

Europe: a Civilian Power?

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European Union, Global Governance,
World Order

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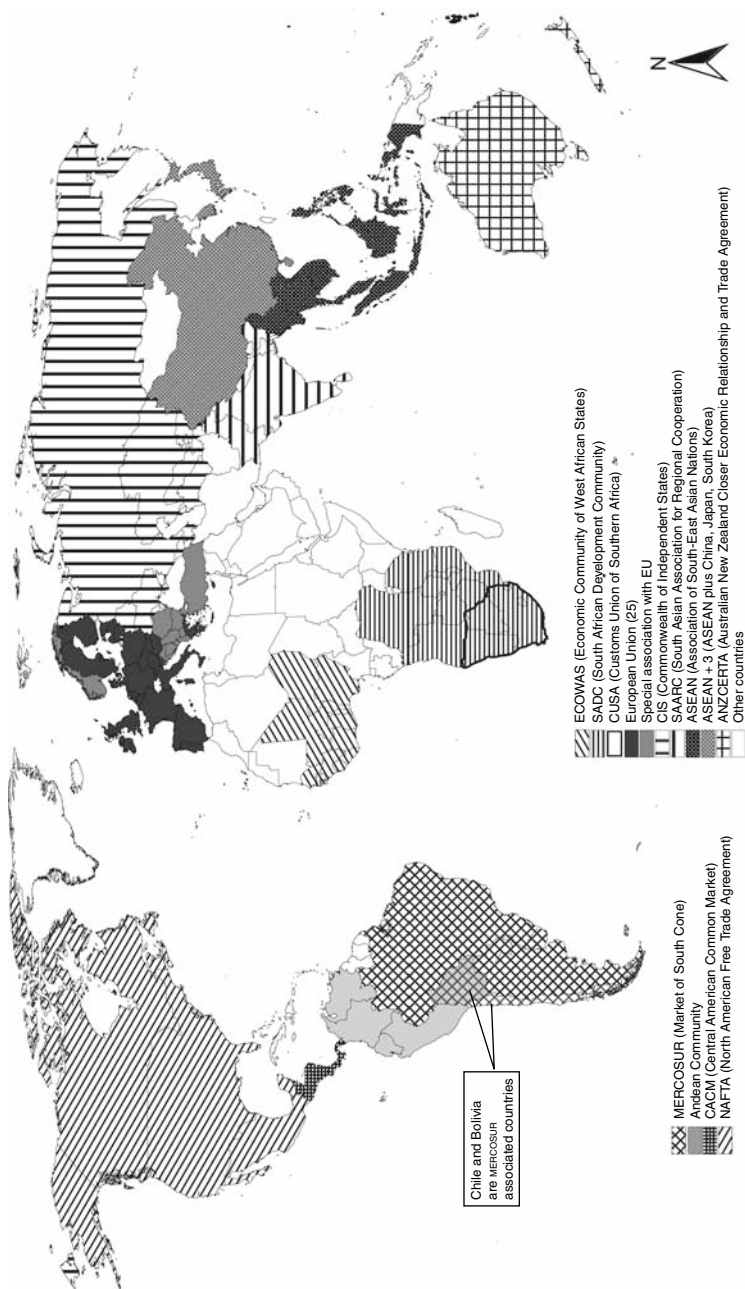
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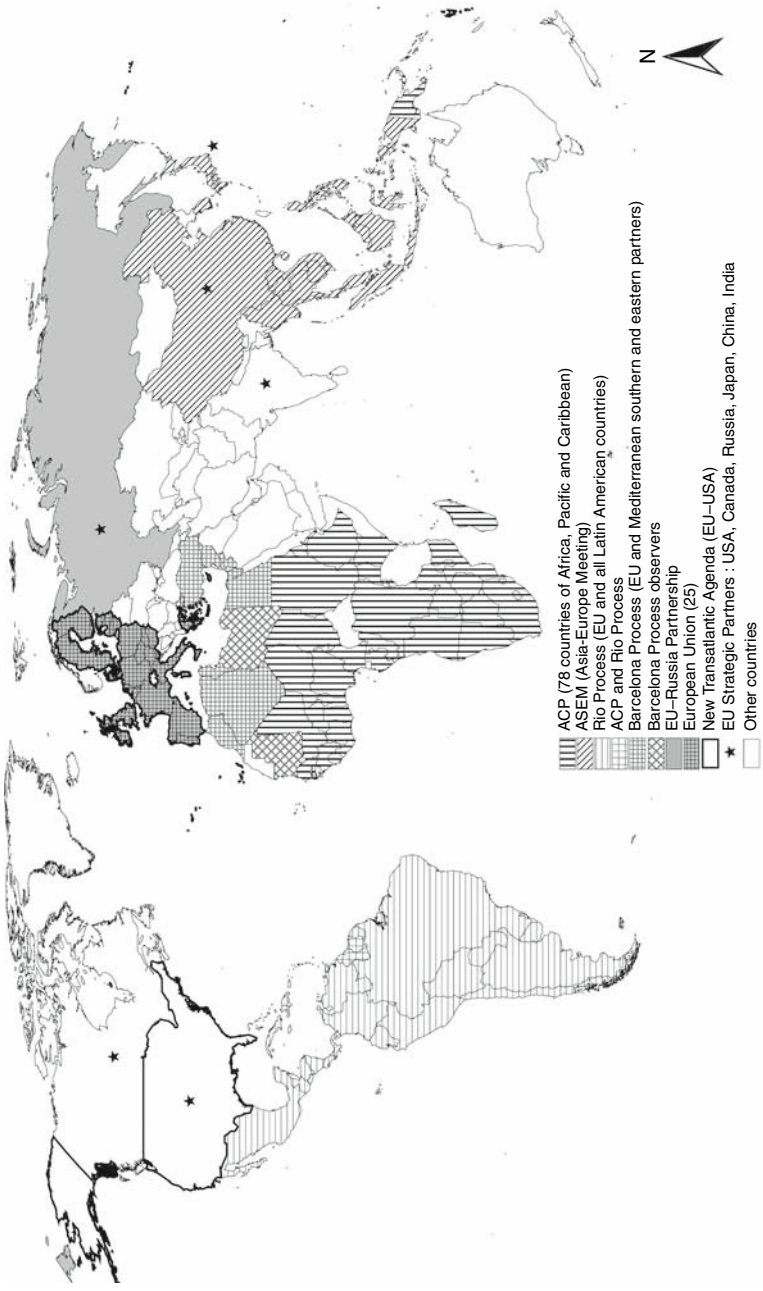
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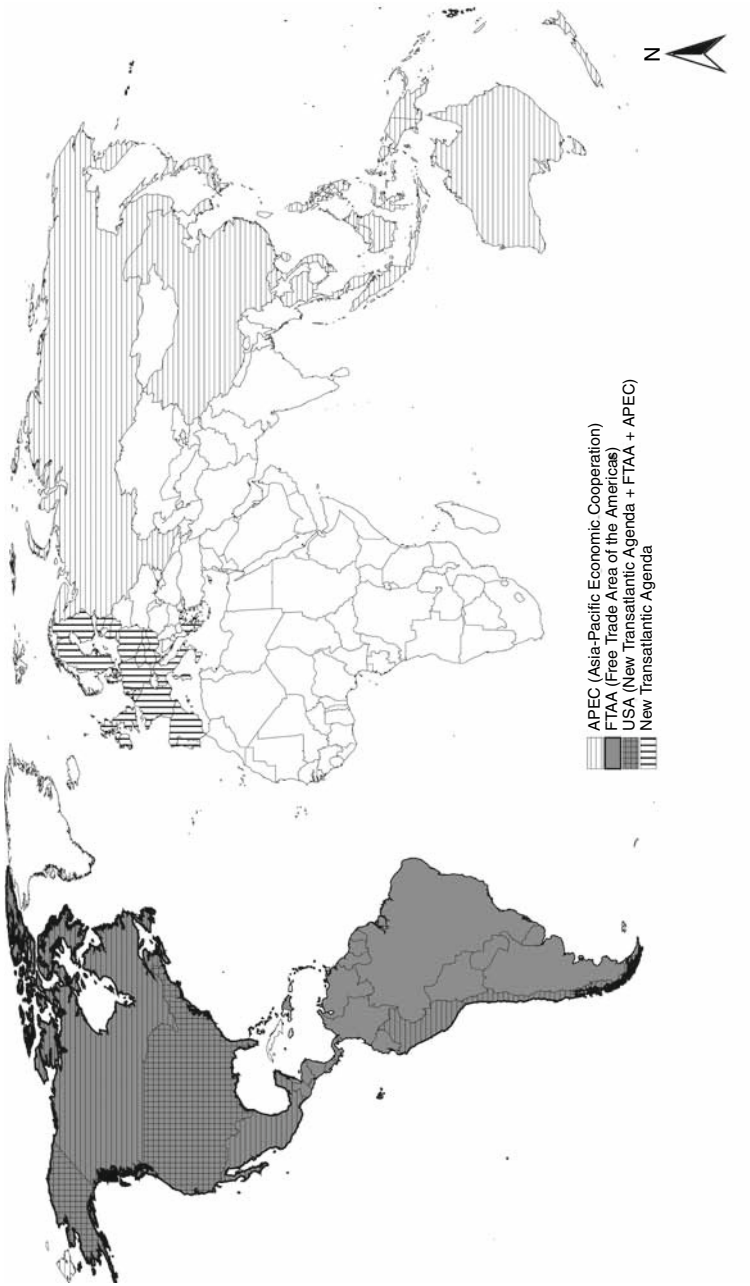
Cartography : Pablo Medina Lockhart

Map 1 Main regional organizations



Cartography : Pablo Medina Lockhart

Map 2 European Union: main interregional arrangements and strategic partnerships



Cartography : Pablo Medina Lockhart

Map 3 Main interregional arrangements including the USA

Foreword and Acknowledgements

This book presents the results of a long comparative research project on the EU's role in global governance and world order. My main aim is to provide a contribution to the emerging European vision of international relations which is consistent with our best traditions of political theory. By the concept of 'civilian power', contrary to normative understandings of Europe as a 'moral', 'civil' or 'fair' power, I seek to analyse the EU as it is today and as, despite its various contradictions and shortcomings, it is evolving and linking its internal and international dimensions. In 2005 the EU is a reasonably successful regional and global entity with more than 50 years' experience in fostering cooperation, democracy, prosperity and peace among an expanding number of member states. It influences its neighbours and plays an increasing interregional and global role within a multilateral framework.

When studying the place of the EU within the global system, I was convinced me that I should explore and verify a new, encompassing, appropriate concept of power. The concept of 'soft power', while providing a significant theoretical insight, is not sufficient to grasp the distinctive nature of either the EU or other emerging civilian actors within global governance. Its ambiguity is due to its structural complementarity to 'hard power', as a component of a classical state entity, of which the prime example is the US. Comparative analysis suggests that neither the EU polity nor its policies can be identified with those of a state in the making. This is even more so in the cases of other comparable regional groupings of states, in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

A book published in 2005 cannot avoid addressing the current main controversial question: is the EU civilian power emerging as a counterbalance within the 'pax americana'? This book provides a critical evaluation of the widespread description of the US as a 'hegemonic power' (or as an 'empire') and of multipolarist approaches. The epoch-making events of 1989–91 and September 11th 2001 have inevitably fostered multidisciplinary research which focuses on the distinctive regional and global roles of the EU and on its growing international identity. Beyond the short-term debate on the transatlantic rift, different geoeconomic and geopolitical interests and conflicting approaches to global governance continue to produce different views and policies regarding multilateralism and world order, on both sides of the Atlantic. Avoiding simplistic accounts, the book

conducts an in-depth analysis of the current securitization of the global agenda, its impact on regional actors and the challenge it poses for the EU and civilian actors. The necessary external and internal conditions for the EU to further develop as a civilian and political actor are assessed and various scenarios are suggested.

In the five chapters which make up the book, I have combined my institutionalist approach with stimulating findings from the history of political ideas, constructivism and international political economy. I believe this methodological orientation to be the most suitable for the topics under examination, because it allows significant progress as far as two distinct, although interconnected, open research agendas are concerned.

1. It provides a solid account of the socio-economic and 'ideational' background of a new kind of power, helps us compare the EU with similar regional political groupings among neighbouring states and assess its influence within the globalized post-cold war world. We can thus analyse the dynamics of bottom-up regional cooperation in other continents and the way in which the EU supports the dissemination of its regionalist multilateral experience abroad, namely through interregional partnerships.

2. Even if not neglecting the role of states and other social actors I focus on regional and global institutions which appear to me to be the main variable, which makes the EU a distinctive actor, characterized by a political identity rich in external implications. What is interesting is that a regional entity aims at asserting universal values, precisely on the basis of its recent institutional experience: I refer to its identity marker constitutionalizing institutional framework, which balances intergovernmental coordination of national policies with supranational institutions. This framework also incorporates the memory of past tragedies, fostering human rights protection, the commitment to democratic governance and, of particular importance, the voluntary limiting of national sovereignty by member states. This leads to the question of to what extent does the EU model of governance contribute to the improvement of the efficiency and legitimacy of multilateral institutions? Which *longue durée* background could make of a regional grouping of states, due to its internal social history, international openness and democratic political culture, an actor providing not only solutions for multi-level global governance, but also ideas and policies for a multilateral world order? And, finally, is this complex political and institutional work in progress appropriate to cope with the new external threats and global challenges of the twenty-first century?

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It would have been impossible to carry out for seven years the comparative and theoretical research, the first results of which are published in this book, on the EU's international role and identity without the support of several universities and research centres, the dialogue and cooperation I was fortunate enough to enjoy with EU institutions, the European Council, the EU Commission and the European Parliament, and the direct knowledge I acquired of the demands and expectations in other continents regarding the increasing role of the EU in global governance and world affairs. I would like firstly, therefore, to express my warm thanks to the various colleagues and institutes in Europe and the rest of the world for the many kind invitations I have received over the past seven years to present earlier drafts of this book and discuss its provisional findings with students and scholars.

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Naturally, I take full responsibility for the arguments presented in this book.

Even if the substantial changes provided for the English version make this a new book, a first version of this manuscript was published in Italian by Laterza in Rome in 2004. I thank them warmly. Sincere thanks are also due to the excellent maps specialist Pablo Medina Lockhart, ULB-IGEAT. Last, but not least, I would like to thank Duncan McDonnell, a PhD student in the Department of Politics at the University of York (England), for his excellent translation of the original Italian publication into English. I have since made significant additions and updates to the English text and ultimate responsibility for this final version is, of course, my own.

List of Abbreviations

ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
ACC	Arab Cooperation Council
ACM	Arab Common Market
ACP	Countries of Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (Convention including EU and 7 partners)
ALADI	Latin American Association for Development and Integration
AMU/UMA	Arab Maghreb Union (Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria)
Andean Community	includes Peru, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (including all American, Asian and Oceanian countries of the Pacific)
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum (ASEAN plus USA, Japan, China, India, Australia and EU)
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations (including Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Brunei, Myanmar)
ASEM	Asia Europe Meeting (including EU and East Asian countries)
AU	African Union
Barcelona Process (EMP)	Euro-Mediterranean partnership between all the countries of the South and North rims
BEPG	Broad Economic Policy Guidelines (ECT, art. 99)
CACM	Central American Common Market (including Central American countries)
CAFTA	Central America Free Trade Agreement (USA plus Central American countries)
CAO	Eastern African Community (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda)
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy (EU)
CARICOM	Caribbean Community (including Caribbean countries)
CARIFA	Caribbean International Free Trade Association
CCASG	Council of Cooperation between Arab States of the Gulf

CEEAC	Economic Community of Central African States
CEEC	central and eastern European countries (in French: PECO)
CEPAL	UN Economic Commission for Latin America
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy (EU)
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States (Russia and former USSR member states except the Baltic States)
Coreper	Committee of Permanent Representatives (part of the EU Council of Ministers)
CSCE	Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (or 'Helsinki Process')
CUSA	Customs Union of Southern Africa (customs union among 5 SADC members)
DG	General Directorate (European Commission)
EC	European Community
ECFA	Economic Commission for Africa (UN)
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Aid Office (European Commission)
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States (in French: CEDEAO)
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association (including Norway, Switzerland, Iceland and Liechtenstein)
EMU	European Economic and Monetary Union
EP	European Parliament
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ESA	European Space Agency
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ETUC	European Trade Unions Confederation
EU	European Union
FP	Framework Programme of EU Commission Research
FTA	free trade area
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas (including all the American countries except Cuba)
FTCE	Free Trade Agreement of Central Europe (or Visegrad Group)
G7	Group of 7 most industrialized countries (US, UK, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and Canada)
G8	G7 and Russia
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council

GDP	gross domestic product
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICT	information and communication technologies
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference (EU)
ILO	International Labour Office
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPE	international political economy
IR	international relations
LAS	League of Arab States
MERCOSUR	Mercado Comùn del Sur (including Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, and as associates, Bolivia and Chile)
MFN	most favoured nation
MS	member state
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement (including US, Canada and Mexico)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEPAD	New Partnership for Development
NGOs	non-governmental organizations
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NTBs	non-tariff barriers
OAS	Organization of American States (including all American states except Cuba)
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation
OMC	Open Method of Coordination (EU)
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PTAs	preferential trading arrangements
Rio Process	European Partnership including all the countries of Latin America
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, the Maldives, Sri Lanka)
SADC	South African Development Community (including 14 southern African countries)
TEC	Treaty of the European Community
TEU	Treaty of the European Union
TNC	transnational corporation

UDEAC	Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICE	Union of Employers of the European Community (EU)
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	World Trade Organization