

**The EU's rationale, role and significance in responding to the issues of global  
governance: an evaluation**

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The devastation caused during the Second World War and the fear of future wars between the European countries led to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Today nearly 60 years later with a population of more than 470 million and 27 member countries, the European Union (EU), as the leading donor in humanitarian aid and development is an important actor in international affairs. What it lacks is a 'single voice' in most international fora. The EU's parliament is 'often dismissed as weak, mostly because it is not normally in the position to make decisions of consequence'.<sup>1</sup> The Union has made human rights, democracy and poverty reduction a central aspect of its external relations, however, the EU context of poverty human rights and democracy should not be confused necessarily with the aspired heights of humanity in general, which may be less than western norms.

In this paper I will evaluate the EU's *rationale, role and significance in responding to the issues of global governance*. In the first part, I will briefly address The EU's historical background and its enlargement process. I will then evaluate the EU's powerful rhetoric in promoting issues such as human rights, the spread of democracy and good governance that stems from all institutional levels of the EU. Additionally, I will examine the policies towards developing countries in terms of trade, development, humanitarian assistance and poverty reduction. In the last part of the paper, I will explore the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and its role within the UN.

It is initially important to define concisely the concepts of 'governance' and 'global governance' relevant to this analysis. What is this highly contested concept- *governance*? The European Commission established its own definition of governance, which 'refers to the rules, processes, and behaviour by which interests are articulated, resources are managed, and power is exercised in society'.<sup>2</sup> James Rosenau defines 'governance' as 'spheres of authority ... at all levels of human activity ... that amount to systems of rule in which goals are pursued through the exercise of control'.<sup>3</sup> 'Global governance' according to Martin Ortega can be described as 'the management of global problems and

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<sup>1</sup> James C. O'Brien, 'Brussels: Next Capital of Balkans?', *The Washington Quarterly* • 29:3 Summer 2006, p.83

<sup>2</sup> European Commission, 'Governance and Development,' COM(2003) 615 final. p. 3. Available at: [http://europa.eu/eur-lex/en/com/cnc/2003/com2003\\_0615en01.pdf](http://europa.eu/eur-lex/en/com/cnc/2003/com2003_0615en01.pdf), [Last accessed 31 March 2008].

<sup>3</sup> James Rosenau cited in Anthony Payne, 'Globalization and Modes of Regionalist Governance', in David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 2003), p. 216.

the pursuit of global objectives through the concerted efforts of states and other international actors'.<sup>4</sup>

### ***The European Coal and Steel community***

The destruction caused by the Second World War and the fear of future conflicts within Europe hailed the establishment of the ECSC. The Franco-German reconciliation was a stepping-stone to the foundation of European Community. The then French Foreign Secretary Robert Shuman declared that '...the pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe (...)'<sup>5</sup>

In April 1951 Belgium, France, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and West Germany (known as the six) signed the treaty of Paris establishing the ECSC. Britain was unwilling to participate, believing that they were still global power and having 'close relationship' with the United States was considered to be of more importance. Some other Northern European countries were also reluctant due to their observations over 'supranationalism' and their fear from the Soviet Union.

### ***From ECSC to EEC***

Following the success of the ECSC and the economic recovery of the Western Europe supported by the American aid known as *Marshal Plan* the six sought further economic integration. On March 25 1957, the six Member States of the organisation signed the *Treaty of Rome* establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Agency (Euratom). The Treaty came into force on 1 January 1958. One of the agreements included in the Treaty of Rome was the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which even today remains one of the most controversial European Union policies.

The CAP came into operation in January 1962 and its central aim was to secure food supplies for the EEC. The disagreements between the then French president Charles de Gaulle and the then European Commission's president Walter Hallstain over the funding of CAP triggered the so called 'empty chair crises' following the withdrawal of

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<sup>4</sup> Martin Ortega is Senior Research Fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris. Martin Ortega, 'Building the Future: The EU's Contribution to Global Governance' Chaillot Paper No. 100, April 2007. p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Shuman during his speech known as 'Shuman Declaration' of 9th May 1950 in Historia Del Siglo XX, 'The History of the European Union'.

French officials from Brussels. The crisis was in the end resolved by the ‘Luxemburg Compromise’ appeasing France and giving ‘each member state a veto over any decisions if it was of vital national interest’.<sup>6</sup>

### ***The Enlargement Process***

The UK realised that they had made a mistake for not joining the EEC, and they decided to apply for the membership in 1961 but the President de Gaulle vetoed her application in 1963. The British made another application to join the EEC in 1967 under the Labour Government of Harold Wilson; however, de Gaulle blocked their application again. The French leader believed that Britain was still more pro American than pro European. De Gaulle resigned in 1969. Now that de Gaulle was out of the way, the UK had a greater chance in joining the EEC. Eventually in 1 January 1973, the UK together with Denmark and Ireland joined the EEC.

Following the first enlargement, which comprised the northern European countries, the EEC began expanding south. Greece joined the EEC on 1 January 1981 followed by Portugal and Spain in 1986 although all three economies were ‘quite weak’ the main reason behind the enlargement was do to with the concerns over security. By this time, the EEC was not only getting larger but even more integrated.<sup>7</sup>

### ***The road toward the European Union***

The Single European Act modified the EEC Treaties in 1987 by increasing the powers and the role of the European Parliament. The president of the Commission, French socialist Jacques Delors was the leading figure. Presumably, he had the full support of the then French President François Mitterrand who is believed to have been one of the most decisive actors in European policies during the 1980-s. François Mitterrand proposed to other partners of the EEC the creation of ‘European social Space’ motivated by ‘the idea that Europe will be socialist or nothing’.<sup>8</sup> By 1993 the single market came into effect establishing mostly free movement of goods, services, capital, and people within the EC.

<sup>6</sup> Alistair Jones, ‘Britain and European Union, p.14

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p 17.

<sup>8</sup> Memorandum presented by the Minister for European Affairs, Andre Chandernagor, in October 1981 cited in Françoise de La Serre, ‘France; The impact of Francois Mitterrand,’ in Christopher Hill, ed., *The Actors in Europe's Foreign Policy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 19-39, p. 21.

The Treaty of the European Union (known as the Maastricht Treaty) came into effect on 1 November 1993, giving more power to the European institutions and establishing the European Community (EC) now European Union (EU). The EU's structure is based on three pillars. The first pillar consist an expanded European Community. The second pillar is Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the third pillar of the EU is Justice and Home Affairs.

After a successful establishment, the EU sought further enlargement. On 1 January 1995 Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the EU taking the membership to fifteen. The peaceful reunification of Germany and the violent dismembering of the Soviet Union effected EU's enlargement. By this time, the eastern European countries previously under the Soviet domination were seeking to join the Union.<sup>9</sup> Following the 1995 enlargement the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) and the Treaty of Nice (2001) were signed giving more power to the EU institutions and paving the way for further enlargements.

On 1 May 2004 eight countries of central and eastern Europe joined the EU - the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia. In contrast with the 1995 enlargement which seems to have been a fairly smooth process considering that Austria, Finland and Sweden had already advanced economies the 2004 enlargement was a difficult process. Although the 2004 expansion was seen as problematic and the EU constitution was rejected by French and Dutch voters in May and June 2005, respectively the enlargement process did not stop. Indeed, in December 2004, the EU concluded accession negotiations with Bulgaria and Romania,<sup>10</sup> and on 1 January 2007, they both formally joined the EU, increasing the Union to 27 member states and completing the fifth enlargement since 1957. This enlargement stretched the borders of the EU to the Black Sea and increased the population of the Union to over 470 million.

Following of yet another successful enlargement the Treaty of Lisbon (also known as the Reform Treaty) was signed. The Treaty was signed on 13 December 2007 and is expected to be ratified by the end of 2008. The Reform Treaty amends the current treaties by giving more powers to EU institutions. Yet, the EU's parliament is 'often dismissed as

<sup>9</sup> Alistair Jones, 'Britain and European Union'

<sup>10</sup> See European Commission, 'Progress with enlargement: Bulgaria, Rumania and Croatia(2004),' Available at:

<http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/e50016.htm> ; Turkey, Croatia have started the accession negotiations on October 2005 and Macedonia is a candidate country. Other potential candidate countries are; Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia. see European Commission,

'Enlargement: Countries' Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/index_en.htm) [last accessed 4 April 2008]

weak'.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, although the EU integration has been regarded as a political process from the very start, 'for most of the past fifty years the economic giant has often looked like a political dwarf'.<sup>12</sup>

### ***EU promotion of human rights, democracy and good governance***

I now turn to examine the promotion of human rights, the spread of democracy and good governance which has become a highly rhetoric issue coming from various officials within the EU<sup>13</sup> - rhetoric affirmed in various treaties and Commission papers. The European Commission's section on human rights and democracy policy states that 'The European Union has made human rights and democracy a central aspect of its external relations in the political dialogue it holds with third countries; through its development cooperation and assistance; or through its action in multilateral fora such as the United Nations'.<sup>14</sup> This was included in article 6 of the Treaty of Amsterdam reaffirming that 'the European Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law, principles that are common to the Member States'.<sup>15</sup> The article on human rights was reinforced later by the treaty of Nice (signed in 2001), extending the 'objective of promoting the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, from development co-operation to all forms of co-operation with third countries.'<sup>16</sup> These commitments were also reaffirmed in the new Treaty Reform Article 1.3 signed in Lisbon on December 2007.<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, the Commission states that since 1992 all agreements between the EU and third countries include 'good governance' and a 'clause defining the respect for human rights and democracy as "essential elements" in the EU's relationships'.<sup>18</sup>

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11 James C. O'Brien, 'Brussels: Next Capital of Balkans?', *The Washington Quarterly* • 29:3 Summer 2006, p.83

12 Christopher Patten, 'The European Union and the World,' in Robert J. Guttman, ed. *Europe in the New Century; Visions of an Emerging Superpower*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 2001), p. 79.

13 See Gordon Crawford, 'Evaluating EU Promotion of Human Rights, Democracy, and Good Governance: Towards a Participatory Approach'. Available at: <http://www.edpsg.org/Documents/Dp22.doc> , [accessed 17 March 2008].

14 European Commission, 'The EU's Human Rights and Democracy Policy,' Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/external\\_relations/human\\_rights/intro/index.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/human_rights/intro/index.htm) [last accessed 31 March 2008].

15 European Commission , 'The European Union's Role in Promoting Human Rights and Democratisation in Third Countries,' COM(2001) 252 final, p. 3. Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/external\\_relations/human\\_rights/doc/com01\\_252\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/human_rights/doc/com01_252_en.pdf)

16 Ibid.

17 See EU Reform Treaty, p.5. available at: <http://www.reformtreaty.ie/eutreaty/guide-english.pdf> [accessed 1 April 2008].

18 European Commission, COM(2001) 252 Final, p.4. , see also European Commission, COM(2003) 615 final, pp. 4-5.

However, Gordon Crawford contends that ‘the inclusion of good governance in the Cotonou agreement was one of the most controversial aspects of the negotiations between the ACP [African, Caribbean and Pacific] states and the EU. The ACP objected to good governance as an “essential element”, subject to a non-execution or suspension clause’.<sup>19</sup>

There is, however, some positive evaluation of the EU’s role in the World. The EU’s Stick and Carrot approach towards its neighbours did have a positive effect. In particular the strongest incentive on offer was the prospect of full membership to other European countries, in return for political and economical reform (i.e. the establishment of democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for and protection of minorities and the establishment of free market economies). The findings on the PHARE<sup>20</sup> and TACIS<sup>21</sup> Democracy Programmes (PTDP) (1992-97) in Central and Eastern Europe suggest that, ‘the PTDP has been of considerable value for the development of democracy and civil society in Central and Eastern Europe’.<sup>22</sup> In addition, the support in strengthening the civil societies has been noted satisfactorily since the “continuation and expansion of the support to local civil society” is recommended, perceived as playing “a crucial role” in the “long and hard road to democratisation in the Arab World”.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, Crawford argues that disregarding the democratisation of governmental institutions by concentrating specifically on supporting NGOs is dangerous.

The White Paper adopted by the Commission asserts that the EU ‘should seek to apply the principles of good governance to its global responsibilities and endeavour to boost the effectiveness and enforcement powers of the international institutions’. Additionally, the Commission declared that ‘it would be improving the dialogue with governmental and non-governmental players from third countries when developing

<sup>19</sup> Gordon Crawford, ‘Evaluating EU Promotion of Human Rights, Democracy, and Good Governance: Towards a Participatory Approach’, p.2.

<sup>20</sup> The Programme of Community aid to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (PHARE) ‘is the main financial instrument of the pre-accession strategy for the Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs) which have applied for membership of the European Union’. For more information see; Europa, ‘Phare Programme’, available at: <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/e50004.htm> [accessed 6 April 2008]

<sup>21</sup> The TACIS Programme ‘provides grant-financed technical assistance to 12 countries of Eastern Europe and Central Asia (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan), and mainly aims at enhancing the transition process in these countries’. For more information see; European Commission, ‘External Relations’ Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/external\\_relations/ceeca/tacis/index.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/ceeca/tacis/index.htm) [accessed 6 April 2008]

<sup>22</sup> European Commission cited in Gordon Crawford, ‘Evaluating EU Promotion of Human Rights, Democracy, and Good Governance: Towards a Participatory Approach’, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> European Commission cited in *ibid* p. 7.

policy proposals with an international dimension'.<sup>24</sup> However, I. Brouwer argues that the involvement of recipients of democracy and governance assistance is limited; therefore, it is important that they participate in consultation with donors. Brouwer rightly asserts that the 'problem identified with the democracy and governance assistance activities of agencies such as the European Commission is the limited involvement of recipient organisations, both government and non-government, in the design and implementation of projects and programmes ...at worst this can be perceived as the notion that "donors know best"'.<sup>25</sup>

### *The EU's attitude towards the conflicts in the Balkans and Africa*

The question is: with this high rhetoric on protecting human rights universally is the EU's reflecting wish to become an 'ethical power' or simply looking after its own self-interests. According to the authors of the Barcelona report, the latter is more likely to be the case.<sup>26</sup>

When one considers the EU's systematic failures to protect innocent victims in the middle east, Rwanda, Srebrenica (Bosnia) during the 1990-s one cannot help but assume that there is still much empty rhetoric; unless, Europe's interests are at stake. Consider for example the EU's attitude towards the Balkan wars and Africa during the 1990's. Surely, the EU could have done more to stop the bloodshed both in Rwanda and in Srebrenica (where Serb forces slaughtered at least 7,414 Bosnian Muslim men and boys)<sup>27</sup> but instead they choose to turn a blind eye and do nothing. The EU eventually participated in Bosnia with a peacekeeping mission under UNPROFOR later SFOR but that was only after they realised that their interests were endangered. The hostility towards the region was expressed by former British Prime Minister Edward Heath -- when referring to Bosnia he stated '...if people wished to murder one another, as long as they did not do so in his country, it was not his concern and should not be the concern of the British

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<sup>24</sup> European Commission, 'Global governance: contribution of the European Union,' Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/governance/governance\\_global/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/governance/governance_global/index_en.htm) [Last accessed 1 April 2008]

<sup>25</sup> I Brouwer cited in Gordon Crawford, 'Evaluating EU Promotion of Human Rights, Democracy, and Good Governance: Towards a Participatory Approach', p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> Barcelona Group of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, cited in Janne Haaland Matlary, 'Much ado about little: the EU and Human Security,' *International Affairs* 84: I (2008), p. 139.

<sup>27</sup>Nicholas J. Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford University Press, New York, 2000), p. 255.



government'.<sup>28</sup> What Heath said was, what most of Europe's leaders believed<sup>29</sup> at the time.

The EU currently is contributing towards the peacekeeping in Bosnia, Kosovo, Chad.<sup>30</sup> Although in the former Yugoslavia the EU has been actively involved with the peacekeeping (under NATO command), police aid (under UN command), the success achieved prior to 2000 was relatively little. Fred Halliday contends that 'the wars in former Yugoslavia seem therefore to defy much that is subsumed' in the notion of 'global governance'.<sup>31</sup> That being, since the Kosovo war, the EU involvement in the region is far greater and its impact on the Western Balkans is astonishing.<sup>32</sup>

The EU's involvement in other parts of the world is *very important* and most welcome in particular when it comes to issues such as human rights, poverty reduction, water security, good governance etc, but, this should be done in a multilateral fashion and not by trying to inflict European values in the name of liberalising or civilising.<sup>33</sup> As Hartmut Mayer writes, 'the main danger for the EU lies in its self-congratulatory and self-centered debate along old lines of "Europe is doing good for the entire world"'.<sup>34</sup> Is it in fact contemplating its navel and coming up smiling?

### ***Humanitarian aid development and trade***

EU is the largest single market in the world and the biggest donor in humanitarian aid, providing 56 percent of assistance to developing countries worldwide.<sup>35</sup> Further, the EU was second only to Japan in support of International Monetary Fund (IMF) programs

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<sup>28</sup> Edward Heath quoted in Mary Kaldor, *Human Security: Reflections on Globalization and Intervention* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 2007), p. 56.

<sup>29</sup> Richard Goldstone' chief prosecutor for the Yugoslav and Rwanda tribunals, in *Ibid*.

<sup>30</sup> The deployment of peacekeeping mission in Chad has been resumed on 12 February 2008 after a postponement due to heavy fighting in Chad's capital. See Euroactiv, 'EU resumes deployment of Chad peace mission', Available at: <http://www.euractiv.com/en/foreign-affairs/eu-resumes-deployment-chad-peace-mission/article-170263> [accessed 3 April 2008].

<sup>31</sup> Fred Halliday, *Global Governance: Prospects and Problems*, in David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 2003), p. 492.

<sup>32</sup> For a detailed analysis on the EU involvement in the Western Balkans prior and after the Kosovo War see: Rudi Guraziu 'European Union Foreign Policy Making Towards the Western Balkans: Lessons Learned?' September 2008. Available at: [http://www.atlantic-community.tv/index/articles/view/EU\\_Foreign\\_Policy\\_Making\\_Towards\\_the\\_Western\\_Balkans\\_Lessons\\_Learned](http://www.atlantic-community.tv/index/articles/view/EU_Foreign_Policy_Making_Towards_the_Western_Balkans_Lessons_Learned)

<sup>33</sup> Hartmut Mayer, 'Is it still called 'Chinese Whispers'? The EU's rhetoric and action as a responsible global institution', *International Affairs*, Vol. 84: 1 (2008), p. 64.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>35</sup> David Lennon, 'The European Union: A leader in Humanitarian and Development Assistance', in Robert J. Guttman, ed. *Europe in the New Century; Visions of an Emerging Superpower*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 2001), p. 127

after the Asian economic crises in 1998.<sup>36</sup> However, over a billion people still live in absolute poverty, having to survive with less than a dollar a day, while nearly 3 billion live in less than two dollars per day.<sup>37</sup> Although the EU is the largest donor the commission has been criticised for its poor performance as a provider of humanitarian and development aid. Among many complaints are the slowness in disbursing aid, and a tendency to target the better-off while reducing aid to the poorest.<sup>38</sup> ‘One of the most common weaknesses of past aid’ writes David Lennon was ‘excessive proliferation of aid projects’.<sup>39</sup> Further the ‘high rhetoric’ on reducing poverty and debt cancellation remains nothing more than ‘empty rhetoric’ that usually lasts only as long as the conferences do (be it G-8 summits or EU summits) and millions still die due to the lack of the political will in most of the EU countries.

Consider for example the pluses and minuses of the *Cotonou Agreement*.<sup>40</sup> Its main objective is supposedly poverty reduction but the reality on the ground has changed little, if at all. One of the reasons for the lack of improvement is that there are scarcely any direct EU investments from in African, Caribbean or Pacific for export-oriented manufacturing or agriculture.<sup>41</sup> The positive aspect of the agreement, however, is that almost all of the products entering the EU from the APC countries have tariff-free access.

Regrettably, benefits emanating from the treaty were put at risk during the EU-Africa summit held on December 2007 in Lisbon when the European commission<sup>42</sup> ‘threatened to raise tariffs on imports to Europe if no deals were signed before the end-of-year deadline’.<sup>43</sup> The summit revealed deep divisions over free trade agreements between

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<sup>36</sup> Christopher Patten, ‘The European Union and the World,’ in Robert J. Guttman, ed. *Europe in the New Century*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 2001), p. 85.

<sup>37</sup> Millennium project, ‘Fast Facts: The Faces of Poverty’, available at: [http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/resources/fastfacts\\_e.htm](http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/resources/fastfacts_e.htm) [accessed 2 April 2008]

<sup>38</sup> David Lennon, ‘The European Union’ p.130.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> The Cotonou Agreement is a treaty between the EU and the African, Caribbean and Pacific states (APC) ‘it is based on five interdependent pillars with the underlying objective of the fight against poverty: an enhanced political dimension, increased participation, a more strategic approach to cooperation focusing on poverty reduction, new economic and trade partnerships and improved financial cooperation’. European Commission, Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/development/geographical/cotonouintro\\_en.cfm](http://ec.europa.eu/development/geographical/cotonouintro_en.cfm)

<sup>41</sup> David Lennon, ‘The European Union’ p. 130.

<sup>42</sup> The EU ‘plays its strongest role in external trade policy. From the founding of the Community, the Commission had exclusive competence to deal with international trade negotiations’. Brigid Gavin, ‘The Role of the European Union in Global Financial Governance’, Available at: <http://www.cris.unu.edu/admin/documents/EU-fin-gov.pdf> [accessed 26 March 2008].

<sup>43</sup> Barbara Stocking, ‘Africa-European union Trade; Seismic Rupture’, *The World Today*, Vol. 64: No. 1, January 2008. p. 21.

the EU and APC. Alpha Oumar Konare, Head of African Union ‘accused Europe of “playing certain African regions off against each other”, while President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, warned that Europe’s stance could lead to a “seismic” rupture between Europe and Africa’.<sup>44</sup> The criticism from the Third World is growing since there is a great belief that international bodies such as the World Bank, the IMF, G-8 (Group of Seven plus Russia) and World Trade Organisation (where the EU powerful states participate) do not represent the interests of their members but the ‘interests of the powerful minority of rich states’.<sup>45</sup>

In a letter addressed to EU trade Commissioner Peter Mandelson, nine civil society organisations of Africa called on EU to ‘stop trying to re-colonise Africa’ by asking (the APC countries) to ‘slash import tariffs [on EU goods] by 80 per cent’.<sup>46</sup> It seems like the EU is using a sledgehammer to crack a nut. Joseph E Stiglitz rightly criticises Peter Mandelson’s stance in treating ‘the negotiations [between the EU and African countries] as a bargain between equals’.<sup>47</sup> Particularly when one considers the unfairly subsidised competition from EU. Stiglitz argues that ‘aid and trade must go hand in hand if poverty is to be reduced’.<sup>48</sup>

### ***EU in the UN and the CFSP***

Even though the UN is possibly the main actor in global governance the two permanent members (the UK and France) not always speak with a single voice. Significantly, in December 1973 the foreign ministers of the Nine EU Member States produced a public declaration titled the *Document on the European Identity*, which *inter alia* called for the Member States to adopt ‘common positions wherever possible in international organisations, notably the United Nations and the Specialised Agencies.’<sup>49</sup> Further, in

<sup>44</sup> *ibid*

<sup>45</sup> Fred Halliday, ‘Global Governance: Prospects and Problems’, in David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 2003), p. 494.

<sup>46</sup> Brigitte Weidlich, ‘Africa: Stop “Re-Colonising” Africa, Civil Society Tells EU’, *All Africa.com* 6 March 2008, Available at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/200803060264.html> [accessed 2 April 2008].

<sup>47</sup> Joseph Stiglitz, ‘It takes more than free trade to end poverty’, *The Independent*, 03 February 2006, Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/joseph-stiglitz-it-takes-more-than-free-trade-to-end-poverty-465421.html> [last accessed 3 April 2008]

<sup>48</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>49</sup> Hill and Smith cited in Robert Kissack, ‘European Union Member State coordination in the United Nations system: towards a methodology for analysis’, EFPU Working Paper 2007, p.1. [emphasis original] Available at: [http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/intrel/pdfs/EFPU\\_working\\_paper\\_2007-1.pdf](http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/intrel/pdfs/EFPU_working_paper_2007-1.pdf) [last accessed 3 April 2008].

January 2003, Spain and Germany began two-year terms as nonpermanent members. However, although at that point the EU was represented by its four major states they failed to reach a common position on the Iraq crisis. The UK and Spain backed the U.S. position while France and Germany opposed it.<sup>50</sup>

The Iraq crisis showed how profoundly divided the CFSP is, raising questions on whether the EU should continue with its global pretensions.<sup>51</sup> At another crisis point the EU foreign ministers failed to reach a consensus in recognising Kosovo's independence 'en bloc' showing deep divisions. This clearly indicates that it is crucial for the EU to reorganise itself to avoid future obstacles especially by the so called microstates such as Cyprus or filibustering states such as Greece.<sup>52</sup> It appears that the CFSP is presumably the 'weakest link' of the EU. Particularly so, when blocs such as Africa Group, Organisation of the Islamic Conference, Arab Group, Non-Aligned Movement, have shown to be more united in the UN than the EU.<sup>53</sup>

The EU's policy towards its immediate neighbours is controversial too. Javier Solana presented a draft paper in Thessaloniki (June 2003) on European security strategy: *A Secure Europe in a Better World*. It proposed the promotion of 'Stability and governance in [Europe's] immediate neighbourhood' as one of the 'three strategic objectives for the European Union'.<sup>54</sup> However, any EU common foreign policy towards North Africa is stymied by the conflicting interests of different EU countries vary in relation to North Africa: France's policy towards Algeria and Morocco is different from Spain; Italy for example has maintained close relations with Libya even though other EU

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50 Fraser Cameron, 'After Iraq: The EU and Global Governance', *Global Governance* 10 (2004),. Pp. 159-60. Available at: <http://www.aueb.gr/deos/MSc/executives/Bourantonis/After%20Iraq.pdf>

[accessed 20 March 2008]

51 Fraser Cameron, 'After Iraq: The EU and Global Governance', *Global Governance* 10 (2004), p. 157. Available at: <http://www.aueb.gr/deos/MSc/executives/Bourantonis/After%20Iraq.pdf>

[accessed 20 March 2008]

52 Lionel Barber, 'Europe in the New Century: A Scenario', in Robert J. Guttman, ed. *Europe in the New Century: Visions of an Emerging Superpower*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 2001). P.12

53 Karen E Smith, 'The EU in the World: Future Research Agendas'.

EFPU Working Paper 2008/1, p. 19. Available at: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/intrel/pdfs/EFPU%20Working%20Paper%202008%201.pdf> [accessed 27 February 2008]

54 Solana, J. (2003). 'A Secure Europe in a Better World' European Security Strategy. P. 6

Available from: [http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/en/reports/76255.pdf](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/reports/76255.pdf) [last accessed 24 March 2008]

countries have followed international sanctions; while Tunisia on the other hand has close relationships with both France and Italy.<sup>55</sup>

## **Conclusion and recommendations**

The EU - with 27 member countries, a population of nearly half a billion, the largest single market in the world and the leading donor in humanitarian aid and development - despite its shortcomings, ought to play a greater role in global governance. However, in order to achieve this beneficial impact, it is crucial for the EU to speak with one voice in all international forums, starting with its unified representation in 'state based' bodies.

In sum, the above indicates that the EU is high in rhetoric but in reality has failed to often. The EU has achieved its principle objective, to preserve peace within Union for almost sixty years, but it needs to build on this success by devising functional institutions for global governance – in effect getting everyone 'singing from the same hymn sheet'.

## **Recommendations**

*The EU should:*

- Develop an effective and coherent CFSP.
- Speak with a single voice in all international fora and bodies such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the UN.
- Pursue multilateralism, unless unilateralism is inevitable to pursue a moral imperative (i.e. intervention in Kosovo).
- Axe national veto.
- Accelerate the enlargement process towards the Western Balkans and Turkey by supporting them not only financially but also politically.
- Pursue a good neighbourhood policy offering immediate neighbours 'more than partnership and less than membership'.
- Increase aid and trade to the Third world countries.

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<sup>55</sup> William Wallace, 'Looking after the Neighbourhood:

Responsibilities for the EU-25', Notre Europe, Policy Papers No. 4, (June 2003) Available at: [http://www.notre-europe.eu/uploads/tx\\_publication/Policypaper4\\_01.pdf](http://www.notre-europe.eu/uploads/tx_publication/Policypaper4_01.pdf) [accessed 24 march 2008].

- Balance the rhetoric with the action in the war on poverty.
- Support efforts to reform the UN Security Council.

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