

University Shizuoka  
International Symposium  
**Europe. Views from Inside and Outside**

« The European Union external relations  
after the Lisbon treaty .  
Facing the emergence of a multipolar world »

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First draft  
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Thank you for inviting me  
and congratulations  
for going against the stream!

- a) While the European Union is of almost no relevance in the media, this conference is addressing the question of the interest of Europe for Japan
  
- b) Let's start by focusing on the perception of Europe far abroad ..... Soft influence of European goods, food, way of life ? ...

yes, but what is making this European peaceful message possible?

# Peace through cooperation with neighbours

c) whereas Europe for the first part of the 20th century sent a message of violence and war ( WW1 and WW2 caused 80 Millions victims!) the most important message since 60 **years is: the reconciliation between previous enemies, Germany and France, Germany and all its neighbours, including Russia.**

The greatest European philosopher Jürgen Habermas declared: «it is impossible to overestimate the international relevance of such reconciliation »

However, influencing global governance by good example could not be efficient enough in the current multipolar world

- ...similarities between Europe and Japan: learning process after past mistakes and sharing an idea: « peace by good domestic governance»
- **However: what impact of « good examples » on traditional power politics, hard imperial logics? Risk of decline and marginalization ,if they dont improve their international role**

# An explosion of the international research agenda

## in « EU in the world » studies

- Comparing with similar and/or different global and regional actors facing the current shifts of power
- Focusing on the evolving global challenges ( climate change, financial unbalances, poverty, new security threats on the one hand ; and on the multiple deficit in global governance and role of the EU, on the other hand
- Analyzing the bilateral and multilateral EU relationships (ex: EU-Japan, by prof. this afternoon)
- Focusing on **HOW** was the internal peace possible to consolidate and **HOW** could Europe better contribute to global governance in a context dominated by classical powers as USA and China?

# In this context, do not neglect the importance of the Treaties for EU peace and for external relations

after the first European treaty of 1950, many new European treaties ( Treaty of Rome , 1957; S.E.A., 1986; Maastricht, 1992; Amsterdam, 1997; Nice, 2000; Constitutional treaty, 2004) framed the European peace, democratic consolidation and prosperity, notably they made is possible:

- Enlargement from 6 to 27 member states
- Deepening internal cooperation and external action from the time of Cold war to the current multipolar world

The new treaty has been signed in Lisbon (Dec. 2007) and , after 27 national ratifications entered into force since 1.12.2009

# The Lisbon treaty

## The milestones strengthening the EU external policies

1. **High representative for foreign affairs** (president of the foreign affairs council and vice-president of the Commission, (TEU art.27, 28): since one year, Lady Ashton coordinating all the EU's external policies
2. **European external action service** (1600 servants right now and 6000 in the near future, the largest diplomatic body)
3. **Full time president of the EU council** : H.van Rompuy since one year (2 years and half, renewable once)
4. **Enhanced legitimacy of the Commission president** : M.Barroso, democr.elected by the European Parliament
5. The EU's **new international legal personality** (TEU art.47) : will make international and interregional agreements possible for the EU

# The Lisbon treaty

- enhancing horizontal coherence between the institutions
- and vertical consistency : loyalty of Member states to the EU
- **HOWEVER** the EU is not a State in the making

## The EU is not a traditional kind of international power

- A strange kind of international power: for example, alternative way to the US unification process (Foreign policy as the least shared policy field)
- and **weak military dimension**)
- « Soft power » as unfit definition. Some similarities with Japan , and also with Brazil, Canada, MERCOSUR, ASEAN.....
- However, how do unprecedented actors act within a multipolar world, where some power acts by surviving imperial logics, typical of the 20th or 19th century ?

# The top 10 military spenders, 2008

Rank	Country	(\$ b.)	share (%)
1	USA	607	41.5
2	China	[84.9]	[5.8]
3	France	65.7	4.5
4	UK	65.3	4.5
5	Russia	[58.6]	[4.0]
6	Germany	46.8	3.2
7	Japan	46.3	3.2
8	Italy	40.6	2.8
9	Saudi Arabia	38.2	2.6
10	India	30.0	2.1
	<b>World total</b>	<b>1464</b>	

- [ ] = SIPRI estimate 2009. The spending figures are in current US dollars.
- The 10 biggest spenders in 2008 are the same as in 2007, although some rankings have changed. In particular, in 2008 China was for the first time the world's second highest military spender and France narrowly overtook the UK.

# Someone could argue that, since the EU is not a military power , it is not a power at all

- **The GDP of the wider EU member's states** has grown up beyond the US (about 13.500 Billions Euros in 2009); and 4 out of the 8 memb. of the G8 are EU members
- **Notwithstanding internal unbalances, the Widening process from 6 to 27 MS** and the ongoing negotiations in view to a further enlargement, are unanimously considered a success story in stabilizing a quasi-continental area and expanding democracy and prosperity in the near abroad. The current example of Western Balkans
- **500 million inhabitants represent just 7 % of the world's population: however,** surrounded by 500 million neighbours, which are both a potential market and a source of immigrating labour force and energy supply. Crucial will be the EU neighborhood policy
- **Trade** : the EU is the first trade actor, the largest exporter and the 2nd largest importer of goods; around 20% of the global imp. and exp.,
- **EU currency** has not only provided the EU with regional exchange stability within an unbalanced global financial system, but is about to become the second reserve currency fostering global stability and enhancing new ways to macroeconomic coordination
- **the EU development policy, nearly followed by Japan** is still the largest and the most comprehensive in the world as its budget and scope;
- the EU is recognized after the conferences of Kyoto , Bali and Copenhagen is, with Japan world **leader in environmental policy** and the fight against climate change;
- Even if sometimes criticised as corresponding to an hub and spokes model, the EU benefits from the **largest network** of bilateral, multilateral, interregional agreements with near and far partners.

# The EU as a « civilian power » (like Japan?). What do we mean by this definition?

- History matters: « responsible powers » as consequences of WW2 and previous defeats. Break with past imperialism, aggressiveness and colonialism: the role of memory by civilian powers
- Weight of the internal constitution of members states and of EU Treaty:  
Ready to sharing sovereignty for peaceful objectives and missing « *jus ad bellum* » (German Grundgesetz, Italian constitution, similarly to Japanese constitution)

# Civilian powers?

- « Collective powers » support the role of multilateral organizations by addressing common global challenges
- However, civilian does not mean «civilizing» power (Eurocentric understanding). Rather, Civilian by default: increasing gap with classical kind of military power. Structural limits to national defence budgets, structurally low and even lower after the current econ.crisis
- Weight of internal legitimacy needs: National budgets are focusing to finance the national welfare systems as a consequence of long term preferences of the electorates rather than military budgets

# IS THE MULTIPOLAR WORLD READY TO WELCOME EMERGENT CIVILIAN POWERS?

5 conflicting tendencies and multipolar scenarios:

1. a new global version of the classical European balance of power?
2. G2?: multipolarity led by a duopole
3. new (post-Obama?) unipolar trend?
4. fragmentation?
5. A virtuous scenario: a post-hegemonic, multilevel, pluralist multilateral cooperation shaping the multipolar world?

# 1. Back to the future : towards a new global version of the classical European balance of power?

Several empirical facts confirm that old styled power politics still works within the current world disorder

# however

- not very much to do with the XIX century multipolar balance among similar powers
- - strong heterogeneity of powers
- - asymmetry of power
- - weight of complex interdependence, and legacy of the 65 years of Internat.organizat.

# Are similar poles about to emerge? Heterogeneous powers

- India? Is India really comparable to a global « pole »? Or is it both an emerging economic giant and a local isolated power?
- Brazil oscillating between regional cooperation and national ambitions (G4). However, it is an example of successful NPT since 20 years
- China? What kind of rising power? The LSE controversy between Martin Jacques and Hutton... (2009)

# Interpolarity?

- complex Interdependence is growing up and includes all potential poles, including all the emerging powers
- Between 1900 and 2000 the number of intergovernmental organizations grew up from 37 over 400: they are building a framework for communication, information, dialogue, spillover effects spreading up a rule based governance of many global issues

## 2. Towards a G2?

(US and China sharing global leadership?)

On the one hand,

H.Kissinger: « US-China:the most important international relationship of the 21st century ». Empirical evidence of a convergence?

- a) Natural understanding with the relatively declining superpower and the emerging superpower
- b) 800 Billions US debt with China as fostering mutual and common interest
- c) Convergence by global governance?

Pittsburgh 2009, Copenhagen 2009, but problems in Seoul 2010.....

# On the other hand,

a « G2 as a hierarchical global duopole » would imply high costs for both US ( marginalizing EU and Japan) and for China ( in S-E-Asia and in N-E-Asia notably and as its relationship with developing countries)

And not to be neglected: the weight of several conflictual issues, starting with values (Taiwan, Tibet, HR, yuan under-evaluation, all leading towards tensions

Second conclusion (« Frankfurter allgemeine » in October 2010) ‘ a permanent G2 is still a joke’