

REVIEW OF *RETHINKING THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS GLOBAL ROLE FROM THE 20th TO THE 21st CENTURY*. LIBER AMICORUM MARIO TELÒ, EDITED BY JEAN-MICHEL DE WAELE, GIOVANNI GREVI, FREDERIK PONJAERT, ANNE WEYEMBERGH, BRUSSELS: ÉDITIONS DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE BRUXELLES, 2019

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On December 18, 2017 Mario Telò gave his last lecture in the course on International Relations at the *Institut d'études européennes – Université libre de Bruxelles*, where for 32 years he taught international relations, comparative politics, the history of political thought and European institutions. On that occasion, the *Institut* paid tribute to Telò and his long international academic career in the presence of the President of the *Académie royale de Belgique*, of which Telò is a member, and presented him with the *Liber amicorum*. It is very rare for an Italian to be honored in this way: Telò's only predecessor was Altiero Spinelli, to whom the *Institut d'études européennes* paid tribute in 1985.

The *liber amicorum* brings together nearly thirty writings by friends, colleagues and former students. It illustrates the thematic areas that Telò has addressed in his studies and highlights the innovative contributions that he made to research. The book is divided into four sections, each corresponding in general to the main areas of investigation explored by Telò, as well as the evolution of the EU's political and institutional history over the decades of Telò's distinguished career.

The editors open the book with reflections on Telò's writings about comparative politics, and in particular on those dealing with the European social democracies (Sweden and Germany) and Keynesianism's rocky road to acceptance from the Thirties to the present day. Here, the reference is to Telò's 1988 book *Le New Deal européen. La pensée et la politique sociales-démocrates face à la crise des années trente* (the French translation of the Italian

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version of 1985). The first section, in fact, is entitled *Reflections on the Future of Social Democracy in Europe*, and contains chapters on the crises of social democracy at the national and European levels, the transformations that have taken place in the socialist family, the prospects for social democracy and the evolution of the European welfare state.

In the mid-Eighties, Telò met Spinelli, who had a decisive influence in shifting the fulcrum of Telò's research interests from the nation to Europe, and to the process of European construction. After meeting Spinelli, Telò also made the fundamental decision of his life: he left Italy and moved in 1988 to the European capital, joining the faculty of the *Université libre de Bruxelles* as research director at the *Institut d'études européennes*, of which he was also to become president. He created an extraordinary network of relationships spanning the entire world at the IEE, making it one of the most important European research center and a model of multilateral academic cooperation thanks to programs such as GARNET (Globalisation and Regionalism Network), GR:EEN (Global Re-ordering: Evolution through European Networks), GEM (Globalisation, Europe & Multilateralism) and GEM STONES (Globalisation, Europe & Multilateralism – Sophistication of the Transnational Order, Networks, and European Strategies), all funded by the European Commission's DG Research.

Telò then published his series of books on the EU, including *Démocratie et construction européenne*, 1995, and *Repenser l'Europe*, 1996, in an attempt to lead European studies out of the militant ghetto. In this period, he also trained a new generation of political scientists (Paul Magnette, Pascal Delwit, Jean-Michel De Waele, Éric Remacle, Christophe Sente) who are coauthors of the *Liber amicorum*. The second section, *Reflections on the Prospects for European Governance*, is thus devoted to analyzing the European governance system, the EU's policies, differentiated integration, and European governance in the light of the recent reforms and the crisis of the integration process, in line with Telò's conviction that European studies cover many aspects: not just the political process of integration, but also the behavior of the actors, the institutions, the decision-makers, and the citizens.

Between 1997 and 2015, Telò published fundamental books reflecting EU studies' shift to the global dimension: the bestseller *European Union and New Regionalism*, 2001, *L'Europa potenza civile*, 2004, and *Globalisation, Multilateralism, Europe. Towards a Better Global Governance?*, 2014. In the same period, Telò addressed his studies along two directions. The first concerns the European theory in international relations, based on a critique of the Westphalian paradigm of narrow national sovereignty and non-interference, which he examined in his 2008 book, *Relations internationales: une perspective européenne*. The second dialogues with the other theoretical-political cultures to arrive at a pluralist theory of international relations that can

break free from the long domination of American realism and acknowledge that there are multiple theoretical approaches, precisely because there are multiple “modernities” (Eisenstadt), and which should lead to a new area of research: a European theory of multilateralism. The third section, *Reflections on the Implication of Multilateralism and Multipolarism for Europe*, thus explores the UE’s external action (the High Representative for Foreign Affairs in particular), its adaptations to the changing international scene, and the need for multilateral dialog with other countries (including those of the ACP group) and with regional and international organizations.

Lastly, the fourth section, *Reflections on the Lessons Drawn from Engaged Research in Europe*, examines the role of the researcher in a continually evolving environment such as that described in the preceding sections. It thus discusses how to approach a phenomenon as complex as the EU and how to reconcile academic distance with societal engagement when working on controversial topics, given that Telò has not only been a scholar and an educator, but has also contributed to shaping a European consciousness in public opinion, to fighting Euroscepticism, and to explaining that mankind’s great challenges (the environment, finance, trade, migrations, sustainable development, terrorism and epidemics) call for more Europe, not less. In Telò’s view, it is necessary to increase the effectiveness of European policies (economic, environmental and foreign policies in particular), which must be supported by a democratic legitimacy that is now lacking. Likewise, there is a need to produce clear, tangible advantages for citizens and be able to communicate them to hundreds of millions of Europeans (this is the problem of creating a European public space), arousing enthusiasm for the EU as Jacques Delors was able to do for the single market.

The last section concludes with a detailed and wide-ranging interview with Telò covering his research career from 1975 al 2017 which examines the many milestones in his scholarly activities and the issues he has addressed.

The *Liber amicorum* reviews Telò’s signal contributions to the study of international relations, comparative regionalisms, and the new regionalism. The key question – and the one that is most urgent for our times – that Telò poses in his work is: can the world order evolve beyond the Westphalian paradigm of international order? And what will come after the paradigm’s focus on nation states? Telò believes that the practical and theoretical weakening of the state centric foundations of the Westphalian paradigm cannot be reversed, but that pooled and shared sovereignty is not an end to sovereignty as many fear, but the first step towards the construction of a better order.