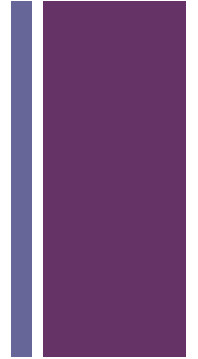


The EU as an international actor from a theoretical perspective

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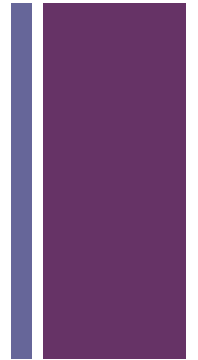
+ Summary



- What are the methods?
- What are the theoretical interpretations?
- Can the EU be considered as an actor?
- What kind of actor (which concepts?)

+ 1. ≠ methods to analyse the EU role

- Different methods and theories in the field of IR
- Two categories:
 - a. Communitarian decision-making process
approach
 - b. Public policies

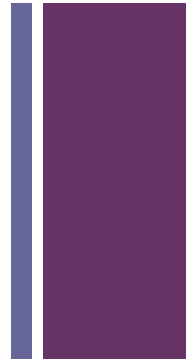


+ a. Communitarian d. making process approach

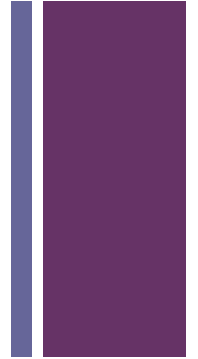
■ Aims:

- elaboration process of the external policies
- power distribution (EU institutions)

■ Input



+ b. Public policies:



■ Aim:

- EU positions within global governance
- the way the EU interacts with 3rd actors

■ Question :

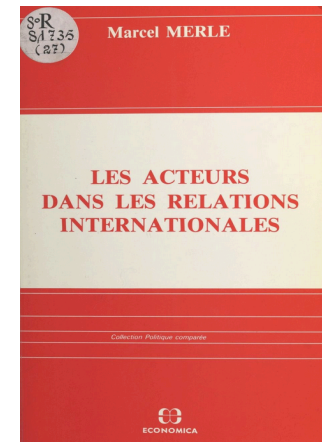
- Is the EU capable to act in an effective way in the field of

'low politics' & 'high politics'?

■ Output

2. The EU in the theoretical debate

- D. making approach attempts to answer theoretical question:
 - Can the EU be considered an international actor?
- But what is 'an international actor'?
- Need a definition for the actor
- Marcel Merle:
 - *Les acteurs dans les relations internationales, Paris, Economica, 1986.*
 - To exist an actor needs several assets:
 - Authority:
 - ➔ international recognition and capable to take action :
[Is the EU recognised internationally?]
 - Autonomy :
 - ➔ must be able to act in autonomous way :
[Does the EU have the freedom of action regarding its MS?]
 - Coherence:
 - ➔ must be able to define its goals, to adopt strategies and to implement these strategies
[Is the EU able to implement a coherent global strategy?]



+ Marcel Merle's Conclusion

- Does the EU have the essential assets of an international actor?:
 - → NO
- Book before the end of the cold world and all the treaties (Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice, Lisbon)
- Since then:
 - EU has grown up
 - Political union
 - A lot of new assetsCFSP, CSDP, HR/EEAS, institutions + competences...
- But, in spite of that the dominant school of thinking in IR still support the EU \neq from an international actor
 - Who are they? To which paradigm do they belong?

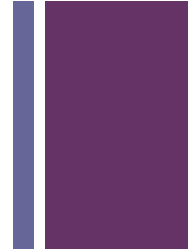
+ 3. Pessimistic answer provided by the realist theories

- Robert CHAOUAD (IRIS), Christopher HILL (LSE), Richard HAASS (CFR), Joseph GRIECO (Duke University), John MEARSHEIMER (Chicago University), ...

- The EU:
 - unable to speak with one voice
 - unable to act in a coordinated way in a crisis context

+ Examples

- Former Yugoslavia (during the nineties),



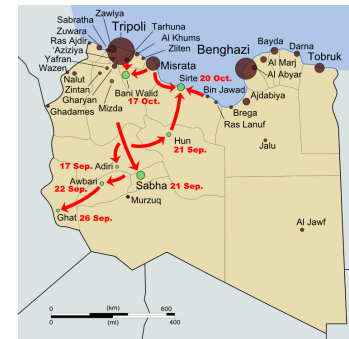
- Israeli-Palestinian conflict (on-going conflict),



- War in Iraq (2003),



- Libya conflict (2011),



- Russia intervention in Syria (2015)



- Migration crisis (2015)



- Europe's recognition of Juan Guaidó (2019)



- ...

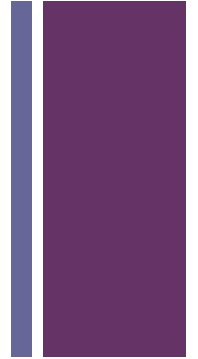
+ **The realist interpretation**

- **Realists considers**

- **Strategic stakes**

- **State actors**

- **The EU \neq actor**



+ 4. Alternative approaches

■ EU = an international actor:

■ Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler:

■ *The European Union as a global actor*

■ Damien Helly and Franck Petiteville:

■ *L'UE, acteur international*

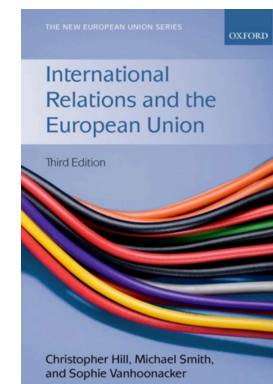
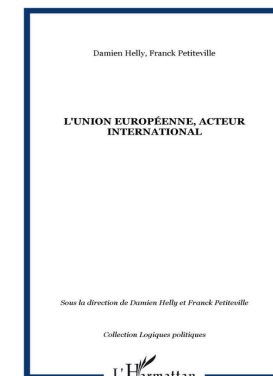
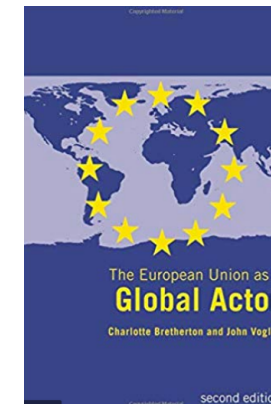
■ Ester Barbé:

■ *La Unión Europea en las relaciones internacionales*

■ Christopher Hill, Michael Smith & Sophie Vanhoonacker

■ *International Relations and the European Union*

■ ...

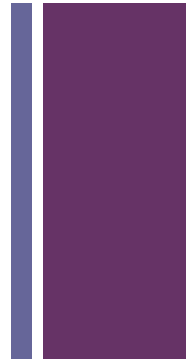


+ Criticisms

- Realist assertions too 'radical' and too 'simplistic':
- Realist approach is 'reductive':
 - CFSP
 - CFSP
- Comparison of 2 examples:

+ Example 1

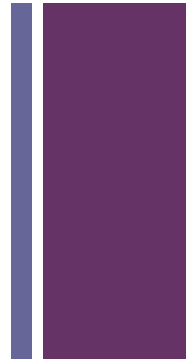
- D. making in CFSP
- The major distinctions lie in \neq elements:
 - The right of initiative
 - The decision making in the Council
 - The role of the EP and the EC → weak power BUT:
 - EP:
 - → may ask questions
 - → some power through its control over the EU budget
 - EC:
 - → no right of initiative
 - → retains some influence through the HR's



Example 2:



- D. making process → trade:
- Which are the institutions that matter?
- EC, Council, EP:
 - EC:
 - → right of initiative
 - → negotiates on behalf of the MS
 - → in charge of the day-to-day running of the trade policy
 - Council:
 - → gives the mandate to the EC
 - → takes decisions by qualified majority
 - → keeps the EC under control → EC must report regularly
 - EP:
 - → EC must report the EP:
 - but the EU doesn't authorise opening of negotiation
 - → decides jointly with the Council whether to approve



more balanced

decision-making power

+ What are their theoretical assertions of these alternative approaches?

- EU policies cover all the significant issues concerning contemporary global politics
- No other actor with a comparable range of interest, policies & relationships
- EU is becoming more autonomous regarding its MS:
 - Qualified majority voting extended

+ 5. Public policies

- Second debate → analyses:
 - the way in which the EU positions itself in the international arena
 - the international impact of the external policies of the EU
- Pays less attention to the decision-making process
- Interested in the influence that the EU policies have on:
 - Neighbourhood,
 - developing countries,
 - global trade agenda,
 - international climate negotiations,
 - reducing international poverty,
 - promoting democracy and human rights
 - shaping regionalism,
 - development of multilateralism
 - ...

+ What kind of actor?

17

■ The question addressed:

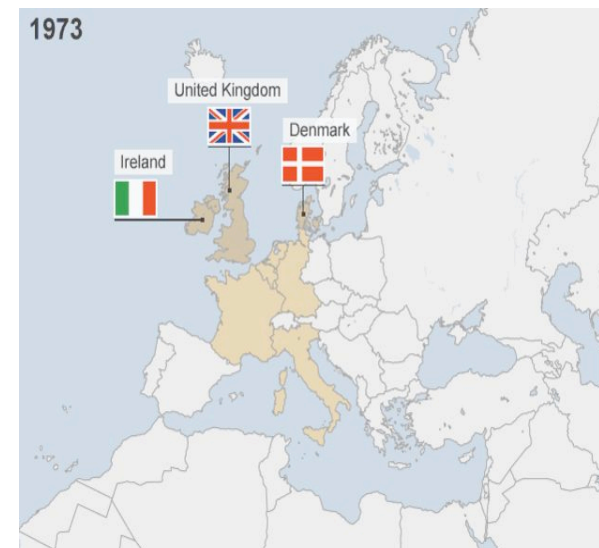
- what kind of international power is the EU?

■ concept of Power (realist approach & applied to State):

- The definition of the concept

■ Concept of power used regarding the EU during the 1970s:

- First enlargement:
- Perceived as a peacemaker & power



+ Johan GALTUNG and François DUCHÊNE

18

■ Johan Galtung:

- *The European Community: A Superpower in the Making*, London, Harper Collins Publishers, 1973.

■ François Duchêne:

- ‘The European Community and the uncertainties of interdependence’ in M. Kohnstamm and W. Hager, *A Nation Writ Large? Foreign-Policy Problems before the European Community*, London, Macmillan, 1973.

■ J. Galtung:

- ‘Superpower’

F. Duchêne:

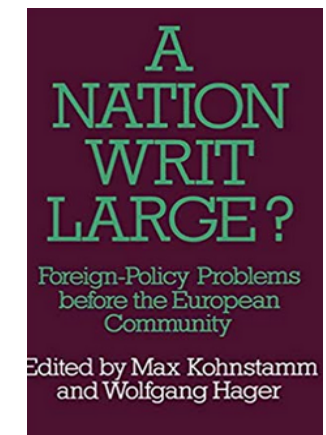
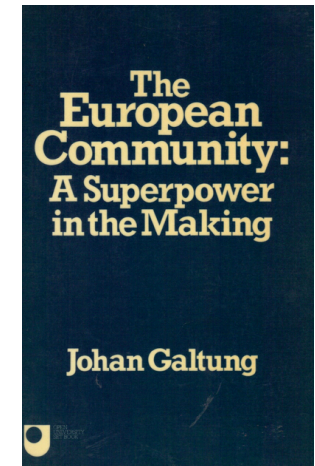
- ‘Civilian power’

■ Concept of superpower:

- covers all features of power → military

■ F. Duchêne:

- Why a ‘civilian power’?
 - will never have an autonomous defence capacity
- But, a collective actor capable to implement policies inside & outside
 - Civilian instruments of power:
 - trade, financial support, humanitarian and development aid, ...
 - Promoting diplomacy & cooperation with others



+ Civilian power: popular concept in the 90s

19

■ Why?:

- end of the bipolar confrontation → dominant narrative concerning the '*end of history*':
 - Globalism & western liberal democracy
 - 'decline of war'
 - reinforcement of international cooperation
- Dominant perception → *exercise of power of military force decreasing*

■ Alvaro de VASCONCELOS & Marie-Françoise DURAND:

- *La PESC, ouvrir l'Europe au monde*, Paris Science Po
- The EU = a '*sui generis power*' (unique)
- A new kind of actor:
 - --) EU: 'a post-modern power':
 - --) EU = definitely a 'civilian power'



+ Some show the limit of the concept of civilian power

■ Karen SMITH:

- ‘The End of Civilian Power EU: A welcome demise or cause for concern?’, *The International Spectator*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2, 2000.

■ The EU is not a civilian actor anymore

- CSDP
- EU abandoning its civilian power image

+ Still a civilian power in spite of the fact that the EU now has military instruments

■ Why?:

- → defence/security = very sensitive issues
- → will remain an intergovernmental issue dominated by the MS
- → EU will never be a traditional military power

+ Answer of the liberal institutionalist approach

■ Mario TELÒ:

■ Book → *Europe: a civilian power?* (USA, Palgrave, 2006)

■ EU:

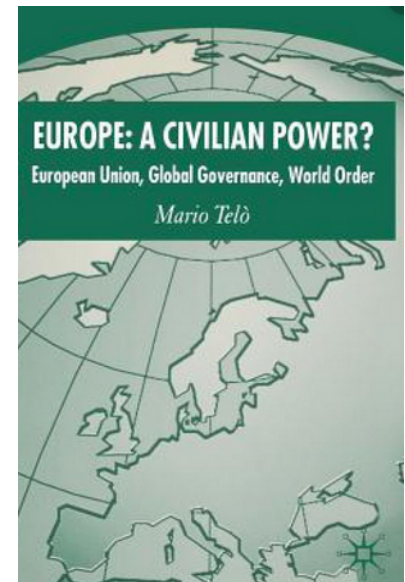
■ has developed a distinctive social model:

■ It combines:

- economic growth
- high living standards
- good working conditions

■ has succeeded in promoting:

- liberal values
- a particular vision of regionalism outside Europe



+ 'Normative power': new concept

■ Ian MANNERS:

- BOOK → *Normative power Europe* (London, Palgrave, 2011)

■ Escape the dichotomy between 'civilian' and 'military'

- EU influence as a source of norms

■ Question raised:

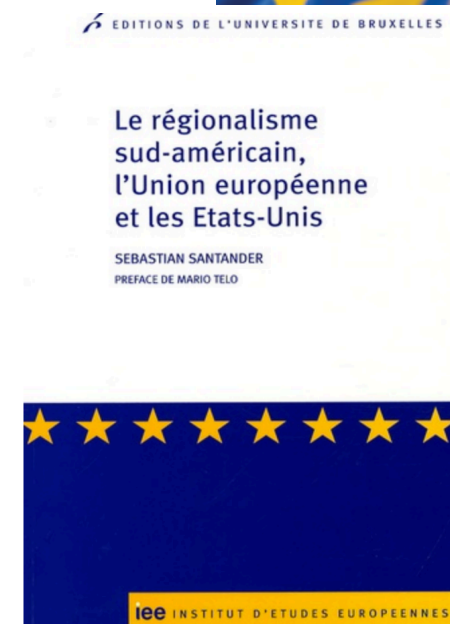
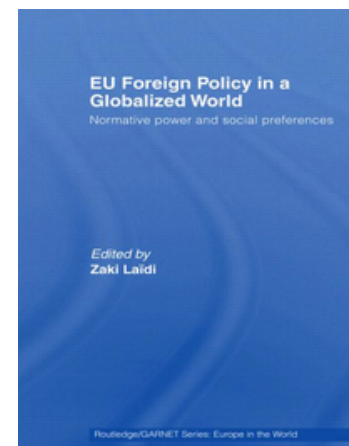
- How are EU norms disseminated in world politics?:
 - Promote the international abolition of death penalty

■ Other case studies show the EU's ability to diffuse:

- Industrial norms,
- Trade norms
- Environmental norms
- ...

■ Conclusions:

- EU = constructed in a normative basis
- EU = acts in a normative way in world politics



+ Last concept: 'Transformative power'

■ Heather GRABBE

■ BOOK → *The EU's Transformative power* (London, Palgrave):

■ EU → conditionality → candidates countries

■ transformative power captures how EU uses accession conditions to exercise influence:

■ political criteria

■ economic criteria

■ administrative and institutional capacity

■ EU = Transformative power:

■ imposing standards/preferences

■ shaping public policy-making in 3rd countries

