

## The Power of a Single Voice: The EU's Contribution to Global Governance Architecture

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**Abstract:** *Over the past decades, global governance has become the most active phenomenon of world politics. From economics to politics, from climate change to international security, global governance became responsible for adjusting the international life in the name of the common good, relying on the power and the influence of the global key players. The aim of this paper is to assess the EU's contribution to global governance architecture by analyzing the strengths of the EU approach with regard to global governance issues. Firstly, I will analyze the European Union ability to use its monolithic power and its key elements to influence the variables of global governance architecture. Put simply, the analysis looks at the internal governance system of the European Union and its analogue reflections for the global governance system. Secondly, I will limit my attention to three key areas of global governance, and I will adopt an analytical approach to identify and explore the EU practices with regard to: world trade, climate change and international security. In the end, I will discuss the EU performance power to act with a single voice on the entire spectrum of global governance.*

**Keywords:** *European Union, global governance, global power, world trade, environmental governance, international security*

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### Introduction

In the context of combating the global inequalities, the threats of force or the jeopardy of climate change, global governance emerged as a response to the need of global action. Seen as an ideal, a consensual and a non-contradictory manner to manage the world affairs, the global governance is more than a dynamic and interactive process, it is in fact a constantly evolving phenomenon that attempts to respond in a viable manner to the changing circumstances of the contemporary world. In its report, Global Governance Commission emphasized that there is no single organizing principle on which the new architecture is based or no emergent order around which communities and nations are susceptible to align<sup>1</sup>. Rather, global governance represents the ability to manage the international problems through a culture of cooperation, with non-violent norms and principles, opening the possibility to redraw the political map of the world in the name of the common good. In other words, global governance is a "game" that involves the development of a wide range of instruments in a new and unprecedented way. A game in

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<sup>1</sup> Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighbourhood: The Report of the Commission on Global Governance*, Oxford, OUP, 1995, p. 4.

which the European Union, as a unitary voice, seems well prepared in making a special contribution to global governance agenda.

The aim of the paper is to assess the EU's contribution to global governance architecture by analyzing the strengths of the EU approach with regard to global issues. The analysis seeks to find out how significant the EU traces at global level are and what are the contributions of the European Union to the new architecture. Firstly, I will analyze the European Union ability to use its monolithic power and its key elements to influence the variables of the global governance architecture. Put simply, the analysis looks at the internal governance system of the European Union and its analogue reflections for the global governance system. Secondly, I will limit my attention to three key areas of global governance and I will adopt an analytical approach to identify and explore the EU practices with regard to: world trade, climate change and international security. In the end, I will discuss the EU performance power to act with a single voice, on the entire spectrum of global governance.

### **European Union governance system**

Through its 27 member states, with over 500 million inhabitants and a contribution to world GDP of more than 25 percent, accompanied by a wide variety of instruments at its disposal, the EU appears undoubtedly as one of the grand global players. However, its answer to global governance does not simply rely on its global weight but on the ability to use its monolithic power and its key elements to influence in a constructive manner the variables of global governance architecture.

An important reflection for its external position is given by its internal inclinations. In this respect, one of the European key elements is represented by its own model of governance. It is no doubt that the old parameters of rivalry and hostility that characterized the international relations of Europe until the end of the Second World War have effectively stepped into a new stage of cooperation after the end of the war. The establishment of the European Communities has been considered a historical novelty, representing, in fact, the vision to adapt to the new world order<sup>2</sup>.

Furthermore, the European Union metamorphosed over time into a much more complex system able to exercise influence on a large scale. To date, the European Union is the most advanced experience of sovereignty common sharing in a unique experiment of regional integration<sup>3</sup>. Inside the European Union, perhaps more than in any part of the world, the member states no longer monopolize the governance. The perspective of John Gerard Ruggie who suggested that the European Union could be "the first multi-perspective form of governance that emerged with the coming of the new era"<sup>4</sup> was later developed by Hooghe and Marks into the image of multi-level governance. In their perspective, the creation of the European polity over the past half century has been a unique experiment in interstate coordination and supranational institution building. They captured the essence

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<sup>2</sup> Javier Solana, "Speech at Arthur Burns Dinner", New York, 2007.

<sup>3</sup> National Intelligence Council & European Union Institute for Security Studies, *Global Governance 2025: at a Critical Juncture*, Paris, 2010, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> John G. Ruggie (ed.), *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1993, p. 172.

of a new form of governance that creates processes in which the authority and the policy-making influence are shared across “multiple levels of government: sub-national, national and supranational”<sup>5</sup>.

Moreover, the European model of multi-level governance was considered a new paradigm not only for the internal order of the European Union but also for the global governance order. To support this vision, the former President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, remarked in his speech that: “our European model of integration is the most developed in the world. Imperfect though it still is, it nevertheless works on a continental scale. Given the necessary institutional reforms it should continue to work well after enlargement, and I believe we can make a convincing case that it would also work globally”<sup>6</sup>. The words of Romano Prodi proved to be realistic, finding their concreteness in the subsequent waves of enlargement of 2004 and 2007, and even beyond Europe borders by representing a new and attracting way of managing varying strategies and different ambitious. It is important to note that through its governance model, the European Union did not seek to establish a single unitary framework, but rather it aimed to encourage the spread of a new model of multi-level governance, non-hierarchical and deliberative, that allows the embeddedness of local circumstances. Thus, although the EU model has its limits and it should not be replicated *per se*, it is clear that the European experiment provides new seeds of governance that can represent a potential winning idea in managing the dynamics of global governance architecture. Furthermore, having established their own regional supranational governance system, Europeans tend to see global governance as a natural extension.

Its role in global relations has been constantly enhanced by the creation of new instruments and strategies aimed to give the Union a greater presence and influence in world affairs. The Lisbon Treaty of 2009 expressly established two new high positions, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and the President of the European Council<sup>7</sup>, to tackle the previous failures of fragmented representation<sup>8</sup>. According to Jolyon Howorth, the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, gave the EU, the prospect of having a “small measure of its greatness”.<sup>9</sup>

In short, its internal inclinations and its institutional arrangements proved to be instrumental for giving coherence to EU actions on global stage and for promoting its approach internationally. Europe's half-century of progressive and enlightened integration gives the EU the experience and the authority that can enable the Europeans to shape important parts of the form and content of global governance. It is therefore natural for the EU to be an active supporter of global governance and a diligent contributor to the new architecture.

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<sup>5</sup> Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, Kermit Blank, “European Integration in the 1990's: State Centric vs. Multi-level Governance”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 1996.

<sup>6</sup> Romano Prodi, “Europe and Global Governance”, Speech to the 2nd COMECE Congress, Brussels, 2000.

<sup>7</sup> See the Treaty of Lisbon, *Official Journal*, C 306/01, Vol. 50, 17 December 2007. Accessed at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/OHtml.do?uri=OJ:C:2007:306:SOM:EN:HTML>.

<sup>8</sup> David Allen, Michael Smith, “Relations with the Rest of the World”, *Journal of Common Market Studies. Annual Review of the European Union in 2007*, Vol. 45, No. 3, 2007, pp. 170-172.

<sup>9</sup> Jolyon Howorth, “The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain?”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 3, 2010, p. 456.

## European Union and global governance

The present subsection analyzes how the EU contributed to global governance by focusing on three specific dimensions of global governance: economic, environmental and security governance. These specific clusters, chosen for dissemination, have a particular importance in the global game by being effervescent areas in need of global action and by occupying the international agendas of the main global players.

In economic terms, after the Second World War, at the Bretton Woods Conference, the world's leading economies have established the introduction of multilateral organizations that were aiming to encourage the reconstruction of global economy and international trade, and the stabilization of the international monetary system. World Bank, IMF or WTO have worked to eliminate tariffs and trade barriers or for the liberalization of capital flows. However, the achievements of these institutions have proved to be nothing more than crafted solutions for solving the global economic issues. Put simply, the international institutions established after the Bretton Woods have achieved limited progress and they failed to overcome the regulatory gap on the same level as the European Union did.

Its economic power is in fact the premise of its influence in the world. Based on the common sharing of sovereignty the EU succeeded to become the most viable integrated regional system in the world. In fact, the effectiveness of its regional governance system represent a good response to global governance architecture, when the rules adopted at a regional level are mutually compatible with the global scene. However, the ability of Europe's leading economies to pool their economic power does not represent a sufficient foundation for modelling the substantive content of the global economic order. John Gerard Ruggie emphasized that to shape and influence the entire global economic order, Europe must be able to complete its economic power with normative powers that encourages a legitimate social purpose. Only when the states have been able to refold both forms of power they can define and shape the global economic spectrum<sup>10</sup>.

In this context, a deeper analysis of the European economic model outlines a series of innovative mechanisms with normative implications. Although the diversity of the national economic systems that compose the EU seemed to present the practical limitations of time and capacity to mobilize their collective market power as a comprehensive means to rewrite the rules of globalization, its diversity has also led the adaptation of a pragmatic set of institutional innovations that have helped the reconciliation of open economy strategy with significant levels of national discretion<sup>11</sup>. For solving its difficult problems of governance between the sensitive areas of the EU sovereign member states, the Union embraced various solutions to fit its internal diversity: mutual recognition, common minimum standards, the increased use of directives and the open method of coordination, the variable geometry or the principle of subsidiarity or transparency. This various institutional innovations that the European Union used to overcome its national

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<sup>10</sup> John Gerard Ruggie in Andrew T. F. Lang, "Reconstructing Embedded Liberalism: John Gerard Ruggie and Constructivist Approaches to the Study of the International Trade Regime", *Journal of International Economic Law*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 2006.

<sup>11</sup> Orfeo Fioletos, "Europe and the new global economic order: internal diversity as liability and asset in managing globalization", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 17, No. 3, 2010, p. 385.

dilemmas have been considered instrumental in enforcing the normative power of the European Union. More precisely, the European Union has been able to exercise a model of normative power, when the states beyond its border have been convinced that this model is attractive in a way that encourages the achievement of common specific objectives to both national and international level, and there are feasible solutions for common governance. This model of power is in fact the foundation on which the European Union is based to influence the structure and the substantive content of post-neoliberal economic order.<sup>12</sup>

In the early '90s, amid widespread complaints, the European instruments began to mark the rules for global change<sup>13</sup>. In response to the global concerns about the domestic consequences of economic globalization, the European Trade Commissioner, Pascal Lamy, outlined the doctrine of "managed globalization" as a set of principles based on multilateral rules and international organizations, on which the European Union approach on the world market should guide.<sup>14</sup> The individual nations became more and more aware that they are unable to cope with this problem by themselves and thus, when the business goes global the rules of fair-play must also be set globally.

In this context, the European Union has taken the first step. The success of open regionalism promoted by the European Union represented in fact the triumph of managed globalization. In theory, as well as in practice, managed globalization has made considerable progress to combine the free market with bureaucratic capabilities and responsibilities<sup>15</sup>. Furthermore, the perspective of managed globalization promoted by the European Union is paradoxical, because it is not actually less liberal than the *ad hoc* globalization, it is even more liberal, because the rules have codified a commitment to liberalism, while the bureaucracy strengthened the liberal rules.

The clearest example of how internal success implied external awareness was provided by the case of trade. Trade was one of the first areas in which the European countries agreed upon sharing of sovereignty, transferring to the European Commission the responsibility for managing their trade issues, including negotiating international trade agreements on their behalf. The most important step that allowed the EU countries to find the levers to work together and later to influence the global structures was the strategic trade policy that emerged in the 1980s, when non-tariff barriers and market access policies became increasingly relevant. The progressive construction of the Internal Market was achieved not only by removing the barriers from the flow of goods, services, capital and labour, but also by the adaptation of a comprehensive series of measures designed to regulate the economic activities within and across borders. By the 1992 Single Market program, the European Union impelled not just the regional parameters, but also the global ones.

Moreover, through its trade policy of 1999, the European Union suggested that the order and control have to be brought into the globalization process by encasing them in rules, by obeying the rules and by empowering the international organizations to realize

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Jacoby Wade, Sophie Meunier, "Europe and the management of globalization", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 2010, p. 300.

<sup>14</sup> Rawi Abdelal, Sophie Meunier, "Managed globalization: doctrine, practice and promise", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 17, No. 3, 2010, pp. 359-362.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351.

and implement these rules. In the last decade, all these measures not just transformed the European Union in the main developer of the concept of managed globalization, but also made the Union the main actor responsible for its operation and implementation<sup>16</sup>.

Furthermore, the EU rise as a global trading power has also been accompanied by an increasing responsibility. As a key advocate of “positive integration” and as commercial world power, the European Union has manifested a strong interest in creating the conditions in which the trade can flourish. Thus, in international trade negotiations, the EU is working for a free and equitable trade, ensuring that its trade partners can join the system, giving them a hand where needed. This applies especially for the poorest countries of the world, where the benefits of globalization remain elusive<sup>17</sup>. Moreover, the EU pushed for “equitable conditions” for all the countries and “clear game rules” for everyone, for a transparent system, fully open to public control. To achieve this, the European Union relied on openness. Its strategy was to open its own market, while the others will do the same. Removing barriers to trade has followed a gradual process in which the peacefully stabilized disputes have been accompanied by the construction of a body of internationally agreed rules<sup>18</sup>. The EU’s effort to protect and expand its policies in the benefit of all the global players is particularly relevant in sustaining the EU’s contribution to the global governance objectives. The liberalization, but especially the equity and the social protection reflections of Union practices are important parameters for the good conduct of global issues, enhancing the European Union role in the new architecture.

Continuing its regulatory path, the European Commission launched in December 2006 its *Global Europe*<sup>19</sup>, document that defined the guidelines for the Union’s trade policy. The document focused on the 21st century challenges and advocated greater account of the external impact of the EU’s internal policies. Also, the document stressed the need for a stronger engagement with major emerging economies and regions, and a sharper focus on barriers to trade behind the border. After the *Global Europe* document, in 2010, the European Union defined its strategy for 2020, ensuring that the future EU trade policy continues to play a key role on a global scale<sup>20</sup>.

Today, the European Union’s trade policies cover a wide canvas that goes beyond trade liberalization. One important aspect of the EU international trade agenda is represented by its combined approach of a more human balance between the objectives of liberalization and the public needs for social protection, ensuring that the norms of global trade take account also of the non-market concerns<sup>21</sup>. Furthermore, the EU achievements in trade policy are particularly important as they had marked other areas. The contribution of the trade policy has been expanded to the environmental sphere through sustainable development

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<sup>16</sup> Jacoby Wade, Sophie Meunier, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

<sup>17</sup> European Commission, *Making globalisation to work for everyone The European Union and world trade*, Belgium, 2003, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> European Commission, *Global Europe: Competing in the World. A Contribution to the EU’s Growth and Jobs Strategy*. Brussels, 2006.

<sup>20</sup> European Commission, *Europe 2020. A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth*, Brussels, 2010.

<sup>21</sup> For example the rights of collective bargaining, health care, education or the right to pension, in Michael E. Smith (2011): “A liberal grand strategy in a realist world? Power, purpose and the EU’s changing global role”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 152.



innovations or to the social area, through an active promotion of human rights.

Resuming, the European Union performance in the world trade arena is best outlined by the way the benefits of the global market can be realized without diminishing the national institutions and practices, which are essential in supporting the strategies of economic openness. The success in creating the largest domestic market in the world, while maintaining at the same time the commitments to a diverse set of social models, contributed to strengthen the speculation that the European Union is also able to exercise significant influence over the world economic order structure. Through its single voice on trade, its successful regulatory measures and its normative power model, the European Union has become an agenda-setter in international trade, and it is no doubt that today the global trade architecture, from best practices to wide canvas of rules and standards, bears a significant European mark. The fact that the EU has called and then managed the most impressive form of regionalism, is the main premise that the EU could also do this in the context of globalization<sup>22</sup>.

Furthermore, in terms of global environmental governance, the emergence of the European Union as a leading player in global environmental policies could hardly be predicted. No common environmental policy has ever been established and there was no formal treaty recognizing such kind of practice until the Single European Act of 1987.

The roots of making the European Union the world leader in international environmental policy can be traced in the major changes of the domestic environmental policies in Europe of the early '80s when a series of highly publicized environmental disasters, including the "death of forests" caused by the acid rain from the early '80s, the Chernobyl nuclear disaster of 1986 or the discovery of the "black hole" in the ozone layer in the mid '80s, increased the prominence of environmental policy across Europe, and highlighted the implications of cross-border environmental issues<sup>23</sup>.

In the following years, a series of amendments to the treaties, directives and decisions gave the Union the power to act on behalf of its member states in international environmental negotiations. The European Union put quickly this power in use and instead of allowing the pressures of globalization to dictate the terms of its environmental policies, it developed a series of strategies meant to promote its approach internationally. The EU relied on its regulatory influence and considered to manage globalization through the dissemination of EU environmental standards in other jurisdiction. By institutionalizing their own environmental standards on global level, the EU increased the chances that its rules to resist to the international organizations examination, especially of the WTO. Once enshrined in internationally agreements signed by dozens of countries, the EU rules and standards could hardly be treated as complementary or as an arbitrary and unjustifiable barrier to trade<sup>24</sup>.

In terms of climate change, in the late '80s and early '90s the threats posed by the emission of greenhouses gases became more and more acknowledged. As a result of over two centuries of industrial activities based on fossil fuels in the developed countries<sup>25</sup>,

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<sup>22</sup> Jacoby Wade, Sophie Meunier, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

<sup>23</sup> Daniel R. Kelemen, "Globalizing European Union environmental policy", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 17, No. 3, 2010, p. 340.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

<sup>25</sup> Shyam Saran, "Global Governance and Climate Change", *Global Governance*, Vol. 15, 2009, p. 457.

climate change emerged as the defining challenge of our times. Furthermore, the global size of climate change issues undoubtedly exceeds the national and regional solutions, and as a threat multiplier its importance considerably increases. Therefore, effective political decisions at global level, as well as massive investments in infrastructures and technological innovations or renewable energy sources, are the essential instruments in the fight against climate change.

The problem of reducing the emissions of greenhouses gas was provided by the international framework of UNFCCC<sup>26</sup> from 1992. Under the convention, in 1997, it was adopted an international climate agreement known as the Kyoto Protocol. The Protocol set binding emission reduction targets for industrialised countries and created three flexible mechanisms to help lower the costs of reducing emissions: the Clean Development Mechanism, Joint Implementation and Emissions Trading.

In the negotiations of the Protocol, the European Union played a key role, taking a leadership role in its application and implementation<sup>27</sup>. In fact, the Kyoto Protocol was the decisive step in transforming the European Union in the undisputed leader in international environmental policy. The US abdication of this role, by refusing to sign the Kyoto Protocol, led to an enormous challenge and tremendous opportunity for the European Union<sup>28</sup>. However, the leadership role of the European Union does not represent a simply result of US “lazy” behaviour or of other players. Although, the US shift from the statute of global leader in environmental issues in the 1970s and the 1980s to the status of “lazy” and “obstructionist” in the 1990s has opened an opportunity for the EU to assert its leadership, it did not force the Union to take the active leadership role that it has today.

Despite the US refusal to participate in the agreement, the European Union has made considerable efforts to persuade other countries to join the fight against climate change. In this respect, the European Union managed to play a pivotal role in convincing key countries as Russia to participate. The Union success has been seen as a tremendous step in the fight against climate change taking into consideration that the Russian ratification was a critical step for the Kyoto Protocol coming into force. Moreover, the importance of international bargaining on reducing the emissions of greenhouse gas and the key role that the Union had in the process, are seen as relative success in managing the dynamics of global environmental governance.

Firstly, the European Union has begun to define its answer, for tackling the climate change on regional level. They launched in 2000 the first European Climate Change Programme to ensure that the EU meets its emissions reduction target under the Kyoto Protocol. The ECCP framework included the establishment of an EU emissions trading scheme (EU ETS), and a set of directives on promoting electricity from renewable source and on promoting bio fuels for transport and also a framework for setting eco-design requirements for energy-using products. After having established the internal framework to effectively combat climate change, the European Union led the environmental governance efforts and outside its borders. Its environmental influence extends even beyond its members states, applicants or potential applicants. The EU has been

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<sup>26</sup> United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

<sup>27</sup> Alan Ahearne, Jean-Pisani Ferry, André Sapir, Nicolas Véron, “Global Governance: An Agenda for Europe?”. *Bruegel Policy*, 2006, p. 21.

<sup>28</sup> Daniel R. Kelemen, *op. cit.*, p. 335.



at the forefront of raising awareness of the implications of climate change with third countries and international organizations<sup>29</sup>. The EU is part to a number of Multilateral-Environmental Agreements that include the EU commitment to help developing countries in implementation of these agreements. The European Union promoted the development of new technologies, especially through the development and implementation of cost effective regulatory frameworks for their deployment as well as through the development of appropriate financial support schemes. For example, the European Union has a long-term involvement in regional agreements with Mediterranean countries, where the EU is the dominant partner as well as the main supplier of funds and technical expertise in environmental governance.

Moreover, the European Union was able to use the framework of the Kyoto Protocol and the United Nations Convention on Climate Change to encourage the developing countries to join the efforts to combat climate change. For example, using the United Nations Convention on Climate Change and the framework of the Kyoto Protocol, the EU has worked closely with China, establishing the EU and China Partnership on Climate Change, promoting the transfer of low carbon technologies<sup>30</sup>. Also a series of projects within the Clean Development Mechanism involve both European and Chinese partners.

The EU's contribution to the global environmental governance, respectively the fight against climate change, goes even beyond the achievements of the Kyoto Protocol on reducing the greenhouse gas. The European Union has the merit to expand some of its internal principle around the world. The precautionary principle, the 'polluter pays' principle or the principle of proximity, gained considerable validity not just on the European level, but also on the global one. However, on these ideas the European Union has no exclusive rights. For example, 'polluter pays' principle appeared for the first time in international bodies such as the OECD. But, the European Union has the merit of promoting and introducing this principle in the negotiating texts. The determination and the persistence of the European Union have been the main factor that led to the incorporation of these principles in the texts of the treaties and in the practices of major environmental regimes.

Also, focusing on the external dimensions of its policies, the Union adopted in 2002 a specific strategy on environmental integration. The strategy succeeded to develop the Green Diplomacy Network to address climate change. The new framework emphasized the need to increase the coherence, consistency and effectiveness of European actions and also the need to integrate the EU environment policies into external relations practices.

Moreover, the European Union influence does not stop to the depicted cases and can be easily seen and in other areas of environmental governance, such as the area of sustainable development, consumer protection, GMOs<sup>31</sup> or into the new ambitious regime for chemicals<sup>32</sup>.

In conclusion, the European leadership in international environmental issues is best

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<sup>29</sup> European Council, *Council Conclusion on EU Climate Diplomacy*, Brussels, 2011.

<sup>30</sup> European Commission, *EU and China Partnership on Climate Change*, Press Release, Brussels, 2005.

<sup>31</sup> Genetically Modified Organisms.

<sup>32</sup> The European Community Regulation on chemicals is known as REACH- Registration, Evaluation, Authorisation and Restriction of Chemical substances.

explained by a model of regulatory policies<sup>33</sup> that combines the effect of domestic policy with the internationally regulatory competition, and by the Union efforts of empowering and greening the international institutions.

Even though the economic and environmental governance are essential aspects of global governance architecture, it is clear that anything the global governance assumes is not possible without the protection of global life and goods. In the post-Cold War era, the concept of security has undergone major changes and has moved from the threat of invasions, the possession and control of new territories and resources, to the capability to ensure a safe environment. With the advent of rapid globalization, the global environment has become more dynamic and more complex than in previous times, and the risks of the international system have increased to the extent that the previous threats are now located not only locally but are potentially dangerous for the global security and stability. The current global challenges encompass a large number of issues that have the potential to pose a threat across the world. From terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and organised crime, to failed states and migration issues, the global threats are today at each step. The fact that the world became more and more interdependent allowed the emergence of a global spectrum of security and made vital the need for cooperation on a global scale.

In this new international security approach the European Union has much to bring. In the recent years, the European Union has made important steps that enabled it to manifest a new form of power. First of all, the European Union evolved from the statute of a passive actor to the statute of an active player or supplier of security. In the last decade, the European Union has adopted new resources and mechanisms through which attempted to take a more active role in security issues. Secondly, the EU has evolved from ensuring the European security to ensuring the global security. In the words of Javier Solana, "in the past the European Union was designed to ensure the peace in Europe, today, the European Union is a peace-builder in the world"<sup>34</sup>. The groundwork for a more proactive role of the European Union in world affairs was founded by the European Security Strategy, or the so-called Solana Document, adopted by the European Council in December 2003. The document, entitled suggestively *A Secure Europe in a Better World*, pointed out that "in a world of global threats, global markets and global media, our security and prosperity, increasingly depend on an effective multilateral system". In ESS, the EU has expressed its faith in multilateral solutions<sup>35</sup>, arguing that a capable and active Union will have impact on a global scale. Doing so, the Union will contribute to an effective multilateral system, leading to a fairer, safer and more united world.

The European Security Strategy emphasized that a viable long-term strategy must focus on conflict prevention and the actions that can start sooner, before the crises

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<sup>33</sup> Robert Falkner, "The political economy of *normative power* Europe: EU environmental leadership in international biotechnology regulation", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2007, p. 509.

<sup>34</sup> Javier Solana, "The Lisbon Treaty: Giving the EU More Coherence and Weight on the International Stage", 10 December, 2007, Fakt.

<sup>35</sup> Idem, *A Secure Europe in a Better World. The European Security Strategy*, European Council, Brussels (15895/03, PESC787), 2003, p. 15.

emerge<sup>36</sup>. Beside conflict prevention, crises management, peace-building initiatives and humanitarian intervention are key powers on which the European Security Strategy focuses on approaching the European and the global security arena<sup>37</sup>. These aspects emphasize that the Union advanced a new approach to security, heading in a new direction covering the necessary requests to become not only a civilian power, but also a new form of military power, capable of intervening in the entire spectrum of conflict management activities. The Common Security and Defence Policy has moved from the European to the global focus and also evolved from a focus on military crises to long-term civilian stabilization<sup>38</sup>. Given that the international agendas in many countries are not fully developed at this stage, it is necessary for the European Union to engage with them in the establishment of trans-national issues, contributing with its own distinct perspective to the debate.

In the last years, global governance architecture has enjoyed a real European support through its leadership role in developing international institutions and in mobilization of soft power<sup>39</sup>. Therefore, the European Union became known as a new type of actor that does not require the use of military force in order to influence the global dynamics<sup>40</sup>. With the advent of soft instruments, especially through the promotion of European norms, the EU became an effective source of influence. The EU's ability to produce and establish a global system of rules, widest possible, that can organize the world, can discipline the interaction of the actors and can be predictable in their behaviour, can enable those who engage in this way, especially the weakest ones, the ability to use these rules as an argument against all, including the most powerful forces, enhanced the EU contribution to the new governance architecture.

## Conclusion

Today, global governance is almost ubiquitous in any political process or structure, beyond the state, regardless of scope, content or context. Being in the process of construction, global governance depends on the attitude and practices of the global players that are responsible to regulate and control the international life in the name of the common good. In this framework, the EU's contribution, as one of the global key players, was effective only through its unitary voice, based on strong common will, assertiveness and self-confidence in global politics.

In global politics, the EU emphasized a process of negotiation and communication rather than a process of constraints, giving the Union a comparative advantage in addressing a wide range of international issues. Its predisposition towards normative power is due precisely to its development, its hybrid structure that includes supranational

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<sup>36</sup> Nicole Gnesotto, Giovanni Grevi, *The New Global Puzzle: What World for 2025?*, European Institute for Security Studies, Paris, 2006, p. 194.

<sup>37</sup> Michael Smith, "The European Union and International Order: European and Global Dimensions", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 12, 2007, p. 452.

<sup>38</sup> Chris J. Bickerton, Bastien Irondelle, Anand Menon, "Security Co-operation beyond the Nation-State: The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 1, 2011, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Michael Smith, *op. cit.*; Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 2006, pp. 182-199.

<sup>40</sup> Paul James Cardwell, "Mapping Out Democracy Promotion in the EU's External Relations", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 16, 2011, p. 22.

and intergovernmental elements. To-date, the European Union is the most advanced and the most ambitious project of regional cooperation in the world, representing by itself an effective answer to the challenges of globalization.

Moreover, the European Union made a responsible way in the global governance architecture, being able to form special rules on a global scale in different fields. From establishing a significant part of the global trade rules or from leading the fight against climate change and strengthening regional and global security, the Union performance in the key areas of the new architecture can be easily noted in the fact that the European Union shaped, in a new and distinct way, the international actions. In other words, the EU advanced a new model of security based on soft and normative powers, becoming a champion of global rules. In fact, the European Union contribution to global governance architecture is recognized by a growing number of countries around the world by framing and acknowledging its rules. The European model of integration and governance is a source of inspiration for global governance through the establishment of common objectives, institutions and rules. Thus, the European regulatory approach in the practice of global issues is precisely what the European Union brings to the world and what defines the EU as a global player.

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