

# C O N T E N T S

## *List of Tables*

vii

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>Introduction</b>                                  | <b>1</b>  |
| <b>1 Why Europe Cannot Be a Superpower</b>           | <b>7</b>  |
| What Is a Superpower?                                | 8         |
| Power Avoidance                                      | 12        |
| Hard Power and Soft Power                            | 18        |
| The Impossible American Parallel                     | 24        |
| Power with No Anchoring Point                        | 28        |
| <b>2 Norms over Power</b>                            | <b>35</b> |
| Normative Power: The Genealogy of a Concept          | 35        |
| The Conceptual Foundations of Normative Power        | 40        |
| What Is a Normative Power?                           | 42        |
| Why Does Europe Prefer Norms?                        | 44        |
| European Governance and Global Governance            | 47        |
| <b>3 Norms for What Preferences?</b>                 | <b>51</b> |
| The Rejection of Realpolitik                         | 53        |
| Belief in the Civilizing Power of Trade              | 60        |
| The Norms Europe Stands For                          | 65        |
| The Defense of Nonmarket Values                      | 69        |
| The Environmental Preference                         | 70        |
| The Controversial Use of the Precautionary Principle | 75        |
| Defense of the Multifunctionality of Agriculture     | 79        |
| Collective Preferences as Doctrine?                  | 82        |

|          |   |            |
|----------|---|------------|
| <b>4</b> | <b>European Governance and American Sovereignism</b>      | <b>89</b>  |
|          | Europe's Normative Achievements                           | 91         |
|          | 'Why Europe Does Better                                   | 97         |
|          | The Preference for Shared Sovereignty                     | 102        |
|          | The American Counterrevolution                            | 103        |
|          | American Legal Revisionism                                | 106        |
|          | The Attack <i>on</i> Global Governance                    | 107        |
|          | Fire on Europe!   | 110        |
| <b>5</b> | <b>Is Constitutionalizing the World Order the Answer?</b> | <b>113</b> |
|          | The Baroque World Picture                                 | 114        |
|          | The Dangers of Constitutionalizing the World Order        | 117        |
| <b>6</b> | <b>Norms and Geopolitics</b>                              | <b>125</b> |
|          | Norms and Asymmetry                                       | 127        |
|          | <b>Conclusion</b>   | <b>135</b> |
|          | <i>Notes</i>  | 141        |
|          | <i>Bibliography</i>                                       | 161        |
|          | <i>Index</i>  | 177        |