

The EU as an Actor in International Climate Policy: External Competence, Internal Procedure and Actual Practice

Consensus among many voices_

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- The '90s
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The '90s

- “Enabling conditions”: European assertiveness after 1989 coupled with US engagement
- Europeans’ interdependence open to threats to the “commons”
- Favourable... indeed, needing international rulemaking to foster EU-wide standards
- following science... and Germany

The EU till Kyoto

- Top-down targets and timetables
- Top-down (prescriptive) policies and measures
- Already proposing breaking the developed/developing countries dichotomy
- Reticence to emissions trading!?
- Paramount objective: securing the “bubble” approach

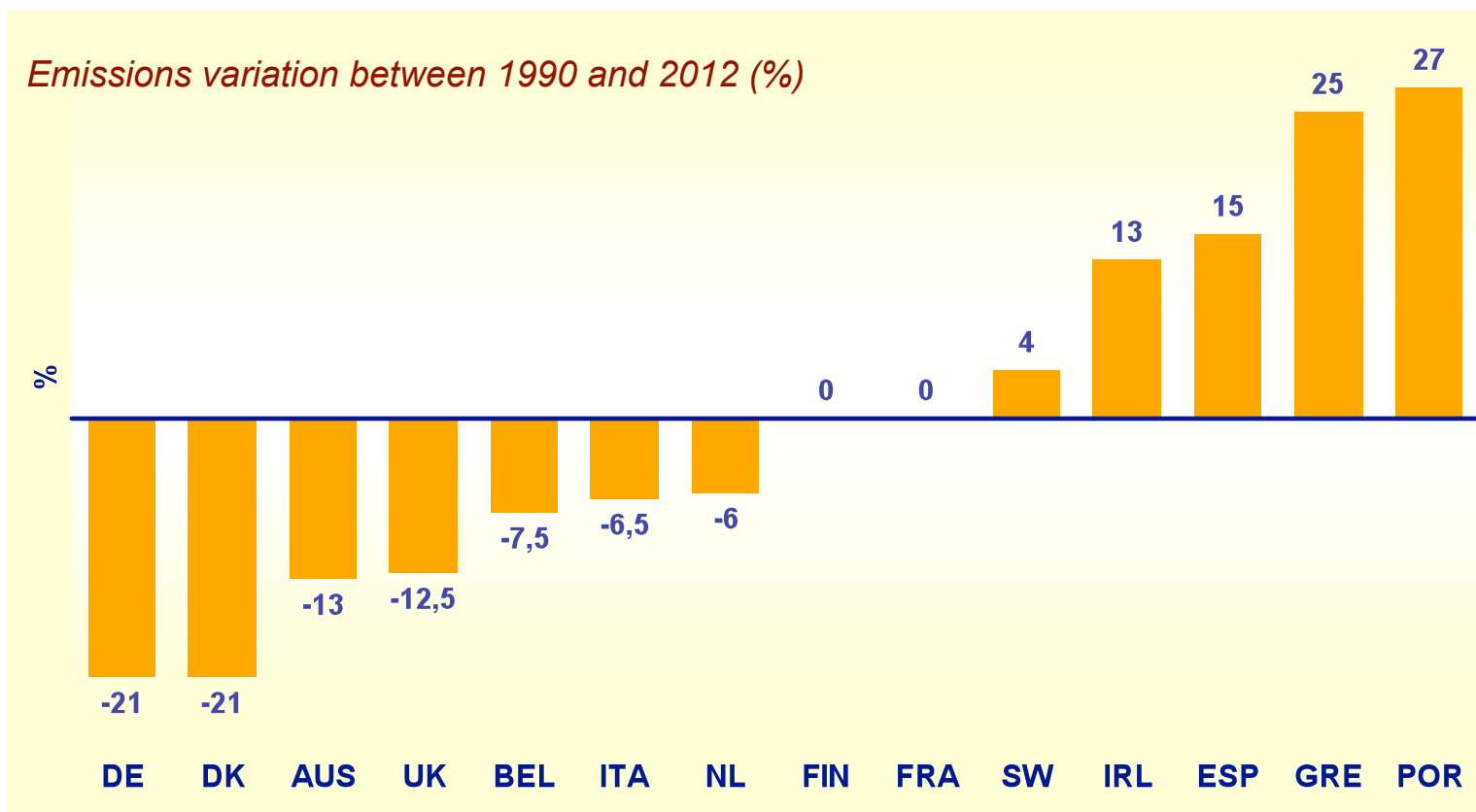
Where Member States stood?

- “Lead”* states: Germany (and CION)
- “Support”* states: (NL, DK, BE, AUS...)
- “Swing”* states”: UK; Italy; France
- “Veto”* (reticent) States: “Cohesion” countries (Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Greece)

* *Adapted from Manners, Ian (2000), substance and Symbolism:*

An Anatomy of Cooperation in the New Europe.

EU (15) commitments under Kyoto



Fonte Comissão Europeia

After Kyoto: External

- Holding breath to salvage the treaty: real unity at work... (despite Italy...)
- Stand-alone (haphazard) leader absent US
- Internalizing climate policy into EU (& MS) foreign policy
- EU 27: still united... but mixed messages
- Lisbon Treaty & CC

After Kyoto: internal

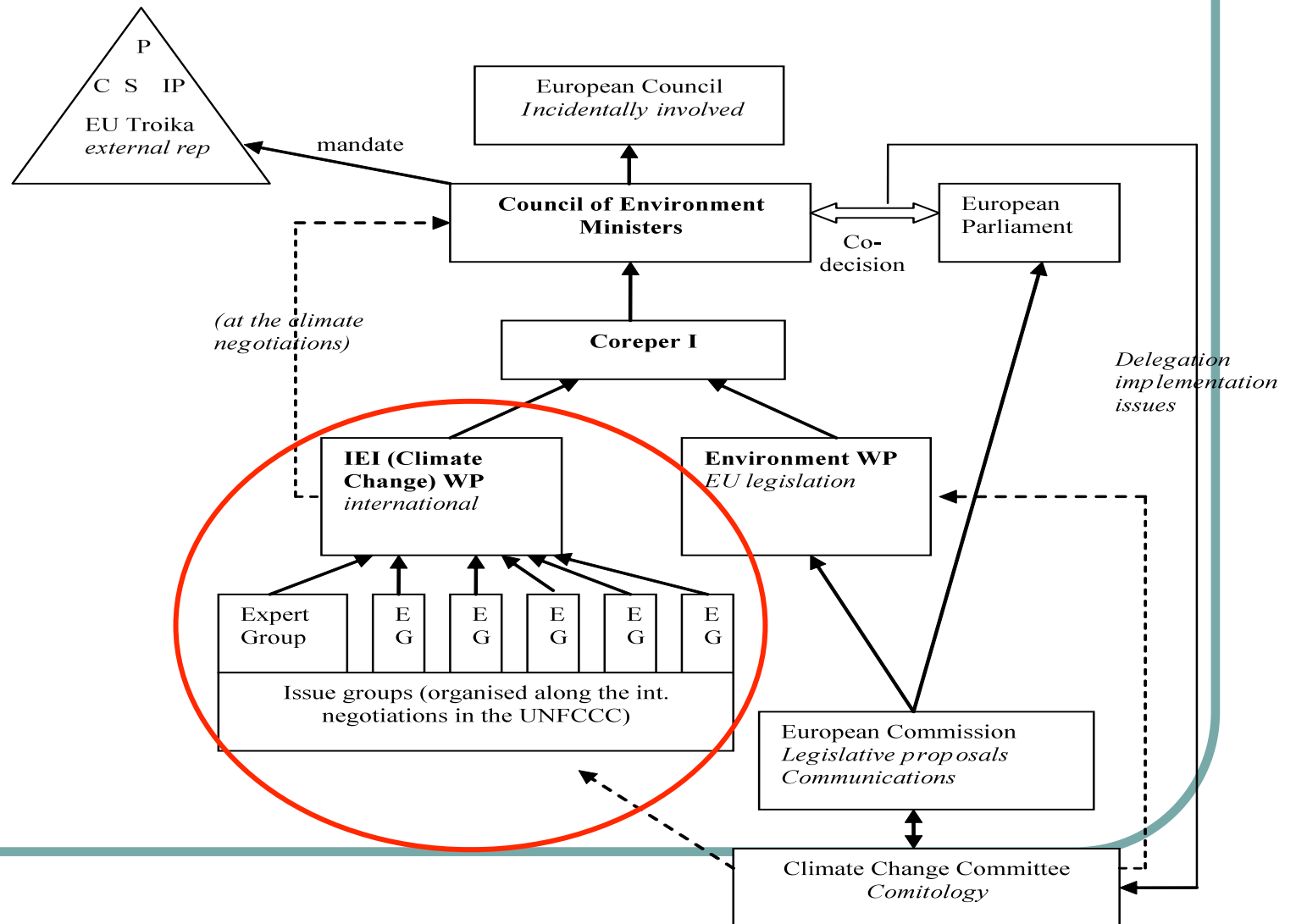
- EU ETS: major policy changer
- Commission's lead:
 - ETS,
 - Registries,
 - monitoring mechanism
 - Energy-climate package
- Realizing the potential for Energy-Climate as EU "forefront" policy

Where Member States stand?

- “Lead”* states: “EU15 – Italy. Nuances:
 - Unprecedented confluence btw big MS (DE, UK, FR, SP)
 - Overall ambitious P&Ms
 - CION more active than ever...
- “Support”* states;
 - Slovenia; Czech republic (in part)
- “Swing”* states”: Italy
- “Veto”* (reticent) States: Other New Member States

* Adapted from Manners, Ian (2000), *substance and Symbolism: An Anatomy of Cooperation in the New Europe*.

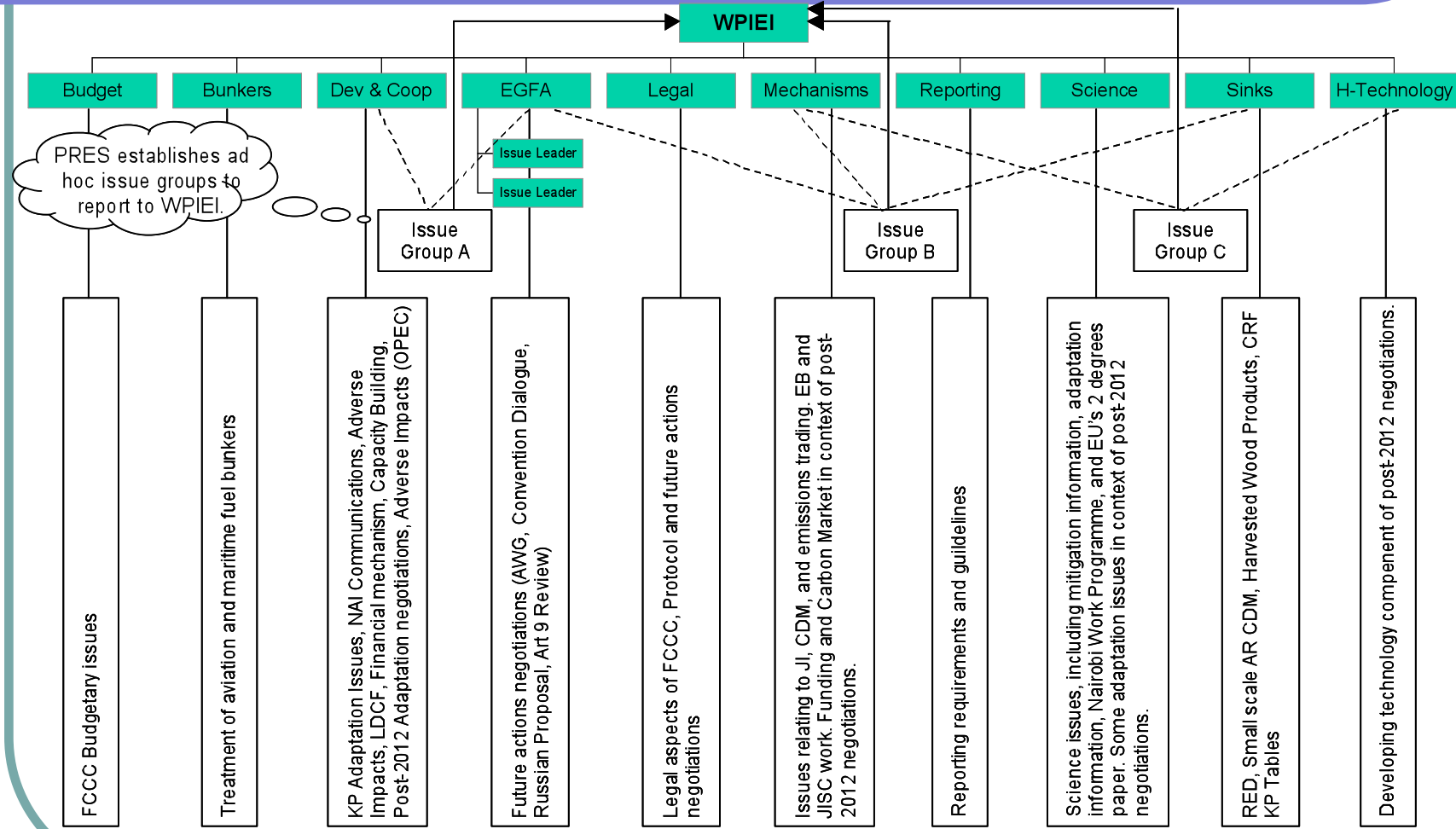
Case Study – Intl negotiations working arrangements



Before Kyoto

- No single MS can do it alone
- “mixed” competence dictates procedure
- Lacking transparency and effectiveness
- Presidency overcharge
 - DE sidetrack with “supplementarity”
 - UK & NL focused on outcomes
 - FR poor handling in The Hague
 - BE driving consensus
- Gradual ad hoc improvement from Kyoto to The Hague and Marrakesh

Complex structure... but necessary



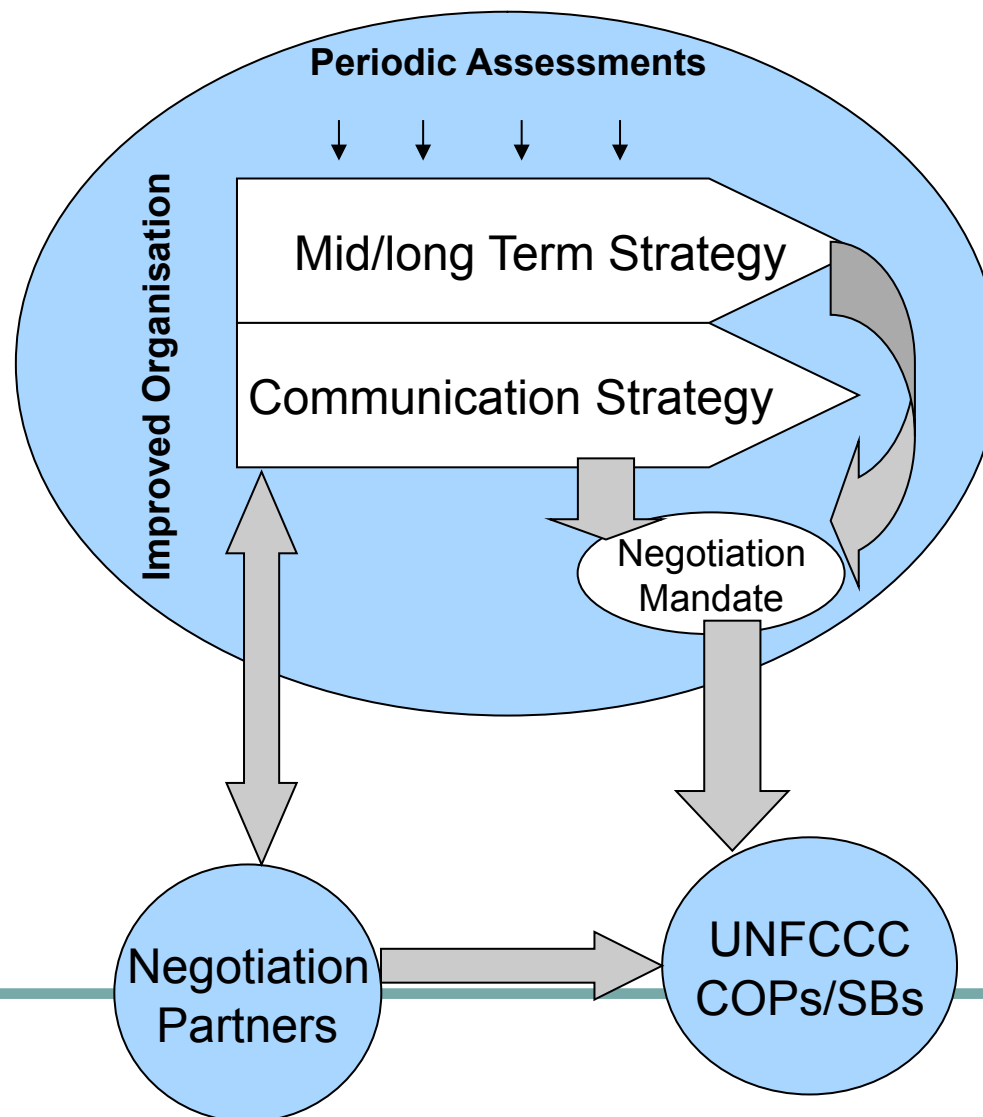
Recent changes...

- Irish Presidency lead
- “Informal formal” arrangement
- Ensuring consistency and effectiveness
- Have EU negotiators faces
- Have permanent back-up teams to support
- Linkages between subjects

Basic structure

- **Presidency**
 - Coordination and guidance
- **Lead negotiators**
 - Convey positions and prepare deals
- **Issue leaders**
 - Back LNs and interact with expert groups (and PRES)

Workflow...



Key success drivers

- Prepared Presidency
 - Clear objectives
 - Capacity to delegate on negotiators
- Supportive Commission
- Appropriate level WPIEI representation and strategic focus
- Sharp lead negotiators
 - More leeway for agreement: senior officials

Conclusions

1. EU climate policy is now both “domestic” and “international” policy
 - +10 years of P&Ms
 - ETS – 50% of emissions: an discernable interest
 - Leaders see opportunity for future EU policies on energy-climate
 - EU projected “soft power” is likely to increase (Lisbon Treaty?)

Conclusions (II)

2. Commission's assertiveness

- European dimension of challenge
- Power grab in the works?
- Still many areas (transportation, spatial planning) requiring Member State action

Conclusions (III)

3. (Some) Challenges

- Global microcosm? exceedingly hard to reach consensus with 27 MS
- Intellectual leadership: Basic, starting elements of EU global climate vision are there
- Example leadership: Energy-climate package agreement is key
- Economic crisis will influence short term (1-2 years)

Conclusions (IV)

4. (Selected) International position challenges:
 - Staying united as EU (no other option...)
 - “Comfort level” for “comparable efforts” for developed countries (i.e US)
 - Capacity to assertively push developing countries without alienating them
 - Can EU broker US-China or will it be sidelined?
 - Deforestation conundrum
 - Finance & Technology deal making (or breaking...)



Thanks!

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