

### The EU in the global trading system

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## + Summary

- 1. The EU: a global trade power?
- 2. What tools does the EU have to develop its role as a global commercial player?
- 3. Policy-process: which EU institution is the most powerful?
- 4. Is the EU a major actor in the multilateral trading system (WTO)?

## +1. The EU in the global trading system

- Can we consider the EU as a power?
- ■EU = 'political dwarf'
- ■EU in 'low politics' → trade = major power
- Why?

## 3 reasons

- i. 'Hard core' of EU external policies
- ii. Economic and trading strengths of the EU
- iii. The importance of trade in EU foreign policy

### i. 'Hard core' of EU external policies

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- Trade = exclusive competence
  - MS:
    - able to present a <u>united front</u> to the world
    - act as one in contracting the terms of trade agreements
- What are main foundations of united front?
  - → Common External Tariff (CET)

oblige the MS to act in common

■ → Common Commercial Policy (CCP)

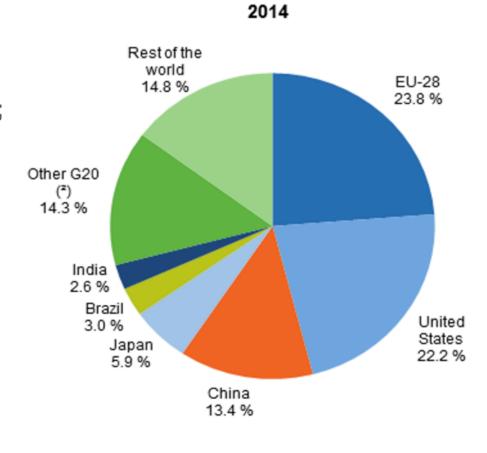
in the field of trade

- EU conducts trade negotiations in <u>many forums</u>:
  - Bilateralism:
  - <u>Interregionalism</u>:
  - Multilateral frameworks:

## ii. Economic and trading strengths of the EU

- GDP (2014):
  - EU-28 = 14.001 billion €;
  - USA = 12.771 billion €
- In percentage terms (2014):
  - EU-28 = 23.8 % of global wealth;
  - USA = 22.2 %;
  - Japan = 5.9 %
- (re)Emerging powers (2014):
  - China = 13.4 %;
  - Brazil = 3.0 %;
  - India = 2.6 %
- Other G20 (2014):
  - Indonesia, Russia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia ... = 14.3 %

#### **Share of world GDP (Eurostat)**



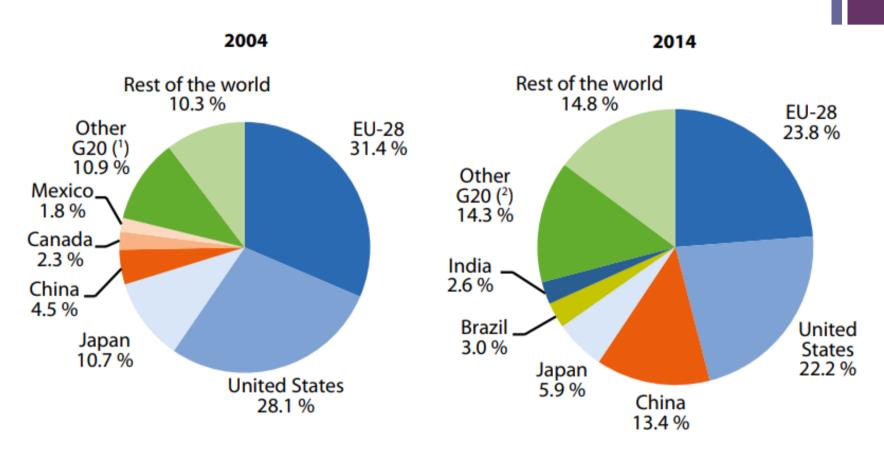
- + Economic and trading strengths of the EU
  - ■GDP (2016):
    - **■**EU-28 = 14.825 billion €:
      - without United Kingdom = 2.046 billion €

$$=> EU-27 = (14.825 - 2.046) =$$

12.779 billion €

- behind the USA = 13,533 billion €
- in front of China = 11.199 billion €

# + Comparison between 2004 and 2014: industrial economies are shrinking



- (1) Argentina, Australia, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea and Turkey.
- (2) Argentina, Australia, Canada, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea and Turkey.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: nama\_10\_gdp) and the United Nations Statistics Division (National Accounts Main Aggregates Database)

#### **Exports and imports shares for the main trading actors**

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- Some figures (2017):
  - EU ± 15.5% of world exports & imports
  - China ± 15 %
  - USA ± 14.5 %
  - Japan ± 5 %

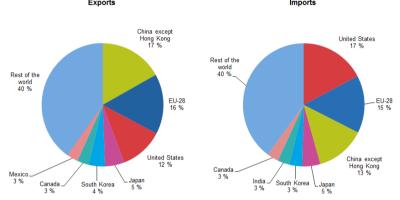


- the <u>largest trading block</u> in the world source Eurostati
- an <u>important market</u> for the rest of the world:
  - with 500 m.p. = 1/14 of the world population (7 billion)
  - with one of the most important <u>middle class</u> in the world (high purchasing power)
- one of the largest trading partner for <u>about 100 countries</u> around the world

#### **■ BUT**:

■ the EU is loosing ground with respect to other trade actors → China



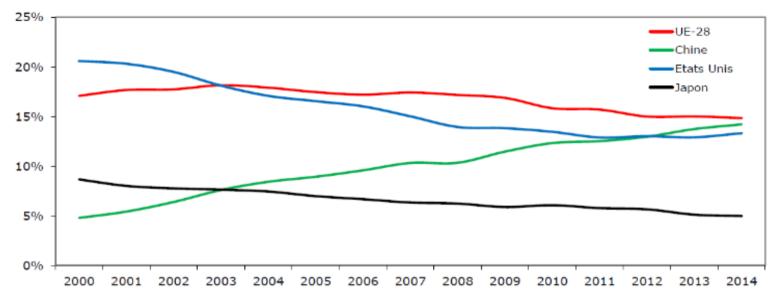




## + EU: losing ground to other trade actors

#### The EU in world trade

Share of EU28\*, USA, Japan and China in World Trade in Goods (%)



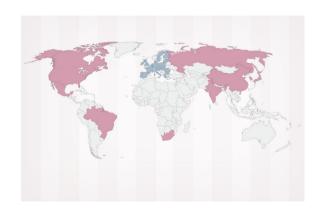
Coverage: shares in world trade excluding intra-EU trade. Sources: Eurostat (Comext, Statistical regime 4), WTO

- EU → losing market share in the global economy
- 2019: → total level of trade in goods recorded for the EU-28,
   China & the US = identical (Eurostat)

# + iii. Trade policy is almost in every external policy

### **■**Examples:

- Neighbourhood policy;
- Enlargement policy;
- Transatlantic relationship;
- Development cooperation policy;
- Emerging powers;
- Sanctions;
- **...**









# +2. What tools does the EU have to develop its role as a global commercial player?

- Trade agreements with third actors take ≠ forms both:
  - in terms of the extend to which they remove barriers to market access, and
  - the number and range of non-trade matters that are covered
- In 'ascending' order:
  - trade agreements
  - trade and economic cooperation agreements
  - association agreements

## +2.1. Trade Agreements

- Negotiation 'trade agreement' -) article 207 (ToL)
- Agreements cover different trade issues
- Exclusive competence of the EU:
  - formal basis for D-making → qualified majority voting
- Unanimity -) cultural and audio-visual services

# + 2.2. Trade and economic cooperation agreement

- **■** Cooperation agreements:
  - based on article 218 (ToL)
- Number of trade and cooperation agreements:
  - increased over the years
  - scope steadily expanded
- At their core:
  - trade preferences and
  - EU assistance:
    - → technical and institutional assistance
- Political conditions

### +2.3. Association agreements

- Based on article 217 of the ToL
- The most comprehensive agreements
- Association agreements include:
  - free trade area
  - economic and technical <u>cooperation</u>
  - financial <u>aid</u> → from the EU
  - political dialogue
    - democratic conditionality clause: parties must comply with democratic principles and human rights
  - <u>evolutionary</u> clause:
    - allows parties to negotiate in the future new issues
  - in some cases <u>prospect</u> becoming member of the EU
- Three categories of states

### + First category

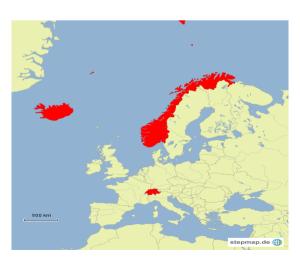
- Association agreements with <u>future EU members</u>:
  - <u>Turkey</u> (status: candidate country):
    - → accession negotiations started in 2005
  - <u>Iceland</u> (status: candidate country):
    - 2010 → 2015 : Island withdrawn the application
  - Balkan states → candidate countries:
    - Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro & Serbia
  - <u>Balkan states</u> → 'potential candidates':
    - Bosnia-Herzegovina,
    - Kosovo:
    - Balkan States part of: 'EU's Stability Programme for South-East Europe':
      - → part of a <u>pre-accession strategy</u>

## + Second category

- Association agreement with non-EU members of the EEA (1992):
  - Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein =
    - Members of EFTA (1960)
  - → goods, services, capital and people (= common market)
- European Economic Area / European Free Trade Association





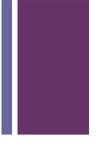


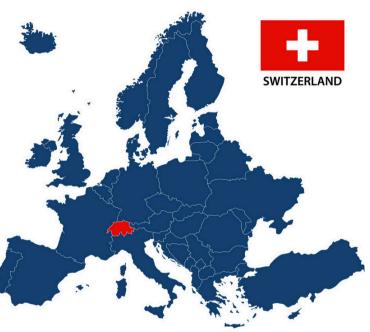
## **What about Switzerland?**

- Rejection of the EFTA/EU association agreement
- Bilateral agreements with the EU:
  - Bilateral agreement I:
    - **1999**
  - Bilateral agreement II:
    - **2004**
- Agreements cover different issues:
  - goods, services, capital,
  - free movement of people,
  - agriculture, research, environment, education, etc.

#### ■ Tensions:

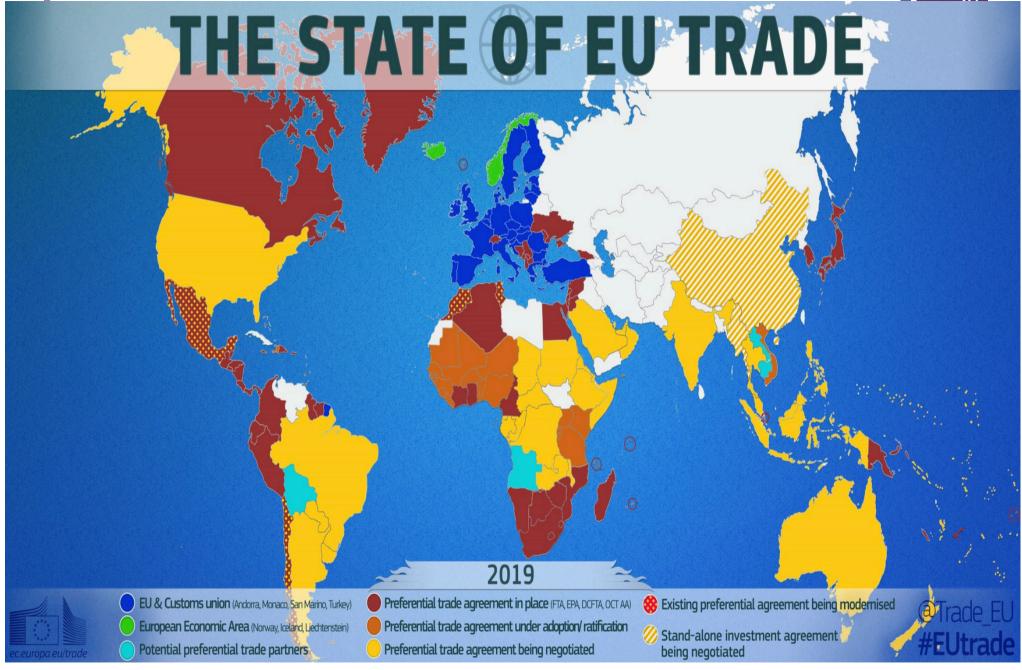
- 2014: referendum 'against mass immigration'
- 2016: Swiss Parliament → solved the problem
- Still many obstacle: 'Euroscepticism'





# Third category

- Association agreement with <u>states or regional</u> <u>organisations</u> from:
  - Mediterranean,
  - ACP,
  - Latin America and
  - Asia
- → no prospect to be part of the EU



# +3. Policy-process: which EU institution is the most powerful?

- Which institutions matter in the decisionmaking process?
  - European Commission
  - Council
  - European Parliament

# **a.** What is the **role** of the European **Commission**?

- ■Since 1957 the Community/Union is responsible for trade:
  - The commission makes a <u>recommendation</u> to conclude trade agreements:
    - it asks a mandate to the Council
  - It negotiates in the name of the MS

# + European Commissioner for Trade

### **■ Cecilia Malmstrom**



■Phil Hogan



## **b.** What is the **role** of the **MS**?

■ Council -) decisions by <u>Qualified Majority</u> & gives <u>mandate</u> Commission

#### ■ However:

- Council keeps Commission under control
- Commission <u>must report</u> regularly Council

### ■ But, <u>Commission</u>:

- defends MS trade interests
- in charge of the day-to-day running

+c. The role of the EP

■EP's power <u>increased</u> -) ToL

■EU position enhanced in 3 ways:

■ i. In its relations with the Council

■ ii. In its relations with the Commission

■ iii. In the process of ratification

# +4. The EU in the multilateral trading system: the case of the WTO

### ■ 4.1. From a reactive to a proactive stand

- Between the <u>1960 and 1980</u>:
  - EU focused on the development of its <u>internal market</u>
- The EU started to play a more active role in the 1990
- It supported:
  - conclusion Uruguay Round
  - creation of the WTO
- EU -) WTO place where it can exercise a significant influence:

### + 4.2. The European influence in the WTO

■ European <u>financial</u> contribution (MS)

■ EU supports the <u>adhesion</u> of new members:

■ EU: role of <u>initiator</u> in the multilateral trade negotiations:

■ Using the legal instruments of the WTO:

## From 1995 to 2017

- US & EU = biggest users of the system
- They succeed to win most of the dispute settlement procedures

