



*The Miami-Florida European Union Center of Excellence,
a partnership with Florida International University,
and the Jean Monnet Chair of the University of Miami,
cordially invite you to a guest talk and discussion:*

European Identity: European Union, nations, states

Guest speakers:

- **Markus Thiel**, Florida International University
- **Ambler H. Moss, Jr.**, University of Miami
- **Joaquin Roy**, Director, EU Center

Subtopics to be discussed:

- Does **Europe** exist?
- Who are the Europeans?
- What is the European Union?
- What is a “nation”?
- What is a European “state”
- What is the challenge of “sub-state” nationalism?
- The cases of **Catalonia**, **Scotland**, and others

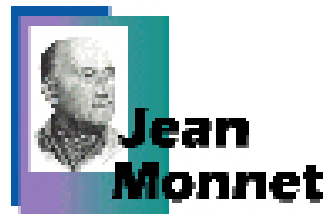
Note: September 11 is the National Day of **Catalonia**. Plans for a referendum for independence are debated. The **United Kingdom** may face similar challenge. Other substates/regions have been contemplating secession. Meanwhile, **European identity** and citizenship are concepts under close scrutiny. With the role of the European Union under questioning, observers must pay due attention to these related issues.

When: Tuesday, September 10, 2013, 1.00-2.30pm

Where: Ferre 126, University of Miami

For information:

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Ambler H. Moss, Jr. (B.A., Yale University; J.D., the George Washington University) is Professor of International Studies at the University of Miami. He is *of counsel* to the international law firm of Greenberg Traurig in Miami. He was founding Dean of the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Miami and Director of the Dante. B. Fascell North-South Center. He was involved with the negotiation of the U.S.-Panama Canal Treaties, and with their ratification as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. He served as Ambassador to Panama from 1978 until 1982. In the career Foreign Service he served in Spain, the U.S. Delegation to the Organization of American States, and as Spanish Desk Officer in the Department of State. He has practiced law in Washington, DC, Brussels and Miami.

Markus Thiel is assistant professor in the Department of Politics and International Relations at Florida International University, Miami & research associate at Miami-FIU's EU Center of Excellence. He graduated with a Ph.D. from the University of Miami, and has published several EU-related articles and book chapters at the EU Center of Excellence as well as in *Transatlantic Monthly*, *International Studies Encyclopedia*, *Perspectives on European Politics & Society*, and others. In addition, his research on the political sociology of the EU produced a monograph, 'The Limits of Transnationalism' (Palgrave, 2011), and 3 co-edited volume on: 'Diversity and the European Union' (Palgrave, 2009), 'Identity Politics in the Age of Globalization' (Lynne Rienner/First Forum Press, 2010) and 'European Identity & Culture: Narratives of Transnational Belonging' (Ashgate, 2012). He is currently working on a book on the linkage of European transnational NGOs with the EU Fundamental Rights Agency.

Joaquín Roy (Lic. Law, University of Barcelona, 1966; Ph.D, Georgetown University, 1973), is Jean Monnet Chair "ad personam" and Director of University of Miami European Union Center of Excellence. He has published over 200 academic articles and reviews, and he is the author or editor of 39 books, among them *Cuba, the U.S. and the Helms-Burton Doctrine: International Reactions* (University of Florida Press, 2000), *The European Union and Regional Integration* (Miami: EU Center, 2005), *Towards the Completion of Europe* (Miami: EU Center, 2006) and *A Historical Dictionary of the European Union* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), *The dollar and the euro* (Ashgate, 2007), *After Vienna: the EU-Latin America-Caribbean Relationship* (Miami: EU Center, 2007), *Regional Integration: fifty years after the Treaty of Rome (March 25, 1957): The EU model in the Americas, Asia and Africa* (Miami: EU Center, 2008), and *The Cuban Revolution (1959-2009): its relationship with Spain, the European Union and the United States* (New York: Palgrave/McMillan, 2009). He has also published over 1,400 columns and essays. He was awarded the *Encomienda* of the Order of Merit by King Juan Carlos of Spain.

"Thiel's wide-ranging research into attitudinal data, individual citizen reactions, and media coverage bearing on transnational identification paints a picture of the EU stumbling towards identity consensus rather than sprinting towards it. His in-depth case studies of Ireland, Britain, and Germany reveal how at best a bounded transnationalism—and at worst an old-school protective nationalism—are more probable identity responses than inclusive transnationalism and European cosmopolitanism."

—Raymond Taras, Willy Brandt Professor, Malmö University
and Professor of Political Science, Tulane University

"Original in his choice of indicators, Thiel delivers a comprehensive account of the often counterproductive outcomes of integration politics and a prognostic view on the contested future of transnationalism in Europe."

—Hans Joerg Trezz, Research Professor, ARENA Center
for European Studies, University of Oslo

This book examines the state of transnational identification among citizens as a result of post-Maastricht integration measures, such as the completion of the Common Market, the introduction of the Euro, the initiation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the Constitutional debate. Public opinion, interview, and print-media analyses in the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Germany confirm the limited effects of EU policy changes to the extent that national political cultures and mass media orientations are compatible with the goals of EU integration. This book serves as a valuable tool for students of European politics and society.

Markus Thiel is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Politics and International Relations, School of International and Public Affairs, at Florida International University, Miami. His research interests are in the fields of Nationalism and Identity Politics and the Political Sociology of the European Union. He has published several EU-related articles and two co-edited volumes: *Diversity in the European Union* (with Lisa Prügl, 2009) and *Identity Politics in the Age of Globalization* (with Roger Coate, 2010).

Cover image: "A stele in Maastricht commemorating the European Council assembly in December 1991 and the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht in February 1992." Photo by Alberto Tobias

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The Limits of Transnationalism

Markus Thiel



The Limits of Transnationalism

Collective Identities and EU Integration

Markus Thiel

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Catalan Separatists to Link for Independence Cause

Secessionists Hope to Revitalize Movement With 249-Mile Human Chain

People practiced in Barcelona last week for a 400-kilometer human chain that will span Catalonia Sept. 11.

BARCELONA—Catalan independence activists want to revitalize their movement with a more eye-catching protest than a mass street rally staged a year ago: a 400-kilometer (249-mile) human chain traversing Catalonia from the Pyrenees Mountains to the Mediterranean Sea.

Secessionists in Spain's richest region are counting on the Sept. 11 spectacle, dubbed the Catalan Way Toward Independence, to help them recapture lost political momentum ahead of what could be a decisive year for their cause.

The chain, which will require at least 400,000 demonstrators to fill its ranks, will follow the ancient Roman route of the Via Augusta, snaking through canyons, beaches and farmland, as well as the streets of 86 communities. To transport demonstrators, organizers plan to deploy more than 1,000 buses, some of which will be brought from other provinces or neighboring France. Recording the event will be 800 photographers on the ground, along with a small fleet of drones and light planes in the air.

The demonstration, taking place on a regional holiday, is designed to press regional and national leaders for a referendum on independence in 2014, a year that coincides with the 300th anniversary of Catalonia's defeat by the Spanish crown after the bloody siege of Barcelona. (It is symbolically significant that participants will link hands at 5:14 p.m., or 17:14 military time.)

Catalonia, Spain's most industrialized region, has long asserted that the central government discriminates against its language and culture while siphoning off much more in tax revenue than it returns in investment. But the administration in Madrid has refused to hear any talk of a referendum, arguing that Catalonia has benefited from national policies, such as the central government's rescue of a poorly-run regional bank in 2011. Spain's painful recession has intensified the disputes over public finances—and pro-separatist sentiment in Catalonia.

This year's demonstration presents more challenges than last year's separatist rally—when some one million people flooded the streets of Barcelona—because of the daunting logistical chore of transporting participants to sparsely populated places along the route, organizers say.

"Last year we were bringing all of Catalonia to Barcelona," said Ferran Civit, a lead organizer for the Catalan National Assembly, the region's biggest pro-independence group. "This year, we're moving all of Barcelona to Catalonia."

Organizers are drawing inspiration from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, where protesters formed a million-person human chain stretching 600 kilometers in 1989 to protest the oppression of those Baltic Republics under Soviet rule. Within several months, Lithuania declared

independence from the Soviet Union, which then collapsed in 1991. Catalan organizers have flown in Baltic advisers to help them with the chain.

Catalans who oppose secession say they are offended by the implication that Spain's central government in some way resembles the Soviet Union.

"That kind of parallelism is worrisome because it distorts the reality of the relationship between Catalonia and the rest of the country," said Andrea Levy, a leader of the Catalan branch of the conservative Popular Party, which governs nationally.

The Barcelona march a year ago, which drew an estimated 15% to 20% of the region's population, briefly put the long-feeble Catalan independence movement at the forefront of the political debate over Europe's debt crisis. It also highlighted the strains between wealthier and poorer regions of nations on the Continent.

But a tactical miscalculation by the head of the Catalan regional government, Artur Mas, cut short the separatist movement's momentum. Seeking to ride the postdemonstration political wave, Mr. Mas and his center-right Convergence and Union party formally embraced independence and called an election last November to bolster the region's negotiating position with Madrid.

Pro-independence candidates on the whole gained ground in Catalonia's parliament in that election. But Mr. Mas's party lost seats, hobbling the leader who had styled himself the movement's leader. A spokesman said Mr. Mas, who has pledged to push through the independence referendum, supports the chain and will meet with organizers but won't take a place on the route himself.

As a consequence of Mr. Mas's electoral gambit "some people lost sight of the fact that this is fundamentally a grass-roots movement," said Elisenda Paluzie i Hernández, dean of economics at the University of Barcelona, who has registered for a spot in the chain.

In all, 14 nongovernmental groups are organizing the chain. Along each 500-meter stretch of the route, a coordinator will be charged with mustering and lining up the demonstrators. A special mobile phone app will offer demonstrators practical information on their portion of the chain. Catalans abroad also will form chains in dozens of cities, from Tokyo to Cincinnati, Ohio, organizers say.

Skeptics question whether independence backers can pull off a feat requiring such a combination of ideological zeal and organizational sophistication.

"As average Catalans realize that the independence leaders are actually serious about secession, they are having second thoughts about participating," said Ángel Hernández Guardia, leader of an anti-independence group called 12-O, named for Spain's Oct. 12 national holiday. It plans to stage a counter protest on Sept. 11.

One volunteer promoting the pro-independence chain is Anna Aroca, who runs Help Catalonia, a 3-year-old website that aggregates and translates articles about the region in five languages.

Ms. Aroca recently sent a message on her mobile phone asking contacts for status reports from Catalan communities that have been holding trial runs for the chain. Quickly she received a photo of activists forming a chain in a ravine and another of protesters hand-in-hand on a city street.

Then came another photo, showing denizens of a nude beach holding hands to support independence. "I told you, there is very broad-based support for our cause," she said.

One practice run recently took place in the town of Granollers, just outside of Barcelona. An hour before the trial was to begin, Maria Dolors Taulats, a 57-year-old translator who is leading local demonstrators, was pacing nervously around the ancient town plaza, unsure of how the event would come off.

"If only three people come, we'll form a chain around a rock on the square," she said. "If we get 150, we'll form a chain around the square itself. If it's 500 people, we'll hold hands out on the main street." In the end, a couple of thousand people turned out for the practice, and the chain wound from the square through the town's main downtown streets.

Write to Matt Moffett at matthew.moffett@wsj.com

A version of this article appeared September 5, 2013, on page A10 in the U.S. edition of The Wall Street Journal, with the headline: In Separatist Pursuit, Catalans Plot to Link Across Region.

