

The EU as a Global Actor

Crina Viju-Miljusevic

Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies
Carleton University

Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence

Teachers' workshop

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Agenda

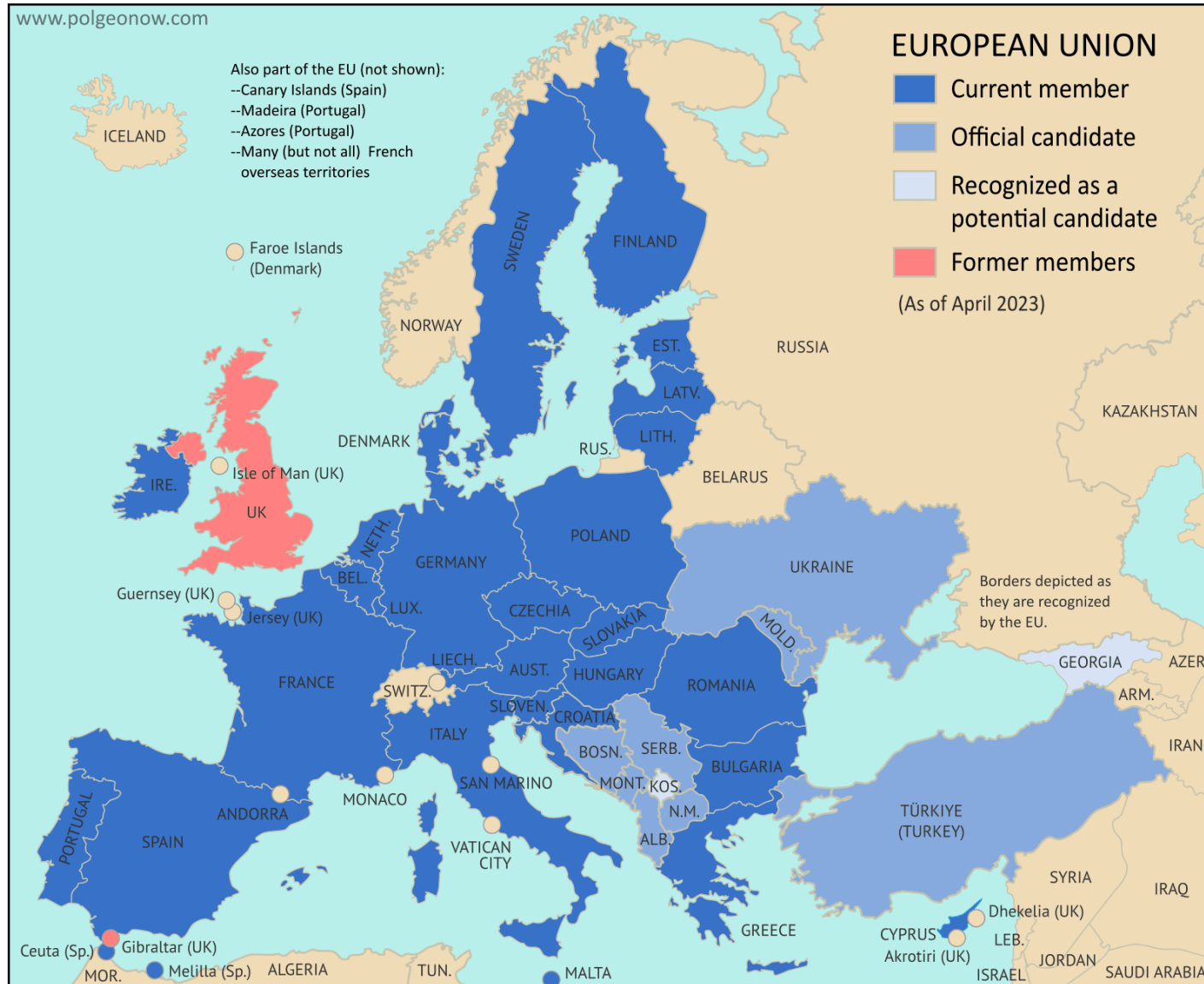
What is the EU?

EU as a global actor:
goals
development



The European Union: 27 countries

Member states, candidates and potential candidates for accession





<http://www.vintag.es/2013/08/old-photos-of-berlin-after-world-war-ii.html>

Why?

Peace in Europe (post-WW II)

Jean Monnet (1943):

“There will be no peace in Europe, if the states are reconstituted on the basis of national sovereignty with all that this implies by way of prestige politics and economic protectionism. If the countries of Europe once more protect themselves against each other, it will be once more be necessary to build up vast armies.”

“The European states must constitute themselves into a federation.”

Economic interdependence as key

Economic reconstruction

	Death toll	The Economic Set-Back: Pre-war year when GDP equalled that of 1945
Austria	525,000	1886
Belgium	82,750	1924
Denmark	4,250	1936
Finland	79,000	1938
France	505,750	1891
Germany	6,363,000	1908
Italy	355,500	1909
Netherlands	250,000	1912
Norway	10,250	1937
Sweden	0	GDP grew during WWII
Switzerland	0	GDP grew during WWII
UK	325,000	GDP grew during WWII

Baldwin&Wyplosz 2006. *The Economics of European Integration* 2nd Edition



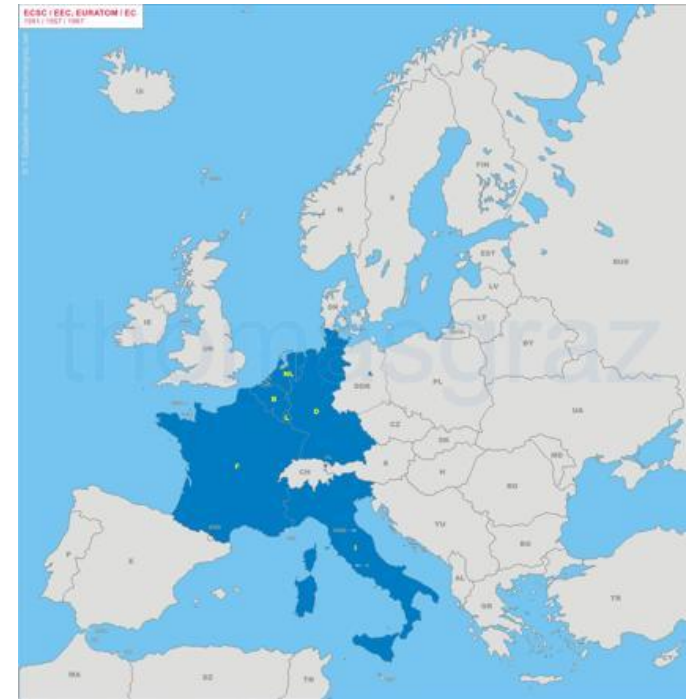
<https://historyshelf.blogspot.com/2011/04/facts-of-world-war-ii-in-europe.html>

Strains within the European integration process

- **Disagreement about depth of European integration, how deep should it go?**
 - Should Europe become a federal state (like Canada?)
 - Or should nations retain all sovereignty and decide together unanimously?
- **Multi-speed Europe?**
 - Should ‘opt-outs’ be allowed for certain policies?
- **‘European integration and Atlantic solidarity’**
 - What is the relationship with the US?
- **Civilian power and military power**
 - What kind of power is the EU?

Institutional foundations

- **Three Communities created in 1950s:**
 - European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), 1951
 - making war in Europe not only *'unthinkable, but materially impossible'*
 - European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), 1957
 - European Economic Community (EEC), 1957
- **Founders:**
 - Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg
- **Different patterns of development:**
 - Widening
 - Deepening
 - Differentiated and multi-speed integration



Widening: enlargement

Original members:
Germany, France, Italy, Belgium,
Netherlands, Luxemburg



1973:
UK, Ireland,
Denmark



1981:
Greece



1986:
Portugal,
Spain



1990:
East
Germany



1995:
Austria, Sweden,
Finland



2004:
CEE countries,
Cyprus, Malta



2007:
Bulgaria,
Romania



2013:
Croatia

Current candidate states:

- **Turkey** (since 1999, negotiations began in 2005, stalled)
- **North Macedonia** (since 2005)
- **Montenegro** (since 2010)
- **Serbia** (since March 2012)
- **Albania** (since June 2014)
- **Ukraine** (since June 2022)
- **Moldova** (since June 2022)
- **Bosnia and Herzegovina** (since December 2022)
- **Georgia** (since December 2023)
 - Since Dec.1, 2024, Georgian ruling party decided not to pursue opening of EU accession negotiations until 2028
- **Potential candidate:**
 - **Kosovo**



Deepening – more policy matters decided at EU level

- Single European Act (1985): 4 freedoms of movement; strengthens European Parliament
- Maastricht Treaty (1991): creates European Union; Euro; pushes integration beyond economics (foreign policy, home affairs)
- Amsterdam (1997) and Nice (2000) Treaties: preparation for enlargement; incorporate Schengen agreement into EU treaties
- Lisbon Treaty (2009): gives EU unified legal personality → in force since 2009

THE EU : more than an international organization, but less than a sovereign state



Sovereignty = ‘supreme or independent power in government’ (Random House unabridged dictionary)

- International and regional organizations: (UN, NATO, WTO, Organization of American States) do not have authority over their members.
- **The EU has pooled sovereignty** (where Member States give up some areas of authority to the EU; it is a *sui generis* formation)
- Federations (Canada, US, Germany, Belgium, Austria) have divided sovereignty between the federal government and constituent regions.
- In unitary states (most European countries, China) the central government retains sovereignty

Another response:
Multi-speed Europe:
Example: Schengen agreement



- Signed 1985 by France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands.
- Now a part of EU law (with one opt-out, one committed but not part of Schengen)
- Now has 29 members:
 - Most EU members (25)
 - Plus Switzerland, Iceland, Liechtenstein, and Norway.
 - Ireland opted out.
 - Cyprus is committed to join.
 - Before BREXIT, UK opted out.
- **Passport free movement and no border controls within the zone, common external border policy (but administered by national authorities)**

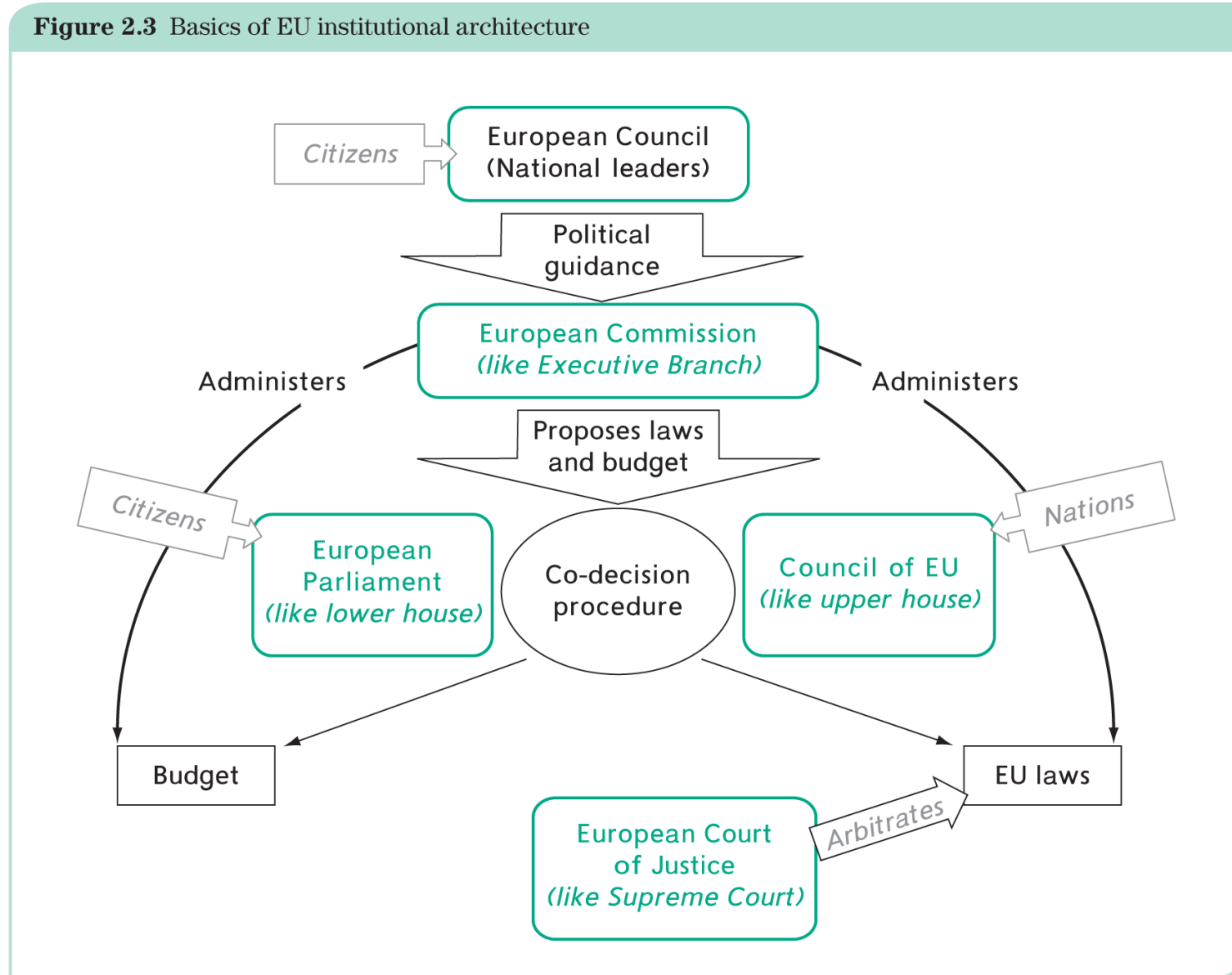
Multi-speed Europe : Monetary integration and the Eurozone



- **Share a common currency (Euro)**
- **Common monetary policy, interest rates**
- European Central Bank
- Some common rules about fiscal policies (Stability and Growth Pact)
- Not all EU countries are members (20 of 27):
 - Denmark opted out
 - Bulgaria, Czech Rep, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Sweden not yet joined
 - Before BREXIT, UK opted out

The 'Big-5' institutions

Figure 2.3 Basics of EU institutional architecture



EU Institutions: a combination of a supranational principle (community matters) and an intergovernmental principle

Institution	Composition	Governance role
European Council (Brussels)	Member state leaders (intergovernmental)	Defines legislative, executive objectives
European Commission (Brussels)	EU bureaucrats (supranational)	Executive, some legislative functions
Council of the European Union (Brussels)	Member state ministers (intergovernmental)	Legislative, some executive functions
European Parliament (Strasbourg, Brussels)	Elected MEPs (supranational)	Legislative
Court of Justice (Luxembourg)	EU judges (supranational)	Judiciary

EU external goals (Treaty on the European Union, Article 21, 1992)



- To ‘preserve peace, prevent conflicts and strengthen international security’
- To spread values: ‘consolidate and support democracy, the rule of law, human rights’
- ‘promote an international system based on stronger multilateral governance’
- Humanitarian concerns (development aid, sustainable development, eradicate poverty, disaster response)
- ‘Encourage the integration of all countries into the world economy, including the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade’
- Environmental sustainability

Bases of EU international power

Civilian power (of various types (Francois Duchene, 1970s), sometimes called ‘soft power’ because it isn’t coercive, but works through non-military means through vehicles of persuasion or incentives:

- *Economic power*. This underlies *transformative power* because of the perceived desirability of association with or membership in the EU. Use of economic incentives (conditionality) to bring transformation
- *Normative power*. The power of example or of persuasion. This involves influencing the norms and standards that govern internal political.

Military power. Until recently only exercised by member states, but with the development of ESDP (1999), the EU has taken on a limited military role, but mainly in the interest of conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

- Major shifts in EU military power since 2022: increased defense investments, a new defense industrial strategy, German rearmament

EU has moved slowly in expanding foreign policy capacities

- Trade policy (exclusive EU competence)
- Development aid (EU policies, alongside member state policies)
- Enlargement of the EU (EU competence)
- Policies toward neighbors (EU policies, alongside member state policies)
- Security and defense policies (**developing area of activity, still largely member state policy area**)

In general: member states retain major responsibility for foreign policy except trade and some other economic areas.

Member states have major foreign policy role:

- Especially larger countries (France, Germany, Italy) have important international role
- Smaller countries have limited capacity to influence the international scene
- Some countries have spheres of special interest, e.g.
 - Spain – Latin America, North Africa
 - Poland and Baltic State – Russia, Ukraine, and EE
 - Sweden, Finland – the Arctic

Bases of member state power

- Colonial legacy (France) gives them special linkages historic linkages with former colonies)
- Military capacity (France is nuclear powers);
- Economic importance (Germany, France, Italy)
- Active diplomatic corps abroad
- Representation in international organizations

Member states sometimes take conflicting positions, e.g.,

- Stronger or weaker links to the US (UK and new member states strong Atlanticists; France more skeptical)
- Iraq war (UK, Denmark, most new members states supported the US position; France, Germany opposed)
- Differing relations with Russia (differing degrees of support for sanctions, but still unity)
- Absence of a unified approach to energy security, with commercial interests also at play
- Refugee crisis: Some EU countries refuse to accept their 'share' of refugee claimants
- Brexit: an extreme response
- Vote on CETA: the Walloon resistance affecting Belgium

EU as military force?

- St. Malo Declaration (UK and France, Dec. 1998) stated need for EU to develop ‘the capacity for autonomous action, backed by credible military forces... in order to respond to international crises.
- **‘European Security and Defense Policy’ (ESDP)** agreed in same timeframe (2000). This involved the gradual development of some military force
- **European Security Strategy 2003**
 - Threats: proliferation of WMD; terrorism and organized crime; regional conflicts; state failure; energy security; climate change.
 - Needed responses: more effective and capable Europe; greater engagement with neighborhood; multilateralism.

Lisbon Treaty (in force 2009)

- Gives the EU a legal personality (formalizes the legal capacity to enter into contracts or join international organizations or convention)
- Creates an EU diplomatic corps (European External Action Service)
- Creates the position of High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (who is also the Vice-President of the European Commission) to give the EU a more unified external face. (Catherine Ashton; Federica Mogherini; Josep Borrell; Kaja Kallas)
- Mutual defense clause, solidarity clause .
 - <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/security/20160119STO10518/mutual-defence-clause-what-the-requirement-to-help-other-member-states-means>

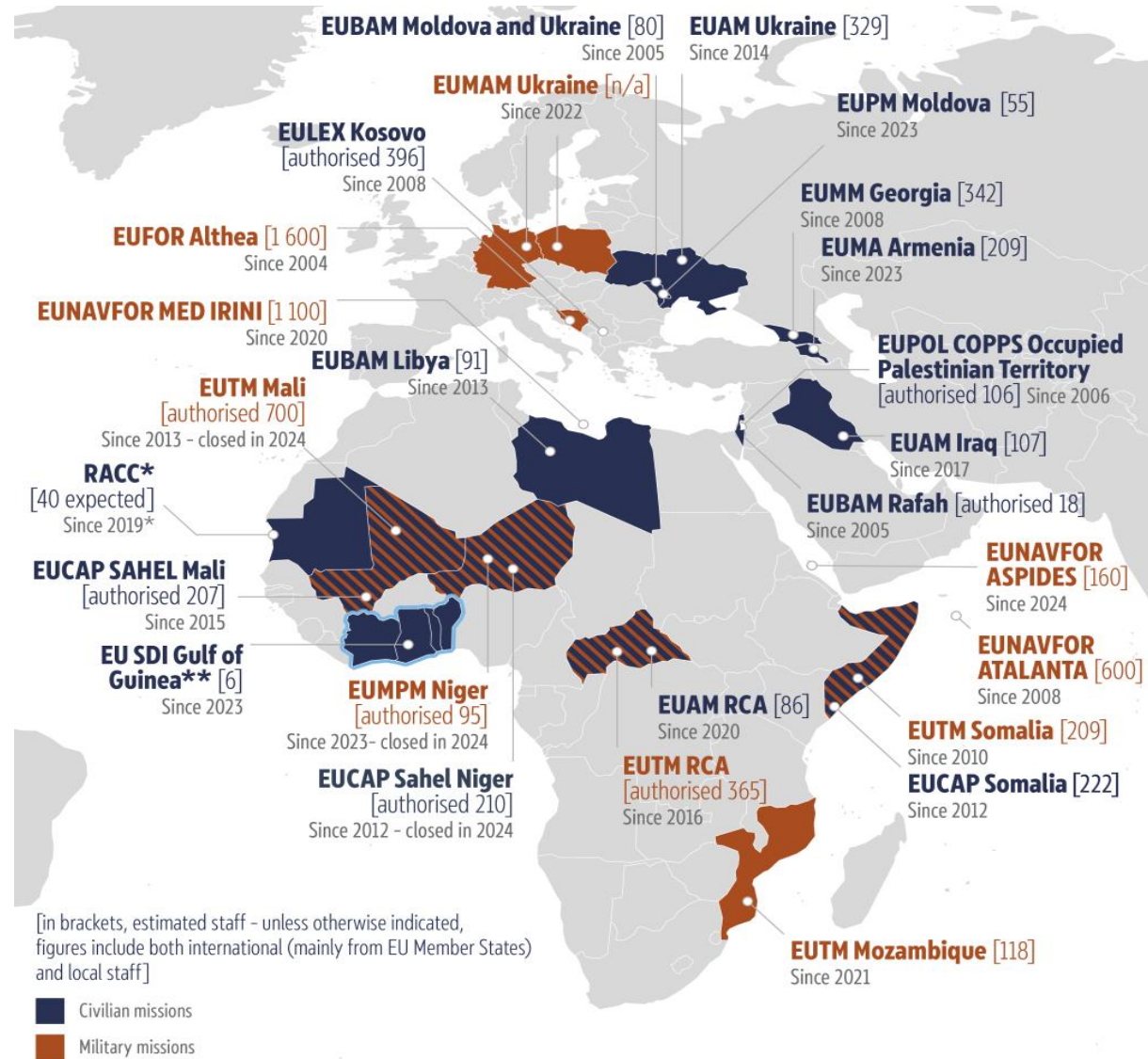
Common Security and Defense Policy

(formerly European Security and Defense Policy)

- EU has no standing army
- Forces from Member state countries support ad hoc peacekeeping and policing missions
- No competition with NATO
- Rapid Deployment Capacity of 5,000 troops
- November 2017: **Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)**
 - commitments to integrate armed forces, a boost in defence spending and the establishment of a joint HQ;
 - EU: €5.5bn to fund research and development into new military hardware and the joint purchase of new equipment
 - Non-signatories: Malta

EU Missions Map (2024)

<https://epthinktank.eu/2024/10/29/eu-missions-and-operations-abroad/>



[in brackets, estimated staff - unless otherwise indicated, figures include both international (mainly from EU Member States) and local staff]

■ Civilian missions
■ Military missions

*The EU regional advisory and coordination cell for the Sahel (RACC), based in Mauritania, supports the security and defence cooperation of the Sahel countries and facilitates internal EU coordination on security and defense. The RACC was previously hosted by EUCAP Sahel Mali in Bamako.

**EU Security and Defence Initiative/Gulf of Guinea (Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, and Benin).

Global Strategy for the EU's foreign and security policy: "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe" (June 2016)

https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/global-strategy-european-unions-foreign-and-security-policy_en

- “The purpose, even existence, of our Union is being questioned. Yet, our citizens and the world need a strong European Union like never before. Our wider region has become more unstable and more insecure. The crises within and beyond our borders are affecting directly our citizens’ lives.”
- Key principles in response
 - Principled pragmatism
 - Unity, engagement, partnership, responsibility
 - Rules-based global order
 - Resilience
 - Sustainable development
- **European Peace Facility (2021)**
 - “Prevent conflicts, build and preserve peace; strengthen international security and stability”
 - missions and assistance
 - Budget: € 17 billion for 2021-2027

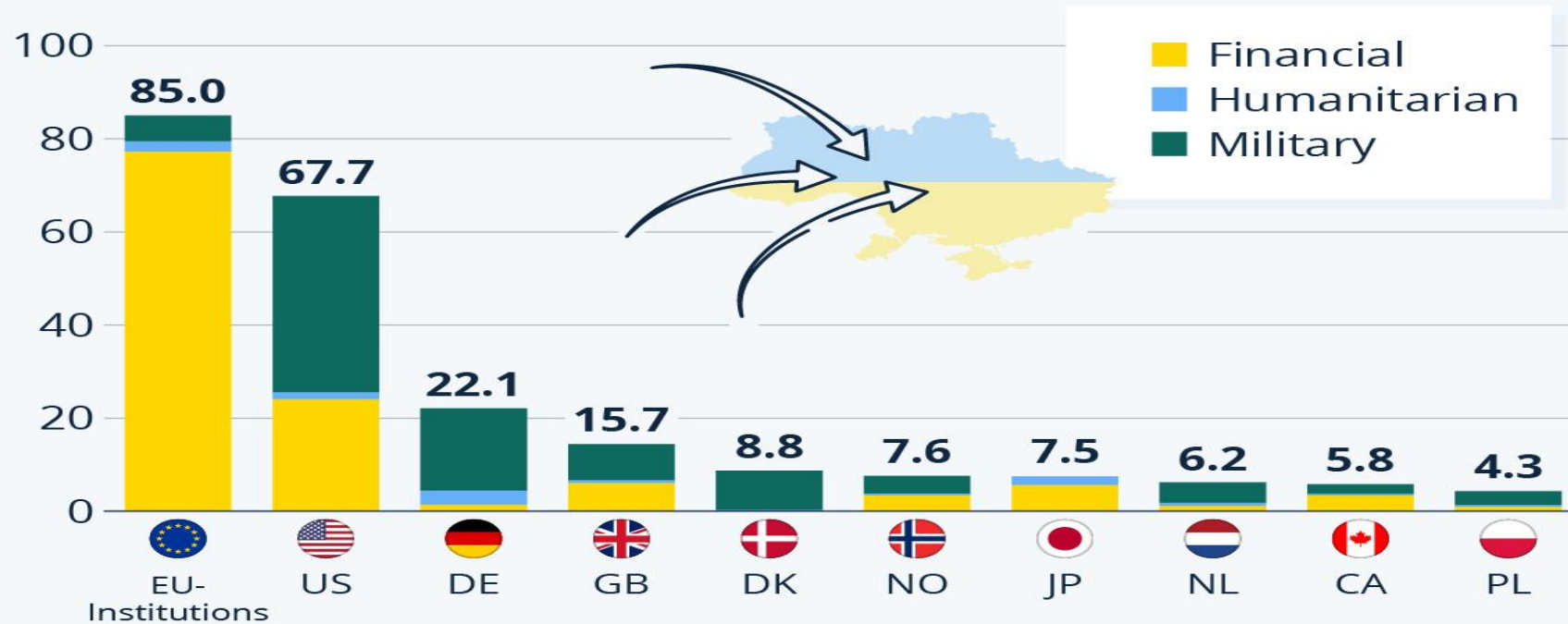
Strategic Compass

(https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/strategic-compass-security-and-defence-1_en)

- Threats:
 - “Return of war; major geopolitical shifts
 - Era of strategic competition and complex security threats
 - Interdependence is increasing conflictual and soft power weaponized
 - Climate change”
- ACT
 - Reinforce CSDP missions; develop EU Rapid Deployment Capacity; strengthen command and control structures;
- SECURE
 - Boost intelligence capacity; create an EU Hybrid Toolbox; develop EU Cyber Defence Policy;
- INVEST
 - More capabilities and new technologies; reduce technological and industrial dependencies
- PARTNER
 - NATO; UN; like-minded partners
- **ReArm Europe/Readiness 2030 (2025):** proposed €800 billion to strengthen defence infrastructure

The Countries Committing the Most Aid to Ukraine

Countries committing the most aid to Ukraine from Jan. 24, 2022 to Jan. 15, 2024, by type (in billion euros)



Source: IfW Kiel Ukraine Support Tracker



statista

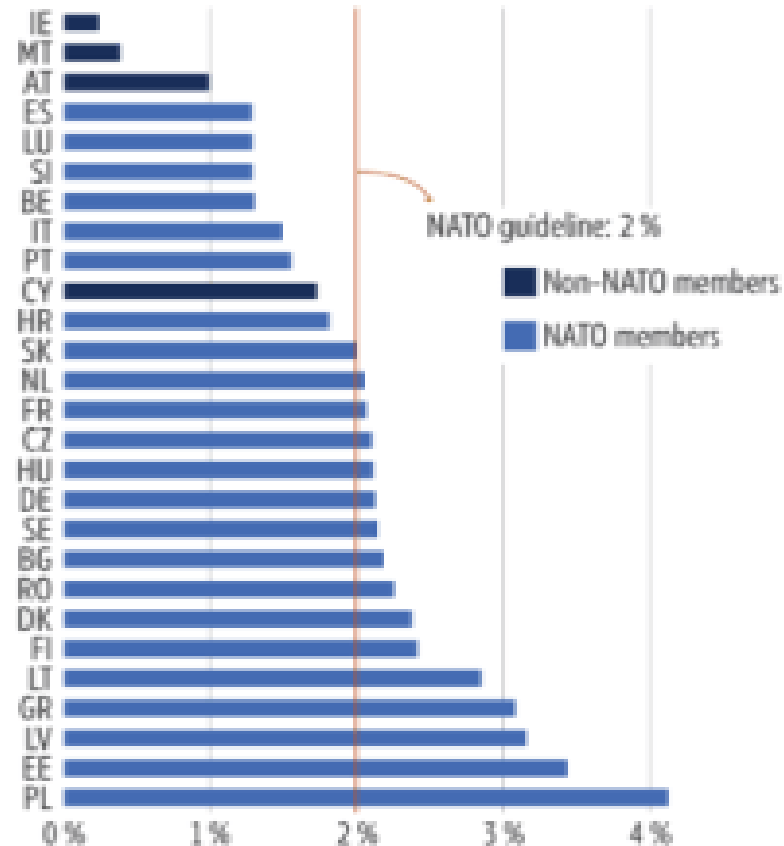
<https://www.ifw-kiel.de/topics/war-against-ukraine/ukraine-support-tracker/>

EU military support to Ukraine

- **European Peace Facility (EPF)**
 - The EPF is the main instrument financing EU military aid to Ukraine.
 - It allows the EU to reimburse member states for weapons, ammunition, and equipment they provide to Ukraine.
 - As of late 2025, the EU has committed over €11 billion through the EPF for Ukraine's defense.
- **EU Military Assistance Mission (EUMAM Ukraine)**
 - Launched in November 2022, this mission coordinates training for Ukrainian armed forces.
 - Training covers basic and specialized skills, including demining, logistics, and battlefield medicine.
 - By 2025, the EU has trained tens of thousands of Ukrainian soldiers under this mission.
- **Bilateral Contributions by Member States**
 - Many EU countries (e.g., Poland, Germany, France, the Baltics) also provide weapons, tanks, air defense systems, and ammunition directly to Ukraine, in addition to EU-level initiatives.
- **Future Support**
 - The EU is working toward a long-term security commitment, including joint procurement of ammunition and sustainable defense production, to ensure continued support for Ukraine's defense efforts.

EU–NATO Cooperation

- Berlin Plus arrangements
- Joint declarations (2016, 2018, 2023)
- Complementarity in strategic planning and military mobility



Data Source: [NATO](#) and [IISS](#), 2024.

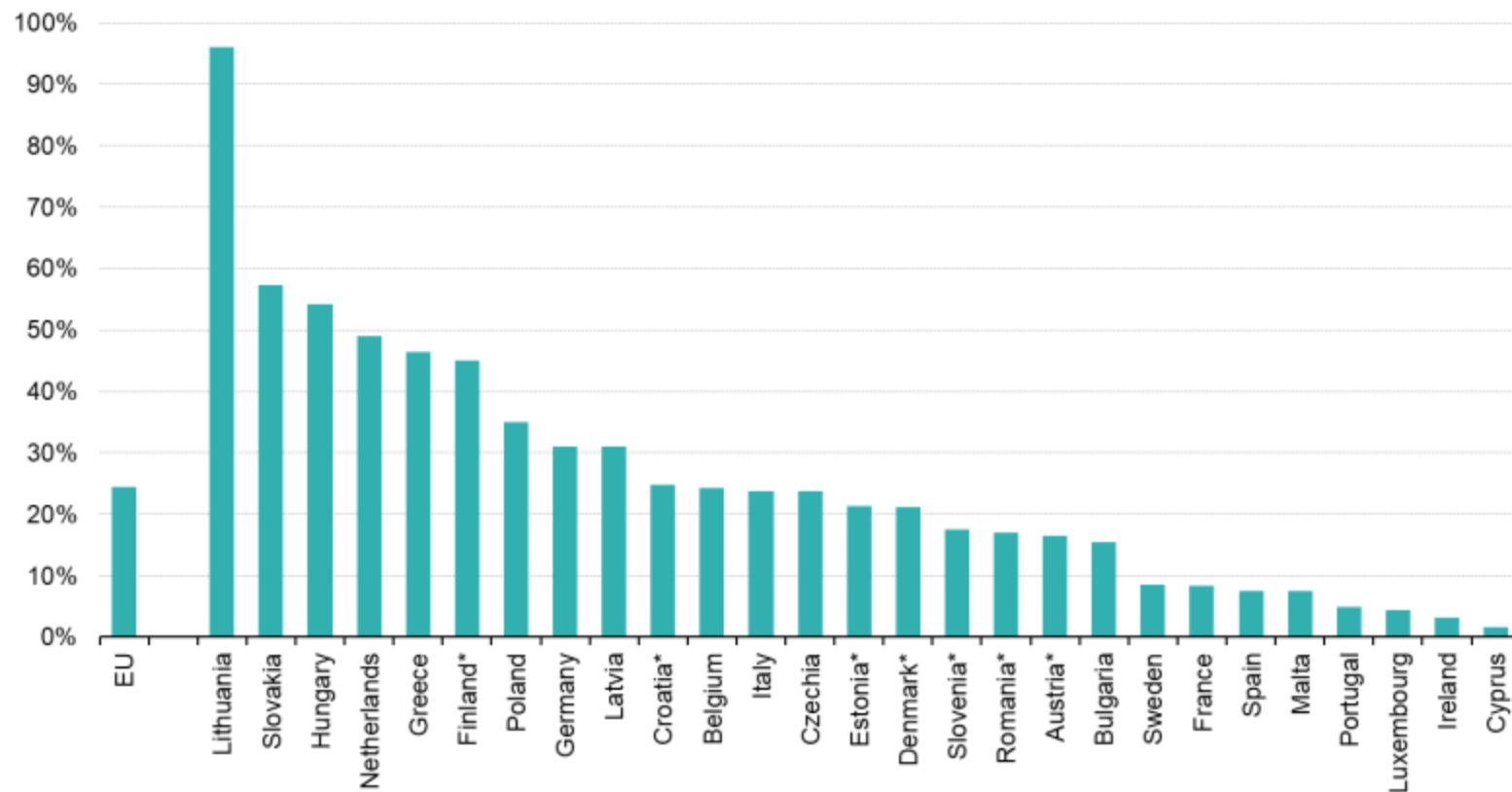
Key Challenges for CSDP

- - Diverging threat perceptions among member states
- - Reliance on NATO and U.S. security guarantees
- - Capability gaps and defence industrial fragmentation
- - Balancing strategic autonomy and transatlantic ties

EU energy dependency on Russia

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Imports_from_Russia_in_gross_available_energy_in_2020_10-03-2022.png

Imports from Russia in gross available energy, EU, 2020



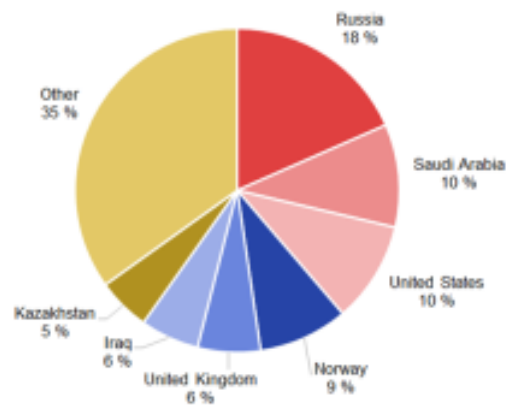
Source: Eurostat, including estimates for non-reported data for countries with *

EU imports of oil: partners

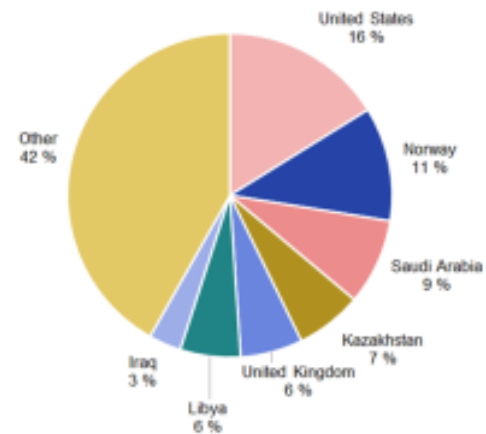
https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Main_partners_for_extra-EU_imports_of_petroleum_oil_upd_Nov_2024.png

Main partners for extra-EU imports of petroleum oil

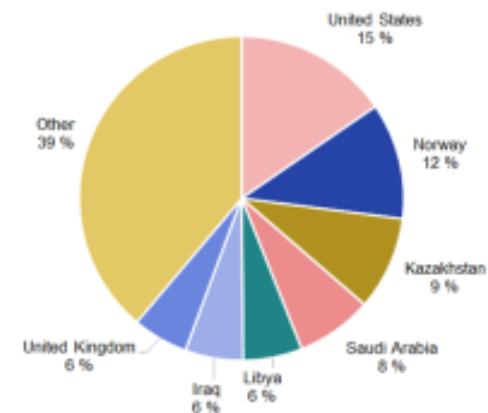
Q3 2022



Q3 2023



Q3 2024



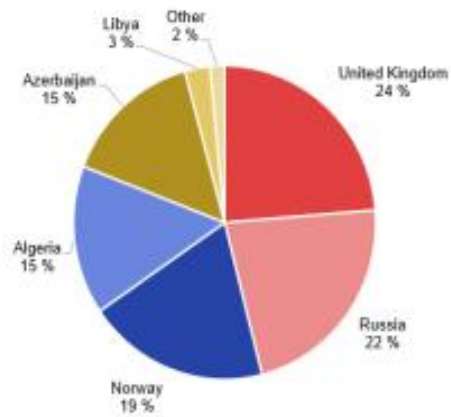
Source : Eurostat (online data code: ds-045409)

EU imports of natural gas: partners

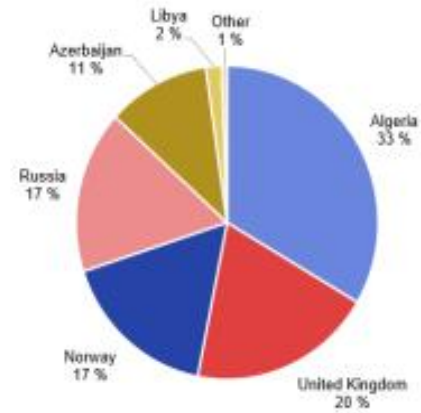
[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:F16Main_partners_for_extra-EU imports of natural gas in gaseous state.PNG](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:F16Main_partners_for_extra-EU_imports_of_natural_gas_in_gaseous_state.PNG)

Main partners for extra-EU imports of natural gas in gaseous state

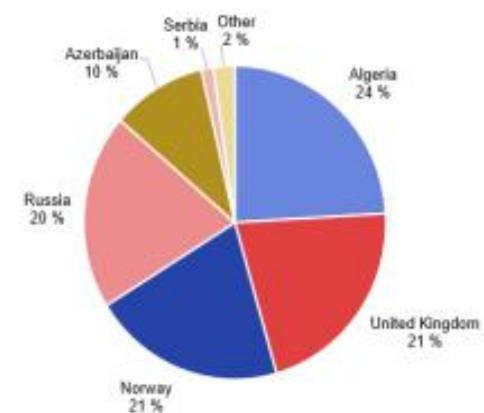
Q3 2022



Q3 2023



Q3 2024



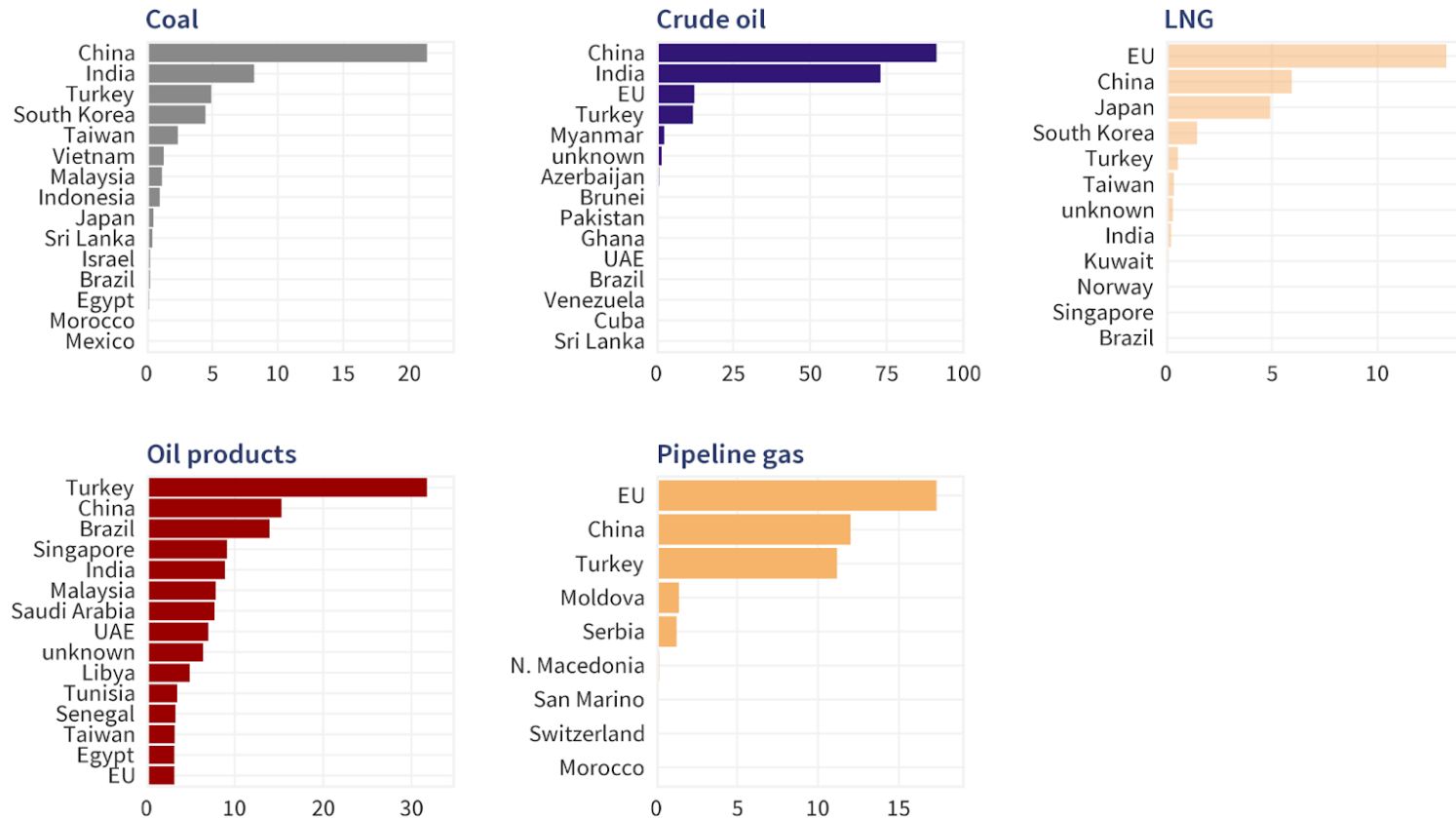
Source: Eurostat (online data code: ds-045409)

Who is buying Russia's fossil fuels?

<https://energyandcleanair.org/november-2024-monthly-analysis-of-russian-fossil-fuel-exports-and-sanctions/>

Who bought Russia's fossil fuels after EU bans

Shipments arriving since EU oil bans until end of November 2024



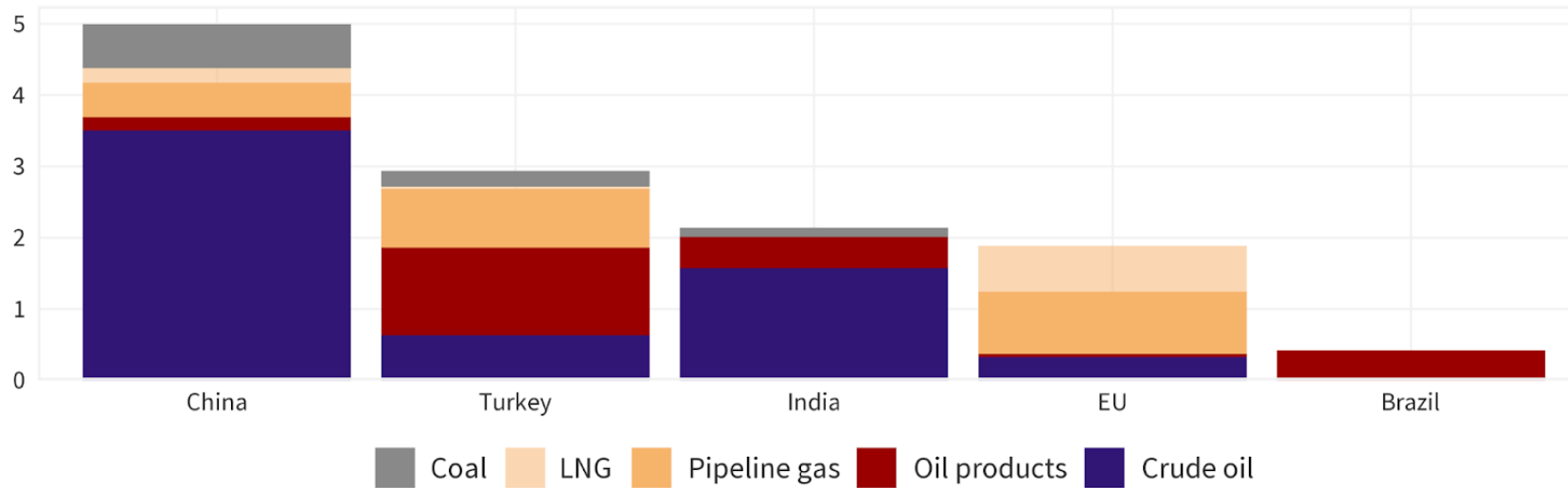
Source: CREA analysis based on Kpler, Marine Traffic, ENTSOG and customs data.

Main importers of Russian fossil fuels

<https://energyandcleanair.org/november-2024-monthly-analysis-of-russian-fossil-fuel-exports-and-sanctions/>

Who bought Russia's fossil fuels in November 2024

Top-5 regions | Billion EUR



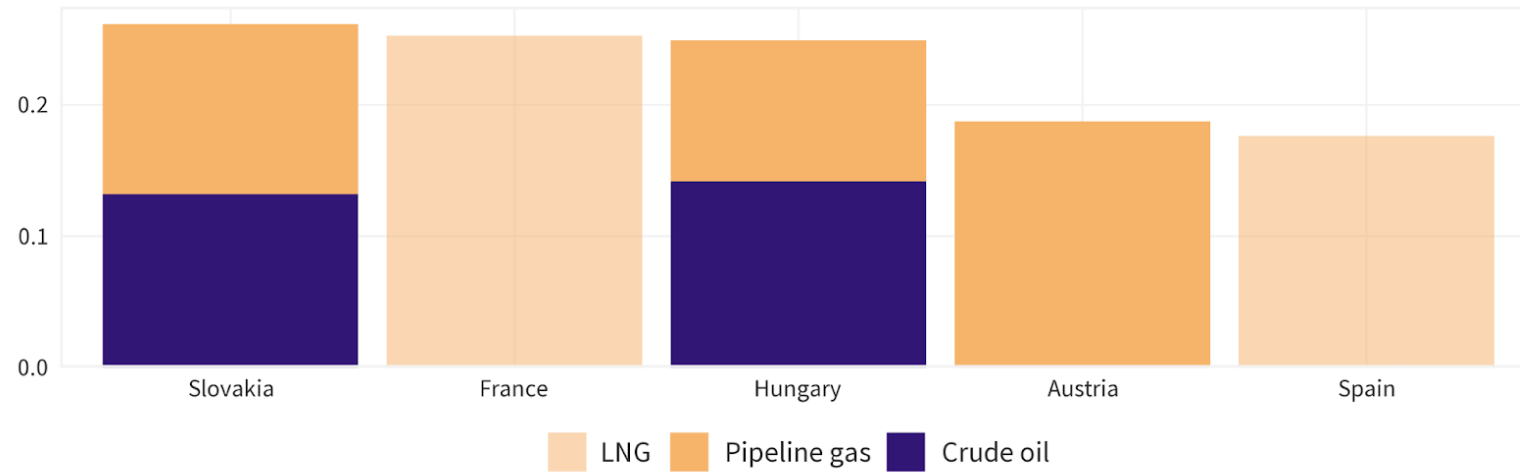
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