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EU's Civilian Power Preference in the International System

Ferat KAYA

Dr., Dicle University, Political Science and Public Administration, feratkaya78@hotmail.com

Abstract

The EU, which aims at economic integration in Europe with a neo-functionalist approach and then moves towards political unity, did not focus on the foreign policy dimension. Duchene, who made a conceptual classification of the EU's effectiveness in the international arena in the 1970s, defined the EU as "civilian power". The EU, combined the common foreign and security policies in the Maastricht Treaty's second column, aimed to be univocal and more effective in the international system. The EU, preferring positive conditionally with diplomatic and economic assistance, aimed to be an effective actor in the international system. Although the EU has recently mentioned its name with military missions, it has preferred positive sanctions with economic aid, incentives and privileged trade agreements. This study concludes that the EU, which reinforces and actively uses civilian power instead of military preferences, is a civilian power.

Keywords: *European Union, Civilian Power, Foreign Policy*

Introduction

The EU is an effective player in the system due to its volume and efficiency in the international system. The intergovernmental and supranational structure of the group of states that constitute the EU and its reflections on foreign policy will be examined in this study. Various comments have been made regarding which power group the EU belongs to. Various definitions have been made regarding whether the EU is a civilian power, military power or a normative power. Due to the changing structure of the EU in world politics and the changing world conditions, the definitions of which power group it belongs to have been changing continually every day. In this

study, it is tried to explain what kind of power structure the EU has, especially through civilian power.

In the first chapter, the definition of power and its types in the international literature is mentioned. The EU tries to be effective in the international system with an emphasis on civilian power by focusing on cultural and economic arguments in foreign policy. The EU emphasizes the civilian power that it uses effectively, by establishing broad and cross-linking in the field of foreign policy. Therefore, the EU's emphasis on civilian power is explained with examples in the second part of the study.

The EU allocated a place to the common foreign policy and security part in the second column of the Maastricht Treaty and started to concentrate on studies in this field after this period. While the EU emphasizes its normative and especially civilian power, it does not want to put military power into the background. While the EU mainly uses its civilian power, it supports this with its normative power and wants to have military power in terms of deterrence. A civilian force not supported by military force cannot achieve the desired effect. The EU wants to consolidate its effectiveness by placing civilian power on the main axis and using its normative and military power together with it. Although foreign policy, which was an intergovernmental issue in the first years, has been in an effort to transform into a supranational structure in the following process, as in the Lisbon Treaty, the EU has tried to carry out an effective policy in the world conjuncture, especially by bringing the concept of civilian power to the forefront. The EU emphasizes civilian power in its foreign policy and tries to be an effective actor in the world by emphasizing the reconciliation and economic procedures and the aid provided to third world countries.

Power in International Relations

The meaning of power, which is believed to be one of the basic concepts in international relations, is not clear. Thucydides' work "The Peloponnesian War" is regarded as the starting point of international relations theories. Thucydides points out that war is not a coincidence and the key word is power. According to Nye (2004, p. 1); "*Everyone depends on power and talk about it, but few understand it. Just as farmers and meteorologists try to forecast the weather, political leaders and analysts try to describe and predict changes in power relationships*". Holsti

(1964, p. 179) defines power as the will to direct the other party's behavior in line with his own purposes through various strategies such as punishment, reward, coercion and persuasion.

A universal definition of power could not be made due to the variable nature of the game according to the rules, environment, actors and problematic contexts. The concept of power, which is identified with the realist approach, actually has an important place in idealist approaches. Idealist approaches argue that power can be carried out using non-war and especially economic methods. In realism, it is believed that power can be explained by rough concrete implementation (Wendt, 1999, p. 97). Morgenthau (1956, p. 4) stated that states' ambition for power stems from human nature, saw human beings as a selfish entity and argued that states act with the same logic. Waltz (2010) based the conflicts between states on the anarchic structure of the system instead of the human nature. Other approaches differ from realism by emphasizing separate points instead of brute force in their definitions.

International relations, by their nature, are not based solely on the rules of law, but also require states to have a concrete power of their own. For this reason, states keep themselves safe by keeping their concrete power-based forces ready. Although power is so widely used in the international conjuncture, it lacks a completely measurable criterion and content.

Power should not only be understood in a military sense, but also how the power is used as is the geographical conditions of the country, its natural resources, population, national characteristics. Factors such as whether a country has a coast to large seas and whether the landforms are mountainous, plain or barren are effective in this respect. Academicians, who have made remarkable studies in the field of geopolitics, have tried to define the concept of power by adapting the geographical conditions to politics with different priorities. Mahan (1980, p. 25-89) emphasized the importance of sea power, stating that a country that dominates the seas would dominate the world. Spain established a great empire in the 16th century, the Netherlands in the 17th century and England in the 19th century by dominating the seas with this philosophy. Today, it is seen how the USA, undertakes this mission, has attached importance to naval power in military and economic terms.

Mackinder's "Heartland" theory emphasizes land power over naval power. In this sense, the theory put forward by the ruler of Eurasian super continent (Eastern Europe) for world domination as dominating the world draws attention to the importance of geographical determinism (Mackinder, 1944, p. 113). The fact that a country is surrounded by mountains or

plains also creates changes in the attitude towards the country in both economic and military terms and is a criterion that determines the power of the country to a certain extent. Along with the landforms, the mathematical position of the country also affects the power structure by affecting the climate.

Underground and aboveground resources are also important factors affecting the power of a country. Today, the phenomenon of oil, which determines the wealth of Arab countries and increases their development capacity, is an important phenomenon in affecting world politics. In 1973, it was seen how the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries/OAPEC affected the world with the sudden increase in oil prices and was observed that the member countries could use oil as a weapon when necessary. Western States have reduced their dependence on oil against this power, have tried to turn to alternative energy and found a solution by entering into relations with other oil producing countries. As can be seen from these examples, there is no simple and single explanation to power.

On the other hand, explanations based on the elements of power or the resources owned are also insufficient. Because the elements owned or controlled may not always have political consequences associated with power. It should not be forgotten that one cannot be strong by holding the elements of power. As given in the examples above, it should not be misunderstood that countries with geographic or underground wealth are powerful or possess power. What matters is how, by whom, and to whom power is used. Therefore, power emerges as a relative concept.

The fact that the concept of power cannot be dealt with in a simple way is understood better when the subjects are seen to be broad and comprehensive. For these reasons, power is a sophisticated subject that cannot be explained with concrete and universal values, and unhealthy results can be achieved when its depth is ignored. Holsti (1995, p. 125) states that there are various ways for an actor to influence or sanction another actor; “offering a reward, giving aid similar to a reward, making threats, non-violent punishment and use of force”. According to Robert Dahl (1957, p. 202), who made a general definition of power, to the extent that A can do something that B would not otherwise do to B; A is power constant over B. In this definition, power requires conflict because power can exist when the resistance of the other side is overcome. This is why power and conflict are thought together. In the power relationship, the phenomenon of dependency comes into play and thus A gains the opportunity to affect B. The

unbalanced and unfair distribution of resources and the selfishness and greed of human beings come to the fore in power relations. According to Hales (1993, p. 20), power sources have three basic common features; “they are scarce, not substitutable, and important”.

In addition to having an effective power in the world, there must also be the ability to use it. In this sense, there is a big difference between the power of the EU in total and the power of the USA. Especially after the World War II, it is seen that the USA has increased deterrence by showing its power effectively when necessary, and the EU has not reached the desired level in this sense. Since the EU could not be effective in the Bosnia and Herzegovina that took place alongside in 1992, the incident was resolved with the intervention of NATO. The fact that the opposite country knows that you can use your power and impose sanctions is a determinant in the attitude of that country. It also includes using violence when it comes to being strong. This strength should not be considered only in military terms, the economic infrastructure that will support it should also be strong.

We cannot explain the concept of power with a phenomenon that includes the concept of coercion. In order to direct the behavior of other actors in the desired way, positive and negative sanctions, namely the method of reward and punishment, can be applied. The EU generally prefers positive sanctions. While doing this, the EU tries to apply it by emphasizing especially economic aids, incentives, and privileged trade agreements. It is seen that the EU has such an attitude towards developing or underdeveloped third world countries.¹ Although the EU has attempted to impose sanctions such as an embargo with negative penalties against other countries, it has not achieved the desired level of success. Positive reinforcement rather than negative reinforcement has always been a more effective element.

An important issue to be considered regarding the concept of power is; while all conflict situations generally involve power, not all power relations involve conflict. Although power is tried to be explained with conflict, it can also be identified with cooperation in some areas. The collaboration is usually implemented by a third actor. From a general perspective, it can also be called power for the third actor who intervened to force the two existing actors to come to an agreement, that is the thesis that all conflict situations involve power continues to be true. Attaching a great importance to cooperation, the EU is trying to use its power actively with positive reinforce.

¹ The Lome Convention is an example.

Civilian Power of the EU

In EU countries, which realize democracy, trade, national satisfaction and regional integration, almost peace and tranquility prevail. Although the EU saw minor security threats within itself, it was able to overcome it. After the problem in the Balkans, which is its closest neighbor, was resolved, the closest threat to the EU has moved away from the Caucasus. Thus, the EU can allocate resources for development and deal with its own problems more easily. Due to these achievements, the EU has become more carefully monitored by other countries of the world after the 1970s. The EU aimed to increase its influence and create a trade area by spreading its initiatives in the field of economy to the world.

Civil power, as its name suggests, means “power” follows non-military demands. Smith (1973, p. 19) called “civilian power is a structure that does not involve military intervention, and puts forward economic, diplomatic and cultural policy instruments against it”. Emphasizing the civilian power of Europe, François Duchene (1973, p. 19) stated that “most of the EU's civil power is based on economic power and a small part is based on military power”. There is an ambiguity as to where the limits Duchene gave for specifying this amount or drawing the boundaries end. In addition, with the establishment of the European Security and Defense Policy within the scope of the 1999 Common Foreign and Security Policy/CFSP, this thesis of Duchene has led to debates.

In this process, Duchene; emphasizes that “if military power is made for humanitarian values or the continuity of peace, this force should be legally qualified as a civilian power”. Whitman (2002, p. 4) states that the EU, which goes to increase its military capacity, also protects its civilian power. An actor using military instruments, can still be a civilian actor, is emphasized. Stavridis (2001, p. 43); “*emphasizes the necessity of being a military power in order for the EU to become a civilian power. The biggest obstacle for the EU to fail in the Balkans, Bosnia and Kosovo and bring its civilian power to the fore is that the EU did not have sufficient military power*”. Therefore, strengthening the military power of the EU will provide the greatest support to become a real civilian power. In order to be successful in action plans for democracy and human rights, it is essential to have a military capacity to support this. On the other hand, Smith took care to keep the terms civilian and military separate so that there would be no ambiguity.

Maull refers to cooperation to develop international responsibilities. Maull (1990, p. 92-3), defines the civilian power as; *“the power that states should cooperate with other states in order to achieve their international goals, and while doing this, they should exclude or underemphasize military power and they should especially rely on economic power and to be active in the international arena by creating a supranational structure”*. In the sum of these definitions; civilian power is a power that includes a structure that is not military or has little military emphasis, includes economic sanctions, and refers to cooperation with democracy.

The EU tries to develop a civil international identity by having many actors such as Council, Commission, Parliament and Summit. Increasing the presence and power of civil institutions within the community structure, the EU both draws a democratic image and takes important steps towards integration. For this purpose, the EU Parliament, which is directly elected by the people, is the only democratic body. In this structure, which protects the interests of the Union instead of protecting national interests, groups are divided according to political views rather than countries. Likewise, the Commission, which undertakes the task of the executive body of the Union, does not take instructions from the member states and carries out its duty independently. The EU member states hope that their ideal democracies and peace-reconciliation cultures set an example for other states by providing the necessary support to these civil institutions.

Hill states that in the “stick and carrot” dilemma, the EU prefers “carrot” more. Positive conditionality is expressed with a carrot, and in this proposal, as long as the recipient complies with the conditions, the actor country provides a certain amount of benefit to the other party, offers development aid and establishes trade links. In the “stick”, which includes the negative condition, if the receiving party does not do what is desired or does not comply with mutual agreements, it includes restriction of benefits, diplomatic pressure and ultimately punishment. The US relies on the negative conditionality (stick) argument, while the EU emphasizes the positive argument (carrot). In the 2004 Annan referendum, the EU did not prefer the stick as a solution and accepted Cyprus as a member state instead of punishing. In the 2004 process, which was the biggest enlargement of the EU, the EU tried to spread economic and democratic peace against nationalism by expanding south and east (Hill, 2002, p. 98).

One of the foreign policy tools the "stick" and the “carrot” should not be perceived as only military support or economic support. While training the armies or police of other world

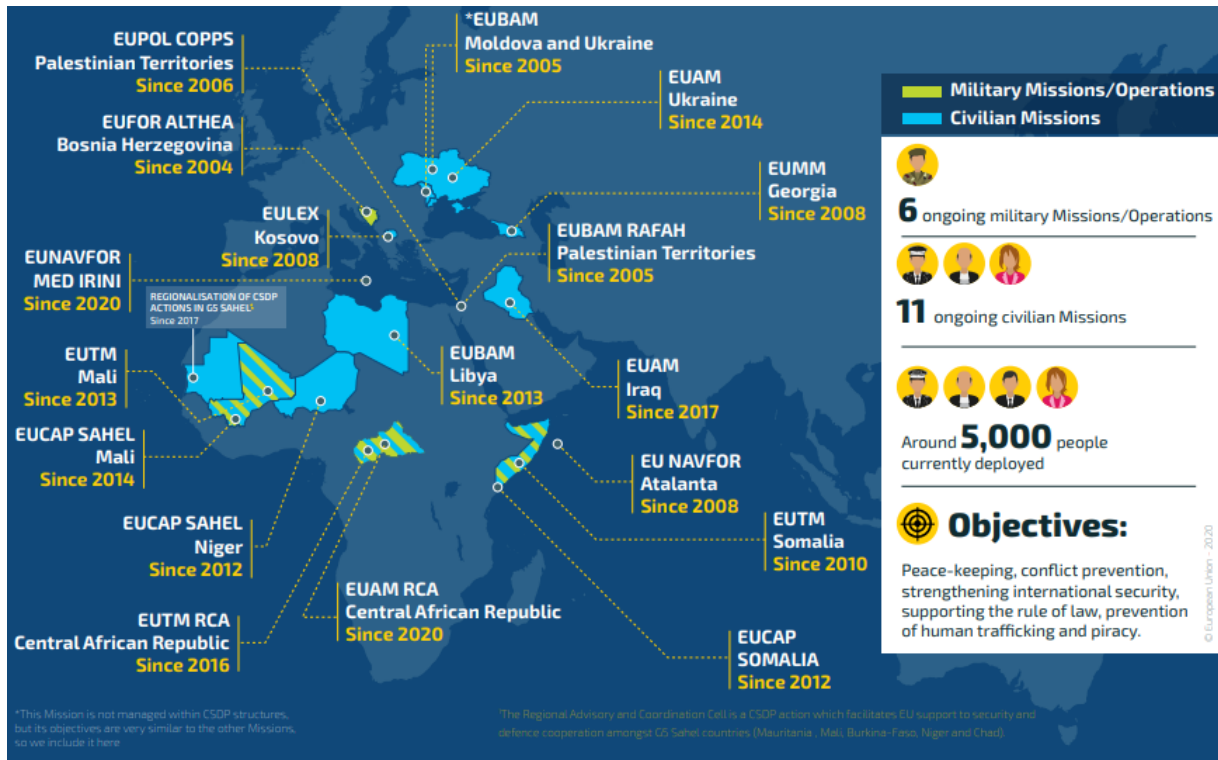
countries means military support, trying to fix the finances of a country means economic aid. But the military support provided actually serves as a support kit for the development of democracy. Therefore, this reinforcement, called military aid, actually serves as an argument for civilian power. The EU, which provides economic, technical, humanitarian and military support to Palestine, has helped the Palestinian administration stand on its own feet by implementing this support system simultaneously. The EU aimed to increase the success rate by accelerating this process by offering different supports for the Palestinian administration to become an independent state. Hill (1990, p. 43) draws attention to the importance of persuasion and reconciliation and states that the EU tries to achieve its goal by using diplomacy and economic tools, pushing or with a certain pressure power. Even if it is not a civilian force, peacekeeping forces and humanitarian interventions should not be considered as military forces. Maull (2005, p. 701) states that using military force for humanitarian intervention or defense does not have a negative effect on civilian forces. Diplomacy, economic support, emphasis on human rights, technical and military support are all important arguments in characterizing the EU as a civilian actor.

The power best represented by the EU in foreign policy is the civilian power. In his speech, Romano Prodi emphasized that “the need for the EU to guarantee its own strategic security and to create a civilian power for sustainable global development” (European Commission, 2002). The EU, which has seen great wars, aims to consolidate its power and be active in the world by highlighting this structure, which is based on reconciliation and economic aid to third world countries. Moravcsik (2002, p. 418) describes the EU as the “Silent Superpower” because “the EU is effective in war and peace, enhances democracy, improves trade, peacekeeping and foreign aid”. Morevcsik also stated that describing the EU as “Silent Superpower” is perhaps an early diagnosis that the EU carries out the peace and democracy formation processes slowly and that the agreements are based on long-term periods.

The EU brought its military power to the forefront especially after the 90's and started to create certain formations together with NATO against the security risks developing in Europe. Many military powers under NATO control were transferred to the military formations established by the EU. The “War Groups” (Pop, 2007) developed by the EU in the military sense within the scope of the European Security and Defense Policy have been brought into a position to intervene immediately in any crisis anywhere in the world. The EU intervened in the war

between Uruguay, Rwanda and Congo in 2003 on its own initiative without NATO. For the first time, the EU used its military power outside of Europe as full authority with Operation Artemis. Although it was stated that the EU emphasized military power with this operation, it was stated that this operation was carried out together with the UN and included the multilateralism that is effective in the civilian power of the EU.

Table 1. EU CSDP Missions and Operations 2020



Source: EEAS, 2011-2021.

After the EU created the CFSP, there were discussions about whether this policy would be a European Foreign Policy. Many thinkers have stated that after the CFSP, the EU can no longer be considered a civilian power (Holden, 2009, p. 9). In international relations, question marks have arisen regarding what kind of policy the EU will develop and how it will act as an actor. CFSP remained in an intergovernmental structure due to its place in the second column of the EU and thus prevented it from establishing the desired power in the international arena.

The fact that the EU takes place in almost all international organizations (economic, humanitarian) has enabled it to form a power on the international stage. Although its capabilities are limited due to the slowness of its institutional structure, the increasing influence of the CFSP in recent years has supported its civilian power. The EU has been trying to be active at the

diplomatic level in preventing conflicts, establishing peace and humanitarian missions with the CFSP since 2003. As part of the Common Security and Defense Policy/ CSDP, the EU has carried out 36 operations using civilian and military vehicles in three continents (Africa-Europe-Asia) and various countries. Today there are 17 CSDP missions and operations, 11 civil and 6 militaries (Table 1.). The EU has made good use of organized civil arguments in this sense. The uniqueness of its economic power, wide-ranging partnership agreements, its emphasis on human and environmental rights have enabled the EU to become an effective actor in terms of civilian power.

There are criticisms about whether the EU is a civilian, military or normative power. The EU has clearly emphasized the civil and normative power until today. The fact that the EU is the number one institution in the world in terms of aid donations, includes multilateralism and consensus, which are the most basic features, emphasizes its civil power. After the 1970 oil crisis, the EU saw that military power alone was not sufficient in the international arena. Many politicians attribute the EU's effectiveness in the international arena to its commercial and diplomatic weight rather than its military power. The contribution of diplomatic relations to the solution should not be ignored with the economic solution policies instead of compelling arguments with civilian power. Therefore, it uses diplomacy as the basic principle in civilian power.

The Community has succeeded in becoming the voice of the developed world through diplomacy in the post-Cold War era, creating stability in Western Europe, managing world trade, relations with the south. The EU has succeeded in bringing civil power to the fore and getting involved in international relations with diplomacy and economy with these powers. For these reasons, the EU does not consider emphasizing military power as an effective foreign policy. As politicians have pointed out, the reason why the EU does not emphasize military power while turning to civilian power is not because of its low war power, but because it emphasizes democracy, trade, foreign aid and peace development. For these reasons, at the center of the EU's civil power; trade relations, charitable donations, regulated economic relations are essential components of this power.

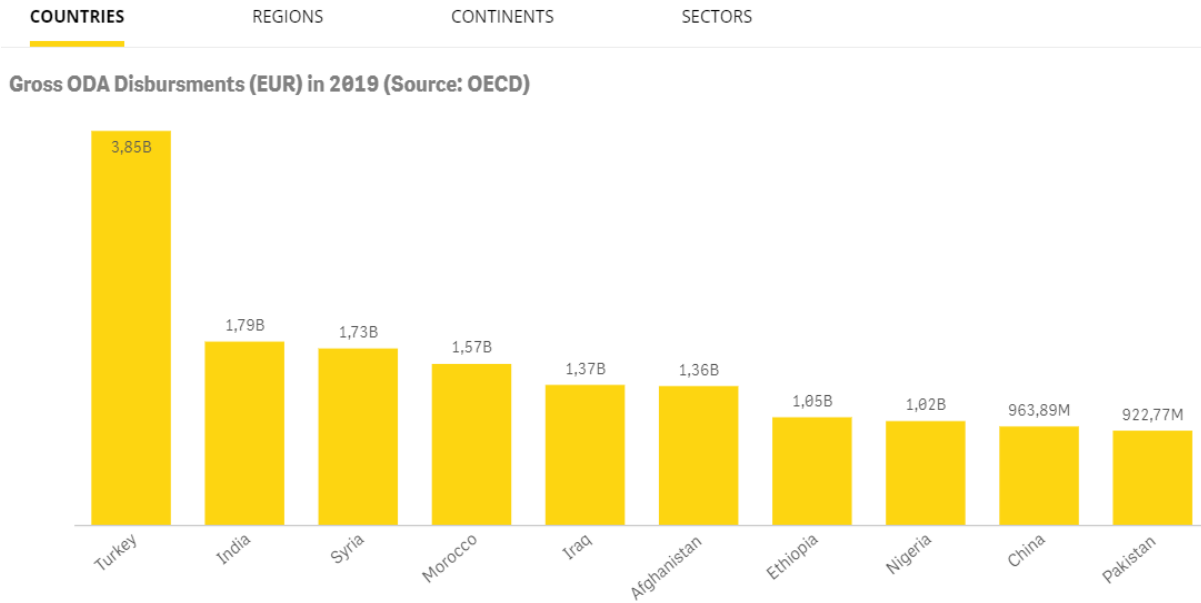
The EU has increased its influence on the WTO by improving its international trade volume since the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995. Looking at the rate of exports in the world, five of the nine largest exporters are EU member states such as Germany,

France, Italy, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Although China's exports are spoken, Germany can export as much as China by producing more robust products every year.

The EU has the power to play a major role in world trade relations with its developing economy. The EU has achieved harmonization with the tariffs of the Customs Union, tariffs and quotas, and started to act as a single block in the WTO. The EU's growing economic presence has allowed to develop a bilateral trade form and equal capacity with the USA. The EU has a strong voice in the world in economic relations with the USA. The EU has great commercial power and the largest economy in the world. In addition, the Euro, which started to be used in 2002, is used as the second most traded and second largest reserve currency in the world after the US dollar. Although the power of the EU is limited due to the lack of unity, the EU has strengthened its hand against international formations such as WTO and IMF with this currency.

The EU has played an active role in aiding third countries. The EU is the largest donor in the world, helping around one hundred and forty-five countries and donating over 50 billion Euros annually (European Commission, 2021). On the other hand, the amount of donations of the USA remains around 20 percent. In the post-cold war period, the EU helped Central and Eastern Europe to improve their economies by contributing to the economic reform process. The EU also provided assistance to Afghanistan, providing one third of financial support. The EU Commission has also provided substantial support to education and social programs in Afghanistan. (Klaiber K, 2007, p. 10).

Table 2. Countries Benefit from EU Support



Source: European Commission, EU Aid Explorer, 2020.

The EU made the biggest aid to Turkey in 2019 in the world (Table 2.). The EU, which finances humanitarian aid projects for the refugee problem in Turkey, has supported more than 80 humanitarian aid projects with 22 partner organizations since 2015 (European Commission, 2021, p. 1). While the USA is reluctant in aid to the Middle East, these regions survive to a certain extent with the support of the EU. The EU has played a leading role in aid sent to Palestine. The EU has been the strongest and most consistent advocate of international law and institutions. The European fund is two and a half times higher than the UN's peacekeeping fund (Moravcsik, 2009, p. 9). EU member states have signed almost all international agreements that are still in force.

One of the preferential agreements signed by the European Union with some countries within the scope of the preferential trade regime is the “ACP (Africa-Caribbean-Pacific) Convention”. The Lome Conventions, which form the basis of the EU's development assistance programme; were multilateral agreements that provided partnership with overseas countries and regions and included commercial, industrial, financial and technical cooperation. The first Convention in the process that has evolved into Economic Partnership Agreements today was signed in 1957 with the aim of linking the French-speaking overseas countries and regions with the European common market and ensuring the economic and social development of the mentioned countries and regions. The countries covered by the agreement were given the opportunity to enter the

EEC market without tax, and the European Development Fund was established to provide financial assistance to these countries.

The “Yaounde Convention”, which established financial, technical and commercial cooperation between the Community and 18 African countries, that were the colonies of France and Madagascar, and created preferential tariff area between the parties, was signed in 1963 (European Community Information Service, 2006, p. 6). This Convention extends the scope of the European Development Fund to help and compensate for the fall in prices of basic products in exceptional cases, by providing for African countries to strengthen their economic structures and industrialization and participate in international trade through regional cooperation. Between the EU and the ACP countries, the Cotonou Agreement began to be used instead of the Lome Conventions between the years 2000-2020. The "post-Cotonou" agreement, covering 79 ACP countries, was initiated in April 2021 (European Council, 2021). Cooperation between the EU and ACP countries continues under the headings of commercial relations, climate change, sustainable economic improvement and development, migration and mobility, peace and security. The EU will provide 79.5 billion Euros of support to the ACP partner countries through the Neighborhood, Development and International Instrument within the scope of the 2021-2027 long-term budget (European Council, 2021). This relationship continues to develop on the condition that democracy and human rights are getting stronger. The EU, by having the right to impose economic and financial sanctions on third countries, uses the economy as an effective tool for power, can have a say on countries with threats such as reducing aid and suspending it. It is seen that the EU uses the economy and aid as an effective tool.

The EU aims to improve relations with an emphasis on human rights and democracy, as well as improving trade relations in its relations with the East in recent times. The EU has signed trade and investment agreements with all Middle East and almost all African countries except Jordan. The EU has used simple trade agreements, abolition of custom in certain areas, economic cooperation agreements, partnership and development assistance type agreements. The EU tries to stay in contact with third countries economically by using the common commercial policy and common customs tariff.

The EU has also signed extensive partnerships and agreements around the world. The EU has determined common strategies with Russia, Ukraine and the Western Balkans, and has carried out the formations for the European Mediterranean Partnership (Barcelona process) and the

Middle East peace process. The EU was formed during the Mediterranean Partnership process, when it decided to engage in a constructive dialogue with its former colonies in North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean, rather than dictating certain policies (Kurtbağ, 2003, p. 74). The new synergy developed between the two sides includes the effort to respond to the economic, social and political needs of the Mediterranean countries. Commercial conveniences and privileges such as customs exemptions and removal of quotas have been provided to these countries by making bilateral non-preferential trade and partnership agreements with these countries. Although these agreements are important steps towards free trade in the region, they were insufficient in terms of implementation. The Community's insufficient foreign policy powers and the economic and social concerns of the member states in order to protect the domestic industry against foreign competition played an important role in the meantime. Although these partnerships made by the Community without thinking carefully, did not give the desired result at first, in the following process it was tried to be overcome by developing a more effective Mediterranean Policy. Initially these agreements were emphasized economically, this area was later expanded to include improvements in science, energy, technology, nature protection, international crime and human rights.

Multilateralism is an important argument in EU civilian power. The EU has increased this influence with new multilateral legal agreements on compliance with conventions such as the Kyoto Protocol, the Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention Protocol, and the Ottawa Convention banning landmines. In 1990, the EU increased its international efforts on the environment and climate with the decision of the Luxembourg Environment and Energy Council. It has pioneered in increasing international cooperation by making intense efforts to protect the environment and climate and to attract international attention and awareness. The European Climate Change Program was created and developed in integration with other economic sectors within the scope of the EU Sustainable Development Strategy.

The EU has made a great contribution to the establishment of regional stability, liberal democracy and prosperity in the enlargement of Central and Eastern Europe. Although the EU is dealing with geographical, cultural and institutional problems, it has used all important civilian arguments such as trade, aid and development with the enlargement process, and this process has provided good examples of the importance of civilian power. Especially after the end of the 1989

Cold War, the power of the EU created an attraction for the states in Central and Eastern Europe and 12 new member countries wanted to take part in this.

The EU provides legal, financial, diplomatic and military support through political and economic reforms and resolving conflicts that may arise in its own environment by developing an active neighborhood policy. The EU does not only offer this support to the countries that will become members, but also the countries like Morocco and Libya, which are further away and have no possibility of membership, or the countries such as Ukraine, Moldova and Albania, which are less likely to become members. The EU has also been involved in problems in different parts of the world. The EU has played an active role in the ceasefire negotiations in Georgia. The EU, assumes important functional roles and is in direct contact with other regional organizations, is the leading diplomatic power in Africa and a major player in Latin America.

The EU, the major provider of development assistance, one of the WTO's biggest supporters, and its global opposition to death penalties puts its emphasis on civilian power. The EU leads the world by emphasizing its environmental awareness with the Kyoto and Paris Protocols. In the United Nations Security Council, the EU emphasized the necessity of creating an international cooperation for the protection and development of international law and the continuation of international peace and security. The EU, wants to spread certain non-military norms, has been a party to the creation of a certain democratic system with the aid it has made and the democratic decisions it wants to be implemented.

Conclusion

The EU, which did not give much weight to foreign policy in its establishment years, turned to the economic field with a neo-functional logic in the first period. The EU, which showed the desired success in the field of economy, started to focus on political integration with the deepening and enlargement movements. Even the presence of the EU in the international environment is a factor affecting the international structure. The economic successes of the EU after 1970 attracted the attention of all the states of the world. When the EU started using its own financial resources to meet the expectations, it faced a serious capability problem. In the following process, there has been a decrease in the expectations of other states, which could not get their expectations from the EU. As the gap between capability and expectation widened,

European foreign policy has been relieved, and this has enabled an increase in capabilities and a decrease in expectations (Hill, 1993, p. 321).

The EU opened the topic for foreign policy in its second column after having gained a three-column structure with the Maastricht Treaty. The EU, restructured its foreign policy and security fields with the Lisbon Treaty, appointed the High Representative for Foreign Policy and Security and assigned to carry out the CFSP of the Union. The process operating in an intergovernmental and supranational structure in foreign policy prevents the EU from acting fast. Therefore, the EU has difficulties in making an integrated and effective decision in foreign policy.

Although it is stated that the EU has a "civilian foreign policy", it is seen that it is not a completely civilian power, because the EU has emphasized its military and normative power in many cases. It should be noted that the EU cannot be described as a military power, as it does not prioritize military power like the United States and gives importance to civilian arguments. The EU cannot be considered as a normative power either, since its own policies are not so effective that they cannot meet the universal norms. The best thing to define the EU is that the EU has a power that makes up the entirety of these forces and enables it to be more than itself. The EU's foreign policy is greater than its total. While the EU has taken its place as a soft power on the world stage with its normative and civilian power, it has also shown its hard part with its military power in recent years. While talking about military power, the EU should not be thought of like the USA.

The EU is an effective actor because it has an active position in the world in the economic field. The EU especially signed bilateral commercial partnership and cooperation agreements around the world, also plays an active role in organizations such as the IMF and WTO. The EU, which uses economic aids-sanctions and development aids effectively, tries to achieve results with only soft power elements with the least risk. The EU has used both positive and negative conditionality in the civilian power process. Positive benefits are promised if a state fulfills the required conditions, and includes suspension or termination of benefits when it does what is undesirable. The EU is an important actor that exists on the world stage with its civilian power and uses it actively with its effectiveness in international trade, its economic aid and multilateral agreements.

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