

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE EU FOREIGN POLICY CHIEF: THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

DANIEL KEOHANE, STEFAN LEHNE, ULRICH SPECK, AND JAN TECHAU | OCTOBER 29, 2014

Carnegie Europe spearheaded a review process to assess the European Union's foreign policies. Drawing on consultations with experts from around the world, this memo proposes a new strategy for turning Europe into a more effective international actor.

- 1) **Upgrade the EU as a multilateral actor.** The EU is by nature committed to rules-based "effective multilateralism," but Europeans are often overrepresented and underperforming at international forums. Multilateral institutions, such as the United Nations or the World Bank, need to adjust to a more multipolar world and more intense global challenges. The EU should strengthen its efforts to improve the effectiveness of multilateral structures and persuade others to buy into them, including by building alliances and sometimes by streamlining European representation at international bodies like the International Monetary Fund. This is especially true for global institutions that set rules governing climate change, the environment, trade and investment, cyberspace, and security, as well as those forums that protect the physical infrastructure of the global commons—the movement of goods and people by sea, air, and land.
- 2) **Deepen the transatlantic relationship.** The United States remains the EU's most important partner on global affairs. Although the world is becoming more multipolar because of the ongoing shift in economic power from the West to the rest, Europe and the United States can still, by cooperating, shape global developments according to their views and interests to a considerable degree. However, the rules-based order they promote should be more inclusive, bringing interests and views of other countries and regions on board. Furthermore, the transatlantic partners should recognize two aspects of the relationship: they will sometimes diverge; and in the future, Europe will be more useful to Washington if Europeans become less dependent on the United States. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) should be seen not as just another free trade agreement but as a building block for a future common transatlantic market, which in turn would become a core pillar of a renewed transatlantic partnership.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Daniel Keohane is the research director at FRIDE.

Stefan Lehne is a visiting scholar at Carnegie Europe in Brussels.

Ulrich Speck is a visiting scholar at Carnegie Europe in Brussels.

Jan Techau is the director of Carnegie Europe.

- 3) **Partner with other democracies and promote regionalism.** Other democracies, such as Australia, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Japan, and South Korea, are all potentially strong allies for stabilizing and expanding global order. The EU already has deep commercial ties with each of them, and as democracies, they share many common interests and views with European countries. In addition, the EU should continue to support regional organizations in other parts of the world, such as ASEAN and the African Union. However, trying to simply export the EU model of regional integration will not work. Instead, the EU should focus on being prepared to help other regional bodies—if asked—with money and expertise, as those organizations’ own members develop them.
- 4) **Prod China and Russia to become responsible stakeholders in the global order.** In recent years, both China and Russia have signaled that they wish to revise some core tenets of the current international order. The East and South China Seas as well as Eastern Europe have become targets of attempts by

Beijing and Moscow to change the status quo. The EU should show China and Russia that it is committed to upholding the post-1945 order as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations (UN). In essence, that order means territorial integrity and full sovereignty for all states. Being tougher with Beijing and Moscow will sometimes be necessary to uphold existing international laws.

- 5) **Engage nonstate actors.** States will remain the most important international actors for the foreseeable future. However, nonstate actors can and often do contribute to achieving the EU’s objectives. Private business, for example, is a crucial partner both for fighting climate change and for ensuring cybersecurity. International nongovernmental organizations are essential for promoting democracy, tackling poverty, and setting human rights standards around the globe. The EU and in particular its foreign policy chief should strengthen the EU’s networks and build coalitions with nonstate actors to promote specific goals.

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