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**Emerging Power in Global Governance?:
EU Partnership with the UN System in Development
and Humanitarian Cooperation**

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the partnership between the European Union (EU) and the United Nations (UN) System concerning development and humanitarian cooperation. Converged policy frameworks among donor agencies/organizations, the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals helped stakeholders share objectives and methods toward development cooperation. It can be said that global governance exists in this policy area. In recent years, the UN has come to regard the EU as a “natural” partner in addressing development and humanitarian issues. This paper begins by examining the EU-UN partnership to show that global governance is reinforced by the partnership. It then evaluates the EU (EC) as the emerging power in global governance based on the development of policy framework within the EU and its increasing financial contribution to the UN System.

Key words: EU-UN partnership, Global governance and power, Development and humanitarian cooperation, EU/EC external relations, UN System

1. Introduction

In the study of international relations, it is considered that global governance can not be realized and maintained without non-state actors such as international organizations and NGOs¹. Empirical studies on individual international organizations have successfully showed that they are important players of global governance. They create and diffuse discourses and norms². These discourses and norms have been finally accepted by national governments and have changed states' behaviors³.

However, we have come to understand that many issues are deeply interrelated (e.g. trade and environment) in today's world, and the international organizations that are in charge of those issues have to cooperate to address the problems effectively. It has become necessary to study global governance brought by the intertwining of international organizations. How do international organizations cooperate with each other? How are discourses/norms that frame states' behaviors created and reinforced through their collaboration? To address these questions, this paper analyzes partnership between the European Union (EU) and the United Nations (UN) System in the fields of development and humanitarian cooperation.

Some official documents published by the UN in recent years tell us that the UN regards the EU as a "natural" partner (United Nations System in Brussels, 2006: 6). What is a rationale for "natural" partner, and what is a scope for the partnership? How was the

¹ Study of international relations has long been seen as *inter-governmental* (Kjær, 2004: 59) affairs. However, growing economic interdependence since the 1960s, internationalization (globalization) in world economy in the 1990s, and global concerns which emerged after the end of the Cold War, changed the view. We have come to understand that world order is created/maintained although we do not have world "government" (Rosenau and Czempiel, 1992), and that non-state actors such as international organizations and NGOs rather than states play more important roles in addressing world problems. It also became clear that globalization in political, economic, financial, environmental and military dimensions raised new concerns/problems that needed to be addressed (Rosenau, 1995; Keohane and Nye, 2000; Keohane and Nye, 2001). Global governance is to set up global frameworks that address these new concerns caused by globalization (Kjær, 2004: 60).

² For the relationship between norms and discourses, see Finnemore (1996). She argued that norms create patterns of behavior in accordance with their prescriptions and that norms might be articulated in discourses (Finnemore, 1996: 22-24).

³ For example, see case studies by Finnemore (1996).

partnership formed? What will the consequence of collaboration between the EU with twenty-seven member states and the UN System be? Has global governance in this policy area been reinforced by the EU-UN partnership?

To address these questions above, first, this paper examines how the UN System established and diffused its practices in development and humanitarian cooperation (section 2). Through the 1990s, policy frameworks of the UN System and major donors became converged. It seems that the world began to share the objectives and methods toward development cooperation in the twenty-first century.

Secondly, this paper focuses on the partnership between the EU and the UN which started at the beginning of this century (section 3). Rationale and scope of partnership between the two bodies seem to uphold the global governance in this policy area. However, their partnership can be described strategic rather than “natural” if we carefully look at the development of the EC’s⁴ development policy and the EU’s arrangement of the EU-UN partnership. So, thirdly, it describes milestones of the EC’s policy framework and collaboration with the UN (section 4).

Lastly, this paper introduces the EC’s increasing contribution to the UN System with aid statistics (section 5). Increasing amount of financial contribution as well as the development of policy framework within the EC will show us the EU-UN partnership is more than “natural”. In fact, the EU might play a much stronger role than merely upholding global governance in this policy field.

2. Global Governance in Development and Humanitarian Cooperation

It was in the 1990s when the basis of today’s policy framework in development and humanitarian cooperation was established. International donor agencies and organizations began to revise their policy framework to improve the effect of aid and to manage their

⁴ The EC stands for the European Community. The EC is a body of the EU, and it is in charge of economic issues such as market integration and monetary unification. It is also a legitimate body of the EU for concluding international agreements and it has some independent external economic policies.

limited financial resource effectively. In the end of the 1980s, they found that their aid had improved the situation in East Asia drastically while there was not much improvement in Sub-Saharan Africa. They also found that they cannot expect peace dividend after the end of the Cold War, because developed countries did not increase their contribution due to *aid fatigue* and private capital did not flow into Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC)s⁵. They needed new aid strategy and practice to address these challenges.

The World Bank, a body of the Bretton Woods Institutions, for example, revised its development policy framework through the 1990s. It reaffirmed poverty reduction was its priority objective and began to focus on institutional aspect of development (e.g. good governance and anti-corruption) as well as actual situation in recipient countries when helping developing countries⁶. Similarly, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), another body of the Bretton Woods Institutions, had kept pace with the World Bank⁷. Their efforts resulted in Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) which are adopted at the annual meetings between the World Bank Group and the IMF.

CDF emphasized on taking comprehensive approach toward multidimensional nature of development⁸. It also requested donors to respect ownership of partner/recipient countries and asked partner/recipient countries to seek for partnership with donors, civil society and NGOs. PRSP is a documented poverty reduction plan which HIPC)s and the countries indebted to the International Development Association (IDA)⁹ have to submit to

⁵ For detailed description of the situation with aid statistics, see Pincus and Winters (2002), pp.5-8.

⁶ For the shift of policy in the World Bank, see World Bank (1992, 1997, 2003); Ohno (2000); Oshiba (1995).

⁷ For detailed explanation and description of the IMF, see Yamashita (2005), pp.306-307.; Ninomiya (2005), pp.328-333.; Ohno (2000), pp.33-46.; IMF (1997).

⁸ "Multidimensional" means all of the elements in development such as economic issues, structural issues, governance and environment, are interrelated.

⁹ The World Bank Group consists of the IDA, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and three other bodies. While the IBRD is financed by the world's financial markets, the IDA is usually financed by developed countries. (In the IDA, donors have meetings in every three years to reach agreements for replenishment of IDA funds.) Low income countries are supported by the IDA, as they are not eligible to borrow money from the IBRD.

the World Bank and the IMF. It requested partner/recipient countries to respect the principles of ownership and partnership.

The UN agencies, funds and programmes also address poverty reduction. For example, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), a subsidiary organization under the General Assembly and also known as the publisher of the *Human Development Reports* and the founder of the Human Development Index, helps developing countries improve vulnerability of people and promotes sustainable human development. It focuses on six areas: establishment of democratic governance, poverty reduction, crisis prevention and recovery, environment and energy, treatment and prevention of HIV/AIDS, and the empowerment of women. UNDP also covers issues related to democracy, while the Bretton Woods Institutions do not due to their non-political character provided in their agreement.

Similarly, many organizations and the UN agencies, funds and programmes have assisted developing countries within their mandates. Soon it became clear that their collaboration was necessary. In 1997, the Secretary General of the UN founded the United Nations Development Group (UNDG) in order to promote the communication among organizations in the UN System so that they would work as a “system” to implement development assistance effectively.

Collaboration among donors was not seen only in the UN System. Bilateral donors (developed countries) also addressed improvement of aid effectiveness in the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In the DAC, donors are requested to promote effective international support and to respect partnership and ownership in helping partner/recipient countries (DAC, 1996 and 1997).

These efforts yielded results in 2000. At the General Assembly of the UN, a resolution known as the Millennium Declaration is adopted. It covered: Development and Poverty Eradication; Environmental Protection; Democracy and Good Governance; Protection of the Vulnerable; and Meeting the Special Needs of Africa (General Assembly, 2000). Following with the Millennium Declaration, the UNDG released the Millennium

Development Goals (MDGs) in the same year. The MDGs set eight major goals¹⁰ to be achieved by 2015 and urged stakeholders (donors, partners, civil society, NGOs and citizens) to improve global partnership in assisting LDCs and HIPC. These goals and targets were thought to be effective for assessing achievement and improving global partnership for poverty reduction.

As for monitoring achievements, global engagement for aid effectiveness was further developed in the International Forum for Aid Effectiveness. After the International Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey, multilateral/bilateral donors and partner countries gathered in Rome for the High-Level Forum on Harmonization in February 2003. The Rome Declaration, concluded at the meeting, reaffirmed their commitment to eradicating poverty and achieving sustainable economic growth and development. It also emphasized that donors are to be aligned with the recipient's priorities, and that their efforts are to be adapted to the country's policies, procedures and practices to facilitate harmonization¹¹. Two years later, donors and partners met again at the Paris High-Level Forum and concluded the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. The Paris Declaration provided a framework to improve the effectiveness, development results, quality and impact of aid. Both donors and recipients were expected to be mutually accountable. The Declaration also developed twelve indicators so that it would be easy to measure the progress¹².

The Millennium Declaration and the MDGs contributed to make development efforts and goals clearer for stakeholders, while the High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness promoted collaboration and division of labor among stakeholders. As a result, donors, partners, civil societies, NGOs and citizens have come to share objectives and methods to

¹⁰ They are: 1) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; 2) Achieve universal primary education; 3) Promote gender equality and empower women; 4) Reduce child mortality; 5) Improve maternal health; 6) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; 7) Ensure environmental sustainability; and 8) Develop a global partnership for development.

¹¹ <http://www.aidharmonization.org/ah-wh/secondary-pages/why-RomeDeclaration>; <http://www.aidharmonization.org/secondary-pages/editable?key=106> (accessed on October 6, 2008).

¹² <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/11/41/34428351.pdf>; <http://www.aidharmonization.org/secondary-pages/Paris2005> (accessed on October 6, 2008). In September 2008, the third High-Level Forum was held in Accra, Ghana.

support LDCs/HIPCs. A successful situation where stakeholders come to have common targets and guidelines for achieving their goals indicates the existence of global governance in the field of development cooperation.

3. “Natural” Partners: Rationale and Scope of the EU-UN partnership

As described in the previous section, international organizations/agencies in the UN System came to be concerned about effective management of resources and hammered out similar policy frameworks in the late 1990s. They also tried to work as a system, directed by Secretary-General Kofi Annan. Aided by the similar trend in the DAC and the Millennium Declaration, they succeeded in providing the world with the MDGs. It proved that global governance exists where bilateral/multilateral donors, recipient countries, civil society and NGOs share their objectives and practices.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the UN began to seek for a partnership with the EU. The EU is a regional organization in Europe with twenty-seven member states. It promotes completion of its internal market and facilitates common actions in external policy. As for foreign economic/trade policy, the European Community (EC), which is an organization of the EU and is in charge of economic issues, acts in the international arena. Why did the UN System seek for a partnership with the EU (EC)? Where and how was the partnerships sought for? How will the partnership affect existing global governance in this policy area? In order to assess the first and second questions above, this section briefly describes rationale and scope of the EU-UN partnership. The third question will be discussed in the following sections.

A report published by the UN stressed that the EU and the UN were “natural” partners (United Nations System in Brussels, 2006: 6), although their partnership was remarkably developed at the very beginning of the twenty-first century. The report said that the UN and the EU (“Commission” in original) are united by shared values/principles, objectives and responsibilities and that the core values of the UN had also been the foundation of the European Integration project at the inception. The report also said that the EU has made it

clear that democracy and human rights are universal values (United Nations System in Brussels, 2007: 10). The EU's and the UN's shared values/principles originated in the provisions outlined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the values provided in the Millennium Declaration (ibid.: 4, 10; United Nations System in Brussels, 2006: 6). Their shared objectives in development issues were outlined in the MDGs; it implied that the EU-UN relationship would function in the domains of humanitarian assistance, development cooperation and conflict prevention (United Nations System in Brussels, 2007: 10-12). Their shared responsibility is seen in their strong commitment to the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness which provides an outline to improve quality and effectiveness of aid with stronger accountability (ibid: 12).

In order to accomplish those objectives and fulfill their responsibilities, their cooperation covered a wide range of domains: 1) Governance and human rights; 2) Agricultural development, trade and market access; 3) Education, child protection, water & sanitation, and health; 4) Crisis prevention, recovery and reconstruction; 5) Emergency relief and humanitarian action (United Nations System in Brussels, 2006)¹³.

Ownership and participation were also regarded as important in the EU-UN partnership. Their comprehensive approaches were overlapped by international efforts as was described in the previous section. The rationale and scope of the partnership literally show that the EU-UN partnership upholds the global governance in the fields of development and humanitarian cooperation.

Then, why and how has the partnership developed? Did the EU just accept the existing objectives and methods of development cooperation already established by the UN System? The next section describes the milestones of EC development policy and cooperation with the UN.

¹³ The report published in 2007 (United Nations System in Brussels, 2007) focused specifically on the humanitarian aspects of the EU-UN partnership: 1) Human rights; 2) Emergency relief and humanitarian assistance; 3) Crisis prevention, reintegration, rehabilitation and recovery; 4) Education, health, water and sanitation; 5) Food Security, rural development, trade and small enterprise development; 6) Democracy, the rule of law and the sustainable management of cultural heritage and the environment. For another series of activity reports of their partnership, see the reports of the Secretary General of the UN. For example, see General Assembly (2004), para.61. and 253.; idem (2005), para.64.; idem (2006), para.67.

4. Milestones of EC Development Policy and Cooperation with the UN

After the end of the Cold War, we have witnessed that the international organizations engage in global issues such as underdevelopment, sustainable development and international trade. The EU attempted to address these issues vigorously. However, it had to overcome two major obstacles to attain its goals. One obstacle was that there was fragmentation of external policy between the EU and its member states as they separately pursued the same issues. Another obstacle was the invisibility of the EC in the international scene despite the fact that the EC was one of the principal donors to the UN agencies, funds and programmes¹⁴. This section will describe the milestones of the EC's development policy¹⁵ and those of the EU-UN cooperation to evaluate the nature of their partnership in the fields of development and humanitarian cooperation.

The EC's development assistance together with trade policy and foreign (political/security) policy are the components of EU external relations. The Treaty of the European Community (TEC) provides that the Community's development assistance policy shall foster the sustainable economic and social development, the campaign against poverty, and the smooth and gradual integration of the developing countries into the world economy (article 177). It also declared that three-Cs (Coherence, Co-ordination and Complementarity) are the principles of the EC development policy¹⁶.

Although the three-Cs are stated in the TEC as the principles of the EC development policy, division of labor between the EC and its member states is not accomplished. In order to prevent policy duplication and to maximize the impact of the EC's assistance to the recipient countries, the EU issued some policy documents in the late 1990s. They were to streamline the development policy within the EC.

In order to enhance *operational* coordination between the EC and its member states,

¹⁴ The EC does not contribute to the general budget of the UN itself, as the EC is not a sovereign state and is not a legitimate member of the UN.

¹⁵ This section does not describe the details of politics itself within the EU (between the EU and the member states), due to the scope of this paper. For an excellent study of the politics of foreign aid between the EU and its member states, see Carbone (2007).

¹⁶ For a comprehensive study of development of the EC's development policy, see Maeda (2000).

the Council of the European Union representing the member states issued a communication document (Council, 1998). The Commission also issued a communication document which encouraged enhancement of policy complementarity between the member states and the EC to obtain a higher profile in the international arena (CEC, 1999). The Commission took one step further in April 2000. It issued the document which provided a framework of the EC development policy (CEC 2000).

The document emphasized the EC development policy should be consistent with the comprehensive approach established by the World Bank, the IMF and the DAC. The Commission refocused the EC development policy on poverty reduction, and also identified some issues where the EC's action could provide added value: trade and development; regional integration and co-operation; support for macroeconomic policies and the promotion of equitable access to social services; transport; food security and sustainable rural development; institutional capacity building including good governance and the rule of law. Other issues such as human rights, sustainable environment, gender equality, ownership and participation, were also taken into consideration.

The Council supported the position of the Commission and they endorsed a Joint Statement on the EC development Policy in November 2000¹⁷. Thus, the policy framework within the EC became closer to the comprehensive framework adopted by the World Bank, IMF and the UN System. Member states confirmed the scopes and levels of *operational* coordination between the EC and themselves again at the General Affairs Council held in January 2001. In the same month, the Europe Aid Co-operation Office, an agency which is in charge of external aid of the EC¹⁸, was established.

Collaboration between the EC and the UN was accelerated after they adopted the

¹⁷ Joint Statement of Council and Commission, "The European Community's Development Policy – Statement by the Council and the Commission" (10 November, 2000). After the statement was released, the Commission regarded the EU's role as promoting human rights and democratization in third countries (CEC, 2001a). The Commission also regarded poverty reduction as the main objective of the EC development policy and called for democracy and good governance to achieve successful development. Good governance, as well as human rights, democracy and rule of law were seen as indispensable for effective aid management. Such way of thinking toward development was emphasized again in a document issued in 2003 (CEC, 2003a). See Inoue (2006), pp.88-90.

¹⁸ Humanitarian activities, pre-accession programmes and the Common Foreign Security Policy were excluded from its tasks.

document for effective partnership in 2001. The Commission issued a document to discuss an effective partnership with the UN in the fields of development and humanitarian cooperation (CEC, 2001b). The Commission considered that the UN had a strong international legitimacy and operational capability based on the fact that the UN had developed numerous agencies, funds and programmes to address development and humanitarian issues (ibid.: 3). It also considered that underdevelopment and poverty in their multiple aspects were at the root of many conflicts and called for the exercise of global responsibilities (ibid.), and that the activities of the EC had a long tradition in this domain. The document said that these considerations stated above were the rationale for strengthening its relationship with the UN¹⁹, and that the Commission regarded development and humanitarian affairs as the first step for effective, efficient and coherent partnership with the UN (ibid.: 2).

However, the document also pointed some constraints on the effective partnership at political/policy-making and operational levels. It said that the constraints came from the EC's weak status among the UN agencies²⁰, less effective coordination within the EC (between the EC and its member states), and lack of systematic framework such as contract or agreement on the project and financial management with the UN²¹.

Thus, the Commission called for a more transparent, financially predictable, and easily-monitored partnership with the certain UN agency, fund or programme. It provided some recommendations both at the policy and operational levels.

At the policy level, the Commission called for speaking "one voice" whenever possible. This means policy coordination and coherence between the EC and its member states at the UN level, and strengthening Commission's participation in the UN agencies, funds and programmes (ibid.: 11-12). In order to discuss development issues and to enhance policy coherence and coordination within the EU, the representatives of the member states

¹⁹ In this document, definition of the "United Nations" is limited to agencies, funds and programmes of the UN. It excludes the IMF, the World Bank and WTO. This document also carefully excluded security and peace issues, as those issues belong to the Common Foreign Security Policy, the domain the EC does not have mandates (CEC, 2001b: 2).

²⁰ Usually, the EC (EU) merely has observer status in the UN agencies, funds and programmes except for the FAO.

²¹ For detailed arguments on constraints at the policy and operational levels, see CEC (2001b), pp.4-6.

started to hold the General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC) since June 2002.

At the operational level, the Commission called for a “shift of EC’s funding measure”, from case by case basis to programme funding. Later, in April 2003, the EU and the UN signed the Financial and Administrative Framework Agreement (FAFA). It allows funding of multi-donor UN operations on a basis of result-oriented, rather than input-oriented approach to achieve EU’s effective financing and operation²². The Commission also requested itself to analyze the mandates and comparative advantages of the UN entities so that the EC could define areas of common interest and match their key capacities to the EC policy priorities (ibid.: 12-13).

While the constraints on the effective partnership both at the policy and operational levels were addressed, the partnership itself was expanded to security issues. The Secretary-General of the UN and the Presidency of the Council of the European Union signed the Joint Declaration on UN-EU cooperation in Crisis Management in September 2003. They welcomed the existing cooperation between the EU and the UN in the area of civilian and military crisis management and the measures in order to enhance the cooperation further²³.

Before the declaration, the Commission issued a document titled *The European Union and the United Nations: The choice of multilateralism* (CEC, 2003b). It declared that the commitment to multilateralism was the central strand of the EU's external action and that the EU regarded the UN as the backbone/pivot of the multilateral system (ibid.: 3, 23). On that basis, the document analyzed the EU works in/with the UN to assess its effectiveness in helping the UN deliver global governance in the fields of sustainable development, poverty reduction, security and peace.

The document highly evaluated the cooperation with the UN System, which was already seen in a wide range of areas, especially in development/humanitarian issues. However, the document indicated that the EU could do more in the area of international

²² For detailed explanation of the FAFA, see Wouters, Hoffmeister and Ruys (2006), pp.391-392.

²³ http://europa-eu-un.org/articles/en/article_2768_en.htm (accessed on September 26, 2008)

peace and security. On that basis, it encouraged more effective contribution to global governance (multilateral system) with the UN. It should be noted that this document began to touch on the peace and security aspects of the EU-UN cooperation²⁴. The document regarded conflict prevention and crisis management as the intersection of the development and security agendas (ibid: 13). Such way of thinking was different from the scope of the document issued in 2001 (CEC, 2001b) which did not cover the security issues.

As was described above, comprehensive partnership between the EC and the UN was developed at the beginning of the twenty-first century. In addition to FAFA, the EU also attempted to establish partnership with the UN agencies, funds and programmes. In 2004, the EC adopted Memorandum of understanding (MoU) with the UN agencies such as UNDP, WHO, ILO and FAO²⁵. For example, the agreements with the UNDP defined political governance, post conflict resolution and conflict prevention as the areas of policy dialog and programming cooperation²⁶. Specifically, the partnership covers the areas of governance, conflict prevention, and post-conflict reconstruction including the broader post-conflict agenda such as relief, rehabilitation and development (LRRD), and transition issues. Human rights and gender issues have been dealt with as cross-cutting issues under these thematic areas²⁷. Provisions in the FAFA and the MoU requested UNDP and other agencies, funds and programmes to publish reports in order to make the EC's contribution

²⁴ The EU began to develop the policy framework for conflict prevention in the latter half of the 1990s, and saw the UN as the one of the international organizations with which the EU had to cooperate. In the light of the EU-UN partnership, the Council decided to reinforce political dialogue between the two and strengthen their cooperation by mutually reinforcing approaches at the Göteborg (Gothenburg) Council held in June 2001. In detail, see CEC (2001c); *Bulletin of the European Union* (June 2001), I.30.52. and I.31.53.. The UN also highly evaluated that the document *Choice of multilateralism* called for strengthening and mainstreaming of EU-UN relations, and dialog between the Commission and the UN has been strengthened (United Nations in Brussels, 2006: 8).

²⁵ UNHCR and the WFP signed the agreements in 2005 (United Nation System in Brussels, 2007: 13 (foot note 5)).

²⁶ Memorandum of Understanding: Concerning the establishment of a strategic partnership between the European Commission and the United Nations Development Programme.

(http://ec.europa.eu/development/icenter/repository/memorandum-of-understanding%20EC-UNDP%20signed%2029-6-2004_en.pdf, downloaded on September 1, 2008.) As for FAO, http://ec.europa.eu/development/icenter/repository/memorandum-of-understanding-EC-FAO-signed-13-09-2004_en.pdf (downloaded on September 1, 2008)

²⁷ <http://www.undp.org/eu/overview.shtml> (accessed on September 1, 2008)

clearer²⁸.

In 2005, the EU focused again on the EC development policy itself. The EU and the representatives of the member states reached an agreement on development cooperation. First, in May 2005, the EC and the member states agreed to increase their ODA to meet a minimum target of 0.56% of Gross National Income (GNI) in 2010, and 0.7% by 2015²⁹. Second, in December 2005, *The European Consensus on Development* was signed by the Council, the European Parliament and the Commission (CEC, Council and the European Parliament, 2006)³⁰. The Consensus consisted of two parts (The EU Vision of Development and The European Community Development Policy), and provided the EC and the member states with principles and policy frameworks to promote implementing their development policy in a complementary manner. The consensus regarded poverty reduction and achievement of the MDGs as the objective of the EU development cooperation³¹. Comprehensive approach towards multidimensional aspect of poverty was confirmed. This included ownership, partnership, participation of civil society, governance and economic/social reforms. Also confirmed were the three-Cs of the European development policy and the areas for the Community actions³². The consensus also addressed the partnership with stakeholders outside the EU, the UN especially, for delivering better and effective aid as well.

²⁸ For example, the amount of EC contribution was required to be printed/displayed in euro.

²⁹ This was not the first time that the target ratio of ODA/GNI was decided. In 2002, after the Monterrey Conference on Financing for Development, the EU decided to increase average ODA/GNI from 0.33% in 2002 to 0.39% in 2006 toward 0.7% set by the UN.

³⁰ In the area of humanitarian cooperation, they also adopted the Consensus on Humanitarian Aid. Before the signing of the Consensus, the Commission issued a document which confirmed the EU's commitment to policy coherence, quality and effectiveness of aid, special focus on Africa, as well as its commitment to increasing the financial contribution (CEC, 2005).

³¹ The Council conclusion of 26 April 2004 once declared that achieving the MDGs is a key objective for the European Union.

³² They were: trade and regional integration; the environment and sustainable management of natural resources; infrastructure, communications and transport; water and energy; rural development, territorial planning, agriculture and food security; governance, democracy, human rights and support for economic and institutional reforms; conflict prevention and strengthening fragile states; human development; social cohesion and employment; democracy, good governance, human rights, the rights of children and indigenous peoples; gender equality; environmental sustainability; and HIV/AIDS.

As described above, the EU has addressed both the fragmentation of external policy between the EC and its member states, and the low profile of the EC in the world. The EC provided the frameworks both at the operational and policy levels by sharing the same objectives, values and principles with the UN and by defining areas where the Community actions had added value. The EU chose development issues when cooperating with the UN, because both had a long tradition and practice in this area. The EC streamlined its partnership with the UN System both at the policy and operational levels. Negotiations for effective and efficient partnership contributed not only to the division of labor among the UN, the EC and its member states, but also to EC's visibility in the world. The EC had successfully made the UN agencies, funds and programmes specify the EC's financial contribution in euro. It also had succeeded in broadening of the Community actions to the security issues. It can be said that the EC development policy and the EU-UN partnership were developed strategically by the EU.

5. Increasing EC Contribution to the UN System

The previous section identified the strategic nature of the EC development policy and its partnership with the UN. This section will try to reaffirm the EC's position and its strategy by examining data of EC's financial contribution in the fields of development and humanitarian cooperation.

Broadly speaking, the EC is one of the major ODA contributors in the world. Table.1 (p.22) shows that the EC contribution has exceeded 10 billion US dollars and that it is 9-10% share of the total contribution by OECD-DAC members. Since the EU member states' share of contribution is about 55%, the EU (the EC and member states combined) has nearly two thirds share of ODA in the world³³.

In terms of the EC's financial contribution to the international organizations, the EC itself cannot contribute to the UN itself³⁴ and the Bretton Woods Institutions because they

³³ The share of the USA is around 20% and that of Japan is around 15%.

³⁴ Total amount of the contribution by EU member states in the UN regular budget is 38%,

have sovereign states as their legitimate members. However, its donation to the IDA is worth examining. In the IDA, the member states' contributions are decided every three years (IDA Replenishment)³⁵. In the 13th replenishment (FY2002 to 2004), the contribution by the EU member states in total³⁶ was 42.52%, while the USA contributed 20.12%, and Japan, 16.00%³⁷. In the 14th replenishment (FY2005 to 2007), the contribution by the EU member states in total³⁸ was 47.33%, while the USA was 13.78%, and Japan, 12.24%³⁹. In the latest replenishment (15th: FY2008 to 2010), the contribution by the EU member states in total⁴⁰ is 46.86%, while the USA is 12%, and Japan, 10%⁴¹.

The EC independently contributes to the UN agencies, funds and programmes such as UNDP, UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and WFP (World Food Program).

Annual Reports published by the UNDP say that the EC is a major contributor of co-financing. The EC funded 25 million euro in 1997 and increased the amount to nearly 100 million euro in 2002, to 200 million euro in 2003, to 403 million in 2004, and to 500 million euro in 2005⁴². Although the exact amount of the EC contribution is not reported in every annual report, some reports said that the EC provided 426.9 million US dollars in "Other" (non-core) resources in 2005, and over 350 million US dollars in 2006.

Table.2 (p.23) shows the EC contribution to the UNHCR. The EC has been the third largest donor after the USA⁴³ and Japan. The EC has been donating around 80 million US dollars. However, the percentage fell in 2005-2007 due to the marked increase of the total funding. Sweden, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Denmark and Germany are

and it is more than two fifths of UN peacekeeping operations, and it's around a half of all UN member states' contributions to voluntary funded UN funds and programmes (United Nations System in Brussels, 2006: 8).

³⁵ See f.n.9.

³⁶ Excluded: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovenia.

³⁷ <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/IDA/Resources/FinaltextIDA13Report.pdf> (downloaded on September 1, 2008)

³⁸ Excluded: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania.

³⁹ http://siteresources.worldbank.org/IDA/Resources/14th_Replenishment_Final.pdf (downloaded on September 1, 2008)

⁴⁰ Excluded: Bulgaria, Malta and Romania.

⁴¹ <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/IDA/Resources/Table1IDA15.pdf> (downloaded on September 1, 2008)

⁴² <http://www.undp.org/eu/overview.shtml#funding> (accessed on September 1, 2008)

⁴³ The USA is the biggest donor which contributes 20-30% of the total funding.

among the 10 biggest donors; the sum of their donation is around 25% of the total and it is larger than the donation by the USA if combined with the one by the EC and other member states.

Table.3 (p.24) shows the EC contribution to the WFP. The USA contributes around 50% of the total. The EC increased its donation by nearly 10%. Member states of the EU such as the UK, the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden are among the 10 biggest donors and their combined donation is about 10% of the total.

The EC has increased its financial commitment to the organizations that the EC is legally allowed to, and it has ranked high among the donors. They make the EC visible in the UN entities. The EC seems to have come to gain influence in this policy area. At the same time, some member states have come to occupy high ranks in contribution to the DAC and the UN entities as well. The EC and its member states will have bigger influence on the stakeholders than ever, when they succeed in addressing the division of labor which is discussed in the previous section.

6. Concluding Remarks

We can say that the EU upholds the global governance because they have come to share objectives, principles and practices of development cooperation with the UN System through the EU-UN partnership. However, the process of establishing the partnership and developing the EC's policy showed us its calculated strategy to secure the position as an indispensable and visible actor in the world. The EC has increased its financial contribution to the UN agencies, funds and programmes. The EU has succeeded in streamlining the EC development policy and defining the areas where the EC has more added value than its member states. Furthermore, the EC has succeeded in making some UN agencies, funds and programmes publish reports and demonstrate the EC's contribution in euro, not in US dollars. Some of the documents say that the EU is an indispensable partner for the UN and for the achievement of the MDGs (United Nation System in Brussels, 2006: 6; idem, 2007: 9). These facts prove that the EU does not merely

uphold the global governance, but it plays an important and indispensable role in the fields of development and humanitarian cooperation.

Yet, it is still questionable to say that the EU comes to have an established power. The EU declared in its document that the EC should request for the voting right in the UN System. How the member states of the EU and the UN will react to the EU's request, and whether the EU will succeed in obtaining the voting right, are yet to be examined.

The EU's power over its member states is also in question. Some member states such as Luxemburg and France decreased their financial assistance. Whether the EU can promote them to increase the amount or not⁴⁴ could be a good indicator of its power over the member states. Moreover, the EU's influence over other developed countries such as the USA, Japan, as well as emerging countries to increase financial contribution (CEC, 2008: 7) should be examined as well, in order to evaluate its external influence.

Lastly, the EU's power over recipient countries should be examined. While the EC respects the principles of partnership and ownership in helping developing countries, it owns the power which allows the EC and its member states to suspend aid, although it is limited to the case of "severe corruption"⁴⁵.

Assessing these questions above will contribute to measuring the EU's actual power and examining where it stands in global governance.

⁴⁴ The Commission of the EU urged the member states to engage in development by publishing a document named "EU must stand by its promises and deliver on development aid if we are to meet the Millennium Development Goals". For example, see CEC (2008).

⁴⁵ The Cotonou Agreement, the agreement with the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, has a procedure for political dialog with those countries and suspension clause. For example, see Inoue (2006), pp.83-88.

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Table.1 EC Contribution (ODA)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
EC contribution*	8,146	9,881	8,346	8,700	9,413	10,009	10,678	10,924
(%)**	(10.7)	(12.6)	(9.9)	(9.6)	(9.9)	(8.3)	(9.1)	(10.1)
Member States total*** contribution*	171,706	197,648	180,360	176,187	172,253	163,617	165,345	157,565
(%)****	(54.8)	(56.4)	(56.0)	(53.9)	(52.3)	(52.0)	(55.9)	(57.1)

Source: OECD DAC

* Amount is Constant Prices (2006 USD million) and Gross Disbursements.

** Percentage of the total contribution by DAC members. Calculated by author.

*** EU member states which are at the same time the member of the DAC are: Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic (since 2004), Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary (Since 2004), Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Poland (since 2004), Portugal, Slovak Republic (since 2004), Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom. Each amount is calculated by author.

**** Percentage of the total contribution by DAC members. Calculated by author.

Table.2 EC Contribution to UNHCR

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Amount *	40.9	65.7	65.7	86.5	80.5	86.1	79.6	84.6
(% **)	(5.80)	(8.43)	(8.05)	(9.15)	(8.37)	(7.86)	(7.37)	(6.67)
Rank	5	3	3	3	3	3	2	4

Source: UNHCR ***

* USD million

** Percentage of the total contribution. Calculated by author.

*** Data was recorded annually.

2007: <http://www.unhcr.org/partners/PARTNERS/47de84e32.pdf>

2006: <http://www.unhcr.org/publ/PUBL/4666d25b0.pdf>

2005: <http://www.unhcr.org/publ/PUBL/449267630.pdf>

2004: <http://www.unhcr.org/publ/PUBL/42ad4d9c0.pdf>

2003: <http://www.unhcr.org/publ/PUBL/40c6d7470.pdf>

2002: <http://www.unhcr.org/publ/PUBL/3edf4fce0.pdf>

2001: <http://www.unhcr.org/publ/PUBL/3dafdcec6.pdf>

2000: <http://www.unhcr.org/publ/PUBL/3e23eb53e.pdf>

(Downloaded on September 1, 2008)

Table.3 EC Contribution to WFP

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Amount *	117.8	126.8	177.3	200.9	200.5	263.9	265.8	250.4
(% **)	(6.95)	(6.65)	(9.73)	(7.86)	(8.94)	(9.69)	(9.83)	(9.23)
Rank	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Source: WFP ***

* USD million

** Percentage of the total contribution. Calculated by author.

*** Donor contribution in multiple years can be seen on http://www.wfp.org/appeals/Wfp_donors/index.asp?section=3&sub_section=4
(Accessed on September 1, 2008)