move about easily, would favour a rational, technocratic Europe. The socio-economic 'losers' and the less educated tend to turn towards national culture, national values and national identity (Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009: 213-227). Amongst the most important norms of the EU are *human dignity*, *transparency*, *freedom* and *clarity of information*, *environmental sustainability*, *socio-economic development* and *social solidarity*. The internalisation and socialisation of these norms create new and transformed identities, interests, and behaviours.

It is a relatively recent historical fact that many people in those countries, who voted yes to join the EU through the great enlargement in 2004, had no previous experience and opportunity of a democracy. Instead they were born and lived under crude dictatorships. When it was about to decide through their votes, whether to join the EU or not, many of these citizens did not have as many information in their disposal as they could do with, neither did they have realistic or proper experience and expectations. Their previous experiences were received through systems, where manipulation, fear, and often state brutality were the norm. Apart from that narrow window of some years, when in their countries an experimentation of groping after the

democratic processes, clumsily as it were, with all its troubles have started, their only experience has been from the time, when they were often referred to as the more or less unhappy occupants of the barracks in the crowded communist camp of Eastern Europe. Some of these citizens' voting decisions as to join to the EU have been guided not by rationality, based on sufficient amount of useful information and experience, but by false dreams and lost illusions. The number of these disenchanted citizens can easily grow to a large proportion, especially in those countries, which are characterised as relatively new European democracies. They could swell to become a large crowd of impatient citizens, feeling cheated, as they sense that they are in danger to become losers, perhaps even bigger, than ever before, to be driven by fear, instead of hope.

Given the undeniable presence of some of these less celebrated notions, which are often not analysed sufficiently, the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union and other EU institutions together, need to have a clear mandate and ownership of responsibility regarding important ethical considerations as well, which could strengthen through a sociological constructivist learning process, an efficient and durable EU integration and identity creation. The complexity of the European Union also includes risks, human fallibility and unintended consequences. Ethical responsibility is definitely relevant, because, as for example the eminent sociological constructivist scholar Nicholas Onuf observes it, where there are rules and institutions present, there is also rule. The rule creates possibility and condition for some agents to control others, and increase their own power (Onuf, 1998: 75).

Onuf is among the most sophisticated intellectuals and social constructivist scholars of international relations. Onuf emphasizes the legal, the metaphorical and the linguistic aspects of constructivism, and maintains that it is up to people, up to human beings, to decide and act according to what they think the world should be like. The basis of constructivism is the fact that people are social human beings with the need for social relations. Social relations make humans into creative social beings. Through social rules, including legal rules, people and society constitute one another through a constant and reciprocal process. People construct the world from raw materials, and through their social interactions and communications with each other. Communications and speech, they are acts of doing; when agents talk they facilitate the most important ways they have, to make the world into what it is (Onuf, 1998: 59).

This (linguistic) explanation of sociological constructivism is also relevant with regard to the EU-Australia relationship. Sociological constructivist communication analysis to interpret the context and the discourse can play an important part regarding concrete events, documents, and speeches in the EU-Australia negotiations and manifold co-operation. The aim is to uncover the sources of the dynamics in the interactions, which have helped to bring forth those elements in the development of the EU-Australia international relationship, which is successful and satisfactory for both sides. On the opposite end it is to uncover the dynamics in the collaboration, which have played an important part to bring forth those elements that has caused divergent issues in the EU-Australia relationship, and which are unsatisfactory for both or either sides. A policy-analysis may recommend some preferable actions, which could bring forth an increasing number of favourable developments in the EU-Australia future, with regard to the needs of an interdependent, regionalised and globalised world.

In the *World of our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations* Onuf writes:

> All social rules, and not just instruction-rules, are necessarily and simultaneously constitutive and regulative. If in producing instruction-rules assertive speech acts account for both their constitutive and regulative character, at least in the last instance, one might wonder if all speech acts have this effect, or only those making assertions. Here we should recall that speech acts make language performative. By making an assertion, one does something social, at least if one's utterance meets with a response - any response. Yet making assertions can hardly exhaust the range of possible speech acts, any more than all social rules give instructions (Onuf, 1989: 86).

The social and material world is connected through language. Words create deeds and bring forth rules. Rules are social and they give instructions for human conduct, which entails intersubjectivity. Rules bring forth agency, and if agents choose to follow the rule they construct and strengthen it. Through social learning individuals use rules and become active participants in the social construction of the world. Rules both enable and restrict them. Rules together with other social arrangements create institutions, and these formations appear as

structure. Onuf suggests that *social arrangement* is a better definition, and it should be used rather than the word structure. A social constructivist scholarship aims to put norms in front and centre, and endeavour to show how for example informal behaviour connected with informal norms, particularly the use of language, gives a special characteristic, in this case, to the European Union - Australia relationship. As much as possible this thesis aims to show the importance of norms, of how they inform the identity and interests of the European Union; and of the features, procedures, rules and institutions through the European Union-Australia relationship. But how do norms come into existence and what is the role of norm entrepreneurs? These are relevant questions, and here some of the expertise of Finnemore and Sikkink may be referred to:

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink are sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist theorists, specialising in norms and norm dynamics. According to Finnemore the norm diffusions of the international institutions are capable to influence the identities and behaviours of the different states. The international structure is not static and norms do change, consequently the identity, interests and behaviours of the different states may also change. In Finnemore's view rationality and normative influence are interrelated notions, because a normative context can also have enough power to influence rational choice (strategic social construction). Conclusively, norms and rationality possesses a quality of interdependence (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2005: 887-917).

Norms are developing in three stages. A norm comes to existence or emerges, and through socialisation and institutionalisation it arrives to a situation from which the norm cascades through the actors, states or NGOs, and gradually internalised by professionals, bureaucrats and agents. The norm emerges through the actions of norm entrepreneurs, who are driven by new ideas. These norm entrepreneurs are powerful enough to persuade leaders, professionals, bureaucrats, intergovernmental organisations, NGOs, or even the wider population, to accept and internalise the particular norm (Table 2 on page 64). Ideational conviction plays important part as to why norm entrepreneurs promote their ideas. They often act according to those values, which are represented by the norms. The consequences of all of these are summed up remarkably by Finnemore and Sikkink:

> For decades now IR research has been divorced from political theory on the
> grounds (implicitly, if not explicitly, articulated) that what 'is' in the world

and   what 'ought to be' are very different and must be kept separate, both intellectually and in policy. However, contemporary empirical research on norms is aimed precisely at showing how the 'ought' becomes the 'is'. Empirical research documents again and again how people's ideas about what is good and what 'should be' in the world become translated into political reality (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2005: 916).

It seems appropriate to add here that social constructivism is an approach that is still very much in its development. More research will be needed in the future to show the tenacity and strength of these scholars' contributions and apply that to the developing European Union-Australia relationship, which may be analysed through a constructivist framework. However, the value of sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism in international relations is evident, especially with regard to norms and in demonstrating of how the 'ought' becomes the 'is'.

These North American constructivists, briefly introduced above, and especially Martha Finnemore, Kathryn Sikkink, and Nicholas Onuf are the ones whose works provided some guidance in the context of this dissertation. Some of the North American constructivists tend to be conventional, and sometimes they may use positivistic methodology and deductive, top down analysis. Meanwhile, the European constructivists are more post-positivist and prefer interpretive epistemologies that examine the roles of language in the social construction of reality (Checkel, 2008: 73).

Constructivism challenges only the ontological and epistemological foundations of realism and liberalism. It is not anti-liberal or anti-realist by ideological conviction; neither is it pessimistic or optimistic by design (Adler, 1997: 323).

Sociological constructivism, if it is carefully exercised, may remain free from any ideological standpoint. This dissertation as well, aims to be an academically neutral work, without taking any ideological position. The thesis aims to show the creative and progressive characteristics of sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism, in order to provide a framework to the analysis of the EU-Australia international relationship.

	Stage 1 Norm emergence	Stage 2 Norm cascade	Stage 3 Internalization
Actors	Norm entrepreneurs with organizational platforms	States, international organizations, networks	Law, professions, bureaucracy
Motives	Altruism, empathy, ideational, commitment	Legitimacy, reputation, esteem	Conformity
Dominant mechanisms	Persuasion	Socialization, institutionalization, demonstration	Habit, institutionalization

Table 2 : Stages of norms (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2005: 898).

The premise of social constructivism is relevant to the past and possible future enlargements of the European Union, with its 28 Member States at present. While for the 15 existing Member States the great enlargement in 2004 offered new opportunities, it was a challenging, risky and difficult process. To allow ten new states to join the EU was not simply a strictly rational decision (Nugent, 2006:69). Nevertheless, on the basis of the Union's collective ideas of free trade, democracy, human rights, environmental protection, scientific development and knowledge society, as well as given the powerful interactions amongst institutions, NGOs and civil societies, a new collective interest was created within a relatively short time. That paved the way for plans and legislation to a renewed European Union in 2004, with ten new Member States; and since then, three more. The identity of any individual state has changed somewhat through an interactive evolution of shared norms and ideas; consequently, identity itself operates as a construction. The identity of individual actors evolve and change, because the

idea of the EU is so powerful that it permeates everything from within and without, and the identity of any one Member State is going through a mutual inference with the other 27 Member States. By inviting other states to join in with the common proposals of the EU, there opened a possibility to create an international authority that could manage and control the whole momentum of socio-economic growth, purportedly created for the common good and prosperity of the European Union. In this sense Jean Monnet, one of the fathers of the EU, was a constructivist too, a visionary, as he envisioned for the future an 'ever closer union' and socio-economic unity, which is constantly developing toward a certain type of federalised polity.

2.13.   Conclusion

To be able to understand sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism as analytical frameworks for EU integration and as theoretical approaches to examine the EU-Australia international relations, it is necessary to scrutinise them alongside with some other main theories. Sociological constructivism is still in development, and it is not yet a fully fledged theory, neither does it claim to have a 'superior' status amongst other theories. Rather, it aims to highlight some important aspects of international relations in order to create potential for a certain amount of synthesis, and to make other theories more precise.

This chapter emphasised the works of some historically significant scholars, whose works corresponded with some of the development between European countries and Australia in the past, especially with the United Kingdom, which played an important part to establish Australia as a country, and contributed to the creation of its identity. The historical emphasis is on the social developments of domestic and international events, which may be seen to contain precursors of general meta-theoretical sociological constructivist ideas, and prototypes of those rules and norms that are the structure in the contemporary European Union-Australia international relation and cooperation. Sociological constructivism endeavours to be based on an approach, where the facts of the social world are coming to being through a mutual constitution of agency and structure, which is the structuration of society. The social realm is

not determined through a simple rational choice, because the social realm is accomplished through interpretation and explanation. Agency creates its own reality through institutions, and society and people construct their own social facts through reciprocity.

The ontology of sociological constructivism rests on social norms. The decisive part of the structure in the EU-Australia relationship appears through the diffusion of ideas manifested in social norms. Positivism, as the prevailing methodological position based on the epistemology of empiricism and rationalism, became foundational to the formulations of theories in the social sciences too. Nevertheless, it is vital that the natural sciences and the social sciences, at times when necessary, could be treated in a separate way, with due recognition to their differences. The underlying structure of the natural sciences, at least to a certain extent, is thought to be fixed. Meanwhile, if the social sciences are treated in a separate manner, they might be viewed as open ended with the possibility for a gradual transformation. The positivist view caters for naturalistic theories where social science and natural science are conflated, and it is thought that the facts of the natural world exist as objective and independent from the theories of academics. If the facts of the social world are viewed in the same way as natural scientists view the facts and objects of the natural world, then the conclusion would be that these are too, fixed entities. However, for social constructivism identity and interests are constantly transforming and changing entities, the result of a continuous sociological course in society. Through sociological constructivism actors have sufficient agency, and incremental change takes place through structuration, in which structure and agency reciprocally constitute one another.

The development of the European Union and its on-going relationship with Australia is examined through these principles in the thesis. This undertaking requires considerable theoretical complexity. There have been no academic journal articles or other literatures written yet about a sociological constructivist international relationship between the European Union and Australia, analysed through the power and influence of regulative, constitutive and evaluative norms, which are internalised in both the EU and in Australia. The established theories of neorealism and neoliberalism regard the material potentiality as all important in international relationship. Neoliberalism though, first and foremost considers the institutional metastructure through on-going globalisation. Both neorealism and neoliberalism are materialist theories where the structure is ultimately fixed and the (human and state) actors do

not have sufficient agency to effect change. The rigidity of structure is an especially significant characteristic of neorealism, because for neorealism identity and interests are exogenous, or in other words, they are fixed entities.

One of the most important premises of sociological constructivism is that through history and through a historical-sociological process, war - and perhaps the preparedness for war - in the longer term gradually, maybe phased out. The *centrality of peace* and *human dignity* as preeminent foundational norms of the European Union are also shared by Australia, and may go to become powerful global norms. A widespread constructivist and socio-economic process, which concentrates to solve the issues of global *environmental sustainability*, may result in the intersubjective acceptance of *human dignity* and the *centrality of peace*, as universal norms.

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Chapter Three

The sociological foundations of constructivism in the development of the EU–Australia relationship

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3.1.   Introduction

Because of the thoroughly social characteristics of constructivism, it is important to examine its sociological foundations, as well as to distil substantial academic knowledge, through which the nature, accomplishments and continuous development of the European Union-Australia international relationship can be examined by this approach. Part of the sociological foundation of constructivism in the European Union-Australia relationship is the theory of structuration. The social world of norms and rules comes to being through interpretation, cognitive construction, conceptualisation, and structuration by people in social situations and society. The interaction of phenomena bring forth intersubjective manifestations resulted in practice and institutions, and are constantly reinforced through the numerous decisions of agents, the different states, NGOs and other organisations. Structure itself act as an instrument in development and as a guard against the deterioration or collapse of society. This part of the thesis aims to explore some of the nature of the norms, values and normative principles, and the process of structuration in the societies of the European Union and in Australia; as well as in the EU-Australia international relationship.

Sociological constructionism and sociological constructivism are at work both in the EU and in Australia. This chapter provides some explanation concerning the relation and similarity between the broader social psychological theory of social constructionism, and that of social constructivism. A sociological constructivist analysis of the development of the European Union, intertwined through its relationship with Australia, is explained using social constructivist ontology and epistemology. Culture and identity are examined as important components, and decisive elements in the social interactions of individual human beings, or groups of people, as well as in the interactions of polities, agents and the different institutions.

3.2. Norms, values and normative principles in the European Union and in Australia

> *Athenians*: Then we on our side will use no fine phrases […] since you know as well as we do that, when these matters are discussed by practical people, the standard of justice depends on the equality of power to compel and that in fact the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept.
>
> *Melians*: […] people should be allowed to use and to profit by arguments that fall short of a mathematical accuracy. And this is a principle which affects you as much as anybody, since your own fall would be visited by the most terrible vengeance and would be an example to the world (Thucydides, 460-400 BC,1972: 401-402)

The Athenians wanted to solve the problems regarding international relations quickly and easily. The Melians wished to preserve and protect their lives and their island home through appealing to (normative) principles of compassion, goodwill and friendship; however, in the end their enemy, the Athenians, to their own peril, blindly rejected these arguments. As a result, during the Peloponnesian war, more than 2430 years ago, these Athenians engaged in an utter slaughter and genocide, and exterminated the adult male population of the island of Melos and sold their women and children into slavery. Since then this terrible scenario has repeated itself many times in different ways, but in horrible outcomes, all around the world. It is a scenario that is 'realist' in many ways: it had been seen, as the 'way of the world'.

> In arguing that the EU is a normative power in world politics, I mean that the EU promotes a series of normative principles that are generally acknowledged, within the United Nations system, to be universally applicable (Manners, 2008: 46).

The European Union with its values, norms and normative principles has an effect on the norms of international relations, including the EU-Australia international cooperation and

relationship. Some of the most important norms and normative principles of the EU and Australia are almost identical or quite similar. Nevertheless, Australia with its own characteristic values, norms and norm diffusion also has had some influence on the European Union. The European Union's human rights' clause obligation, which the EU requires to be accepted in its treaty-level Framework Agreements that is signed and ratified with other countries, sometimes may seem to be somewhat problematic for Australia. Dr Brendan Nelson, former Australian Ambassador to the European Union and to NATO, highlights this issue here:

> The other reason, in terms of a free trade agreement, we have to have a treaty framework agreement in place in order to seek a free trade agreement. Fifteen per cent of Australia's two-way trade is with the European Union and its member states. We've negotiated pretty much everything, but one thing that the Europeans will not give ground on is what they call essential elements, noncompliance provisions, and my strong view is that the Europeans need to have a very serious look at this. The idea that we would link all of our existing agreements and future agreements to any accusation of noncompliance on human rights and rule of law and other things of which Australia can be very proud is in my view nonsense (Nelson, 2013).

Human rights are a regulative social norm or normative principle, and an institution of formal laws. It is a cluster of ideational terms. It can be problematic, also, because human right as a norm is not fixed in its meaning. This norm is under transformation and development, and as such it requires constant acceptance through social learning, in order to accomplish its socialisation, internalisation, institutionalisation and proper implementation. These requirements concerning the norm of *human rights* would apply to the European Union as well. It is difficult to measure exactly whether the EU or Australia is more successful in the process of acceptance and institutionalisation of the *human rights* norm in general, at any given time. The European Union in its 28 different Member States, obviously, would not be able to internalise and implement in equal measure all the values and normative principles that the human rights norm includes, amongst its population, and amongst the actors of its supranational institutions and national as well as local governments. Concerning the different Member Sates there are different levels of success, with regard to the socialisation, internalisation and effectiveness of the fundamental norms of the EU, such as *human rights*, or

for example, the norm of *human dignity*. To decrease these differences amongst the Member States have certainly not been made any easier with the occurrence of the Great Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2008, and through its aftermath, which hit some of the EU Member States really hard. At the same time Australia is a strongly coherent polity, also due to the size of its population, which is 23 million, versus 505.7 million of the EU (Eurostat, 2013). Regarding the socialisation, internalisation and effectiveness of the norm of *human rights* and *human dignity* in Australia, it was helpful not only that it is a stable and well developed democracy, but also that Australia, as a country, has not had any economic recession during the recent past, for more than 20 years. In this achievement it stands in an eminent position amongst the OECD countries of the world. However, the quality of the implementation of the different norms and normative principles depends first and foremost not on the economic efficiency in the EU or in Australia, but on the genuine socialisation and internalisation of the norms, through following the *logic of appropriateness* even more so, than the *logic of consequentalism* that is a utilitarian material self-interest. Sociological institutionalism describes the logic of appropriateness, when

> actors are imagined to follow rules that associate particular identities to particular situations, approaching individual opportunities for action by assessing similarities between current identities and choice dilemmas and more general concepts of self and situations. Action involves evoking an identity or role and matching the obligations of that identity or role to a specific situation. The pursuit of purpose is associated with identities more than with interests, and with the selection of rules more than with individual rational expectations. Appropriateness need not attend to consequences, but it involves cognitive and ethical dimensions, targets, and aspirations (March and Olsen, 1998: 951).

Norms may be retrograde or 'negative' too, of course, for example the norm of marginalisation or discrimination, the norm of extreme inequality or the norm of extreme poverty, the norm of xenophobia and racism, the norm of stigmatisation or the norm of extreme exploitation, and many others. Nevertheless, throughout history there were plenty of times when these norms were upheld, and from the vantage point of their proponents these norms were to be accepted as normal or 'good', and profitable, and they were sometimes even cherished and looked up to as something 'precious'. Norms can have various strength; never-

theless, the acceptance of a norm - at least in the sense of following the *logic of appropriateness* - may not be forced through coercion or manipulation.

> No matter how a norm arises, it must take on an aura of legitimacy before it can be considered a norm. Norms are obeyed not because they are enforced, but because they are seen as legitimate (Florini 1996:365).

> [...] historical events such as wars or major depressions in the international system can lead to a search for new ideas and norms. Ideas and norms most associated with the losing side of a war or perceived to have caused an economic failure should be at particular risk of being discredited, opening the field for alternatives (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2005:909).

When a paradigm shift occurs, it brings forth new ideas and emergence of new norms. This appearance and creation of new norms may take place, in the foreseeable future, for example through a possible global environmental and socio-economic deterioration. This widespread deterioration (Ahmed, 2012: 335) could have the effect to culminate in a global symbiosis of man-made disasters, such as widespread war, financial crash, food shortages because of land pollution and over-fishing; versus natural disasters such as storms, floods, droughts, earthquakes and tsunamis on an unprecedented scale. As a result, a new social reality would arrive, and its appearance could work as fertile ground to bring forth powerful emergence of norms, including new norms in international organisation, and more effective environmental norms. As the European Union and Australia, through their international relations become aware of such possible scenario, in their cooperation may prepare for it and spend more resources on research and development as well as creating new think tank organisations with enlarged horizons.

A norm maybe rejected before it would go through the socialisation, internalisation and institutionalisation process. Three criteria may be used to assess the durability or robustness of norms, which are: a) *specificity*, b) *durability*, c) *concordance* (Legro, 1997:34). *Specificity* refers to the overall understanding of the norm. Is the norm reasonably simple and straightforward in its definition? Are their agreements amongst the different agents concerning the restricting and enabling qualities of the norm and concerning its implementation? *Durability* refers to the length of time since the norm is in effect. Does the norm have a

common acceptance in terms of its legitimacy? Are there sanctions and penalties set up to punish transgressors, in order to reinforce and protect the norm? *Concordance* refers to the intersubjective acceptance of the norm or normative principle in relation to diplomatic efforts, negotiations and accomplishments of treaties (Legro, 1997:34-35). The concordance of a norm may be controversial, because "efforts to reaffirm a norm may be a sign, not that it is viable, but instead that it is weakening" (Legro, 1997:35). "Analysts typically portray norms as consequential in terms of either constituting, regulating, or enabling actors or their environments" (Legro, 1997:33).

Norms are invisible and cannot be experienced in a physical sense, so the researcher can only have indirect evidence of norms or normative principles.

> However, because norms by definition embody a quality of "oughtness" and shared moral assessment, norms prompt justifications for action and leave an extensive trail of communication among actors that we can study (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2005:892).

There may be norms and normative principles which are obscure or ambiguous. The norm of *subsidiarity*, the norm of *multi-level governance* of the EU, or the norm of *sustainable development* are quite obscure norms. According to the EU principle of *subsidiarity* and *proportionality*, supranational powers must not be exercised unnecessarily in the affairs of the sovereign states. Neither national state should meddle unnecessarily into regional affairs. If an activity or project can be properly executed at a certain level of layer in the EU, then a more powerful layer must restrain itself. In Australia the different levels of government also aim to provide decision-making power as close to the citizen as possible:

> The principle of subsidiarity is predominantly managed in Australia through constitutional frameworks and ministerial councils, but it is constrained by constitutional realities, fiscal considerations, and a lack of clear criteria to guide its application (Longo, 2011:28).

Across sections throughout the European Union a *multi-level governance* operates. The EU institutions in general, such as the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers), the Court of Justice of the European

Union and the European Central Bank, all work in a supranational level. The national government of each EU state delegates and gives up some of their agenda and power to supranational, and also to subnational players. State centricity gradually becomes insufficient and the incentives for supranational, as well as for subnational (regional) solutions become more and more pronounced. State centricity has to back down through clearly pronounced incentives, as it is evident when flexibly delegated jurisdictions with local expert systems bring forth solutions and projects economically and efficiently. A stick and carrot approach is embedded in the *multilevel-governance* systems of the EU, which hastens the compliance of those who might have the tendency to be more stubborn to keep power at the national level, which would be considered inefficient by supranational or subnational interests (Marks and Hooghe, 2004).

Nevertheless, when it concerns the EU-Australia relationship, for Australia, some of the ideas and procedures of the European Union seems somewhat unusual. Australia, as a stable and highly successful western democracy, definitely values the normative principle of *state sovereignty*. Although in the world, during the last decades, state autonomy in general, "and sovereignty have been compromised in fundamental areas such as security, capital regulation, migration, ecology, health, culture, and language" (March and Olsen, 1998: 946). Again, Dr Brendan Nelson, former Australian Ambassador to the European Union and to NATO provides important insight, including the changing view of many Australians actors, and their changing relationship toward the European Union:

> And the European Union, the supra-national construct that it is, is an anathema to many of us Australians. The idea of handing over some of your autonomy and your sovereignty to another body, in this case in Brussels, is not something that we in Australia can easily adjust to. And we narrowly defined our relationship with Europe around conflict in market access and agriculture. But [...] Australia now has quite a different approach to the European Union and relationship with it. There are a number of reasons for that (Nelson, 2013).

Australia, as the 13th largest economy in the world, need to have a more effective and efficient engagement with the EU, because through the Treaty of Lisbon (01/12/2009) the patterns of power throughout the European Union has been restructured, and now the European Parliament and the other EU institutions are making a series of significant decisions, which directly concerns the Australian economy, with all of the other related areas as well.

The choices amongst norms, principles and values in governance [...]"are always complicated, not just because they may require complex philosophical and ethical reasoning, but also because the value positions and normative notions contained in them are often in conflict" (Kooiman and Jentoft, 2009: 818). The regulative norm of *sustainable development* may be such a norm with its contradictions and ambiguity. What is the correct answer to the important question of how much development in the longer term may be 'sustainable'? Is it really possible to reconcile the complexity of sustainability and development? Whilst the norm of *sustainable development* is important, this dissertation provides centre stage for the norm of *environmental sustainability*. The word *environment* is inclusive, and it encompasses the complete range of external situations and socio-cultural aspects, as well as a powerful political economy, into which implanted, as it were, the whole food supply, the soil, and significantly, the climate. The principles of political economy should not encompass or have under its control the climate (or atmosphere) because, ultimately, that may turn out to be an audacious enterprise, prone to bring unforeseen consequences. The powerful social science of economics and business competition is inexact and full of uncertainties:

> Alas, environmental economics rarely touches on environmental norms. In economic analyses they remain a missing link between human behaviour and the environment (Mohr, 1994: 229-30). [...] Social norms escape traditional formalisation. My hunch is that they also escape the laboratories. Economics, environmental or not, theoretical or not, experimental or not, leaves a bit of a vacuum in that respect (Mohr, 1994: 233).

Ideally, only those norms and normative principles should have privileged status, which may create and increase peace and harmony amongst human beings from within and without, across the complete range of external conditions, through facilitating a perfect compatibility with the environment. Realistically, the way of the world is different, so the next best thing maybe a substantial process of correction with a paradigm shift, which may help to implement *environmental sustainability*. Nevertheless, the environmental problems are located through a constant interplay between the biophysical earth system and the political and socio-economic systems of humanity, so the norm of *environmental sustainability* could prove to be 'inefficient', and consequently deemed to be unsuited to prevent the implosion of the enormous complexity of these intertwined systems. Unfortunately, in the perspective, the norms and normative principles of *homo economicus*, and the norm of *environmental sustainability*, may prove to be incommensurable.

Both the EU and Australia accept the precautionary principle and acknowledge the precarious nature of climate change. Despite the occasional backtracking, both polities have similar understanding through their jurisdictions to deal with emissions and other environmental sustainability issues (Grant and Papadakis, 2004: 287). The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), which is part of the Treaty of Lisbon, in its *Article 191* (2) states:

> Union policy on the environment shall aim at a high level of protection taking into account the diversity of situations in the various regions of the Union. It shall be based on the precautionary principle and on the principles that preventive action should be taken, that environmental damage should as a priority be rectified at source and that the polluter should pay (EU, 2010:132).

The European Union's Treaty of Lisbon was signed by the dignitaries and representatives in Lisbon, on the 13th of December 2007. After ratification, all of the Member States signed it, which that time numbered 27. It came into force on the 1st of December 2009. The Treaty of Lisbon, together with the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, enshrines the laws, norms and normative principles of the EU.

Article 3 (1) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) that is the first part of the Treaty of Lisbon, stipulates: "The Union's aim is to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples" (EU, 2010:17). The regulative norm of the *centrality of peace* is a preeminent foundational norm of the European Union. In order to preserve the *centrality of peace* or *sustainable peace* (Manners, 2008:48), the EU aims to adhere to the norm of *peace-keeping*, the norm of *conflict prevention* and the norm of *strengthening international security*. In its external actions the EU intends to be guided by similar principles, which are the source of its own creation. In order to help to preserve peace in the world the EU aims to fulfil the norm of *providing effective development aid*, and the norms of *fostering interregional cooperation, political dialogue* and *trade relationship*. Concerning the *centrality of peace*, the EU has common reference points with the 1945 United Nations Charter and the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.

Regarding the *centrality of peace*, perhaps the EU may also consider in the future to promote *positive peace*. Between negative and positive peace a crucial difference has been made. Negative peace is an absence of war, and the elimination of direct violence. According to the Norwegian Johan Galtung (1996), one of the founders of modern peace studies, positive

peace is far more than the absence of war (Dilts, 2012:192). Positive peace is the removal of restriction on the development of human potential. In order to have positive peace in society, the elimination of any extreme or rigid exploitation must be accomplished. In such a society the overt violence and the concealed structural violence would cease (Barash, 1991: 7-8). Structural violence against people occurs, when their fundamental needs are not or not adequately fulfilled.

Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) states:

> The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail (EU, 2010:17).

The constitutive norm of *freedom* and *liberty* for the European Union means *social freedom*, which takes into account that other normative principles are not compromised by "hate crimes [or] inflammatory speech" (Manners, 2008: 49), and similar anti-social behaviours. Freedom in the EU relates to the norm of the *free movement of persons, goods, services and capital*. Freedom, naturally, includes the norm of *freedom of conscience and thought*, as well as *freedom of expression, assembly and association*.

Security, well-being, tolerance, justice, equality are all mentioned in the Treaty on European Union (TEU) as the Union's aim and purpose; nevertheless, *freedom from fear* (Kennedy, 1999) is not stated explicitly. Freedom from fear, and especially the norm of *harmony*, may qualitatively enlarge freedom and liberty in its practical sense. Harmony, with its component of tranquillity encompasses the fundamental principles of humanity, society and nature.

Consensual *democracy* and *governance* is a constitutive norm. The European Parliament provides a direct representation, and the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers), with the nationally elected leaders, provides indirect representation and decision making. The European Commission makes a legislative proposal to the Council and Parliament, which is debated and amended if necessary, and finally accepted as EU law.

The supranational *rule of law* is an evaluative norm and normative principle. The *acquis communautaire* is the body of law of the European Union, which includes the EU treaties and laws, as well as the rulings of the Court of Justice of the European Union. Upon joining the EU, new Member States must accept the full *acquis* with its laws, norms, normative principles, rights and obligations. The European Union adheres to the norm of *equality before the law*, the *right to fair trial* and the *presumption of innocence*.

The regulative norm of *human rights* and the evaluative norm of *human dignity* are the principle axes or the cornerstones of the (super)structure of European Union, and the operation of the EU ought to revolve around, or based on the norm of *human rights*. The whole idea of the EU is saturated with these norms, and *human rights* and *human dignity* are preeminent amongst its norms and normative principles. In the European Union there is no death penalty or execution, and torture is not allowed.

Perhaps it may be examined, whether certain aspects of *human rights* are **humane** at all? Human rights could successfully defend people from gross violations, like torture or murder, but after that it may leave one deserted in his or her own devices. In the foreseeable future human rights may go through a transformation to become **humane** *rights*, where inflexible administration of human affairs may gradually ease, and emerging norms may transform much of the human sphere; including *human rights* into **humane** *rights*. Article 25 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations (UN), stipulates:

> Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control (UN, 1948).

Article 21 (2h) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) specifies that the "Union shall [...] promote an international system based on stronger multilateral cooperation and good global governance" (EU, 2010: 28-29). The constitutive norm of *good governance* aims to maintain both the internal and external values of the EU, regarding "social partnership, transparency and accountability" (Manners, 2008: 54). The Member States' nationals are recognised as citizens of the European Union, which is additional to their national *citizenship*.

Social solidarity is a regulative norm, and *anti-discrimination* is an evaluative norm. Europeans in general value *social solidarity*, and they consider *economic solidarity* as an important achievement (Manners, 2006 a: 22). Throughout the development of the EU, many Europeans were able see and experience the general connection and interdependence between the norm of *high levels of development* and the norm of *low levels of inequality*. A number of Europeans are aware of the knowledge and appreciate that the European Union's average Gini coefficient index number is about the lowest in the developed world (Human Development Report, 2007/08: 281). Consequently on the basis of statistical measures, the European Union has the lowest relative inequality regarding income distribution. These EU perceptions, otherwise quite rarely found in most parts of the world, may designate the European Union as an ethical entity, where social norms and normative principles are the structure of society.

In Australia, the *Human Rights Act 2004* and the *Victorian Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities*, are two recognitions concerning the entitlements of human rights, and these two were created at territory and state level. The first is an Act of the Australian Capital Territory; the second had been passed in the state of Victoria in 2006.

> Although the State Parliaments can pass laws on a wider range of subjects than the Commonwealth Parliament, the Commonwealth is generally regarded as the more powerful partner in the federation. [...] Accordingly, the Commonwealth can, within the subject matters conferred on it by the Constitution, override State laws (The Constitution, Overview, 2012: *ix*).

An act of the federal Parliament, in 1986, established the *Australian Human Rights Commission*, which is an independent statutory organisation. Australia does not have Bill of Rights in one document; however, rights may be found in the Constitution, in legislations, and in common-law (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2013).

> The Constitution has no Bill of Rights, such as that found in the United States Constitution [...]. Some express protections, however, are given by the Constitution against legislative or executive action by the Commonwealth, but not by the States (The Constitution, Overview, 2012: *xii*).

In his Boyer Lecture broadcast on Human Rights Day, on the 10th of December 2000, the Honourable Murray Gleeson, Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia, observed that "the Australian Constitution, as a plan of government for a federal union, is largely concerned with pragmatism rather than ideology"[…] (Boyer Lectures, 2013).

3.3.   Sociological constructionism and sociological constructivism in the European Union and in Australia

According to the Australian academic and social constructivist scholar, Christian Reus-Smit: "Constructivists see international relations as deeply social, as a realm of action in which the identities and interests of states and other actors are discursively structured by intersubjective rules, norms and institutions" (2002:488). These actions of the relevant actors do not originate only from a simple rational choice. They may well be strategically based intentions, but the foundational motivations and power arise from the socially embedded situations of the actors. The interactions, originating from socially embedded positions, create structuration. Structuration is "the structuring of social relations across time and space, in virtue of the duality of structure" (Giddens,1984: 376). The duality of structure is "structure as the medium and outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes" (Giddens,1984: 374). Structures are rules in a society and they can occur via signification that is through language and discourse; via legitimation of norms and values; and by the control of resources creating power.

Through intersubjective understanding in society, structures and actors arrive to a dynamic relationship, in which actors are restricted through structures, but at the same time they are also enabled by them. The capacity of being enabled prompt actors to think about and act on structures little by little, with new and transformed understandings in an incremental sense, and these processes lead to a gradual and continuous transformation. The change in culture in society, and change in environmental factors bring forth new ideas; therefore, reciprocal and transformative interactions gradually phase out old rules and norms, and bring in new ones. Agency is action, and structure is the medium as well as enabler of action. Through this working dynamics those actors, who possess agency, are capable to transform structure in an incremental way. Society's institutions or society's systems are sustained through the actors' mutual reciprocation with the systems, which is structuration. "One way of bringing the study of rules and norms into a constructivist framework of analysis is the application of Giddens' structuration theory"... (Christiansen *et al.*, 2001:13). Sociological constructivism is rooted in structuration theory and its premise is that agents and structures are mutually constituted.

Norms, by their very nature, have intersubjective power. This is achieved through the efforts made by successful framing and persuasion, followed with norm socialisation and norm

internalisation. This process with the institutionalisation of norms results in a continuous transformation of identity, interest, and behaviour. Interest is endogenised by actors who have agency, and possibly by researchers too. Consequently, gradually the whole intersubjective development is charged with creative power, and through time and space effects change.

A seminal scholarly work wrote by sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (1966) provides important guidance to understand the general principles and premises of social constructionism and social constructivism. Amongst other things, Berger and Luckmann explain the process of the development and purpose of institutions, as follows:

> Institutions also, by the very fact of their existence, control human conduct by
> setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction
> as against the many other directions that would theoretically be possible. It is
> important to stress that this controlling character is inherent in institutionalisation
> as such, prior to or apart from any mechanisms of sanctions specifically set up
> to support an institution. These mechanisms (the sum of which constitute what
> is generally called a system of social control) do, of course, exist in many insti-
> tutions and in all agglomerations of institutions that we call societies.[...]To say
> that a segment of human activity has been institutionalised is already to say that
> this segment of human activity has been subsumed under social control (Berger
> and Luckmann 1966: 72).

The development of phenomena that is relative to social context can be described as sociological constructionism. Nevertheless, the understanding of knowledge within a social context refers to sociological constructivism. The precise knowledge of sociological constructivism is capable to illuminate the nature of social control contained in institutions. Sociological constructionism is a broader social psychological theory encompassing sociology, psychology, education theory, sociology of science, linguistics, etc. This thesis first and foremost researches and examines sociological constructivism, as an approach and a developing substantive theory of international integrations and relations, in the framework of the European Union-Australia international relationship.

Berger and Luckmann also highlight the subtle process of the reification of social reality. It is worth to scrutinise reification, in order to be able to gradually open the veil from ones' consciousness, to understand reification and all of its' significant presence:

> Reification is the apprehension of human phenomena as if they were things, that is, in non-human or possibly suprahuman terms. Another way of saying this is that reification is the apprehension of the products of human activity *as if* they were something other than human products - such as facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will. Reification implies that man is capable of forgetting his own authorship of the human world, and, further, that the dialectic between man, the producer, and his products is lost to consciousness. The reified world is, by definition, a dehumanized world. It is experienced by man as a strange factity, an *opus alienum* over which he has no control rather than as the *opus proprium* of his own productive activity (Berger and Luckmann 1966:106).

Reification may also affect the policy administration in both the European Union and in Australia. Inflexibility may have caused some divergent matter in the EU-Australia relationship. There was disagreement regarding the scope of export of the Australian agricultural products to Europe, at least during the past decades. There is also disagreement around the European Union's *human rights*' clause and this state of affair is unsatisfactory for both polities. The EU and Australia would have sufficient common values in their international cooperation regarding *human rights*. The Lome Convention IV of the European Union stipulated that the human rights clause is to be incorporated to all the framework treaties and agreements, which the EU signs with other countries. Australian negotiators decided to oppose to the incorporation of the *human rights*' clause regarding their treaty-level Framework Agreement with the EU. Australian dignitaries reason, that this clause should not be in a trade agreement between developed countries whose *human rights* records are good.

Nevertheless, are *human rights **humane***? Perhaps, *human rights* itself going through a sufficient and powerful transformation. *Human rights* are definitely a substantial social achievement, but for *human rights* to become ***humane***, it may need to go through a proper transformation to be capable of assistance in providing security and the basic necessities, for

living a life free of fear. The foundation for this is the fact that people, by virtue of being born to this world as human beings, have certain autonomy and inalienable rights. Humans arrive to this world initially without any chance for any 'rational choice' concerning their situation, when they are bestowed upon with the gift of life. Human beings have no chance of providing their rational consent in the first place, when they receive the gift to live in this world. Therefore, each person, by being born on Earth, may be perceived as they are actually endowed with inalienable **humane** *rights*. If the notion of scarcity and scarce resources are put under careful examination, it becomes evident that even with scarcity as a fact of life, the Earth is abundantly filled with natural resources and with the basic necessities, and it is able to support all life.

> The first classical positivist distinction to suffer from constructivism was the subject–object dichotomy: if the world as we view it is not merely external to us but is constructed by our gaze and practice, then social reality is necessarily reflective of knowledge and vice versa — knowledge and reality become *mutually constitutive epistemically*, and *mutually reflective ontologically* (Hamati-Ataya , 2012:677-78).

The concept of reflexivity is capable to show the subtle reification of social reality. "Reflexivity has a long history in the social sciences, as the capacity of human beings to reflect on their own situations has often served as the foundation of arguments for separating the social from the natural sciences" (Jackson: 2011:157). The foundations of the natural world are more or less fixed entities; nevertheless, the social world comes to being through conceptualisation, interpretation, and structuration of social situations. Reflexivity is the "monitored character of the on-going flow of social life" (Giddens 1984:3). This monitored character of social life is enabled by groups of people, or actors, who can choose in their freedom to intersubjectively internalise norms, and with sufficient agency, they are capable to diffuse normative power.

Norm entrepreneurs, such as the European Parliament, the President of the Council, or the President of the Commission can use *informational diffusion* or *procedural diffusion* to diffuse norms. Informational diffusion takes place through rendering new policy recommendations. Procedural diffusion takes place through the institutionalisation of EU relationship, for example during EU enlargement. *Transference* is diffusion during EU trade relationship or when the EU provides aids and assistance for its manifold purposes (Manners, 2002: 235-258).

During more than 50 years of EU-Australia international relationship, through the actors' social embeddednes and diverse collaborations, these internalised and institutionalised norms in both polities have had their effects vice-versa, and informed the creation of numerous socio-economic, scientific, defence-intelligence and other agreements. Through the growth of the European Community and the European Union, as a constantly evolving form of a legal superstructure, Australia had to manoeuvre its way and defend its own interests during Ministerial Consultations, negotiations, and other collaborations with the EU. At the same time Australia has important traditional bilateral relationships with each of the 28 individual European Union Member States, with special regard to the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy. In 1997 the EU and Australia established a *Joint Declaration on Relations between the European Union and Australia*; and in 2008 created the *European Union-Australia Partnership Framework* that is still valid; and currently (as of 2013) negotiate a comprehensive treaty-level Framework Agreement.

In an age of information revolution useful information does not necessarily become immediately available; therefore, actors often have to act on incomplete information. They act not necessarily as rational actors, but those who are influenced by their biases. This may include the researchers or theorists too, who may not be simply 'outside', but rather part of the system observed, and their theories instead of being neutral, may be viewed as a means to change the system described. Reflexivity and uncertainty are related, where reflexivity points to uncertainty in both the participants' thinking and the course of events. Social constructivism, through its building blocks of social norms, encompasses reflexivity. Because of the discrepancy between the participants thinking and reality itself, instead of a move towards equilibrium, rather, boom-bust cycles prevail both in economics and in international relations (Soros, 2011). The boom-bust cycles could be experienced in the European Union through the economic events of recent years, around the sovereign debt crises of some Member States.

> Reflexivity has a dual meaning in social science, involving both an understanding of the monitored character of social life, and the need for reflexive research characterised by interpretation and reflection. This dual reading of reflexivity is taken seriously [...] the EU should act to extent its norms into the international system. Understanding that our social life has a monitored character to it involves social reflection and readjustment (Manners, 2006:180).

The social norms and normative principles of the European Union, such as the central position of *peace*, *freedom* and *liberty*, *democracy* and the *rule of law*, *human rights*, *social solidarity*, *anti-discrimination*, *human dignity*, *protecting the environment*, *good governance* and *subsidiarity*, they are capable of providing a significant balance during the boom-bust cycles. Other important norms of the European Union are the *abolition of the death penalty*, the *prohibition of torture*, the *empowerment of civil society*, *transparency*, *egalitarianism*, the *stance against racist practices and hate speech*, the *protection of minorities*, the *protection of families* and the *rights of the child*, the *rights to health care*, *education*, *food security*, as well as the *right to work* and the *right to justice* with *equality before the law*.

Reflexivity in international relations also refers to the situation and unresolved issue of the observer, in relation to the observed. Reality, through complexity and through the thinking mind of human participants become reflexive and constantly changing, and reality cannot be simply 'measured' and pinned down by knowledge and reason. The following media excerpts provide some significant reflexive insights from announcements of some of the leading dignitaries of the EU and Australia: Jose Manuel Barroso President of the European Commission; Herman Van Rompuy President of the European Council; Julia Gillard (former) Australian Prime Minister, and Kevin Rudd (former) Australian Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

During the signatures of the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union on the 2nd of March 2012 in Brussels, President Barroso congratulates the heads of state or government on signing the Treaty, and underlines that it is a very important part to strengthen confidence and stability in European public finances: 'In the world the very credibility of the Euro area and Europe as a whole that is at stake. With the Treaty, fiscal consolidation, growth and employment are delivered in a sustainable way. The Member States are progressing from monetary to a strong economic union. It is a very important step in European Integration' (EurActive EUX.TV, 2012).

On the 2nd of March 2012 the President of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy has been unanimously re-elected as President for the next two and a half years. Herman Van Rompuy expressed that he is very honoured for the unanimous election for his second mandate. He underlines that it is a privilege to serve Europe during such a decisive time and of course it is a great responsibility: 'According to some opinions the crisis undermines the European Uni-

on, but instead a common responsibility, a sense of political resolve taking place to continue on this common road together. My deep conviction is what I know you share with me that the Euro and the European Union are projects with an irreversible nature. They embody the ideals of a democratic and prosperous continent where peace is in the central position. This historical endeavour shall continue, and this is a common duty indeed' (EurActive EUX.TV, 2012).

On the 26th of February 2012 the Honourable Julia Gillard, then Australian Prime Minister, announced that she is re-elected as leader of the Australian Labour Party. The Prime Minister thanks the overwhelming support of her colleagues: 'The women and men of the Labour Party focused inwards during this time. The situation was not always very nice. The Australian people have seen enough of the Labour Party to look inward; nevertheless, for now the leadership issue is decided and the Australian people expect the government to focus on them. As Labour Party people we are driven by a common purpose. We want Australia to become a stronger and fairer nation, we unite and focus on this vision. I would like to say about Kevin Rudd that we understand that this is a difficult day for him. The nation and the Labour Party must honour Kevin Rudd's manifold achievements as Prime Minister. As for the opinion polls, Australians certainly do not think that politicians cannot read opinion polls. The Labour colleagues certainly demonstrated today that they are willing to drive behind a sense of purpose. Therefore, I certainly think that united we can win the next election' (Press Conference, 2012).

The Honourable Kevin Rudd, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, and former Australian Prime Minister, talks on a press conference about his challenge for the Australian Labour Party's Leadership. Kevin Rudd has two major concerns: how to build a better Australia and how to build a stronger Labour Party: 'For these aims things has to change. I want to finish the job regarding the time when I was elected as Prime Minister. My record is a good record, given that Australia did not go into recession when the global financial crisis hit. I was elected in 2007 to govern, and we increased pension, the childcare rebate, introduced paid maternity leave and abolished work choices as well as protected the rights of working people. Our government introduced Australia's first renewable energy target at 20 %. It increased investments on education and created new libraries. The first Australians received an apology, and Australia have reached a membership to the G20' (Press Conference, 2012).

3.4. Using social constructivist ontology and epistemology to analyse the European Union-Australia international relationship

Ontology provides a particular view of the world, of what is possible to get to know about it and about the nature of existence. This dissertation has a social ontology, including concepts such as collective intentionality, intersubjectivity, social embeddednes, identity, norms, rules, institutions, rule, culture and discourse. Epistemology decides the way through which a particular theory is empowered by (scientific) knowledge. Because of intersubjectivity, a strictly positivistic way to create knowledge is not suitable here, and it could weaken the whole exercise and approach of sociological constructivism. A strictly positivistic method with naturalistic epistemology completely separates subject from object and focus only on the 'objective'. This thesis employs an epistemology, which can be broadly described as scientific realism. Scientific realism does not require that sociological constructivism should be put under the same treatment as if it was a natural science. Scientific realism employs social ontological elements and well suited to describe actors' intersubjective interactions, and how norms are used and diffused in the development of the European Union-Australia international relationship. The world is social, and the effect of social constituents are just as important, or perhaps more important in the agency-structure debate, as the possible material elements. Methodology provides the practical understanding and means, in order to utilise the ontological and epistemological insight. In general, there is still a lot of debate about what exactly a sociological constructivist methodology should be and how it should work (Christiansen *et al.*, 2011). Nevertheless, the methodology of this thesis is qualitative and interpretative, and occasionally it is based on short historical analysis. Ontology, epistemology and methodology work as foundational or second order questions and they have not only philosophical, but also some significant practical implications in international relations. If the ontology and epistemology of certain theories directly oppose each other, they become incommensurable with a complete lack of communication; nevertheless, social constructivism is able to provide some synthesis between the totally opposed materialist and reflectivist theories.

"The constructivist project explicitly raises questions about social ontologies, directing research at the origin and reconstruction of identities, the impact of rules and norms, the role of language and of political discourses" (Christiansen *et al.*, 2011: 538). The normative ontology

of social constructivism opens a new way to examine the developing and dynamic EU-Australia relationship. Currently, the EU-Australia relationship largely operates through the combined material and institutional economic structure of neoliberalism. Nevertheless, the European Union can be perceived as a normative power in international relations and the social constructions and structures, such as the different norms, are taken into account to give them proper recognition. The European Union's institutions, through their socialisation and diffusion of regulative, constitutive, evaluative and other norms, bring forth structures and events globally, including, in the EU-Australia relationship.

Norms […] "describe collective expectations for the proper behaviour of actors with a given identity. In some situations norms operate like rules that define the identity of an actor, thus having *constitutive effects* that specify what actions will cause relevant others to recognize a particular identity" (Katzenstein, 1996:3). Norms can also work as standards, which reveal how to express the given identity, providing *regulative effects* of proper conduct. Norms can both constitute identities and regulate or prescribe behaviour (Katzenstein, 1996:3). Through social and collective learning, socialisation, internalisation and through a dynamic non-manipulative and non-coercive persuasion, ideas and norms are communicated and diffused with powerful effect. Effective internalisation of constitutive norms create new actors and identities; thereby, establishing their interests and actions. Internalisation of regulative norms constrain and establish behaviour and capable to provide evaluative and prescriptive persuasion.

International integrations of the European Union and its reciprocal relations with Australia create mutual effects through their social structures and their cultures, including their ideas, discourses, norms, identities, interests and power of actors such as the institutions, NGO's and norm entrepreneurs with sufficient agency, who create new structures in the form of emerging norms, new institutions and organisations, laws, new treaties etc. followed at a different level by new ideas and new discourses, providing fresh exposure amongst the actors. "In the constructivist view, intersubjective understandings comprise structures and agents. These norms, rules, meanings, languages, cultures, and ideologies are social phenomena that create identities and guide actions" (Klotz and Lynch, 2007: 7).

The current *European Union-Australia Partnership Framework*, signed in 2008, highlights the norms and rules, which intersubjectively guide the EU-Australia relationship. The docu-

ment underlines that the European Union and Australia have shared values and common commitments regarding the *rule of law*, *fundamental freedoms*, *democracy*, *human rights*, the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and a pledge to work together for international *peace*, *stability* and *security*, through endeavouring for the peaceful resolution of conflicts. Their common interests energise them to work for the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. A vigorous understanding joins them to preserve and develop open market principles as well as market access under the aegis of the World Trade Organisation, with special regard to *food security* in the world, moreover trade and investment between the EU and Australia. An enlightened and growing need prompts them to strive together for greater engagement with the Asia and Pacific regions, in order to help these countries to strengthen their institutions to power those values and norms, which are considered to have meanings that result in the improvement of living conditions for these societies, and at the same time able to create *environmental sustainability* in their sometimes unique circumstances, to empower them to satisfy their present and future needs. The EU and Australia acknowledge the growing urgency to tackle *global climate change* and learn from each other to remain alert to the dangers of any inaction or delay, thereby significantly increase those practical measures which may help and succeed to gradually accomplish local, regional and global *environmental sustainability* (>http://www.foreignminister.gov.au< 2011).

These joint responsibilities, duties, obligations, rules and norms are powerful to set into motion a sociological course, which brings forth new relationships, structures, prospects, ideas, institutions, identities and stakes with their intensity to further develop the European Union-Australia relationship that is embedded in a world of inter- and intranational environmental, socioeconomic and cultural dependence. Norm creation or the emergence of norms (Hechter and Opp, 2001) is the result of a gradual philosophical, historical and sociological process and interaction. To give sufficient power to norms they require strong support from a group of people, and through them the norm becomes intersubjective. Norm entrepreneurs are powerful individuals with sufficient agency and skills. They are well placed in society and especially successful to diffuse the norms when policy windows are open. Through social learning, persuasion and socialisation the norms may become accepted and internalised by the wider population (Checkel, 2001:57). Nevertheless, norms are complex concepts, and the meaning of a norm may not always transparent, or perhaps the norm entrepreneurs or the moral entrepreneurs themselves have not really valued or internalised the norm, which makes it

more prone to rejection or reformulation. Norm entrepreneurs and norm diffusers need to be extremely skilled, and they have to use effective persuasion techniques. They learn to address genuine norm receivers, who would 'resist' the use of any manipulation or coercion.

Norms and normative principles may create meaning that is too broad, not well understood or not straightforward enough. To make them more precise a technical process, called operationalisation, can be used (Checkel and Moravcsik, 2001: 223). Through operationalisation the concept, or a normative principle receives different variables, and the variables are each given operational definitions. These definitions are a multitude of relevant questions. The answers to these questions broaden the capacity to make the concept more transparent and measurable. These ideas require common agreement to validate them and endow them with power in their interactive existence. The long-term effect of any norm diffusion may be unpredictable. It is dependent upon several factors, including the norm's durability, and the receptivity of norm receivers. Norms may be welcomed or rejected; nevertheless, through social learning and effective non-manipulative persuasion the acceptance and internalisation of norms may be successfully facilitated.

The major accomplishments, successes and failures of some of the contemporary and the more recent leaders of the Australian Government are shortly examined in this dissertation. This short analysis is attempted through the lenses of norms, and the national leaders' political and sociological embeddedness as Prime Ministers in their duties in Australia; and through Australia's international relationship with the United Kingdom and the former European Community, and especially with the current European Union. Australia always had a strong relationship with the United Kingdom, and even those Australian Prime Ministers, who could have no direct involvement with the European Union or its previous formations, did have substantial involvement with the United Kingdom, and through that they may have indirectly influenced some aspects of the European integration process. Former Australian Prime Ministers and leaders of the Australian Labour Party, such as Edward Gough Whitlam, Robert James Hawke, Paul John Keating, Kevin Michael Rudd, and Julia Eileen Gillard have paid their visits to the European Union or its political formations. John Malcolm Fraser and John Winston Howard former Prime Ministers and Liberal-National Coalition Party leaders also undertook similar visits.

Sir Robert Gordon Menzies (1894-1978) was the founder of the Australian Liberal Party,

and the 12th Prime Minister of Australia. His first government was from 1939-1941, and the second from 1949-1966. Sir Menzies was amongst the first Australian Prime Ministers, who had significant overseas travel experience and foreign exposure. He was a trained barrister and a bright intellectual, who held office for over 18 years, and became Australia's longest serving Prime Minister. When Sir Menzies was Prime Minister, Australia experienced some significant economic growth. His government's successful development policy, including the immigration programmes that were initially introduced by the Labour Party, has transformed Australia. The population of Australia has grown and its standard of living markedly increased. Horne writes about Menzies, as follows:

> Despite the realism that marked Sir Robert Menzies' policy towards South-East Asia (his performance fell behind his commitments and his rhetoric) throughout the 1950s and until the shocks of the Common Market debate, Menzies was more British than the British, always running several years behind London, expressing dreams of Commonwealth [...] (2008: 96).

Sir Menzies had a strong reverence and loyalty towards Great Britain and the British Commonwealth, and with his contribution he tried to influence Britain concerning its plan to join the European Economic Community:

> […] Australia was deeply concerned at the possibility of Britain's entry into the EEC and during the early 1960s both Menzies and McEwen led delegations to Britain in an attempt to secure continuation of Commonwealth trade preference (Costar, 1995:101).

In 1961 the British government submitted an application to become members of the European Economic Community. There were adverse trade implications, as Australia benefited from a system of imperial trade preferences with the United Kingdom. Sir Menzies thought that the move would also weaken the Commonwealth. In September 1962, the Commonwealth Heads of Government organised a conference in London. Menzies and the other Commonwealth's leaders expressed their disappointment, to no avail. However, France vetoed the United Kingdom's application and the UK could not enter the common market until 1973. By then, Australia was less dependent on Britain as a market for its goods (National Archives, 2012).

Following Sir Robert Gordon Menzies's service, Harold Edward Holt (1908-1967) became the Prime Minister of Australia (1966-1967). He initiated a referendum, which resulted in the inclusive treatment of the Australian Aboriginal people, so afterward they could be counted in the Census. From then on the Australian Federal Government was able to legislate inclusively for all Australians, with special regard to the Aboriginal people. Harold Holt was sympathetic toward all immigrants in Australia, regardless of where they came from. He introduced social policies to help those who were in real hardship. Through his office as Prime Minister he travelled and built significant relationship with many countries, first and foremost in Asia:

> [...] there was something in him - idealism, opportunism or both - that made him seize on Australia's relations with Asia as one of the central lines in government policy (Horne, 2008: 207).

Regarding Europe, Australia's general concern over the United Kingdom's possible entry to the European Economic Community, has prevailed. Britain's anticipated entry into the European Common Market, and the possibility that Australian agricultural export access to Britain could be jeopardised, prompted the suggestion that Australian agricultural production should be subsidised. Harold Holt, before becoming Prime Minister, held a Portfolio for Treasury, and as Treasury Minister he always rejected such argument (Frame, 2005:110). Harold Holt's service as Prime Minister, and his life, dramatically ended, when during an afternoon swim in December 1967, he disappeared at Cheviot Beach, in Portsea, Victoria. His body was never found, and through an inquiry after many years later, the coroner declared him drowned.

Following the tragic death and disappearance of Prime Minister Harold Holt, Sir John McEwen (1900-1980) was appointed Prime Minister of Australia (1967-1968). From his youth he was filled with perseverance, and by a clerical work experience joined the Commonwealth Public Service. With his steadfastness and tenacity he became a successful farmer, and since the age of 19 he was a member, and later became the leader of the Country Party (the future National Party). The Coalition of the Liberal-Country Party and its achievements was much of the result of his determination and capability. For 21 years he was a Minister for Commerce and stabilised export markets through his portfolio, with keeping in mind the interests of individual farmers. His involvement with international trade issues intertwined his work with

tariff policy. During the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations, such as the Kennedy Round (1962-67), he argued for the reduction of tariff barriers. During his time as deputy Prime Minister, Sir John McEwen committed himself to the trade development of Australia. The United Kingdom's negotiations for entry to the European Economic Community still caused some bewilderment for Australia, because it put significant pressure on the future of Australian trade (Australian Dictionary of Biography, 2012). Sir McEwen understood Britain's right to seek membership in the European Economic Community; however, he had some concern, as it appears here from his biography:

> [...] he believed that once the six decided to form the EEC and the full implications of the trading block dawned on Britain, it was inevitable that Britain would seek to join them because its very economic survival would depend on it. He was critical of Britain, but not […] because he objected to Britain joining the European common market. His criticism was that Britain should have joined the six at the start when it could have influenced the form and policies of the EEC and been in a position of power to negotiate its terms of entry – and thus protect the rights of Commonwealth countries like Australia (Golding, 1996: 205).

Toward the end of 1972 Edward Gough Whitlam (1916 -) became Prime Minister of Australia (1972-1975). He studied law in the University of Sydney, and became a fighter pilot serving for the Royal Australian Air Force, during World War II. In 1967 Gough Whitlam became the Leader of the Australian Labor Party. In 1972 the Australian Labor Party came into power, after in opposition for 23 years. The success was the result of those reforms, which was initiated by Whitlam in order to restructure the Labor Party.

As Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam continued with social reforms, including the termination of general conscription. Whitlam used his power to establish the Australian Medibank to provide universal health care. He worked to set up several new Commonwealth bureaus, including the Aboriginal Affairs as well as the Environment and Regional Development. After three years he became Prime Minister, economic difficulties and political errors created a crisis situation, known as the Australian Constitutional Crisis. Senate Members in the government's opposition refused to pass the Whitlam's government Budget Bills. In

1975 Sir John Kerr the Governor-General of Australia exercised constitutional powers, which resulted in the dismissal of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, consequently he resigned from office (National Museum Australia, 2012).

Prime Minister Gough Whitlam visited Brussels and the European Commission several times. On one of his visit in December 1974, the main topic of discussion and negotiation was the European Community's import restriction rules, in this case regarding meat restriction. In 1975 a problematic situation occurred concerning the United Kingdom's national referendum, about the question of whether the UK should remain a member, or withdraw from the European Community. When Prime Minister Gough Whitlam arrived to Europe, his first stop was to visit Brussels, in order to discuss Australia's relationship with the European Community. Together with other leaders from Canada and New Zealand, they expressed their willingness to deal with a dynamic and developing European Community as a whole, and not simply with Britain as a nation state, with which they have had such close ties in the past. The question was raised: "Were Britain to withdraw, is it really conceivable that in the new economic realities it could possibly recapture its former special relationship with its Commonwealth partners?" (Simonet, 1975:9). Curiously, this situation concerning the United Kingdom in the past may well have some important resonance regarding the current and future development of events. As it is planned, depending on the political position of the relevant parties, there may be a referendum to be held in the United Kingdom in 2017, about whether or not the country should stay in the European Union?

As a result of Gough Whitlam's dismissal and resignation in 1975, John Malcolm Fraser (1930-) was appointed as Prime Minister of Australia (1975-1983). An election followed, and Fraser's Liberal-National Country Party won a significant victory against the Australian Labor Party. Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser served more than seven years, and became one of the longest serving leaders of the nation. The conservative Liberal-National Party coalition decided to continue and build upon much of the reform process, which was initiated by the Whitlam's government. In 1976 Malcolm Fraser's government established the Federal Court of Australia. The Aboriginal Land Rights Act in the Northern Territory ushered in a new era. A Special Broadcasting Service (SBS Chanel) started to beam multicultural and multilingual programs in radio and television. The Government made the decision to build a new Parliament

House in Canberra. There was a change in judicial matters, and as a result, instead of the Privy Council in Great Britain, the High Court in Australia became the final court of appeal. In 1981 the Fraser Government established the Human Rights Commission Act (National Museum Australia, 2012).

In May and June 1977, Malcolm Fraser visited the European Commission in Brussels. He suggested to Roy Jenkins, the contemporary President of the European Commission that the informal discussions between the European Community and Australia should be transformed into regular high-level consultations. There were some other suggestions too, as follows:

> In May 1977, Fraser went to Europe to advocate for Australia. He hoped that Australian uranium, which his government was planning to exploit, would give him a bargaining chip. Europe needed an assured supply of uranium; Australia was interested in access to market and stability of trade. Perhaps a treaty embracing all trade was necessary, he suggested. It cut no ice (Fraser and Simons, 2010: 467).

Malcolm Fraser recalls the events, of May 1977, as follows:

> 'I wanted a meeting where we could put our grievances on the table and they could put theirs and we could talk in a genuine way. I didn't think that would fix the problems, but it would create a forum in which you might over time get some movement' (Fraser and Simons, 2010: 467).

After long and difficult negotiations a document emerged with the signature of President Roy Jenkins, which outlined the possibility of future negotiations. In the end however, Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser still had his doubt, concerning the result of any forthcoming trade negotiations, and in his recent biography he sums it all up, accordingly: "Nothing has changed. They talk free trade, but there is no free trade. The Europeans were never going to shift" (Fraser and Simons, 2010: 467).

The Fraser Government approved and solidified the role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to strengthen the norm of *sustainable peace* in Australia's neigh-

bourhood. One of the Fraser Government's significant achievements was the renewed immigration program. In seven years about 200,000 Asian immigrants arrived to Australia, including 56,000 Vietnamese people who applied as refugees. The government also granted entry to Australia for more than 2000 Vietnamese refugees, who arrived to its shore at the Northern Territory, by boats (National Archives of Australia, 2012). These Vietnamese refugees, who used boats to escape, often did not have any official documents or any permission. They risked their lives through a long and dangerous sea voyage, and some of them likely perished on the way to Australia. The Australian government, with Malcolm Fraser at its helm, institutionalised and internalised the norm of *social solidarity* and the norm of *anti-discrimination* in relation to these refugees, in order to resettle them, and provide them with asylum and protection, as well as integration in Australia under the aegis of the country's official commitment to multiculturalism.

In 1978, with the purpose of protecting the environment, the Fraser Government set up an inquiry into whales and whaling. The inquiry argued for an end to whaling, and as a result, in 1979 the Australian whaling industry was terminated (National Archives of Australia, 2012). At the same time Australia signed a general agreement against trading in endangered species; and institutionalised several aspects of the norm of *environmental sustainability* and the norm of *animal rights*, including the protection of the seals in Antarctica.

Towards the end in his biography, Malcolm Fraser, an Oxford University alumnus, offers some words, which could be described as encouragement for Australia to continually adhere to the norms and normative principles of *social solidarity*, *justice,* and *environmental sustainability*. For the sake of the future of the whole nation, in an interdependence with the community of nations on Earth, Fraser reminds especially those with power, as follows:

> […] Australia needs to come of age, to show independence of mind and spirit. We need to forge our own path within the community of nations. On climate change as with security, trade and the Third World, Australia as a middle power can have significant influence, acting in concert with others. As with so many other issues, the solution depends on justice – on the rich nations recognising their obligations to the poor. In this way, Fraser says, the problems of climate change are of a piece with the foreign policy challenges of the postwar world, and with the foreign policy preoccupations of his career (Fraser and Simons, 2010: 741).

In 1983 Robert James Hawke (1929-) became Prime Minister (1983-1991), and he led the Australian Labor Party to a prolonged electoral victory, four times in a row. Robert Hawke is amongst Australia's most famous and well-liked leaders. He was active in, what could be described as the institutionalisation and internalisation of the normative principle for a *transparent government*. Robert Hawke managed to bring forth *government with general accord*, and established a relative *harmony* between the trade unions and enterprise as well as industry, in order to deliver *economic development* and *growth*. Robert Hawke was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, and later became president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU). He gave up his doctorate degree at the Australian National University in order to accept a research officer position at ACTU. The Hawke government created several important Acts of Parliament, such as the Sex Discrimination Act 1984; the Industrial Relations Act 1988; the Privacy Act 1988; the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Act 1989, and the Social Security Act 1991, (National Archives of Australia, 2012).

Prime Minister Robert Hawke, and the Honourable Paul Keating who followed him in office, were equally attacked and criticized for their agenda of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) renewal. Nevertheless, as a result of their work, many of the lower middle class voters, who previously voted for the Liberal-National Party (LNP) coalition, switched to support the ALP. According to some analysis, the continuing electoral success of the ALP was first of all the merit of the restructuring process, which (in the framework of this dissertation) is described as the socialisation and institutionalisation of the norm of *trade liberalisation*.

The Hawke's Government initiated the work to organise the nationwide celebration of the Bicentenary of the First Fleet and European settlement in Australia. In 1990-1991 the Australian economy slid into a severe recession, and soon after, the unemployment rate reached a record level of 11%. This level of unemployment was the highest since around 1930, during the time of the Great Depression. The mood of anxiety prevailed within the Australian Labor Party and Paul Keating the Treasury Minister successfully made a second challenge to Hawke's leadership. On the 20th of December 1991 Robert Hawke had to resign, while still in office as Prime Minister (National Archives of Australia, 2012).

Bob Hawke travelled extensively as Prime Minister. He visited many countries in the Pacific, Asia, North America, Europe, and received many international leaders and delegations that were on official visit to Australia. In April 1986, Prime Minister Robert Hawke and his

entourage visited Brussels. He held meeting with Jacques Delors, President of the Commission of the European Community (CEC), and Willy de Clercq, member of the CEC in charge of External Relations and Trade Policy. On the 22nd of April 1986, Prime Minister Bob Hawke gave a speech followed by a press conference in Brussels. The following is an excerpt from the transcript of his speech, as follows:

> Prime Minister: -- Ladies and gentlemen. I have just had together with my colleagues an extremely useful meeting with the President of the Commission and Commissioner De Clercq. We agreed that at the outset that both the Community and Australia faced a number of common problems and that it was important that two important bodies such as the Community and Australia should resume constructive, cordial, cooperation and discussion on these and other important matters. I appreciated very much the fact that the Commission had acceded so readily to our request for this meeting, but most particularly for the warmth and constructive nature of the discussions. Let me say that we have reached agreement on a number of issues [...] (Hawke, 1986).

Bob Hawke reached a reaffirmation with the Commission that the Adriessen agreement will be upheld. The Adriessen agreement was made between CEC Vice President Frans Adriessen, and Prime Minister Bob Hawke and Minister for Primary Industry John Kerin, in 1985, when they visited Jacques Delors the contemporary, newly appointed, President of the Commission. CEC Vice President Frans Adriessen assured the Australian Government that the EC did not intend to flood the Asian region with subsidised beef exports. This agreement (known as the Andriessen Assurance) was formalised through a letter of the Commission that the EC was to refrain from supplying subsidised beef to South Korea, Taiwan, Japan, Singapore, Malaysia and Papua New Guinea. During the negotiations between Bob Hawke and Jacques Delors several important decisions were reached. One of these decisions concerned the Australian position of prominence of trade in agricultural products. The two leaders also decided the resumption of Ministerial Consultation between the EC and Australia, and accepted that there was a growing need for cooperation between the Community and Australia in relation to new research and technological developments (Hawke, 1986).

The Hawke government appointed Paul Keating as Treasury Minister of Australia, and Keating initiated reforms, including the floating of the Australian dollar on the international

money markets. This was the beginning of the process in Australia, which may be described as the institutionalisation and internalisation of the norm of *financial market liberalisation*. It was in parallel with the growing operation of foreign banks, and the deregulation of the national economy.

Paul John Keating (1944-) was 15 years of age when he joined the Australian Labor Party (ALP). He worked in clerical jobs, and later joined the trade union movement, where he became an industrial advocate representing workers' claim before wage tribunals. Paul Keating left school at the age of 15; however, in 1995 he received an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by Tokyo's Keio University, as an acknowledgement for his work in the Asia-Pacific region. The National University of Singapore and the University of New South Wales also awarded him honorary degrees. As Prime Minister (1991-1996), Paul Keating strengthened Australia's links with its neighbors in the Association of South East Asian Nations group (ASEAN), and worked to achieve closer regional economic cooperation through the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) organisation (National Archives of Australia, 2012).

In February 1992, Prime Minister Paul Keating initiated the establishment of a Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation. Following the High Court's Mabo decision in June 1992, Paul Keating took a personal lead to secure the benefit for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, of what may be described, as the socialisation, institutionalisation and internalisation of the normative principle of *social justice* and the norm of *anti-discrimination* toward the Aboriginal people of Australia. He presented to Parliament two major items of legislation to give indigenous peoples access to land. These were the Native Title Bill as well as the Land Fund Bill.

The paper *Mabo: the High Court Decision on Native Title*, states:

> On 3 July 1992, the High Court of Australia held in *Mabo v Queensland* that the common law of Australia recognizes native title to land. The Court rejected the doctrine that Australia was *terra nullius* (land belonging to no-one) at the time of European settlement and said that native title can continue to exist: - where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have maintained their connection with the land through the years of European settlement; and – where their title has not been extinguished by valid acts of Imperial, Colonial, State, Territory or Commonwealth Governments (Keating, 1993:1).

In April 1993, Paul Keating appointed a Republic Advisory Committee to examine options for Australia's future as a republic. This was meant to be a national vision with a common undertaking, to bring forth an independent republic, with commitment towards all members of society, including the less powerful. This involved not only constitutional change, but also the aim, which may be described as to facilitate the emergence and socialisation, as well as internalisation of the norm of *reconciliation*, and the norms of *emancipation* and *harmony*, between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians. Prime Minister Paul Keating's initiatives included the enactment of indigenous land rights acts, and facilitated a new discourse and dialogue, which acknowledged the colonial conquest in relation to the native peoples of Australia. However, by 1996 increasing foreign debt, high unemployment and high interest rates alarmed the nation. The ability of the Keating's Government to properly manage the economy was perceived to be increasingly improbable. The Labor Party suffered a substantial failure to win the election, and the Liberal-National Party coalition achieved a resounding victory. As a result Paul Keating resigned as Labor leader and quit parliament (National Archives of Australia, 2012).

During his time as Prime Minister, Paul Keating aimed to align Australia firmly with countries of the Asia-Pacific. However, he also expressed that it is "impossible to ignore Europe" (Keating, 2000:242). Paul Keating had been clearly concerned about the economic importance of Europe to Australia, and in his work: *Engagement: Australia Faces the Asia-Pacific*, outlined his views, as follows:

> The fifteen current members of the European Union, with their 370 million people, form the world's largest trading block. Europe's international economic influence will increase as its common currency, the Euro, forces structural change within Europe, and as it takes on a larger global role as a reserve currency. And, Asia notwithstanding, Europe remains vital to Australia's economic future. Our trade with the EU represents nearly a fifth of the total. Europe is Australia's largest source of foreign investment. In the other direction, Europe is the most important destination for Australian investment overseas (Keating, 2000: 242).

On the 11th of March 1996, John Winston Howard (1939-) became Australia's 25th Prime Minister (1996-2007). He served the second longest term after Sir Robert Gordon Menzies.

John Howard studied law at the University of Sydney, and in 1975 he received his first portfolio as Minister for Business and Consumer Affairs. From 1977 he was Treasury Minister in Malcolm Fraser's Liberal-National Coalition Government. John Howard served as Leader of the Opposition from 1985 to 1989, as well as from 1995. Following the Liberal–National Party Coalition's victory in the 1996 federal election, he became Prime Minister. Prime Minister John Howard's government initiated a substantial reform program, made possible by the sale of Telstra. The Coalition government restructured the country's industrial relations, and introduced a significant economic reform in the form of a Goods and Services Tax (GST). The Workplace Relations Act 1996, and Workplace Relations and Other Legislation Amendment Act 1997 provided the basis for the restructuring of industrial relations (National Archives of Australia, 2012). During this time the norm of *trade liberalisation* and the norm of *financial market liberalisation* were effectively institutionalised and internalised in a large segment of the Australian society. The Government's major achievements included the nationwide emergence, socialisation and institutionalisation of the norm of *gun control*, as an answer to the mass shooting at Port Arthur in Tasmania, where 35 people were murdered. The emergence and diffusion, persuasion, cascading and socialisation of the norm of *gun control* received a nationwide momentum in Australia.

The Howard's Government also replaced the Commonwealth Employment Service with a privatised and competitive market of employment service providers. A review of the provision of social security unemployment benefits resulted in significant changes, including work schemes for the entitlements. The framework of the government's social policy was of the philosophy of 'mutual obligation', under which a reliable community support was available (National Archives of Australia, 2012). Nevertheless, this support was administered in parallel with the emergence, diffusion and socialisation of the norm *to build individual self-reliance* amongst those people who comprised part of society, which was perceived to be economically weaker or relatively disadvantaged. The health of the economy was a priority for the government. Unemployment fell from over 8% in 1996 to 5% in 2005. Inflation was below 3% and interest rates remained low. In 2004 the Prime Minister put *economic success* and the normative principle of *national security*, at the forefront of his election campaign, for a fourth term in office. Inclusive to the normative principle of *national security* of Australia, are the norm of *border security* and the norm to *eliminate people smuggling*.

The Howard's government adhered to the norm of *social solidarity*, when decided to help to achieve East Timor's independence. This independence also facilitated the emergence and diffusion of the norm of *human dignity*, which was previously denied to the population of East Timor. The Australian political establishment, with John Howard at its helm, developed a diplomatic structure in which Asia counted for Australia as the 'most important', but 'not the only important' region. This strategy allowed keeping all of the established and important connections with Britain and Europe, the partnership with the Commonwealth of Nations, the Australian associations with the United States and the trade and diplomatic relations with the Asia-Pacific. Following the 11th of September 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States, Australia's role in international solutions to terrorism was one of the most significant elements in the foreign and defence policies of the Howard's government. The terrorist bombing in Bali on the 12th of October 2002, which killed 202 people, including 88 Australians, prompted further measures against the threat of international extremism. A range of administrative and legal procedures were set up to deal with issues of national security, including a National Security Committee of Cabinet chaired by the Prime Minister. Following the devastation of the Indian Ocean's tsunami on the 26th of December 2004, when almost 300 000 lives were lost, the Australian Government adhered to the norms of *social solidarity*, and provided $1 billion in aid to Indonesia.

In a recent biography, John Howard remembers the earlier time of 1977, with his involvement with the European Community, as he was appointed by Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, for the office of Minister for Special Trade Negotiations. In his volume he recalls the events in Europe, as follows:

> Earlier, when visiting Europe, the Prime Minister had a stormy session with the European Common Market Chieftains, particularly Roy Jenkins, a former British Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, with whom Fraser had clashed in a very heated fashion. He came back convinced that the only way we would make real progress would be, effectively, to have a resident minister in Europe banging on doors the entire time. […] After receiving numerous briefings and meeting industry groups, my team and I set out for Europe in September. For the next seven weeks we traipsed around various European capitals putting our case, railing against high levels of European protection, particularly for agriculture, and not making a great deal of progress. Thirty-three years on, the

essential elements of the Common Agricultural Policy, the main protective mechanism for agriculture in Europe, remain in place. Australian and New Zealand farmers have been given a raw deal by the Europeans (Howard, 2010:96).

During this time the European Union with its chief representatives have been perceived and described by some of the Australian dignitaries, as severely protectionist. The EU have been conceptualised as a powerful bureaucratic entity, with which it was hard to do business on the basis of a 'fair go', especially when it concerned the Australian export to the EU in agricultural products. The eBook, *Celebrating 50 years: EU-Australia*, observes the following:

> The final agreement on a Common Agricultural Policy in 1962 shaped Australia–EU relations for decades. In the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s agricultural trade remained a thorny issue and consequently the level of trust was low. This period shaped the attitudes of a junior minister called John Howard and throughout the period of his government in 1996–2007, relations were not easy (2012:22).

Nevertheless both the perception and in connection the reality, concerning the EU-Australia international relationship, was already going through a gradual transformation. It eventually arrived to a more positive and cooperative outlook, through the combined effects of the changing nature of the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy, and the arrival of new Australian leadership with the Honourable Kevin Rudd, followed with the Honourable Julia Gillard, who became the first female Prime Minister of Australia.

In 1972, at the age of 15, Kevin Michael Rudd (1957-) joined the Australian Labor Party. He studied Chinese history and language in the Australian National University in Canberra, and became fluent in Mandarin. Kevin Rudd received acceptance into the Foreign Affairs Department, and served as a diplomat in Stockholm and Beijing. On the 3rd of December, 2007 he became Australia's Prime Minister (2007-2010). In his oath of office Kevin Rudd followed former Labour Party Prime Minister, Paul Keating's lead from 20 years before, to swear his allegiance to the Australian nation. On the same day as he became Prime Minister of Australia, he upheld the normative principle of *environmental sustainability*, by signing the Kyoto

Protocol. The following week Kevin Rudd and his entourage attended the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Bali. The Australian government with Kevin Rudd at its helm has successfully weathered the storm of the Great Financial Crisis (GFC), which occurred and created havoc especially in the Western world, around 2008. Partly due to the GFC, the Rudd government did not fulfil one of their most important commitments, which was the Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme (CPRS). On the 13th of February 2008, in the Australian Parliament and in the name of the Australian Government, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd apologised to the indigenous people of Australia. This official apology was given, because of the sufferings inflicted upon the stolen generations and on others, through the indignities perpetrated by past actions and practices of successive Australian policies (Dunn *et al*., 2004), including the practice of removing children from their own families. In this day of apology, the norms of *social solidarity*, *anti-discrimination*, *human dignity* and *reconciliation* were all strengthened and diffused nationwide, together with the emergence of the norms of *emancipation* and *harmony* between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians.

On the 1st of April 2008, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd visited José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission. They held a joint session concerning Australia and EU development, with the aim to develop cooperation on matters such as international trade, climate change, the Pacific region, and international security obligations. Rudd's visit to Brussels and meetings with President Barroso produced a Joint Statement, with the aim to act jointly through the bilateral relationship of Australia and the European Union, and work together on an array of subjects. They agreed in the outline of a ground-breaking *European Union-Australia Partnership Framework*. Through their joint actions the leaders finalised the Australia–European Union Passenger Name Record Agreement, which is a significant border security arrangement for Australia. In 2009 the EU and Australia started to negotiate an overarching air services agreement. The Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship worked out the methodology for visa reciprocity with the EU Member States, in line with the setting up of the Government's ingenious visa platform, named: *eVisitors*. The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade prepared a Government Submission to the European Commission's Budget Review. With this, the Government committed itself to progressing the cooperation with the EU, including a substantial EU-Australia working alliance that can respond to the challenges of globalisation, climate change, energy security and shifting patterns of international trade and investment (DFAT, Annual Report, 2007-2008).

On the 24th of June 2010, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd became one of the few Australian leaders who had to resign, through the actions of his own party during the first term of office (National Archives of Australia, 2012).

On the 24th of June 2010, Julia Gillard (1961-) became Australia's first female Prime Minister (2010-2013). Julia Gillard previously served as Deputy Prime Minister, from 2007 to 2010 in Kevin Rudd's Labour government. Gillard's government successfully legislated reforms on significant socio-economic issues, including those described below:

> [...] putting a price on carbon, [...] establishing a new mining tax regime, [...] addressing low paid community sector worker's gender-driven pay gap [...] and strengthening bilateral relations with China (Wallace, 2013: 502).

During the Eighth Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM 8) Summit held in Brussels in October 2010, Julia Gillard proposed to the European Commission to develop a new era, by upgrading the European Union-Australia relations. This proposal aimed to produce a comprehensive treaty-level Framework Agreement between the European Union and Australia. This treaty-level Framework Agreement is currently (as of 2013) under negotiation. After ratification, probably it will be the most important document in the history of the EU-Australia relationship. On the 5th of September 2011, Prime Minister Julia Gillard had a meeting with the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso, in the Australian Capital of Canberra. Prime Minister Gillard and President Barroso emphasised a new era of closer cooperation between Australia and the European Union. The two leaders expressed their commitment to those fundamental, shared values and strong cultural, historical and people-to-people connections, which developed between the two polities. In terms of the economic relationship, the European Union is Australia's largest source of foreign investment and the EU companies are providing about 500,000 jobs in Australia. Gillard and Barroso looked forward to the coming negotiations in order to produce a broad-ranging, treaty-level bilateral Framework Agreement between the EU and Australia. The aim is to create an overarching framework for joint actions in areas such as foreign and security policy, development cooperation, trade and investment, climate change and environment, research, science, innovation and education. Prime Minister Gillard and President Barroso also stressed their joint responsibility, and the need for urgent action by the international community to keep global average temperature increases below two degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels (Prime Minister of Australia, 2011).

3.5. Identity and culture of the European Union and Australia, and in the European Union-Australia cooperation

Identity and culture are decisive components in the behaviours of leaders and norm entrepreneurs, and in the behaviours of a group of people, or the different states. Identity creates interest and interest brings forth different behaviours. Both the identity of Australia itself, and the identity of the European Union are rooted in their historical developments, and continually going through an incremental and gradual transformation of a sociological course. These sociological influences include the historical formations of identity, ideas, institutions, norms, values, practices, and the culture, which will receive some examination.

Around the middle of the twentieth century, the people of Western Europe arrived at a crossroads in their history. Most of the intellectual elite recognised that the World War tragedy of Germany and Europe is ultimately a tragedy of modernism. It showed that the arts, science and intellectual achievements, albeit great accomplishments also from the German perspective, by themselves could not stop even the most frightening barbarism, which was almost never seen before. Therefore, a new paradigm had to be created with new norms, values, and normative principles. Through a new way of thinking, new ideas and cooperation, the freedom of the market and democracy could be preserved in the development of the framework of Franco-German, and the wider European economic association.

The United States had a stake in the permanent reconciliation of France and Germany. The United States contributed with an umbrella of political dissemination of liberal democracy, as the way to preserve freedom. It brought forth an economic (Marshall Plan 1947-51) and military protection (NATO, 1949-), over the Western part of continental Europe. Through the untiring and uniting efforts of visionaries, including the French economist Jean Monnet and the French foreign minister Robert Schuman, as well as Konrad Adenauer the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), a new Franco-German economic unity and a new Western Europe had been created. These events encompassed the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in 1949, followed with the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC, in 1951-52), and culminated in the Treaty of Rome (1957), which brought forth the European Economic Community (EEC) in the Western European framework.

In 1950, Rene Pleven French statesman initiated the Pleven Plan, to create a so-called European Army and European Defence Community (EDC). The Pleven Plan was radical in its time and its justification required much clever manoeuvre from the different statesmen before their own populace. Still, in the end it collapsed through lack of French ratification (Frei, 2002:151). Soon however, a significant proposal was on the way, which ultimately changed the course of not only Franco-German relations, but the whole of Europe. It was called the Schuman Plan, and proposed in 1950, by the contemporary French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman. The essence of the idea of the Schuman Plan was initially created by the economist Jean Monnet, who was working on French recovery after the Second World War. Jean Monnet envisioned an 'ever closer unity' as an ultimate destination; nevertheless, he also knew that the way to it must lead through a gradual process, of which the first and most important station would be Franco-German reconciliation and a successful economic unity. Monnet recognised that only a custom-free trade and co-operation, as well as a fully integrated economic association with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and other states, could create lasting prosperity and peace.

Economic unity with the Federal Republic of Germany could solve, amongst other issues, the question of how to turn the Ruhr Area to the advantage of not only France and the FRG, but to the whole of Western Europe. France greatly depended on the coal from the Ruhr Area; meanwhile, the FRG wanted to increase its own production capacity and strengthen its power and sovereignty as a nation. Monnet proposed a radical but very practical solution through the socialisation and internalisation of the norm of *co-operation* and the norm of *friendship*. The main ingredients of the economic union with the Federal Republic of Germany were to be based on the production of coal and steel. In Europe, during the 1950s, these materials were considered to be the foremost ingredients for economic development and prosperity; yet the same elements were also the main components for the production of arms. By inviting other states to join in with this proposal, there was the possibility to create an international authority which could manage and control the whole momentum of economic growth. Monnet also envisioned for the future an even greater than economic unity, which could ultimately lead to a federal European Union. Amongst the first achievements of this long road a High Authority as an executive governed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC, 1951-52), while the different governments and an independent judiciary exercised some control as well.

The ECSC duly came into operation in July 1952 and lasted until the expiry of the Treaty in July 2002, when ECSC responsibilities and activities were transferred to the European Community (Nugent, 2006: 20).

Jean Monnet and his fellow planners introduced their idea to the French Government, and on the 9th of May 1950, Robert Schuman on behalf of the French Government and with the co-operation of Konrad Adenauer, announced the Schuman Plan. Konrad Adenauer co-operated with Schuman, even though he was opposed on nearly every side within his own government. Adenauer realised quickly that the Schuman Plan would help to integrate the FRG firmly into the West, and it would effectively alleviate constant French suspicion and fears about the re-emergence of the German warring philosophy (Williams, 2000:360). Adenauer felt that there is considerable risk in the proposals, because the French may wish to rule the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community to their own advantage. Adenauer would have liked the British to come into the proposals of the Schuman Plan. However, the British answered that "it is not in our interests to tie ourselves to a corpse" (Williams, 2000:363). France was also concerned, because many people in the French steel industry believed that in order to successfully compete with the FRG they need continually to maintain certain protectionist measures. Finally the ECSC treaty was passed by the French Assembly in December 1951.

The *Treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community* was signed in Paris in 1951, by the representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. The first part of Article 2 of the Treaty of ECSC states, as follows:

> The European Coal and Steel Community shall have as its task to contribute, in harmony with the general economy of the Member States and through the estab-lishment of a common market as provided in Article 4, to economic expansion, growth of employment and a rising standard of living in the Member States (Tre-aties, 1987: 23).

The following observation is according to Jean Monnet:

> What is being achieved in our six countries for coal and steel must be continued until it culminates in the United States of Europe. The institutions of the European

Coal and Steel Community are so far the only European institutions to which the Parliaments of our countries have agreed to transfer sovereignty and delegate powers of decision (Monnet: 1978: 399).

Since when Jean Monnet envisioned 'the United States of Europe', France and Germany with the European Union, had gone a long way. There were many unforeseen and unforeseeable factors, which created the reality of the European Union, currently with its 28 Member States. The European Union had been accomplished not simply through a rational choice, but through the different ways of myriad *social interactions*, which created *new structures and institutions*, where the *identities*, *interests*, *behaviours* of leaders and norm entrepreneurs, institutions, communities, as well as states were continuously formed and transformed. This process would be difficult or impossible to describe or analyse only through materialistic and rational terms. The European Union is a socially constructed, constantly changing legal and ideational superstructure, based on laws, values, norms and normative principles.

In 1955 the Foreign Affairs' Ministers of the 6 Member States of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) met in Messina (Sicily), with a view to enlarge and extend economic co-operation and integration in the whole economic sphere.

[…] Messina reproduced much of the original Benelux position on matters other then the broad principle of the common market. The final document referred also to transport, the harmonisation of social regulations, hours of work and overtime, and the creation of an investment fund (Urwin, 1995:74).

These details were important, because they impacted on the everyday quality of life. In Messina, the Federal Republic of Germany and France agreed to bring their substantial business of nuclear energy production into the spheres of the common market. The meetings were part of that roadmap, which in 1957 led to the accomplishment of the Treaty of Rome. Through the Treaty of Rome, the six Member States which signed the treaties, established the European Economic Community (EEC in 1958) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). Article 3 of the Treaty of Rome stipulates the followings:

- the elimination, as between Member States, of customs duties and of quantitative restrictions on the import and export of goods, and of all other measures having equivalent effect;

- the establishment of a common customs tariff and of a common commercial policy towards third countries;

- the abolition, as between Member States, of obstacles to freedom of movement for persons, services and capital;

- the adoption of a common policy in the sphere of agriculture (Treaties, 1987:23).

The Treaty of Rome is the most significant of all treaties in the history of the European Union, because it introduced a *common custom-free market* with no restrictions, and *freedom of movement* not only for capital, but also for services and, most significantly, for people. The effect of this underlined a *common purpose* and a *common destiny* for the people of France and Germany and the other 4 Member States, and gradually, for the European Union with 28 Member States.

The Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) is the complete name of the Treaty of Rome. The Treaty of Rome went through several reforms. In 1965 the Treaty establishing the European Community (EC) came to existence. In 1993 the Treaty of Maastricht created the European Union (EU), with its three pillars. One of the pillars was the European Economic Community (EEC), which in 1967 became the European Community (EC). The other two pillars were the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) as well as the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA). Through the Treaty of Lisbon, in 2009, the pillar system ceased, and the Consolidated Treaties (TEU and TFEU) and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, became the new policy.

The solutions to the problems of France and the Federal Republic of Germany connected and united the initially six Member States, and through the European Union, gradually connected most of Europe. The situation was successfully addressed, because they decided to pull their resources together, for both the private and common good. France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, internalised and institutionalised the norm of *reconciliation* and the norm of *unity* with each other, and their identity had been transformed. Their transformed identity created new interests, and new behaviours. This remarkable feat, which gradually culminated in the European Union, is celebrated on the 9th of May every year on Europe Day.

Amongst the initial treaties was the Merger Treaty, which in 1965 brought forth the European Community (EC). The full name of the Merger Treaty was the *Treaty Establishing a Single Council and a Single Commission of the European Communities*. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) had a High Authority, the European Economic Community (EEC) had a Commission, and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) had a separate Commission. The Merger Treaty produced one Commission.

> The powers exercised by these merged bodies were still to be based on the Founding Treaties: in other words, the Treaties and the Communities themselves were not merged. To clarify and simplify the existing texts relating to the single Community institutions, this treaty was repealed by the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty and its relevant parts were incorporated as appropriate into the Community Treaties (Nugent, 2006: 53)

The Merger Treaty became effective on the 1st of July 1967. The Treaty itself can be considered as the prelude to the European Union. The Council and the Commission of the EEC substituted the Council and Commission of EURATOM and the High Authority and Council of the ECSC. Each Community remained legally independent, they shared common institutions. Moreover, together they were considered as the European Communities (EC).

In 1973 Britain, Denmark and Ireland joined the EC. These developments also had their significant consequences, for Australia:

> There was little development in Australia-EC relations before British accession in January 1973. This was to change, due to Australia's loss of imperial preference, Australian opposition to the EU's CAP and the need to adapt to Europe's Common Commercial Policy (CCP) and its Common External Tariff (CET). The 1950s had been distinguished by trade dependence on the UK and the 1960s by the growing realisation that this relationship would change dramatically, while remaining important. The 1970s saw Australian disillusionment, though not surprise, when the UK joined the EC (Murray, 2005: 11).

In 1981 Greece and in 1986 Spain and Portugal joined the European Communities (EC), and with that the Communities had grown to 12 Member States. The time arrived for the accomplishment of the Single European Act (SEA), leading to the development of the European Union. President Jacques Delors and the Commissioners *constructively persuaded* every Member States, which resulted in the Single European Act (SEA). The SEA (1987) brought forth new expertise. It worked for socio-economic cohesiveness and accomplished new environmental standards. The European Parliament received new areas of competences for cooperation, regarding important matters, such as association and enlargement, as well as the harmonisation of the internal market. Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) was introduced to the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers), and the Council received renewed ability to consult with the Commission. The European Political Cooperation (EPC) was established, heralding the arrival of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Especially in retrospect it can be concluded that it was a remarkable feat of how Jacques Delors the President of the European Commission, Francois Mitterrand the President of France, Helmut Kohl German Chancellor, as well as other leaders were able to work in *unison of understanding* in the importance of the project of integration for an *ever closer union*. The unification of Germany, as one of the significant outcomes of the end of the Cold War, provided even more enthusiasm, leading to the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, and culminating in the creation of the European Union. The *Treaty on European Union* (TEU) created in Maastricht, signed on the 7th of February 1992, and carried out with its practical effects from the 1st of November 1993. The Treaty of Maastricht, as it became known, had significantly strengthened the process of European integration. The Treaty of Maastricht laid the foundation for the European Monetary Union (EMU) with a European Central Bank (ECB), which had to be accomplished by 1999. In the TEU, under Title I Common Provisions, Article A, the followings are stipulated:

> By this Treaty, the High Contracting Parties establish among themselves a European Union, hereinafter called 'the Union'. The Treaty marks a new stage in the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as close as possible to the citizen. The Union shall be founded on the European Communities, supplemented by the policies and forms of cooperation established by this Treaty. Its task shall be to organize, in a manner demonstrating consistency and solidarity, relations between the Member States and between their peoples (Treaty on EU, 1992:7).

The Treaty of Maastricht paved the way beyond the common market, where political union became a prominent goal through the process of integration. Its purpose consisted of substantiating the democratic credibility and efficaciousness, increasing social cohesiveness, as well as to create a Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) with regard to the European Union. With the Treaty of Maastricht the European Union established three pillars, they were as follows:

- pillar I. the European Communities (EC);
- pillar II. the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP); and
- pillar III. the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA).

The European Communities (EC) by pillar I. comprised the European Community, the European Coal and Steel Community as well as the EURATOM.

The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) substituted the stipulation of the Single European Act, so the Member States would be able to cooperate effectively in foreign policy matters. The success of the CFSP had been somewhat mixed. To make it more efficient the incorporation of the pillars became a necessity, so pillar II. as a natural political organism, was to develop out of the overarching pillar I. According to Holland, the artificial 'foreign policy' covered by pillar II. actually narrowed the scope and power of EU foreign policy action (2004:111-12). Nevertheless, this was perhaps understandable to begin with, because pillar I. was supranational, meanwhile pillars II. and III. were intergovernmental in their effects. Conveniently putting CFSP in a separate manner by pillar II. was a way, at times, to resolve the nature of the inherent contradictions and difficulties of the process of cooperation and integration within the European Union. However, it became clear that in the time ahead all the treaties, the total body of EU laws under pillar I. that is the *acquis communautaire* were to be needed at the same time, in order to effectively and efficiently implement the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy.

The Treaty of Maastricht also established the Community Method that is the EU's decision making process, where the European Commission indicates a motion to the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers) and to the European Parliament. After deliberation and if necessary, consultation with other EU organisations, these institutions accept the motion as EU law. The Treaty also accomplished a Protocol on Social Policy regarding *social support*, *employment*, and *working conditions*. The United Kingdom had not been a signatory, so it did

not have to participate in the Protocol on Social Policy. The notion of a European Citizenship is one of the crucial accomplishments of the Treaty of Maastricht, as it emphasized *freedom of movement* and *residence or settlement* within the EU member states, and the *rights to vote* or *stand as a candidate* in the place of residence. The *principle of subsidiarity*, which specifies the power of action for the EU; the stipulation of maximum allowable inflation rates for the Member States, and the maximum ratio of allowable annual government deficit to GDP (3%), as well as the maximum ratio of allowable government debt to GDP (60%), were all the accomplishments of the Treaty of Maastricht.

The Treaty of Maastricht was followed by the Treaty of Amsterdam. Its official name is the *Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the Treaty on European Union, the Treaties Establishing the European Communities and Certain Related Acts* (Treaty of Amsterdam, 1997). It was signed on the 2nd of October 1997, and carried out in its practical effect from the 1st of May 1999. The plan for accession of new countries and opening up towards Central and Eastern Europe provided the necessary momentum for the Treaty of Amsterdam. Nevertheless, the institutional reforms were still lacking, and had to wait for the next treaty, the Treaty of Nice. The view for enlargement also attracted concerns regarding the necessary change of policies in the distribution of the structural funds, in agriculture, and in the general decision making procedures.

The Treaty of Maastricht and the Treaty of Amsterdam provided themselves to a *structurationist* and *social constructivist* perspective and examination:

> Maastricht and Amsterdam, and the IGCs that preceded and succeeded these
> European Council meetings, cannot be seen as isolated instances of reform.
> Member States did not come to the conference table each with their set of
> 'national interests', and the 'final outcome' was not the compromise or lowest
> common denominator between these. Throughout, the reform process has been
> structured massively, through the pre-defined demands on the IGC, the conver-
> gence of beliefs about its outcome, the institutionalized allocation of interests
> built into the EU system and the path-dependency of past choices (Christiansen
> and Jørgensen, 1999:2).

The social constructions of Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties were part of a continuous 'meta-process', which challenges the all-powerful and encompassing significance of the Inter-

governmental Conferences (IGC), and intergovernmentalism itself. However, the aim is not to add to the critiques of intergovernmentalism; rather, it is to provide a *structurationist* and *social constructivist* perspectives on EU Treaty reform. This metatheoretical perspective *merges agency and structure*, where actors and structures *mutually constitute* one another (Christiansen and Jørgensen, 1999:2). This dynamic reveals a process, and the process itself becomes the subject of academic investigation. The actors are not simply decision makers, but they are themselves part of the whole *cognitive operational mechanism*.

The Treaty of Amsterdam provided 13 Protocols, including the Protocol for integrating the Schengen *acquis*. The Schengen Agreements stipulates that with the exception of the United Kingdom and Ireland, the Member States implement the *abolition of internal border control*, according to the legal requirements of the European Union. Ireland and the United Kingdom may take part in some of the cooperation according to the Schengen *acquis*, while Iceland and Norway, who are not Member States, received some role in the accomplishment of the aims, guided by the *acquis*. The Amsterdam Treaty guided the creation of a position for a High Representative regarding EU Foreign Policy. It also included subjects such as fundamental rights in relation to *freedom* and *justice*, *environmental sustainability*, the concerns regarding *transparency*, *employment* issues and *social policy* provisions.

In December 2000 the European Council had an Intergovernmental Conference in Nice. As a result the Heads of State or Government arrived into one accord, and on the 26th of February 2001, they signed The Treaty of Nice. The then fifteen Member States of the European Union managed to ratify the Treaty to have it operational. The full name of the Treaty of Nice is: *Amending the Treaty on European Union, The Treaties Establishing the European Communities and Certain Related Acts*. During the Intergovernmental Conference the prominent theme revolved around enlargement. The conclusions of the European Council-Nice conference stated the following:

> In the European Council's view, that strategy, together with the completion of
> the Intergovernmental Conference on institutional reform, will place the
> Union, in accordance with the objective set by the European Council in Helsinki,
> in a position to welcome those new Member States which are ready as from the
> end of 2002, in the hope that they will be able to take part in the next European
> Parliament elections. In Göteborg, in June 2001, the European Council will

assess progress in implementing that new strategy, in order to give the necessary guidance for the successful completion of the process (European Parliament, 2012).

Twelve new states aspired to enter the European Union, and this required a wholesale preparation for the sufficient reorganisation of the Treaties. These twelve new candidate countries were differently endowed with socio-economic strengths, and political (democratic) traditions, and they were a diverse group regarding their culture, language and other important characteristics. The plan for enlargement brought up many more questions, and some solutions through the Treaty of Nice.

There was a need for enhanced cooperation, and they partially achieved that through a form of extension of Qualified Majority Voting (QMV), by which the Council of the European Union together with the European Parliament could exercise significant flexibility. Nevertheless, unanimity voting rules still applied to many policy areas and this proved to be a phenomenon, which hindered progress, and remained a question mark regarding the future enlargement of the Union by the new members. The Nice Treaty prepared the way for the enlargement of the EU by twelve new candidate countries. It introduced changes regarding the number of members delegated to the Commission, and changed unanimity vote by a qualified majority in the decision making process, thereby enhanced more efficient and flexible co-operations.

The Delors Commission was one of the most successful in the history of the European Union with regard to European integration. They provided the impetus for the accomplishment of the fullness of the internal market, and created the groundwork for a single European Union currency, the Euro. The Euro is the common single currency of the European Union, and currently as of 2014, 18 Member States are using it. The launch of the Euro in 1999 heralded a new era in European integration. Despite the Great Financial Crisis (GFC) at around 2008, and some of the real difficulties and many criticism levelled against the common currency, it became one of the most important success in the history of the European Union. Today more than 300 million people in the EU use it as their own currency.

Denmark and the United Kingdom decided not to join the Eurozone. Nevertheless, the other Member States who have not yet joined have an obligation to meet the conditions for conver-

gence in order to adopt the Euro, as their currency. The Maastricht Treaty stipulates the allowable inflation level as well as the general financial stability to meet specific criteria. The maximum level of inflation should be no more than 1.5 percentage points above the average rate of the three European Union Member States with the lowest inflation over the previous year. National budget deficit must be no more than 3% of GDP. Public debt should not exceed 60% of GDP, or if the debt is currently higher, then there must be a reliable mechanism to gradually decrease it. Long term interest rates must be no more than two percentage points above the rate in the three EU countries, with the lowest inflation over the previous year; and finally, each country's national currency must enter the European Exchange Rate Mechanism two years before their entry to the Eurozone.

When the Euro arrived on the scene, monetary policy came under the authority of the independent European Central Bank (ECB), founded to this end. In the framework of the Eurosystem the ECB plays a joint authority together with the national central banks of each of those Member States, which established the Euro as their own national currency. Fiscal policy with taxation and spending remains in the power of each national government; however, the different governments must observe the stipulated rules on public finances through the Stability and Growth Pact. The Member States must observe full responsibility for their own structural policies such as labour, pension and capital; nevertheless, they need to keep in perspective the common aims of the Union concerning growth, stability and employment. The European Central Bank (ECB) defines Eurosystem policies with regard to monetary policies, authorise the issuance of banknotes, intervene in financial markets, and adopts legal acts. The national central banks execute monetary policy, manage their own foreign reserves, and jointly issue banknotes with the ECB (European Commission, 2012).

Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU as part of the Treaty of Lisbon) as well as the Copenhagen criteria underlines the principles for enlargement. Through the enlargement process the candidate countries are prepared to be able to observe their duties as Member States on accession. The stabilization and association process works effectively to upgrade and bring the candidate countries closer to the EU. There are many legally based conditions, where the different situation of each country is observed and according to plan, financially supported. Article 49 stipulates, as follows:

Any European State which respects the values referred to in Article 2 and is committed to promoting them may apply to become a member of the Union. The European Parliament and national Parliaments shall be notified of this application. The applicant State shall address its application to the Council, which shall act unanimously after consulting the Commission and after receiving the consent of the European Parliament, which shall act by a majority of its component members. The conditions of eligibility agreed upon by the European Council shall be taken into account. The conditions of admission and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the Union is founded, which such admission entails, shall be the subject of an agreement between the Member States and the applicant State. This agreement shall be submitted for ratification by all the contracting States in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements (Treaty of Lisbon, 2010:43).

The Copenhagen criteria requires that the candidate country adheres to, and preserves the norms and normative principles of the *rule of law*, *human rights*, *the rights of minorities*, and has achieved stability of its institutions to maintain and preserve *democracy*. The candidate country must have a functioning and competitive *market economy* to be able to deal with market forces within the Union. Membership implies the candidate's adaptability to fulfil the responsibilities of membership, including supporting the normative principles of *political, economic and monetary union*. The Union must be able to fuse new Member States, and preserve ongoing European integration to the fore. The candidate country must be willing to observe the European Community's *acquis communautaire*, and its aim of an *ever closer union amongst the peoples of Europe*.

In December 2001 the European Council met in Laeken (Brussels) and produced the Laeken Declaration, which was the precursor to establish a summit meeting, known as the Convention on the Future of Europe (*Laeken Declaration on the Future of the EU*, 2012). The proposed summit meeting of Heads of State and Government took place in Brussels, with the aim to establish a Constitutional Treaty, in the wake of the Treaty of Nice. The succeeding Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) during the Italian presidency produced some disagreement over qualified majority voting (QMV), but in the end the final written version of the *Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe* was agreed in June 2004. With the signatures of the dignitaries of 25 Member States gathered in Rome, the Constitutional Treaty started its

long road of ratification. Ratification procedures apply differently for the Member States, depending on their institutional and legal arrangements. Ratification in each individual Member Sate takes place within their Parliaments; nevertheless, several of them hold referendums. Spain and Luxembourg approved the Constitutional Treaty through referendums. However, in May 2005, France and the Netherlands rejected it. Following this rejection of the Treaty, a 'time for reflection' was called for.

The European Council held a conference in June 2007, where the Member States decided to discard the Constitutional Treaty, and choose to upgrade, amend and refine the existing treaties to retain them in power. They proposed to accomplish a new Intergovernmental Conference through a debate about a treaty, initially named the Reform Treaty, which subsequently became known as the Treaty of Lisbon. It was signed on the 13th of December 2007, in Lisbon, Portugal, by the dignitaries and representatives of the then 27 Member States. After ratification by all of the 27 Member States, it came into force on the 1st of December 2009. The Treaty of Lisbon amends the Treaty on European Union (Treaty of Maastricht) and the Treaty establishing the European Community (Treaty of Rome). The Treaty establishing the European Community received a new name, as the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). After ratification and subsequent implementation the Treaty of Lisbon facilitated two Treaties, by which the EU is governed: the *Treaty on European Union* (TEU) and the *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union* (TFEU) (Treaty of Lisbon, 2010). These two Treaties are joined together with the legally binding *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*. Through a protocol the United Kingdom, Poland and the Czech Republic received legal assurances that before the Courts of the EU, their own domestic laws and regulations cannot be found less powerful, then the laws and regulations of the *Charter of Fundamental Rights.*

The Treaty of Lisbon abolished the three pillars arrangements of the Treaty of Maastricht. It established the *European External Action Service* (EEAS), which works as a 'ministry of foreign affairs', where diplomats posted overseas to effectively and efficiently facilitate the EU's *Common Foreign and Security Policy* (CFSP). The EEAS is under the authority of Baroness Catherine Ashton, *High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy* (HRUFASP). The European Council received independent status from the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers). Herman Van Rompuy became its President and in 2012 he was appointed through a Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) process, for the second

allowable time frame of two and a half years. The European Parliament received increasing powers together with the Council of the European Union, in a process of codecision (the Union method), where initiatives and proposals for legislation arrive from the European Commission, and then the Council together with the European Parliament deliberate and decide on it. The European Court of Justice is the final arbiter of legislative and judicatory authority.

The European Union increasingly will be seen in international relations as a united entity with one decisive voice. This decisive voice is formulated amongst a linguistic diversity, which is an important feature of the European Union, where the 28 Member States communicate in 24 official languages. The European Commission facilitates English, French and German as working languages and the European Parliament is responsible for the translation into the different languages as it is required by its members.

The emerging European identity and the symbols of the European Union, is closely connected. Perhaps the most important symbol is the European Union's azure flag with 12 golden stars, which is also used as an official flag for the Council of Europe. The official EU motto in Latin is *in varietate concordia* that refers to the immense diversity of the European nations who are 'united in diversity'. The Euro, as the common currency with its Euro Sign, is a profound symbol that is able to strengthen the identity of the EU and the whole of Europe. Currently, as of 2014, there are 18 Member States in the Eurozone. Other important symbols are the European Anthem and the Europe Day. The European Anthem is not only the European Union's anthem, but also of Europe in the fullest sense. It is the instrumental version of the *Ode to Joy*, the final part of Ludwig van Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*. Europe Day is also known as Schuman Day, and it is celebrated on the 9th of May. The symbols of the European Union are powerful instruments to create identity, interest and behaviours, and these are able to permeate the EU-Australia relationship.

Australia also has its profound symbols, one of them is the Australian National Flag, where the Union Jack is representing the historical connection with the United Kingdom. Apart from the Southern Cross, there is also a large star under the Union Jack, which represents the Commonwealth with 54 independent member countries. The National Anthem *Advance Australia Fair* is a cherished and highly respected Australian symbol. Australia's national colours are green and gold, and Australia's national gemstone is the opal, which is a relatively

rare precious stone with amazing iridescence. There are many famous Australian artists, including painters, writers, poets, musicians, singers, film stars, and sport celebrities (Porter, 2013:120). Australian scientists made significant contribution to global science. Australian identities are layered through powerful Australian ideas, values and norms, such as the dreamtime mythology and the famous arts of the indigenous Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. The importance of mateship is based on the Australian war experiences, and the experiences of pioneers who settled and created their lifestyle in the Australian outback. Melbourne Cup Day is the revered horse race of Australia on the first Tuesday in November; when throughout the country many interested people stop their other activity to focus on during the race. Australia is a strongly urbanised, multicultural and multiracial society, a nation of immigrants with a predominantly Anglo-Celtic tradition:

> Australia's national identity has shifted from a racially-based white, British Australia, to a diverse, multiethnic, and officially multicultural Australia since the 1970s. The White Australia Policy, under which immigration favoured 'whites', excluded 'non-white' immigrants, and discriminated against resident 'non-whites', was the official policy from federation (1901) through to the end of the 1960s (Moran, 2011: 2156).

Many refugees from all over the world were allowed to settle in Australia, and were able to take advantage of the opportunity to create a *peaceful life*. Australia has embraced *diversity* with *egalitarian values* and with the idea of a *fair go*, in the established *multiculturalist* tradition of a *vibrant society*. The leaders of the nation, amongst them the Honourable John Howard, have provided significant input in the continuous creation of Australian identity:

> Prime Minister John Howard's rhetorical appropriation of egalitarian ideals, such as 'mateship', 'battler' and the 'fair go', are pertinent examples of the intersection of cultural and electoral politics. Howard has successfully recast shibboleths of the Australian Left, presenting them as currently (and historically) individualist and, ultimately, politically conservative (Dyrenfurth, 2007:211).

Australia is historically committed to the values of *human rights*, and it has one of the most *stable democracies*, and currently one of the most *stable economies* with a tradition of mining, and one of the *highest living standards* in the world. Australia has a unique flora and fauna, with a diverse and beautiful scenery and a famous coastline. Natural disasters such as drought,

flood, and bushfires are common in Australia. Life in the early 1900s on the Australian outback had been artistically and realistically portrayed through the classic story of Jeannie Gunn, in her famous book, *We of the Never-Never*:

> We - are just some of the bush-folk of the Never-Never. [...] And All of Us, and many of this company, shared each other's lives for one bright, sunny year [...] in the Land of the Never-Never [...] a land that bewitches her people with strange spells and mysteries, until they call sweet bitter, and bitter sweet. Called the Never-Never, the Maluka loved to say, because they who have lived in it and loved it, Never-Never voluntarily leave it (Gunn, 1908: Prelude).

Since its modern existence, and through its in part European origin, Australia had to consider whether it is history, or the country's geographical position would be the main decisive guiding force in the nation's future? Australia's history, in part at least, would show its important European, especially Anglo-Celtic roots, while geography would give guidance toward its current and future orientation regarding Asia. Nevertheless, in the framework of sociological constructivism these issues dissolve and do not create contradiction with each other. Sociological constructivism, emphasized by this dissertation is based on certain social norms, which prompt agents to act according to the *logic of appropriateness* that is capable the bring forth a *mutual constitution of agency and structure*, which transform identity and create new interests connected with new behaviours, and point to the direction towards a substantial regional as well as global *cooperation*, *peace* and *unity*.

Australia and the European Union have joint interests in Asia, including the countries of the *Association of Southeast Asian Nations* (ASEAN), the *Pacific Rim* countries, and trough *Asia-Europe Meeting* (ASEM) where both the European Union and Australia are present. ASEM encompasses much of Eurasia: it includes the European Commission, the 28 EU Member States and Norway, Switzerland, the 10 members of ASEAN, the ASEAN Secretariat, moreover China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, as well as India, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Mongolia, Bangladesh and Russia. ASEM aims to cultivate the international connections between Europe and Asia through *cooperation in peace and security*, *trade liberalisation*, *education and culture* (Asia-Europe Meeting, 2012).

The European Union and Australia experienced the importance and the values attached to social learning, including the socialisation and institutionalisation of the norms of *peace*, *trans-*

parency and *good governance*, *democracy*, *human rights*, *human dignity*, *anti-discrimination*, *social solidarity*, *environmental and socioeconomic justice* in everyday practice. Concerning the institutionalisation and internalisation of these norms and normative principles, the European Union and Australia - with some important exceptions - are largely in common accord within their increasing relationship, and within their own domestic environments. In relation to the present and the future, it is important how effectively the leaders and representatives of the EU and Australia going to arrive to a *cooperative agreement* with each other, through the creation and ratification of their possibly forthcoming treaty-level Framework Agreement, including their joint collaboration with the rising powers of Asia? The proposed EU-Australia treaty-level Framework Agreement provides reason to view it as a sign of confidence in relation to the Western world's connection to Asia, as a whole. The increasingly significant rise of Asia may have some capacity to create certain disharmony in the power structure of the current world situation. Nevertheless, if the growing EU-Australia international relationship is successful to contribute to alleviate the often menacing security, environmental and socio-economic problems in the world, this will increase the chance to create peace and prosperity throughout Eurasia and in the Pacific region.

More than three decades ago the Australia-Japan trade relationship provided a significant start, regarding Australia's reorientation toward Asia. One of the advocates of this reorientation is the Honourable Paul Keating, former Australian Prime Minister. Following the generally crushing nature of the Financial Crisis around 2008, on the 2nd of July 2009, Paul Keating gave an introduction at the John Curtin Prime Ministerial Library Anniversary Lecture, in Perth, Western Australia. Paul Keating observed that "now the great surplus states like China sit at the head table" (2009). Japan's speedy restoration during the 1960s, alongside with South Korea and South East Asia's development, followed by Deng Xiaoping's economic opening of China from the late 1970s, proves that world power moves from the West to the East. One of the most important observations taken during the last fifteen years, is the fact that power is moving relentlessly to the East. China's economy is now the other turbocharged economy alongside with the United States. Average growth of the Chinese economy is 8% and this means $400 billion of new wealth every year. This exceeds the increase of production of the economy by nearly two times, when compared with the United States, an economy nearly three times the size of China. The GDP of the United States is around $13 trillion and everything has to go well for it to be able to produce a 2% GDP growth rate. Europe is in a similar or perhaps worst situation, and find it hard to average 1% growth (Keating, 2009). Australia of course

cannot foretell the future, if and when a new order might rise. Now, complicating that assessment, China is rising in the company of other rising regional powers. A region of this kind may be peaceful and prosperous for Australia, as this happened after the end of the Vietnam War. A constructive and cooperative region emerged, where all powers have had a role, and where Australia has been free to decide whatever relationship it wants with any of them. Nevertheless, it may be that it will not be like this. The China-Asia region may be more complicated in the future. Australia should never return to a position of fear, like the one that prevailed during the Menzies years; nor should it try to conduct itself as a comfortable supplementary item, just to serve someone else's ideas (Keating, 2009).

Paul Keating's call is persuasive and obvious. Nevertheless, it is also important to consider that the European Union and Australia themselves developed a powerful trade relationship, as well as socio-economic, political, scientific and cultural cooperation. The EU produces 25% of the global Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and it has the largest share of global trade (34%) in goods and services. The EU is Australia's largest trade-investment partner; and, after China and Japan, the third largest trading partner. The EU is the most important origin for Australian imports, and itself the third largest receiver of Australian export. It is Australia's third-largest merchandise trade partner, with two-way trade valued at $59.7 billion in 2012 (12.2% of Australia's total); (eBook, *Celebrating 50 years: EU-Australia*, 2012:35). The European Union and Australia also has significant cooperation in different fields other than trade, including:

- in science, innovation and technology;
- in higher education and culture;
- in environmental sustainability and eco-tourism;
- in peace, migration, strategic issues and security.

The important cultural contribution of *Celebrating 50 years of European Union-Australia Relations* (1962-2012) proved to be successful in 2012. Radio National Australia broadcasted the programs of *Australia and Europe in conversation*. Every month, in 2012, Ambassadors from 28 EU Member States, and former Australian diplomats to the EU, as well as officials and academics, conducted stimulating conversations about the European Union, and the EU-Australia relationship. The venues for these occasions were held at the Europe Centres of Australia, such as the Europe Centre of the Australian National University in Canberra, and of

Melbourne's Monash University and at RMIT University. Among other themes, the dignitaries and high profile participants had conversations about the likely future development of a constantly emerging and increasing European identity (Australian Government, DFAT 2013).

The European Commission's Directorate General for Education and Culture decided to form a Cultural Cooperation partnership with Australia, in 2013 (with Canada the other partner). Through this initiative Australian culture received important opportunities for promotion and to exchange cultural events, with fostering intercultural dialogue. Former successful cultural promotions included music, theatre, literature, dance, puppetry, photography and fashion projects (Delegation of the EU to Australia, 2013). The European Agenda for Culture is the joint promotion of the EU institutions with the cultural sector of the national authorities to enhance cultural diversity and dialogue, and see culture as a catalyst for innovation and creativity. The followings are a summary of the successful and creative performances:

- The *Lemnos-Gallipoli* project included Australia, Cyprus and Turkey, with artists and cultural operators to analyse the impact of war from a woman's point of view.
- The *Weather Stations* project included Australia, Poland, Ireland and Germany, to explore how climate change may change life for humanity, in the future.
- *Hotel Obscura* involved Australian, Greek and Austrian contributors, to offer professional possibilities for experienced and emerging artists (including trainees) in Melbourne, and in the European cities of Paris, Marseille, Athens and Vienna.
- The *Boomerang* project involved three European theatres, and one from Australia as well as two from Canada. Their cooperative global work introduced the theme of poverty and migration.
- The *Move On* projects created media arts studios between Australia, France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Germany, as well as Canada (EU-EEAS, 2013).

There are significant, continuous, cultural links between Australia and the European Union. Despite the Great Financial Crisis of 2008, the European Union adheres to a strong commitment of the norms and values of *culture*, *creativity*, and *cultural programs* through the EU- Australia relationship.

3.6.   Structuration of the European Union and Australia, and through the European Union-Australia cooperation

A social structure includes intersubjective norms, formal rules and laws, values, practices, institutions, shared knowledge, and unforeseen consequences, which, by their nature are not always calculated in. Through their knowledge and culture actors with agency interpret and attach meanings to their social reality and bring forth structures, and because of the element of reciprocity, structures bring forth actors with agency. An institution is a reasonably firm 'collection of structure' of identities, interests, behaviours and unintended consequences. Actors are connected through intersubjective mental structures, which facilitate shared meanings. Structures not only constrain actors but also enable them to act, and when they act they may also think about and reflect upon structures. This reciprocity brings forth structuration, which is an incremental change and continuous transformation.

Their social embeddednes constitute actors in their domestic and international relationship. This constitution originates in those ideas that provide the actors' identity, and interest. *Liberty*, *democracy*, *good governance*, and *subsidiarity* are constitutive norms and they are defining characteristics of both the European Union and Australia. The creation of the European Union has greatly increased *liberty* for the population as a whole. Most of Europe ceased to be divided, and through the different treaties *free movement* of goods, finance capital and people became a reality.

> [...] constructivists believe that the human capacity for reflection or learning has its greatest impact on the manner in which individuals and social actors attach meaning to the material world and cognitively frame the world they know, experience and understand. Thus collective understandings provide people with reasons why things are as they are [...] (Adler, 1997: 322).

These meanings which are in relation to the material world, become structure themselves. They become social structure through their contents of norms, ideas, and values. These social structures, in return, through a constant dynamics and transformation, will have their effect not

only on the material structures of the human sphere, but also on the natural environment and on nature itself. The multiple systems created by people through the structuration of society interact with the natural earth system in a dynamic complexity, and this has direct relevance not only on environmental sustainability, but also in other diverse areas, including EU integrations, and the EU-Australia international relations.

Structuration contributes to EU integrations and the creation of the institutions of the European Union, and Australia. The policy implementations of the EU institutions are not only decisive within the European Union, but they are effectively bringing forth incremental and continuous changes in the whole world, including Australia. The European Union is encouraging regionalisation and itself achieved a regional and global presence. The EU-Australia international relationship is connected to this multilateral and regionalised global system. The European Union's institutions are growing and developing in parallel with the process of EU integration, and at the same time this change have an effect on the regionalisation and globalisation of the entire world. This unique EU legal superstructure is continuously growing and its effect can be experienced worldwide, despite the European Union's current socio-economic troubles, which is so often emphasized and sometimes exaggerated by the media in certain countries. Albeit it can be proven in the empirical sense that according to statistical measures, and by using global terminologies in order to be able to compare those on a world-wide scale, for an 'average person' who lives in the European Union this large polity even with its difficulties still delivers remarkably good, and probably the best prospects in relation to the normative principles, norms and values of *freedom* and *liberty*, *human rights*, *human dignity*, *anti-discrimination*, *social solidarity*, *environmental sustainability*, *equality*, *work situation* and *salary levels*, *work-life balance*, *education*, *rest* and *recreation*, *health*, *safety* and *security*, *social welfare* as well as a general *quality of life*.

The EU institutions are amongst the most important social structures of the European Union. An understanding of the purpose and constitution of the institutions of not only the European Union, but also of Australia provides more insight, regarding the study and unfolding of the EU-Australia international association and collaboration. The *European Commission* is one of the most important EU institutions; it is the executive and decision making body of the European Union. There are 28 members of the College of Commissioners, each for every Member States. The current Commissioners received their mandate for the time period of

2010-2014. The President of the European Commission is the Portuguese politician Jose Manuel Barroso. Recently, Jean-Claude Juncker former Prime Minister of Luxembourg has been proposed by the European Council for the term from 2014, as President of the European Commission. Baroness Catherine Ashton is a British politician, Vice-President of the Commission, and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. It is the *European Commission*, which must make sure that lawful procedures take place, as stipulated by the Treaties, for example regarding the various policy implementations in those areas, which can be undertaken by the different Member States. The Commission is responsible for the drafting of legislations as well as for the budget of the EU. It also acts as mediator between the Member States, moreover between the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers) and the European Parliament (EP). The 28 Commissioners, one national appointed from each Member State, must work above all for the interests of the EU.

The European Commission makes proposals for those legislations, which are deemed necessary for the effective and efficient workings of the European Union. Because of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality the European Union may create laws only if the practical manifestation and effects of the legislation would be necessary, and more pronounced at EU level, as that would be the case in comparison to the national or local level (European Commission at Work, 2012). The College of Commissioners are called upon to make an oath before taking up office. This oath is declared before the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg. The Commissioners solemnly declare and pledge that they will adhere to and respect the European Union Treaties, with special regard to the Charter of Fundamental Rights. Concerning this oath President Jose Manuel Barroso has stated:

> The oath of independence and respect for the EU Treaties is more than a symbolic act. The European Commission is a unique institution and the Commissioners [...] will uphold all the principles and values enshrined in the Treaties and the Charter of Fundamental rights (Europa, 2012).

The *Council of the European Union* (*Council of Ministers*) includes the meetings of the 28 government ministers of the different Member States who are responsible for the various portfolios. The meetings can involve ten distinctive portfolios and configurations, such as Foreign Affairs; Economic and Financial Affairs; Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs; Competitiveness; Transport Telecommunications and Energy; Agriculture and Fisheries; Environment; Education, Youth, Culture and Sport; Justice and Home Affairs;

and General Affairs. The substantial contribution of the *Council of the European Union* is organised by the Permanent Representatives Committee (COREPER), which is the body of the permanent representatives of the different Member States, who are employed in Brussels (EU:Council of the European Union, 2012).

The *Council of the European Union* is the European Union's main decision making body. The European Commission makes a legislative proposal to the Council and Parliament, which is debated and amended if necessary, and finally accepted as EU law. The responsibilities of the *Council of the European Union*, includes the following:

- it cooperates in the creation and passing of EU laws;
- integrates economic policies between the different EU Member States;
- authorizes agreements between the EU and other countries;
- authorizes the annual EU budget;
- endeavours to coordinate the European Union's foreign and defence policies;
- integrates the collaboration between the courts and the police forces of the different Member State countries (European Union, 2012).

The meetings of the *Council of the European Union* can involve highly demanding configurations, such as the Foreign Affairs portfolio. Baroness Catherine Ashton, the EU's High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (HRUFASP) permanently chairs the Council of the Foreign Ministers' meetings. Baroness Catherine Ashton's provided a mission statement regarding the EU's Foreign Policy, as follows:

We will do this […] with full respect for the values that the European Union stands for, above all peace and prosperity, freedom and democracy, the rule of law and the universality and indivisibility of human rights (European Commission, 2012).

The *European Council* is a fundamental part of the European Union, where EU leaders, such as the heads of state or government of the EU Member States meet to decide on the crucial political priorities and major initiatives. Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council, Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, and Catherine Ashton, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy are permanent members of these meetings. The *European Council* has no legislative authority

in the sense that it cannot pass laws; nevertheless, it needs to formulate the best political directions and priorities for the European Union, and as such it operates as a think tank, and provides guidelines to the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers) and to the European Commission. The European Council's meetings are organised as summits, where the leaders and representatives meet in around 4 meetings a year. The Lisbon Treaty created several new and important leadership positions within the EU, and amongst them is the relatively new office of the President of the European Council. The President of the European Council is Herman Van Rompuy, a former Prime Minister of Belgium, who chairs the Council's meetings, and he is one of the most important faces of the European Union internationally. He holds bilateral and multilateral negotiations on behalf of the European Union, with the heads of state and government of third states (European Union, 2012). Prior to the Lisbon Treaty the *European Council* had been chaired by the head of state or government of the Member State, which held the rotating presidency. The head of state or government of the Member State had his or her own domestic mandate; nevertheless, the permanent President of the European Council is appointed by the members of the *European Council*. The *European Council* is a locus of power with authority, informality and flexibility (Schoutheete, 2012:53-54).

Since 1979 the Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) have been elected by procedures of direct universal suffrages of each Member States of the European Union. The *European Parliament* (EP) is the only EU institution, which is directly elected by the voters. Currently it has 751 Members, and this number perhaps rise in the future, through any further enlargement of the European Union. The number of the Members of the European Parliament regarding the 28 different Member States is determined in proportion to the size of each country's population. The election of the Members of the European Parliament occurs in every 5 years, so the new Members are to be elected in 2014. The *European Parliament* (EP) is one of the EU's main law-making institutions, along with the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers). Through the force of the Lisbon Treaty the decision making power of the *European Parliament* has been increased in many important areas, such as the Justice and Home Affairs, and regarding trade as well as agriculture. It has voting power with the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers) concerning policy analysis and implementation of the budget, as well as in matters of the internal market and the environment. The EP has the right to agree or reject the nomination of the particular Commissioners. The *European Parliament* can be regarded as the lower house of the European Union's legislative branch; the Council of the European Union may be seen as the upper house (European Union, 2012).

In the *European Parliament* the MEPs sit according to their groups of Europe-wide political parties. During the current (7th) parliamentary term there are 7 different political formations, plus there are 30 non-attached members. The 7 different Europe-wide political party formations are the followings:

- European People's Party (EPP): 271 members;
- Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D):189 members;
- Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE): 85 members;
- The Greens – European Free Alliance (Greens – EFA): 59 members;
- European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR): 52 members;
- European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL): 34 members
- Europe of Freedom and Democracy (EFD): 34 members (European Parliament, 2012).

During some of the previous elections of MEP's, at least in some of the Member States, a certain apathy could be observed, which resulted in the often very low turn-out of voters. This apathy can be seen as quite discouraging with regard to the EU integration process. As yet the European Parliament has not achieved a sufficiently strong enough symbolical and central image, in the likeness of sovereign countries, where a given National Assembly or National Parliament often does have, and reflect, a strong and united image of the citizens and the state. Nevertheless, this symbol and central image of the EP may become stronger, as the identities of the people of the European Union, as EU citizens, are growing stronger too.

> MEPs divide their time between Brussels, Strasbourg and their constituencies. In Brussels they attend meetings of the parliamentary committees and political groups, and additional plenary sittings. In Strasbourg they attend 12 plenary sittings. In parallel with these activities they must also, of course, devote time to their constituencies. The Members of the European Parliament are grouped by political affinity and not by nationality. They exercise their mandate in an independent fashion. Members of the European Parliament, whose powers have become more and more extensive, influence every area of the day to day life of the European public: the environment, consumer protection and transport, as well as education, culture, health etc. (European Parliament, 2012).

The ultimate success of the integration process of the EU, as facilitated by its institutions, largely depends on the success of integration achieved by the 13 relatively new Member States, especially by those states which had been regarded as new democracies. These countries had been through a dual and triple transition since 1989, and given their manifold difficulties, their desires to be and to remain in the EU largely depends on their economic and political success. If they would fail in their integration process, that could cause serious difficulties to realise the original idea of the European Union.

As the Lisbon Treaty entered into force on the 1st of December 2009, it provided the European Union with legal personality. The European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) still exists side by side with the European Union (CVRIA: Court of Justice, 2012). The *Court of Justice of the European Union* (CJEU) has three separate courts located in Luxembourg. They are the Court of Justice (or European Court of Justice), the General Court, and the Civil Service Tribunal. Prior to the Lisbon Treaty there was the Court of First Instance and this operated as a second court. After 2009 the Court of First Instance was renamed as the General Court. The Civil Service Tribunal was created as a special dispute resolution organisation acting between the European Union and its bureaucrats, as well as employees (Shuibhne, 2012: 149).

The European Court of Justice (ECJ) has 28 Judges that is one Judge from each Member States of the European Union. Moreover, the ECJ employs 8 Advocates Generals as its assistants. The 28 Judges and the 8 Advocates Generals are selected through a common agreement between the Member States, and they are appointed for six years that can be renewed. The Judges of the Court of Justice elect their President and a Vice-President. The President directs the work of the Court of Justice and presides during the hearings and deliberations. The Vice-President assists the President in the exercise of his duties and replaces him when necessary. The Advocates Generals assist the work and procedures of the Court of Justice. They are responsible to conform to the norms and values of *impartiality*, *neutrality* and *independence*, in order to utilise these in the formulation of their views on the cases assigned to them. The Court of Justice may sit as a complete court in a Grand Chamber of 15 Judges or in chambers of three or five Judges (CVRIA: Court of Justice, 2012).

Through *a sociological learning process* the identities of the EU Member States enter into a gradual transformation, and consequently their interests and behaviours change too. This creates a situation where the Member States give up certain areas of their sovereignty in an

incremental process. The legal work of the Court of Justice of the European Union provides the momentum for the integration of an 'ever closer' union. The Member States may get concerned about guarding their own sovereignty and that is understandable. Nevertheless, through a *constructive sociological, philosophical, political and socio-economic* process the Court of Justice and the European Commission, with the other institutions, guide the EU toward federation.

The *European Economic and Social Committee* (EESC) is a consultative organisation of the European Union, or in other words a bridge between the European Union and organised civil society. The EESC has 344 members, and they sit in Brussels. The members are nominated by their respective Member States, and they are appointed for five years, by the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers), and through a Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) procedure (Bache *et al.*, 2011:234). Nevertheless, as they enter into office, the members of the EESC are considered as completely independent entities. The EESC has three different groups with equal members, which are representing employers, employees and 'other different interests' such as farmers, consumers, the self-employed and the professions etc. The EESC has six working sections, which are as follows:

- Agriculture and the Environment;
- Economic and Monetary Union and Economic and Social Cohesion;
- Employment and Social Affairs;
- External Relations;
- the Single Market;
- Transport and Energy and the Information Society (Bache *et al.*, 2011:234).

The *European Economic and Social Committee* collaborates with the other institutions in order to fulfil three key tasks, as follows:

- helping to ensure that European policies and legislation better reflect economic, social and civic realities, by advising the European Parliament, the Council and the European Commission, drawing on the broad knowledge and experience of its members and seeking consensus that serves the general interest;
- promoting the development of a more participatory EU, which is closer to its citizens, by acting as organised civil society's institutional forum for representation, information, expression and dialogue;

- promoting the values on which European integration is founded and advancing the role of civil society organisations and participatory democracy, both within the EU and throughout the world (European Economic and Social Committee; 2012).

The European Monetary Cooperation Fund (EMCF) was created in 1973 by those countries which belonged to the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM). In 1994, this was followed by the establishment of the European Monetary Institute (EMI) which later became part of the *European Central Bank* (ECB). On the 1st of June 1998, through the Treaty of Amsterdam, the *European Central Bank* was established with its head offices in Frankfurt, Germany. The *European Central Bank* carries out the economic and monetary policy of the European Union. The ECB is also in charge of the Euro, the common currency of 18 Member States of the Eurozone. Together with the 28 central banks the ECB form the European System of Central Banks (ESCB). As one of the EU's supranational institutions the most important task of the ECB is to guard the value of money, and to keep prices as well as the financial system stable (EU: European Central Bank, 2012). The ECB sets the interest rates and oversees the money supply. Through trading in currencies it aims to keep the exchange rates within safe limits. The ECB monitors price trends and issue Euro bank notes with the help of 3 different decision-making institutions. It has an Executive Board to control the day-to-day operations; the Executive Board has 6 members appointed for 8 years. It has a Governing Council which controls the monetary policy and liaises with the directors of the Eurozone's 18 central banks. The third institution is the General Council, which does the advisory work for the ECB, and establishes new Member States to join the Eurozone. The president and vice-president of the ECB, as well as the directors of the national central banks of all of the 28 EU countries belong to the General Council (EU: European Central Bank, 2012). One of the most important guiding principles of the ECB, the Eurosystem, and each Member State's national central bank is that they must be completely independent decision-making bodies, which cannot solicit or receive any instruction outside of the European System of Central Banks (EU: European Central Bank, 2012).

The *European Investment Bank* (EIB) was created through the Treaty of Rome (1957) and its head office in Luxembourg became established in 1958. The EIB is a non-profit long-term lending organisation and it is owned by the 28 EU countries. It borrows money on the capital

markets and lends by charging low interest rates; thereby, it supports the building of infrastructure, energy, environmental and other projects in order to help the socio-economic cohesion of the European Union (EU: European Investment Bank, 2012).

> Some 30% of the Bank's yearly financing goes to investments that mitigate greenhouse gas emissions and improve adaptation to climate change impacts. These are mainly in the energy, transport, water, wastewater, solid waste, forestry and research, development and innovation sectors. Climate action considerations are also increasingly taken into account [...] (European Investment Bank, 2012)

The EIB provides loans, guarantees, and venture capital, as well as technical assistance in order to complement the financial services. The bank most important objectives for lending include the assistance of small and medium enterprises; developing sustainable, competitive and secure energy; socio-economic cohesion and environmental sustainability (EU: European Investment Bank, 2012).

In this dissertation the institutions of the European Union and the major institutions of Australia have an equal importance in their relations to the EU-Australia international cooperation. The Commonwealth of Australia is a vast country in the Southern Hemisphere, the sixth largest in the world with a population of about 23 million people. It is a constitutional monarchy with a federal government, honouring Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II as Head of State. Australia is a nation of immigrants. Its history rooted in its indigenous Aboriginal population, which is harking back to thousands of years. Australia has a strong parliamentary democratic tradition, with compulsory voting consists of a preferential voting system for the Australian Parliament's lower house that is the House of Representatives, and a different system (single transferable vote) for the upper house or Senate.

One of Australia's major political parties is the Liberal Party, which is a successor of the United Australia Party. Since September 2013, the Liberal Party is in power, in coalition with the National Party. The leader of the coalition is the Honourable Tony Abbot, Australian Prime Minister. The other major political party is the Australian Labour Party (ALP). On the 1st of January 1901, through the *Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia*, the Commonwealth of Australia became established. The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act states, as follows:

[9th July 1900]

WHEREAS the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Tasmania, humbly relying on the blessing of Almighty God, have agreed to unite in one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and under the Constitution hereby established:[…] (Lumb and Moens, 1995: 616).

Since 1901, Australia has a continuous and stable liberal democratic system working through a federal parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy. The Australian political system, in some ways at least, is similar to the Westminster system of the United Kingdom. The *Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia* or *Commonwealth Constitution* stipulates the structure of the political division as the legislative power, the executive power, and the judicial power. The branch of the legislative power includes the Queen, who is represented by the Governor General; and the bicameral Australian Parliament with the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Commonwealth Constitution stipulates under Section 62 that:

There shall be a Federal Executive Council to advise the Governor-General in the government of the Commonwealth, and the members of the Council shall be chosen […] by the Governor-General and sworn as Executive Councillors […] (Lumb and Moens, 1995: 632).

The ministers are members of Parliament and members of the Federal Executive Council. The decision-making body of the executive power is the Cabinet of Australia. The Prime Minister is the head of government and the leader of the Cabinet. Section 71 of the Commonwealth Constitution establishes the Judicial Power and the Courts:

The judicial power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a Federal Supreme Court, to be called the High Court of Australia, and in such other federal courts as the Parliament creates, and in such other courts as it invests with federal jurisdiction (Lumb and Moens, 1995: 634).

Australia consists of six states such as New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania. It also has two main mainland territories that are the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory. Each of these geographical and

political entities have their own bicameral Parliament, with the exceptions of the two Territories as well as Queensland, which have unicameral Parliament. The states are empowered by sovereignty, and the Federal Government and Parliament are only allowed to legislate over the states in areas that are regulated under Section 51 of the Commonwealth Constitution. However, the two Territories do not have such sovereignty. In each state Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II is represented by a Governor, and in the Territories through an Administrator. The lower house of each state's Parliament is the Legislative Assembly and the upper house is the Legislative Council. In all of the states of Australia the Premier is the head of government. The head of government in the Northern Territory is the Chief Minister. On Legislative Power the Commonwealth Constitution under Section 1 stipulates:

> The legislative power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a Federal Parliament, which shall consist of the Queen, a Senate, and a House of Representatives, and which is herein-after called "The Parliament", or "The Parliament of the Commonwealth" (Lumb & Moens, 1995: 619).

The Parliament fulfils the law-making function for the nation and relies on the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the Queen who is represented in Australia by the Governor-General. The House of Representatives is the lower house, which consists of 150 members, and the government is formed in the lower house. The House majority provide support for the winning party or parties in order to form a government. The House checks the expenditure of the government and debate the proposed laws; it provides a forum for public debate to discuss matters of national importance. The Senate consists of 76 senators; 12 senators from each of the 6 state and 2 senators from each territory. The Senate jointly works with the House of Representatives on the legislative process, but it is also a check on the government of the day. The Senate makes sure that checks and balances are in place. It conducts its operation by an established committee such as the budget estimates auditing process.

The Parliament gives provision and authority for the formation of a government; it does legislative work to avail the necessary finance in order to run the government's day to day operation. It establishes a platform for popular representation, and makes sure that the actions of the government are thoroughly analysed, examined and scrutinised. The proposals for new laws must be passed by both the House of Representatives and the Senate, as well as agreed to by the Governor-General before they can become Acts of Parliament. Taxation laws and laws concerning revenues have to be introduced through the House of Representatives; nevertheless,

other proposals for new laws can be introduced in either House. Change to the Constitution can only take place through a nationwide referendum. Both the House of Representatives and the Senate have to concur concerning any proposals to change the law. If they cannot arrive to the same opinion, the Governor-General may present the proposal to the people. In order for a proposition to change a law or to establish a new law to succeed, it must be approved and agreed by a majority of voters in a majority of the states, and in the final count voters must agree to it through a nationwide majority (Parliament of Australia, 2012).

The levels of Government in Australia relates to the whole country, the state or territory, and the local area. New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania each has a bicameral Parliament. The Parliaments of Queensland, the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) are unicameral. The Parliament of New South Wales is located in Sydney. Its lower house is the Legislative Assembly. In Australia since 1856, it was the first fully elected law-making body. Currently the Legislative Assembly has 93 representatives, elected through a form of preferential voting system from electorates in New South Wales. The Legislative Council forms the upper house with 42 members elected through proportional representations. The head of the Legislative Council is the President (Parliament of New South Wales, 2012).

The Legislative Assembly or lower house, and the Legislative Council or upper house of Parliaments is in Victoria, in South Australia, in Western Australia, and in Tasmania. The Governors of Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania and Queensland represent the Queen of Australia, Her Majesty Elizabeth II. The Parliament of Queensland and the Parliament of the Northern Territory each consists of a Legislative Assembly. In the Northern Territory Her Majesty the Queen is represented by the Administrator. The Australian Capital Territory Legislative Assembly is a unicameral law-making body of the Australian Capital Territory (Parliament of New South Wales, 2012).

Australia has a *stable*, *well functioning* and *secure* government structure, which provides *freedom* and *liberty* to its citizens, who are amongst the most frequent travellers in the world. Australians can enjoy visa free entrance to the European Union, and now they can become familiar with countries, which were previously largely out of reach. These new contacts may open up new horizons and strengthen relationship. For the citizens of both Europe and Australia, the two continents came nearer to each other, and became more familiar, and less unknown. According to the 2006 Australian Census 2.1 million people or in other words over

40% of the 5.1 million Australians born overseas, were born in what is now the European Union. Currently, about half of the almost one million Australians living and working abroad are in Europe. From the EU 1.3 million Europeans spend time in Australia each year. In 2010 more than 36,000 students, from EU Member States, choose to come to study in Australia. At the same time around 5,000 Australian students are studying in Europe, especially in the UK, Germany, and France (Delegation of the European Union to Australia, 2011).

The Schengen Agreement, which ceased border control within the Schengen Area, from its original birth in June 1985, has come a long way. From December 2007, through the European Union's enlargement in 2004, the Schengen Area included the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia (Bache *et al*., 2011:219). Ireland and the United Kingdom are not required to be bound by Schengen, however Bulgaria, Romania, Cyprus and Croatia are to be included as well. The movement and travel of the different citizens create a lot of interactions, exchange of knowledge, social learning and socialisation. A new European understanding and interpretation is formed.

The achievements of the European Union in opening up its borders, and in the liberalisation of the movement of its citizens, legitimise and strengthen the European Union's democratic values. Nevertheless, the continuously increasing *liberty*, *democracy*, and *good governance*, which include *security* and *social solidarity* as well, and *providing welfare* for its citizens, and all within the European Union, can have its own challenging aspects. In the EU, this dynamic progress concerning Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) brings forth controversial matters. For example disagreements regarding the division of competences between the Union and the different Member States, as well as the EU institutions (Martenczuk and van Thiel eds., 2008: book cover).

Democracy, *separation of powers*, *transparency*, the *rule of law* and *freedom of press* are fundamental values, shared by both the EU and Australia. General living standards are similar between Australia and Western Europe including Scandinavia. Both are entities, which to some degree still believe in *social solidarity* and helping the disadvantaged part of their population; therefore, they did not dismantle their welfare systems to the degree as it happened for example in the US or in New Zealand. Both the EU and Australia has an extensive information technology system and knowledge creation, and a valued higher education sector. *Freedom*

of thought, *freedom of religion and expression* are upheld as basic values. Both of these polities emphasize the importance of quality in production, food security, hygiene and biosecurity. They value their environments, and albeit with a varying degree of success, try to work towards *sustainability* and *environmental protection* through investing in renewable energy solutions as well as research and development. Because of its history and geographical position Australia, to some degree, is still establishing its proper orientation in the world. It has an extensive trade and other international relationships with a number of countries in Asia; nevertheless, during times of crisis and wars it often joined forces with the currently only superpower, the United States. However, given so many shared values that Australia has with Europe and the European Union, it is imperative that both the EU and Australia work astutely to create efficient and successful cooperation.

Languages and communications are the hallmarks in the structuration of society. Through communications, ideas are spreading and knowledge is created. As Australia has many immigrants from the UK, Italy, Greece, the Netherlands, Germany, or from the erstwhile Yugoslavia, so it is a multilingual nation. Many people from Australia, who travel to Europe, are able to communicate with the Europeans not only in English, but also in their own original languages. This creates shared understanding and a gradual transformation of identity and interests, between the European Union and Australia. Australia's most important EU Member State is the United Kingdom, and their obvious common factor, apart from their deep historical connections, is the English language. It is useful to understand some of the existing traditional bilateral collaborations between Australia and the UK, and Australia and each of the other 27 individual Member States of the European Union. This can provide a perspective on the past and possible future engagements between the two entities, and it helps to attain a holistic understanding of the structuration and growth of the EU-Australia relationship.

Significantly, each of the 28 individual Member States of the European Union has accomplished several important diplomatic, cultural, as well as trade links with Australia. The 28 Member States of the European Union, currently as of 2014, are as follows: United Kingdom; France; Germany; Italy; the Netherlands; Belgium; Luxembourg; Ireland; Denmark; Greece; Spain; Portugal; Sweden; Finland; Austria; Poland; Estonia; Lithuania; Latvia; Slovenia; Hungary; Czech Republic; Cyprus; Malta; Slovak Republic; Romania; Bulgaria; and Croatia. Due to shared language, culture, and important historical ties, Australia has an outstanding bilateral foreign relation, first and foremost, with the United Kingdom.

Australia and the United Kingdom developed a close and dynamic relationship based on strong historical and people-to-people connections, through strategic interests, as well as bilateral trade and investment. The United Kingdom is the second largest investor in Australia; and 75% of all investment from Australia to the EU Member States is actually invested in the UK. The United Kingdom is Australia's second largest origin of visitors (after New Zealand). In 2010-2011 nearly 600,000 UK citizens visited Australia. Around 100,000 Australian born citizens presently live in the UK; half of them reside in London. The two countries have been having several regular ministerial dialogues, called the Australia-United Kingdom Ministerial Consultations (AUKMIN). The first AUKMIN was held in London, in 2006. The second AUKMIN took place in Leeds in 2008, and the third in Sydney in 2011. On the 23rd of January 2012, the fourth Australia-United Kingdom Ministerial Consultations took place, again, in London. The following is an excerpt from the fourth AUKMIN Communique:

> Foreign Secretary William Hague and Defence Secretary Philip Hammond welcomed Australian Foreign Minister Kevin Rudd and Defence Minister Stephen Smith for the fourth Australia-UK Ministerial Consultations (AUKMIN), held in London on 23 January 2012. […] The UK and Australia reaffirmed today the importance of our collaboration. In a globalised and interconnected world, our partnership is as important today as it was for previous generations. […] On these global issues, the UK and Australia have a shared agenda: promoting peace and security, encouraging openness in trade and investment, and seeking to protect the vulnerable. We have been working towards these goals together during this year, and will keep doing so (Australian Government, 2012).

There are several Agreements between Australia and the United Kingdom. The following is a list of some of the existing Agreements (Australian Treaty Series, 2012):

- Agreement between the Government of Australia and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland regarding the transfer of Heard and MacDonald Islands from the United Kingdom to Australia. Retrospective entry into force: 26 December 1947.

- Agreement between the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with respect to Taxes on Income and Capital Gains. Entry into force: 8 May 1968.

- Agreement on Health Services between the Government of Australia and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Entry into force: 1 July 1986.

- Agreement between the Government of Australia and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland providing for the Reciprocal Recognition and Enforcement of Judgments in Civil and Commercial Matters. Entry into force: 1 September 1994.

The United Kingdom and Australia have developed a strong relationship concerning security, and they have accomplished a bilateral Defence Treaty. Companies from the UK have a strong interest and a growing stake in the large Australian mining and resource sector.

Australia and France, through New Caledonia, have a long maritime border between them. Australia cooperate closely with France in *arms control regimes*, such as the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Missile Technology Control Regime and the Proliferation Security Initiative, to reinforce export controls and norms of *non-proliferation*. In 1982 France and Australia signed the Marine Delimitation Agreement, which designated the ocean borders in the South Pacific between French Territories and Australia. France is the third largest source of international students from Europe studying in Australian universities. On the 6th of October 2009, France and Australia signed an Agreement on the Mutual Recognition of Qualifications. In 2007 France established the Australian Business in Europe (ABIE) Paris Chapter's Corporate Club (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Germany signed several bilateral agreements, including double taxation, extradition, and social security, cultural, scientific and technological cooperation. Germany is Australia's largest origin of foreign students from Europe. It is amongst Australia's ten largest trading partners. In 2009-10 the two-way trade in services between Australia and Germany reached the value of A\$ 2.3 billion. Australia is the location for 650 German-owned companies including 340 German subsidiaries providing work for more than 100,000 people. They include the automotive industry (Daimler AG, BMW, Bosch, Hella), telecommunications, environmental products, building and construction, chemicals, and banking such as the Deutsche Bank, which is the largest European Bank operating in Australia. An agreement, the Berlin-Canberra Declaration regarding the bilateral relationship between Germany and Australia, was signed in Berlin in 2013, by both countries (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Italy signed several bilateral agreements, including double taxation, social security, and economic cooperation. On the basis of the 2011 census, 916,116 Australians claimed to have Italian ancestry, and 185,402 Australian residents were born in Italy. Around 30,000 Australians live in Italy (Australian Government, 2012). According to the following data, Italian export to Australia is growing year by year:

> In 2012, Italian merchandise exports to Australia amounted to $5.35 million (+6.5% compared to 2011 and +9.2% compared to 2010) with a trade balance in favour of Italy of $4.52 million (+20% compared to 2011). [...] over 150 Italian companies operate in Australia, employing about 19,500 people, with an estimated turnover valued at $13.2 billion (eBook, *Celebrating 50 years: EU-Australia*, 2012:120).

Australia and the Netherlands signed a bilateral social security agreement (2001), in order to provide enhanced social security protection to people who have lived and/or worked in both Australia and the Netherlands. The Netherlands has made important contributions to the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation, set up in 2004 through a joint operation by Australia and Indonesia. People who were born in the Netherlands became the second largest non-British group in Australia. Today around 300,000 Australians are of Dutch descent. In 2006, more than 90,000 Netherlands-born people lived in Australia, out of which nearly 80 per cent were Australian citizens. The Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics states that currently approximately 15,000 Australians live in the Netherlands. In economic cooperation the Netherlands is very significant, because for Australian products it is the second largest market in Europe. (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Belgium have an agreement concerning double taxation since 1977. In 2004 the two countries signed a working holiday agreement, in 2005 on social security, and in 2009 on health care. In 2010 Belgian investment in Australia amounted to A$ 15 billion, of which A$ 4.9 billion was foreign direct investment. Investment from Australia to Belgium totalled A$ 6.2 billion. Rio Tinto Diamonds NV is the Antwerp based sales and marketing headquarters for Rio Tinto Diamonds. Amcor, headquartered in Melbourne, has a corporate office in Brussels and two manufacturing sites in Ghent and Halen. Nyrstar is a Belgian joint venture between Australian zinc miner Zinifex and Belgian based global materials technology group

Umicore (Australian Government, 2012). There are immense historical connections from World War I between the two countries:

> Many Australians served in Belgium between 1916 and 1918, especially during the Battle of Messines and the Third Battle of Ieper. Of the more than 290,000 Australians who served on the Western front (France and Belgium), 46,000 were either killed in action or died of their wounds. Belgium and its population will never forget the diggers' sacrifice for their country. In this framework, the Centenary of World War I (2014–2018) will provide an interesting focus for bilateral commemorative activities (eBook, *Celebrating 50 years:EU-Australia*, 2012:107).

Australia and Luxembourg have several bilateral agreements, including mutual assistance on criminal matters, and extradition. Through the two countries bilateral trade relations Australia exports A$ 1.8 million worth of products, such as measuring and analysing instruments, and civil engineering equipments. Australia's import from Luxembourg reached the value of A$ 38.6 million, and consists of heating and cooling equipments, tyres and tubes. Australia exported A$ 119 million of services to Belgium (& Luxembourg) in 2009, and imported A$ 95 million worth of services (Australian Government, 2012). Luxembourg is the location for important EU institutions, such as the:

> Secretariat-General of the European Parliament, the European Court of Justice and the European Investment Bank. [...]
> In 2011, Luxembourg's investment in Australia was valued at $23.5 billion. Australian investment in Luxembourg was $13.3 billion (eBook, *Celebrating 50 years: EU-Australia*, 2012:121).

Australia and Ireland have a long standing and empathetic relationship. Outside Ireland, Australia is the most Irish country in the world. There are around 80,000 Irish passport holders who are permanent residents in Australia. In 2010-11, there were around 76,500 Irish visitors to Australia. Australia and Ireland accomplished several agreements, including double taxation, extradition and on social security. Major Australian export items to Ireland include wine, medicines, and electrical machinery. Merchandise exports to Ireland reached at A$ 123 million, and merchandise imports were valued at A$ 2.177 million over the same time frame.

Major imports items from Ireland include medicines, food items, and orthopaedic appliances. Australia's services export to Ireland in 2010-11 reached at A$ 414 million, and Australia's services import from Ireland in the same period was valued at A$ 883 million. Recreational travel is the largest part of Australian service exports to Ireland. Intellectual property charges were an important component of services imports in 2010-11. In 2010 Ireland's investment in Australia reached at A$ 3.0 billion. Australia's investment in Ireland was valued at A$ 4.1 billion. Harvey Norman continues to have the largest Australian retail presence in Ireland. Macquarie Capital Europe's Dublin Branch is a substantial performer. Wirra Wirra, a brand of South Australian quality wine, continues to have its lucrative presence in the Irish market (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Denmark share a strong bilateral relationship based on cooperation and a commitment to global security. Following World War II, about 8,000 Danes immigrated to Australia, and today around 50,000 assert Danish ancestry (2006 Census). There are significant educational links between Australian and Danish universities, and the two countries signed a working holiday agreement. On climate change, human rights, from energy efficiency and sustainability to development aid and peacekeeping Australia and Denmark work together in a bilateral way and through international organisations. In 2010-11 Australia's exports to Denmark reached at A$ 153 million, included orthopaedic appliances, wine and alcoholic beverages as well as beef. At the same time Denmark imported to Australia nearly A$1 billion worth of goods, including pork meat, medicines, toys, sporting gears and machinery. A large number of Danish companies (about 85) have their operations in Australia, such as the Vestas Wind Systems, a world leader in the production of wind turbines. ISS, the Danish global cleaning company employs nearly 22,000 people in Australia. The Australian Macquarie Group owns 27% of the Copenhagen airport. Australia currently explores opportunities to export specialised telecommunications and e-government technology to Denmark (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Greece have signed different agreements, including the portability of pensions (1972). The 2011 Census recorded 99,937 Greece-born living in Australia and 378,300 Australians claimed Greek ancestry. The Greek population is concentrated in Victoria (42.8 per cent) and New South Wales (33.5 per cent), particularly in the greater metropolitan areas of Melbourne and Sydney. According to the eBook, *Celebrating 50 years: EU-Australia*,

the Greek language recently became more important:

> In 2012, Modern Greek, among the top three languages used in Australia, has been incorporated officially in the F-10 Australian curriculum. A very successful network of Greek studies has evolved in major Australian universities (2012:117).

In 2011 exports to Greece valued around A\$ 30 million, while goods imported from Greece were worth nearly A\$ 150 million. In 2011, major exports to Greece included medicaments, raw hides and skins, non-ferrous waste and scrap as well as paints and varnishes. Australia's major imports from Greece in 2011 included prepared or preserved vegetables; medicaments, aluminium, as well as cheese and curd. Services exports from Australia were worth A\$ 40 million in 2011, while services imports from Greece totalled A\$ 350 million (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Spain has significant bilateral cooperation in defence matters. According to the 2011 Census 92,959 Australian residents affirmed Spanish descent. The bulk of the Spanish community arrived to Australia during the 1960s, through a government-to-government sponsored program. In 2011 around 3,000 Spaniards studied in Australia, mostly in short-term English language study courses. In July-November 2012, the Queensland Art Gallery in Brisbane organised an exhibition of masterpieces from the Prado Museum Madrid. The Spanish Cervantes Institute is located in the academic and cultural area of Sydney, and it offers Spanish courses, cultural activities such as literature, the arts, cinema, theatre and music. Australian imports from Spain include goods such as medicines, vehicles, rubber tyres and tubes, as well as passenger motor vehicles. Australian exports to Spain comprises of commodities such as coal, zinc ores and nickel. Austrade has a permanent Trade Commissioner in Madrid in order to provide export assistance for Australian companies. Gas Natural Fenosa is a Spanish firm with its head office in Barcelona, and with global operations in the gas and electricity sector. In Australia it invests in wind farms and operates through the company of Union Fenosa Wind Australia. Acciona is another Spanish conglomerate business corporation and global leader in the development and management of infrastructure, renewable energy and water. Acciona Australia designed and operates several wind farms in Australia, such as the Waubra Wind Farm in Victoria that is the largest renewable power project in the Southern Hemisphere; the Cathedral Rocks Wind Farm on the Eyre Peninsula in South Australia; and the Gunning Wind Farm with 31 wind turbines located in New South Wales. In 2008, Sacyr

Vallehermoso, a major construction company based in Madrid, and Tecnicas Reunidas a Spanish environmental engineering company started to build a major Western Australian project, the Southern Seawater Desalination Plant. The Australian company Petratherm Limited (based in Adelaide) is a leading explorer and developer of geothermal energy, and currently involved in the Madrid Geothermal District Heating project. Australia and Spain have a bilateral engagement on significant military projects, including two amphibious vessels and three air warfare destroyers, contracted to be manufactured by the Spanish shipbuilder company Navantia, These will be state of the art and Australia's largest-ever warships in the service of the Australian Navy, and available for both humanitarian and combat missions (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Portugal have a longstanding relationship. Currently the Portuguese community is calculated at around 50,000 people in Australia. In the 2006 Census 15,000 claimed to be Portugal-born. Portuguese inhabitants from the island of Madeira immigrated to Western Australia and settled in around Fremantle, where they established fishing villages. Western Australia became the home to a large Portuguese neighbourhood of around 6,000 people. The existence of Portuguese people in Australia contributed to a number of family reunions and cultural interchanges, and may have helped to facilitate the 400 per year visa applications of Portuguese students, who choose to take a course in Australia. Portugal exports to Australia include passenger motor vehicles and cork manufactures. Australian companies have invested in the Portuguese wine industry, real estate, manufacturing, highway building, engineering and energy development. Portugal is strongly committed to cooperate with Australian companies and invests in the renewable energy sectors. Portuguese companies in Australia manufacture wine caps made from Portuguese cork, and they have interests in the biotechnology, wine, timber, and pharmaceutical industries (Australian Government, 2012). The eBook, *Celebrating 50 years: EU-Australia* informs about the recent difficult economic situation in their homeland, as to why Portuguese people decide to come to Australia. This time

> [...] a new generation of mostly young people with high levels of education and expertise in their fields of study, is coming to Australia. They are coming to work as engineers, architects, nurses and university lecturers, contributing to the Australian economy and its future prosperity (2012:126).

Australia and Sweden accomplished a bilateral agreement in 1981 concerning nuclear transfers for peaceful purposes. They have a substantial bilateral relationship, especially in trade and education services. Australia and Sweden are active participants of the UN, and significant contributors to international development assistance. According to the 2006 census, 7,500 Swedish-born people live in Australia. There is a growing number of students exchange between the two countries. In 2011 Australian exports to Sweden reached at A$ 434 million, and included coal and alcoholic beverages. Imports from Sweden worth A$ 2.5 billion and consists of medicinal items and civil engineering machineries. In 2011 Swedish foreign direct investment in Australia reached the value of A$ 3.3 billion. Australian foreign direct investment in Sweden has grown to A$ 4.1 billion. Approximately 30,000 Swedish tourists visit Australia each year. The total value of services exports, such as education, reached A$ 232 million in 2010. There is an Austrade office in Stockholm, and the Swedish Trade Council office is located in Sydney. The financial services are a growing industry in Sweden, especially in retail, private banking, and insurance (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Finland have accomplished some bilateral agreements, including social security, double taxation, and arrangement on working holiday. There are about 40 Finnish companies located in Australia. In 2011, Australia exported to Finland A$ 320 million worth of products such as coal, machinery, alcoholic beverages, including its medium price range wine export, which increased sales steadily. Australia's imports from Finland reached the value of A$ 965 million and comprised engineering equipments, paper items and machinery for paper production. Finland is in the process to open up its natural resources sector for international investment. Australia's powerful mining industry, and its related services and exporting companies have created business opportunities in Finland's technology, transport, and infrastructure industry. Dragon Mining is a successful Australian mining company, with two mining operations in southern Finland. In 2010 the Vammala Production Centre in the Sastamala region of Southern Finland extracted approximately 840 kg gold. The Australian copper mining company, Altona Mining, operates in South-East Finland, and owns nickel resources as well (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Austria have important bilateral socio-economic and cultural relationship. Today there are around 51,000 Australians who identify with Austrian ancestry. In 2010-11, 18,000 Austrians visited Australia and there were 574 Austrian students studying in Australia. The main services trade with Austria is tourism, and the provision of higher education from

Australia is a growing trend. There are many Australian musicians and students who are working and studying in Vienna. In 2011, the National Gallery of Melbourne organised an exhibition of Austrian artists. The show, titled *Vienna: Art and Design*, proved to be very successful and managed to attract 172, 000 visitors. Australia exports coins, products such as gold, silver and platinum, leather, electrical equipments and vehicle parts to Austria. Australian imports from Austria include beverages, medicines, base metal, motorcycles and bicycles. Around 70 Austrian companies have production facilities, and offices in Australia. Some examples are Boehler, the Austrian steel producer for special steel; Andritz is a global market leader in the supply of plants, equipment, and services for hydropower stations. Swarovski AG Austria produces crystal and jewellery products. The OMV Group of International Oil and Gas Company is Austria's largest company with its main offices in Vienna, and it has been drilling in Western Australia since 1999. Australia has a great potential for major discoveries, particularly in gas. Frequentis is an Austrian high tech company, with productions of defence and air traffic management systems. Plasser & Theurer is the Austrian manufacturer of rail track laying machines. It offers a complete range of machines for laying and maintenance of railway tracks and it is involved with Australia's railway sector. Magna Steyr, an Austrian auto manufacturing contractor company, received extensive orders to produce special vehicles for the Australian Army. The Australian Macquarie Capital GmbH develops services for Austrian and Eastern European customers. Derma Medical Systems Australia has a significant joint research operation with the University of Vienna Medical School, and it is using leading technology for the early detection of melanoma (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Poland were among the few developed countries, which did not succumb to recession, and continued with positive growth during the Great Financial Crisis (GFC) around 2008. According to the 2011 census, there are approximately 170,000 people of Polish descent in Australia, and about half of them were born in Poland. The Polish diaspora is active in organising community contacts as well as promoting their academic and business interests through a number of organisations. In 2011 Australia's major export items to Poland consisted of fruit and nuts, medicines, as well as alcoholic beverages. Australia's major imports from Poland included medicines, telecommunication equipment, and furniture items. 1,082 Polish nationals received student visas in 2010-2011 to take a course in Australia. English language studies and vocational training in the hospitality, tourism, business and information technology industry are in growing demand. Interests for postgraduate studies are also present.

Increased collaboration in science and technology, and joint research initiatives between institutions is a priority for Austrade's development of this sector. Austrade works closely with the Australian education sector to build sustainable growth and branding through seminars and targeted advertisements. Austrade informs that there are increasing markets in Poland for Australian wine, meat, sheepskins, information technology and education (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Estonia signed an agreement on economic cooperation (1994). According to the 2006 census there are 8250 people, who affirmed to have an Estonian ancestry, and 1930 of them who were born in Estonia. In Sydney and Adelaide there are substantial Estonian neighbourhoods with community houses. In 2005 Australia and Estonia authorised a mutual working holiday program. In 2011 negotiations have started in order to create a bilateral Social Security Agreement. Australian institutions aim to expand education proposals and student exchange availability with Estonia. The Monash University in Melbourne developed a student interchange arrangement program with the Estonian Business School in Tallinn. In the 2010-11 financial year Australia and Estonia traded at around A \$65 million worth of goods (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Lithuania have a longstanding bilateral relationship. There are about 17,000 people in Australia who belong to the Lithuanian community. Australians of Lithuanian ancestry worked consistently to strengthen the two countries bilateral connections. Australia and Lithuania produced certain bilateral agreements in economic cooperation (1993) and in investment promotion (2002). In 2011 the two countries traded around A\$ 47 million worth of goods. Australia exported A\$ 4.7 million worth of goods, mainly wool. Australian imports from Lithuania included fertilizers, rubber tyres, wood and furniture, in the value of A\$ 42.7 million (Australian Government, 2012). The following information concerning higher education has been provided by the Consulate-General of the Republic of Lithuania in Melbourne:

> Two Melbourne universities have entered into student and academic exchange agreements with two Lithuanian universities. Vilnius University has an agreement with Melbourne University and Kaunas University of Technology has an agreement with Victoria University (2012).

Australia and Latvia accomplished several bilateral agreements, including trade and economic cooperation (1993), extradition (2005), social security (2011). During the 1940s a number of Latvians immigrated to Australia, and today there are around 30,000 Australians with Latvian descent. Two-way merchandise trade in 2011 between Australia and Latvia reached A$ 13.3 million. During this period Australia exported A$ 8 million worth of goods to Latvia, primarily alcoholic beverages. Imports from Latvia totalled A$ 5.3 million, primarily telecom equipment and parts, furniture, mattresses and cushions (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Slovenia signed bilateral agreements on social security (2002), and health care (2011). According to the 2006 Census there are 6,222 Slovenian-born living in Australia, and 16,085 people have claimed Slovenian ancestry. Australia's major exports to Slovenia included coal, starches, insulin, wheat gluten and medicaments (including veterinary). Australian imports from Slovenia in 2011 included medicaments (including veterinary), household-type equipment, non-electrical machinery and parts, and electronic integrated circuits. An extensive Harvey Norman furniture retail store network operates in Slovenia. (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Hungary have bilateral agreements on protection of investments (1991), assistance on criminal matters (1997) and on social security (2012). Australia and Hungary enjoy co-operative relations with people to people links, given the large number of Hungarians who migrated to Australia during the twentieth century. The 2006 Census, counted 67,625 people in Australia of Hungarian ancestry. Australian imports from Hungary include telecom equipment and parts, electrical circuit equipment, computers, and passenger motor vehicles. Australian exports to Hungary include measuring and analysing instruments, aircraft, spacecraft and parts, telecom equipment and parts. The value of the two-way merchandise trade in 2011 reached A$ 426 million (Australian Government, 2012). The following is part of a message from Her Excellency Ms Anna Sikó, Ambassador of Hungary to Australia:

> I will do my best to acquaint the Australian public with Hungarian art and culture thus bringing about a better understanding of the unique Hungarian contribution to our multicultural world. Scientific exchange is a particularly challenging way of cultural exchange that can prove mutually beneficial in the future (eBook, *Celebrating 50 years: EU-Australia*; 2012: 118).

Australia and the Czech Republic signed agreements on economic cooperation (1997), on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy (2002), and on social security (2009). The 2006 census counted around 21,000 Australians who claimed to have Czech ancestry. In 2010-11, there were 1,139 visas issued to Czech students to study in Australia. The Czech Republic is the largest car manufacturer in the Central/Eastern European region. There are increasing opportunities for Australia to supply spare parts and after-sale products, and partake in cooperative research with an environmental focus on the Green Car project (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Cyprus signed bilateral agreements on trade (1983) and on social security (1993). Based on the 2006 census, there are 18,381 Cyprus-born people in Australia, who lives mostly in Victoria and NSW. Australian exports to Cyprus include medicaments, paper and paperboard, coke and semi-coke. Imports from Cyprus to Australia include medicaments, cheese, curd, and pharmaceutical products. A small bilateral investment includes mining and banking. The Bank of Cyprus has opened branches in Australia (Australian Government, 2012). In 2012 there were interesting Cypriot cultural events in Australia, including as follows:

> Two significant exhibitions of Cypriot antiquities at the Ian Potter Museum of Art at Melbourne University and at the University of Sydney's Nicholson Museum, provided insights into the island's role and contribution to European and global cultural heritage (eBook, *Celebrating 50 years: EU-Australia*; 2012:110).

Australia and Malta have several bilateral agreements, including double taxation (1985) and on social security (1991). According to the 2006 census there are 153,805 Australians of Maltese origin. There are 43,700 Australian Malta-born residents, which is the largest Maltese community outside of Malta. In 2010-2011, two-way merchandise trade reached A$ 115 million. Australian exports to Malta valued A$ 102 million, and included margarine, cheese, curd, pumps, ships and hovercraft. Australian imports included medical and veterinary instruments, medicaments, musical instruments, and plastic articles. In 2010 a WA company Austal, supplied patrol boats to the Armed Forces of Malta, together with two catamaran ferries for the Malta-Sicily route (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and the Slovak Republic have bilateral agreements concerning double taxation (1999) as well as social security (2012). Approximately 10,000 people in Australia claim to have Slovak origin. In 2009, there were around 1,600 enrolments in Australian education institutions by Slovak nationals. Two-way trade has increased in recent years, and reached A$ 115 million in 2009. Imports from Slovakia included vehicles, furniture, glassware and musical instruments. Australian exports to Slovakia valued A$ 4 million in 2009, included specialised machinery, and measuring instruments. QBE insurance is the largest Australian business operation in Slovakia. Australian Bronx International is in partnership with a Slovak company to produce galvanising plant. Australian company Crown Energy undertakes uranium survey, while the Perth-based company GB Energy was granted uranium exploration licences for areas in south-eastern Slovakia, in 2007 (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Romania signed bilateral agreement concerning double taxation (2001). The 2011 census counted 14,051 Romanian-born people living in Australia, and 20,998 claimed to have Romanian ancestry. In 2011 the main Australian exports to Romania included telecommunications equipment and medicaments. Imports from Romania included clothing, medicaments, rubber tyres, tubes; sound and video recorders. For 2011-12 the value of two way trade between the two countries reached around A$ 90 million (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Bulgaria had no significant bilateral relationship during the past decades. Australia established diplomatic relations with Bulgaria in 1972. Nevertheless, during the last five years high level contacts greatly intensified between the two countries. Around 12,000 people of Bulgarian descent live in Australia. Bulgarians arrived to Australia especially during the inter-war period. Australian exports to Bulgaria include plastic monofilament, vegetable matter, specialised machinery, iron, steel and aluminium structures. Australian imports from Bulgaria include fertilisers, cheese and curd products, clothing and precision machinery (Australian Government, 2012).

Australia and Croatia have a significant relationship. Croatia, as the newest Member State of the European Union share many common values, norms and normative principles with Australia. Australia and Croatia have an excellent opportunity to increase their commercial relationship in different technological areas. In 2012 around 100,000 Australians visited Croatia, which is a famous tourist destination with increasing potential also for Australian

investments. Australian exports to Croatia include beef, sugar, honey, tools and base metal. Australian imports from Croatia include electrical circuits, food items and machinery (eBook, *Celebrating 50 years: EU-Australia*; 2012: 109).

With consideration to the significant geographical distance between Australia and the individual European Union Member States, it may be observed that the 28 individual European Union countries and Australia have a remarkable high quality and quantity of traditional bilateral foreign relations. The accomplishment of this manifold and constantly growing socio-economic, cultural, and trade relationships, including the creation of the different international agreements, required not only formal and legal rules and norms, but also informal ones. The informal norms through language and communication, people-to-people contacts, and the formal norms and protocol of diplomacy have all played a key part. However, there is a growing potential for further opportunities between Australia and the Member States, including those that joined the European Union in 2004 and 2007. Through the structuration of the European Union these 28 Member States are developing an *ever closer union*, likely toward a form of EU federation, which may create new situation for further consideration regarding these established traditional bilateral relationships between the EU countries and Australia.

3.7. Agency and structure in the EU-Australia international relationship

According to sociological constructivism norms are the most important elements in a society and in the social constructivism of reality. Norms formulate the aims of actors who have agency, create their view with regard to their interests, and provide the means to achieve their targets. Norms are instruments to determine the preferences of the actor, who might be multilateral entities, state actors, NGOs, a group of people from civil society or for example powerful norm entrepreneurs. Norms are constitutive, regulative or evaluative components in the international system. They are not only an ethical alternative or restraint on self-interest; rather, they play a much more significant role in international relations by formulating trends of cooperation and conflict management through principles, which are undetectable by materialist theory, although rational choice theory may detect some of it with difficulty (Kacowicz, 2001:45)

The structurationist approach concerning the agent-structure relationship provides agents and structures equal ontological status. Agents and structures mutually constitute each other (Wendt, 2009: 339) in an intersubjective context. The mutual constitution occurs when norms are internalised. Norm entrepreneurs often use an organisational platform to successfully promote emerging or new norms. The framing of norms, negotiation and persuasion are powerful instruments to achieve the emergence, diffusion, and the internalisation of norms. Norm entrepreneurs construct cognitive instruments or frames, in order to utilise an effective persuasion strategy:

> Persuasion is central to most of the empirical case studies about normative influence and change. It is the mission of norm entrepreneurs: they seek to change the utility functions of other players to reflect some new normative commitment. Persuasion is the process by which agent action becomes social structure, ideas become norms, and the subjective becomes the intersubjective (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2005: 914).

According to some constructive critics the communicative environment is more important than framing, and persuasion should be viewed as a social process. [...] "constructivists who study norms should be interested in genuine persuasion", (Payne, 2001: 40). Genuine persuasion is also relevant regarding some important areas of the European Union-Australia international cooperation. It seems that during 1996-97 the European Union failed to genuinely persuade the Australian leadership to sign the human rights clause, which is required to produce a treaty-level Framework Agreement between the EU and Australia.

Article 5 of the *Lome Conventions IV* within the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP) - European Union Partnership Agreement, includes the following stipulations:

> In this context development policy and cooperation shall be closely linked to respect for and enjoyment of fundamental human rights and to the recognition and application of democratic principles, the consolidation of the rule of law and good governance. [...] The contracting parties therefore reiterate their deep attachment to human dignity and human rights, which are legitimate aspirations of individuals and peoples.The rights in question are all

human rights, the various categories thereof being indivisible and inter-related, each   having its own legitimacy: non-discriminatory treatment; fundamental human rights; civil and political rights; economic, social and cultural rights (Dialogue for Democratic Development, 2012).

The European Parliament brought forth a resolution, and in May 1995 the Council of the European Union agreed to standardise these stipulations to have the same set of sections in the future for these kind of agreements (Murray, 2005: 139).

In 1995, then Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating, proposed to Jacques Santer, then President of the European Commission, to develop a Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement in the EU-Australian international relationship. Paul Keating's aim was to expand the EU-Australia cooperation for the successful achievements of common goals. This proposed Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement was to facilitate widespread cooperation, including investment, competition, energy and environmental matters, employment policy, social protection, consumer protection, information, communication, culture, coordination of aid to developing nations, exchange of statistics, and crime control.

> When the Howard Government was elected in 1996, the negotiations seemed set to proceed and Foreign Minister Downer announced in April 1996 that the Australian Government and the EU would negotiate a Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement along with a Joint Political Declaration. [...]Australia and the EU had developed a substantial trade and investment relationship, and there was increasing co-operation in a number of other areas, such as political dialogue and recent sectoral agreements. However, there was no formal instrument or declaration between the two partners [...] (Murray, 2005: 137).

Yet in the end this particular Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement remained only a plan, because of certain disagreements regarding the EU requirement for the human rights stipulations. Australia followed a policy where trade and human rights issues were separated. At this time the Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement was abandoned and a much less powerful *Joint Declarations* was signed on the 26 of June, 1997 (Murray, 2005: 143). More than 10 years later, the *Joint Declaration* had been followed by the still current *European Union-Australia Partnership Framework*, signed on the 30th of October 2008.

3.8.   Conclusion

The European Union-Australia international relationship is based on sociological foundations, including norms, values and normative principles. Some of the internalised norms and normative principles of the EU and Australia are quite similar. Nevertheless, Australia with its own values, norms and norm diffusion, such as for example the norm of *trade liberalisation*, also had some influence on the European Union. Norms are the structure in the societies of the EU and Australia, and they create intersubjective understanding amongst actors who arrive to a dynamic relationship, in which actors are restricted through structures, but at the same time they are also enabled by them.

Australia has a long tradition of *peace* and *democracy*. There are certainly not many countries in the world, with such a remarkable period. Amongst them are Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, and perhaps Iceland. Australia has been in the forefront of historically achieving the important goals toward a *free* and *egalitarian* society. Australia internalised early on the values and normative principles of *universal suffrage* and the *8 hours working day*. Australian society has been traditionally well acquainted with the norms of *liberty*, *freedom of speech* and *freedom of press*. Nonetheless, there are certain asymmetric elements, which are currently present in the collaboration between the EU and Australia, and without proper rectification these are liable to create some continuous discrepancies and disharmonies between the two polities.

However, the European Union and Australia, through their continuous social learning process have experienced the importance and the values attached to the socialisation, institutionalisation and internalisation of the values, norms and normative principles of *peace* and *stability*, *freedom* and *security*, *democracy* and the *rule of law*, *human rights*, *human dignity*, *social solidarity*, *anti-discrimination*, *protecting the environment*, *good governance* and *subsidiarity*. The European Union-Australia international cooperation strives for *growth* and *competitiveness*, *technological innovation* and *creativity* in science and technology, higher education and culture, environmental sustainability and eco-tourism, migration and strategic issues, as well as in peace and security. The EU is the largest trading block in the world and its currency the Euro is amongst the most important. Australia has a constantly growing socio-economic and trade relationships, as well as cultural and educational exchanges not only with the EU in general, but also with each of the 28 individual Member States. Australia has a well-established and well-functioning federal government structure, and the European Union is growing toward an *ever closer union*, which gradually acquires the characteristics of a certain type of federation.

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Chapter Four

Shared values and divergent issues between the European Union and Australia

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4.1.   Introduction

This chapter provides some analysis of the European Union-Australia relations, including about 52 years of development regarding the socio-economic and trade relationship between the two polities. The EU-Australia international relationship officially started on the 8th of March 1962, when Australia's first Ambassador to the European Economic Community, the Honourable Sir Edwin McCarthy (1896–1980) took his office in Brussels. From 1962 there were around 25 Ministerial Consultations, and some of the meetings between the dignitaries of Australia and the European Union briefly discussed and analysed in this chapter. The European Union-Australia international relationship have been built by structures of ideas, identities and interests, norms and values as well as formal laws; and through them, during the last 52 years, a number of scientific, socio-economic, foreign and security policy, as well as trade agreements were created. Constructivist policy analysis highlights the power of norms regarding practices and in connection with the importance of identity transformations. This chapter provides brief examinations of several different official agreements between the EU and Australia, while the sociological constructivist approach emphasizes the role of negotiation and persuasion.

Australia always supported the uniting of Europe. An ever closer union can embark on those principles which are the basic foundational norms for both the European Union and Australia, and may provide clear guidelines of how to face the challenges of an interconnected world embarked on regionalisation and globalisation. Norms are the most powerful instruments to create understanding that helps to facilitate the power of advanced democracies to share a vision of a common future, based on the necessary transformation of society enlarging itself through shared values and the globalisation of those norms and normative principles, which may bring forth peace and prosperity.

4.2 Shared values between the European Union and Australia: Development of the EU-Australia cooperation and trade relations

During the years of 1957-61 the Honourable Sir Edwin McCarthy (1896–1980) chaired the United Nations' committee, which worked with international commodity arrangements to maintain trade, supplies, and prices. From 1958 until 1962 he became Australian Ambassador to the Netherlands, and from 1959 until 1962 he was the head of a new Australian Consulate in Belgium. On the 8th of March 1962, Sir Edwin McCarthy became Australia's first Ambassador to the European Economic Community (EEC), and undertook his office in Brussels. He was secretary of the Australian Permanent Mission to the European Atomic Energy Community in Brussels, until the 17th of March 1964. To become Australia's first ambassador to the European Economic Community meant that he received a mandate and appointment, because of his intellect and knowledge, as well as his understanding of Australia's trading concerns in Europe. During this period he had to deal with important issues, for example the United Kingdom's application to join the EEC (Smith, 2000: v. 15).

Ambassador Sir Edwin McCarthy, Head of the Mission of Australia to the EEC, presented his credentials to Walter Hallstein, President of the Commission of the EEC. During the time of Sir Edwin McCarthy, the first Commission of the European Economic Community (currently European Commission), was the Hallstein Commission. It held office from the 7th of January, 1958, until the 30th of June, 1967. In the view of Walter Hallstein, the foremost precondition for a triumphant political integration of Europe was the formation of common economic institutions. As the President of the Commission, Hallstein worked powerfully in order to quickly realise the Common Market. His work ethics, and his ability *to persuade* others, gave impetus to the cause of integration and this period of success lasted even after his term of two presidencies. During the Hallstein years the unification went ahead powerfully and without hindrance; therefore, this period became renowned in the history of European integration (European Commission, 2013).

Walter Hallstein German statesman and professor, as the President of the first Commission, managed to hold office in two separate mandates. In 1968 and in 1970 Australia and the European Community (EC) negotiated an Agreement under Article XXVII (5) of the General

Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade came into power on the 1st of January 1948. It is an international trade organisation agreed upon in order to abolish trade protectionism, which was especially significant among nations, between the time of the 1st and 2nd World Wars. In 1995 the World Trade Organisation (WTO) replaced GATT; nevertheless, GATT (1947) is still valid and effective under the aegis of WTO. Article XXVII of GATT under which Australia and the EC negotiated, having the title of *Withholding or Withdrawal of Concessions*, and stipulates the following:

> Any contracting party shall at any time be free to withhold or to withdraw in whole or in part any concession, provided for in the appropriate Schedule annexed to this Agreement, in respect of which such contracting party determines that it was initially negotiated with a government which has not become, or has ceased to be, a contracting party. A contracting party taking such action shall notify the CONTRACTING PARTIES and, upon request, consult with contracting parties which have a substantial interest in the product concerned (GATT, 2012: 46).

Since 1962 three rounds of GATT's negotiations occurred: the Kennedy Round (1962-1967); the Tokyo Round (1973-1979); and the Uruguay Round (1986-1994) through to the creation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and the current Doha round, which started in November, 2001. Through the initial GATT negotiations between Australia and the European Communities, the Australians, according to Gelber:

> […] emphasized the importance of GATT.[…] Virtually throughout the Brussels negotiations, the Australians tried to deal with problems through GATT whenever possible, and pressed for consultation and discussion in GATT before the Community's own decisions on price policies and mechanisms, as well as on the details of its import levies, should be finally taken. Futile hints were even dropped that unless Australia's trading interests were catered for, Australia might have to leave GATT as part of a fundamental reappraisal of her trading policies (Gelber, 1966: 125-126).

Already this time, at around 1966, the second British attempt to join the EC was looming large in the background. Britain tried a new entry, officially, on the 11th of May 1967. Nevertheless,

the French veto in November 1967, again smashed the United Kingdom's willingness to join the European Communities. Benvenuti writes in her article that Harold Wilson British Labour Politician acknowledged to Paul Hasluck Australian Minister of External Affairs in November, 1964 that he "did not see much prospect in the European Economic Community which had too many internal problems" and according to him "it was impossible for Britain to become committed to the agricultural policies of the Six" (Benvenuti, 2006: 3).

French President Charles De Gaulle vetoed the application of the United Kingdom to join the EEC, in both 1961 and in 1967. In 1969 President De Gaulle resigned; consequently, on the 1st of January 1973, the United Kingdom received membership status in the European Communities. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) celebrated the occasion with great enthusiasm:

> […] At midnight last night a Union Jack flag was raised at the EEC's headquarters in Brussels to mark the occasion. Celebrations were held in the city and one of Britain's new European Commissioners, George Thomson, joined revellers in a torch lit procession. Prime Minister Edward Heath is optimistic that Britain's membership of the community will bring prosperity to the country. He said: 'It is going to be a gradual development and obviously things are not going to happen overnight. But from the point of view of our everyday lives we will find there is a great cross-fertilisation of knowledge and information, not only in business but in every other sphere. And this will enable us to be more efficient and more competitive in gaining more markets not only in Europe but in the rest of the world' (BBC, 2012).

This basically inevitable outcome has finally happened, and from an Australian (and not least from a New Zealand) perspective a new situation has emerged. The following year, in September 1974, Sir Christopher Soames British politician, and Vice President of the Commission of the European Communities, visited Canberra. As a result of this visit, an agreement was established to hold informal consultations at official level between the EC and Australia.

Sir Christopher Soames gave a lecture in Canberra, at the National Press Club. He spoke to his distinguished audience eloquently and persuasively. He encouraged Australians that after a

short time of perhaps understandable 'hesitation' toward the European Community, the opportunity arrived, so now Australia would occupy its place in the world as a major economic power. As the United Kingdom became part of the EC, Australia may welcome that country with which it can identify through its history, economy, language and culture; and thereby, for its own well-considered interests, in the framework of international relations, may now welcome the European Communities itself (Soames, 2012).

Following the visit of Sir Christopher Soames to Canberra, Australian Prime Minister Edward Gough Whitlam visited the European Commission in December 1974. One of the main agenda was to discuss the meat import restrictions; however, there happened some other significant event as well, as Miller writes:

> By December 1974, when an Australian Prime Minister visited EEC headquarters for the first time, the need for joint EEC prosperity had become so evident that Whitlam rebuked Britain for 'shilly-shallying ' about whether to stay in the Community or not, and said its withdrawal would not help itself, the EEC or the rest of the world. A non-Labor Prime Minister might well have said the same, since it had become a general Australian interest that the EEC should be a success (Miller, 1976: 99-100).

In 1975 Australia produced another agreement with the EC negotiated under Article XXVIII of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The timeframe of these negotiations belonged to the Tokyo Round (1973-1979). Article XXVIII refers to the *Modification of Schedules* (GATT, 2012: 46) and the negotiation was about modification of the Common Customs Tariff on lead and zinc.

In 1976 Ministerial Consultations commenced between the European Commission and Australia, regarding bilateral and multilateral matters. On the 23rd of April 1976, bilateral consultations took place in Brussels. Australia requested it under Article XXIII (1) of GATT, which refers to *Nullification or Impairment* (GATT, 2012: 39) that is if any benefit deriving from GATT would be impeded for any reason, the contracting party may seek a recourse action. Consequently the discussion with the European Community revolved around the EC's system, regarding vegetables and fruits, and GATT stipulations between Australia, the US and the European Community. In June 1976 during consultations in Brussels, and in March 1977 in

Canberra, energy matters regarding energy problems and finding solutions were discussed. In June 1977, then Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser travelled to the European Commission, and suggested to Roy Jenkins, contemporary President of the Commission that the informal communications would be changed into orderly high-level meetings between the EC and Australia. While in Europe, Malcolm Fraser justified Australia's objections to the protectionist course of actions of the European Economic Community (Fraser and Simons, 2010: 467).

From the Australian point of view, one of the most protectionist measures had been the subsidies of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Murray writes about it, as follows:

> […] the Australia-EC relationship under Gough Whitlam, when the CAP did not yet feature as a major issue of contention, changed with the Fraser Government, when considerable antagonism arose towards the development of the CAP. The impact and severity of the international trade implications of the CAP soon became clear to the Fraser Government, which proposed regular high-level meetings between the EC and Australia. Only in 1979 was a decision taken to hold regular ministerial level meetings (Murray, 2005:21).

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was gradually introduced during the early years of the 1960s. The CAP has been a system of the European Union's agricultural subsidies, which was originally created for the purposes of securing food supplies. It consisted of a regular financial assistance payment on agricultural items, including land, where crops grown through a price support structure, included ensured minimum price levels that has been able to provide a guaranteed standard of living. A controlled tariff mechanism has been put in place on agricultural items arriving from the outside to the EC and EU. The CAP came under an overhaul, and in 2013 new changes have been introduced, including the incorporation of environmental considerations used as incentives for payments.

In July 1977, then Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser appointed John Howard (future Prime Minister of Australia) as Minister for Special Trade Negotiations with the EC in a portfolio, which meant to represent Australia's interests more strongly, regarding the issues of the CAP, including the reduction of trade barriers. John Howard, who at that time in the Australian Cabinet held a portfolio as Minister for Business and Consumer Affairs, undertook his duties with vigour and determination, and soon led a delegation to the European Community (Howard, 2010:96).

In 1978 a report was produced by the European Parliament's Committee on External Economic Relations on the state of the Australian-EC relationship. Some excerpt from this report is outlined, as follows:

> The regular EC-Australian consultations cover a wide range of economic and commercial problems. They include: problems of access to the Community market for Australian agricultural products, the uncertainties for EC exporters arising from relatively high and mainly unbound Australian tariffs […]. British accession to the Community in 1973 and adoption of the CAP has undoubtedly has a very adverse effect on Australia's access to the British market for a number of agricultural products, and more notably on beef, wheat, and dairy products for which Australia is seeking improved opportunities as regards access to the Community market. For the Community on the other hand, the relatively high tariff protection of Australian industry constitutes a problem for EC exporters. The average Australian tariff on manufactured products is 30% compared with 9% for the EC; moreover only 20% of Australian customs duties are bound in GATT, compared with 90% for the Community. Notwithstanding the major problems mentioned above and many minor ones also, it is clear to both sides that these problems are dwarfed by their mutual and shared interests (Europe Information, 2012).

Throughout the coming decades these and similar problems often resurfaced; nevertheless, both the EC-EU and Australia had strong interests to develop their international association. Throughout their formal and less formal meetings and recurring negotiations, both the EU and Australia tried their best to resolve their mutual problems and concentrate on their common interests. In other important policy matters, on the 24th of July 1979 the following Agreement entered into force between Australia and the United Kingdom:

- Agreement between the Government of Australia and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning Nuclear Transfers between Australia and the United Kingdom (Australian Treaty Series, 2012).

According to the regulative norm of the *centrality of peace*, in article IV the Agreement stipulates the following subject:

> Nuclear material, material, equipment and technology subject to this Agreement shall not be diverted to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, to

research on or development of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or be used for any military purpose (Australian Treaty Series, 2012).

Australia signed a Bilateral Agreement on the 14th of November 1980, in Brussels, with the EC on trade in mutton, lamb and goat meat. It includes a Voluntary Restraint Clause, as well as stipulates that the Agreement shall not interfere with the parties' obligations and rights under GATT. The objective of the Agreement stated:

> For the purpose of drawing up provisions concerning import into the European Economic Community of mutton, lamb and goatmeat from Australia, on connection with implementation by the Community of the common organization of the market in sheepmeat and goatmeat (Treaties: Europa, 2012).

The structure of this Agreement is on a similar vein with the other 16 Bilateral Agreements, between the European Union and Australia, listed in the Treaties: Europa Database (>http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements<2012).

In April 1981 the permanent Delegation of the Commission of the European Community started operations in Canberra. The Head of the Delegation is the official representative of the European Commission in Australia. During the 30th of November and 1st of December 1981, official Ministerial Consultations began in Brussels, when Commission Vice-President Wilhelm Haferkamp and Commissioners Etienne Davignon, Edgard Pisani and Poul Dalsager consulted with Doug Anthony, Australian Deputy Prime Minister and Tony Street, Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The discussions revolved around not only issues about trade, but also concerning international relations, including the North South dialogue, and providing aid assistance to developing countries, with special regard to the South Pacific (Europe Information, 2012).

> Contacts are also maintained between Australian and European parliamentarians. In March 1981 a delegation from the European Parliament, led by the President, Mme Simone Veil, made a two-week official visit to Australia. The delegation had extensive talks with federal parliamentarians in Canberra and with State parliamentarians in New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia.

Delegations from the Australian Parliament have visited the European Parliament regularly since 1975 - most recently in January 1980, when the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Sir Billy Snedden, presented a gavel to the President on behalf of the people of Australia to acknowledge the first directly elected European Parliament (Europe Information, 2012: 3).

On the 15th of January, 1982, an Agreement between EURATOM and Australia came into effect concerning the movements of nuclear materials. The duration of this Agreement had been 30 years. The objective of the Agreement specifies: "To establish conditions to ensure the furtherance of the objective of non-proliferation under which nuclear material can be transferred from Australia to the Community for peaceful purposes" (Treaties: Europa, 2012).
In accordance with the principle of the *centrality of peace*, the Agreement is determined that the nuclear energy will be used for *peaceful purposes only*, and this will help to fulfil the objectives of the *non-proliferation of nuclear weapons*. The Agreement recognises that *Australia is a non-nuclear State* and committed itself not to manufacture or possess nuclear weapons or any nuclear explosive devices.

In the beginning of February 1985, Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke and Minister for Primary Industry John Kerin paid an official visit to Brussels. Amongst other duties they held consultations with Jacques Delors, the newly appointed President of the Commission. They discussed the EC's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and matters related to Australian agricultural export commodities aimed to the EC, such as sugar, dairy goods, wine, beef, barley and dried vine fruit (European Commission, 2012). CEC Vice President Frans Andriessen gave assurance to the Australian Government that the European Community will not inundate the Asian region with subsidised beef exports. In return to the visit of the Australian dignitaries, CEC Vice President Frans Andriessen paid a visit to Australia, from the 8th until 13th of September 1985, and gave repeated assurance to Australia that the EC will restrain itself with regard to the amount of its beef exports in Asia (National Library of Australia, 2012). In April 1986, Prime Minister Robert Hawke and his entourage had another visit to Brussels. They consulted with Jacques Delors, President of the Commission, and Willy de Clercq, in charge of External Relations and Trade Policy. On the 22nd of April 1986, Prime Minister Robert Hawke gave a speech followed by a press conference (Hawke, 1986).

On the 12th of October 1987, the Sixth Ministerial Consultations took place in Brussels. Trade Minister Michael Duffy and Primary Industry Minister John Kerin were part of the Australian delegation. Commission Vice President Frans Andriessen and Commissioner Willy de Clercq, with other members, represented the delegation of the Commission (Murray, 2005: 282). From the 2nd until 4th of May 1988, the Seventh Ministerial Consultations took place in Canberra. Commissioner Willy De Clercq was the leader on behalf of the EC envoy, while the Australian delegation was led by Prime Minister Robert Hawke with members such as Foreign Minister Bill Hayden, Industry Minister John Button, Primary Industry Minister John Kerin and Trade Minister Michael Duffy. The EC envoy also consulted with Mr John Howard, then leader of the opposition in the Australian Parliament (Murray, 2005: 282).

On the 5th of May 1988, Willy De Clercq, contemporary Commissioner for External Relations and Trade Policy, addressed the National Press Club in Canberra on EC-Australia international relations. Willy De Clercq eloquently expressed his great pleasure that the Ministerial Consultations, alternating between Canberra and Brussels, have had 10 years in the making. During the previous week the European Parliament's delegation for relations with Australia, visited 5 different Australian cities. The European Community as well as six of its Member States contributed to the largest presence in the Brisbane's World Expo 88 World's Fair. According to Willy De Clercq, despite the occasional differences, the EC-Australia relationship is going from strength to strength. Willy De Clercq congratulated Australia for its bicentennial year of celebrating 200 years of European settlement. The Commissioner outlined the importance of the common socio-economic and cultural ties between Europe and Australia; the duty of remembrance for the huge sacrifices Australia made during the two World Wars; the *human connections* through immigration; and the familiar *common norms* and principles of *freedom* and *democracy*. Regarding trade, the EC was receiving 16% of all Australian exports (2nd only to Japan). Concerning some products the proportion was much higher. Regarding the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the EC, the Commissioner outlined proposal for agricultural reforms. The EC acted as the largest foreign investor in Australia. The bilateral EC-Australia relationship encompassed science and technology cooperation with special regard to information and telecommunications industry, biotechnology, and the space industry (Europa, 2012).

According to the Treaties: Europa Database (>http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements<2012), between 1990 and 2000, five Bilateral Agreements and six Exchange of Letters were produced

between the European Community/European Union and Australia. On the 26th of January 1994, an Agreement between the European Union and Australia on Trade in Wine was signed. The Agreement stipulates a recognition that the Australian wine-making procedures are similar to the practices of the European Community. The Commission decided to discuss the clearance of technical hurdles, which made it impossible to export dessert wines from Australia. The objective of the Agreement states, as follows: "To facilitate and promote trade in wine originating in the Community and in Australia on the basis of non-discrimination and reciprocity" (Treaties: Europa, 2012). Article 6 of the Agreement describes that the Contracting Parties must take all the necessary reciprocal precautionary measures to protect the names of the wines. The Parties must provide the legal means for those concerned in order to prevent the use of a traditional name or a geographical locality to identify wines for wines, which does not originate in the place indicated by the referred geographical locality (Treaties: Europa, 2012).

On the 23rd of February 1994, an Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the European Union and Australia was signed in Canberra. The objective of the Agreement stipulates "To facilitate cooperation by appropriate means in areas of mutual interest in which the parties wish to foster scientific and/or technological progress" (Treaties: Europa, 2012). The Community and Australia endeavoured to facilitate substantial development in the area of scientific and technical collaborations. The Scientific and Technical Cooperation Agreement is the first of its kind undertaken by the European Community with a developed industrialised country outside Europe. The mutual interests between the EC and Australia involved different scientific subjects, including biotechnology, medical research, marine science, environmental sciences and information technology. This Agreement stipulated the rules regarding intellectual property rights as well (Treaties: Europa, 2012).

On the 8th of June 1994, Paul Keating Australian Prime Minister visited Brussels (European Commission, 2012). The visit led to intensified negotiations and an aspiration for a closer association. Growing trade and investment on both ways were characteristics of the time. The early 1990s had seen an eventful EC/EU–Australia cooperation, and the situation was similar in Australia's relationship with Asia. Australia and the European Union also agreed that there was a necessity, and the time has arrived to produce a Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement in order to make their connections even more efficient and stronger. Negotiations to this end started in July 1996. Nevertheless, discrepancies concerning the EU's inclusion of the

human rights clause in the draft Agreement brought an end to the negotiation. Consequently, in 1997, the proposed EU-Australia Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement did not materialise. Nevertheless, on the 26th of June 1997, a less powerful Joint Declaration on Relations between the EU and Australia was signed in Luxembourg (Oxford Companion to Australian Politics, 2012).

On the 24th of June 1998, the European Union and Australia signed an Agreement on Mutual Recognition in relation to Conformity Assessment, Certificates and Markings between the European Union and Australia. The objective of the Agreement stated, as follows:

> To facilitate trade in a range of regulated goods between Australia and the single market of the EC by means of mutual recognition in relation to conformity assessment. For traded goods subject to mandatory technical regulations in an EC Member State, there is often a requirement for product to be tested and/or certified for compliance with regulatory requirements by a body located in the importing country. For many Australian exports to the EC, demonstrating compliance with EC regulations currently requires conformity assessment to be undertaken by a Notified Body located within the EC. Duplication of testing and certification for goods traded across national boundaries imposes significant additional costs on businesses (Treaties: Europa, 2012).

With this Agreement the EU and Australia standardised conformance appraisal such as documentation, examination, control and testing of merchandise designated for sale in the other party's territory to be undertaken in the source country. Elimination of the prerequisite for evaluation in the importing state has the possible capacity to minimise the expenditure sustained by exporters, through establishing conformity of their goods to EU demands. It applies to the following categories: pharmaceuticals, medical systems, telecommunications, terminal apparatus, electromagnetic compatibility, automotive products, pressure equipment, machinery, and low voltage electrical apparatus (Treaties: Europa, 2012).

In July 2002, the Honourable John Howard's visit was the first after almost 9 years, to Brussels and the European Commission, by an Australian Prime Minister. Romano Prodi, President of the European Commission issued a press statement during the visit of the Australian Prime Minister (Europa, 2012). The statement informs that the Prime Minister of

Australia worked inventively to create a productive economy for his country, and now the Commission provided him an update about the large scale results the EU is in fact experiencing, from the Euro to the expansion, and from organisational modification to changes in vital policies, such as agriculture. The way the EU is changing will necessarily determine the external relations of the EU in its important cooperation with Australia. Australia became the 6th largest distributor of agrarian commodities to the EU, and became the biggest importer of wine to the EU. The EU provided one third of international finance in Australia. Major progress took place in developing reciprocal collaboration, and mutual association in science and technology. The establishment of the Europe Centre at the Australia National University in Canberra has been a necessary progress. Creative discussions emerged on post-graduate student interchanges and concerning immigration procedures. The EU and Australia extended teamwork for stability and peace throughout the world, and provided development funds with special regard to human rights and democracy in the Pacific region, and with similar aims in Afghanistan (Europa, 2012).

Kevin Rudd, then Australian Prime Minister held a meeting on the 1st of April 2008, with Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission. They addressed questions in relation to EU-Australia cooperation and development, with the aim to substantiate their commitment regarding climate change, peace and security obligations including the Pacific region, and facilitate international trade. Kevin Rudd's visit to Brussels (European Commission, 2012) produced a Joint Statement, with the aim to progress the bilateral relationship of Australia and the European Union on an array of subjects, with a preeminent concern of working together on international trade and climate change. The two leaders formulated an outline of a ground-breaking Partnership Framework Agreement, to resume in October 2008, according to plan, at the Australia–European Union Presidency Consultations.

Australia and the European Union signed a bilateral Agreement in Brussels on the 13th of January 2010, on the Security of Classified Information. The objective of the Agreement is to strengthen bilateral and multilateral cooperation concerning mutual foreign security interests, and to create a legal framework for the exchange of classified information (Treaties: Europa, 2012).

On the 4th of October 2010, during his meeting with Julia Gillard then Australian Prime Minister, President Jose Manuel Barroso stated that the EU is Australia's largest trade and

investment partner for more than 25 years now. Nevertheless, already the relationship far exceeds the cooperation in commerce and trade. Therefore, discussions on global challenges such as joint collaboration regarding development, especially in the Pacific, climate change and global energy solutions took centre stage. Prime Minister Gillard has made proposals to develop further the EU-Australia relationship (Europa, 2012). In October 2010, during the 8th Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM 8) Summit held in Brussels, Julia Gillard, then Australian Prime Minister, put forward to the European Commission to upgrade the European Union-Australia relations. The proposition to produce a comprehensive treaty-level Framework Agreement between the EU and Australia was welcomed by the President of the European Commission (Australian Government: DFAT 2012).

On the 5th of September 2011, the Honourable Julia Gillard, then Australian Prime Minister, and EC President Jose Manuel Barroso held a bilateral meeting in Canberra. President Barroso also visited the Centre for European Studies, located at the Australian National University in Canberra. The following day he gave a keynote address to the Europe Australia Business Council in Sydney (European Commission, 2012).

Máire Geoghegan-Quinn, European Commissioner for Research, Innovation and Science, visited Australia from 4-8 March 2012. The Commissioner held meetings with Senator Chris Evans, then Minister for Science and Research, and with Professor Ian Chubb, Australia's Chief Scientist. During their meetings they shared views, such as the increasing needs for innovation in science and international cooperation, in order to address challenging global issues (Delegation of the EU to Australia, 2013).

On the 1st of June 2012, an Agreement came into effect between the European Union and Australia on the processing and transfer of Passenger Name Record (PNR) data by air carriers to the Australian Customs and Border Protection Service. The objective of this agreement is to ensure the exchange of European passenger information, with Australian Customs, so this service could assess any risk a passenger may pose to Australian security. The aim is to ensure security and protect the life and safety of the public (Treaties: Europa, 2013).

Her Excellency Quentin Bryce, then Governor-General of Australia, led the Australian delegation for the EU-Australia leadership dialogue in Brussels, on the 5th of June 2013. Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission welcomed the distinguished visitors

together with the Australian business representatives. President Barroso emphasized the deepening of the European Union-Australia cooperation, including the important policy initiatives such as the EU-Australia treaty-level Framework Agreement, the Doha trade negotiations and Australia's role as Chair of the G20 countries (*New Europe*: by Giannoulis, 2013).

The EU (Table 3, p.181) and Australia (Table 4, p.182) created a powerful economic and trade relationship. In 2013, Australia has been the European Union's 15th largest trade in goods partner, and the 10th largest trading partner in services. The EU has been Australia's largest trade-investment partner and the third largest trading partner after China and Japan. The European Union is the most important origin for Australian imports, and itself the third largest receiver of Australian exports. Total amount of trade in goods reached €42.3 billion. Australia's exports to the European Union first and foremost included mining and agricultural products. From the EU Australia imports mostly manufactured goods. In 2012, the full amount of trade in services between EU and Australia reached more than 1/3 of the total trade (European Commission, 2014). The EU is Australia's largest services trade partner. The largest amount of investment in Australia comes from the EU. The EU itself is the second largest destination for Australian overseas investment. Companies from the European Union provide about 1.4 million jobs in Australia. Notwithstanding the economic crisis, the EU represents the largest economy in the world and it is the largest trading entity. Though it may grow really slowly in 2014; nevertheless, the combined worth of its economy is 12.6 trillion Euro that is the largest in the world. It has a Gross Domestic Product of 25,000 Euro per capita and about 500 million customers (European Commission, 2014).

On the 6th of September 2011, José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission addressed the Europe Australia Business Council. He underlined the economic success of the EU, and offered his congratulation for the effective reform process implemented in Australia:

> […] Australia has managed to deliver something very commendable in economic and business terms: consistent reform. […] Yet you have done this in a way that ensures important social protections, and without carrying a heavy debt burden (Europa: Press Releases Database, 2014).

The EU as the world's largest market and trading bloc frequently influences global businesses in a variety of fields, such as competition policy, broadband, privacy regulation and industrial standards, all of which directly affect Australia's business interests.

EUROPEAN UNION

Australian Government
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

General information: *Fact sheets are updated biannually; June and December*

Capital:	Brussels	**President of the European Council:**	
Surface area:	4,388 thousand sq km	Mr Herman Van Rompuy	
Population:	457.6 million (2013)	**President of the European Commission:**	
Exchange rate:	A$1 = 0.6565 Euros* (Feb 2014)	Mr José Manuel Durão Barroso	
Members:	Austria*, Belgium*, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus*, Czech Rep, Denmark, Estonia*, Finland*, France*,		
	Germany*, Greece*, Hungary, Ireland*, Italy*, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg*, Malta*, Netherlands*,		
	Poland, Portugal*, Romania, Slovak Rep*, Slovenia*, Spain*, Sweden, United Kingdom.		

Recent economic indicators:	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013(a)	*2014(b)*
GDP (US$bn) (current prices):	16,453.6	16,365.5	17,686.4	16,673.3	17,371.6	*18,451.1*
GDP PPP (Int'l $bn) (c):	14,742.1	15,210.5	15,769.4	15,993.6	16,260.6	*16,773.3*
GDP per capita (US$):	36,267	35,977	38,835	36,536	37,963	*40,219*
GDP per capita PPP (Int'l $) (c):	29,401	30,255	31,328	31,706	32,152	*33,084*
Real GDP growth (% change yoy):	-4.4	2.0	1.7	-0.3	0.2	1.6
Current account balance (US$m):	4,700	19,120	83,643	174,510	328,892	*357,443*
Current account balance (% GDP):	0.0	0.1	0.5	1.0	1.9	*1.9*
Goods & services exports (% GDP):	37.9	42.0	45.3	46.1	46.3	*na*
Inflation (% change yoy):	0.9	2.0	3.1	2.6	1.5	*1.1*
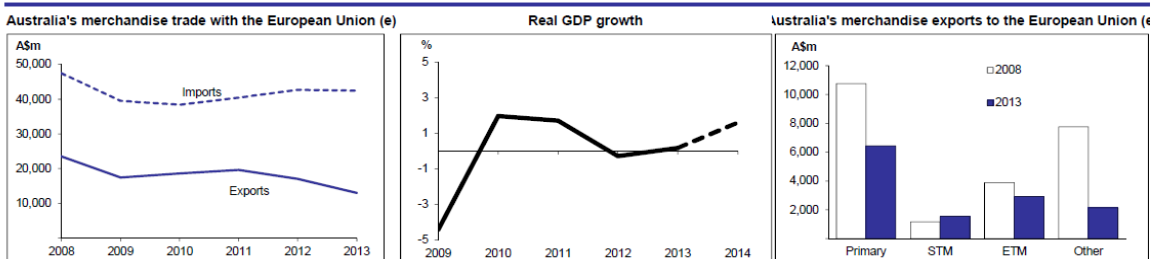
Australia's trade and investment relationship with the European Union (d) :

Australian merchandise trade with the European Union, 2013[#]:		*Total share:*	*Growth (yoy):*
Exports to the European Union (A$m):	13,002	5.0%	-23.9%
Imports from the European Union (A$m) (e):	42,443	17.6%	-0.5%
Total trade (exports + imports) (A$m) (e):	55,445	11.0%	-7.2%

Major Australian exports, 2013 (A$m):		**Major Australian imports, 2013 (A$m) (e):**	
Coal	2,580	Passenger motor vehicles	5,191
Oil-seeds & oleaginous fruits, soft	1,117	Medicaments (incl veterinary)	4,819
Gold	758	Pharm products (excl medicaments)	1,485
Alcoholic beverages	595	Pumps (excl liquid pumps)	1,172

Australia's trade in services with the European Union, 2013 (f):		*Total share:*
Exports of services to the European Union (A$m):	9,069	16.5%
Imports of services from the European Union (A$m):	14,824	21.3%

Major Australian service exports, 2013 (A$m) (f):		**Major Australian service imports, 2013 (A$m) (f):**	
Personal travel excl education	3,878	Personal travel excl education	6,228
Prof, tech & other business services	1,258	Transport	2,290

Australia's investment relationship with the European Union, 2013 (f) (g):		*Total:*	*FDI:*
Australia's investment in the European Union (A$m):		455,752	*73,478*
The European Union's investment in Australia (A$m):		716,032	*156,110*

The European Union's global merchandise trade relationships (h):

European Union's principal export destinations, 2013:			**European Union's principal import sources, 2013:**		
1	United States	16.4%	1	China	16.6%
2	Switzerland	9.7%	2	United States	11.6%
3	China	8.5%	3	Russia	11.3%
14	*Australia*	*1.8%*	*33*	*Australia*	*0.6%*

Compiled by the Economic Diplomacy, Trade Advocacy & Statistics Section, DFAT, using the latest data from the ABS, the IMF and various international sources.
(a) All recent data subject to revision; (b) IMF forecast; (c) PPP is purchasing power parity; (d) Total may not add due to rounding; (e) Excludes imports of aircraft from September 2008 onwards; (f) Data refers EU28; (g) Stock, as at 31 December. Released annually by the ABS; (h) EU28 Extra-trade.   *Euro Area countries only.
na Data not available.   np Data not published.   .. Data not meaningful.   # Excludes some confidential items of trade.

Table 3: European Union fact sheet (Australian Government: DFAT, 2014).

AUSTRALIA

Australian Government
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

General information:

Capital:	Canberra	**Head of State:**	
Surface area:	7,692 thousand sq km	HM Queen Elizabeth II, represented by the	
Official language:	English	Governor-General HE General the Honourable	
Population:	23.0 million (Mar 2013)	Sir Peter Cosgrove AK MC (Retd)	
Exchange rate:	A$1 = US$0.9042 (Aug 2013)	**Head of Government:**	
		Prime Minister The Hon Mr Tony Abbott	

Recent economic indicators:

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012(a)	2013(b)
GDP (US$bn) (current prices):	1,034.2	976.4	1,244.8	1,491.0	1,541.4	*1,488.0*
GDP PPP (Int'l $bn) (c):	821.9	840.0	872.4	911.1	961.0	*998.3*
GDP per capita (US$):	48,158	44,653	56,140	66,209	67,256	*64,157*
GDP per capita PPP (Int'l $) (c):	38,271	38,414	39,348	40,470	41,954	*43,042*
Real GDP growth (% change yoy):	2.4	1.5	2.6	2.4	3.7	*2.5*
Current account balance (US$m):	-45,579	-42,423	-36,977	-33,846	-56,850	*-50,340*
Current account balance (% GDP):	-4.4	-4.3	-3.0	-2.3	-3.7	*-3.4*
Goods & services exports (% GDP):	22.4	19.8	20.8	21.7	20.2	*21.3*
Inflation (% change yoy):	3.7	2.1	2.8	3.0	2.2	*2.2*

Australia's trade and investment relationships (d):

Major Australian exports, 2012-13 (A$m) (e):		Major Australian imports, 2012-13 (A$m) (e):	
Iron ores & concentrates	57,201	Crude petroleum	20,186
Coal	38,637	Passenger motor vehicles	17,330
Gold	15,287	Refined petroleum	16,868
Natural gas	14,314	Telecom equipment & parts	8,916
Crude petroleum	9,718	Medicaments (incl veterinary)	8,050

Australian merchandise trade, 2012-13:

Exports (A$m):	247,226
Imports (A$m):	236,683
Total trade (exports + imports) (A$m):	483,910
Merchandise trade surplus (A$m):	10,543

Australia's main export destinations, 2012-13 (e) (f):			Australia's main import sources, 2012-13 (e):		
1	China	31.6%	1	China	18.8%
2	Japan	18.8%	2	United States (g)	11.8%
3	Republic of Korea	7.7%	3	Japan	7.7%
4	India	4.6%	4	Singapore	6.1%
5	United States	3.6%	5	Thailand	4.7%

Australia's trade in services, 2012-13:

Exports of services (A$m):	52,411
Imports of services (A$m):	63,959
Services trade deficit (A$m):	11,548

Australia's investment links, as at 31 Dec 2012:

Level of Australian investment abroad (A$m):	1,297,633
Level of foreign investment in Australia (A$m):	2,167,673

Compiled by the Trade Advocacy and Statistics Section, DFAT, using the latest data from the ABS, the IMF and various international sources.

(a) All recent data subject to revision; (b) IMF/EIU forecast; [c] PPP is purchasing power parity; (d) Total may not add due to rounding; (e) Merchandise trade; (f) May exclude some confidential items of trade; (g) Based on unpublished ABS data and includes confidential aircraft imports. na Data not available. np Data not published. .. Data not meaningful.

Table 4: Australia fact sheet (Australian Government: DFAT, 2014).

4.3.   The EU-Australia cooperation in science

The first decade of the 21st century introduced an era in which the scope of communication and knowledge creation is growing faster than ever. The human economic and socio-political systems are increasingly interconnected with the biophysical earth-systems. The interactions between these major systems are complex, significant and far reaching. There is a growing understanding that the natural earth system with the biosphere and ecosystem, as well as the multiple systems created by humanity, including international relations, interact with each other and the understanding of this interrelationship going to create new ways of scientific research methodologies. The changing biophysical earth-systems will gradually merge with the human systems, and a new social reality will arrive. It is the ideas which will decide how the human systems are going to interact with the natural system of the Earth. According to social constructivist understanding, ideas and norms transform identities and in turn bring forth interests and power, therefore the systems of ideas, norms and values are the most powerful factors during the different meetings and negotiations between the EU and Australia, pointing far further than the actual physical assets or the manifested material profits.

In the worldwide research and innovation community, norms of *efficiency* and *practicality* became indispensable. Practicality is necessary, because with a constantly increasing amount of new research, old systems break down and the emerging new systems become more complex. The internalisation of the norm of *global environmental awareness* and the norm of *striving for practical environmental solutions*, including a *law-carbon socio-economic arrangement*, may be able to guard against the implosion of systems of increasing complexity. Therefore it is vital to upheld not only the normative principles and values of the very lucrative *science of economics and financial systems*, but equally, the values of *social science and humanities* as well.

The European Union and Australia developed a substantial volume of cooperative work in the area of science and innovation. On the 23rd of February 1994, the EU signed an Agreement on Scientific and Technology Cooperation with Australia (Treaties: Europa, 2012). This was a first between the EU and any other developed country outside of Europe. Through collaboration, Australia and the European Union realised a number of important goals in their scientific and technical fields. Their mutual interests include biotechnology, medical and health research, environmental sciences, marine sciences, space research as well as communication

technology. The EU and Australia established regular dialogues, in the framework of the Forum for European-Australian Science and Technology Cooperation (FEAST). Australia and the EU are committed to continue their science and research partnership in innovative ways, and endeavour to create new opportunities for collaboration. In their joint efforts they incorporate the principles of the Lisbon Strategy, and in their work emphasise the importance of the education, innovation and research knowledge triangle, in order to be competitive, and bring forth improvements and practical solutions in the socio-economic and environmental realm.

The joint Management Committee of the European Union and Australia on Science and Technology Cooperation held a meeting in Brussels in March 2000, within the framework of the 1994 Agreement. The Committee decided to brainstorm a target-based approach, founded on a strategy of common priorities. As a result they reached a consensus in August 2000, through the diplomatic missions representing members of the European Union in Australia, to endeavour on an initiative known as the Forum for European-Australian Science and Technology (FEAST, 2012).

The Forum for European-Australian Science and Technology Cooperation (FEAST) was established by the Australian Government and the European Union as an organization, to highlight, promote, and facilitate research collaboration between the parties. Increasing empowerment and authority was provided to FEAST through intergovernmental meetings between Australia and the European Union (FEAST, 2012).

The objectives of FEAST included increasing the links between European and Australian researchers, and a better promotion of the significance of their cooperation. As a result, the process of providing information on Australian and European programmes, have been improved. The parties have exchanged best practices, which resulted in the support of cutting edge research, and highlighted the existing multilateral and bilateral Science & Technology cooperation between Europe and Australia (FEAST, 2012).

The European Union is Australia's largest scientific partner. Much of the collaborative activity occurs in a traditional bilateral way, through meetings between researchers in Australia and an individual European country; nevertheless, there is also a powerful component of multilateral projects. The Delegation of the European Commission to Australia and the Australian Department of Innovation, Industry, Science and Research together have searched for, and decided on an effective approach, in order to substantiate the bilateral and multilateral

cooperation. Interviews and promotions have shown a growing awareness of the effectiveness and interests of closer European-Australian collaboration in research, both from the research and policy communities. Nevertheless, there is a common perception supported by several studies that occasionally it is quite problematic for Australian and European researchers to build practical long term relationships and undertake joint projects. FEAST's aim was to reduce the barriers to co-operation, and it assisted researchers and groups endeavouring to engage through the provision of information, training, as well as targeted activities. FEAST have also provided mentoring for young researchers, and aimed to develop relationships at a strategic level with key organisations and businesses in Australia and the European Union, to speed up practical work and policy developments (FEAST, 2012).

By the 30th of June 2012, all the FEAST projects were finalised. A new bilateral project has come to fruition with the European Commission, in order to continue the provision of support for the constantly growing EU-Australian research cooperation. The European Commission basically agreed to co-finance this project, known as Connecting Australian-European Science and Innovation Excellence (CAESIE), which involves Australian and European partners. According to plan, CAESIE was to commence in October 2012 (FEAST, 2012). Some of the most important joint research areas revolve around clean energy, global climate change, advanced manufacturing, information technology research and development, nanotechnology, as well as biotechnology.

According to the 2010-2012 Australia-European Union Science & Technology Cooperation Roadmap, the meetings of the Australia-European Union Joint Science and Technology Cooperation Committee (JSTCC) would be the principal mechanism for setting bilateral Australia-European Union research collaboration priorities and monitoring cooperation, where:

> […] the JSTCC noted with satisfaction the results achieved by the existing bilateral
> platforms, including FEAST and ACCESS4EU. The 11th JSTCC meeting, held 7–9
> June 2010 in Australia, reaffirmed the significant scope to strengthen Australia-EU
> research collaboration in the following fields: health; biotechnology, agriculture and
> food; environment; energy; information and communications technologies;
> nanotechnologies, materials and production technology; research infrastructures;
> researcher mobility, networks and communication; social sciences and humanities
> (Roadmap 2010-2012).

Australia's science and technology priorities for global engagement are related to the current strength of research and development in Australia. Australia's per capita scientific output is in a preeminent position in the world, and Australia is currently recognised as one of the leaders in the fields of astronomy, ecological sciences, geoscience, medical science, oceanography and meteorology, nanotechnology, water resources, plant & animal science as well as in clean coal technologies (Global Engagement, 2012).

Horizon 2020 is the newest and largest Research and Innovation program of the EU. The European Union's aim for an inclusive, smart and sustainable future expressed through the policy initiatives of Horizon 2020, which is open to all eligible participants. Australian candidates may participate in the research, and also able to apply for Horizon 2020 research project grants; however, similarly to the Euratom Research Program, Australian's eligibility for grant (at least at this stage) is not automatic. The Australian Academy of Science Australia-European Union Collaboration Program may also offer a certain amount of funding for Australian researchers, who become scientific partners in Horizon 2020. Another possibility for individuals from Australia is to benefit from the Marie Sklodowska-Curie fellowship. Horizon 2020 aims to join funding in research in relation to the areas of excellent science, industrial leadership development, and societal challenges that includes pressing environmental considerations as well. Horizon 2020 simplifies the application process, as well as joins together the 7th Research Framework Programme (FP7); the Competitiveness and Innovation Framework Programme (CIP); and the European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT) programme (Horizon 2020; http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020; 2014).

4.4.   The EU-Australia cooperation in higher education

In Objective V the 2008 European Union-Australia Partnership Framework aims to reinvigorate cooperation in the field of education. The EU and Australia have jointly established the powerful Europe Centres, with the aim to gradually extend their role and facilitate international exchange of students and scholars, as well as to strengthen their inter-institutional linkages within Australia and in the region. The parties have established the Erasmus Mundus mobility programs for Australian students to study in Europe. On the other hand researchers from Europe are able to visit Australia through study programs such as the

Endeavour Europe Awards. The constant exchange of information is increasingly important, with special regard to the Bologna and Copenhagen processes in connection with higher education and training. The European Union and Australia agreed to streamline their visa policies to achieve their overall objectives in student mobility (EU–Australia Partnership Framework, 2012).

From the 16th to the 19th of April 2007, Jan Figel, then Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture and Youth had visited Australia as an honourable guest through the invitation of the Australian Government. Jan Figel Commissioner and the Honourable Julie Bishop, then Australia's Minister for Education, Science and Training agreed to strengthen cooperation between the European Union and Australia in higher education, and produced a Joint Declaration with several common goals, including:

> […] - promoting and facilitating learner/trainee and trainer mobility between recognised vocational education and training (VET) institutions in the European Union and Australia; - promoting and encouraging cooperation and joint/shared curriculum development including recognition of credits between HE institutions and VET institutions in the European Union and Australia; - promoting the development of joint activities leading to the exploitation of information technology, especially the Internet, in the field of education and training; - facilitating the quality of student/learner and professional mobility by promoting transparent, mutual recognition of qualifications and periods of study and training, and where appropriate, portability of credits (Delegation of the European Union to Australia, 2012).

Action 5 of the 2008 European Union-Australia Partnership Framework stipulated the development of a joint project, called Tuning Australia. By 2011 the completion of Tuning Australia as well as the Qualifications Framework Project was under way. Tuning Australia aimed to increase collaboration in higher education between Australia and the European Union in order to jointly streamline their academic standards. The comparative study through the Qualifications Framework Project considered the impact of qualifications on student mobility, and examined whether qualifications frameworks could serve closer international cooperation in the general recognition of qualifications (European Commission, 2012).

An important aspect of the EU-Australia cooperation in higher education is the European Union Centres in Australia, which are funded by the EU and the host universities. There are 5 EU Centres in Australia, located in South Australia, Victoria, and the Australian Capital Territory, as follows (Delegation of the EU to Australia, 2014):

- University of South Australia: The Hawke EU Centre for Mobilities, Migrations and Cultural Transformations;
- University of Adelaide: EU Centre for Global Affairs;
- University of Melbourne: EU Centre of Shared Complex Challenges;
- Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT): EU Centre (focusing on governance and the Single Market);
- Australian National University: Centre for European Studies (ANUCES).

On the 6th of March 2012, at the Universities Australia Higher Education Conference in Canberra, Maire Geoghegan-Quinn EU Commissioner for Research, Innovation and Science gave a speech titled, "Strengthening EU-Australian Cooperation in Research and Innovation: the Role of Universities." Commissioner Geoghegan-Quinn highlighted the increasing internationalisation, openness, and mobility of the higher education sector both in the EU and in Australia; a fact that at the same time also means greater worldwide competition. In September 2011, the European Union proposed the modernisation of European higher education (Europa: 2014).

The EU is thoroughly aware of the fact that in order to receive a proper return on the large sums of public money invested in science, research and innovation, it is very necessary to appraise the quality and efficiency of the higher education and research structure. The higher education sector, in both the European Union and in Australia, is currently going through a restructuring process to make it more efficient. At the same time, in relation with the renewal of higher education in the European Union, a new Framework Programme for Research and Innovation called Horizon 2020, has been created. Horizon 2020 makes perfect sense to strive to gather the world's best researchers, including from Australia, in order to increase competitiveness and to find solutions to urgent challenges, which both the EU and Australia have to face, such as sustainable mobility, environmental sustainability, climate change, clean energy and energy security, food security, and to provide sustainable living standards for an ageing population (Europa: 2014).

4.5. The EU-Australia cooperation in environmental sustainability and ecotourism

Social learning creates a new disposition in outlook, and a transformation of the intersubjective character and cooperative aspects of society. Through constructivist argumentation, persuasion, demonstration, commitment, and legitimacy the normative principles, values and norms of *environmental sustainability* and *ecotourism* may be successfully internalised by a large segment of a community. Emerging norms and values gain acceptance, such as *ethical consumerism*, *universal connectedness*, *lifelong learning*; moreover, local and global *environmental awareness* and *environmental conscientiousness* geared to *protect the biodiversity of flora and fauna*, as well as help to provide a *sufficient living standard* with *human dignity* for local and indigenous people.

In Objective IV the 2008 European Union-Australia Partnership Framework directs the relevant parties to "seek opportunities to cooperate on climate change, environment, energy security, fisheries and forestry" (EU–Australia Partnership Framework, 2012). One of the greatest challenges, which the European Union and Australia must encounter and gradually try to alleviate through their joint cooperation, and in cooperation with other countries, is climate change, and the significant threat it already poses to the environment. The European Union and Australia regularly hold high-level consultations to strengthen collaboration in advancing environmental protection, both through policy dialogue and joint projects. They aim to address specific environmental issues, such as the concerns of environmental and related socio-economic situations, including energy security, food security, and sustainability. The European Union and Australia are also committed to facilitate the movement of people internationally and within their countries, with special regard to environmental or ecotourism.

The EU and Australia are determined to find joint solutions, both domestically and through international engagement, in harmony with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which emphasizes the alleviation of the global problems and damages caused by changing weather patterns and climate change. Energy efficiency, innovation, and the increased usage of technological advances, such as renewable energy sources and low emission technologies are providing some initial solution to the growth in global energy demand. Andris Piebalgs, then European Union Energy Commissioner, signed a

memorandum of understanding in Melbourne on the 19th of May 2009, through which the European Commission became a founding and collaborating participant of the Global Carbon Capture and Storage Institute (Australian Government: DFAT, 2012). The Global Carbon Capture and Storage Institute (GCCSI) emphasizes the most serious and worldwide environmental danger, as follows:

> Long-term monitoring has shown that the amount of CO_2 in the atmosphere is increasing due to human activity. This is causing the earth to warm and the oceans to become more acidic. Unless the amount of CO_2 and other greenhouse gases entering the atmosphere can be reduced dramatically, scientists predict that the temperature of the earth will continue to rise. This rise in temperature will cause the climate to change, sea levels to rise, and ocean and land environments to be adversely affected (Global CCS Institute, 2012).

In order to provide an effective, nevertheless still only partial solution to this problem, carbon is captured through the separation of CO_2 from the other gases, during the time when fossil fuel is burnt for power generation. After the CO_2 is separated, it is compressed and transported to a suitable place for geological storage, by injecting it into about one kilometer deep underground rock formations (Global CCS Institute, 2012).

The 2008 European Union-Australia Partnership Framework stipulated 14 different immediate Actions to be carried out. Some of these Actions start with emphasizing and outlining the areas of cooperative activity, regarding alleviation of the environmental and energy issues, including combating deforestation, as well as protecting biodiversity including marine biodiversity, with special regard to whale protection. Action 3 highlighted a crucial international aim, which is the development of a global post-2012 climate change agreement. Here the joint cooperative participation of the EU and Australia becoming essential, especially in view of the negotiation process of the 15th session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which took place in December 2009, in Copenhagen, followed by the 2010 United Nations Climate Change Conference, held in Cancun, Mexico, with the ultimate aim to limit global temperature increase to no more than 2 degrees (EU–Australia Partnership Framework, 2012).

Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission visited Australia in September, 2011. During his visit the Honourable Julia Gillard, then Australian Prime Minister, and President Barroso produced a Joint Statement in which they shared each other's commitment to

reduce greenhouse gas emissions, with special regard to the importance of market mechanisms in the reduction of carbon emissions at the lowest possible cost, and at the same time facilitating investment and innovation in clean energy (Australian Government: DFAT, 2012). The European Union's Emissions Trading Scheme may have influenced the creation of the Australian Emission Trading Scheme, and as a result, the 2011 carbon tax legislation during that time, was approved by the Australian Senate.

The Critical Decade: International Action on Climate Change is a comprehensive scientific publication, produced by the Climate Commission of Australia. In its front page, dated as of August 2012, a sombre warning is published, as follows: "The main message in *The Critical Decade* was that, if we are to avoid the most damaging effects of climate change, then the world must take strong, rapid action this decade to reduce greenhouse gas emissions" (Climate Commission of Australia; 2012).

According to this common understanding of urgency, the Honourable Greg Combet, then Australian Minister for Climate Change and Energy Efficiency, and the Honourable Ms Connie Hedegaard, then European Commissioner for Climate Action, on the 28th of August 2008, have jointly announced that Australia and the European Union decided to link their emissions trading systems (Europa, 2012). According to the European Commission, one of the best means to reduce greenhouse gas emissions is to develop an international carbon market. Currently the carbon markets are perceived by the parties as an efficient way to reach emission reduction targets. The European Union Emissions Trading System is considered as an important building block for the development of an international network of emission trading schemes. It seems that the Australian Government may have committed itself to these changes, and through them the interim arrangements and initial work could proceed, and the gradual linking of the European and Australian market will reach full scope by 2018 (Europa, 2012).

The European Union and Australia discovered the value of environmental and ecotourism decades ago, and currently witnessing an *environmentally aware transformation* of their fast growing tourism sectors. Ecotourism provides *socially responsible travel* and *personal insight* regarding proper environmental practices and sustainability. Ecotourism is an important instrument in the conservation of nature and capable to provide a living for local and indigenous people. In Australia, Queensland is the most famous destination for European ecotourists and environmentally aware travellers. Almost half of all of the certified ecotourism tours and destinations in Australia are located in Queensland, including the Daintree Rainforest

of North Queensland, which represents the single largest block of tropical rainforest in Australia. A brief introduction to some of the most significant ecotourist destination includes the Great Barrier Reef and the Whitsunday Islands, which are world-famous and well-known for European ecotourists and *environmentally conscientious* travellers. Kakadu National Park is in the Northern Territory, designated as a World Heritage Site. Much of it is Aboriginal land with fascinating rock arts. Fraser Island is in Queensland, endowed with rainforest, freshwater lakes, white beaches, and it is the largest sand island in the world. Tasmania also offers many ecotourist destinations with its rainforests, beaches, and special flora and fauna.

4.6.   The EU-Australia cooperation in peace and security

Climate change, land degradation, the rising acidity level of the oceans, over-fishing and food insecurity, species extinction and decreasing biodiversity, as well as the danger of the depletion of natural resources are all equal threats against the well-being and future prosperity of all humanity. These threats are all connected with each other and with the growing concern for the need to settle disputes worldwide without war; moreover, effectively divert resources and constantly increase the chance for the global preservation of peace and security. Australia and the European Union aim to embark their cooperation on solid ground, in order to defend *human rights* and *human dignity*, moreover solidify *global peace*, alleviate the challenges regarding *environmental justice* and *sustainability*, as well as strive for a *general global prosperity*. They jointly aim to tackle threats, including failing states and terrorism, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Objective I of the 2008 European Union-Australia Partnership Framework stipulates for the actors to "strengthen bilateral and multilateral dialogue and cooperation in support of shared foreign policy and security interests" (EU–Australia Partnership Framework, 2012).

The norms of the European Union (Manners, 2002: 235-258), including the regulative norms of the *centrality of peace*, *human rights*, *social solidarity*, *environmental sustainability*; the evaluative norms of the *rule of law*, and *anti-discrimination*; as well as the constitutive

norms of *liberty*, *democracy*, and *good governance* are the result of social learning and a constant transformation of identity, interests and behaviour. Through its long and successful democratic history Australia intersubjectively endogenized similar norms, and it is the common interest of both the EU and Australia to enhance a world-wide attraction for these norms, with special emphasis on *human rights* and *human dignity*, *fundamental freedoms*, *environmental sustainability*, *democracy* and *the rule of law*. Both actors support multilateralism and respect the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, and willing to operate within the frameworks of the United Nations. Australia and the EU are strongly supportive to protect against the threat of genocide and ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The Honourable Gareth Evans, Chancellor of the Australian National University, formerly Australian Foreign Minister and from 2000-2009 he was President of the Brussels-based International Crisis Group working on conflict prevention and for peace, writes in his article, titled "From Humanitarian Intervention to the Responsibility to Protect", as follows:

> What we have seen over the last five years is the emergence, almost in real time, of a new international norm, one that may ultimately become a new rule of customary international law with really quite fundamental ethical importance and novelty in the international system. […] toward the embrace of the new concept of *the responsibility to protect* has been a fascinating piece of intellectual history in its own right. […] With the forces of resistance to the idea of the responsibility to protect still quite strong in the international community, for a variety of reasons, which are understandable if not acceptable, there is a critical need to maintain the momentum of this conceptual evolution (Evans, 2006: 703-722).

The responsibility to protect leads to the evaluative norm of *human dignity* and the regulative norm of the *centrality of peace*, both of which are amongst the most significant guiding principles of the European Union, since its foundation. The *centrality of peace* could have the power, in the not too distant future, to become an effective global norm. According to this noble aim, on the 12th of October 2012, the European Union has won the Nobel Peace Prize.

Some of the objectives of the ongoing European Union-Australia collaboration, in the area of peace and security, include the ongoing communication and deliberation concerning the

Asia-Pacific region's strategic, security, and economic challenges and opportunities. The parties aim for a better common understanding of the radicalisation process and the connected threats posed by extremism; as well as work towards a substantive outcome of the current Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Process. They aim to work jointly in the development of the Border Management Systems, through facilitating electronic traveller registration and immigration management. Australia and the European Union produced a cooperation agreement to exchange information between the Australian Federal Police and the European law enforcement agency, EUROPOL. Australia and the EU have provided joint support to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) that aimed to create security for the people of Afghanistan. The parties aim for a continuous support for the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC) and the ASEAN Regional Forum in order to strengthen non-proliferation and regional security counter-terrorism cooperation in the Asia and Pacific regions. Australia and the EU research and develop biometrics through the Inter-Governmental Consultations on Asylum, Refugee and Migration Policies Technology Group (EU–Australia Partnership Framework, 2012).

On the 30th of June 2006, the European Union and Australia signed a bilateral Agreement concerning the processing and transfer of European Union-sourced passenger name record data to the Australian customs service. The objective of this Agreement included the prevention of terrorism and other serious criminal conduct, including organized transnational crime, in order to protect democratic societies and common values. To share information by the use of passenger name record is an important instrument in the fight against terrorism and other criminal activities (Treaties: Europa, 2013). On the 13th of January 2010, an Agreement between Australia and the European Union on the security of classified information was signed. The objective of the Agreement is to strengthen cooperation and to support the shared foreign security policy and security interests, as well as to provide a legal framework for the exchange of classified information (Treaties: Europa, 2013). Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, visited Australia during September 2011, and as a result the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) signed a renewed bilateral agreement with Australia, which deepens the EU-Australia cooperation in the areas of nuclear safeguards, security and peace.

4.7. Divergent issues between the European Union and Australia: Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement proposal in 1996

The European Union's collaboration with Australia has grown significantly during the years. In 2012, governmental celebrations emphasized 50 years of European Union-Australia relations, and marked an important milestone. The EU-Australia international cooperation has been created and structured by ideas, norms, as well as legal principles, and through them, during the last 52 years it has produced a manifold array of scientific, socio-economic, foreign and security policy, as well as trade agreements. The *2008 European Union-Australia Partnership Framework* is a current and as yet most significant document; nevertheless during 2011 and 2012, the parties had been busy negotiating a proposed treaty-level Framework Agreement. Throughout the past 52 years of international relationship and cooperation, Australia itself had its own part of input of ideas and norms; moreover, both the European Union and Australia's gradual change of identities and interests connected with their gradual behavioural transformations can be observed.

In the past 52 years the European Union (or its previous formations) and Australia have had a pragmatic, profitable and productive relationship. At the same time there were some important matters, where ingenious and constant search for solutions would be necessary, in order to reach common agreements. This part of the chapter provides an introduction to these, at times difficult issues. In order to arrive to a realistic knowledge concerning the EU-Australia working relationship, it is necessary to provide information and some insight, which can lead to a better understanding of these matters.

The leaders and representatives of the EU and Australia often interacted through many common values and principles, including the crucial consideration of human rights. Together they have many important common characteristics in their understanding and practice of human rights matters, where they find that their basic aims converge together. Actually, those issues are relatively few, where their views are opposed, or sharply diverge from one another. One of these situations occurred in 1997, when the then proposed Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement failed. This happened because of the EU's requirement that the human rights clause must be signed with the proposed documents.

Article 5 of the *Lome Convention IV* (Dialogue for Democratic Development, 2012) stipulated that the human rights clause is to be incorporated to the framework treaties and agreements, which the EU signs with other (third) countries. Australia opposed to the incorporation of the human rights clause and reasoned that this should not be in a trade agreement, especially between developed countries whose human rights records are good. Australian representatives may have been contemplating a little that the EU in the future, perhaps, could require from it some 'undue concessions', in relation to the human rights situations of its indigenous population, moreover regarding those illegal immigrants who may arrive by boat often with the help of people smugglers, to its shores at any time and from anywhere. In retrospect it seems that there was a somewhat rigid approach towards this issue on both sides. In 1997 negotiations about the then proposed Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement failed; nevertheless, during the same year the creation of a much less powerful Joint Declaration went ahead, and on the 26 of June 1997, it was signed.

This particular Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement - proposed during 1996 - was meant to be non-preferential, and contained provisions for increasing and diversifying trade as well as investment, promoting economic and industrial collaboration, and enhancing areas of common interests such as consumer protection, education, employment policy and social protection, information and communication technology, moreover matters related to cultural cooperation. The aim was to create a similar framework agreement, which the EU has (eventually) successfully constructed, for example with Canada, and which would have taken into account the advanced level of development of Australia and its role in the world trade, as well as the important contribution Australia makes to multilateral organisations. A planned Joint Committee was to ensure that the cooperation activities between the EU and Australia would be constantly monitored (Europa, 2012).

This Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement, envisioned in 1995-1996, was meant to provide the proper means for cooperation, including all the political aspects of the EU-Australia relations in a separate declaration. Previously, Australia depended on farm exports to the United Kingdom, and the 1973 British accession to the European Community raised some considerable concern. Consequently, Australia's relations with the European Community had been, to some extent, strained for a number of years. However, from around 1985 onwards, a more harmonious approach toward the European Community became the norm. The Honou-

rable Robert Hawke, then Australian Prime Minister, visited Jacques Delors the contemporary President of the CEC, and Willy De Clercq who was member of the CEC in charge of External Relations and Trade Policy. They discussed the state of relations between the European Community and Australia, as well as the new round of negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); and in general, the future prospects concerning the international trading system. Prime Minister Robert Hawke and President Jacques Delors agreed to the idea of diversifying the EC-Australia relations. The relations further developed in a positive way in the following years, and in April 1995 a constructive meeting took place between Jacques Santer, then President of the European Commission, and the Honourable Paul Keating, then Australian Prime Minister. Following this meeting, Paul Keating wrote a letter to President Santer, in which he suggested that the EU and Australia should further solidify their important and constantly expanding relationship (Europa, 2012).

In cooperation, during January 1996, the European Commission proposed the negotiation of a new agreement with Australia. The aim of the proposal was to formalize the wide ranging relationship between the two polities, in order to provide a powerful framework for close cooperation. This included a trade and cooperation agreement in industry, employment, training and consumer protection, as well as in financial investment. The trade agreement was to be joined by a political proclamation that was to include a political cooperation, as well as the justice and home affairs. The actual outline of this 1996 proposal, which the Commission suggested, was an EU-Australia Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement. The Commission confidently believed that a Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement would serve well the purposes of both the European Union and Australia. There were several facts which showed that there was a substantial cooperation already in many areas, including industry, development aid, environment and energy, science and technology, and even in agriculture. Significantly, the Ministerial Consultations between Australia and the Commission had already started in 1980. There were regular political discussions between Australia and the EU Presidency, and the European Union Troika met the Australian foreign minister every year at the ASEAN conference. Australia reduced its tariffs regime and subsidies and introduced competition, deregulation, as well as privatisation into different sectors of the economy; thereby, it opened the way for European firms and banks for a wide range of trade and investment possibilities (Europa, 2012).

The Australian government aimed that the country would be better integrated into Asia, without damaging or decreasing the political, socio-economic as well as cultural influence, through which it has important, including historical, roots in Europe. The Commission's proposal in 1996 of the envisaged European Union-Australia Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement intended to substantiate formally and publicly the linkages, and the mutual interests concerning the EU-Australia relationship. During this time both Australia and the European Union had been seriously entertaining this plan, concluding that there was a need and the right time has arrived for the Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement, to make their connections even stronger. Accordingly, in July 1996, the negotiations have started. The Honourable Paul Keating's aim was to realise the Agreement, and as then Prime Minister, he was looking forward to develop and expand further the EU-Australia cooperation, and enrich it with the future achievements of these common goals. From the Australian perspective this proposed Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement, was to accomplish widespread cooperation, including in investment, energy matters, environmental issues, in the area of employment, socio-economic protection, communication, education and culture, coordination of aid, and crime control (Europa, 2012).

Yet in the end all this remained only a plan, because of certain discrepancies between the European Union and Australia, regarding the EU's inclusion of the human rights clause in the draft Agreement. Australia followed a policy where trade and human rights issues were to be separated, and this particular position brought an end to the negotiation process. As a result, the planned Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement was abandoned; nevertheless, on the 26th of June 1997, a much less powerful Joint Declaration was authorised in Luxembourg (Oxford Companion to Australian Politics: Europe-Australia, 2012).

Actually, previously the Australian point of view concerning their own principles regarding the necessity of human rights commitments hardly ever been seriously questioned, and the officials of the European Commission perceived that the human rights clause would be only a basic formality for the Australian Government. Australian negotiators noted that for Australia there was no fundamental difference with the EU over the need to observe human rights, but they could not agree with the way the EU aimed to link the human rights issue to trade in such a formal and legalistic way. Australia tried to suggest to include matters, concerning human

rights, in a separate accord, unrelated to the planned Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement (Europa, 2012). Nevertheless, the European Union remained firm to its regular procedure in relation to the human rights clause.

Nothwithstanding their firmness, the European Commission officials were careful not to draw a parallel between the stalled talks and Australia's position on human rights. According to the observations of *Europolitics*, this cautious attitude has continually prevailed as it is recorded below:

> Hugh Kerr, the leader of the European Parliament's delegation to Australia, said until now, he had encountered no problems whatever about human rights in his discussions with Australian officials over the past 18 months. Mr Kerr said it would not do Australia's image any good if was seen to be quibbling over a standard human rights clause applied to all Agreements between the EU and third countries. In turn, Australian officials have questioned the lack of any dispute-resolution mechanism in the draft Framework Agreement (Europolitics; Archives).

Interestingly perhaps, this issue above during 1995-97, in relation to the current 2012-14 negotiations concerning the relatively recently proposed treaty-level Framework Agreement between the EU and Australia, may have certain, perhaps less substantial, but not insignificant relevance. With regard to the international situation and the all-encompassing environmental, security, as well as socio-economic concerns of the current era, the European Union and Australia probably need to strive continually, to be able to reach a common agreement in order to conclude a comprehensive, legally binding treaty-level Framework Agreement, more than ever before.

4.8.   The European Union's Human Rights Clause requirement

Initially, human rights were not part of the European Economic Community's (EEC) external affairs. The Treaty of Rome did not include the philosophical or practical aspects of human rights in its project, because it first and foremost endeavoured on economic integration, and

provided only marginal concerns regarding human rights. Political issues, including human rights were more or less left out from the Treaty of Rome. Nevertheless, during the development of the European Union, considerations about human rights entered more and more into centre stage (Fierro, 2003:41).

Article 5 of the *Lome Conventions IV* within the African, Caribbean, and Pacific-European Union Partnership Agreement refers to *human rights* as indivisible, interrelated, each having its own legitimacy: it includes *non-discriminatory treatment*, *civil and political rights*, *socio-economic* and *cultural rights* (Dialogue for Democratic Development, 2012). It is important to consider that in May 1995, the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union standardised these stipulations, so from then on there was the same rule to be upheld in relation to all of these kinds of agreements (Murray, 2005: 139). Some of the areas of the substantial development of the European Union's Human Rights Clause Requirement with their dates are briefly described here, as follows:

- In 1989 the *Lomé Convention IV* (Article 5) stipulated a provision that financial resources could be provided to the advancement of human rights in the African, Caribbean, and Pacific States. (European Parliament; Bartels, 2005).

- In 1995 the European Union Council approved a cessation of arrangement in Community accords with third countries to enable the Community to react in the event of violation of agreements, with special regard to human rights (European Parliament; Bartels, 2005).

- In 1999 the European Union Member States arrive to an Internal Agreement on carrying out the nonexecution procedure in the *Lomé Convention IV*. (European Parliament; Bartels, 2005).

- On the 1st of April 2003, the *Cotonou Agreement* entered into effect between the EU and 78 African, Caribbean, and Pacific States. Article 9 underlines human rights as essential and fundamental elements (Horng, 2003:681).

- On the 1st of December 2009, the legally binding Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union entered into effect as part of the Lisbon Treaty.

Article 5 of the *Lome Conventions IV* (Dialogue for Democratic Development, 2012) includes not simply human rights in general, but emphasis is placed on the specific components of human rights, including *civil* and *political rights*, *anti-discrimination*, *economic*, *social* and *cultural rights*. The stipulations of the Lome Conventions IV fundamentally embodies the constitutive norms of *liberty*, *democracy*, *good governance*; the regulative norms of the *centrality of peace* and *social solidarity*; as well as the evaluative norms of the *rule of law* in connection to *anti-discrimination*.

Australia at this stage, it seems, is not convinced to provide its consent and signature in relation to European Union's human rights clause, with connection to a possible future free trade agreement (FTA), with the European Union. Australia, currently, may not be very pleased that the EU requires a human rights clause concerning the proposed original agreement, which is a treaty-level Framework Agreement that otherwise already has been almost accomplished. According to some views, which is expressed by powerful dignitaries, Australia never going to sign non-compliance clauses concerning human rights, because the Australian Government perceives that free trade should be preeminently concerned with economics (*The Land*; Kerin, 2013).

The *Japan News Times* has recently reported that the European Union maintains and persists that a human rights clause linked to the intended Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between the EU and Japan:

> In negotiations between the EU and Japan on a strategic partnership agreement (SPA) which are held in parallel with their EPA talks, the EU is calling for a clause that allows Brussels to suspend the EPA if Japan engages in human rights violations, informed sources said. […] In its free trade agreement talks with the United States, the EU does not call for the conclusion of a political pact like the SPA (06/05/2014).

Horng writes in the *European Law Journal*: "Human rights-related trade restrictive measures should also be applied in accordance with the principle of non-discrimination. Non-discrimination is one of the basic principles of the WTO and has been well defined in Article 13 of the GATT 1994" (2003: 697).

4.9.   Australian agriculture and the EU's Common Agricultural Policy

Australia has an ongoing concern for the successful export of its agricultural products to the European Union. This is amongst the most relevant and somewhat still contentious subjects, which had been in dispute during the previous decades. It is important to note however that gradually since 1992, and especially in 2013, the agricultural sector of the European Union started to undergo a complete reform process. Therefore, the situation of the Australian agricultural exports to the EU may be changing now more to the satisfaction of Australian producers. Nevertheless, for a long time the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the European Community, and its related disadvantages for Australia has created some considerable disharmony in the EU-Australia relationship. Australia had been disadvantaged because of the CAP of the European Community, which created considerable generosity towards its own farmers, who has received significant subsidies through the Common Agricultural Policy. The powerful subsidies of the CAP had the tendency to distort competition and prices of agricultural products traded in world markets. Consequently, Australian policy makers have had the tendency to view the European Union as generally 'self-seeking', following their own rules; therefore, they perceived that it is actually difficult to trade with the European Union on an equal footing, or on the basis of a 'fair go'. In order to counter some of the disadvantages Australia attained a leadership role of the Cairns Group, which was created by a group of 19 agricultural exporting countries. Australia's agricultural production includes beef, cotton, dairy, fisheries, forestry, grain, horticulture, wine, wool. It remains a fact nevertheless, that for some decades Australian politicians and policy makers held a general concern that the European Union's agricultural trade policies are strongly protectionist. This is likely changing now; although, the Common Agricultural Policy's traditional aims, values and norms regarding *food security*, *affordable prices*, *sustainable rural communities*, as well as the *environmentally sustainable use of agricultural land* in the European Union, which are upheld as important goals and achievements, continually remain intact.

The origin of the Common Agricultural Policy goes back to the beginning of the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in Western Europe. The damage caused by World War II resulted in widespread hunger even after the war. Especially, during the winters in the Netherlands and in the surrounding countries, many people suffered, because of the lack

of food. These frightening events burnt forever into the collective memory of several Western European nations. The Common Agricultural Policy was created with the purpose of supporting continuous, safe and secure productivity and food supply. From the 3rd to the 12th of July 1958, the delegations of France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg met in Stresa, Italy, in order to negotiate the introduction of the Common Agricultural Policy together with Walter Hallstein, the contemporary President of the European Commission, and Sicco Mansholt, Commissioner with special responsibility for Agriculture (European Commission. *The early years: establishment of the CAP*; 2012).

During the early years of the 1960s the Common Agricultural Policy had been gradually introduced. The CAP included a system of regular financial assistance payment on agricultural items, including land, where crops grown through a price support structure, including guaranteed minimum price levels, which was able to provide a better and more stable standard of living. A systematic tariff structure meant to be operational on agricultural products, which were exported from different countries outside of the European Union.

In the beginning, the Common Agricultural Policy had an overwhelmingly favourable outcome through bringing up the agriculture of the European Community towards complete self-sufficiency. Nevertheless, around the 1970s and 1980s the Community became inundated with nearly constant superabundance of the major farm produces, some of which were exported and some had to be warehoused or wasted within the EU. These manoeuvres became too expensive and they influenced (and distorted) some of the world markets. In the end all this did not serve the best interests of the farmers of the European Union, and became unpopular with customers too. During this time the general environmental awareness and environmental critique concerning agriculture had increased, and many people questioned the feasibility and the environmental sustainability of the different practices in relation to agriculture (European Commission. *The crisis years II: the 1980s*; 2012).

Raymond MacSharry was the first Commissioner of Agriculture, and in 1992 he worked out a valid settlement regarding the reform process of the Common Agricultural Policy. The MacSharry reforms marked the turning point between the original and the reformed Common Agricultural Policy. The reform improved the competitiveness of EU agriculture, stabilised the agricultural markets and diversified the production. It also protected the environment and went a long way in stabilising the European Union's budget. Direct payments were introduced in or-

der to compensate for the general decrease in the price support mechanism. Agricultural environmental programmes such as afforestation were also initiated (European Commission. *The 1992 reform*; 2012).

The European Union's Agricultural and Rural Development introduced the Agenda 2000 initiative. This created a firm foundation for the socio-economic and environmental goals of the Common Agricultural Policy, in harmony with the requirements of the Amsterdam Treaty. Agenda 2000 aimed to provide a substantive form to the European Model of Agriculture, through guarding and preserving the diversity of farming systems everywhere in the European Union, with special regard to the different regions (European Commission. *Agenda 2000*; 2012).

The orderly and compatible corrections of the Common Agricultural Policy, because of the demands from the European society intertwined with its economy, received new stimulus in 2003. These corrections strengthened the competitive edge of the agricultural sector, and it resulted in a market-driven and more sustainable rural development policy (European Commission. *The 2003 reform*; 2012).

In October 2005, the European Commission simplified the Common Agricultural Policy and reduced the bureaucratic burden by introducing modifications and more transparent rules. Between 2005 and 2009, the Commission created the single Common Market Organisation or CMO, which unified 21 different existing organisations (European Commission. *Simplifying the CAP: the single CMO*; 2012).

The Common Agricultural Policy would become an integral part of the *European Union 2020 Strategy*, according to the following (European Commission, 2012) :

- *Smart growth* by increasing resource efficiency and improving competitiveness through technological knowledge and innovation; developing high value added and quality products; developing green technologies and using information and communication technology; investing in training as well as providing incentives for social innovation in rural areas and improving uptake of research.

- *Sustainable growth* by maintaining the food, feed and renewable production base; ensuring sustainable land management; providing environmental public goods and addressing biodiversity loss; promoting renewable energies, fostering animal and

plant health, increasing resource efficiency through technological development and using results of research; further reducing emissions, enhancing carbon stocks and fully developing the potential of rural areas.

- *Inclusive growth* by unlocking economic potential in rural areas; developing local markets and jobs; accompanying the restructuring of agriculture and supporting farmers' income to maintain a sustainable agriculture throughout Europe.

The Common Agricultural Policy is one of the most important integral parts of the European Union's common policy. Throughout the 50 years, since the CAP came to existence, it has consumed much of the European Union's budget; nevertheless, its percentage in the expenditure steadily declining. The European Agricultural Guarantee Fund (EAGF) is one of the sources of the expenditure financed from the EU's budget. The other source is the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD), which invests and provides credit for the rural development programmes of the Member States (European Commission: Agriculture and Rural Development; 2012).

The reform process of the Common Agricultural Policy, and its possibly well accomplished implementation, could bring forth substantial and widespread benefit to the European Union. European farmers create sustainable and viable enterprises; meanwhile, the costumers may be able to buy the produce and the food for lower prices. These repercussions may have a positive effect on climate change and energy sustainability as well. Perhaps the European Union could learn some of the positive experiences, which Australia had through its agricultural restructuring, which was accomplished during the 1980s. The Australian Government published *Advancing Agriculture: Reform in the EU and Australia*. In this work there are some recommendations, as follows:

> Can the EU benefit from other countries' experience of agricultural reform? [...] Since 1988, Australia's farmers have adjusted to the elimination of agricultural production subsidies, and a cut in the national average tariff rate from fifteen to three per cent. Australia has had seventeen years of uninterrupted economic growth, largely due to economic reforms and trade liberalisation. Along the way, the average size of Australian farms has increased no more than western European farms under the CAP. Over 95 per cent of Australian farms are still family-owned and operated, and Australian farmers export two-thirds of their production. Australian farmers made change work. […] Australian governments

have supported not only the farmers' efforts to manage price risks in the markets, but also other risks and opportunities relating to production and climate. In giving up the government's protection, farmers became more productive and more influential. They achieved greater flexibility in labour regulations and in expertise as businesspeople with leadership in environmental stewardship – all assisted by government programs they helped design, which supported their initiative as producers (Australian Government: DFAT; 2013).
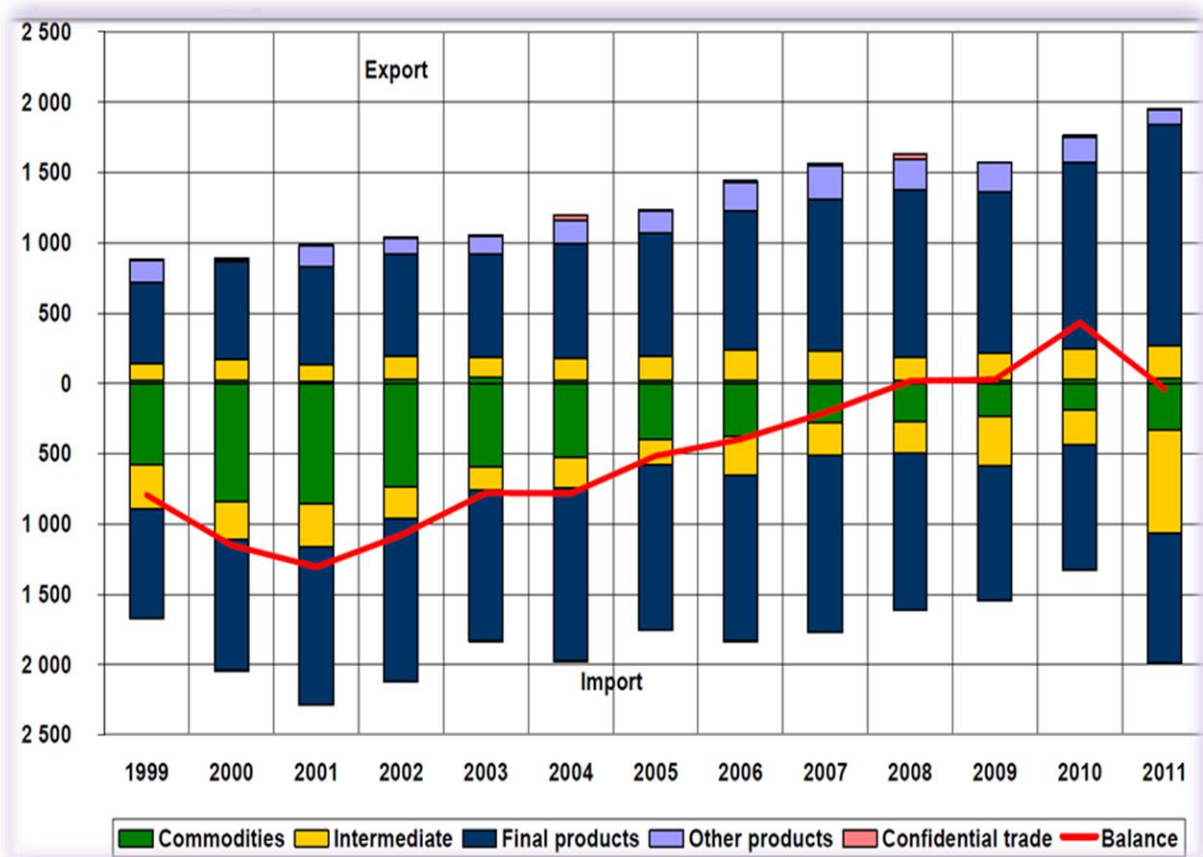
Table 5: EU27 agricultural trade with Australia during 1999-2011; in million Euro (European Commission: Bilateral Agricultural Trade Relations; 2012).

According to Table 5 above, during 1999-2011, the European Union substantially improved its net trade balance in agricultural products with Australia. Australia's exports of wool and silk products to the EU gradually declined. At the same time Australia increased its imports of final products, including cereal items and sugar confectionery. Then in 2010 the situation has started to change, because the European Union declined in the amount of goods it has exported to Australia. As a result the EU's position slowly altered from a net exporter to a net importer (European Commission: Bilateral Agricultural Trade Relations; 2012).

4.10. Conclusion

The EU and Australia developed a powerful economic and trade relationship. Government documents provide data to view the development and current state of this decisive, mutual association. There is a significant volume of EU-Australia cooperation built up during the past 52 years. The 2008 European Union-Australia Partnership Framework outlines the cooperation in several areas, including environmental issues, peace and security. The challenge for the EU and Australia will be to form cooperative and meaningful relationships with the largest countries of Asia. The environmental problems on Earth can only be solved through global cooperation, and the EU and Australia ought to strive to achieve this cooperation especially with each other, and not only that but even with the fast emerging and increasingly powerful countries in Asia, such as China and India. This collaboration may be achieved through the internalisation of emerging norms, values and normative principles, and a general emergence of a new way of thinking.

The biophysical earth-systems are interconnected with the human economic and socio-political systems. The interactions between these complex systems are significant and far reaching. There is a growing understanding that the natural earth system with the biosphere and ecosystem, as well as the multiple systems created by humanity, including international relations, interact with each other and this interrelationship demands new ways of policy analysis. The changing biophysical earth-systems gradually merge with the human systems, and a new social reality arrives. According to social constructivist understanding a system of ideas is the most powerful factor during the different meetings and negotiations, pointing further than the actual physical assets and the manifest material profit, which are often pre-eminently concentrated on through the manifold interactions. The development of ideas, meanings, shared understanding and shared intellectual outlook, knowledge, intersubjective norms, social learning and social interaction in the EU-Australia cooperation created a system of relationship that may be enlarged, through the joint EU-Australia environmental initiatives, with both China and India as well. It is important to understand these values, norms and principles, because they characterise a working connection between the two entities, and could open policy windows for a constant development in the future too. The European Union and Australia have had an overwhelmingly positive and productive relationship. At the same time there are some important matters, where ingenious and constant search for solutions needed, in order to find common agreements.

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Chapter Five

A constructivist analysis of the 1997 European Union–Australia Joint Declaration

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5.1.   Introduction

Through festive formalities in Luxembourg on the 26th of June 1997, contemporary leaders Hans van Mierlo, President of the Council of the European Union, Sir Leon Brittan, Vice President of the European Commission, and Alexander Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia signed a Joint Declaration on Relations between the European Union and Australia (Joint Declaration-1997; 2014).

Alexander Downer underlined that for the Australian Government it is predominant to reinforce associations with Europe, especially when many Australians and Europeans felt that relations with Europe had been needlessly disregarded. The accomplishment of the Joint Declaration proved a commitment, and settled two years of discussions on a new, more formal context for the increasingly substantial and wide-ranging relationship between the European Union and Australia. The Joint Declaration extend a foundation of moving the EU-Australia relationship to the twenty-first century, and formalised arrangements for Ministerial dialogues on important bilateral and international political, economic and trade matters. It outlined Australia's objectives for bilateral collaboration across a wide range of areas including environment, employment, education and training, refugee and asylum matters, agriculture, scientific and cultural cooperation, consumer and competition policies. It emphasized the commitment of the European Union and Australia to work together in international meetings to maintain shared targets, such as trade liberalisation and preservation of human rights, reflecting both the quick variations of the international environment and the increasing significance of the European Union's position as an international participant. The situation of Australia in the Asia-Pacific creates a good partnership for the EU in its increasing trade connection with the Asia-Pacific region (Downer, 1997).

5.2.   Preamble

The Preamble is an introductory statement of the EU-Australia Joint Declaration, and it is written in an elevated style highlighting the common norms, values and normative principles between the two polities. The European Union and Australia accomplished a thorough historical, political, economic and cultural connection. Their representatives and peoples internalised and institutionalised many commonly held values and norms, including *human rights, fundamental freedoms, democracy* and the *rule of law*. The EU and Australia, as two polities embarked on a more efficient collaboration, acknowledge that the world is *increasingly interdependent*; therefore, the need for *international cooperation* is growing. Australia and the European Union have a shared interest to work for and preserve *international peace*, *security*, *stability*, *free* and *open* market principles as well as *sustainable development*. The European Union and Australia are committed to strengthen the *multilateral trading system*, according to the stipulations of the World Trade Organisation. The growing importance of the Asia-Pacific region and Australia's position in the region prompt the parties *to cooperate across many areas* in which they have shared interests, to aim for a mutual benefit and to invest this relation with a long-term view (Joint Declaration-1977: Preamble; 2014).

The solemn and serious character of the Preamble of the EU-Australia Joint Declaration is clear; nevertheless, this has been a non-binding document. As previously explained in the thesis, the Joint Declaration itself was a result of a failed accomplishment of a legally binding Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement, which was originally suggested by the then Prime Minister Paul Keating, as he stated on 15/05/1995:

> Last month, I wrote to EC President Santer to propose that Australia and the European Union develop such an agreement in order to strengthen the already healthy ties between us. This follows on from fruitful discussions that I held in Brussels in June last year with the then EC President Delors and some of his commissioners (Keating: 1995).

In April 1996, Alexander Downer, then Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that Australia and the EU would negotiate a Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement accompanied by a Joint Political Declaration (Murray *et al*, 2002: 408). As the negotiations encountered some disharmony, on the 17th of September 1996, the Honourable Alexander Downer expressed on radio that "It's nothing to do with our shared commitment to human rights, it's to do with the technicality of this type of agreement, and that's being discussed" (Downer, 1996).

5.3.   Common goals

The Common goals of the EU and Australia in 1997, as expressed in the Joint Declaration, includes the support of *democracy, the rule of law, human rights* and *fundamental freedoms*. The EU and Australia aim to strengthen *peace* and *international security* in the regional and global world situation, in harmony with United Nation's principles. In order to bring forth *peace* and *security* the two polities emphasize to work together, and with the international community, to strengthen the general norm and commitment for the *non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction*.

In parallel to the above commitments, the Joint Declaration states policies, whereby an *efficient world economy* would be created with *sustainable growth* of employment, society, and environmental protection. Increasing *knowledge* and understanding *culture* would play a key part between the societies of the EU and Australia. As for justice, with regard to the developing countries, the EU and Australia expressed commitments to improve their assistance and support for developing countries, so these countries may be able to achieve *sustainable development*, which includes efficient use of assistance and resources.

Around a year earlier the Honourable Alexander Downer, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated similar aims including increasing Australia's global connections with Europe:

> The Government regards our links with other countries beyond the region as assets. We have made it clear that Australia not only has substantial direct interests with European countries but can offer them a commercial base from which they can become increasingly active in the Asia Pacific region. This message, made during my recent visit to Europe, was warmly received by European leaders. The revitalisation of Australia's relationship with France, following the end of French nuclear tests in the Pacific, and support for the CTBT, led France's Prime Minister Juppe to comment that "we have a new basis for a new relationship between Australia and France" (Downer,1996).

Both the European Union and Australia adhere to the norm of *non-proliferation*. During 1996, many countries, including France and Australia, signed the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban

Treaty (CTBT), followed by ratification. Nevertheless, because some countries in the world have not ratified and not even signed the CTBT, so it is not (yet) in force. The Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty bans all nuclear test explosions, for both military and civilian reasons. Therefore, it can put a stop to the development of nuclear weapons and strengthen the norm of *non-proliferation* and *the centrality of peace*. On the 5th of March 2000, Dr Wolfgang Hoffmann of Germany, who is Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, undertook a visit to Australia and gave a speech at the Sydney Institute. Dr Hoffmann expressed his satisfaction regarding Australia's *pre-eminent role and leadership* during the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty negotiations at the United Nations, from 1993 onward (Wolfgang, 2000).

The Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty contributes to the emergence, socialisation and internalisation of the powerful moral norm of *non-proliferation*. It successfully persuades against testing and induces compliance, even though the full-scale CTBT ratification process is not finalised. The worldwide monitoring and verification system, which has been constructed in a network of designated places, serves the International Monitoring System (IMS) with its centre in Vienna, Europe. Throughout its territory Australia contributes 20 stations - including 3 in Antarctica - to the worldwide network of the International Monitoring System. It is remarkable that after the United States and the Russian Federation, Australia has the third largest number of monitoring stations (Wolfgang, 2000).

The Common goals of the Joint Declaration place a strong emphasis on an *efficient economic performance* in the world economy. During 1997-98 the East Asian financial and economic crisis, which started with the strong depreciation of the Thai baht, loomed large on the region. Nevertheless, Australia has weathered the East Asian economic turmoils very well, thanks to its trade relationship, amongst other countries, with the European Union. The Honourable Alexander Downer, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, expressed the contemporary economic situation in the following way:

> Australia has seen some downturn in trade with our immediate region in the wake of the financial crisis, but rises in some regional countries […] and a substantial jump in exports to the European Union and the United States (up 22 per cent and 40 per cent respectively), have kept total exports increasing. While we must, of course, never become complacent about our trading situation, this is a solid performance in our regional circumstances, and bodes well for the future (Downer, 1998:14).

5.4.   Dialogue and cooperation

The successful accomplishment of the Common goals in the Joint Declaration required closer association, exchange of information, regular bilateral consultation between the European Union and Australia, as well as cooperation through relevant international institutions. The most important areas included the safeguarding and advancing of *human rights* and *fundamental freedoms*, through shared commitments of consulting bilaterally and within the framework of the UN Commission on Human Rights. There has been common recognition for the need to strengthen the United Nations to increase its efficiency in the fight against terrorism, drug trade, and organised crime. The EU and Australia aimed to strive together for the *preservation of international laws and treaties*, to sustain *peace*, *stability* and *prosperity* both in Europe and the Asia-Pacific region. To this end the parties recognised the need to alleviate problems related to migration and refugee protection. The EU and Australia commenced work on a defence mechanism of data security, and safeguarding the global information society from dangerous and criminal activities.

There have been some particular areas with increasing importance for regular dialogue mentioned in the Joint Declaration, including trade and economic cooperation and matters related to employment, within the frameworks of WTO, OECD and the International Labor Organisation (ILO). Further needs for trade liberalisation, transparency, and implementation of WTO and OECD principles were highlighted. For the sake of the successful accomplishments of these policy propositions the parties decided to increase opportunities in telecommunications, financial, maritime and professional services through the values, norms, and normative principles of *non-discrimination*, and the *spirit of cooperation and goodwill*. Cooperation could solve veterinary and sanitary matters, and increase trade in agricultural, mining and energy products. Growing scientific, cultural, educational, and training involvements, with academic exchanges, would promote a better interaction and understanding between the peoples of the Member States of the EU and the people of Australia. In order to help developing countries in their endeavour to create *sustainable development*, Australia aims, as far as possible, to coordinate efforts and exchange information with the EU, with special regard to the South Pacific region. The European Union-Australia relations often refer to the necessity, as well as the increasing ambition of the parties, to work together for the socio-economic development and efficient aid provision in this unique region of Oceania.

The Pacific Ocean covers a third of the surface of planet Earth. The South Pacific region endowed with great biodiversity and valuable natural resources, as well as a growing environmental, political, and socio-economic importance in the world. The population on these Pacific Islands amounts to about 10 million people, more than half of which live in Papua New Guinea. The 15 South Pacific countries with 3 overseas countries and territories are as follows: Cook Islands, Fiji Islands, Kiribati, Republic of the Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu; and New Caledonia, French Polynesia as well as Wallis and Futuna. Tonga has a constitutional monarchy, and all of the other countries are democracies with a remarkable cultural as well as linguistic diversity, mostly populated by indigenous people: Polynesians, Melanesians and Micronesians. Fiji went through a military coup (2006), the Solomon Island had a period of ethnic conflict (1998-2003), and East Timor gained independence through UN-sanctioned action led by Australia (1999). Within the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States - European Union (ACP-EU) relationship, these are the 15 Pacific countries, and 3 overseas countries and territories in the Pacific (PACP). This framework facilitates dialogue and development cooperation, and aims to accomplish an efficient aid system that is basically 'aid for trade'. The PACP-EU cooperation concentrates on regionalism and good governance coupled with sustainable development of natural resources. The European Union expects Fiji to re-establish the normative principles of *democracy*, through its coming 2014 elections. A current statement, issued by Catherine Ashton EU High Representative, highlights optimism concerning Fiji:

> I welcome the publication […] by the Fijian Government of the Electoral Decree, the appointment of the Supervisor of Elections and the announcements of 17 September 2014 as the date of the elections. I am looking forward to an electoral process that ensures equal opportunities […] (EU External Action, 2014).

The European Union's involvement in the Pacific goes back several decades. The European Community initiated the Lome Convention, which was signed on the 28th of February 1975, in the capital of Togo, between 46 developing African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, and the then nine Member States of the European Community. The Convention was renewed and reorganised several times, according to the prevailing socio-economic developments, trade

liberalisation and new initiatives, until finally deemed inadequate. The Cotonou Partnership Agreement replaced the Lome arrangements and it came to force in April 2003, between the EU and 79 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. The purpose of the EU concerning these arrangements, and especially with the revised 2010 Cotonou Partnership Agreement, included custom-free access for ACP exports to the EU market, reciprocal trade liberalisation and the provision of development aid, including aid for trade in relation to the PACP countries, as well as facilitating regionalisation and inter-regional arrangements (Farrel, 2010: 69). There is provisional Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between the EU and Papua New Guinea, and the EU with Fiji, which opened up custom-free access for all exports to the European Union from these countries. Papua New Guinea and Fiji gradually open up their own markets to imports coming from the EU. Other PACP states may also join to Economic Partnership Agreements with the EU in the future (Europa, 2014).

In 2001, the European Union-Australia cooperation created a system for a more efficient provision of aid delivery to the South Pacific countries, through delegated cooperation arrangements, where an agency from the European Union may deliver aid through the representation of an associate Australian agency (Australian Government: DFAT; 2013). On the 20th of June 2014, in the University of Melbourne, the Honourable Julie Bishop, Minister for Foreign Affairs, gave a keynote address at a C20 Summit, titled: "Working with civil society on the G20 agenda". The Minister emphasized that:

> Aid can no longer be seen in isolation from economic drivers. Aid now accounts for only a small fraction of resources for development. In 2013, global Overseas Development Assistance was about $ 135 billion. But remittances were more than $400 billion, private capital flows almost $900 billion […]. These facts should challenge the traditional development approach […] and opening up the potential of the private sector […] that creates jobs […]. Australia's aid program will now respond to this reality and aid will promote economic growth and tackle poverty through a strong emphasis on initiatives including 'aid for trade.'

Australia, as a regional neighbour to the South Pacific states, has much at stake regarding the future situation of these vulnerable countries and communities. Several of these islands have

relatively small populations living on remote atolls with limited accessible natural resources, with the exception of fisheries. Their own markets have little capacity to benefit from economies of scale, and their geographic remoteness may create a disproportionate amount of communication and transport expenses. Climate variability may increasingly induce see-level rise, storm surges and cyclones. Other dangerous natural disasters, such as tsunami caused much damage in some islands. Any further environmental degradation may increasingly hit the relatively small populations of the Pacific states, some of whom may become *environmental refugees*. Due to their increasing environmental vulnerability the Pacific countries encounter a growing challenge. Access to clean water, environmentally safe and sound waste management, renewable energy supply, rural development and poverty reduction are vitally important for the peoples of the Pacific, and in relation to these matters both Australia and the European Union are trying to create positive differences with their input for the present and future.

The EU and Australia contribute to the needs of the Pacific states and assist these states to achieve vital socio-economic developments, including reforms in their education systems; as well as improved access in their communication services and health care services to be able to treat lifestyle and infectious illnesses. Both the EU and Australia diffuse norms in the Pacific states, and to some degree may be seen as norm entrepreneurs and exporters of values such as *entrepreneurship*, *human rights*, *centrality of peace*, *gender equality*, *human dignity* and *access to justice*. In Article 9 the Cotonou Partnership Agreement between the EU and ACP countries, stipulates 'essential elements':

> Essential elements regarding human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law, and fundamental element regarding good governance […] 2. The Parties […] reiterate their deep attachment to human dignity and human rights, which are legitimate aspirations of individuals and peoples. Human rights are universal, indivisible and interrelated. The Parties undertake to promote and protect all fundamental freedoms and human rights, be they civil and political, or economic, social and cultural. In this context, the Parties reaffirm the equality of men and women. […] (European Commission: The Cotonou Agreement; 2014).

Australia does not have a human rights charter. Australia has human rights provisions in its Constitution and Acts of State Parliaments, as well as safeguards for human rights through its

strong and relatively long democratic tradition, democratic elections, and rule of law with an independent judiciary. Australia is not bound by any regional human rights treaty in relation to Asia and the Pacific. Amongst the geographical regions of Earth, Asia and the Pacific have no human rights treaty (Kirby, 2011:273). George Williams, British professor, commented on the outcome of Australian consultations about constructing an Australian human rights charter, in relation to human rights protection: "people with power don't want to give it up"(Williams, 2010, in Kirby, 2011:272).

"Unless the principles of human rights also become positive legal rights that can be enforced, it is difficult to avoid the fact that the most powerful only use a 'moral' foreign policy for their own interest and that even when they don't, they are still suspected of doing so" (Eriksen, 2003, in Sjursen, 2006:246).

5.5. Framework for dialogue and consultations

According to the Joint Declaration, the European Union and Australia endeavour to increase reciprocal knowledge and understanding through Ministerial consultations amongst the President of the Council, the European Commission and Australia. The parties agreed to consult between their officials, and inform Australian representatives on EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) meetings. Australia informs the Presidency and the European Commission on Australian Foreign Policy, including developments in the Asia Pacific region. Summit meetings may be proposed between the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission and the Prime Minister of Australia. Australian Parliamentary Delegations facilitate conversations with the European Parliament vice versa, in order to bring the people of Australia and the peoples of the EU closer together.

The Australian Government DFAT Annual Report (1999-2000) updates about "practical advances in the bilateral cooperation agenda with the European Union, consistent with the Australia-European Union Joint Declaration". These advances include joint government-industry seminars; Australian persuasion and proposal toward the EU to undertake fundamental reform in their Common Agricultural Policy (CAP); increased Australian participation in technological cooperation with the EU; cooperation concerning the environment; and the establishment of an Australian embassy in Lisbon, Portugal, with concern toward East Timor.

5.6.   Conclusion

The 1997 Joint Declaration on Relations between the European Union and Australia has been a legally non-binding document. Nevertheless, it became important as the first general document produced between the two polities, which also underlined the priorities of cooperation and engagement for the future. The document highlights the shared norms, values, and esteemed principles, which informed and determined the development of European Union-Australia bilateral relationship. It is important to understand these values, norms and principles, because they characterise a working connection between the two entities, and they may open policy windows for the future. The official interlocutors underlined further need to work together in the South Pacific, in order to bring forth economic development, sustainability, and a better system for the distribution and reorganisation of aid delivery. The South Pacific region and Oceania has a growing environmental importance in the world, especially, because of concerns of climate variation and rising see level, which makes the peoples of the Pacific Islands increasingly vulnerable.

The environmental situation requires urgent actions, including the demonstration, institutionalisation and internalisation of norms, such as *environmental conscientiousness*, *ethical consumerism*, *human dignity*, *gender equality*, *social solidarity*, which may be able to help to alleviate an encroaching crisis of - potentially perhaps - catastrophic proportions. The *systems of the natural earth* encompass the possibilities for *environmental sustainability*, and at the same time international relations and economics are embedded in *systems created by humanity*. These major systems, that is the *systems of the natural earth* and the *systems constructed by humanity* are increasingly intertwined in complex ways; nevertheless, they may turn out to be inherently incommensurable, with unforeseeable consequences. The *reconciliation process* between the values, norms and normative principles of *homo economicus*, and the values and norms of *environmental sustainability* on planet Earth, in a global future perspective may have to encounter insurmountable difficulties. Perhaps past civilisations indicate that systems created by humanity, through the passage of time, become too complex, and implode. Much of the distant past has disappeared without a trace, and the exact causes of the demise of former civilisations are difficult to ascertain with certainty, therefore the exercise of the precautionary principle becoming all the more important.

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Chapter Six

Australia and the European Union: an agenda for cooperation (2003-2008)

6.1.   Introduction

In July 2001, and February 2002, the Honourable Alexander Downer then Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia, held meetings with the EU Presidency (DFAT 2001-2002:50). This was followed with the 18th Ministerial Consultations between Australian Ministers and the European Commission in Brussels, on the 18th of April 2002. Soon after, on the 10th of July the Honourable John Howard then Australian Prime Minister, visited the European Commission and met with President Romano Prodi and other Commissioners. The 18th Ministerial Consultations reviewed the 1997 Joint Declaration on Relations between Australia and the European Union, and sought to accomplish a number of strategic priorities, including immigration, asylum and visa issues. In March 2002, Australia initiated an inaugural security dialogue with the EU and with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which increased *strategic understanding* between the parties (European Commission, 2002: 359).

As a result of these intense high level contacts between the European Union and Australia, on the 16th of April 2003, during the 19th Ministerial Consultations in Melbourne, Alexander Downer then Minister for Foreign Affairs and Mark Vaile then Minister for Trade, participated in a constructive meeting with Chris Patten, then EU Commissioner for External Relations. These contemporary leaders adopted the written action plan, *Australia and the European Union: an Agenda for Cooperation*. The parties recognised the need to work together in areas regarding security and strategic issues, counter-terrorism, movement of people, the environment, and in sectors such as trade, education and technology (Downer, 2003). Australia's White Paper for Foreign and Trade Policy acknowledged an increasingly integrated Europe, and explicitly recognised the role of the European Union as a global actor, which would create opportunities for both parties in their bilateral relations (*Advancing the National Interests*, 2003:98-105).

6.2.   Security and strategic issues

The objectives in the 1997 Joint Declaration on Relations between Australia and the European Union continued its relevance, and provided a foundation for further development from 2003-2008, for an effective bilateral relationship expressed in the compact document, *Australia and the European Union: an Agenda for Cooperation*. The Honourable Alexander Downer, then Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia stated in 2002: "We need to work hard on building our links not only with the individual member states of the European Union, but also with European institutions. We need to see Europe through a new prism" […].

Alexander Downer accentuated that there was a "need to understand better the emerging significance of the European Union" (2002). During 2001, the Honourable John Howard, then Prime Minister of Australia, explicitly stated that "The European Union is a major economic player in the world and remains vital to our interests. […] Making Australia's voice heard in Brussels is one of the most important diplomatic tasks we face" (2001). The White Paper, *Advancing the National Interests*, published in 2003, in its title on Chapter 8 underlined the need of "Developing deeper relations with an enlarged and increasingly cohesive Europe", and elaborates accordingly:

> Europe is undergoing momentous change. The expansion and deepening of the European Union will have a significant impact on the international system. […] The European Union's evolution, particularly the increased cooperation and common positions on issues that were once the preserve of member states, requires new strategies to maintain the effectiveness of our engagement with Europe. The European Union's increasingly unitary behaviour will be an asset when we share common objectives, but a greater complication for our ability to achieve desired outcomes when our interests diverge. And a more unified Europe is having a noticeable impact on the processes and agendas of international diplomacy particularly at the multilateral level (page 98).

Australia and the EU Presidency arrived to one accord on several policy matters, and initiated a new high level strategic dialogue on the 25th and 26th of March 2002, in Brussels.

Significantly, these discussions included the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as well. Australia and the European Union made substantial commitments to the reconstruction of Afghanistan, and a firm decision followed by action to combat terrorism. A constructive association resulted in a cooperative work for the long term stability of the Pacific, in relation to Fiji, as well as East Timor, which in 2002 became a sovereign country under the name of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste. The EU-Australia international relationship incorporated some common aspects to manage irregular people movements and migration (Downer, 2002).

On the 17th of April 2003, the Honourable Christopher Patten, then EU Commissioner for External Relations, gave a keynote address to the National Press Club in Canberra. The Commissioner recognised the need of the European Union to invest more in a reasonable way in its own security:

> Now I am not talking about seeking to rival the United States, whose defence budget of nearly $400 billion represents over 40% of the world's total spending on weapons and warriors. Yet we should not forget that there are times when diplomacy must be backed by a credible threat of force to carry weight. Unless we are prepared in Europe to spend a bit more of defence, our foreign and security policy will simply not have enough effective influence.

In the international scene *nonmilitary dangers* continue to increase together with the threat of terrorism, civil wars or interstate wars. The sharp differentiation between the realist framework of geostrategic issues of security in relation to war and peace, and the global environmental and socio-economic issues may gradually cease to exist. Governments face difficult and complex tasks as they have to decide how to set national, regional and global priorities for urgent actions, given so many potentially dangerous and interrelated issues (Kegley and Blanton, 2014:505). Consequently, the norm of *strategic interdependence* guided the first Australia-European Union strategic dialogue through its timely undertaking in 2002. The parties intensified cooperation on counter-terrorism in the Asia-Pacific region, and agreed on information exchange and the protection of information infrastructure. The Australian law enforcement authorities developed police cooperation with Europol. The EU and Australia gave more attention to cooperate in technology development with deployment, and in climate science, including harmonisation of emissions monitoring with reporting and mitigation commitments (Australia and the European Union: an Agenda for Cooperation, 2003).

6.3.   Trade and transport

The *Agenda for Cooperation* action plan pledged to reach a decision on remaining issues of the EU-Australia bilateral Wine Agreement. On the 1st of December 2008, the Honourable Mariann Fischer Boel, then EU Commissioner for Agriculture and the Honourable Stephen Smith, then Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, signed a current Wine Trade Agreement, in Brussels. The Agreement substituted the one signed in 1994, which stated that Australian producers would cease using EU names, such as 'Champagne' or 'Sherry'. The new Agreement produced explicit dates for the phase-out of these terms. The EU and Australia arrived to a mutual understanding to protect each other's geographical significations (Europa, 2008). Australia reportedly became the largest exporter of wine to the European Union. The new Wine Agreement, which entered into force on the 1st of September 2010, provides clear benefits for Australian producers and winemakers. These benefits include more EU recognition regarding Australian winemaking procedures; easier approval of winemaking techniques that may be developed in the future; simplification of labelling prerequisites for Australian wines; and protection within the EU regarding 112 Australian geographical significations (Australian Government: Department of Agriculture, 2014).

The *Agenda for Cooperation* emphasized the intention of the EU and Australia to reach decision on issues of the WTO Doha Development Agenda, for mutual advantage. Market access matters required complex negotiations on agriculture, and joint efforts were necessary to reach conclusion compatible with the Doha declaration. The EU and Australia increased cooperation to carry out policies that bestow custom-free access on least-developed countries. Decision was made to support these countries to be able to attain pharmacological products for a price, which is within their means. Effective consultations were needed to resolve differences in bilateral agriculture and trade issues, such as the sanitary and phytosanitary (SPS) procedures. The World Trade Organisation stipulates sanitary or phytosanitary measures in several clauses outlined with justifications, one of which is "to protect human or animal life or health within the territory of the Member from risks arising from additives, contaminants, toxins or disease-causing organisms in foods, beverages or feedstuffs" (WTO: SPS Agreement, 2014).

During the Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organisation in Qatar in November 2001, WTO Member States started the Doha Development Agenda negotiations, which considered the expectations of the developing world in relation to trade and globalisation. On the 20th of November 2002, the Honourable Annemie Neyts-Uyttebroeck, then Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Belgium, gave a speech at the Australian National University titled, "The Doha Development Agenda: A tool for shaping Globalisation". Minister Neyts-Uyttebroeck highlighted the sensibility and expectations of civil society to find constructive solutions, regarding the unavoidable fact that while globalisation creates unprecedented wealth and it 'thrives on differentiation', it also 'generates differentiation'; it inescapably generates winners and losers. Currently, the WTO has around 160 Member states and most of them are developing countries. Consequently, the *engagement*, *understanding*, *solidarity* and *responsibility* of the wealthy countries should come to the fore. The European Union introduced the 'Everything But Arms' concept, so the least-developed countries could have complete custom-free and quota-free access for all their exports to the EU, with the exception of arms and armaments. Australia and New Zealand implemented similar policies. Minister Neyts-Uyttebroeck expressed concern that it is unacceptable if the "European Union is singled out by, among others, Australia and New Zealand, as being protectionist towards imports because of its Common Agricultural Policy". The Minister emphasized that the European Union is the largest importer of agricultural products from developing countries. It imposes zero or very low tariff, and alone imports more agricultural goods from developing countries than the US, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand combined. Nevertheless, the European Union aims to cooperate with countries, including Australia and New Zealand, in order to provide leadership together, in pursuing the Doha Development Agenda. The EU remains ready to tackle the more difficult issues. (2002:4-5)

The EU and Australia endeavoured on a joint progressive activity in the fields of Intelligent Transport Systems (ITS) and sustainable transport strategies. Intelligent Transport Systems include wireless and other communications between road, rail, water and air transport vehicles, infrastructure and navigation systems. The liberalisation of the aviation systems received a strong impetus through the EU-Australia cooperation. The largest aviation market of Australia is the European Union. On the 29th of April 2008, an *Agreement between the European Community and the Government of Australia on certain aspects of air services* was signed in Brussels, which reciprocally liberalised several aspects of the Australia-European Union air travel industry (European Commission, 2014).

6.4.   Education and technology

The European Union and Australia developed successful pilot projects on higher education. It started in 2002 and continued in 2003 and 2004. In 2005, the EU-Australia cooperation introduced the fourth proposals for multi-lateral projects, to create a basis for the future for durable and practical EU-Australian schemes in both higher education and Vocational Education and Training (Ghent University, 2014). Within Europe itself the European Union collaborates in educational projects through national, intergovernmental and supranational level. For the anticipated period of 2004-2020, the European Union launched the Erasmus+ programme in areas including education and sport. Erasmus+ gives a chance for millions of Europeans to be able to study abroad. The EU plays a key part in the internationalisation of the higher education system not only around its neighbouring countries, but also in a worldwide level with considerable influence on the Australian education sector. "Knowledge of the EU empowers Australia. Access to the EU market profits Australia. Access to EU education enriches Australia" (Murray, 2005:194).

On the 29th of April 2009, Australia was invited to the Bologna Policy Forum in Belgium, at the University of Louvain-la-Neuve. The first Bologna Policy Forum gathered dignitaries from the then 46 Bologna signatory countries and from countries in different parts of the world, in order to forge closer international links among higher education institutions. The Australian Delegation provided a statement, which emphasized that Australia is becoming an increasingly attractive place for international students, including around 35,000 European students studying in Australia. In Australia the three-cycle qualification arrangement makes it flexible with the Bologna degree structure. Nevertheless, Australian students should have more frequent and better opportunities to go to study in other countries. The Australian higher education sector needs to have better connections with global research networks, in order to further its preeminent role and central importance in the national system of research and innovation. "Many European national higher education systems are already very effective in the global knowledge economy […]. Australia is keen to take a full part in this process through its partnerships in Europe" (Australian Government; Bologna Process: 2009).

The *Australia and the European Union: an Agenda for Cooperation (2003-2008)* action plan aimed to increase joint technological projects within EU frameworks. This involved joint energy efficiency programs and promotion of technology collaboration through an annual technology event. Other special areas included nanomaterial technologies for personal and resource security, sustainable land transport, information society technologies, as well as management systems and quarantine of beef production.

The EU and Australia pledged to cooperate between the Australian Global Navigation Satellite System and the Galileo Satellite Navigation project of the European Union. The initial plan included a framework for the Galileo Joint Undertaking on ground infrastructure in Australia, moreover industrial collaboration in research and development. Around 2008 the EU reorganised the Galileo project. Since 2011, four Galileo satellites have been sent to orbit. The European Union builds Galileo as a global satellite navigation system under European civilian control. Users will be able to benefit from Galileo's precision, which will provide them with their exact position in time and space. The positioning information supplied by Galileo will help many people through their mobile phones and automobile navigation instruments. The emergency response systems of European transport providers may become faster with an improved quality (Europa, 2014).

Australia is playing a part in the development of the Square Kilometre Array (SKA) that is the international radio telescope for the 21st Century. It is designated by the European Strategy Forum on Research Infrastructures (ESFRI), which works to achieve scientific integration in Europe, and reinforce its international outreach. The Square Kilometre Array is a next-generation radio telescope that will provide astronomers far greater possibility to examine the formation of the early Universe (European Commission, 2014).

The European Union Cattle Accreditation Scheme (EUCAS) is a business operation of a countrywide animal production system in Australia, which provides assurance for a complete follow up of all animals through the National Livestock Identification System (NLIS). EUCAS permits Australia to conform to the market obligations of the European Union for sound beef products. This system separates cattle that have never been treated with hormonal growth boosters at any time. Farms in Australia must be EUCAS authorised to be able to raise animals, which then can be used for meat export to the European Union (Australian Government: Department of Agriculture, 2012).

6.5.   Development cooperation, migration and asylum

The European Union and Australia prepared a common ground for further cooperation in areas of mutual interests, such as coordinating development programs for the Pacific Nations and help to fund the Asia Pacific Leadership Forum. Exchange of information and consultation through multilateral fora was organised, in order to confront transnational criminal acts, including people-smuggling and human trafficking. Development of new technologies and electronic support structures could assist in combating irregular migration and document fraud. The parties focused on practical cooperation with regard to the integration of migrants and the readmission of asylum seekers and refugees to countries of first asylum.

The AusAID Annual Report (2002-03) provided an outline of the substantial work for effective law and justice, to which Australia has been committed in the South Pacific, particularly in Melanesia:

Solomon Islands, Samoa, Vanuatu and Nauru are receiving support to improve the capabilities of their national police forces. Australian funded programs in Tonga and Vanuatu are strengthening the capacities of the courts and legal agencies such as the offices of the solicitor general, public prosecutor and public solicitor. In both Fiji and PNG, aid activities are closely aligned to local systems and structures (page 41).

An ongoing and efficient collaboration between the EU and Australia in the policy areas concerning irregular movement of people, asylum, migration, development aid and the like, require the genuine demonstration, internalisation and institutionalisation of shared norms and values, such as *compassion*, *altruism* and *generosity*. On the 17th of September 2013, the Honourable Gareth Evans, Chancellor of the Australian National University and former Foreign Minister of Australia, gave a speech on the 17th annual Forum 2000 Conference, in Prague. In this Conference, titled 'Societies in Transition' the Minister spoke about the importance of shared values, norms and normative principles including, *the importance of history and culture*, *the importance of patience*, *the importance of action*, *the importance of institutions*; *the importance of leadership* and *the importance of ideas*. During the Forum 2000 Conference, the importance of ideas such as *common humanity*, the need to *accommodate diversity*, the preservation of *freedom and dignity*, *compassion*, *altruism* and *generosity*, were emphatically highlighted as practical instruments to realise common goals in international cooperation.

6.6.   Conclusion

The *2003 Australia-European Union Agenda for Cooperation* identified preeminent policy areas of vital engagement for five years. These priorities included: security and strategic issues; the environment; trade and transport; education and technology; development cooperation, migration and asylum. The relationship between the EU and Australia moved to a new level; in part because of the new security and strategic situation with a worldwide terrorist threat, which resurfaced around the beginning of the new millennium. These events prompted the parties to create an action plan and undertake practical collaborations with special regard to security as well as the other designated areas, through bilateral, multilateral and regional levels.

In the *Agenda for Cooperation* the norm of *strategic interdependence* featured prominently. It resulted in an intensified cooperation, where the EU and Australia agreed to exchange information, and develop police cooperation between Australian police and Europol. Global and regional non-military dangers continued to increase together with the threat of terrorism, civil wars or interstate wars. The global-regional geostrategic issues of security in relation to war and peace, and the global-regional environmental and socio-economic issues gradually merge (Kegley and Blanton, 2014:505) and become intertwined with each other. The difficult tasks governments have to face are increasing, and the decision making process of how to set priorities becoming more complex, because of many potentially dangerous and interrelated issues. In a sense the EU-Australia mutual engagement and stronger cooperation was a reflection of the global situation together with the growing European Union integration, and the EU's more effective role regarding security policy, environmental and socio-economic issues.

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Chapter Seven

A constructivist analysis of the 2008 European Union–Australia Partnership Framework

7.1.   Introduction

On the 25th of June 2007, the Australia - European Union Ministerial Consultations were held in Canberra. During the meetings the leaders and dignitaries observed the historical importance of the tenth anniversary of the European Union-Australia Joint Declaration, signed on the 26th of June 1997. The Honourable Alexander Downer, then Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Honourable Benita Ferrero-Waldner, then EU Commissioner for External Relations, reasserted the significantly improved bilateral relationship, and aimed to further widen and revitalise the EU-Australia collaboration. The 1997 Joint Declaration and the subsequent Agenda for Cooperation (2003-2008) advanced the bilateral connection between the two polities. Minister Downer and Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner arrived to one accord concerning the coming year, when the European Union and Australia was to update the framework of the bilateral partnership and finalise a new, comprehensive document with significant measures (Joint Statement, 2007).

On the 2nd of April 2008, the Honourable Kevin Rudd, then Australian Prime Minister, had a consultation in Brussels with the Honourable José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission. The Prime Minister and the President of the EC produced a Joint Statement about bringing the EU-Australia relationship to a new level through the development of a new Partnership Framework, which was to be adopted at the Australia–European Union Presidency Consultations in October 2008. The Australian Government aimed to engage with the European Union in a comprehensive way, and the creation of a Partnership Framework seemed the best way forward to do that (DFAT 2007-2008:57). The newly elected Labor Government, with Prime Minister Kevin Rudd at its helm, had a three pillars framework as its foreign policy approach. The first pillar designated as Australia's relationship with the United

States, which was established during the Second World War. The second pillar was meant to be Australia's membership of the United Nations with its international legal obligations and responsibilities. Australia has a strong focus on Asia and the Pacific, characterised as the third pillar. On the 4th of June 2008, in his speech to the Asia Society Austral-Asia Centre, in Sydney, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd stated:

> If Australia wants an effective United Nations, we have to be comprehensively, not marginally, engaged. And that means engaging with key multilateral partners around the globe that share our goals, in particular our partners in Europe – a principle of multilateral cooperation with our European partners I re-affirmed in meetings with the European Commission in Brussels in April.

On the 29th of October 2008, during the Australia-European Union Presidency Consultations in Paris, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, then EU Commissioner for External Relations and Bernard Kouchner, then French Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, together with Stephen Smith, then Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, launched the European Union-Australia Partnership Framework. The EU-Australia Partnership Framework is an extensive document for trade and other cooperation, with an emphasis on political declaration; however, it does not have the legal standing of an international agreement. It subsumed the 1997 Joint Declaration and the 2003 Agenda for Cooperation, and provides a relatively strong basis for a practical bilateral relationship. The Partnership Framework came under the third pillar of the Rudd Government's foreign policy, and it committed Australia on the basis of its middle-power diplomacy, for a long-term bilateral cooperation with the European Union, and multilaterally on the international scene. The common goals of the parties included the strengthening of cooperation in shared foreign policy interests, as well as supporting the multilateral trading system and bilateral investment relationship. The document emphasized the need for strong bilateral and regional cooperation between Australia and the EU, in relation to the Asia-Pacific regions. It underlined the need for cooperation on climate change and energy security, moreover provided a vision with practical measures for joint work in research. The importance of culture and the movement of people between the EU and Australia were also recognised. The EU-Australia Partnership Framework is a 'living document'. It has systematic review procedures according to relevant needs. The first of its review took place on the 8th of October 2009, during EU-Australia Ministerial meetings in Stockholm, under the Swedish EU Presidency (EU-Australia Partnership Framework, 2009).

7.2.   Strengthening cooperation in shared foreign policy interests

> "The partnership agreement that Australia and the European Union have
> adopted today is, in Australia's eyes, a deeply historic agreement,"
> Foreign Minister Stephen Smith (*Sydney Morning Herald* 30/10/2008)

According to the well-known constructivist scholar, Professor Nicholas Onuf, "The act of speaking in a form that gets someone else to act is commonly called a speech act" (1998: 66). There are three different kinds of speech acts, such as *assertive speech act*, *directive speech act* and *commissive speech act*. In connection with these speech acts, there are *assertive rules*, *directive rules* and *commitment rules*. Assertive rules inform or instruct about the world and may generate principles. Directive rules have normative contents, and it commands actors about what to do (or what not to do). Commitment rules involve promises, rights and duties. Speech acts and rules may always be characterised according to these three different ways (Onuf, 1998: 66-68).

"From a constructivist point of view all rules are always constitutive *and* regulative at the same time. […] Agents make rules and use them for instruction, direction, and commitment" (Onuf, 1998: 68-69). Because of the *principle of sovereignty*, in international relations there are *informal directive rules*, but very few *formal directive rules*. International relations consist of mostly formal *commitment rules*, such as the rules of international law, connected with *assertive rules* of instructions of varying formality (Onuf, 1998: 73). Assertive rules, informal directive rules, and commitment rules constitute significant elements of the text - throughout the 10 pages - of the 2008 EU-Australia Partnership Framework document.

According to the 2008 Partnership Framework, the European Union and Australia have a mutual commitment to contribute to the advance and maintenance of the global respect for *human rights*, *fundamental freedoms*, *democracy* and the *rule of law*. Both parties aim to be entirely devoted to an operative multilateralism within the framework of the United Nations (UN). In March 2008, the Honourable Kevin Rudd, then Australian Prime Minister, declared Australia's intention to be elected as a non-permanent member to the United Nations Security Council, for 2013-14. Australia aimed for one of two positions on the Security Council, reserved for members of the Western European and Others Group (WEOG). The successful candidate country had to receive votes from at least 129 countries, which was two-thirds of the

entire UN membership. On the 18th of October 2012, Australia received 140 votes with a clear win against Finland and Luxembourg. Luxembourg gained the other seat against Finland's bid at the second round (UNAA, 2012).

It is in Australia's strategic interest that the global order remains rules-based. Therefore Australia imparts a contribution when it comes to UN deployments, if that is in its national interest, and where there is sufficient capacity. Both the EU and Australia respect the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, and have a joint concern to facilitate effective work through the International Criminal Court in the Netherlands, to prosecute those found guilty of genocide, war crimes or crimes against humanity. The EU and Australia promote *international peace and stability*, *conflict prevention*, *post-conflict stabilisation*, and *multilateral cooperation in counter-terrorism*. "Defence advice and support will be an important contribution to Australia's active participation […] of the UN Security Council, including through the provision of technical advice and advocacy of initiatives to enhance international security" (Defence White Paper, 2013:68).

One of the most important EU-Australia cooperation through international fora is the mutual work regarding the *norm of non-proliferation and disarmament*. Both the EU and Australia advocate that the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) would be signed and ratified especially by those states, whose signature and ratification would be required for the Treaty to enter into force. As yet 13 states have not signed it; and 33 states have not yet ratified the CTBT, including the United States and China (CTBTO, 2014). The 2008 Partnership Framework aims to persuade Asia Pacific countries to become parties to the CTBT (http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/australia/documents/eu_australia/partnership_framework200 9eu_en.pdf).

On the 29th of August 2013, the Honourable Gareth Evans, Chancellor of the Australian National University and former Foreign Minister, gave a Public Lecture at the University of Melbourne, titled "Projecting Australia on the World Stage". Professor Evans identified six Australian Foreign Policy priorities, as follows:

- *No zero-sum game in Australia's relations with China and the US.*
- *Maintain proper relationship with Indonesia.*
- *Maintain proper relationship with India.*
- *Maintain proper relations with the Pacific Island countries.*
- *Maintain a proper place at the major regional policy-making forums.*
- *Maintain a significant role in major global policy-making forums.*

Number 10 of the Introductory Paragraph (Chapeau) in the 2008 EU-Australia Partnership Framework states similar insights. It refers to the growing strategic importance of the Asia and Pacific regions, and underlines the mutual interests of both Australia and the European Union to endeavour together to have substantial engagement with these regions, with the aim to strengthen institutions. Australia's strong focus on Asia, especially its growing international relationship with China, and at the same time its eminent relationship with the United States requires thoughtful undertaking of a delicate diplomacy. There is no future for any 'zero-sum game' regarding Australia's relations with China and the United States. Concerning the transformation of China, the Honourable Kevin Rudd, former Australian Prime Minister, as well as Foreign Minister, writes:

> […] the pace of change outstrips our analytical frameworks for comprehending it. It is like the English Industrial Revolution and the global information revolution combusting simultaneously and compressed into not 300 years, but 30 (2012: 46).

The "collective west is woefully unprepared" (Rudd, 2012: 46) regarding these fast changes and the shift of power, including economic activity, dynamism, wealth and knowledge creation, which is relentlessly gravitating from Europe to Asia, from the US to China. The post-war order was first and foremost established by the West. So how much China will adhere to and how much will it change the ideals, culture, values, norms and normative principles of this particular order, through its constantly growing power? In the article titled, "The struggle for recognition of normative powers: Normative power Europe and normative power China in context", Emilian Kavalsky assessed in parallel a normative power Europe and a normative power China, thereby "to elicit the key elements of normative power in global life" (2013: 247). The European Union may be perceived as a normative power that is 'rule based' and framed by the 'logic of appropriateness', whilst China may be perceived as a normative power that is 'relationally-based' and framed by the 'logic of relationship' (Kavalsky, 2013: 254; 261).

China, perhaps, going to be more and more perceived not only as a rising power with an ancient civilisation and tradition, encompassing a dynamic economic activity of wealth and knowledge creation, but also as a rising and decisive 'normative power'. The ideals, morals, values, norms, and normative principles of China may be conceptualised in ways which encompass the ideals, values and norms of the Confucian virtues, such as *benevolence*, *obedience*, *propriety*, or *duty bound trustworthiness*. Other values of China includes *respecting*

others; *harmony with a difference*; *harmonious inclusion*; and *peace infused with harmony and tranquillity*. Another important value of China is the idea of its *peaceful rise* through economic development to an international status of prominence. Peace infused with harmony, tranquillity and serenity may encompass the values and basic principles of humanity, society and nature.

The Honourable Kevin Rudd, former Australian Prime Minister, accentuated in the article, written in the *New Statesman* that:

> Here in the Antipodes, what was quaintly described in London and Washington as the "Far East" has, since the fall of Singapore, been regarded as the "Near North". Comprehending Asia, and the driving forces within it, has never been for us an exotic intellectual luxury (2012: 46).

Prime Minister Rudd provides his vision, with its possibly practical implementation, which could increase the chances of working efficiently and effectively for peace and prosperity in the global system:

> It is critical that the future international system be based on universal values, as expressed in the various normative codes of the United Nations system, rather than the narrow interests of a particular group of states. And within this framework, Chinese, Indian, Latin American and African voices should be able to play a more important role, including making contributions from their own civilisatorial traditions (2012: 48).

One of the most important civilizational values of China is the tradition regarding *harmony*. In a journal article titled, "The ideal of Harmony in Ancient Chinese and Greek Philosophy" Chenyang Li elaborates on the concept of harmony:

> […] unlike the Pythagorean notion of harmony, which is primarily based on a linear progressive model with a pre-set order, the ancient Chinese concept of harmony is best understood as a comprehensive process of harmonization (2008: 81).
> It is a fundamentally open notion in the sense that it does not aim to conform to any pre-set order. This broader, richer, and more liberal understanding of harmony has had a profound influence on Chinese culture as whole in its long history (2008: 96-97).

For example, the typical Chinese garden (Keswick, 2003: 118-122) creates harmony and tranquillity through the various bends in the incorporated waterways and through the curvatures within its structures, as well as through the significance of elements reflected by the arrangements and combination of plants, water, earth, rocks, light and shade, which interrelate with each other and draws humanity. The gardens have an aura, where the beauty and harmony is not so much 'superimposed' through the construction, but rather develops within it. The architectures are seamlessly incorporated with the plants, waterways, sculptures, mural paintings and mural writings. The culture of Chinese gardens reflects and encourages peace and serenity with nature, and contentment with life. Their essence is similar to the essence of the characters of the Chinese writing system and calligraphy: they are compact, expressive, harmonious and 'tranquil'. Daoism, the religious-philosophical system of China, saw humans as part of the whole universe (Kohn, 2005). Not predominantly to subjugate and rule but rather, to live harmoniously with nature.

The Constitution of the People's Rebublic of China outlines many of its ideals, values, norms and normative principles, some of which may be said to be under 'growth and development'. It may be observed that some of these norms are probably incommensurable with certain current Western values and norms (http://english.people.com.cn/constitution/). The followings are the Eight Principles (in a simple form), which China uses in its provision of Economic Aid for other countries. These principles are originated through Premier Zhou Enlai in 1964, and reiterated in the 2011 White Paper:

- The principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries.
- Strict adherence of the principle of sovereignty.
- The principle of lighten the burden on recipient countries as far as possible.
- The Chinese Government helps recipient countries to embark on the road of self-reliance and economic development.
- The Chinese Government helps recipient countries with projects that require less investment but yield quicker results.
- China provides quality equipment and materials manufactured at market prices.
- Personnels of the recipient country may fully master the technology by Chinese assistance.
- The Chinese experts, dispatched by China to help in construction in recipient countries, will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country (GOV. cn, 2012)

7.3. Supporting the multilateral trading system and bilateral investment relationship

The norm of *trade liberalisation* is institutionalised and internalised by the representative elites of both Australia and the European Union. According to both polities, *trade liberalisation* creates positive influence in the complex and interrelated web of global socio-economic arrangements. Both parties aim to respect the rules of the World Trade Organization, as instruments to pursue common trade interests, including the interests of developing countries. Australia is a stable member of several regional socio-economic and political groups. It was a founding member for the forum, which currently includes 21 Pacific Rim countries' economies that is the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The East Asia Summit (EAS) is a regional cooperation amongst leaders of the dynamic East Asian region. Australia is a founding member of EAS, which comprises 18 members, including the 10 ASEAN countries, as well as China, India, Japan, New Zealand, the Republic of Korea, the United States and Russia. Australia is the most powerful country among the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), which is an organization with intergovernmental characteristics amongst the countries of the Pacific Ocean. Australia has a powerful Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and this Agreement also includes New Zealand. The Eurasian interregional socio-economic forum ASEM includes the European Union with its 28 Member States, the European Commission, moreover Norway, Switzerland, and the ASEAN countries, the ASEAN secretariat, China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, as well as India, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Mongolia, Bangladesh and Russia. ASEM aims to coordinate multilateral policies, and cooperate between Europe and Asia through socio-economic dialogues, including the promotion of culture and education. ASEM introduced three pillars, which are the political, socio-economic, and cultural-educational pillars (Asia-Europe Meeting, 2014).

Australia (WFTO-Pacific) and the European Union countries (WFTO-Europe) are members of the alternative World Fair Trade Organization, which adheres to a remarkable set of Fair Trade normative commitments with its norms, values and normative principles, such as:

- *creating opportunities for economically disadvantaged producers*,
- *adhering to transparency and accountability*,
- *concern for the socio-economic and environmental well-being of small producers*,
- *payment of a fair price*,
- *commitment against child labour and forced labour*,
- *non-discrimination, gender equity and freedom of association*,

- *provision of a safe and healthy working environment*,
- *commitment to environmental sustainability* (WFTO, 2014).

Nevertheless, in the relentless neoliberal business world established first and foremost by the principles of *homo economicus*, Australia and the European Union aim to bring forth an optimum environment for trade and investment through Trade Policy Dialogue, which involves information exchanges regarding endeavours toward Free Trade Agreements (FTAs). A Free Trade Agreement is a legally binding international treaty, which may link two or several economies and may cover complete regions. Free Trade Agreements remove barriers to trade and reciprocally liberalise access to markets for goods, services, and investment. It facilitates commercial ties, and increase economic integration between participating countries. An FTA may be able to solve issues regarding intellectual property rights, or issues of competition policy. Currently, Australia has Free Trade Agreements with New Zealand (1983), Singapore (2003), Thailand (2005), United States (2005), Chile (2009), and Malaysia (2013). The most significant to date is the Agreement Establishing the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area, which on the 1st of January 2010 entered into force. The Korea-Australia FTA and the Japan-Australia Economic Partnership Agreement have been concluded, but not yet in force. Currently as of 2014, Australia negotiates FTAs with other trading entities, including China, India, Indonesia, and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), as well as the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) that is negotiated between 12 countries (Australian Government: DFAT, 2014).

The European Union also concluded a number of FTAs: with Chile (2005), with the Republic of Korea (2011), and it has FTAs within a preferential framework with Mexico (2000) and South Africa (2004). The EU is currently conducting FTA negotiations with trading entities, including ASEAN, the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC), MERCOSUR, Canada, India, Malaysia, Singapore, Japan, Ukraine and what may become the largest FTA ever that is the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), which is an FTA proposition between the EU and the USA (European Commission, 2014).

Through the 2008 EU-Australia Partnership Framework the parties committed their resources to effective multilateralism, and emphasized the importance of trade and investment. The European Union is a powerful global investor and important recipient of foreign investment. The EU has strong investment links with Australia, and from 2006-2007 it surpassed the United States to become the largest two way investment partner of Australia. In

2013 the EU invested A\$ 716,032 million in Australia (with a Foreign Direct Investment component of A\$ 156,110 million). This is about 30% of the total amount of foreign investment in Australia. Following the US, the EU is the second largest destination of Australian investment, which in 2013 reached A\$ 455,752 million (A\$ 73,478 million is FDI). This is around 28.5% of Australia's total investment abroad (DFAT, 2014). Nevertheless, there have been clearly far more in the making, than a significant trade, investment and economic relationship. On the 2nd of December 2008, the Honourable Stephen Smith, then Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, during his interviews in Brussels, characterised the nature of growth concerning the EU-Australia international relationship:

> What we are discovering, as we engage with the European Union and with its member states, that very much Australia's approach is like-minded. Our commitment to multilateralism, our commitment to working through international institutions and regional institutions to address significant international problems, whether it's climate change or whether it's a global financial crisis.

On the 15th and 16th of November 2014, the EU-Australia multilateral cooperation may receive new impetus, through the upcoming G-20 Summit in Brisbane, Queensland. The G-20 membership includes the largest emerging, as well as developed economies of the world, including the European Union and Australia. Around two-thirds of the world's population is represented by the G-20 leaders, and the G-20 trading entities encompass more than 75 % of the global trade as well as 85 per cent of the global gross domestic product. On the 23rd of May 2012, the Robert Schuman Lecture was delivered by Alastair Walton President of the European Australian Business Council (EABC). The introduction, "New Alliances: Australia and Europe in a G20 World", presented at the ANU in Canberra, emphasized the importance of the G20, and Australia's vital engagement with the global 'soft power' the European Union:

> Despite our […] friendly relationships within the Asian region, the unfortunate fact is that, over the coming decades our own defence and military capabilities are going to be overshadowed by those of China and India. […] Australia cannot rely on US 'hard power' alone for its security. Australia […] need to re-think its geopolitical alliances beyond its 'hard power' relationship with the United States and regional engagement with Asia, to significantly upgrade its relationship with the world's largest economy and the leading 'soft power' in global affairs - the European Union.

7.4. Bilateral and regional cooperation between Australia and the EU, in relation to the Asia-Pacific regions

Through their joint work in the Asia-Pacific regions, both the European Union and Australia facilitate regional emergence and diffusion of norms and normative principles, including human rights. Through state socialisation norms may become shared, given that "states, like people, can be expected to internalize patterns of behaviour and role expectations" (Alderson, 2001: 416). State socialisation is then "the processes by which states internalize norms arising elsewhere in the international system" (Alderson, 2001: 416). Notwithstanding the importance and significance of state socialisation sceptics tend to dismiss it as "misleading anthropomorphism" (Alderson, 2001: 417). However, it is evidently clear that through intersubjectivity people can get hold of power that may be metaphorically described as an "internal gyroscope" (Elster, 1989: 131), which securely guides them to adhere to the internalised norms. Through a gradual process, an incremental change of identity creates new interests, which produce new behaviours. Attitudes of prominent and less prominent members of society start to change, which may trigger a sociological course that facilitate institutionalisation, followed by internalisation of the emerging norm. Norm internalisation by the members of society is a "key element of state socialisation" (Alderson, 2001: 418). Leaders, individual norm entrepreneurs, NGOs, or group of people who intersubjectively internalised the particular norm, may use non-manipulative and non-coercive persuasion, argumentation and demonstration to further establish the norm through institutionalisation, which is "the defining feature of state socialisation" (Alderson, 2001: 419). "State socialization is always a *project* of domestic social and political actors as well as a *process* that unfolds in the international sphere" (Alderson, 2001: 419).

The biophysical Earth-systems (structure) are intertwined and joined together in a gradual way with the human systems (agency) through a dynamic complexity. The biophysical Earth-systems are holistic; nevertheless, the human systems are fragmented. These fragmentations are manifested within international society as the international state system. "The state is […] simultaneously a structure with the capacity 'to do', and 'an agent of ' the social and political (human) activity which is collectively seen as state behaviour" (Flockhart, 2006: 92).

According to the Partnership Framework, Australia and the European Union recognise the importance of *inter-civilisational dialogue* and its continual promotion. Both Australia and the EU aim to fulfil the objectives of the EU Strategy for the Pacific and the EU South-East Asia Strategy (Council of the European Union, 2012). Through an effective collaboration and through their cooperation with regional partners the EU-Australia common objectives include:

- regional security and stability;
- sustainable development of the Asia Pacific regions;
- enhancement of aid effectiveness;
- support for China's 'peaceful rise' to become a successful and responsible member of the international community;
- exchanging information regarding human rights issues in Asia and in the Pacific;
- ongoing collaboration to strengthen the regional institutional architecture and the promotion of good governance;
- facilitating dialogue on widening and deepening regional integration;
- promotion of sustainable forestry and fisheries in the region; (2009:10-11).

The Asia-Pacific regions include the countries of the East Asia Summit (EAS), the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC); moreover Fiji and North Korea; as well as the US island territories of Guam, American Samoa, and the Northern Mariana Islands; the French overseas collectivities of French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna, and New Caledonia; and finally, the New Zealand territory of Tokelau. The EAS is a regional cooperation of 18 members including the 10 ASEAN countries, as well as China, India, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the Republic of Korea, the United States and Russia. The PIF include Australia, New Zealand and 13 Pacific Island States (Fiji has been suspended). SAARC includes India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Maldives, and Bhutan.

The two most populous countries of the Asia-Pacific regions are the rising economic powers of China and India. On the 20th of December 1993, in Brussels, the Republic of India and the European Community signed an automatically renewable Cooperation Agreement on partnership and development. It entered into force on the 1st of August, 1994. This was follo-

wed by various trade Agreements, and in 2001 the parties signed an Agreement for scientific and technological cooperation, which was renewed in 2007, and entered into force in 2010. In 2004 an Agreement on customs cooperation and mutual administrative assistance was signed. In 2008 the EU and India signed an Agreement on air services, which has not yet entered into force. In 2009 the parties signed an Agreement on the field of fusion energy research, which is still pending (Treaties: Europa, 2014). The European Union is India's second largest trading partner. At the same time India is the 8th largest trading partner of the European Union. In June 2007, negotiations for a comprehensive Free Trade Agreement have started between the EU and India. This FTA would become one of the most significant trade agreements, affecting the lives of around 1.7 billion people (European Commission: EU and India, 2014). On the 10th of February 2012, the 12th India-European Union Summit was held in New Delhi. Dr Manmohan Singh, then Prime Minister of the Republic of India, met Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council and Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission. The parties produced a general Joint Statement; a Joint Declaration on Research and Innovation Cooperation; a Joint Declaration for Enhanced Cooperation on Energy; as well as a Memorandum of Understanding on Statistical Cooperation. The leaders emphasized the development priorities of the EU and India, which is based on *common shared values*, *democracy*, *rule of law*, *civil liberties*, *fundamental freedoms* and *respect for human rights* (India-European Union Joint Statement, 2012).

The developing relationship between China and the European Union received an emphasis in 1985, when a Bilateral Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation between the European Economic Community and the People's Republic of China, was signed in Brussels. In 1998, the EU and China signed a renewable Agreement for scientific and technological cooperation. In 1999 the leaders and representatives produced an Agreement on cooperation in customs matters. During the following years various Agreements, related to trade as well as tourism, was also created (Treaties: Europa, 2014). Currently the European Union is the largest trading partner of China. China itself is the second largest trading partner of the EU, following the US. On the 20th of November 2013, President Xi Jinping of the Peoples' Republic of China met Herman van Rompuy, President of the European Council, and José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission. On the 21st of November 2013, Premier Li Keqiang of the State Council of the People's Republic of China hosted the 16th China-EU Summit in Beijing. During the Summit, the leaders and dignitaries signed the Agreement for Intellectual

Property Cooperation, as well as the China-EU Joint Declaration on Energy Security. The parties adopted the EU-China 2020 Strategic Agenda for Cooperation, in order to progress the 2003 EU-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership (EU External Action, 2013).

The EU and China aimed to consolidate and develop their strategic partnership, based on the values and principles of *equality*, *respect* and *trust*. The EU respects China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and China reaffirms its support regarding EU integration. The Foreword of the *EU-China 2020 Strategic Agenda for Cooperation* includes the following observation:

> The EU and China have both put forward strategic development plans - China's two centenary goals and the 12th Five Year Plan, the EU 2020 Strategy - which present potential for synergies to enhance cooperation for win-win results. The two sides are committed to promoting the EU-China Comprehensive strategic Partnership in the next decade (http://eeas.europa.eu/china/docs/eu-china_2020_strategic_agenda _en.pdf).

The EU-China 2020 Strategic Agenda for Cooperation has four main subjects, which concerns *peace and security*, *prosperity*, *sustainable development*, and *people-to-people exchanges*. Regarding *peace and security* it is noticed that: "The global financial crisis has had a far-reaching impact. Imbalance in global development has widened. International and local conflicts keep breaking out. Conventional and non-conventional security issues are interwoven"(2013:3). Nevertheless "peace, development, cooperation and mutual benefit have become the trend of the times" (2013: 3). Regarding *prosperity*, the key issues for cooperation are trade and investment, industry and information, agriculture, as well as transport and infrastructure. With regard to the urgency of *sustainable development* the parties aim to maximise the synergies between China's ecological civilization and the European Union's resource efficiency agenda (2013: 9).

There are several related ideals, ideas, values, norms and normative principles between the EU, Australia, China, and India, which may play a substantial part in the future, in a constructivist framework of international relationships and development between them. Among

these shared ideas are the belief in education, the creation of a knowledge society and the increasing development of the information superhighway, where new ideas and knowledge are traded as part of the new commodities of the present and future. There are also the shared values and norms, which pertain to the vision of a world that would be free from irreversible environmental deterioration, or terrorism and nuclear war. China and India have developed significantly different ways in the organisation of their societies and economies. What is common in them, for example, is the aim to develop their powerful knowledge industry, which would allow them to leave out some of the phase of development in heavy industrialisation, which was a part and a long process in the history of British-European and North-American technological advancement. It is a historical fact that the civilisations of China and India achieved a relatively high state of development for centuries, before the civilisations of Europe ever did. The civilisation of China invented a number of technological devices including printing, or the compass. The civilisation of India produced state of the art plumbing networks in their cities, and bathrooms in their dwellings. It conducted complex trade with other lands and may have used 'credit cards' (Joshi and Parpola, 1987) long before European development. Once again, during the current era, China and India are rising, and this is fast increasing their significance in connection to the future of the world, including the policy analysis of Asia in relation to the EU-Australia cooperation:

> Effectively, Chinese market socialism marries two seemingly contradictory and mutually exclusive concepts of economic management. It combines economic liberalisation with continued political centralisation and totalitarian state control (Herrschel, 2007: 161).
>
> India has never considered military might as the ultimate measure of national strength. It is a necessary component of overall national strength. I would, therefore, say that the greatest meaning of the tests is that they have given India shakti, they have given India strength, they have given India self-confidence (Atal Bihari Vajpayee former Prime Minister of India; Oza, 2006: 143).

There are significant shared values between the EU, Australia, India as well as China, which are influential. Nevertheless, among the most important and most obvious common values are the value of *peace* and *the pursuit of happiness*. Europe, China, India, all of these civilisations have experienced terrible killings and wars, and Australia itself brought a great sacrifice for victory and peace in the world and in Europe. If times of peace and war are examined and

compared between some of the decisive civilisations' historical time periods, encompassing that of Europe, China and India, on the whole it seems that both China and India had longer periods of peace throughout their history. Difficult to compare it with Europe, but it is still very likely that throughout many centuries of the historical era, which preceded the Industrial Revolution of the West, the civilisation of China, or the civilisation of India, were economically the most significant in the world.

On the 6th of September 2011, at the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra, José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, spoke about "Shared futures: Europe and Australia in the 21st century". President Barroso aimed to convince his audience that the European Union supports the rise of Asia, because this is a favourable outcome for the world. This situation does not mean at all that Europe become peripheral to Australia or global affairs. Indeed the rise of Asia maybe straightforwardly connected to the policies of *open economies*, *free trade*, *reliability*, and *development assistance* (Europa: 2012). These norms and values are part of the economic philosophy of both the European Union and Australia, for an increasing number of years, and both polities diffused these values all over the world, including Asia.

The sentiments expressed by the Honourable Kevin Rudd during his time, as Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, regarding the intensified economic and geopolitical importance of Asia, in some sense echoed those of President Barroso. On the 20th of January 2012, in an address to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Brussels, Kevin Rudd spoke about "Europe, Asia and Australia: New imperatives for cooperation":

> The geostrategic importance of Asia is intensifying and as a result we are fast approaching some fundamental impacts on the post-war global order. […] This will change our world, giving us a 21st century of diverse and dynamic opportunities, as well as difficult and perhaps destabilising challenges to the existing order.

Some of the more dramatic titles of the speeches, delivered by the Honourable Kevin Rudd, such as "Fault lines in the 21st century global order: Asia rising, Europe declining and the future of 'the West' ", describes an urgent need for creative, resolute, and optimistic new ideas, and for an open-minded historical, philosophical, as well as normative re-evaluation of the current situation in the world "to maintain, and certainly not cede, the core values that have animated 'the West' " (2012 - Chatham House, London).

7.5. Cooperation on climate change, energy security, and the recent socio-economic policy development of Australia

According to the Partnership Framework, both the European Union and Australia acknowledge that climate change, with its likely profound environmental repercussions, is one of the most serious challenges of the twenty-first century. Therefore, in order to alleviate the urgent and potentially catastrophic nature of the current situation, the parties aim to work together through their bilateral and international commitments, with special regard to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The possibly profound consequences of climate change underlines the importance to develop renewable energy sources, and the growing need to move along from the beginning with a paradigm shift of a low-carbon economy, and gradually creating a post-carbon socio-economic arrangement.

On the 28th of August 2012, the European Commission provided a press release in Brussels, about "Australia and European Commission agree on pathway towards fully linking Emissions Trading systems":

> The Australian Minister for Climate Change and Energy Efficiency, the Hon Greg Combet MP, and the European Commissioner for Climate Action, Ms Connie Hedegaard announced today that Australia and Europe will be linking their emissions trading systems. A full two-way link, by means of the mutual recognition of carbon units between the two cap and trade systems, is to commence no later than 1 July 2018. Under this arrangement, businesses will be allowed to use carbon units from the Australian emissions trading scheme or the European Union Emissions Trading System (EU ETS) for compliance under either system (Europa, 2012).

José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, in his keynote address in Canberra, titled "Shared futures: Europe and Australia in the 21st century", referred to climate change as "one of the most complex and lasting issues of our time" (Europa, 2011). According to President Barroso the proposed treaty-level Framework Agreement between the European Union and Australia would create closer cooperation regarding energy and climate change matters. The green economy is the economic growth story of Europe's future, and indeed the

future of the world. That is the only way to fulfil the desire to achieve, for the approximately nine billion people, who will live on Earth by 2050. The European Union's method regarding climate change is based on science; nevertheless, it aims to be in harmony with the principles of economics. Green reforms and innovation are the hallmarks of Europe. The EU is driven by science, because of its own self-interest as well as a responsibility to future generations. Australia obviously decides its own interests, and achieves them through its own arrangements. Nevertheless, carbon trading would become a lucrative opportunity for the different countries. Those players who control the new markets that support the transition to the low-carbon economy are well positioned to be competitive to create growth and new jobs. The European Union recognises the work of the Australian Government to deal with the carbon question and develop a policy, which gradually link the emissions trading systems between Australia and Europe. This approach to emissions reduction is in line with the need for a global agreement (Barroso; Europa, 2011).

The Australian Government's (former) Department of Climate Change and Energy Efficiency, published *Adapting to Climate Change in Australia: An Australian Government Position Paper*. Based on its research references, the paper writes:

> Human activities have already changed our climate. […] Rainfall in south-west Western Australia has dropped by about 15 per cent. […] There is also evidence that reduced rainfall in south-eastern Australia – Victoria and the southern part of South Australia – cannot be explained by natural variations alone. […] Droughts are more severe because higher temperatures increase evaporation. The incidence of extreme fire weather in south-eastern Australia has increased. Warmer temperatures have led to a decline in spring snow cover in alpine regions of Australia, and there have been a number of serious bleaching events on the Great Barrier Reef over the last decade (2010: 2).

The Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme (CPRS) has been Australia's proposed system of Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS). The CPRS was planned to be a crucial element in Australia's efforts to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions. In 2009 the CPRS Bill was introduced to Parliament. It has successfully passed through the House of Representatives

(Lower House), followed with its introduction to the Australian Senate (Upper House), which repeatedly rejected the Bill and its formations. The Australian Government, then with the Honourable Prime Minister Kevin Rudd at its helm, deferred the CPRS due to the slow progress of global emissions control efforts and the political difficulty of gaining Senate approval for this scheme. These events were followed by the Government of the Honourable Prime Minister Julia Gillard, which aimed to work toward the introduction of a carbon price. In February 2011, the Clean Energy Act became the main Act in a package of legislation produced in order to establish an Australian Emissions Trading Scheme (AETS). A three year period of fixed carbon pricing - also known as carbon tax legislation - was planned and designed to reduce carbon dioxide emissions and limit global warming. In the same year both the House of Representatives and the Senate approved the legislation (Talberg *et al.*, 2013: 14;17).

On the 1st of July 2012, the Australian Government, with the Honourable Julia Gillard then Prime Minister of Australia, issued a media release titled: "Australia's clean energy future"; with the information, as follows:

> The Gillard Government has achieved a major milestone in its plan for Australia's clean energy future with today being the first day major greenhouse gas emitters will be required to pay for their pollution. The carbon price which starts today means that in the year 2020, Australia's carbon pollution will be at least 159 million tonnes less per annum than it would be without this policy - the equivalent of taking 45 million cars off the road. […] Today we take the next steps the country needs to make to keep our economy competitive, to protect our environment and to provide a cleaner Australia for future generations. […]A carbon price will create incentives for large emitters to reduce carbon pollution. It will start transforming our economy to clean energy sources like solar, wind, geothermal and natural gas.

In June 2013, the Honourable Kevin Rudd was re-elected as Leader of the Australian Labor Party (ALP), which was then in power, thereby he reassumed his post as Prime Minister of Australia. On the 16th of July 2013, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd held a Joint Press Conference in Townsville, Queensland, where he stated:

The Government has decided to terminate the carbon tax, to help cost of living pressures for families and to reduce costs for small business. From 1 July next year Australia will move to an emissions trading scheme, one that is used around the world including in countries like Britain, like Germany and soon in China itself.

Following these events, the Australian Labor Party lost the election. In September 2013, the current Government came to power with the Honourable Tony Abott, Liberal-National Prime Minister, at its helm. Talberg *et al.*, writes about a series of considerable consequences of this power change regarding Australian policy development, as follows:
"Dismantling of four climate change programs begins and climate change functions moved into Department of Environment" (2013:19);

- the Government of the Honourable Prime Minister Tony Abott aimed to repeal the Clean Energy Act 2011;
- the Government abolished the Climate Commission;
- Treasurer ordered the Clean Energy Finance Corporation to cease investments;
- Climate Change Authority going to be abolished (Talberg *et al.*, 2013:19).

In October 2013, the Climate Council - funded by $900,000 in private donations - started to continue the work of the dissolved Climate Commission. At the same time the Australian Government started consultation about the Direct Action Plan, which is designed to replace the Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS). In the same year the Government introduced legislation to annul the Emissions Trading Scheme, the Climate Change Authority (CCA) and the Clean Energy Finance Corporation (CEFC) (Talberg *et al.*, 2013:20).

Climate action in Australia has been a polarising and highly political issue. The climate policies of the two major Australian political parties (the Australian Labor Party and the Liberal Party of Australia) have varied considerably over the years. These policies have included some strong and tangible actions as well as what appear to be mere political statements. Since 2007 Australia's response to climate change has featured prominently in federal elections with close scrutiny given to

party policies. Two federal political leaders have also lost their position in part because of their policies on climate change [...] (Talberg *et al.*, 2013:1).

On the 3rd of July the Honourable Tony Abott, Prime Minister of Australia, delivered his *Address to the 2014 Economic and Social Outlook Conference Dinner*, in Melbourne. In his speech the Prime Minister raised a question of "whether a reforming prime minister can succeed any more in this country given the decisive shift in the system and culture against reform?" The Prime Minister has provided an emphatic yes, to this expression of inquiry, and some of his reasons are briefly outlined, as follows:

During the time period of 1983 to 2007, Australia has undertaken substantial reforms in connection to the financial system, concerning taxation, trade, competition policy, and workplace relations, as well as in federal-state relations. These reforms resulted in a competitive, innovative and productive Australia. Australia currently experiencing its 23rd year of uninterrupted economic growth, which is historically remarkable, and there are few other countries in the world with similar results. At the same time the current situation requires a substantial period of structural reform. The government aims to undertake these difficult but necessary reforms. The government achieved environmental approvals for large projects and new investments. The National Broadband Network (NBN) provides new opportunities and transforms Australia efficiently, toward a digital future. The good news is - according to the government - that while Labor and the Greens maybe in denial, the new government is getting on with what has to be done in Australia.

The Australian national newspaper has reported that the European Union is 'unhappy', because the issue of climate change will not going to be on the agenda in the upcoming G-20 Summit that is organised for November 2014, in Brisbane:

European Union officials say Australia has become completely "disengaged" on climate change since Tony Abbott was elected in September last year. They are disappointed with the Prime Minister's approach, saying Australia was considered an important climate change player under Labor. One well-placed EU official has likened the change to "losing an ally" (03/04/ 2014).

7.6. Increasing knowledge through EU studies and strengthening relationship between the EU and Australia

According to the Partnership Framework the EU and Australia are committed to collaborate and broaden the scope of engagement on education. From 2000-01 the EU established its Centres in Australia and New Zealand. EU Centres are funded jointly by the European Commission and the host universities. Currently in 2014, there are five EU Centres in Australia and one in New Zealand. The EU Centres Network in New Zealand (EUCN) at the National Centre for Research on Europe, at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, encompasses eight NZ universities.

> On 17 July 2014, the European Union (EU) announced its investment of €4.6 million (AUD$6.6 million) to establish six EU centres across Australia (five) and New Zealand (one) for the 2014-2016 period. The centres are co-funded by their host universities and include a range of partners from the community (Australian Government: Department of Education, 2014)

The EU Centre initiative was first developed in the United States and Canada, and later introduced in Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong-Kong, Macao and Russia. EU Centres are part of the European Union's community diplomacy scheme towards industrialised countries to promote a better perception of the EU and its association with the recipient country and the region (EU: External Action, 2014).

EU Centres has three basic objectives:
- Advance a greater understanding of the policies and institutions of the European Union, through providing information and university education by a network of EU Centres.
- To communicate views of the European Union on issues of interest within regional communities.
- To highlight the political, socio-economic and cultural significance concerning the collaboration between the EU and the specific country (EU: External Action, 2014).

The most established EU Centre in Australia is at the Australian National University (ANU), in Canberra. It was launched in 2001. The Australian National University Centre for European

Studies (ANUCES) involves four ANU Colleges: Law; Business and Economics; Asia and the Pacific; Arts and Social Sciences. Through ANUCES a large number of researchers, teachers and students - working on Europe - may create synergies by producing cooperative research with interdisciplinary dialogue. The EU Centre at RMIT University (Melbourne) was established in January 2010. It focuses on the Single Market, governance and comparative regional policy. It develops science, technology, business partnerships, and aims to promote a better understanding of the EU-Australia relations. The Centre provides a focal point for teaching, research and outreach activities with the EU, Australia and the Asia Pacific region. It supports the European Union in the region and distributes knowledge from academia to industry.

The EU Centre for Global Affairs at the University of Adelaide researches international trade and regional collaboration in the Asia and Pacific regions. It aims to raise awareness of the multilateral rules-based trading system, and the bilateral trade and investment relationship between the EU, Australia and Asia. At the University of Adelaide European Studies belongs to an interdisciplinary area, within the Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences. The Hawke EU Centre for Mobilities, Migrations and Cultural Transformations at the University of South Australia researches the global challenges in relation to the displacement of people and communities in the 21st century. The Hawke EU Centre examines migration, asylum and protection issues in an environment where conflict, climate events and global economics are acting as an ever-present catalyst for large-scale movements of people. Through vigorous research and cultural outreach programs the Hawke EU Centre aim to develop a national repository of EU expertise, including networks between Australian and European institutions. The University of Melbourne EU Centre on Shared Complex Challenges researches and strengthen the EU-Australia cooperation, on climate change, natural disasters, regional governance and business innovation.

The EU Centres, through the creation of relevant knowledge and dissemination of timely and precise information not only in academia, but also to businesses and the public in general, help to strengthen and develop the EU-Australia relationship. The European Union-Australia relationship is becoming not less, but more important in an interdependent and increasingly changing world. There has been a perception that the EU also needs large scale changes in its structure, following the financial and socio-economic crises started in 2008. Strong expectati-

ons suggested that the European Union was going to rebound, and this eager anticipation brought into strong focus a developing EU-Australia new deal, including the proposed treaty-level Framework Agreement. According to the (then) Ambassador and Head of Delegation of the EU to Australia, His Excellency David Daly, the EU is a resilient, forward looking and capable polity. In his speech to the Australian Institute of International Affairs in Melbourne, titled "Europe: navigating through the current crisis – an exercise in resilience", David Daly stated, as follows:

> Crises have often played an important role in persuading European countries that their national interests would be better served through doing more things together - "more Europe, not less". Crises present policy options in stark terms; they confront us with the price of not cooperating more deeply, as well as with the advantages of cooperation; they help us to move the political debate forward - ideas rejected previously become more acceptable (Daly, 2012).

Similarly to Ambassador David Daly's insight regarding crises and the EU cooperation, the Honourable Dr Brendan Nelson, former Australian Ambassador to the European Union and NATO, also emphasized the importance of the EU, especially in relation to the Asia Pacific. In his serious speech in Brussels to the European Centre for International Political Economy (ECIPE), titled "Europe and the Asia Pacific", Dr Nelson underlined, as follows:

> [...] the Asia Pacific will come to play an even more influential role - economic activity will continue to grow as already five of the world's economic power houses - the US, China, India, Japan and Korea - are in the region. As economies grow, so do military expenditures and the consequences of any conflagration might bear huge costs for the world economy: all of Europe's €700 billion North Asian trade passes through the South China Sea, and half of the world's energy passes through the Straits of Malacca. […] The most important lesson … is that the nations of Europe should seek to engage with Asia. But ultimately, that will require Europeans to turn up and do so regularly in Asia, or else Asia may find Europe sooner than it thinks and in ways it might least expect (Nelson, 2012).

The EU and Australia Partnership Framework provided guidance for dialogue and consultations, such as the regular dialogues around the times of multilateral and international meetings, the Ministerial-level consultations, moreover Senior Officials' meetings alternating between Brussels and Canberra, including:

- reciprocal exchanges between the European Parliament and the Australian Parliament;
- the Agricultural Trade and Marketing Experts Group (ATMEG);
- EU – Australia Animal Welfare Cooperation Forum;
- Trade Policy Dialogue;
- Joint Science and Technology Cooperation Committee;
- Senior Officials' Dialogue on Migration, Asylum and Diversity Issues;
- High Level Dialogue on the Environment;
- Dialogue on Education Training Policy; and
- Dialogue on the Pacific with EU Heads of Delegation.

Neelie Kroes, Vice-President of the European Commission responsible for the Digital Agenda, on the 20th of June 2014, gave a lecture in Sydney for the Europe -Australia Business Council. The title of the lecture was timely and appropriate: "Europe and Australia are essential partners." The Commissioner encouraged progress regarding the EU-Australia treaty-level Framework Agreement, and at the same time expressed an appreciation as well as compliment toward Australia, as follows:

> We must push ahead with the EU-Australia framework agreement under negotiation – and I hope that is a message you pass to all members of the Australian government as I do to Minister Turnbull today, so we can then extend our relationship further. […] Let me finish by paying a compliment to Australia. You have achieved a real miracle here. You have created a welcoming, growing multicultural society.

It nevertheless seemed that recently, the progress toward accomplishing an EU-Australia treaty-level Framework Agreement, has slowed down somewhat. Still, it remained a recurring theme during meetings between the EU and Australia. That is because it is in the interest of both the EU and Australia to 'push ahead' with it, as the Honourable Commissioner Neelie Kroes has also underlined it.

7.7.   Conclusion

On the 1st of April 2008, the Honourable Kevin Rudd, then Australian Prime Minister, met with Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, in Brussels. Their negotiation brought forth a Joint Statement, with the aim to strengthen the bilateral relationship of Australia and the European Union on many areas, including working together on environmental issues, with special regard to climate change. At the same time a ground-breaking Partnership Framework Agreement was produced and received the signatures of the parties in Paris, on the 29th of October 2008, during the Australia-European Union Ministerial Consultations. The European Union-Australia Partnership Framework is not binding legally. Nevertheless, it is a significant living document, which currently, at around 2014, is still valid. It has been regularly reviewed to adapt to different situations, depending on how circumstances have changed and objectives could be fulfilled. The Partnership Framework created and further strengthened the EU-Australia strategic relationship built on shared values, norms and normative principles, and on a common ambition. It facilitated the practical achievement of common goals in foreign policy and security; climate change and energy; international trade, development assistance and food security; science, research, innovation and technology; education and culture; and joint cooperation through multilateral organisations, including the UN and the G20; as well as countering extremism, and helping to achieve non-proliferation and arms control.

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Chapter Eight

A treaty–level Framework Agreement

8.1.   Introduction

On the 24th of May 2012, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of relations between Australia and the European Union, the Honourable Bob Carr, then Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, gave a speech in Brussels. Bob Carr did not accept the simplistic logic that Europe has 'lost its way' and the rising economies of Asia are expanding to a new leadership, thereby eclipsing the European achievements of past centuries. According to Bob Carr, it is in the interest of both the EU and Australia to continue to work together in a bilateral, as well as through multilateral ways in the World Trade Organisation, in the G20, in APEC, in the East Asia Summit, and in ASEM. Towards the end of a celebratory speech, he referred to the proposed treaty-level Framework Agreement that was under negotiation between the EU and Australia, which could provide further impetus for a more effective cooperation.

A treaty-level Framework Agreement between the EU and Australia would include proposals of how to work together in a multilateral setting with the rising powers of Asia. Multilateralism would be an important part of the EU-Australia cooperation. The *European Union as a Global-Regional Actor in Security and Peace* (EU-GRASP) epistemic research community has nine recommendations for the development of a new EU multilateral policy:

- *The EU must adapt to changing global multilateralism.*
- *The EU should be aware of dealing with a multipolar world of regions.*
- *EU internal decision-making must be effective to succeed in multilateralism.*
- *A unified EU voice is necessary for success.*
- *Multilateralism is a strategic choice and it serves EU interest.*
- *Coherence in EU values does not confer a higher moral ground.*
- *The EU must make space for other organisations in Europe.*
- *The EU should overcome its fragmentation.*
- *The EU should look outward; it should be prepared to listen and to lead.*

8.2.   The proposal for a treaty-level Framework Agreement

In October 2010, the Honourable Julia Gillard then Australian Prime Minister, visited Brussels and represented Australia at the 8th Leaders' Summit of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). During the Summit Prime Minister Gillard held a meeting with Commission President Barroso and Council President Van Rompuy, and proposed the accomplishment of a treaty-level Framework Agreement between Australia and the EU. On the 4th of October President Manuel Barroso issued a statement in Brussels, following his meeting with Julia Gillard, Prime Minister of Australia:

> Prime Minister Gillard has made proposals to develop further the EU-Australia relationship. I welcome this initiative and I will examine those proposals in detail, consulting Member States. Let me tell you on my own behalf, on behalf of the European Commission that we very much support the idea of giving more important expression to the relationship between Australia and the European Union. As partners in the G20, we have discussed financial and economic governance and the need to cooperate in multilateral fora.

In October 2011, Catherine Ashton EU High Representative visited Canberra for the Australia-European Union Ministerial Consultations. On the 31st of October Baroness Ashton opened the meetings and negotiations in relation to the proposed, legally binding EU-Australia treaty-level Framework Agreement. Through a joint media release the Honourable Kevin Rudd, then Foreign Minister, provided information about the negotiations. The meetings started with a session of introductory Senior Officials' discussions. The plan was to continue negotiations through several rounds to be held in Brussels and Canberra, and to conclude them in 2012. High Representative Ashton expressed that the proposed Framework Agreement recognises the value of the EU-Australia relationship, and provides a firm basis to expand on practical cooperation through several fields: including, foreign affairs and security; development assistance; climate change; research, science and education; and "The Agreement would give political expression to our commitment to build a stronger, forward-looking partnership" (Australia-European Union Ministerial Consultations).

In March 2012, Dr Brendan Nelson, former Australian Ambassador to the European Union and NATO, expressed his view that the events of recent years "demands a broader, deeper EU

engagement by Australia"; moreover "Australia and Europe need a more meaningful relationship." In the past the EU-Australia engagement were largely portrayed through discord regarding EU market access for Australian agricultural products. During the past decades Australia followed a largely non-participation situation with NATO. However, as a result of a gradual transformation and change of position, Australia initiated a negotiation process for a treaty-level Framework Agreement with the EU, and a High Level Political Declaration with NATO.

> Almost all that has been reported in Australia about the EU in the past has been negative in tone and content - inconsistencies, bureaucracy, crises, encroachment to sovereignty and divided opinion. There is an entire industry of European commentary that feeds well from the rich menu of issues on this side of the ledger. However, any sober assessment of the transformation of the global order, the emergent multipolar world and challenges facing Europe, demands more - not less, cooperation from its member states (Nelson, 2012).

Dr Nelson evocatively mentioned an 'entire industry' which often portrays the EU in a gloomy, pessimistic and sometimes imprecise manner. This type of portrayal may create a certain perception, and this perception in the long run may become a convenient reality. Nevertheless this time, it seemed, the negotiations for the proposed treaty-level Framework Agreement were in good progress. In 2012 the *Monthly Report on Australia* (July), produced by the EU Delegation to Australia, provided some information about the "Fourth round of EU-Australia Framework Agreement negotiations":

> The 4th round of negotiations took place in Canberra on 26-27 July. […] Some of the more controversial issues remain open, namely the institutional framework and linkages with other agreements, language concerning the article pertaining to intellectual property and the nature of the partnership between the EU and Australia (in particular whether it should be labelled as a strategic partnership or not) (Canberra, 8 August 2012: 6).

In a conference at the ANU Centre for European Studies, Austrade CEO Bruce Gosper expressed important and timely observations, including: "From an Australian perspective, the fact that the EU is now negotiating with many of our key regional trading partners as well as with the United States adds to the logic of pursuing our own FTA negotiations with Brussels"(2013:21).

8.3   The significance of treaty-negotiations between the EU and Australia

This dissertation attempts to create a direction for a social constructivist new deal concerning the future of the EU-Australia socio-economic and trade relationship, as well as cooperation in global peace and security. The proposed treaty-level Framework Agreement would be the most significant legal Agreement in the history of the EU-Australia relationship. It could be the start of a new deal, which opens the way to acknowledge and adjust to new global realities, including regional and global environmental and socioeconomic integrity. Nonetheless, on the 6th of April 2014, an article appeared in *The Australian* national newspaper, with the title: "Australia drags feet on Euro treaty." The article explained that "Australia's opposition to a clause on human rights […] has halted negotiations for a new legally binding treaty with Europe." EU functionaries seem bewildered by Australia's disagreements concerning a standard clause required in all of the EU treaties made with third countries. *The Australian* provides information that during 2012 the negotiations for the treaty-level Framework Agreement were basically finalised, and the full text of the proposed Document were concluded more than a year ago:

> The human rights issue is now the only stumbling block in the way of a final agreement on the treaty, which would elevate Australia's relationship with the 28-nation EU and possibly pave the way for a lucrative free trade agreement. A senior European Union official says the clause is an essential element for all EU treaties and would only ever be invoked if Australia "really screwed up". "Australia took that very badly. They said 'Why would you want us to sign that?'" the official told AAP in the Belgian capital Brussels this week. […] The EU official is hoping for a breakthrough with Prime Minister Tony Abbott's government this year (06/04/2014).

The leaders, representatives and dignitaries of the EU and Australia have frequently interacted through many common values, norms and normative principles, including the major consideration of human rights. The two polities have many important common characteristics in their implementation of human rights matters, where both the EU an Australia find that their basic aims and practices converge together. There are relatively few issues where their under-

standing would diverge. Albeit a situation - perhaps quite similar to the one during the current era - did occur in 1997, when the then proposed *Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement* could not be accomplished, because of the EU's requirement that the human rights clause must be included with the documents. Some of these three articles below may facilitate *social learning*; therefore, it may be worthwhile to observe how the 1997 contemporary press, in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, reported the matter:

"Our human rights stance baffles Brussels"

Both Australian and EU negotiators stress that the EU, in asking Australia to sign what is in effect a trade agreement with a human rights clause, is not calling into question Australia's record on human rights. EU diplomats say it is most unlikely that Australia will be granted an exemption, given that the EU has required and has received agreement to the clause from many other countries that have much more to fear from close examination of their human rights records (Henning, 29/01/1997).

"PM vetoes European demands on rights"

Sources said that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Downer, who is scheduled to hold talks in Brussels on the issue tomorrow, has been left with little room to manoeuvre. They said Mr Howard was maintaining strong ideological opposition to the clause on sovereignty grounds as well over concerns that human rights complaints could be misused in trade disputes (Skehan, 28/01/1997).

"Trade and human rights"

[...] human rights and trade are separate issues. Of course it is objectionable if the European Union seeks to impose judgments on Australia's human rights performance through manipulation of trading arrangements with its members. But some principles, in reality, become so attenuated as to be overwhelmed by practical considerations. That is the case with the demand by the EU that Australia agree to the inclusion of a human rights clause in the proposed framework agreement on trade being negotiated between Canberra and Brussel (01/02/1997).

8.4.   Conclusion

Negotiations about a proposed legally binding treaty-level Framework Agreement between the EU and Australia have started on the 31st of October 2011. This date corresponded with the regular Australia-European Union Ministerial Consultations, on this occasion held in Canberra. At the start of this particular Ministerial Consultation, Baroness Catherine Ashton, High Representative of the European Union has opened the negotiations.

The willingness of the EU and Australia to arrive to one accord may manifest itself through the final outcome. If the treaty-level Framework Agreement would be signed, after that it would still have to be ratified by both Parliaments, in Australia and in the European Union. If this proposed treaty-level Framework Agreement would enter into force in the coming years, then this could be the most significant legal agreement in the history of the EU-Australia relationship. A start for a new deal that opens the way to adjust to current global realities, including socioeconomic, security, as well as environmental requirements of the 21st century. The rising of China and Asia provides an increasing vantage point to Australia and the EU, especially in terms of trade relationship. Regionalisation and increasing globalisation require a regional and global presence. The EU-Australia international relationship, if it is to be efficient for both polities, should be able to help in mutual ways for the parties to achieve this regional and global presence now and for the future.

A *Framework Trade and Cooperation Agreement* between the EU and Australia, first proposed in 1997, has never been accomplished, because of the discrepancy in understanding and interpretation between the two polities, concerning the EU's human rights clause. The progress for a legally binding treaty-level *Framework Agreement* that was proposed 13 years later anew, has hit similar obstacles during 2012-2013. The premise of sociological constructivism is the *mutual constitution* between agency and structure, which is relevant to provide solution regarding the current impasse between the parties. Mutual constitution is facilitated when, through social learning, agents are given choice to follow not simply a *logic of consequentialism* based on utilitarian self-interests, but rather a *logic of appropriateness* by which norms are internalised. It is observed herein that in a mutual constitution, agents and norm entrepreneurs play their part not only as *norm diffusers*, but also as *norm consumers*.

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Chapter Nine

Conclusion

9.1.   The need for further research

I have received some necessary and beneficial feedback for the accomplishment of this dissertation. Through the years of writing the different chapters, I was invited to partake in several conferences as a paper-giver. During these times of learning and academically favourable opportunities, I had some chance to discuss some of the theme of my thesis with professors and on a few occasions with PhD students in related fields of study. Herewith, I wish to express my gratitude to everyone who in any way encouraged the accomplishment of this dissertation, including those:

- in Canberra, during the European Studies Summer School at ANU in December, 2008;
- in Papeete, Tahiti, during the Pacific Science Inter-Congress conference held in the Papeete Hilton Hotel in March, 2009;
- in Kuala Lumpur, during the Pacific Science Congress conference held in the Kuala Lumpur Convention Centre in June, 2011;
- in Singapore, during the 'EU's Unknown Asia' conference held at the One North Executive Centre in June, 2012; and
- in Brussels during 'The EU in International Affairs' conference in May 2012, at the Institute for European Studies (Vrije Universiteit).

Crucially, the chief supervisor of my thesis, Professor Martin Holland, Director of NCRE at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand, helped me with vital academic guidance (as well as with some assistance throughout the Christchurch earthquake disasters in 2010 and 2011). During my 9 weeks study-tour in the Europe Union in 2012, I have received some generous assistance - and a little feedback - from Professor Mitja Zagar senior lecturer of Law and International Relations, and Head of Department at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. Towards the end of this PhD accomplishment and the writing of this dissertation, the

eminent constructivist scholar Professor Nicholas Onuf - from the University of Florida - has kindly offered to read the initial version of it, and provided some invaluable comments. On that basis I was able to correct some of the conceptual shortcomings, and probably increased the overall acceptability of the work, before my oral defence and the considerable final revision. Herewith, I thank the assistance I have received from Professor Sven Biscop, editor of the European journal *Studia Diplomatica*. Professor Biscop from the Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations, in Brussels, 'made some time' to read some of the initial version of this dissertation, and decided to publish my academic article in *Studia Diplomatica*. Finally, I would like to offer my gratitude for the two 'overseas' PhD examiners, for their joint efforts and providing valuable time to produce the Post-Viva Amendments' requirements for the final revision and completion of this dissertation, and official conferment of the doctorate: Dr Eva Polonska-Kimunguyi, lecturer of European Studies from Monash University, Melbourne; and Professor Georg Wiessala, Deputy Director at the Institute of Educational Leadership at the University of Malaya, Malaysia.

The subject matter of this dissertation needs further research. Social constructivism is a complex and constantly developing approach. As far as the author of this dissertation can tell, previously there was no attempt to analyse the European Union-Australia relationship through formal and informal norms, or through a sociological constructivist and/or sociological institutionalist approach. In general, only a very few books (and more recently a number of academic journal articles) have ever been published on the EU-Australia international relationship; now 52 years in the making. Further research would help to understand more clearly of how the regulative norms of the *centrality of peace*, *human rights*, *subsidiarity*, *multi-level governance*, *social solidarity, environmental sustainability*; the constitutive norms of *liberty*, *democracy*, *good governance, 'federalism'*; as well as the evaluative norms of the *rule of law*, *transparency*, *human dignity* and *anti-discrimination* - guided by *logic of appropriateness* - are able to inform and develop the EU-Australia relationship in association with a regionalised, interconnected and interdependent world. Further research could show more how through formal and informal norms, rules and institutions, the identity of the EU and the identity of Australia, and their relationship are changing; and consequently, how the interests and connected behaviours of these two polities are played out through practical achievements, and through the dynamics of multilateral international relationship. Further research may also examine the EU-Australia bilateral relationship in connection to the powerful rise of Asia, and within the multilateral frameworks of the United Nations, G20, APEC, ASEM, the World Trade Organisation and other multilateral organisations.

9.2.   The achievement of the thesis objectives

There are different streams and understanding of sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism, and the aim is to provide a more cohesive framework in the future. For that reason further research is necessary, in order to show the value of sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism as an approach to analyse and facilitate the European Union-Australia collaboration. The value of sociological constructivism in international relations should not be underestimated; especially, when it concerns the *emergence* and *operation of norms*, and the substantial effects of *mutual constitution*, as well as the *logic of appropriateness*. Sociological constructivism, as an academic approach, is able to demonstrate how the 'ought' becomes the 'is'. Given the above considerations, it may be concluded that through the research and writing of this dissertation, most of the systematically set out objectives have been achieved, including:

- Through an approach of sociological constructivism and sociological institutionalism, in the framework of scientific realism, this dissertation investigated the bilateral relationship between the European Union and Australia. It explored the dynamics in the diplomatic and people-to-people interactions and communications, which resulted in an EU-Australia relationship-development that is successful and can be built on. It also uncovered some of the dynamics which was responsible to have caused some detrimental and divergent issues for both or either parties, some of which are still unresolved.

- Policy-analysis described some possibly preferable actions - including the *logic of appropriateness* and *genuine internalisation of common norms and values* - which may bring favourable development in the EU-Australia cooperation. It emphasized the rise of Asia and the related need for effective joint actions through the frameworks of regional and global multilateral organisations.

- This dissertation included a strong environmental focus and some knowledge and information regarding the complex interconnection between the biophysical earth-system, as well as the human economic and socio-political systems. This knowledge shows the urgency for cooperation and the growing danger of any inaction, when it comes to alleviate the regional and global environmental vulnerability. A delay could cause further deterioration, with the potential of man-made versus natural disasters of unprecedented scale.

9.3.   Revisiting environmental sustainability and the rise of Asia

The environmental challenges on Earth may only be solved through effective global collaboration. The EU and Australia ought to strive to accomplish successful cooperation not only with each other, but also with the fast emerging and increasingly powerful countries, such as China and India. This collaboration in part may be achieved through emergence, persuasion, socialisation as well as internalisation of relevant norms, including new values and normative principles. The biophysical earth-systems are interconnected with the human economic and socio-political systems. The interactions between these major systems are quite significant and far reaching, although the exact scientific nature of these relations is not known well. The natural earth system with the biosphere and ecosystem, as well as the multiple systems created by humanity, including international relations, interact with each other and this interrelationship demands new ways of policy analysis. The changing biophysical earth-systems gradually merge with the human systems, and a new social reality arrives.

According to social constructivist understanding a system of ideas is at least as important and powerful factor as the material assets during the different meetings and negotiations. Indeed a system of ideas may point much further than the actual physical assets and the manifest material profit, which are usually at stake during the manifold interactions. The development of ideas, meanings, shared understanding and shared intellectual outlook, knowledge, intersubjective norms, thinking, and social interaction in the EU-Australia cooperation created a system of relationship that may be enlarged, through the joint EU-Australia environmental initiatives, with both China and India as well.

Climate change, and the concern because of melting ice around the North and South Pole, ozone layer recuperation, atmospheric pollution, oceanic acidification, land degradation, soil erosion and desertification, protection of freshwater systems, protection of natural biodiversity, and the increasingly frequent very powerful natural disasters are all important issues, connected with relevant ideas, norms and values, shared between the EU and Australia. It is important to describe the seriousness of environmental and socio-economic responsibility on a local, regional as well as global level, in order to uncover the dangers of inaction in the face of,

perhaps, exponential environmental and socio-economic deterioration, which might culminate in a global symbiosis of man-made versus natural disasters of unprecedented scale.

The significant rise of Asia could, in the future, have the capacity to create certain disharmony in the power structure of the current world situation. By having the most effective and efficient relationship between the European Union and Australia, which includes the ambition to alleviate the urging environmental and socio-economic problems the world is currently facing, will go a long way to create peace and prosperity in Eurasia and in the Pacific. The European Union and Australia may arrive to a joint experience of continuous social learning process in order to preserve their norms and values, including: *human rights*, *human dignity*, *good governance*, *democracy*, *social solidarity*, *environmental* and *socioeconomic justice*, *non-discrimination* and the *centrality of peace* in everyday practice.

One of the questions for the present and for the future is how effectively the European Union and Australia would be able to reach common agreement in their multilateral joint work with the rising powers of Asia? The intention of the EU and Australia to arrive to one complete accord may manifest itself in the proposed comprehensive treaty-level Framework Agreement, which is at the time of writing, towards the end of 2014, still under progression, and probably, under further negotiation between the parties.

China could be more and more perceived not only as a rising power with an ancient civilisation and tradition, encompassing a dynamic economic activity of wealth and knowledge creation, but perhaps also as a rising 'normative power'. The European Union may be conceptualised as a normative power that is *rule based* and framed by the *logic of appropriateness*, whilst China may be seen as an emerging normative power, which is *relationally-based* and established through the *logic of relationship*. The ideals, values and norms of China may be conceptualised so that would encompass the ideals and values of the Confucian virtues, such as *benevolence*, *obedience*, *propriety*, or *duty bound trustworthiness*. The values of China may include *respect*; *harmony with a difference*; *harmonious inclusion*; and *peace infused with tranquillity*. An important aspect of China is its idea of *peaceful rise* through economic development, to an international status of prominence. Peace infused with harmony, tranquillity and serenity may encompass the values and basic principles of humanity, society and nature.

9.4. Revisiting the development of the EU-Australia international relationship

This sociological constructivist and sociological institutionalist dissertation about more than five decades of EU-Australia relationship aimed to analyse the dynamics, power, the common goals, the discrepancies and different narratives between these two polities and geographical entities, in order to create further growth between them, which would interact with other regions in an interdependent regionalised and globalised system. The ontology of this dissertation based on social norms, social values and normative principles. The decisive part of the structure in the EU-Australia relationship appears through the diffusion of ideas manifested in social norms. Neorealism regards the material potentiality as all important in international relationship, and neoliberalism first and foremost considers the institutional metastructure through on-going regionalisation and globalisation. Both neorealism and neoliberalism are materialist theories where the structure is fixed and the actors do not have sufficient agency to effect change. The rigidity of structure is an especially significant characteristic of neorealism, because for neorealism identity and interests are fixed entities. However, for social constructivism identity and interests – that is connected with behaviours - are changing entities; the result of a sociological course in society. In the theoretical framework of social constructivism, through the *logic of appropriateness*, actors have sufficient agency to bring forth incremental change, by the fact that structure and agency mutually constitute one another. The development of the European Union and its on-going relationship with Australia was examined through these principles in this dissertation.

The proposed treaty-level Framework Agreement would be the most significant legal agreement in the history of the EU-Australia relationship. Start of a new deal, which opens the way to acknowledge and adjust to new global realities, and new socioeconomic and environmental requirements of the 21st century. The *1997 Joint Declaration on Relations between the European Union and Australia*; the *Australia and the European Union: an Agenda for Cooperation* document in 2003; and the *European Union-Australia Partnership Framework Agreement* in 2008 worked as important precursors, and together prepared the way for a treaty-level, legally binding credential. The treaty-level Framework Agreement between Australia and the European Union would accomplish legally structured new horizons for a comprehensive relationship and cooperation in a connected and interdependent world.

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Appendix

Studia Diplomatica 2012.LXV-4

The Making of a Constructivist Relationship between the European Union and Australia

Gyula Toth[1]

Introduction

During the Summit of the Eighth Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM 8) in October 2010, held in Brussels, Julia Gillard Australian Prime Minister proposed to the European Commission and to the European Council to upgrade the European Union-Australia relations (Australian Government: DFAT, 2012). The proposal was well received, and José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, referred to it in his keynote address in Canberra, at the Australia National University, on the 6th of September 2011 (Europa: Press Releases, 2012). His speech had the title of "Shared futures: Europe and Australia in the 21st century". This proposed Treaty of Framework Agreement will be the most important document in the history of the EU-Australia relationship. This is the beginning of a new deal, which opens the way to adjust to new global realities, and new socioeconomic and environmental requirements and responsibilities of the 21st century. The *1997 Joint Declaration on Relations between the European Union and Australia*, as well as the *2008 European Union-Australia Partnership Framework* worked as important precursors to a treaty-level document, and the possibly successful accomplishment of the Treaty of Framework Agreement between Australia and the European Union going to provide legally structured new horizons for a comprehensive future

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relationship and cooperation. Negotiations about the proposed Treaty of Framework Agreement between the EU and Australia have started on the 31st of October 2011 (The Hon Kevin Rudd MP, 2012). This date also corresponds with a start of the regular Australia-European Union Ministerial Consultations, on this occasion held in Canberra. At the start of this particular Ministerial Consultation, Baroness Catherine Ashton, the European Union's High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (EUROPEAN UNION, 2012) has opened the meetings and negotiations in relation to the proposed Treaty of Framework Agreement (The Hon Kevin Rudd MP, 2012).

The rise of Asia and the significance of the Anthropocene era (Crutzen, 2012)

International relations operate in different, intertwined layers, intricately interacting with each other. These layers are the individuals, the different states, the intergovernmental organisations and the transnational organisations, such as the large industrial corporations and the Internet, which transcend states' borders; as well as the biosphere with its soil, water, fauna, flora, atmosphere (and space) (Clemens & Walter, 2004: 9-11). In the past 30 years, the scope of international relations amongst socio-political entities has grown significantly, given the development of the multitude of multinational corporations, as well as the growing importance of the biosphere with its manifold environmental aspects. It is through these described layers and spheres where the European Union (EU) needs to find ways and means to fulfil its objectives in international relations with other countries, including Australia, which has a very special concern in this paper. The developing EU-Australia new deal is a sign of hope in the present and for the future, in terms of the relation of the whole Western world's connection to Asia. This may surprise a bit; however, the significant rise of Asia could, in the future, have the capacity to create certain disharmony in the power structure of the current world situation. By having the most effective and efficient relationship between the European Union and Australia, which includes to have the willingness to alleviate the urging environmental and socio-economic problems the world is currently facing, will go a long way to create peace and prosperity in Eurasia and in the Pacific. The European Union and Australia know the historical importance of observing the norms of human rights, good governance, democracy, solidarity, environmental

and socioeconomic justice, and the centrality of peace in everyday practice. In terms of these norms (Manners, 2006: 22) currently they are growing in their common accord within the EU-Australia relationship, and within their own societies. One of the interesting questions for the present and for the future is going to be, how effectively the European Union and Australia will be able to reach common agreement with each other in relation to their work together with the rising powers of Asia? Nevertheless, their willingness to arrive to one complete accord will probably going to manifest itself in the proposed comprehensive Treaty of Framework Agreement, which is at the time of writing is still under negotiation between the EU and Australia.

The future between the EU and Australia will be increasingly driven by a new paradigm shift, that includes the rise of Asia, as well as a growing acceptance and understanding that the natural earth system with the biosphere and ecosystem, as well as the multiple systems created by humanity, including international relations, work together and interact in a dynamic complexity, and this interrelationship demands a somewhat new approach for policy analysis between the EU and Australia. The interactions between these major systems are very significant and far reaching, even though the exact scientific nature of these relations is as yet difficult to understand. The changing biophysical earth-systems will gradually merge with the human systems, and a new social reality will arrive.[2] It is important to describe the seriousness of environmental and socio-economic responsibility on a global level. This reflects upon policy analysis, by uncovering the dangers of inaction in the face of possible global environmental and socio-economic deterioration, which might culminate in a global symbiosis of man-made versus natural disasters of unprecedented scale.

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[2]   The Anthropocene era is, where human activities impact on the earth systems, including the climate system and the carbon cycle. This in turn has a negative effect on the agricultural production, as well as on the oceans through the rising acidity level, which is reducing the global fish stock. These serious issues and the steadily growing number of more and more powerful natural catastrophes may trigger further man-made catastrophes as well, such as war. This will result in a new social reality and the growing perceptions that the regionalised and globalised humanity as a whole, slowly but surely is on its way to reach "crunch time"... This acknowledgment will bring forth the joint political will to create a "United States of World Federation" with a "World Government" which will, in time, culminate in a "Global Planetary Civilisation".

GYULA TOTH

The theoretical framework of social constructivism

This paper aims to bring awareness that "[...] social reality is not objective, or external, to the observer of international affairs. The social and political world, including the world of international relations, is not a physical entity or material object that is outside of human consciousness" (Roberts & Sorensen, 2007: 162). The ideas, meanings, shared understanding and shared intellectual outlook, knowledge, intersubjective norms, thinking, understanding and social interaction among the participants have created a relationship between the European Union and Australia. According to social constructivist understanding this system of ideas is the most powerful factor during the different negotiations, pointing far further than the actual physical assets and the manifest material profit, which are usually at stake during the manifold interactions (Ruggie, 1998: 33).

According to the Australian academic and social constructivist scholar, professor Christian Reus-Smit: "Constructivists see international relations as deeply social, as a realm of action in which the identities and interests of states and other actors are discursively structured by intersubjective rules, norms and institutions" (Cristian, 2002: 488). Because of the "deeply social" nature of constructivism, it is important to examine its sociological foundations, as well as to distil substantial academic knowledge, through which the nature, accomplishments and continuous development of the European Union-Australia relationship can be better understood. In this paper, the creation, development and functioning of the European Union as a legal superstructure, and the operation and workings of Australia, as well as the significant body of relationship between them, are examined through the framework and normative lenses of sociological constructivism. The social world of norms and rules comes to being through interpretation, mental construction and conceptualisation, intersubjectivity and structuration of social situations and society.

The decisive part of the structure of the EU-Australia relationship appears through the diffusion of ideas manifested in social norms. Neorealism would regard the material potentiality as all important in international relationship, and neoliberalism first and foremost considers the institutional metastructure through ongoing globalisation. Both neorealism and neoliberalism are materialist theories where the structure is fixed and the (human and state) actors do not have sufficient agency to effect change. The rigidity of structure is an especially significant characteristics of neorealism, because for neorelaism identity

and interests are fixed entities. However, for social constructivism identity and interests are constantly developing and changing entities, the result of a constant sociological course in society. Through social constructivism actors have sufficient agency to bring forth change, because structure and agency mutually constitute one another. Structural or neorealists, and to a lesser degree neoliberals view agents as having little possibility or means to change the structure. Whereas according to constructivists, through the intersubjective quality of ideas and social norms, which are endogenised by agents and provide a transformative effect of identity and interest through time and space, agents and structures arrive into a mutual constitution.

The structuration of society in the European Union and Australia are an important sociological foundation of constructivism. Structuration is "the structuring of social relations across time and space, in virtue of the duality of structure" (Giddens, 1984: 376). The duality of structure is "structure as the medium and outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes" (Giddens, 1984: 374). Structures are rules in a society and they can occur via signification that is through language and discourse; via legitimation of norms and values; and by the control of resources creating power. Agency is action, and structure is the medium as well as enabler of action; through this working dynamics those actors, who possess agency, are gradually capable to transform structure. Society's institutions or society's systems are sustained through the actors' mutual reciprocation with the systems, which is structuration. Structure itself act as a guard against the collapse of society. Social constructivism is rooted in structuration theory and its cornerstone is that agents and structures are mutually constituted. Norms become intersubjective, resulting in a continuous development of interests and identity, which is endogenised by researchers and in the relatively long term the whole process, globally as well, could be capable to create an all-encompassing emancipatory societal transformation. The norms of the European Union (Manners, 2002) are regulative, constitutive as well as evaluative in their power and effect. The centrality of peace, human rights, social solidarity, sustainable development, are regulative norms. Liberty, democracy, good governance, are constitutive norms. The supranational rule of law, the provision of anti-discrimination, and the notion of sustainable development are evaluative norms.

Social constructivism sheds light on the powerful factors of the change of ideas and identities at the international level, as well as the interconnection of culture, language, norms and other manifold social instruments of people and

states. These social elements are invisible building blocks with creative effects in international relations. Language is an important part of this process (Greenwood, 1989). Neorealism and neoliberalism do not sufficiently recognise the abstract power of language, because they are materialist theories with a positivist methodology, which is reliant to acquire knowledge through rational and empirical epistemology.

Constructivist in general do not deny the importance of rational materialism as part of the driving force of the nations; albeit they argue that the most important dimensions, which give meanings to the material, are social in their nature. This social context is so powerful that it overrides the momentary rational precepts of the corresponding material aims and objectives. The material aims and objectives are present, but they cannot be viewed like all powerful decisive factors that are independent from the social structures into which they are embedded. Ideas, collective identities, rules and norms, institutions and discourses play a significant, interactive and decisive part in relations. Based on rational choice theory, realism tries to read what is in the interest of a sovereign state and how it can act to that end. For constructivist this interest is embedded in a shared knowledge and intersubjectively defined. Information and other technologies made knowledge less static and more fluid. Environmental and social ideas, non-governmental organisations constantly define more knowledge and new interests, meanwhile the realist approach seems to become somewhat less "realistic". Social constructivism operates on a different ontology; therefore, it may be incommensurable with the theory of neorealism and neoliberalism.

The development of the EU-Australia relationship

The European Union is a legal creation, a legal superstructure with built-in and constantly developing norms. This supranational superstructure is in a state of flux and Australia had to manoeuvre its way in the EEC-EC-EU framework through various negotiations and consultations during the past five decades. For example, through the initial Kennedy Round (1962-1967) GATT negotiations between Australia and the European Communities, the Australians, according to Gelber

> emphasized the importance of GATT. [...] Virtually throughout the Brussels negotiations, the Australians tried to deal with problems through GATT whenever possible, and pressed for consultation and

discussion in GATT before the Community's own decisions on price policies and mechanisms, as well as on the details of its import levies, should be finally taken. Futule hints were even dropped that unless Australia's trading interests were catered for, Australia might have to leave GATT as part of a fundamental reappraisal of her trading policies. (Gelber, 1966: 125-126)

Already this time, at around 1966, the second British attempt to join the EC was looming large in the background. Britain tried a new entry, officially, on the 11th of May 1967. Nevertheless the French veto in November 1967, again, smashed the United Kingdom's willingness to join the European Communities. At the same time what complicated matters even more was that Harold Wilson British Labour politican, as Benvenuti writes in her article (Benvenuti, 2006), acknowledged to Paul Hasluck Australian Minister of External Affairs in November 1964, that he "did not see much prospect in the European Economic Community which had too many internal problems" and according to him "it was impossible for Britain to become committed to the agricultural policies of the Six" (Benvenuti, 2006). Ultimately, in 1969 French President Charles de Gaulle resigned; consequently, on the 1st of January 1973, the United Kingdom received membership status in the European Communities. This basically inevitable outcome has finally happened, and from an Australian (and not least from a New Zealand) perspective a new situation had emerged. The following year, in September 1974, Sir Christopher Soames CBE, British politician, and Vice President of the Commission of the European Communities gave a lecture in Canberra, at the National Press Club. He spoke to his distinguished audience eloquently and persuasively. He encouraged Australians that after a short time of perhaps understandable "hesitation" toward the European Community, the opportunity arrived, so now Australia would occupy its place in the world as a major economic power. As the United Kingdom became part of the EC, Australia may welcome that country with which it can identify through its history, economy, language and culture; and thereby, for its own well-considered interests, in the framework of international relations, may now welcome the European Communities itself (Soames, 1974).

Following the visit of Sir Christopher Soames CBE to Canberra, Australian Prime Minister Edward Gough Whitlam visited the European Commission in December 1974. One of the main agenda was to discuss the meat import

restrictions; however, there happened some other exciting event as well, as Miller writes:

> By December 1974, when an Australian Prime Minister visited EEC headquarters for the first time, the need for joint EEC prosperity had become so evident that Whitlam rebuked Britain for "shilly-shally-ing" about whether to stay in the Com-munity or not, and said its withdrawal would not help itself, the EEC or the rest of the world. A non-Labor Prime Minister might well have said the same, since it had become a general Australian interest that the EEC should be a suc-cess. (Miller, 1976)

In June 1977 Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser travelled to the European Commission, and suggested to the Commission President Roy Jenkins that the informal communications should be changed into orderly high-level meetings between the EC and Australia. While in Europe, Malcolm Fra-ser justified Australia's objections to the protectionist course of actions of the European Economic Community. From the Australian point of view, one of the most protectionist measures was the subsidies of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Murray writes about it, as follows:

> [...] the Australia-EC relationship under Gough Whitlam, when the CAP did not yet feature as a major issue of contention, changed with the Fraser Government, when considerable antagonism arose towards the development of the CAP. The impact and severity of the interna-tional trade implications of the CAP soon became clear to the Fraser Government, which proposed regular high-level meetings between the EC and Australia. Only in 1979 was a decision taken to hold regular ministerial level meetings. (Murray, 2005: 21)

Throughout the coming decades these and similar problems often resurfaced; nevertheless, both the EC and Australia had strong interests to develop their international association. Throughout their formal and less formal meetings and recurring negotiations, both the EU and Australia tried their best to resolve their mutual problems and concentrate on their common interests.

On the 15th of January, 1982 an Agreement between Euratom and Aus-tralia came into effect concerning the movements of nuclear materials. The duration of this Agreement is 30 years. The Objective of the Agreement speci-fies:

> To establish conditions to ensure the furtherance of the objective of non-proliferation under which nuclear material can be transferred from Australia to the Community for peaceful purposes. (European External Action Service, 2012)

In accordance with the European Union's norm and guiding principle of the centrality of peace, the Agreement is determined that the nuclear energy will be used for peaceful purposes only, and this will help to fulfil the objectives of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Agreement recognises that Australia is a non-nuclear State and committed itself not to manufacture or possess nuclear wepons or any nuclear explosive devices.

In April 1981 the permanent Delegation of the Commission of the European Community started operations in Canberra. The Head of the Delegation is the official representative of the European Commission in Australia. In the 30th of November and 1st of December 1981, the first official round of Ministerial Consultations took place at Brussels, when Commission Vice-Presidents Wilhelm Haferkamp and Commissioners Etienne Davignon, Edgard Pisani and Poul Dalsager consulted with Doug Anthony, Australian Deputy Prime Minister and Tony Street, Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The discussions revolved around not only issues about trade, but also concerning international relations, including the North South dialogue, and giving aid assistence to developing countries, with special regard to the South Pacific (European Information's, 2012).

During the developing EU-Australia relationship the dynamics in the interactions and in the discourse occasionally helped to bring forth those elements, which are successful and satisfactory for both sides. Nevertheless, often there were such dynamics in the collaborations which have created those elements that caused divergent issues in the EU-Australian relationship, which were unsatisfactory for both or either sides. In order to achieve a realistic knowledge about the EU-Australia working relationship, it is important to provide the necessary insight to these matters, with the requirement to find possible solutions within a social constructivist study. The EU and Australia always have had many common values and cooperation regarding human rights. They have got far more common characteristics and aims which converge together, as opposed to those which diverge from each other. Still, in 1996, the proposed EU-Australian Framework Agreement Treaty failed (Murray, 2005), because of the EU's requirement that the human rights clause must be joined to the

document. The Lome Convention IV incorporated the human rights clause to the cooperation agreements. Australia objected to the human rights clause and reasoned that it should not be in a trade agreement, especially between developed countries whose human rights records are good. Australia could have been concerned that the EU might require from it undue concessions, concerning the human rights issue of its idigenous population, or regarding its treatment of the illegal immigrants who may arrive by boat to its shore any time, and from anywhere. There may have been a somewhat rigid approach to the issue on both sides, so the Framework Agreement Treaty failed, and in 1997 only the creation of a much less powerful Joint Declaration could succeed.

Human rights are very important institutions of social norms shared intersubjectively by a large population in both the European Union and in Australia. It is a far reaching, great social achievement; nevertheless, this paper aims to maintain that through global environmental theory and global environmental and distributive justice as well as the development of a Global Planetary Civilisation, with global social norms, human rights could, gradually, become more and more *humane.* Powerful social norms with the very important elements of compassion and goodwill would gradually become intersubjective and transform the present general ideas of human rights into *humane* rights. Social constructivism as an ontology with its emphasis on social norms and with a normative world view provides a powerful platform to examine the manifold development of the relationship between the European Union and Australia, with special regard to some of the most important socio-economic transformations in the world.

The other well-known divergent subject in the EU-Australia relationship, as mentioned above, is the Australian concern for its export of agricultural produce to the EU, and its related disadvantages, given the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the EU, and the significant subsidy it pays to its farmers (Harvey & Longo, 2008: 122). Australian policy makers tend to view the EU as generally protectionist in nature; therefore, they perceive that it is difficult to trade for them with the EU, on an equal footing. Australia belongs to the Cairns Group, which is a group of 19 agricultural exporting countries. Australia's agricultural production includes: beef, cotton, dairy, fisheries, food, forestry, grain, horticulture, wine, wool. The Australian tension around the Common Agricultural Policy is being gradually alleviated, given the CAP's significant reform in 2008, and further reform proposed for 2013.

The current European Union-Australia Partnership Framework

"In the constructivist view, intersubjective understandings comprise structures and agents. These norms, rules, meanings, languages, cultures, and ideologies are social phenomena that create identities and guide actions" (Klotz & Lynch, 2007: 7). The examination of the current *European Union-Australia Partnership Framework*, signed in 2008, highlights the norms and rules, which intersubjectively guide the EU-Australia relationship. The document underlines that the European Union and Australia has shared values and common commitments regarding the rule of law, fundamental freedoms, democracy, human rights, the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and a pledge to work together for international peace, stability and security, through endeavouring for the peaceful resolution of conflicts. Their common interests energise them to work for the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. A vigorous understanding joins them to preserve and develop open market principles as well as market access under the aegis of the World Trade Organisation, with special regard to food security in the world, moreover trade and investment between the EU and Australia. An enlightened and growing need prompts them to strive together for greater engagement with the Asia and Pacific regions in order to help these countries to strengthen their institutions to power those values and norms, which are considered to have meanings of universally shared aims resulting in the improvement of living conditions for humanity for present and for future needs. The EU and Australia acknowledge the growing need to tackle global climate change and learn from each other to remain alert to the dangers of inaction or delay, thereby significantly increase those practical measures which will accomplish global environmental justice (EU-Australian partnership, 2001). These joint responsibilities, duties, obligations, rules and norms are powerful to set into motion a sociological course, which brings forth new relationships, structures, prospects, institutions, identities and stakes with their intensity to further develop the European Union-Australia relationship that is embedded in a world of inter- and intranational environmental, socioeconomic and cultural dependence.

GYULA TOTH

The EU-Australia new deal

At around the current time frame (2011-2012) there are regional, and to some degree global socio-economic crises, which result in large scale changes in the structure and future operation of the European Union. Nevertheless, there is a strong emphasis that the EU is going to rebound, and this hope brings into strong focus a developing EU-Australia new deal, which points to a significant social constructivist future in the EU-Australia relationship, encompassed by the forthcoming completion of the Treaty of Framework Agreement. According to H.E. Ambassador David Daly, Head of Delegation of the European Union to Australia (EEAS, 2012) the EU is resilient enough and will rebound with full strength. On the 27th of September 2012, Ambassador David Daly gave a speech to the Australian Institute of International Affairs in Melbourne, titled: "Europe: navigating through the current crisis – an exercise in resilience".

Similarly to Ambassador David Daly's persuasion concerning EU cooperation, Dr Brendan Nelson, former Australian Ambassador to the European Union and to NATO, also emphasized the importance of the EU, especially in relation to the Asia Pacific. Dr Brendan Nelson gave a speech at the institute of the European Center for International Political Economy (ECIPE), (ECIPE, 2012) on the 31st of October 2012, titled "Europe and the Asia Pacific".

In March 2012, Dr Brendan Nelson expressed his view that currently the EU-Australia relationship is going through a very positive transformation.

> Australia is negotiating a Treaty Framework Agreement with the EU and a High Level Political Declaration with NATO. From a past EU engagement characterised largely by conflict in agriculture and market access and respectful non-engagement with NATO, both relationships are now in transformation. (State of Union, 2012)

One of the aims of this paper is to point to the direction of a social constructivist new deal in the future of the EU-Australia economic and trade relationship, as well as concerning the very important present and future cooperation in global peace and security, furthermore cooperation in the vital global environmental and socioeconomic justice. The proposed Treaty of Framework Agreement will be the most significant legal agreement in the history of the EU-Australia relationship. It is indeed the start of a new deal, which opens the way to acknowledge and adjust to new global realities, and new socioeconomic

and environmental requirements of the 21st century. The *1997 Joint Declaration on Relations between the European Union and Australia*; the *Australia and the European Union: an Agenda for Cooperation* document; and the *2008 European Union-Australia Partnership Framework Agreement* together facilitated and pointed to the accomplishment of a treaty-level document. The realistic hope is that in the reasonably close future the successful accomplishment of the Treaty of Framework Agreement, between Australia and the European Union, will bring forth legally structured new horizons for a comprehensive and manifold future relationship and cooperation in this connected and interdependent world. The EU-Australia new deal and the new comprehensive Treaty of Framework Agreement will be beneficial to both parties, especially, because it will adjust their interests to new global security, socio-economic and environmental requirements. The rising of China and Asia gives a new vantage point not only to Australia, but to the EU as well, especially in terms of trade, but also in security. Nevertheless, regionalisation and globalisation requires a regional and global presence, and the EU-Australia relationship, not least through the multilateral cooperation of ASEM, will be able to help in mutual ways to both Australia and the European Union to achieve this presence more successfully, then ever before.

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