Networks of Global Governance: International Organisations and European Integration in a Historical Perspective

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Edited by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACM	Archives of the Council of Ministers of the European Union (Brussels)
ACP	African Caribbean and Pacific Countries
AEI	Archive of European Integration, University of Pittsburgh
AFJM	Archives de la Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe (Lausanne)
AIMF	Archives of the International Monetary Fund (Washington)
AMAEF	Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères Français (Paris)
AS	Altiero Spinelli Fonds
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
ATMs	Autonomous Trade Measures
BED	Board of the Executive Directors (IMF)
BIS	Bank of International Settlements
BIT	Bureau International du Travail
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CARDS	Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilisation
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands
CEA	Commissariat à l'Energie Atomique
CEDEFOP	European Center for the Development of Vocational Training
CEEC	Committee for European Economic Cooperation
CEGES	Centre d'Études et de Documentation Guerre et Sociétés Contemporaines (Brussels)
CEPT	Conférence Européenne des Administrations des Postes et des Télécommunications
CERN	Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire
CET	Common External Tariff
CFF	Compensatory Financing Facility
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy

CIMAS	Conférence Internationale de la Mutualité et des Assurances Sociales
CIPIH	Commission on Intellectual Property Rights, Innovation and Public Health
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COREPER	Comité des Représentants Permanents (EC/EU)
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSM	Carlo Scarascia Mugnozza Fonds
DAG	Deutsche Angestelltengewerkschaft
DG	Director-General
DG5	Directorate-General 5
DG SANCO	Directorate-General for Health
DGB	Deutscher Gewershaftsbund
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAP	Environmental Action Programme
EBU	European Broadcasting Union
EC	European Community
ECA	Economic Cooperation Administration
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council (UN)
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defence Community
EDF	European Development Fund
EEC	European Economic Community
EEG	Eastern Europe Group
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EN	Emile Noël Fonds
EONR	European Organisation for Nuclear Research (CERN)
EPU	European Payments Union
ERP	European Recovery Program
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
ETUC	European Trade Unions Confederation
EU	European Union
EULEX-Kosovo	European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo
EUMC	Military Committee of the European Union
EUMS	European Union Military Staff
EUPM	EU Police Mission
EUROFOR	European Rapid Operational Force
EUROMARFOR	European Maritime Force
EUROFOUND	European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FRUS	Foreign Relations of the United States
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
FUCI	Federazione Universitaria Cattolica Italiana
G77	Group of 77
GA	General Assembly (UN)
GAC	General Affairs Council (EU)
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HAEC	Historical Archives of the European Commission (Brussels)
HAEU	Historical Archives of the European Union (Florence)
HRC	Human Rights Council
ICAs	International Commodity Agreements
ICCA	International Cocoa Agreement
ICCO	International Cocoa Organisation
ICTP	International Centre for Theoretical Physics
ICU	International Clearing Union
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisations
IGWG	Intergovernmental Working Group
ILC	International Labour Conference
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ILOA	International Labour Organisation Archives (Geneva)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPC	Integrated Programme for Commodities
IPDC	International Programme for the Development of Communication
IPTF	International Police Task Force
IPRs	Intellectual Property Rights
ISSA	International Social Security Association
ITO	International Trade Organisation
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
KR	Kennedy Round
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
LoN	League of Nations
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment
MFN	Most-Favoured-Nation
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement

NARA	National Archives and Records Administration (Washington)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NAUK	National Archives of the United Kingdom (Kew)
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NTBs	Non-Tariff Barriers
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Cooperation
OJEC	Official Journal of the European Community
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PIACT	Programme for the Improvement of Working Conditions and Environment
PISG	Provisional Institutions of Self-Government
PSC	Political and Security Committee
PTT	Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone service
RTA	Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Stabilisation and Association Process
SGP	Scheme of Generalised Preferences
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe (NATO)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
SRGS	Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General
STABEX	Système de Stabilisation (EEC)
STM	Stabilisation Tracking Mechanism
TICER	Temporary International Council for Educational Reconstruction
TRIPS	Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
UIR	Union Radiotélégraphique Internationale
UIT	Union International du Télégraphe
UN	United Nations
UNbisnet	Online UN database
UNCED	UN Conference on Environment and Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFCCC	UN Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	UN Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHQ	UN Headquarters
UNMIK	United Nations' Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMSC	United Nations Military Staff Committee
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UPU	Universal Postal Union
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEOG	Western European and Others Group
WEP	World Employment Programme
WEU	Western European Union
WHO	World Health Organisation
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

INTRODUCTION

Although the external action of the European Communities (EC) has long attracted scholarly attention, over the last two decades scientific literature on the subject has experienced a genuine boom, mainly prompted by the new "foreign policy" powers officially conferred on the European Union (EU) by the Treaty of Maastricht and its successors, but also due to the political influence deriving from the EU's economic strength. In this context, the organisations of the United Nations (UN) family have been increasingly identified as significant players, for the relevance and the variety of the subjects treated in their midst, and as seats in which Europe's aptitude towards "external projection" appeared more visible. As institutions, with a formal decision-making process aimed at approving specific acts, the UN organisations render the cohesion of the European countries – or, in the most common definition, their capacity to "speak with one voice" – easily measurable. Moreover, for the same reason, they represent essential points of reference for the EU policy. Due to its not always easy internal cohesion, this latter generally prefers to act in a multilateral framework rather than resorting to the classical instruments of power politics. Part of the literature explains this attitude as a consequence of the past: European countries, after centuries of turmoil, have adopted dialogue and international cooperation as guidelines also for their external relations[1]. An explanation which certainly pinpoints an important aspect, but which does not seem to adequately take into account some other factors which play in the same direction. On the one hand, persistent disagree-

[1] The most representative work of this approach is probably Mario Telò, *Europe, a civilian power? European Union, global governance, world order* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2006). For the first statement of Europe as a civilian power see François Duchêne, "The European Community and the Uncertainties of Independence", in Max Kohnstamm, Wolfgang Hager, eds, *A Nation Writ Large? Foreign Policy Problems Before the EC* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973), 1-21. For subsequent refinements of the concept cf. Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40/2 (2002), 235-258; Bjorn Hettne, Fredrik Soderbaum, "Civilian power or soft imperialism? The EU as a global actor and the role of interregionalism", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 10/4 (2005), 535-552; Helen Sjuresn, ed., *Civilian or military power? European foreign policy in perspective* (London: Routledge, 2007).

ments between member states on some of the most sensitive topics - as also shown during recent international crises (such as the Iraqi war, military intervention in Libya or the debate about the attitude towards the Syrian crisis) - seem to represent an insurmountable obstacle for a unitary and cohesive European foreign policy, and to steer member states towards areas of external cooperation not involving hard power dynamics. On the other hand, divergences appear much less important on a wide range of topics on which a solid *acquis communautaire* already exists and, being the result of compromises between different interests within the EU, represents a useful reference for the Union's outward action.

Whatever the reason, the EU's preference for an international action of a "regulative" nature is absolutely evident, and pushes its institutions to cooperate with the universal organisations of the UN group. For this reason, a scientific literature on the matter, mostly by political scientists and jurists, is rapidly developing, aimed on the one hand at evaluating the effectiveness of the European positions within the United Nations and, on the other, at analysing EU relations with its major bodies. A book edited in 2006 by Katie Laatikainen and Karen Smith, for example, studied the coordination of European countries within the major organs of the United Nations Organisation (the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council), with specific focus on key issues such as security, development and the protection of human rights. Maximilian Rasch subsequently provided a complete outline of the coordination process, with detailed descriptions of specific aspects such as the role played by the EU Presidency, the informal meetings of Member States' representatives in New York and Geneva, and the dynamics of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the General Assembly's permanent committees[2]. A third book, edited by Jan Wouters, Frank Hoffmeister and Tom Ruys, has extended the analysis to other major bodies of the UN family, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the World Bank, considering not only the European coordination but, more generally, their whole bilateral relation with the EU, which in some cases

[2] Katie Verlin Laatikainen, Karen E. Smith, eds, *The European Union at the United Nations: intersecting multilateralisms* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Maximilian B. Rasch, *The European Union at the United Nations: the functioning and coherence of EU external representation in a state-centric environment* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008). Works of a more juridical nature are Eva Pföstl, ed., *Rapporti tra Unione europea e Organizzazioni internazionali* (Roma: Apes, 2010), and Anne Hamonic, *L'Union européenne à l'ONU: perspectives ouvertes par le traité constitutionnel* (Rennes: Apogée, 2007).

consists in a true partnership. An approach which, with its detailed descriptions of the existing mechanisms of mutual representation and consultation, still appears a bit too focused on the institutional dimension, but which nonetheless opens perspectives well beyond the traditional evaluation of the EU's ability to "speak with one voice"[3].

Indeed, what the most recent dynamics seem to show is that, also thanks to the "regulative" affinity between European institutions and UN organisations, the latter constitute by now a new governing level, with a geographically larger range of action but often coordinated with (or at least connected to) EU and national bodies. In short, as part of the literature has already pointed out, the concept of "multilevel governance", frequently used to define the European system with its "diffused" political responsibility and an intricate distribution of competences between the European, national and sub-national dimensions, now seems to be enriched with a new level, with the growing influence of some international organisations on issues of primary importance[4]. Most recently, the joint action of the EU, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (the so-called *troika*) to enforce rigorous fiscal and monetary policies in countries most affected by the debt crisis seems a clear manifestation of such dynamics, which scientific literature has also pointed out in connection with environmental policies, human rights' protection and even security matters, traditionally the most difficult to manage for EU countries[5].

Until now, historians have studied this evolution only partially. Even though there has been some progress since Simon Nuttal's first studies on

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[3] Jan Wouters, Frank Hoffmeister, Tom Ruys, eds, *The United Nations and the European Union: an ever stronger partnership* (The Hague: Asser Press, 2006).

[4] One of the most meaningful works adopting this concept is Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, *Multi-level governance and European integration* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

[5] See for example Jan Wouters, ed., *The European Union and multilateral governance: assessing EU participation in United Nations human rights and environmental fora* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Joachim Krause, Natalino Ronzitti, eds, *The EU, the UN and collective security: making multilateralism effective* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012); Leonardo Massai, *The Kyoto Protocol in the EU: European community and member states under international and European Law* (The Hague: TMC Asser Press, 2011); Erling Johannes Husabo, *Fighting terrorism through multilevel criminal legislation: Security Council Resolution 1373, the EU framework decision on combating terrorism and their implementation in Nordic, Dutch, and German Criminal law* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009).

the external relations of the European Community in the 1970s[6], and exhaustive works are now available on aspects such as the genesis and the first steps of European Political Cooperation (ECP), the coordination by the EC member states at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) or the evolution of the European Economic Community (EEC) engagement in development aid[7], convincing analyses of some crucial themes are still lacking, among which the relationship between the EC and some international organisations. This leaves a significant void not only in the study of the EEC/EU's external policies, but also in a more general understanding of the history of the European construction. Indeed, especially in the earliest years, some of these organisms gave a fundamental contribution to the integration process, either by stimulating specific political and institutional choices or, more concretely, providing know-how and technical assistance. During the first post-war years, the aim of the new UN technical organisations was the reconstruction of war-torn areas, of which the European continent had unquestionably been hit the hardest. As a consequence of the Soviet choice not to be involved in several UN bodies, for a number of years the latter focused their attention on Western Europe, where they "met" and influenced the newly-born European organisations. These developments have been largely neglected by historiography. The first part of this book aims exactly at beginning to fill the gap, in six chapters which deal with different issues but have the com-

[6] Simon J. Nuttal, *European Political Co-operation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

[7] A few meaningful examples: Daniel Möckli, *European Foreign Policy During the Cold War. Heath, Brandt, Pompidou and the Dream of Political Unity* (London: I.B. Tauris 2008); Gérard Bossuat, Anne Deighton, eds, *The EC/EU: a World security actor?* (Paris: Soleb, 2007); Antonio Varsori, Guia Migani, eds, *Europe in the international arena during the 1970s: entering a different world* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2011); Angela Romano, *From détente in Europe to European détente: how the West shaped the Helsinki CSCE* (Bruxelles: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2009); Elena Calandri, ed., *Il primato sfuggente. L'Europa e l'intervento per lo sviluppo 1957-2007* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2009). Emmanuel Mourlon-Druol, "Filling the EEC Leadership Vacuum? The Creation of the European Council in 1974", *Cold War History* 10/3 (2010), 315–39. Karen Gram-Skjoldager, "Never Talk to Strangers? On Historians, Political Scientists and the Study of Diplomacy in the European Community/European Union", *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 22/4 (2011), 696–714. A recent assessment on the historiography on the EC external dimension is in Giuliano Garavini, "Foreign Policy Beyond the Nation-State: Conceptualizing the External Dimension", in Wolfram Kaiser, Antonio Varsori, eds, *European union history: themes and debates* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 190-208.

mon objective to shed light on how far, through which channels and in which direction the UN system influenced the European construction from its earliest steps to the late 1960s.

Lucia Coppolaro, for example, treating the liberalisation of European trade in the 1950s and the creation of the Customs Union - the central issue of the integration process - shows the role played by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) in the path which led to the birth of the EEC. Even though, as Coppolaro says, at the beginning of the 1950s the GATT could not obtain a significant reduction of tariffs, it prevented European countries from compensating the elimination of quotas (accomplished thanks to the OEEC) by increasing customs duties. At the same time, the failure of both the GATT and the OEEC to achieve a significant reduction of customs duties persuaded the six member countries of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) "that only within a smaller and, therefore, more manageable framework would it be possible to reduce, or even eliminate tariffs, and guarantee the expansion of intra-European trade". The outcome was the Treaty of Rome and the creation of the EEC which, in spite of some evident incompatibilities with the GATT, proved to be instrumental in achieving the latter's objective of general trade liberalisation. First of all because it encouraged all the GATT countries to concretely deal with tariffs, and provided "the decisive push towards genuinely multilateral, across-the-board negotiations"; secondly, because the very existence of a single "trading bloc" instead of six different countries was one of the factors which in the early 1960s pushed the US to start the Kennedy Round; thirdly, because it brought about the general modernisation of European economies, increasing their competitiveness and therefore making universal liberalisation much more attractive to their eyes. In sum, as the author stresses, regional and universal developments on commercial topics were strongly interconnected with each other.

In the second chapter, Jean Crombois shows how a comparable connection existed in the monetary area, where, however, the contrast between the continental and global dimension was much more striking. During the war, strictly "European" plans had been drafted by groups of refugees in London, which clashed with the "universal" vision supported in Washington. These projects were abandoned after the signature of the Bretton Woods agreements and the creation of the IMF, to be resumed a few years later, during the initial phase of the cold war. It was, in particular, the French plans for economic reconstruction which, being based on solutions which were incompatible with the IMF rules, reopened the debate on the possible adoption of a European-only monetary agreement.

Notwithstanding the evident contrast with the international economic plans of the Truman administration, this latter was forced by political reasons to accept a regional solution, which concretised in the European Payments Union (EPU).

The attempt of the IMF Director, the Belgian Camille Gutt, to reconcile the international and continental plans, entrusting the Fund with the management of the EPU mechanisms, was not accepted by the most important European countries (*in primis* France and Great Britain), which preferred the easier to control Bank of International Settlements (BIS). As Crombois shows, even though the predominance of the regional solution ended in 1958 with the return to convertibility of the European currencies, the contrast between the two visions lasted much longer, and had one of its most evident moments during the following decade, with de Gaulle's attacks against the "asymmetry" of the Bretton Woods system and the central position of the US dollar.

The two following chapters, by Alessandro Isoni and Christian Henrich-Franke, also describe a contrast between the international and regional perspective, the first dealing with the debate on the institutional structure of the European communities, the second with the more specific issue of European regulation on telecommunications. Isoni shows how the League of Nations represented one of the most important "negative" references when the Treaty on the European Coal and Steel Community was drafted. More precisely, the author says, the failure of the League induced Jean Monnet, who had been its Deputy Secretary-General, to choose a supranational solution for the ECSC, taking inspiration from the model of the independent authorities created in the US during the New Deal. Monnet's vision, as the existing literature has largely emphasised, was first applied to the structure of the *Commissariat au Plan* established by the French government after the Second World War[8], but, as Isoni affirms, it sunk its roots into the experience of the League of Nations, paralysed by the veto power of the member states, and in Monnet's admiration for the pragmatic solutions adopted by the Roosevelt administration to shield New Deal policies from the attacks of the federated states.

Christian Henrich-Franke's chapter points out a rather different kind of relationship between European supranationalism and international organisations, showing how the very supranational character of the EEC institu-

[8] Among others: Eric Roussel, *Jean Monnet: 1888-1979* (Paris: Fayard, 1996); Pascal Fontaine, *Jean Monnet: actualité d'un bâtisseur de l'Europe unie* (Paris: Economica, 2013), Michel Adam, *Jean Monnet, citoyen du monde: la pensée d'un précurseur* (Paris: Harmattan, 2011); Sherill Brown Wells, *Jean Monnet: unconventional statesman* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2011).

tions was the element pushing the six founding countries to eschew any transfer of competences to the European level in the telecommunications field, and to opt for the creation of a European sub-regional structure in the framework of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), a body established in the 19th century and become a specialised agency of the United Nations in 1946. As the author points out, the possibility of creating a European body with regulatory powers was debated in the early years of the Cold War within the Council of Europe, where rather radical proposals were advanced, such as, for example, the merger of the national telecommunications administrations into a single European authority. The opposition of the British and Scandinavian governments prevented the adoption of any supranational solution, but the issue came back to the fore in 1955, during the EEC negotiations, when the Spaak Committee created a specific subcommittee to work on this topic. The debate continued after the entry into force of the Treaty of Rome, but the project of a supranational European telecommunications authority linked to the Community institutions clashed against the resistance of the national technocracies. The latter exercised tremendous pressure on their governments to stop them from surrendering sovereignty to an external body. As an alternative, they supported the creation of a "European sub-organisation to the UN/ITU", with the objective of keeping out any political interference and thus safeguarding the traditional technocratic predominance in the telecommunications field.

As described in Chloé Maurel's chapter, greater harmony was reached on the cultural issues dealt with within UNESCO, an organisation which ever since its inception looked with great interest at the European situation, collaborating directly with regional institutions created to promote the integration of the continent. While consecrating its activity mainly to issues pertaining to both sides of the Iron Curtain, such as the reconstruction of scientific and cultural institutions and the promotion of the East-West dialogue on these issues, UNESCO also supported some concrete collaboration projects with an exclusive "Western" focus. A good illustration of this point is the logistic and scientific support given by UNESCO to the creation of the European Organisation for Nuclear Research (CERN, in the French acronym) in 1953. Equally meaningful were a series of initiatives launched in the same year in collaboration with the Council of Europe and with the European Movement of Denis de Rougemont, aimed at spreading the knowledge of the common cultural roots of the peoples of Europe and at promoting the exchange of workers and the socialisation between youngsters of different countries, with the aim "to favour the emergence of a European spirit".

Even more influential was the interaction with the International Labour Organisation, described in Cedric Guinand's chapter. As outlined by Guinand, the unprecedented development of the social security systems in Europe after the Second World War happened in a rather patchy way. In fact, despite all the efforts deployed by the ILO during the interwar years to promote homogenous social security legislations, the systems of social insurance and social security built by the European states continued to be marked by strong national peculiarities. This represented a hindrance to the free movement of workers that was being planned in the framework of the economic integration of Western Europe and which – ever since the initial Marshall Plan discussions – was considered an indispensable complement to trade liberalisation, so as to even out the asymmetries of the European labour market. However, it was clear that such a move would only be effective if migrants could be guaranteed an adequate insurance coverage, as well as the possibility of accumulating pension rights accrued in different countries. Therefore, despite a relatively modest impact on the construction of national welfare systems, the ILO gave a significant contribution to the definition of a minimum European social security standard by working directly with organisations such as the Council of Europe, the ECSC and the EEC, on behalf of which it drafted a social security regulation for migrants. The Interim Agreements approved in 1953 by the Council of Europe, represented the first attempt at addressing the problems mentioned above, even if their actual efficacy was affected by the absence of binding provisions. Far more important was the European Social Security Convention for Migrant Workers, drawn up in 1957 at the request of the ECSC countries, but quickly turned the following year into the Regulations nos. 3 and 4 of the newly-born European Economic Community. These measures governed the matter during the 1960s, favouring the gradual implementation of the freedom of movement for workers of the six EEC member countries. It should be noted, as the most recent literature has shown, that the support of the Geneva-based organisation to the European co-operation organisms, both in terms of technical assistance and of support to legislation, included also other relevant issues, such as health and safety at work and vocational training[9]. It is nonetheless true that, for the reasons outlined above, the regulation of the themes described by Guinand represented a veritable pillar for the whole process of economic integration.

[9] Lorenzo Mechi, *L'Organizzazione Internazionale del Lavoro e la ricostruzione europea. Le basi sociali dell'integrazione economica (1931-1957)* (Roma: Ediesse, 2012), 115-191.

With the partial exception of Coppolaro's, the chapters mentioned so far show a mainly "descending" relation, i.e. they highlight the active role of UN bodies in shaping the integration process, through direct support or simply as a structural element of the international environment in which integration developed. This connection began to work inversely in the early 1970s, when the Community had become a well-established organisation and, by extending its powers to new significant domains, created the conditions for new relations with the organisations of the United Nations.

If, in fact, the main formal novelty of the early 1970s in terms of EEC external relations was the activation of the so-called "Davignon mechanism" which gave birth to the European Political Cooperation, the development of new competences on social issues or in the environmental domain put the Community even more in tune with the guiding principles that at the same time were emerging within the UN framework. The general context in turn favoured this new trend. On the one hand, the attenuation of the bipolar conflict and the weakening of the US hegemony stimulated Western Europe to assert its autonomy as a subject of global relations. At the same time the emergence of an increasingly vocal front of the developing countries which conducted their struggle for a New International Economic Order (i.e. for fairer North-South trade relations) mainly within the United Nations system, contributed decisively to make the UN an essential forum for a commercial bloc such as the European Economic Community (whose weight in international trade had further increased with the accession of Great Britain in 1973)[10].

In this context, the chapters of the second part analyse, on one side, the first formal steps in the direction of the establishment of a "single voice", and, on the other, the ways in which the Community dealt with specific themes and issues that were addressed within the framework of the UN at this stage, such as the reform of international trade, that of the information and global communications system and the environmental problems.

Sara Banchi's chapter evidences that the EEC entry into the UN as a subject with its own identity (in 1974 the Community was admitted to the

[10] On the UN and developing issues see, among others: Thomas G. Weiss, Tatian Carayannis, Louis Emmerij et alii, *UN voices: the struggle for development and social justice* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); John F. J. Toye, Richard Toye, *The UN and global political economy: trade, finance and development* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004). On the attitude of the European Community towards the quest for a New International Economic Order see Giuliano Garavini, *After Empires: European integration, decolonisation and the challenge from the global South, 1957-1985* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

UN General Assembly and to the UN Economic and Social Committee - the ECOSOC - with the status of observer) was, ultimately, the result of the crisis of the US hegemony, which opened the space for a greater European presence on the global stage, and, on the other hand, of the shift in emphasis of the UN action from security matters to those of development, which directly touched issues and interests (such as the Common Agricultural Policy) at the heart of European integration. At the same time, as Banchi reminds us, this strengthening of the European identity within the UN did not take place without internal conflicts, as evidenced by the Franco-Dutch disagreement on the degree of openness to the developing countries' requests of trade liberalisation in the agricultural sector.

Guia Migani's essay delves into the concrete debates on the New International Economic Order. One of the key demands of the developing countries was the stabilisation of the prices of their commodity exports. To this end, a series of negotiations opened up within the UN, in particular in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The chapter deals with the negotiations on the price of cocoa, an export product vital to the economies of many African countries associated with the Community. The essay demonstrates that the ability of the EEC to "speak with one voice" proved to be rather poor, despite the fact that the negotiations were investing a key area of the EC common policies such as trade policy. The division among member countries regarding the policy to be followed towards developing countries proved to be so deep and the degree of consensus around a common position so shallow that the Commission was forced to give up its prerogatives of exclusive representation in international trade negotiations.

In their chapter, Simone Paoli and Maria Elena Spagnolo deal with the debate on the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), a central aspect of the attempts to reform the international system brought forward in the UN during the 1970s. In opening their essay, they clarify that that debate cannot be read exclusively through the lenses of a confrontation between the capitalist North, on one side, and the developing South and socialist countries on the other. In fact, deep internal divisions characterised the two blocs, and especially the Western one. In this context, the European Community, when succeeding in overcoming the contrasts that divided Thatcher's Britain from its partners, managed to play a crucial role, by promoting some important initiatives at the negotiating table. In turn, the active participation in the debate over the NWICO also affected the internal cohesion of the Community, providing the governments of EC member states and the EC institutions with a stimulus to develop common policies in the sector of mass media.

Lorenzo Mechi reconstructs the relations between the ILO and the EEC in a long-term perspective, showing that, after a first phase characterised mainly by the ILO's technical assistance to the elaboration of the social aspects of the common market, the EEC increasingly became an active partaker of that relation, in which the question of labour standards progressively became the core element. This development mainly represented "an attempt at easing the pressures coming from global competition for cutbacks to European social policies", as Mechi writes. Also, from this point of view, the 1970s marked a decisive discontinuity, as they saw the rise of new competitors for European exports on the international markets. This pushed EEC members to look more and more at the ILO labour standards as a useful shield to defend the European workforce from the undesired effects of external competition. Thus, the EC's attention for the ILO conventions, which had initially focused only on their possible role in the legislative harmonisation prescribed by the Treaty of Rome, from the late 1970s came to be a constitutive part of the EC's external scene. A line which, in spite of the strongly market-oriented inspiration of the Monetary Union and the concomitant substantial marginalisation of the social dimension, has never been abandoned in the following decades, and to which the current economic crisis seems to give new popularity.

As a response to the growing anxiety amongst Western public opinion about the state of the environment, between the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s both the UN and the EC moved their first steps in the field of environmental policy, giving birth to an intertwined relation that was to last over the following decades. Laura Scichilone's chapter traces the history of this relationship, emphasising the establishment of a sort of "special relationship" between the two organisations regarding environmental issues. As explicitly recognised by the 1987 Brundtland Report, "traditional forms of national sovereignty raise particular problems in managing the 'global commons'". It is evident that in this perspective the EEC, with its supranational powers and institutional structure, appeared as the most suitable partner for the definition and implementation of global environmental policies. And, in fact, the EEC has been always very receptive towards proposals in the domain of environmental policies coming from the UN system. However, as evidenced by Scichilone, a genuine gap persists between the formal promotion of a "world ecological partnership" and the creation of political structures and plans capable of effectively putting good intentions into practice.

The third part of the volume is dedicated to the more recent trends and presents a less homogenous picture than the preceding ones. The relationship between European institutions and UN bodies, in fact, has lately been

characterised by the coexistence of different trends. First of all, as mentioned at the beginning of this introduction, recent years have witnessed a sustained development of mechanisms for coordination between EU countries, which nowadays operate on multiple levels and affect not only all the organisations of the UN family but also the individual institutions of the UN's central body: from the Security Council to the ECOSOC to the General Assembly and its commissions[11]. Secondly, recent dynamics bear some similarities with those described in the first part of the book with regards to the intervention of UN bodies on issues of direct interest to Europe. For instance, the central role played by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Eastern Europe's transition to capitalism brings to mind the technical assistance of the 1950s, if only because it was one of the main tools that paved the way to the adhesion of the former socialist countries to the EU and the single market[12]. All this was accompanied by forms of inter-institutional partnership, similar to those described in the essays of Mechi and Scichilone, but now extended to a large number of issues and organisations, such as the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), the World Health Organisation (WHO), and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)[13].

These three trends are all clearly visible, although to a different extent, in the two contributions by Jenny Raflik and Gonca Oğuz Gök and Emel Parlar, both dealing with the most classical and, at the same time, controversial issue relating to the EU external dimension: military and security policy.

Raflik mainly describes dynamics of the second kind, showing how, since the end of World War II, the UN's influence on European defence projects has deeply evolved. The author points out that at the San Francisco conference the possibility of regional agreements was included in the UN Charter only at the insistence of France, determined to build a strong European system to counter a possible German resurgence. It was then the

[11] See for example the essays constituting parts 1 and 2 of J. Wouters, F. Hoffmeister, T. Ruys, *op. cit.*, 9-168.

[12] Ronald H. Linden, ed., *Norms and nannies: the impact of international organisations on the central and east European states* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002); Rachel A. Epstein, *In pursuit of liberalism: international institutions in post-communist Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 30-106; Ben Fowkes, *The post-Communist era. Change and continuity in Eastern Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), especially 109-131; Susan Senior Nello, "The impact of external economic factors: the role of the IMF", in Jan Zielonka, Alex Pravda, eds, *Democratic consolidation in Eastern Europe, volume 2: International and transnational factors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 76-111.

[13] See most of the contributions in J. Wouters, F. Hoffmeister, T. Ruys, *op. cit.*

cold war and the new failure of collective security to give the impetus for the creation of regional alliances. This manner of conflict between the universal dimension and European security seems to have vanished after the end of the cold war. Indeed, although the Yugoslav wars have shown that NATO is the only structure with a true operative capacity, the EU has finally found its own role in regional security matters, mostly thanks to the UN mandates. Thanks to its various competences, the EU has provided, first of all precisely in the Balkan area, a complement to peace-keeping operations "with actions aiming at economic development, political reconstruction, (and) State's internal reforms including in the judiciary area". That is why the EU, "from the UN viewpoint, clearly represent(s) an added value", in spite of its lasting dependence on NATO's logistic support in military matters. In any case, also from this perspective, important steps forward have characterised the last ten years, with the deployment of operations such as Artemis, EUFOR Chad and Atalanta, all outside of the old continent and exclusively led by European forces. In Raflik's vision, the fact that every one of these operations was launched under UN mandates confirms the stimulus given by the multilateral organisation to the building of a European defence system and, more generally, its role in the "legitimisation of the EU as a global actor".

A conclusion not too different from Oğuz's and Parlar's, who stress how, exactly due to analogous dynamics, the relation between the two organisms is evolving towards a true partnership. Their analysis focuses on the years right after the Kosovo crisis, which they identify as a real starting point, not only for "the EU's efforts to develop its own foreign and security policy", but also for "an intensified UN-EU security cooperation". Since that moment, bilateral initiatives towards a stronger partnership have multiplied, with periodical summits and several declarations on the EU's commitment towards peace-keeping and civil reconstruction in the Balkans and in Africa. A commitment which started to materialise in 2003, with the EU Police Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Operation Artemis in the Democratic Republic of Congo and, in the following years, with the other mentioned operations.

All this, the authors recall, is in line with the general orientations established in 2003 by the European Security Strategy, and particularly with its idea of "effective multilateralism" as central goal of the EU international action. With this expression the Union defines its own commitment to the construction of "an effective system of global governance", made of accepted and appealable rules with the same strength as national laws. This implies a shared and legally solid international order, in which the international organisations necessarily have a fundamental role. It is clear, as

Oğuz and Parlar stress, that "effective multilateralism" tends to re-evaluate the role of both the EU and the UN, contributing to legitimise the former's external action and ensuring the means to adequately counter threats to peace for the second. And it is also clear, we can add, that its adoption as a strategic target represents the officialising of what has been said at the beginning about the European preference for a "regulated" international system with the UN in a central position. If, as the authors conclude, nowadays "the EU appears an indispensable partner of the UN in crisis management and conflict prevention", the path towards an ever tighter partnership will obviously remain strongly influenced by the structural limits of the European defence policy, first of all its substantial dependence from NATO and, even more, its strictly inter-governmental character. Without deep changes in these areas (which do not seem forthcoming), EU-UN cooperation could work only if it will not contrast with US policies and, most of all, if it will be unanimously supported by the EU member States. In other words, if the Union will finally be able to speak with one voice.

The two last essays of the book, by Julia Heydemann and Laurent Beauguitte, deal precisely with this issue, even if both with an empirical analysis of a "non-conventional" nature.

The first shows how the efficacy of coordination mechanisms varies strongly from an international organism to another, due not only to the different rules, but also to strictly "internal" reasons of the EU, such as the distribution of competences between the Community and the member States and, more generally, the existing balance of power on each specific issue. The author comes to this conclusion after an analysis of the debates on "access to medicines", an issue which, due to its multiple implications, is dealt with in four different international organisms: the GATT, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the WHO and the UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights. Retracing the negotiations since the 1980s, Heydemann puts into light the great difference between the results obtained by the EU in the first two and in the other two seats on the mentioned issue. Indeed, both within the GATT in the early 1990s and the WTO at the end of the decade, the Union worked efficiently: in the first case the result was a good final agreement, in the second, in a much less favourable climate, the WTO was saved from a failure thanks to the EU positions, which made a not so burdensome compromise possible. Aside from the undisputed European economic power, it was the relative homogeneity of interests within the EU (with the exception of agriculture, on which an agreement was hardly reached) and the exclusive competence of the Commission in commercial matters, that largely contributed to the outcome. For similar reasons, Heydemann says, the EU's "actor-

ness" was quite feeble in the other two seats, where the shared responsibility in health matters and the almost exclusive competence of the governments on human rights issues made things much more complicated, stimulating divisions not only between the member countries but also between EU institutions and even between different General Directorates of the European Commission. Divisions of which the other negotiating countries could take advantage in order to successfully counter the European positions. In this framework, the fact that the Union was not a full member of the UN (where only states are accepted), and that the EU countries were part of three different groups (Western Europe, Eastern Europe and Asia for Cyprus), certainly did not help cohesion.

Just this kind of factor contributes to explain the results of Beauguitte's research, in the last chapter of the book. In a sophisticated quantitative analysis, the author challenges the idea, which permeates most of the literature, that the increasing convergence of its member States' voting behaviour makes the EU a leading actor within the UN, with quite surprising conclusions. If the trend towards a growing cohesion is undisputed, Beauguitte stresses that it isn't at all a European peculiarity, but it characterises also other, even less integrated, regional groups, such as the ASEAN, the Rio Group and the Arab League. Each of these groups, in fact, in the last twenty years has had uniform positions in about 90% of votes, which is more or less the same record as the European Union. The author explains this general trend with "the end of the so-called bipolar world and the advent of financial and economic globalisation", which, he says, has induced all countries to invest "more than ever before in regional construction" and, as a consequence, to pursue uniform behaviours "even in a state-centric organisation like the UN General Assembly".

Nevertheless, Beauguitte continues, this outcome becomes much more nuanced if two factors are taken into consideration. The first is that it partly depends on the object of the resolution typically proposed within the General Assembly; the fact that 1/3 of them concerns the Palestinian questions, for example, largely contributes to the high cohesion of the Arab League, and probably also to explain some of the failures of European coordination. The second factor is that if also the debates without vote are taken into account, the situation appears quite different. In this case the EU appears much more active than the other three considered groups, and it is the sole one "to produce statements on all topics considered at the UNGA", with the only relevant exception of the reform of the Security Council.

Among the regional groups in the General Assembly, the author concludes, the EU is definitely the most cohesive and present in debates, even if

its cohesion on the most delicate issues is not higher than the average, being negatively influenced by the traditional cleavages between its member States, consequent to their established foreign policy guidelines (as in the case of the Palestinian question) or to different structural conditions (as for the reform of the Security Council). In short, a conclusion made of ups and downs, even if with several positive aspects, first of all the evident improvement in cohesion started in the 1980s and its stabilisation at a high level after the creation of the CFSP. A trend, moreover, which not even the successive enlargements of the EU seem to have questioned.

This conclusion can be applied to a certain extent to the whole history of the relations between the European construction and multilateral organisations, characterised by contradictions and stop-and-gos but in general with positive outcomes for both sides. Outcomes made of mutual legitimisation, consolidation of each other's role in the international system and, in the case of Europe, also of substantial contributions to the deepening of the integration process and to its path towards an ever more cohesive Union.

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