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THE EUROPEAN UNION AS KANTIAN NEOLIBERALISM

Miss Thitarat Sriwattanapong

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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By Miss Thitarat Sriwattanapong
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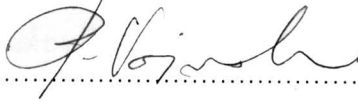
Accepted by the Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree

.......... Dean of the Graduate School
(Associate Professor Pornpote Piumsomboon, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE

.......... Chairman
(Professor Chaiwat Khamchoo, Ph.D.)

.......... Advisor
(Assistant Professor Surat Horachaikul)

.......... External Examiner
(Associate Professor Prathoomporn Vajrasthira)

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สหภาพยุโรปถูกมองจากนักวิชาการว่าเป็นค่านท์ อันเป็นผลมาจากการใช้พลังอำนาจอ่อน การส่งเสริมคุณค่าร่วมกันของสหภาพยุโรป การให้ความช่วยเหลือแก่อาณาประเทศ และการสนับสนุนการดำเนินความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศแบบพหุภาคี อย่างไรก็ตามหากพิจารณาจากความเป็นจริงแล้ว สหภาพยุโรปมิได้เป็นค่านท์ เนื่องจากสหภาพยุโรปละเมิดการปฏิบัติตามข้อบัญญัติที่สามและสี่จากบทความของค่านท์ที่เขียนไว้ใน *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* ว่าด้วยการถอนกำลังทหารประจำการของแต่ละประเทศ และระบบการดำเนินความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศที่ปราศจากหนี้สิน ในด้านการทหาร สหภาพยุโรปละเมิดข้อบัญญัติที่ค่านท์ได้กล่าวไว้เนื่องจากสหภาพยุโรปมีกำลังทหารเป็นของตัวเอง หากแต่สหภาพยุโรปจำกัดปฏิบัติการทางการทหารของตนให้เหลือเพียงการปฏิบัติตามมติของสหประชาชาติ และองค์การสนธิสัญญาป้องกันแอตแลนติกเหนือเท่านั้น อันเป็นผลมาจากการที่สหภาพยุโรปและผู้ลงคะแนนเสียงชาวยุโรปมิได้ต้องการเป็นมหาอำนาจด้านการทหารและเสียค่าใช้จ่ายด้านการทหารเพิ่มขึ้น ทำให้สหภาพยุโรปมีสภาพเป็นผู้โดยสารฟรีในระบบความมั่นคงระหว่างประเทศ และผลกระทบด้านการทหารและความมั่นคงให้กับสหรัฐอเมริกาจากการที่สหภาพยุโรปไม่จำเป็นต้องเสียค่าใช้จ่ายด้านการทหารมากเท่าสหรัฐอเมริกา ทำให้สหภาพยุโรปลงทุนและแสวงหาผลประโยชน์ด้านเศรษฐกิจได้เพิ่มมากขึ้น และด้วยการที่ยุโรปเป็นผู้ให้เงินช่วยเหลือสนับสนุนประเทศที่กำลังพัฒนา ทำให้สหภาพยุโรปประสบความสำเร็จในด้านการค้า และการลงทุน ดังจะเห็นได้จากการที่สหภาพยุโรปมีสถานะเป็นผู้นำเข้า ส่งออกสินค้าที่ใหญ่ และเป็นเจ้าหนี้รายใหญ่ของโลก ดังนั้น สหภาพยุโรป จึงมิใช่ค่านท์โดยอุดมคติ นิยม แต่เป็นค่านท์โดยเสรีนิยมใหม่ที่เน้นผลกำไรและความคุ้มค่าในการลงทุน

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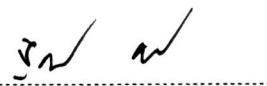
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The EU is perceived by the EU scholars as Kantian because of the soft power, the EU values, its aid assistance and the promotion of multilateralism. However, in reality, the EU is not Kantian because it does not follow Kant's essay on *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*. The EU has its own standing armies and also behave itself as a big creditor, which are in contrast to Kant's preliminary article 3 and 4 related to there should be no standing armies and no international debts. In addition to military, the EU spends fewer budgets on military and tries to limit its own operation to the collaboration with international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The EU enjoys being as a military free rider and let the United States alone to tackle with the global security. This is because the EU and the EU voters do not intend to be the military superpower and share the military burden with the US. In addition, as a result of the use of soft power, it is a good claim for the EU to neglect the military burden and enjoys more economics. Moreover, the EU also exploits many advantages from providing aid assistance in developing countries because it can open markets with those countries and also profits from the lending of money. This is resulted in the success of the EU as the world's largest trader and a big creditor. For this reason, the EU is not Kantian idealism but is rather Kantian neoliberalism.

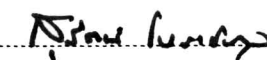
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Background and Issues

The European Union (EU) is admired as the success of regionalism with the strong collaboration from the Member States. It is no doubt that the success of the European Union in terms of economic, development, and environment has inevitably brought the EU to be the global actor. Robert Kagan asserts that the EU is perceived as an alternative power to the United States (US) with the use of soft power and strategic culture which emphasizes on negotiation, diplomacy, commercial ties, international law, and multilateralism¹. Europe is likely to adopt peaceful means to perform its external relations with the rest of the world. For this reason, it can be said that the European Union is a representative of Kantian idealism and is emerged as an alternative superpower to the United States.

However, does the world of perpetual peace really exist? Are there any hidden agendas for the EU Kantian and the use of soft power? Do the perpetual means imply the free-rider concept? And what about the EU expectations from aid assistance for developing countries?

To answer the question whether Kant's perpetual peace is valid or not, Juergen Habermas asserts that what Kant writes in "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch" is against the background of the specific historical experience of his time, and also incompatible with the current time². This is because Kant's definitions of war, federation of state and cosmopolitan are different from the present. The world order has been changed since he has written the essay in 1795. Kant does not give any explanations

¹ Robert Kagan, Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), pp. 3-5.

² Juergen Habermas, "Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace: at Two Hundred Year's Historical Remove," in Ciaran Cronin and Pablo De Greiff (eds.), The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory, (Cambridge: Polity Press 2002) p. 165.

about nationalism, nationalist movement, non-traditional security, and the emerging of international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), and the European Union. Consequently, some of his preliminary articles such as article 3 and article 4 related to no standing armies and no international debts are incompatible with this current time.

However, Kant's perpetual peace is widely recognized as an attempt for peace and has been the roots of idealism nowadays. Kant is seen as a representative of idealism. Some of his doctrines such as human rights and the federation state are adapted and implemented by international organizations such as the UN and the European Union³. For this reason, any international organizations adopting Kant's political perspective are perceived as Kantian and tended to do no harm to anyone. This is the reason why the European Union is seen as a force for good and absolute Kantian.

Nevertheless, Kant's political philosophy is not only seen as idealism, but also neoliberalism and realism according to his doctrine of private property rights, the right to commit preemptive war and preemptive strike, and the state of nature is a state of war.

According to Kant's political philosophy and the EU behaviours, is it true to say that the European Union is a force for good? This is because the EU, as Kantian, enjoys benefits from being the force for good as a free rider in international security order and exercising its soft power through trade and aid. This makes the EU succeed in global economics and becomes the world's important economic actor.

In addition, assistance and development program which the EU gives to developing countries are not for free. It is a conditional grant which binds developing countries with the EU economic and political system. The EU claims that developing countries have to develop themselves through trade and market liberalization, democracy regime, and respect for human rights. The EU will benefit from its trade and investment within those developing countries by promoting the EU's values and economic practices. This is resulted in the success of the EU as the world's biggest trader with developing countries. The EU conditions for grant looks like American's

³ Ibid., p. 178.

neoliberal practices in the Washington Consensus. It can be seen that the EU tries to compete against the US hegemonic superpower in terms of economics and imperialism.

According to the idea of neoliberalism that human well-being can be achieved by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedom and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, free trade and roles of the neoliberal states which are limited to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices by setting up military, defence and police, legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee the proper functioning of markets⁴, the EU fulfills these criteria to be neoliberalism by being an institutional framework for the European integration and the Member States, and has the right to preserve security and stability in order to guarantee its own prosperity in the region.

For this reason, the EU is not purely Kantian as many scholars argue, but it should be perceived as Kantian neoliberalism due to its principles and practices. The EU adopts both neoliberal and Kantian ideology into practices in order to be success in politics and economics. It tries to adopt Kant's political ideology by promoting the use of soft power, respect for human rights, promoting democracy and multilateralism. However, the EU does not follow the preliminary article 3 and 4 of the essay "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch" related to no standing armies and no international debts because the EU itself has the standing armies and it also emerges itself as a creditor.

According to Kant's preliminary article 3 that there should be no standing armies in the region, Kagan asserts that the EU should not play an important role in the global military context because it is Kantian. This global responsibility should belong to the strong military states such as the United States, which has been performing this prominent role since the end of the Second World War. This is the reason why the EU tries to oppose the use of force and promote peaceful means to secure the world's stability.

⁴ David Harvey, [A Brief History of Neoliberalism](#), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 2.

However, the EU Kantian with its limited military roles can only survive within the US Hobbesian world⁵ because of its limited military power and inability to ensure the global stability in the real world. The EU still has to rely on the US' military to guarantee its power and stability. It is oxymoronic that the EU opposes the use of force, but still depends on the US military shield. In addition, the reason for the EU to be in the US nuclear umbrella is not only to support the Kantian ideology, but also to cut the EU military costs. This is because the EU itself has enough capacity to be the military superpower according to its economic success, but it does not intend to do so. Europe limits its military mission to peace-keeping process under the UN and NATO mandate because the EU voters are not willing to pay for the military costs. They do not want to pay even for their own security in their continent without the American help⁶. They prefer to utilize the EU budget for economic purpose rather than military purpose.

For this reason, it can be seen that the EU has no intention to be the military superpower and strictly follow Kant's doctrine of perpetual peace. However, the hidden agenda from doing so is an attempt to be a military free-rider. The EU and EU Member States have been cutting their military costs by depending on the US military shield for more than sixty years. The main reason why the EU is lack of military is not about the ability to pay for it, rather, it is a willingness of the EU to stay within the US nuclear umbrella⁷. Consequently, the use of soft power does not only benefit for the EU's reputation, but also is the best way to cut the military costs.

In addition to the validity of Kant's doctrine toward perpetual peace, Kant's preliminary article 4 related to no international debts should be taken into consideration. Kant asserts that an international grant, especially a grant for infrastructure and

⁵ Kalypso Nicolaidis, "The Power of the Superpowerless" in Tod Lindberg (ed.) Beyond Paradise and Power: Europe, America and the future of a troubled partnership, (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 93-94.

⁶ Kagan, Of Paradise and Power, p. 25.

⁷ Nicolaidis, "The Power of the Superpowerless", p. 96.

humanitarian purpose for developing countries should be transparency⁸. It should be given without any conditions because it makes the indebted countries bankrupt in the long run⁹. His doctrine may be true in theory but cannot do in reality because the ultimate aims for neoliberal countries to perform their external relations with other countries are to expand their free trade and free market regime. Consequently, the EU, as the world's largest donor, is not only helping developing countries for humanitarian purpose but also paving the way for opening markets and investing the EU Member States' business in those countries. The EU conditions for human rights and good governance are not only to guarantee the stability of developing countries, but also to ensure the EU's Member States' business environment to invest in those countries.

In addition to the EU investment, the third world countries are sources for cheap labours with weak labour unions. The EU takes neoliberal advantages from cheap labours by reducing its product costs and opening new markets through trade and aid. This is the reason why the EU is the world's largest trader with developing countries.

Moreover, conditions for The EU assistance does not benefit only for the EU's markets and investment, but also benefits for the EU's financial section. The EU does not follow Kant's preliminary article 4 in "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch" that a grant should be given without any conditions¹⁰. The EU behaves itself as a big creditor. It tries to exercise its money power to perform its external relations with the indebted countries. The EU tries to promote its values such as democracy, good governance, human rights and environmental concerns to developing countries by setting these values as conditions for developing countries to give its grants and loans. The EU hopes that this single model will benefit for its own trade and investment environment. Thus, the reason why the EU does not follow Kant's political doctrine is mainly because the EU wants to utilize its money power to benefit its trade and investment atmosphere.

⁸ Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch" Translated by H. Reiss, in H. B. Nisbet (ed.), Kant's Political Writings, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 95.

⁹ Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 95.

According to the fact that the EU is trying to be a force for good by emerging itself as an alternative superpower with its soft power and its own values, the EU still has neoliberal agendas from being a force for good. The EU tries to cut its military costs and liberalise free trade and investment in the third world countries.

The aim of this study is to examine that the EU is Kantian neoliberalism by using Kant's preliminary article 3 and 4 as case studies. It is an attempt to explain why Kant, the EU and neoliberalism are interconnected. The EU's neoliberal agendas are connected closely with economics, democratic deficits, and the rise of elite groups in the EU decision-making process, trade negotiations, the lack of military power and the EU hidden agendas toward its foreign policies.

2. Research Objectives

1. To redefine Kant's political thought
2. To apply neoliberal perspective to the Kantian European Union
3. To prove that the European Union is Kantian neoliberalism by using case studies from "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch"

3. Scope and Method

The study aims to interpret Kant and the European Union through neoliberal perspectives by examining Kant's political ideas of elite groups, private property right and Kant's doctrine toward perpetual peace. In addition, the scope of this study is limited to the explanation of the EU neoliberal behaviours by using case studies from Kant's preliminary article 3 and 4 in "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch." For this reason, the EU defence and its aid assistance for developing countries are the main discussions in this research in order to explain why the European Union is Kantian neoliberalism.

The study is a descriptive research. Primary and secondary resources from books, articles, websites, and news were used for data collection and data analysis.

4. Benefits

1. To analyze Kant's political ideas with special reference to "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch"
2. To apply Kantian Kant's idea in understanding the European Union
3. To interpret Kant's idea as Kantian neoliberalism

5. Research Procedure

The research procedure started from setting research questions and hypotheses in order to conceptualize the study framework. Data collection both from primary and secondary resources was used as a means to reach the research findings, together with the empirical observation of the current EU situations. Data analysis process was utilized in order to answer the research questions, prove the availability of research assumption and finally reach the research findings. The research procedure overview can be seen in figure 1.

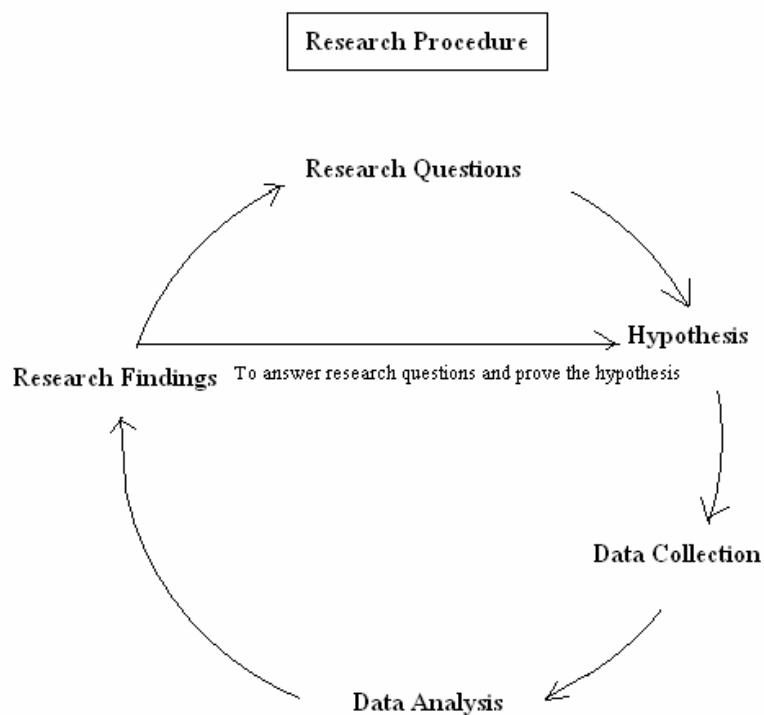


Figure 1: Research Procedure

6. Timeline

Procedure	Start doing Thesis in October 2008	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Conceptual Framework and hypothesis	↔						
2	Data collection		↔					
3	Data analysis			↔				
4	Thesis conclusion				↔			
5	Writing thesis					↔		
6	Thesis presentation							↔
7	Thesis correction and submission							↔

Table 1: Research Timeline

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of the European Union as Kantian neoliberalism is related to the context of Kant, neoliberalism and the European Union. For this reason, the concepts of Kant, neoliberalism and the European Union are described in this section.

1. Kant

Kant's political philosophy is not only seen as idealism, but also realism and neoliberalism according to his political writings.

1.1 Kantian idealism

It has long been interpreted that Kant is idealism according to his political ideology written in "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch". It is admired as one of the most important writings in the classic period. His political ideas such as the federation of free states, human rights, and the democratic peace are well-known and widely accepted. Kant divides his work into four parts. The first section relates to the preliminary articles of a perpetual peace between states. The second section contains the definitive articles of perpetual peace between states. The third and fourth parts are the supplement and the appendix. Kant's preliminary articles in the first section are as follows;

1. No conclusion of peace shall be considered valid as such if it was made with a secret reservation of the material for a future war.
2. No independently existing state, whether it be large or small, may be acquired by another state by inheritance, exchange, purchase or gift.
3. Standing armies (*miles perpetuus*) will gradually be abolished altogether.

4. No international debt shall be contracted in connection with the external affairs of the state.
5. No state shall forcibly interfere in the constitution and government of another state.
6. No state at war with another shall permit such acts of hostility as would make mutual confidence impossible during a future time in peace.¹

These articles are widely known as an attempt for peace. However, some of these preliminary articles are not compatible due to the changes in an international order and some of his definitions do not cover all aspect of the current security order.

The next section is the definitive articles for a perpetual peace between states, which are;

1. The civil constitution of every state shall be republican.
2. The rights of nation shall be based on a federation of free states.
3. Cosmopolitan right shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality.

The three definitive articles are lack of consistency and incompatible with this current time. These definitive articles are not clear and some of these definitions such as a federation of free states still has some problems in implementation, as can be seen in the enforcement of these free states, which are combined together only by self-obligation.

Although Kant's perpetual peace cannot be done in some aspects, Kant has made the great contribution to idealism. Some of his doctrines such as the respect for human rights and the rule of law have been widely used nowadays.

¹ Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch", Translated by H. Reiss, in H. B. Nisbet (ed.), Kant's Political Writings, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 93-96.

1.2. Kantian Realism

Richard Tuck argues that Kant is realism because he believes that the state of nature is a state of war, which is exactly as same as Hobbes'. This idea can be seen in Kant's 'the Doctrine of Right' section 54 of *The Metaphysics of Morals* that:

(1) States, considered in external relation to one another, are (like lawless savages) by nature in a nonrightful condition. (2) This nonrightful condition is a *condition* of war (of rights of the stronger), even if it is not a condition of actual war and actual attacks being constantly made (hostilities). Although no state is wronged by another in this condition (insofar as neither wants anything better), this condition is in itself still wrong in the highest degree, and states neighbouring upon one another are under obligation to leave it².

In addition to this, Kant also insists the right to commit the preemptive war and preemptive strike. He asserts that "in addition to active violations' a state

may be *threatened*. This includes another state's being the first to undertake *preparations*, upon which is based the right of *prevention (ius praeventionis)*, or even just the *menacing* increase in another state's power (by its acquisition of territory) (*potentia tremenda*). This is a wrong to the lesser power merely by the *condition* of the *superior power*, before any deed on its part, and in the state of nature an attack by the lesser power is indeed legitimate. Accordingly, this is also the basis of the right to balance of power among all states that are contiguous and could act on one another."³

² Kant, *The Methaphysics of Morals*, in Ary Gregor (ed.), (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 151, cited in Richard Tuck, 2001:209.

³ Kant, *The Methaphysics of Morals*, in Ary Gregor (ed.), (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 151, cited in Richard Tuck, 2001: 215.

Kant claims for the right to commit the preemptive strike in case of sudden attacks by another state. He further insists that it is the right basis to the balance of power among all states. Moreover, he also proposes the right to commit the preemptive war, as he asserts that:

“If a neighbouring power which has grown to a formidable size (*potentia tremenda*) gives cause for anxiety, can one assume that it will wish to oppress other states because it is *able* to do so, and does this give the less powerful party a right to mount a concerted attack upon it, even if no offence has been offered?’ if a state were to *let it be known* that it affirmed this maxim, it would merely bring about more surely and more quickly the very evil it feared. For the greater power would anticipate the lesser ones, and the possibility that they might unite would be but a feeble reed against one who knew how to use the tactics of *divide et impera*. Thus this maxim of political expediency, if acknowledged publicly, necessarily defeats its own purpose and is consequently unjust”.⁴

According to Kant's neoliberalism ideology that the state has the right to commit the preemptive war in order to prevent itself from the attack of other state, it is contrast to what he writes in "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch" that there should be no standing armies. He has argued that the state should have no standing armies because the armies are the cause of wars of aggression and the hiring of men to kill or to be killed seems to mean using them as mere machines and instrument in the hands of someone else (the state), which cannot easily be reconciled with the rights of man in one's own person⁵. For this reason, it can be seen that his political philosophy is inconsistency and it should not be only interpreted only as idealism.

⁴ Kant, "Perpetual Peace", p. 93-95.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

In addition, Kant's political philosophy as realism is in contrast to his ideology as idealism. According to his political ideology as idealism, he believes that the standing armies will cause the war of aggression and the abuse of hiring men to kill each other but he still proposes that the state has the right to commit the preemptive war and preemptive strike in case of sudden attack and the growing power of neighbour states. This raises three questions about the states' military and defence system. Firstly, can the standing armies be eliminated? This is because in the international relations, the standing armies play an important role in guaranteeing the states' stability and ensure the power of the countries. Second, if the standing armies are eliminated, what is the next measurement to define the state's superpower? Where will the military troops come from when the military power is needed? And will economic power cover all aspects of hegemonic power? Thirdly, and importantly, what are the criteria for the proper use of preemptive war and preemptive strike? Does that power really legitimate for other countries? How can the countries ensure that there will be no abuse of military power? This is because the use of preemptive war and preemptive strike has twofold. It may be good for preventing the states from other states' attack. However, some abuses from the use of preemptive war, which can be seen in the US attack on Iraq with the claim that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (WMD), can be happened. This dilemma also raises the question on how the state can guarantee that they would use their military power in the right way because it will lead the hegemonic power to make war with other countries with the abuse of right to make the preemptive war and preemptive strike. However, this perception will be discussed further in the section of the European Union as Kantian Neoliberalism.

1.3 Kantian Neoliberalism

Kantian neoliberalism perceptions are related to the idea of elites and the private property right. This is because neoliberalism is about the power of majority and the right to possess the private property.

For the elite groups concept, Kant proposes in the first definitive article of *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* that the state shall be republican with the original basis of civil constitution⁶, and also stresses on the number of ruling persons in the government that:

“We can therefore say that the smaller the number of ruling persons in a state and the greater their powers of representation, the more the constitution will approximate to its republican potentiality, which it may hope to realize eventually by gradual reforms. For this reason, it is more difficult in an aristocracy than in a monarchy to reach this one and only perfectly lawful kind of constitution, while it is possible in a democracy only by means of violent revolution.”⁷

Kant believes that the smaller number of ruling persons will give the greater powers of representation. Thus, the perfectly lawful constitution should be made under these small numbers of ruling persons. For this reason, it can be seen that these elites are important for state's legislation and policy making. For neoliberal perspective, elite groups play an important role in lobbying the governments or the rulers to govern the state in the way they want and later exploit their benefits internally and externally⁸.

⁶ Ibid., p. 100.

⁷ Ibid., p. 101.

⁸ Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston, “Introduction”, in Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston (eds.), *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*, (London: Pluto Press, 2005), p.1.

In addition to this, elite groups relate to the struggle of power both internally and externally. They can be represented as the private authority to share an interest in the sources and structures of power in domestic and international politics⁹. It can be said that neoliberalism is a struggle of power between the elite groups to exploit their economic benefits through the government's decision-making process. It is as same as realism in the sense that it punishes the weak, rewards the strong, and only the winner will take all advantages. This can be seen in the success of the US foreign trade and monetary policies in last several decades and the presence success of the neoliberal European Union.

Another idea of Kantian neoliberalism is the private property right. Kant asserts in the *Critique of Pure Reason* that:

“The point of this anchoring of private property in an innate human rights is that the right to property has the status of a generally necessary right. If the original right of freedom finds its external guarantee in property, then every human must have a right to property grounded solely in the right to freedom, which must be ascribed to him merely on the basis of his humanity. Obviously this conception of the right to property calls for a positive politics of distribution by the state.”¹⁰

Kant insists that the right of property has the status of a generally necessary right. It can be seen that he equates the right to property to the fundamentally right. For this reason, it is as same as neoliberalism that neoliberalism claims for the

⁹Dieter Plehwe, Bernhard Walpen and Gisela Neunhoeffer, “Introduction”, in Dieter Plehwe, Bernhard Walpen and Gisela Neunhoeffer (eds.), *Neoliberal Hegemony: A Global Critique*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 11.

¹⁰Wolfgang Kersting, “Politics, freedom, and order: Kant's political philosophy”, in Paul Guyer (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Kant*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 348-349.

freedom of individual as the freedom of market¹¹. It took political ideals of individual freedom and freedom of market and trade as the central values of civilization¹². It successfully articulated neoclassical economic theories with a concept of political freedom¹³. The idea of freedom of individual and the freedom of markets is used in order to release the market from political controls or regulation. It tries to convert the citizen into a consumer with its slogan 'I shop, therefore I am.'¹⁴ The individual could express his or her identity much better through consumption, rather than participating in the political activities. This consumption in the new global market serves a vital economic need, but it also makes for a cultural restructuring of society from the civil society into the social capital, which can also lead to democratic deficits¹⁵.

According to Kant's argument that the conception of the right to property calls for a positive politics of distribution by the state¹⁶, the state has no right to possess the property right. Rather, it is bounded to protect and facilitate its citizens to have the private property right. Kant is neoliberalism in the sense that the state should let market operates freely. It should provide social and political stability in order to ensure economic stability and private property right. For this reason, it can be seen that government of the state has to provide appropriate atmosphere for economic liberalization and also has to regulate the market with its legislative power in order to protect the private property right of citizens in the nation.

In conclusion, Kant should not only be perceived as idealism. He is realism in terms of the state of nature is a state of war, the right to commit the

¹¹ Ronaldo Munch, "Neoliberalism and politics and the politics of neoliberalism", in Dieter Plehwe, Bernhard Walpen and Gisela Neunhoeffer (eds.), *Neoliberal Hegemony: A Global Critique*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), p.65.

¹² David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 5.

¹³ Munch, "Neoliberalism and politics and the politics of neoliberalism", p. 65.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁶ Kersting, "Politics, freedom, and order: Kant's political philosophy", p. 349.

preemptive war and preemptive strike. Kant is neoliberalism because of three reasons, namely, the elite groups, private property rights and the roles of the state.

2. Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism covers almost every aspect of human being's life. The process of neoliberalisation is not only concerned with institutional framework and powers, but also related to division of labours, social relations, welfare provisions, technological, ways of life and thought¹⁷. Neoliberalism believes that human well-being can be achieved by means of liberating individual entrepreneurial freedom and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade¹⁸. In the neoliberal states, the role of the state is limited to create and preserve an institutional framework to be appropriate to economic practices. The state has to guarantee the country's stability by setting up military, defence, police, and legal structures required to secure private property rights.

Neoliberalism is usually described as the ideology of the market and private interests as opposed to state intervention¹⁹. Markets are represented as optimal and self-regulating social structures. It is claimed that if market was allow to function without restraint, it would optimally serve all economic needs, efficiently utilize all economic resources and automatically generate full employment for all persons who want to work²⁰. In addition, the globalization of market would be the best way to expand these benefits world wide. As Mike Moore, former Director General of the World Trade Organisation said that 'the surest way to do more to help the (world's) poor is to continue

¹⁷ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, p.3.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.1.

¹⁹ Gerard Dumenil and Dominique Levy, "The Neoliberal (Counter-) Revolution, in Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston (eds.), *Neoliberalism: A critical reader*, (London: Pluto Press, 2005), p. 9.

²⁰ Anwar Shaikh, "The Economic Mythology of Neoliberalism", in Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston (eds.), *Neoliberalism: A critical reader*, (London: Pluto Press, 2005), p. 41.

to open markets²¹. For this reason, it can be seen that the poverty, unemployment and periodic economic crises happen because markets have been constrained by labour unions, the state, and a host of social practices rooted in culture and history. Thus, the creation of 'market-friendly' social structures should be created in order to reach for the successful globalization neoliberalism by curtailing union strength so that employers can hire and fire whom they choose, privatizing state enterprises so that their workers will fall under the purview of domestic capital, and opening up domestic markets to foreign capital and foreign goods²².

Neoliberalism relates to the elite groups. The elite groups play an important role in decision-making process because they want to maintain and expand their economic power through trade liberalization and free markets. Elite groups try to promote neoliberalism to developing countries as a mean to maximize their benefits in trade, investment, and cutting their costs due to the division of labours. Neoliberalism is a part of a hegemonic project concentrating power and wealth in elite groups around the world, in order to benefit economical interests, especially the financial interest within each country and internationally²³.

In addition, neoliberalism is inseparable from imperialism and globalization²⁴. This is because imperialism is presented as the hegemonic burden to civilize the world through neoliberal doctrine. And the process of globalization is merely the international face of neoliberalism²⁵. It is a global strategy of capital accumulation which is doubled up as an imperialist project led by the diverse social and economic political alliance in each country.

²¹ Ibid., p. 41.

²² Ibid., p. 42.

²³ Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston, "Introduction", p.1.

²⁴ Ibid., p.2.

²⁵ Ibid., p.2.

Neoliberalism help create the political making of the free market system. It sees market as an efficient distribution of resources, while it sees the state as a market player in order to make some regulations to protect its internal market from the globalisation²⁶ However, neoliberalism is not about liberalising the markets and let markets operate freely. This is because markets do not operate freely. They need government regulations to create the environment they have to operate in²⁷. An example for the roles of the states to intervene in the market is the Common Agricultural Policy, and trade agreements between the EU and other countries in both bilateral and multilateral level. For this reason, neoliberalism is about the policy practices and institutions that had been serving the goal of capital accumulation by means of establishing a 'free-market regime and protecting the value of money'²⁸.

In conclusion, neoliberalism is an ideology of the markets and private interests which is opposed to state intervention. It claims that free trade is the best way to improve economic development. However, this claim is not quite valid in the real competition because neoliberalism rewards the strong and punishes the weak²⁹. It create the gap between the rich and the poor because some markets are not competitive and not worth enough to open to compete against one another. From this point of view, the neoliberal push for the free trade is viewed as a strategy that is benefit for the advanced firms and elites in the rich country³⁰.

²⁶ Ronaldo Munch, "Neoliberalism and politics and the politics of neoliberalism", p.61-63.

²⁷ Al Campbel, "The birth of neoliberalism in the United States ", in Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston(eds.), Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader, (London: Pluto Press, 2005), p.189.

²⁸ Ibid., p.193.

²⁹ Shaikh, "The Economic Mythology of Neoliberalism",), p.48.

³⁰ Ibid., p.48.

2.1 The European Neoliberalism

The European Union is neoliberal because of its economics practices, decision-making by the EU member states, democratic deficits and dependence on the US military shield. Surat Horachaikul and Jittipat Poonkham proposed that the European Union is neoliberal. This is because the EU is as same as the United States because they are both neoliberal global actors to use both economic and non-economic means to maximize their profits and promote competitiveness in international affairs³¹.

According to the EU economics practices, the European Union uses the European Roundtable of Industrialist (ERT), the Common Agricultural Policy, and the WTO as economical means to achieve its interests³². The EU tries to promote neoliberal regime to developing countries in order to exploit economic benefits from this.

The reason why the EU tries to act as a force for good by providing aid assistance to the third world countries, promoting European values such as democracy, human rights, environmental concerns, and strengthen the cooperation between the EU and developing countries is not only because the EU wants to behave as a Kantian, but it also wants to open markets, expand European firms and investment, search for cheap raw materials and cutting its production cost by hiring local people. In doing so, the EU can reach the win-win situation for its prosperity and reputation.

However, neoliberalism has some drawbacks. The EU is now suffering from the democratic deficits. Andreas Follesdal and Simon Hix have explained the 5 main claims of the standard version of the democratic deficit in the EU³³, which are as follows;

³¹ Surat Horachaikul and Jittipat Poonkham, "Kantian Europe or Neoliberal Europe?", in *Asia and Europe: Dynamics of Inter-and Intra-Regional Dialogues*, p.147.

³² Ibid., p.149-158.

³³ Andreas Follesdal and Simon Hix, "Why there is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik", p. 1-6, available from www.connex-network.org/eurogov/pdf/egp-connex-C-05-02.pdf.

1. European integration has meant an increase in executive power and a decrease in national parliamentary control.
2. The European Parliament is too weak.
3. There are no 'European' elections.
4. The EU is 'too distant' from voters.
5. European integration produces 'policy drift' from voters' ideal policy preference.

According to neoliberal thinking that the elite groups are influential. The EU itself also has the so-called elite groups, which can be resulted in the increasing power of executives, which can be resulted in the imbalance of power between the strong executive body and the parliament. It enhances the power of lobbying for the executives to make the EU decision. As a result, they can be the connecting part for the EU economic stakeholders to lobby and negotiate with the executives to issue the agenda they want.

Alex Warleigh proposes that the democratic deficits can refer to the EU's non-standard practices and institutions of decision making, and its inability to generate either a significant shift in loyalties towards itself or a deep sense of shared interests and commonalities between the people of the member states.³⁴ For this reasons, most observers agree that the EU suffers from a 'democratic deficit' which causes the problem in justifying its continued existence and expansion³⁵.

One interesting point is that there are no European elections. For this reason, it cannot be said that the EU government is legitimate and it is not guarantee that the representatives will perform duties according to the EU voters' interest. Moreover, it makes the EU voters feel that they are far from the EU although they are very close to it.

In addition to the military issue, the depending on the American military shows that the EU is using the non-economical means to reduce the cost and maximize

³⁴ Alex Warleigh, *Democracy in the European Union*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2003), p.6.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

their profits. This is because the EU voters do not want to spend their money on military. They prefer to utilize their money to maximize economic profits³⁶. The neoliberal core concept is to maximize the profits by means of markets and trade liberalization. Consequently, the EU does not pay attention to the issues which are not related to their prosperity. The EU, which is now in doubted whether it is supra-national or intergovernmental organization, prefers to limit its military mission within its own territory, and try to promote peace and stability because it does not want to engage in any unrests, in which the EU voters have to pay more on what they do not want to pay³⁷.

3. The European Union as Kantian Neoliberalism

3.1 The Kantian European Union

Many pro-European scholars propose that the European Union is a representative of Kantian idealism, and is right across from realism because Europe is likely to use peaceful means to perform its external actions with the rest of the world.

Clive Archer proposes that the EU is different from the United States because the EU has been typified as exercising “soft power” internationally, which is basically meaning non-military, while the United States has been given to flexing its military muscles, namely, “hard power³⁸”.

Robert Kagan argues that the European Union is different from the United States because the EU is a Kantian. While, on the other hand, the US is a Hobbesian. Europe goes far beyond the US in the sense that Europe is now stepping out from the Hobbesian world into the Kantian paradise³⁹. He also asserts that Europe tends to use the strategic culture instead of the hard power of the United States.

³⁶ Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), p. 25.

³⁷ Kagan, p. 55.

³⁸ Clive Archer, *The European Union*, (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 99.

³⁹ Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power*, p. 57.

Moreover, the European Union pursues the non-military means to perform the external relations with the rest of the world but in contrast, the EU is still in the nuclear umbrella of the US and still lack of military power because the European Union means to do so.

However, Kagan's argument may not be applicable for describing what the EU actually is. This is because the EU, as Kantian, is not always peaceful. Wolfgang Ischinger strongly disagrees with Kagan in the sense that Americans are from Mars and European are from Venus by stating clearly that;

“But considering the European wars of the twentieth century, Europeans are not from Venus! We are the children from Mars.”⁴⁰

Furthermore, Ischinger further proposes that European Kantians are not pacifists because Europe supports the use of force as the last resort⁴¹.

In addition to Kalypso Nicolaidis, she states that the European Union can survive in the Kantian paradise only in an American Hobbesian world⁴². This is because the European Union is no longer Kantian by necessity, but by choice. As she asserts that;

Europe is no longer Kantian because it is weak (military that is), it is now weak because it is Kantian⁴³.

As a result of Nicolaidis' argument, it can be concluded that the EU itself does not want to share the same military burden as the US has to, but, on the other hand, the EU prefers to enjoy the free rider concept and exploit its own profit through global liberalization and trade within the US defense umbrella. For this reason, it can be assumed that the European Union is not idealism. It is rather neoliberalism by assuming that the EU, as an economic actor, is a rational consumer by trying to maximize its own

⁴⁰ Wolfgang Ischinger, “Pax Americana and Pax Europea”, in Tod Lindberg (ed.), Beyond Paradise and Power: Europe, America and the future of a troubled partnership, (New York: Routledge, 2005) p.83.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.88.

⁴² Kalypso Nicolaidis, “The Power of the Superpowerless” in Tod Linberg (ed.), Beyond Paradise and Power: Europe, America and the future of a troubled partnership, (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 93-94.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 98.

profits within a very limited cost. Within this assumption, the EU, as a rational consumer, does not have to pay as much as the US for the global security, but, on the other hand, the EU can exploit the ultimate benefits by disguising itself as a reliable saint. The reason why the European Union tends to be the alternative superpower to the US by the attempts to promote democracy and European values, and provide a large amount of funding because it wants to be credible enough to open its trade negotiation and enjoys the benefit.

3.2 The European Union as Kantian Neoliberalism

Kant's preliminary article 3 related to no standing armies and articles 4 concerned with no international debt are used as case studies to prove that the EU as Kantian is neoliberal.

According to Kant's preliminary 3 related to no standing armies, the standing armies have never been abolished in reality. The number of standing armies, military spending, and military research have been increasing drastically since the end of the Second World War. The existence of standing armies shows that many countries around the world are not pacifists. They are looking forward to use military force as a last resort and always prepare themselves for the state of war.

However, there are some contrasts in Kant's political thought. Kant always insists that perpetual means are the best way to create the perpetual peace. On the other hand, He also stresses that the state of nature is a state of war, and ask for the right to commit the preemptive war and preemptive strike⁴⁴. Hence, Kant is not really a pacifist. He is a realist with some neoliberal agendas.

In "Perpetual peace: a philosophical sketch", he stressed that the armies themselves the cause of wars of aggression which set out to end burdensome military expenditure⁴⁵. In this sense, Kant stresses that the military expenditure is relatively high

⁴⁴ Richard Tuck, The Rights of War and Peace, pp. 209-217.

⁴⁵ Kant, "Perpetual Peace", p. 94.

and should be eliminated in order to save the military expenditure and reduce the distrusts between the member states.

For this article, the EU does exactly follow the Kantian step because the EU itself has no standing military, but the EU member states does have a large amount of standing armies, and spend a lot of money for military expenditure. The reasons why the EU cannot have the standing armies are the differences of the national interests in each member states, the monopoly roles of the United Kingdom and France to tackle with the EU defence, no consistency in the St. Petersburg task, no realization of the importance of the defence policy, and lack of modern military, equipment and activities⁴⁶.

In conclusion, the reason why the EU has no standing armies is because the EU is lack of military power. It has the internal problem with the organization, and the attempt to cut the military costs. The reason why EU tries a lot to promote peaceful means and avoid the use of force is not because the EU itself wants to be good. It is because the European Union is weak.

In addition to article 4 concerned with no international debt shall be contracted in connection with external affairs of the state. The EU cannot follow this Kantian step because the EU grants and aid assistances come with conditions. The EU development and cooperation programmes with the ACP countries benefits the EU in terms of markets and trade liberalization. The EU asks for the condition in order to create a good atmosphere for the EU investors to invest in the region. Furthermore, aid, loan and grants given by the EU do not benefit the ACP countries and other developing countries in the long term. This is because it will create the tax deficit and national bankruptcy in the long run.

Kant has already said that the state should not act as a creditor because this role may be used as an instrument of aggression against one another⁴⁷. In contrast, the EU itself acts as a creditor. Kant said that this international debt is a great obstacle

⁴⁶ John McCormick, An introduction to Europe foreign policy: a concise introduction, 3rd edition, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.80.

⁴⁷ Kant, "Perpetual Peace", p. 95.

in the way of perpetual peace. Therefore, other states are justified in allying themselves against such states⁴⁸. But in reality, no states opposed the EU as a creditor. This is partly because even the sole hegemony like the US is still indebted. And no one deny for the unlimited power of money. For this reason, Kant was true that the ultimate power in this world is the money power⁴⁹ and the EU as Kantian is exploiting this money power to the rest of the world.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p.95.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.95.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Development of hypotheses and model

Kant is one of the most important European philosophers of the modern times. His political philosophy is widely accepted as idealism according to his pamphlet, "Perpetual peace: a Philosophical Sketch", in 1795. He is one of the early modern philosophers who urge to create supranational organization by proposing that there should be a federation of free states combined together with self-obligation in order to prevent war. Moreover, he also proposes the idea of human rights, and cosmopolitan, which are now the standard values of developed countries. His proposal from the pamphlet, "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch", has been adapted and implemented by many international organizations such as the United Nations and the European Union¹.

Kant's attempt for perpetual peace has been the inspiration for the thesis. The first objective of the study is to examine the availability of Kant's perpetual peace in the European Union. The study try to examine whether or not, Kant's preliminary articles in "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch" are valid nowadays by using case studies from preliminary article 3 and 4 related to no standing armies and no international debts. This study develops further to reinterpret Kant's political philosophy. It is true to say that Kant is idealism but some of his political writings are not idealism. He is realism according to his political writing in "The Metaphysics of Morals" that the state of nature is a state of war and calls for the right to commit the preemptive war and preemptive strike². Moreover, he is also seen as neoliberalism with his definition of the right to property and role of the states. He has written in "The Critique of Pure Reason" that the right to property has the status of a generally right, and further argues that the

¹ Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), p. 25.

² Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 209-215.

conception of the right to property calls for a positive politics of distribution by the state, in which the state has no right to possess the property right³. The state is bound to protect and facilitate its citizens to have the private property right.

For this reason, the second attempt of the study is to redefine Kant's political philosophy in order to explain that Kant is not only idealism, but also realism and neoliberalism.

The beginning of the study is to examine whether or not, the EU has adopted Kant's political philosophy. The European Union, according to Robert Kagan, is seen as a force for good and absolute Kantian with the use of soft power, strategic culture and civilian power⁴. The EU is seen as an alternative superpower to the United States because it is stepping out of the Hobbesian world into the Kantian world of perpetual peace⁵.

However, the EU, as a force for good, raises a question on whether the EU is purely Kantian or not. This is because some of the EU behaviours such as a military free-rider or a big creditor are in contrast to Kant's preliminary article 3 and 4 in "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch", which are related to no standing armies and no international debts.

In addition to this, an attempt of the EU to be a supranational organization is success in terms of economics, which can be seen in the implementation of the European Single Market, the European Monetary Union, and the use of Euro currency. However, the EU still has some difficulties in external affairs. The European Union cannot speak in one voice. This is because the traditional power politics of the Member States still exists in the organization. The major EU Member States play an important role in the decision-making policies. Some of the EU policies, such as military and assistance for developing countries are mainly under the control of the Member States.

For this reason, it is seen that the EU is not purely Kantian. Some of its characteristics are neoliberalism. The EU economic success is from neoliberal means according to neoliberal ideology that it has elements of market liberalization and state

³ Wolfgang Kersting, "Politics, freedom, and order: Kant's political philosophy", in Paul Guyer (ed.), The Cambridge companion to Kant, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 348-349.

⁴ Robert Kagan, Of Paradise and Power, p. 5.

⁵ Ibid., 5.

deregulation. In addition, it is obviously seen that the EU does not follow Kant's preliminary article 3 related to no standing armies but the EU does not play a prominent role in the global security because it wants to cut the military costs and save money to do something relate to its prosperity such as trade and investment internally and externally.

The EU is the world's largest donor⁶. The EU always plays an important role in helping developing countries. However, what the EU does is the win-win situation. The EU gains a lot from the developing countries. The EU grants are not for free. It comes with the conditions that the receivers have to follow the EU values and standards, which facilitate the EU trade and investment in those countries. The EU success in this win-win situation can be seen in the EU position as the world's largest trader and 80% of the EU imports and exports are from the developing countries. The EU has its neoliberal agendas to perform its external relations with the third world countries. The EU does not follow Kant's preliminary article that the EU grant is not for free and the EU behave itself as a big creditor.

For this reason, this study is an attempt to prove the availability of Kant's perpetual peace in the European Union by using case studies from preliminary article 3 and 4 related to no standing armies and no international debts.

2. Research Questions

1. Is the European Union Kantian?
2. Is Kant neoliberalism?
3. If the European Union is Kantian, does the European Union act as neoliberalism in order to perform a Kantian role in global context?

⁶ European Commission, EU Development Policy, (Luxembourg: Office for Publications of the European Community, 2005.), p. 3.

3. Hypotheses

As a result of the EU to use soft power to perform its external relations with other countries, the EU is perceived as Kantian and a force for good. However, the hidden agendas behind the pursuit of soft power and aid assistance provided for developing countries is that the EU is trying to maximize its benefits through its neoliberal means. For this reason, the EU should be perceived as Kantian neoliberalism.

4. Theory specification

Theories involved in the study were Kant's political philosophy and neoliberalism. Kant's political philosophy in this study is seen as an attempt to reinterpret Kant's political philosophy. That is to say, Kant should not be seen only as idealism but also realism and neoliberalism according to his political writings. In addition to this, neoliberal theory was involved in the study due to Kant's political ideology as neoliberalism and the EU neoliberal behaviours. In the thesis, the classical neoliberalism was used in the study according to Kant's neoliberal ideology, namely, the elite groups, state deregulation and market liberalization. In addition to his, these two theories were used to be a framework to analyze and identified the EU as Kantian neoliberalism.

5. Design of Data collection

This research is a descriptive research with a qualitative data. The design of data collection is divided into three parts. The first part is Kant. It was designed to address the key research questions by examining Kant's political ideology and relate his idea to the neoliberal concept. In this study, Kant's political ideology is various. He can be seen as idealism, realism and neoliberalism. The second part is neoliberalism. It was an attempt to explain neoliberal theory and link neoliberal ideology to Kant and the European Union by examining the neoliberal EU and Kantian neoliberalism. The third part is the European Union. In this section, the EU identity was explained and linked to Kant and neoliberalism. Case studies from Kant's preliminary article 3 and 4 were used to explain the concrete EU practices and to prove the validity of Kantian and neoliberal practices in the European Union.

6. Sample Design

Samples of this study were Kant's preliminary article 3 and 4 related to no standing armies and no international debt. Preliminary article 3 of Kant's perpetual peace was selected to be a case study because the EU has its own military power but it is lack of military power and does not want to share the military burden with the United States. In addition, Kant's preliminary article 4 was chosen because of the EU contrastive identity as the world's largest donor and big creditor.

7. Data analysis

Aims of the study are to explain why the EU should be perceived as Kantian neoliberalism due to its neoliberal behaviours by using case studies from Kant's preliminary article 3 and 4 from "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch." The data analysis and the research findings were divided into 4 parts. The first part is an attempt to explain why the EU is Kantian. The second part is to prove the availability of Kant's perpetual peace. The third part is to explain the EU identity as neoliberalism according to its practices such as the EU constitution, democratic deficits and the EU trade. The last part is the validity of Kant's perpetual peace in the EU political and economical context. Kant's preliminary article 3 and 4 from "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch" were used as case studies.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The European Union is perceived as Kantian by the EU scholars such as Kagan due to its attempts to preserve peace and stability in the region. However, the EU itself is not purely Kantian because it also has some neoliberal agendas in helping developing countries through trade and aid and the use of civilian power. In this chapter, the existence of Kant's perpetual peace in the European Union will be explained to prove that the European Union is Kantian neoliberalism.

This chapter is divided into four parts; the first part is the EU Kantian. It is an attempt to explain why the EU is perceived as Kantian, namely the EU use of soft power, strategic culture, civilian power, normative power and the EU values. The second part is to prove that Kant's political philosophy is not only seen as idealism, but also realism and neoliberalism. The third part is to explain the EU as neoliberalism according to its practices such as the EU constitution, democratic deficits, the EU single market, the EU trade and so on. The last part is the validity of Kant's perpetual peace in the EU political and economical context. Kant's preliminary article 3 and 4 from "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical sketch" are used as case studies in order to prove the validity of Kant's perpetual peace in the European Union.

1. The EU Kantian

The European Union is seen as Kant because of its founding principle to be a supranational organization with its own constitution in order to prevent war, preserve peace and stability in the region. In addition to this, Kant's doctrine of human rights, democracy and cosmopolitan has become the European values and promoted worldwide.¹ For this reason, the EU is seen as a force for good with the use of Kant's political philosophy. In this part, the EU identities which are seen as Kantian, namely, the

¹ Juergen Habermas, "Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace: at Two Hundred Year's Historical Remove" in Ciaran Cronin and Pablo De Greiff (eds), *The inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), p. 178.

soft power, the strategic culture, the civilian power, the normative power and the EU values will be explained in order to fulfill the understanding of the EU as Kantian.

1.1 The Soft Power

The soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others². In the international order, a country may obtain the outcomes it wants because other countries admire its values and want to follow it.³ It can be said that soft power is the use of negotiation and persuasion as a means to an end. Soft power is different from hard power in the sense that it tries to avoid the use of force, and prefer negotiation to coercion.

The European Union as a symbol of a uniting Europe is a good example of the soft power⁴. It is seen as an attempt to establish a supranational organization in order to bring peace and prosperity to the Member States of the union. The use of soft power in the EU is widely resulted in the EU values and the EU foreign policies in which they are contributed to multilateralism, human rights and aid assistance. The EU tends to exert its influence overseas through the promotion of democracy and development by using trade and aid in which it is resulted in the EU relations with the third world countries.⁵ In addition, the European propensity toward multilateralism makes the EU policies attractive to many other countries to follow and regard the EU as the normative power. Consequently, it can be seen that the EU use of soft power is a win-win situation for the EU to gain its reputation as a force for good and also pave the way for the EU to perform its dominant role in the international order.

According to the EU foreign policies explained earlier, it is also seen that the EU gains a lot of credibility from its positions on global climate change, international law, and human rights.⁶ It is obviously seen that some of the EU positions such as the international law, the promotion of democracy and human rights are rooted from Kant's

² Joseph S. Nye, JR., Soft power : the Means to Success in World Politics, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p. 5.

³ Ibid., p. 5.

⁴ Ibid., p. 77.

⁵ Ibid., p. 80.

⁶ Ibid., p. 80.

political ideology, which can be seen in “Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch”, “The Metaphysics of Morals” and many more. Consequently, the EU soft power in the context of Kantian political philosophy has made such a great differences between the use of American hard power and the EU alternative superpower. This is also the reason why the EU as a symbol of soft power is seen as Kantian and alternative power to the United States.

1.2 The Strategic Culture

Kagan asserts that the EU uses the strategic culture in the sense that it generally favours peaceful responses to problems, prefers negotiation, diplomacy and persuasion to coercion⁷. In addition, the EU is quicker to appeal to international law, international conventions and international to adjudicate disputes. It tries to use the commercial and economic ties to bind the national together⁸. According to this, it can be seen that the strategic culture is another face of soft power. It represents the peaceful means to tackle with all problems. It prefers persuasion to coercion and uses the economic means to build and maintain the relationship in the world order.

In addition, strategic shows that it tries to avoid the use of military force and try to develop multilateral cooperation in order to maintain political and economical stability in the international order. For this reason, it can be seen that the EU has fulfill this criteria to use the strategic culture and can be seen as Kantian in terms of the lack of military force, the promotion of multilateralism, and the use of international law.

Kagan asserts that the Europeans today are not ambitious for power and certainly not for military power because of its painful experience during the Second World War⁹. The EU painful experience in the past has become the expensive lesson for the EU to become the peaceful EU today. Kagan’s argument is as same as Kant in the sense that Kant tries to purpose the idea of perpetual peace in order to prevent war and preserve peace in the region, and Kagan shows the way that the EU can maintain peace and

⁷ Robert Kagan, Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), p. 5.

⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

⁹ Ibid., p. 55.

stability in the region with the use of strategic culture, namely the emphasize on negotiation, diplomacy, commercial ties, international law over the use of force, seduction over coercion and multilateralism over unilateralism.¹⁰

To sum up, strategic culture is as same as soft power because it tries to promote the use of negotiation, rather than coercion and the use of force. The EU use of soft power and strategic culture is seen as a means to preserve peace and stability and this attempt is the reason why people perceive that the EU is Kantian.

1.3 The Civilian Power

The idea of a civilian power was first introduced by Francois Duchene which emphasizes on the use of non-military means to perform the external relations with the rest of the world¹¹. Nowadays, the EU is seen as a civilian power, with the use of diplomacy, cooperation and economic means of influence.

Hanns Maull gives the clear definition of the civilian power that it is the acceptance of the necessity of cooperation with others in the pursuit of international objectives, the concentration on non-military, primarily economic, means to secure national goals, with military power left as a residual instrument serving essentially to safeguard other means of international interaction and a willingness to develop supranational structures to address critical issues of international management.¹²

The EU use of civilian power is according to Kant's preliminary article 3 in "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch" that standing armies should be abolished altogether.¹³

The EU use of civilian power can be resulted in many European Security and Defence Policy missions under the mandate of The NATO and the UN. The EU use of non-military is not only benefit the EU for its reputation, but also for cutting its military costs. The EU can enjoy its role as a military free rider from being the EU Kantian. This argument will be developed further in the case study from the EU military in part 4.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 55.

¹¹ www.uta.fi/laitokset/sospol/opetus/kokemuksia/article.PDF ,(2009, April 27)

¹² Karen E. Smith, "Still Civilian Power EU?" , available from www.arena.uio.no/cidel/WorkshopOsloSecurity/Smith.pdf ,(2009, April 27)

¹³ Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch", Translated by H. Reiss, in H. B. Nisbet (ed.), *Kant's Political Writings*, (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 94.

1.4 The Normative Power and the EU Values

The use of normative power may be seen as the highest level of soft power. This is because the EU is able to set some of the global opinion and norm by adding its own value in the international order and attracts many countries to follow. It can be seen that the normative power is a continuing part of the EU identity from the EU use of soft power, strategic culture and the civilian power.

The normative power is the standards or values that should be or should have done. According to Ian Manner, the EU has exercised the power in the world through its ability to influence and partially set the global opinions and norms. This is because The EU is founded on and has as its foreign and development policy objectives the consolidation of democracy, rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.¹⁴

The use of EU normative power is an attempt to exercise its soft power through the EU values, which are the respect for human rights, the fundamental freedom, and the promotion of peace, democracy, good governance, gender equality, the rule of law and solidarity and justice¹⁵

In conclusion, the EU is perceived as Kantian because of the soft power, strategic culture, civilian power, the normative power and the EU values in which the EU tries to promote worldwide. The EU tries to achieve the win-win situation by trying to be Kant and a force for good in order to be a military free rider and gain its international reputation in doing so. However, the EU is not purely Kantian. Some of the EU policies contain some neoliberal agendas, which will be described further in section 3 about the neoliberal EU.

¹⁴ Andy Storey, "Normative Power Europe? Economic Partnership Agreements and Africa", Paper for presentation at the African Studies Association of Ireland Conference, (Dublin 3rd December 2005), Available from : <http://www.pana.ie/idn/031205.html> , (2009, April 27)

¹⁵ European Commissions, The European Consensus on Development, (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006), p. 14.

2. Reinterpret Kant's Political Philosophy

It has long been interpreted that Kant is idealism due to his political philosophy presented in "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch", and "Metaphysics of Morals". However, Kant is not purely idealism. Some of his political ideologies are realism and neoliberalism.

2.1 Kantian Realism

Kant is always perceived as a representative of idealism. However, some of his political philosophy is realism. Richard Tuck argues that Kant is as same as Hobbes in terms of the state of nature is a state of war, and the right to commit the preemptive war and preemptive strike.

Kant has proposed the idea that state of nature is a state of war that states are by nature in a nonrightful condition, and this nonrightful condition is a condition of war¹⁶. This is the reason why he tries to propose the federation of free states and cosmopolitan order to prevent war. However, he still believes that peace can be achieved through self-obligations, which is a voluntarily system within the federation of free states but this also raises the question on how the federation of free states do to tackle with the external security. This comes to an issue of preemptive war and preemptive strike. He insists that the state has the right to commit the preemptive war in order to prevent itself from the attack of other state¹⁷. However, the doctrine to commit the preemptive war and preemptive strike is quite contrast to his doctrine written in Perpetual Peace that there should be no standing armies in which he stating that there should be no standing armies because they are the cause of wars of aggression and the hiring of men to kill or to be killed seems to mean using them as mere machines an instrument in the hand of someone else, which cannot easily be reconciled with the

¹⁶ Richard Tuck, The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 209.

¹⁷ Ibid., 215.

rights of man in one's own person¹⁸. In addition, the right to commit the preemptive war and preemptive strike is still lack of the explanations on which cases state should commit the preemptive war and preemptive strike, as it can be resulted in the war in Iraq in 2002 that the US claimed that Iraq has the weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and took the lead to destroy the so-called weapons of mass destruction. For this reason, the definition of Kantian realism namely, the state of nature is a state of war and the right to commit the preemptive war and the preemptive strike are still inconsistent. The definitions of these doctrines advantage the belligerent countries to go to war with the claims to commit the preemptive war or preemptive strike.

2.2 Kantian Neoliberalism

It is hardly believe that Kant, who is one of the dominant idealism philosophers, is neoliberalism, but it does happen with his definition of elites, private property right and the role of the state.

Kant has proposed the idea of elites groups in Perpetual Peace that; “We can therefore say that the smaller number of ruling persons in a state and the greater their powers of representation, the more the constitution will approximate to its republican potentiality, which it may hope to realize eventually by gradual reforms. For this reason, it is more difficult in an aristocracy than in a monarchy to reach this one and only perfectly lawful kind of constitution, while it is possible in a democracy only by means of violent revolution.”¹⁹

According to this, Kant believes that the smaller number of ruling persons will give the greater powers of representation and the perfectly lawful constitution should be made under the small number of ruling persons. Consequently, it can be seen that these elites are important for state's legislation and policy making. Due to neoliberal perspective, elite groups play an important role in lobbying the governments or the rulers to govern the state in the way they want and later exploit their benefits.²⁰ This is because elite

¹⁸ Kant, “Perpetual Peace”, p. 95.

¹⁹ Kant, “Perpetual Peace”, p. 101.

²⁰ Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston, “Introduction”, p. 1.

groups are the representative of the private authority to share an interest in the sources and structures of power in domestic and international politics and has a wider range of private actors beyond corporations, including social movements, trade union, churches, non-governmental organization (NGO) and think tanks.²¹ It is perceived that neoliberalism is a struggle of power between the elite groups to exploit their economic benefits through the government's decision-making process. This can be seen in the success of the US foreign trade and investment in last several decades and the presence success of the neoliberal EU.

Another idea of Kantian neoliberalism is the private property right. Kant says that the right to property has the status of a generally necessary right.²² It is seen that he equates the right to property to the fundamentally right. As a result, it is as same as neoliberalism in the sense that neoliberalism claims for the freedom of individual as the freedom of market.²³ It successfully articulated neoclassical economic theories with a liberal individualist conception of political freedom.²⁴ For this reason, the idea of freedom of markets is used in order to release the market from political controls or regulation. It tries to convert the citizen into a consumer with its slogan 'I shop, therefore I am.'²⁵ This consumption in the new global market serves a vital economic need, but it also makes for a cultural restructuring of society from the civil society into the social capital, which can also lead to democratic deficits.²⁶

In addition to Kantian neoliberalism, Kant's insists that the right to property calls for a positive distribution by the state.²⁷ For this reason, the state has no right to possess the property right. Rather, it is bounded to protect and facilitate citizens' private property right. Kant is neoliberalism in terms of the proper functioning of the state that the

²¹ Ronaldo Munch, "Neoliberalism and politics and the politics of neoliberalism", p. 65.

²² Wolfgang Kersting, "Politics, freedom, and order: Kant's political philosophy", p. 351.

²³ Ronaldo Munch, "Neoliberalism and politics and the politics of neoliberalism", p. 60.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 61.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 61.

²⁶ Alex Warleigh, Democracy in the European Union, (London: SAGE Publications, 2003), p.6.

²⁷ Wolfgang Kersting, "Politics, freedom, and order: Kant's political philosophy", p. 351.

state should let the market operates and should provide social and political stability in order to ensure economic stability and private property right. Kant also finds that the growing interdependence of societies especially trade expansion is a tendency favourable to the peaceful unification of people.²⁸ What Kant says is quite a neoliberal idea that trade expansion is favourable and it should be made for the peaceful unification people, but what countries gain more from trade expansion is the prosperity of its own country.

In short, Kant's political ideology can easily get along with neoliberalism with the idea of elite groups, private property rights and roles of the state. It is true that Kant has established his political philosophy in order to bring peace and stability into the region. Not only states benefits from his doctrines, but also the citizens can gain more economic benefits from what he has written in the form of neoliberalism.

3. The Neoliberal EU

In this part, the EU neoliberal behaviours and its neoliberal institutions will be explained. The European Union is neoliberal because of several reasons. Firstly, the EU integration has the component of neoliberal agendas namely, the spillover effect or the Monnet method in which it dilutes the European integration to be an intergovernmental organization. Secondly, the process of the EU integration which is seen as a vehicle of neoliberalism, which are the Maastricht criteria, Stability and Growth Pact, the EU draft constitution, and the EU democratic deficits. Thirdly, the EU consists of neoliberal institutions and policies, namely the European Roundtable of Industrialist (ERT), the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), the European Single Market, and the Common Agricultural Policy.

²⁸ Habermas, "Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace: at Two Hundred Year's Historical Remove",

3.1 The neoliberal EU integration

3.1.1 The Monnet Method and the Democratic Deficit

Jean Monnet proposes the idea of European integration by utilizing the ideology of functionalism and federalism to establish the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). He urges the use of spillover method by believing that Europe would gradually integrated sector by sector. The spillover method is also called as the Monnet Method. The Monnet method bases on the assumption that Member States would prefer to maximize the gains they received from integration by allowing it to proceed from one area of policy to another²⁹. However, this assumption was not entirely correct. Although the EU has developed almost beyond recognition for more than 50 years, the pace of this growth has been dictated by the Member States of the EU according to their collective agreement rather than by the objectively logical steps that might be necessary to optimize gains from previous collaboration³⁰.

The Monnet method also established the EU as elite, rather than a democratic organization³¹. It is seen as a struggle of power between the Member States. The EU integration contributes the EU economic integration but it cannot contribute the EU political integration. This is because the power politics within the region still belong to the Member States. The results of this can be seen in the failure of the ratification of the EU draft constitution and the inconsistent EU single foreign policies in which the power of decision-making belong to the major Member States. For this reason, the EU integration is seen as a part of hegemonic project and is therefore partly to blame for the 'democratic deficit' of the Union.³²

²⁹ Alex Warleigh-Lack, The European Union: The Basics, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009) pp. 20-21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

3.1.2 The Maastricht Criteria

The Maastricht criteria or the convergence criteria is seen as a part of the EU neoliberal project because it has the character of state deregulation and makes the Member States lose its control in their internal economic policies. The Maastricht Criteria consists of four conditions for the Member States who wants to join the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), namely;

1. Price Stability – an average inflation rate must not exceed by more than 1.5 % that of the three best-performing Member States
2. Interest Rate – An average nominal long-term interest rates must not exceed by more than 2% that of the three best-performing Member States.
3. Government Budgetary Position – An annual current account deficit must not exceed by more than 3% of GDP, and a gross public debt ration must not exceed by more than 60% of GDP.
4. Currency Stability – Membership of the narrow band of the ERM (with fluctuations of less than 2.5% around the central rate) for at least two years, with no devaluations³³.

These criteria are seen as the regulations that the Member States who wish to join the EMU has to follow. It is seen that the EU Member States have to pool their sovereignty to the EU to create a united monetary union. This is because the European Union, within the responsibilities of the European Central Bank (ECB) has the right to define and implement monetary policy, conduct foreign exchange operation, hold and manage the official reserves of the Member States and promote the smooth operation of payment systems³⁴. The EU Member States lose its sovereignty and its

³³ Simon Hix, The Political System of the Euroepan Union, (Basingstoke:Macmillan Press,1999) p. 284.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 285.

power to tackle with its domestic monetary policies and the control of policies in order to be more ready and competitive to compete with others under the single currency policy.

3.1.3 The Stability and Growth Pact

The Stability and Growth Pact is seen as one of the neoliberal mechanisms in the European Integration according to the neoliberal belief that budgetary restrictions should remain the keystone of economic policy, as government budget deficits shall not exceed a fixed upper limit of 3% of GDP. In addition, the countries failing to restrict public deficits to the 3% of GDP limit would have to face punitive measures, such as fines, up to 1.5% of the GDP³⁵.

As a result of this, the Stability and Growth Pact constitutes an important instrument for implementing neoliberal policies of reducing the role of the state in the economy and fiscal restructuring in favour of capitalist enterprises and higher income gaps³⁶. In addition, the punishment of the Stability and Growth Pact also shows that the EU Member States completely lose its monetary control and has to abide by the EU rules, which are the ultimate neoliberal goals.

3.1.4 The EU Draft Constitution

The EU draft constitution in 2004 ascribes the character of the constitutional order to the two major pillars of neoliberalism, which are market deregulation and the priority of state security and military capacity over human and social rights. According to the doctrine of market deregulation, the draft treaty establishing a constitution of Europe article I-3 says that;

“The Union’s objectives: a single market where competition is free and undistorted.”³⁷

³⁵ John Milios, “European Integration as a Vehicle of Neoliberal Hegemony”, in Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston (eds.). *Neoliberalism: a Critical Reader*, (London: Pluto Press, 2005), p. 210.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

According to article I-3, it can be seen that the national governments have nothing to do with their own domestic market and have to follow the EU's economic policies.

In addition to this, the EU Member States also lose its priority of state security and military capacity over human and social rights. As article I-40 says that:

“The common security and defence policy shall provided the Union with an operational capacity drawing on assets civil and military. The Union may uses them on mission outside the Union for peace keeping, conflict prevention and strengthening international security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.”³⁸

For this reason, it can be seen that the EU attempts to be a supranational organization with neoliberal agendas in economics and military. The EU does quite well in economics integration but tasks of the EU military and security still lay in the hands of the EU Member States.

3.2 The EU Neoliberal Institutions and Policies

3.2.1 The European Roundtable of Industrialist (ERT)

The ERT consists of chiefs of executives of the EU multinational companies, in which it covers all range of the EU industrial sector³⁹. It is a driving force behind all the major neoliberal reforms at the EU level, for example, the state deregulation, and liberalization and other measures to increase the EU competitiveness.

The ERT is widely known as political decision-makers at national and European level by means of reports, position papers and face-to-face discussions. It works closely with the EU Commission. The previous and present issues of the ERT are to improve the infrastructure, enhance the competitiveness, and contribute to the

³⁸ Ibid., p. 212.

³⁹ <http://www.ert.be/structure.aspx>, (2009, April 26)

preparation of the Lisbon Agenda which seeks to make Europe the 'most competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy in the world' by the year 2010, prepare for the European enlargement process, support the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) trade negotiations, and underline the business interest in the successful conclusion, and also support an ambitious European Neighbourhood Policy as a win-win approach to gradually enlarging the EU's Single Market⁴⁰.

The ERT is seen as the EU's interest groups. It consists of chairman from the EU multinational companies in order to tackle with the EU competitiveness. Its actions are seen as an attempt to intervene and lobby the EU policy-making. Within the neoliberal European Union, the EU Member States loses their domestic and market and control, while the non-state actors such as the ERT and the Commissions can spread their neoliberal wings to issue the EU economic policy. Neoliberalism is controversial in the EU integration because it has both helped take the process further and along made it focus on economic rather than social integration.

3.2.2 The Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)

The emergence of the Economic and Monetary Union benefits the EU Member States in terms of lower transaction costs, create a more efficient market, help create greater economic certainty, create lower interest rates and makes higher economic growth⁴¹. For this reason, it can be seen that the EMU is necessary for the EU to enhance its capability to achieve its economic goals.

However, there are some neoliberal drawbacks in the EMU that it will deteriorate the state's sovereignty and the EMU's convergence criteria and the stability and growth pact, which has already described earlier, will not benefit for the poor Member States because those criteria are very hard to follow.

⁴⁰ http://www.ert.be/ert_milestones_and_its_chairmen.aspx, (2009, April 26).

⁴¹ Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, pp. 279-230.

3.2.3 The European Single Market (ESM)

The neoliberal characters of state deregulation, market liberalization and privatization have been the main characteristic of the EU Economics institutions nowadays. The EU Single Market also has the character of state deregulation. Like other institutions, the EU Member States cannot interrupt the EU Single Market policy.

The single market policy has a powerful deregulatory impact. Mutual recognition and the new approach to harmonization, combined together with the EU competition policies have led the EU to the removal of tariff barriers between the EU Member States and to the liberalization of most sector of the European Economy⁴². The national governments are no longer free to use trade barriers, state aids or social licenses to protect their industries from the EU competition.

3.2.4 The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)

The Common Agricultural Policy is one of the most controversial policies of the European Union. The Common Agricultural Policy is obviously seen as a social policy with the huge subsidiary to the EU farmers to produce the agricultural products. However, there are some neoliberal issues in the CAP. Firstly, it is about the elites and lobbying power within the EU decision making. France, as the EU' largest agricultural goods producer, plays an important role in the EU decision-making to subsidize the EU farmers. In addition to this, the EU also plays an important role in trade negotiation with other WTO Member States in Doha round, which is still ongoing process. During the process of negotiation, the EU tries to protect the CAP and it is seen as the protectionist policy. The CAP is the dilemma for the EU neoliberal policy but it still has some neoliberal implications.

⁴² Ibid., p. 238.

4. The Validity of Kant's Perpetual Peace

4.1. The availability of Kant's Perpetual Peace

Juergen Habermas asserts in the article "Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace: at Two Hundred Years' Historical Remove" that what Kant writes in "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch" is against the background of the specific historical experience of his time, and it is no longer consonant with the current historical experiences⁴³. This is because Kant's definition of war, cosmopolitan law and federation of free states are inconsistent and different from this current time.

Kant's definition of war is limited to wars between regimes and states whereas there are wars between ethnics, civil populations, guerrilla warfare and terror bombing at the present. Kant's war is limited to traditional security while the current world order is facing with the non-traditional security. The global actors nowadays are not only the nation states but there are also non-states actors included in the international order, namely, the international organizations, multinational companies, the nationalist movements, political parties and non-governmental organizations. For this reason, it can be seen that peace cannot be easily achieved only by the strong collaboration from the nation states but it should be the strong collaboration from both states and non-state actors which is very hard to compromise with the national interests and self-interests. It is now not only the state actors who can have the right to commit the war, but the non- state actors are also able to commit the war and ruin the global peace. The example of this argument is obviously resulted in the war on terrorism and the terrorist attack in many parts of the world.

Moreover, Kant's definition for the use of military forces in which it is the use of human beings as mere machines is not compatible with the current situation according to the nationalist passion and ideological movement.⁴⁴ People nowadays are no longer used as the machines to kill someone else. It is their willingness to be in war to fight against what they perceive that it is not right for them.

⁴³ Habermas, "Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace", p. 166.

⁴⁴ Kant, "Perpetual Peace", p. 95.

Furthermore, the emergence of nuclear weapons in many countries has changed the world security order from the highly devastated wars like the world war to the attempt to have the global balance of power. This is because the nuclear casualties are drastically huge and make the severe damage for the rest of the world. The reason why the major powers try to maintain and enhance the capability of nuclear weapons is not easily because they want to be in war. It is their attempt to ensure their military stability with the balance of power and their negotiation power with the lesser power countries. Consequently, it is seen that the major power countries tend to use its military power to ensure their political and economic stability internally and externally. In addition to this, Kant also proposes that countries with democratic regimes are less belligerent than other regime because it is in the interest of the populations of democratic constitutional states to compel their government to pursue peaceful policies, as he asserts that:

“If... the consent of the citizen is required to decide whether or not war is to be declared, it is very natural that they will have great hesitation in embarking on so dangerous enterprise. For this would mean calling down on themselves all the miseries of war...”⁴⁵

Nevertheless, according to the historical and statistical research, it shows that states with democratic constitutions do not necessarily conduct fewer wars than other regimes.⁴⁶ This can be resulted in the implementation of the United States foreign policies that many wars such as war in Iraq and Afghanistan were declared by the consent of its populations. For this reason, it can be said that democratic countries are not peaceful because their populations are peaceful; sometimes the populations themselves demand to conduct the war.

In addition to the validity of Kant's perpetual peace, the cosmopolitan law should be taken in to consideration. Kant has proposed the use of cosmopolitan law but

⁴⁵ Ibid., p .100.

⁴⁶ Habermas, “Kant's Ideas of Perpetual Peace”, p. 172.

he does not explain how his cosmopolitan law is different from the classic international law⁴⁷. He asserts that the cosmopolitan law is supposed to be different from public coercive laws of a superordinate power but still retain their independence.⁴⁸ Consequently, it is seen that what he said is as same as the classic international law that it has no coercive power but just to give the directives and suggestions to the disputed countries. Hence, Kant does not make something new in proposing the cosmopolitan order but he tries to explain the functions of international law in the name of cosmopolitan order.

Furthermore, Kant's doctrine of federation of free states is not strong enough in the concept of law enforcement. He proposes that the federation of free states should be combined together with self obligation.⁴⁹ The federation of nations is a permanent congress of states. The congress is understood as a voluntary coalition of different states which can be dissolved at anytime, not a union which is based on an institution.⁵⁰ According to his perception of federation of nations, the member states' self obligation is not the right answer for the current world order. This is because Kant's self obligation is a voluntarily action and has no enforcement among the member states. He never explains how the permanence of the union on which a civilized resolution of international conflict depends can be guaranteed without the legally binding character of an institution analogous to a state constitution.⁵¹ The lack of power to enforce the treaty is the weakness of international organizations and may lead to the ineffective cooperation as can be resulted in the failure of the League of Nations.⁵² Kant has proposed the idea of supranational organization but it is still lack of power of enforcement and the division of legislative and administrative power. This is the reason why Kant's proposal for supra-national states is weak.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 168.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 168.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 170.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 170-171.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 170-171.

⁵² Ibid., p. 168.

In conclusion, Kant's definition of war is limited to wars between regimes and states whereas there are wars between ethnics, civil populations, guerrilla warfare and terror bombing at the present. Kant's war is limited to traditional security while the current world order is facing with the non-traditional security. The global actors nowadays are not only the nation states but there are also non-states actors included in the international order, namely, the international organizations, multinational companies, the nationalist movements, political parties and non-governmental organizations. It is now not only the state actors who can have the right to commit the war, but the non-state actors are also able to commit the war and ruin the global peace.

In addition, the emergence of nuclear weapons in many countries has changed the world security order from the highly devastated wars like the world war to the attempt to have the global balance of power. Kant has proposed the use of cosmopolitan law but he does not explain how his cosmopolitan law is different from the classic international law.

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4.2. The existence of Kant's Perpetual Peace in the European Union

The European Union is Kantian neoliberalism because of two main reasons. Firstly, it is because the EU's attempted to be the supranational organization is diluted by the neoliberal agendas. Secondly, it is because of the EU's endeavour to exploit its economic worldwide through its foreign policies such as the EU single market, the Euro, the EU development through trade and aid and negotiating power in international organizations.

The EU, according to Monnet and Kant, is tended to be supranational organization with its own constitution but this attempt is diluted because some of the EU Member State citizens want to preserve its own sovereignty and benefits within their

countries to the EU. This can be resulted in the denial of the EU Constitution in 2004. According to the neoliberal analysis, it can be seen that state interests are determined by norms and rules of international society, international regimes and institutions, and the creation of incentives and penalties. For this reason, if the EU moves forward to be supranational organization, sovereignties of all Member States must be given to the EU constitution, and then, the power within the hands of the EU constitution will drastically change Member State's interests, norms, and practices. So that it will be the challenge for them to survive within the EU new order. Moreover, it is obviously seen that the EU has a great success in terms of economic and monetary integration, but it fails in uniting and speaking in one voice. The EU still has no single foreign policies. The decision-making power is laid under the Member States' hands. Decision-making within the EU is seen as a struggle of power between the major Member States. This is as same as neoliberalism in terms of the elite groups and the lobbying power. In addition, the EU's lack of its central power to speak in one voice leads to the weakness of the EU in itself. In addition to this, the EU still suffers from the democratic deficits because some of the EU positions are not elected, but appointed from the EU Member States' experts and officials. The democratic deficits can lead to the question of legitimacy for the EU to promote democracy and monitor all the developing countries' elections. Furthermore, the democratic deficits in the EU can create the imbalance of power between the appointed executive body and the European Parliament, which can enhance the power of lobbying by the elite groups for the EU decision-making.

Another obvious reason that makes the EU to be neoliberal is its attempt to exploit the economic benefits worldwide through the use of single market, Euro, EU development policy and multilateral negotiation. According to the idea of neoliberal institutionalism, the state's preferences are shaped by membership of the international institution⁵³. For this reason, it can be seen that the common interest is a successful cooperation. The EU integration process has fulfilled this criterion because its common interests of the member state is prosperity and profit from neoliberal activities such as

⁵³ Clive Archer, The European Union: Structure and Process, (New York: Routledge, 2006),

open the markets, and trade liberalization. The EU binds the Member State together with the neoliberal common interests and it has set up the structure and strategic plan to achieve those common interests. Hence, the EU neoliberal agenda is obviously seen in the institutional frameworks which assist the EU to achieve its goal. The EU single market, the Euro currency are established in order to facilitate the EU Member States to trade within the Union, and also assists the EU to have more negotiating power with other countries. The EU, as one union, is strong enough to perform and negotiate with other countries to achieve in what it wants. It also uses the soft power and the European values to pave the way for its trade negotiation and trade liberalization. The EU provides aid assistance to developing countries because it wants to gain more from what it pays.

This research is an attempt to explain why the EU is perceived as Kantian neoliberalism by using two case studies from Kant's "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch" to examine how neoliberal the EU is.

4.3. The EU as Kantian Neoliberalism: Case Studies from the EU military

Kant has proposed the idea of no standing armies in preliminary article 3 by stating that "Standing armies (*miles perpetuus*) will gradually be abolished altogether."⁵⁴ He insists that the standing armies can lead states to go to war because they are always prepared for it⁵⁵. In addition, the elimination of the standing armies is also a means to end burdensome of military expenditure⁵⁶. This may be true that the standing armies are hostile to peace but they can ensure the states' security and stability.

⁵⁴ Kant, "Perpetual Peace", p. 94.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 94.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 94-95.

Nowadays, standing armies represents state's superpower to guarantee its stability, not for the readiness to go to war. Standing armies shows the strength of the state, and its capability to cope with unpredicted situations such as conflicts or unrests in the region due to political instability, military operations under the mandate of the United Nations, people evacuation in case of catastrophe or humanitarian operations.

Missions of standing armies are not only related to military operations but also non-military operations in order to guarantee peace and stability in the region. Roles of standing armies are wider due to changes of world order. They can work closely with civilians in emergency cases, and they are also able to work together with other military troops from other countries under the UN mandate for humanitarian operations in disputed areas such as in Somalia or Congo. Consequently standing armies are needed not only for guaranteeing the state's stability, but also for humanitarian operations and military cooperation purposes.

4.3.1 The European Security and Defence Policy

The European Union, as an intergovernmental organization has the standing armies in order to tackle with the unprecedented situations. The dimension of defense and security is rooted in the establishment of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), according to the Treaty on European Union (TEU) in 1992. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) is a part of the CFSP, which plays the most important roles in the EU's security and defence policies. The ESDP is under the responsibility of the EU high representative, Javier Solana. Its structures and instruments are the Political and Security Committee (PSC), the European Union Military Committee (EUMC), the European Union Military Staff (EUMS), and the Civilian Planning and Combat Capability (CPC). The Political and Security Committee (PSC) is established in order to monitor the international situation, and to contribute to the definition of policies within the ESDP. It responses to strategic actions of the military operations. The European Union Military Committee (EUMC) is the highest military body. It was set up within the Council with the chiefs of defence of the member states who are regularly represented by their permanent military representatives. Its main task is to provide the

advice and recommendations on all military matters within the EU to the PSC. The European Union Military Staff (EUMS) is comprised of military and civilian aspects seconded to the Council secretariat by the Member States. It will support the military and civilian operations. The Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC) is a permanent structure responsible for an autonomous operational conduct of civilian ESDP cooperation. The ESDP objectives⁵⁷ are;

1. To safeguard the common values and fundamental interests of the union
2. To strengthen the security of the Union
3. To preserve peace and international security in accordance with the UN charter
4. To promote international cooperation
5. The development of democracy and the rule of law, including human rights

According to those objectives, the EU has no intention to share the military responsibility with the US. It only wants to preserve peace and security in the European continent. The civilian and military missions the EU does abroad must be within the mandate of the UN or under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) cooperation. One of the reasons is that the EU, as an economic superpower, prefers to enjoy its economic benefits by trading with others rather than share military responsibilities with the US superpower. It is quite neoliberal that the EU military is not worth as much as trade liberalization and opening the EU markets worldwide. In addition, the reason why the EU gives less attention on military and defence is because the EU voters do not want to pay for it⁵⁸. For this reason, it can be seen that the EU is very sluggish in the military operations and global security. It is not because the EU is lack of its military capability because the EU has enough power to do so, but it is because the EU thinks that it does not as worth as it invests in economics area. This can

⁵⁷ http://www.ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/esdp, (2009, March 26.)

⁵⁸ Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power*, p. 25.

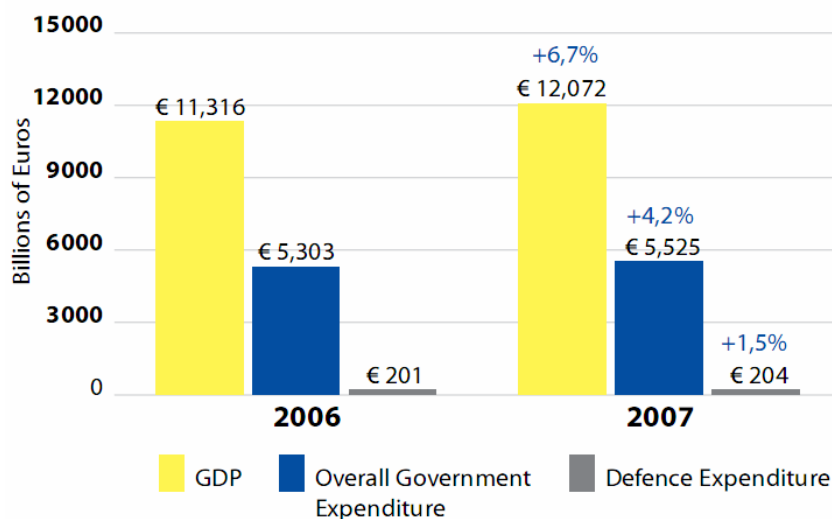


Figure 2: GDP, Overall Government Expenditure and Defence Expenditure

Source: EDA defence data 2007

be resulted in the military missions that almost military and security issues are still largely in the hands of nation-states and subject to consensual voting in the European Council of Ministers and the Committees of the ESDP⁵⁹. The EU spends very less on military and defence if compare to what they spend on other areas, as can be seen in figure 2.

In addition to this, the EU military expenditure is relatively low if compares to the overall government expenditure. It is only 204 billion Euros from 5,525 euros in 2007. Moreover, more than half of the military expenditure is just for personnel, rather than investment in research and development, research and technology, procurement, operations and maintenance, as can be seen below.

One of the reasons that the EU tends to be sluggish in military is because the EU voters do not want to pay for it⁶⁰. They do not even want to pay for their own military missions. They just want to do the military missions only within the international mandate such as the UN and the NATO⁶¹. For this reason, the real power of

⁵⁹ http://www.ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/esdp, (2009, March 26.)

⁶⁰ Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power*, p. 25.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

military mission is laid in the hands of its Member States. This can be seen in the national and collaborative procurement in figure 5 and 6.

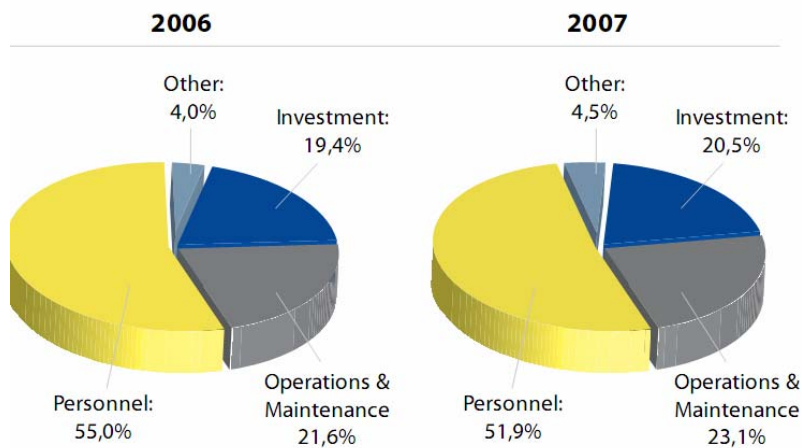


Figure 3: Defence Expenditure Breakdown in Exact Percentages

Source: EDA defence data 2007

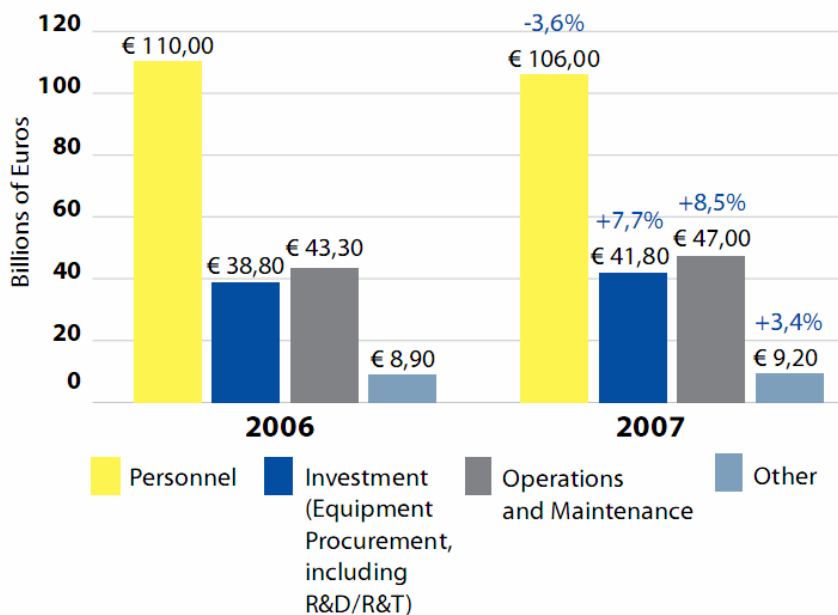


Figure 4: Defence Expenditure Breakdown in volume of Money

Source: EDA defence data 2007

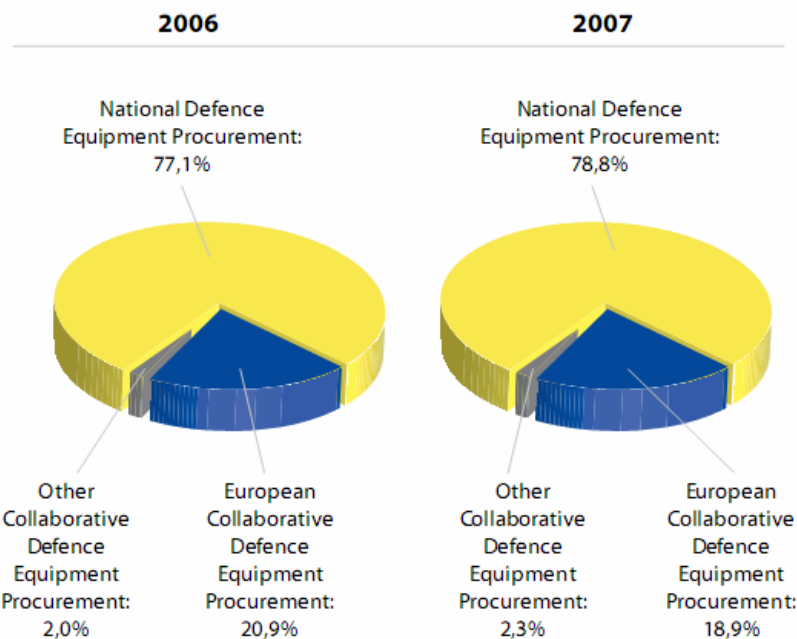


Figure 5: National and Collaborative Equipment Procurement in Percentages

Source: EDA defence data 2007

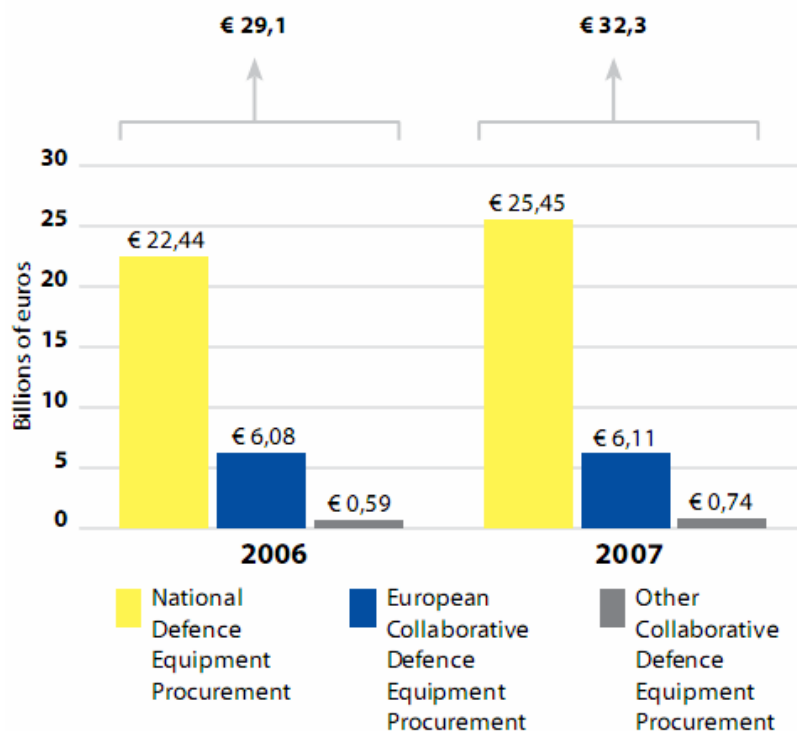


Figure 6: National and Collaborative Equipment Procurement in Volume of Money

Source: EDA defence data 2007

For this reason, the EU itself is weak in military. Its military operations are limited to crisis management and the collaboration between the UN and the NATO. As a result of the EU security and defence cooperation. It is obviously seen that the EU conducts more civilian operations more than the military operations.

4.3.2 The EU civilian operations

The ESDP has set up the civilian objectives and capabilities, which are as follow;

1. Police
2. Strengthening the rule of law
3. Strengthening civilian administration
4. Civil protection
5. Priority areas of Civilian action defined by Feira (Portugal) European Council in June 2000⁶²

It is clear that the EU civilian operations have nothing to do with defence and security. It is rather the tasks of police, humanitarian, and the protection of the rule of law, as can be seen in table 2 and compare with the military missions in table 3. However, according to the need of the disputed countries, do they really need the help of monitoring internal election or setting their national political institution with the same standard? It may be true that police and civil protection are need according to the humanitarian purposes, but what the EU does for strengthening civilian administration and strengthening the rule of law are the missions that the EU does in order to spread out its European values. Is it appropriate for the EU to do such things? This is because the countries those in need do not want political intervention, rather, they want to have

⁶² [http://www.ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/esdp_\(2009\)_March_26](http://www.ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/esdp_(2009)_March_26).)

Missions	Tasks and responsibilities
EUPM	Police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
EULEX Kosovo	Support, mentor, monitor the rule of law and advise the local authorities
EUPOL PROXIMA	Monitoring and advising as well as promoting European policing standard in former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (fYROM)
EUPAT	The EU police advisory team in fYROM , supported the development of official and professional police service based on European standard of policing
EUBAM Rafah	Monitors all operations at the border crossing point in Gaza strip and Palastenian Territories
EUPOL COPS	Support the Palestinian authority in establishing sustainable and effective policing arrangement with the cooperation from the EU Commission
EUJUST LEX	Management and criminal investigation training for seniors officials and executive staffs from the judiciary, police and penitentiary in Iraq
EUJUST Themis	Supporting the Georgian authorities in addressing urgent challenges in the criminal justice system
EUPOL RD Congo	Assists the Congolese national police in its reform efforts and supports its possible interfaces with the justice system
EUSEC DR Congo	Facilitates a successful transition in the Democratic Republic of Congo and supports to AMISII is Sudan/Dafur
EUPOL Kinshasa	Support the country's transition process and its sustainable development by the country-wide policing force
EUPOL Afghanistan	Contribute to the establishment of sustainable and effective civil policing arrangement and supports the reform process with the rule of law, and human rights framework
ACEH monitoring mission	Monitor the implementation of various aspect of peace agreement

Table 2: Tasks and responsibilities of the EU civilian mission under the ESDP

Sources:<http://consilium.europa.eu/esdp>

Mission/ Operations	Europe	Africa	Middle East	Asia
Military	<p>CONCORDIA (FYROM) Mar-Dec 03</p> <p>EUFOR ALTHEA (Bosnia and Herzegovina) December 2004-</p>	<p>ARTEMIS (Ituri province, Congo RDC) Jun-Sep 03</p> <p>AMIS II Suppodrt (Dafur province, Sudan) Jul 05 –Dec 07 Handed over the AU/UN hybrid operation in Dafur (UNAMID)</p> <p>EUROR RD Congo (Congo RDC) Jun 06 – Nov 06</p> <p>EUFOR TCHAD/RCA (Chad-Central African Republic) 28 Jan 08 – 15 Mar 08</p>		
Civilian	<p>EUPOL Proxima (FYROM) Dec 03 – Dec 05</p> <p>EUPAT (FYROM) Followed EUPOL Proxima Dec 05-June 06</p> <p>EUPM BiH (Bosnia and Herzegovina) 01 Jan 2003-</p> <p>EUJUST Themis (Georgia) July 04 – July 05</p> <p>EUPT Kosovo 10 April 2006-</p> <p>EULEX Kosovo 16 February 2008</p>	<p>EUSEC RD CONGO (Congo RDC) June 05- July 07</p> <p>EUPOL Kinshasa (Congo RDC) April 05 -30 June 07</p> <p>EUPOL RD Congo (Congo RDC) 01 Jul 07- 30 Jun 08</p> <p>EU SSR Guinea-Bissau 12 Feb 2008-</p>	<p>EUPOL-COPPS (Palestinian Territories) 01 Jan 06 – 01 Jan 09</p> <p>EUJUST LEX (Iraq) 01 Jul 05 – 30 Jun 09</p> <p>EUBAM Rafah (Palestinian Territories) 30 Nov 05- 24 May 08</p>	<p>AMM (Aceh Province, Indonesia) Sep 05 – Dec 06</p> <p>EUPOL (Afghanistan) 15 Jun 07- 15 Jun 10 (at least)</p>

Table 3: EU military and civilian operations

Source: <http://consilium.europa.eu/esdp>

the humanitarian assistance. The legal mandate of the disputed countries should belong to the responsibilities of the UN to decide what to do this is because the EU is just a regional organization, not a global organization.

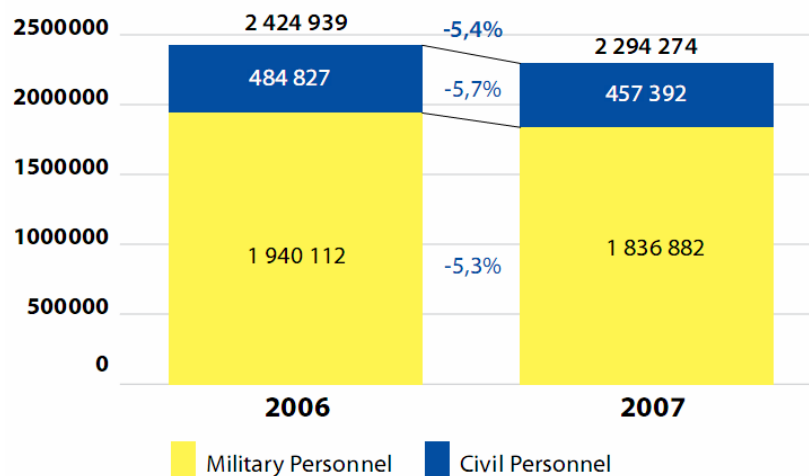


Figure 7: Military and Civilian Personal Numbers

Source: EDA defence data 2007

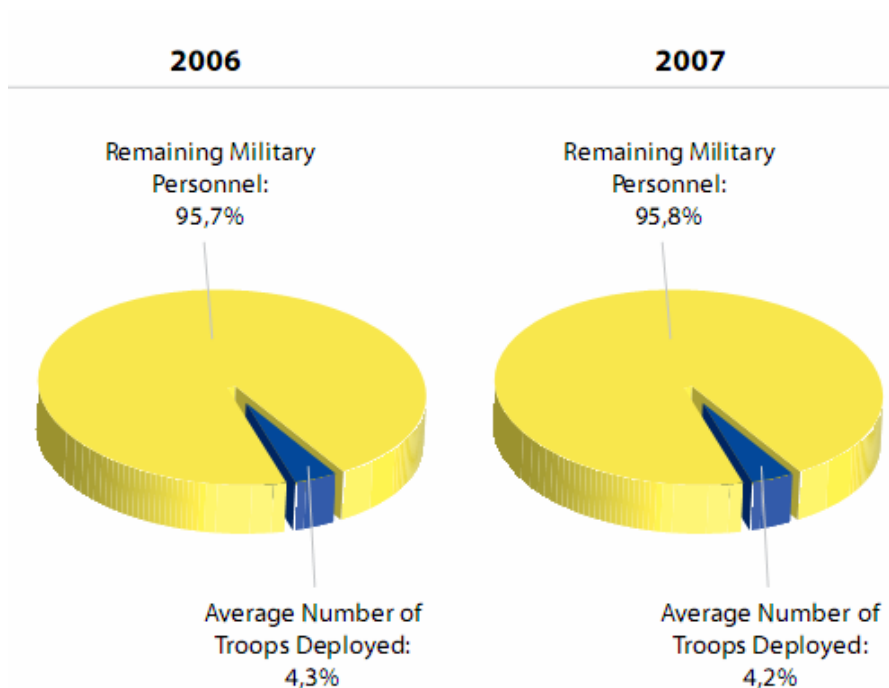


Figure 8: Average Number of Troops in Percentages

Source: EDA defence data 2007

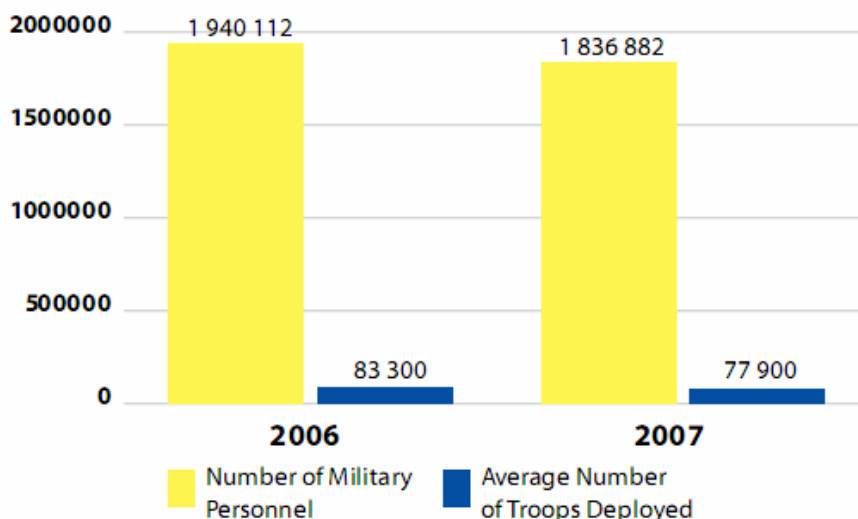


Figure 9: Average Number of Troops Deployed in Figures

Source: EDA defence data 2007

According to table 3, it can be seen that civil operations are much higher than military operations. However, according to the ESDP factsheets, the number of civil personnel is very less than military personnel, as can be seen in figure 7. Furthermore, the number of military troops deployed in the missions is quite few. The EU hires the military personnel a lot but they are rarely deployed in the missions.

4.3.3 The EU military operations

Under the ESDP mission, the EU has its own military staffs, they were deployed in the missions in the name of the battlegroup. The concept of battlegroup was proposed in 2004 and came into force in 2005. Its concept reinforces the EU's military identity in a concrete manner⁶³. It consists of combined arms, battalion sized force (1500 troops), and reinforced with combat support elements. Its tasks are conflict prevention, separation of parties by force, stabilization, reconstruction and military advice to third countries, evacuation operations and assistance to humanitarian operations. Its operations are conducted under a UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR). Standard and criteria are set by the Member States in order to form the basis for developing specific instructions to ensure coherence between constituent parts of the battlegroup package. The Member States play important parts in budget, training,

⁶³ [http://www.ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/esdp. \(2009, March 26.\)](http://www.ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/esdp. (2009, March 26.))

certification, and operation of the battlegroup package. The battlegroup has no fixed structure because the EU claims that it will provide the Member States with necessary flexibility to form their own battlegroup package, and further asserts that the battlegroup package is an opportunity of enhanced military co-operation between Member States and improves mutual knowledge of each other's capabilities with a regard to military means and political decision making⁶⁴. However, according to the concept of the battlegroup that there is no fixed structure and let the Member States decide their own package. It is clearly seen that the Member States play an important role in the EU military. The EU security and defense are laid under the responsibilities of the EU Member States. For this reason, the issue of security and defence is seen as the struggle of power of the Member States. The Member States compete against each other with the power of money and lobbying in order to pursue their own security and defence policy. The major Member States who pay a lot for the EU military budget are Germany, United Kingdom, France and Italy, as can be seen in the example of the sharing costs for ATHENA operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina in table 4.

For this reason, it is perceived that the battlegroup packages are always laid in the EU Member States' hands. This claim is exactly as same as the neoliberal idea that there are elites who always benefits from lobbying in what they want.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

Member State	2005	2006	2007
Belgium	2.83	2.88	2.83
Bulgaria			0.22
Czech Republic	0.80	0.91	0.96
Germany	21.46	20.97	20.18
Estonia	0.08	0.09	0.11
Greece	1.69	1.74	1.77
Spain	8.05	8.28	8.78
France	16.13	16.19	16.08
Ireland	1.21	1.30	1.36
Italy	13.36	13.29	12.80
Cyprus	0.12	0.12	0.13
Latvia	0.10	0.12	0.14
Lithuania	0.18	0.19	0.21
Luxemburg	0.23	0.24	0.23
Hungary	0.80	0.83	0.77
Malta	0.04	0.04	0.04
Netherlands	4.53	4.47	4.66
Austria	2.29	2.28	2.29
Poland	1.86	2.21	2.30
Portugal	1.33	1.31	1.35
Romania	---	---	0.90
Slovenia	0.26	0.27	0.27
Slovakia	0.33	0.36	0.39
Finland	1.48	1.48	1.47
Sweden	2.76	2.83	2.72
United Kingdom	18.07	17.57	17.01

Table 4: Gross National Income (GNI) scale (in%) used for contributions to ATHENA

Source: EU Council Secretariat Factsheet, June 2007

4.3.4 The EU as a Military Free Rider

The needs The EU security and defence policy is limited almost only to the major powers to conduct their own policies-making in which are benefited them. This argument can be developed further to explain why the EU is so sluggish in the military missions. This is not only because the EU adopt the Kantian perspective that there should be no standing military, but also because it is not worth for them to pay more attention on the military spending. This can be resulted in the number of the EU budget on military and the use of military budget in which more than 50% are personnel costs and it does not engages much in research and technology or research and development if it compares to the national military budget of the EU Member States or the US. In addition to this, the EU does not do something new to preserve peace and stability in the international order. This is because the EU chooses to follow NATO and the UN, rather than initiates its own security strategies and missions. The UN mandate is widely accepted in many countries and sending troops to the disputed countries for humanitarian missions is a standard practice of the UN. It is good that the EU, as an international organization does follow the UN mandate, but what is different from other states that are regularly follow the UN mandate? The EU always admire its military missions in terms of providing peace, preserve the rule of law, respecting human rights, but what are the differences between the EU and other states? This is because the UN mandate under the UN Security Council is the global practice of the UN Member States, and the UN also respects human rights, which are clearly stated in "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights". Then, what is different between the EU and the UN values? In addition to this, not only the EU and the EU Member States does follow the UN and NATO mandate, there are more and more UN Member States conduct their military missions under the UN mandate and perhaps they have made more contribution to the UN than the EU, but they never claim that they are peace lover and promote their own values like the EU. According to the EU values to promote democracy, it does not mean that every country wants and ready to be the democratic countries. This is because there is no single panacea that fits all the sickness. Democracy may not be the best practices for some countries and it is also hostile for the EU to be perceived that its concerns about the EU democracy and institutions are such the interventions to the

countries. The EU itself has no right to monitor all the elections held in every country because it is hostile to the countries' sovereignty. Moreover, how can the EU monitor other states' elections in order to justify and prove that those countries are democratic countries or not? This is because the EU itself is not a democracy institution. Many positions in its bodies are still appointed, not elected, and it is still suffers from the democratic deficit. For this reason, the EU claims to be the soft power and the spreading of its own values such as democracy and human rights should not be taken. This is because if one judges that any organization that neglects to use hard power because it is lack of soft power and has no intention to share the military burden with other superpower to be a force for good and a peaceful organization, then, developing countries also fulfill these criteria and can be labeled as a force for good. The EU grabs a chance of its lack of military power to declare that it is peaceful. By renaming that it is a peaceful organization, it can exploit trade economics benefit worldwide without worrying that it does not share the global military responses. For this reason, it can be seen that the EU, who is perceived as Kantian are not really peaceful. It still believes in the use of force and has some neoliberal agendas for being peaceful. It is the win-win situation for the EU to behave peaceful because it can cut the military costs and also enjoys its reputation as a peaceful Kantian in order to negotiating trade and investment with other countries without worrying about the claim that they are a free rider, which is in fact, they are actually is.

In addition to this, if the EU security strategy is taken into consideration, it can be seen that the EU security strategy is almost limited to its own continent and has no intention to deploy the military mission without the mandate from the UN and NATO. The EU knows that it is lack of military power, and tries to improve its capabilities, but its attempt to improve its own capabilities is seen as an intergovernmental cooperation rather than a supranational cooperation that the EU always claims for.

The European Union tries to conceptualize its own security strategy in 2003 after the conflict in Balkan. The EU set its own security strategy called "European Security Strategy". Its objectives are;

1. Addressing the threats
2. Building security in the neighbourhood
3. An international order based on effective multilateralism⁶⁵

According to the first objective, the threats that the EU perceives are exactly as same as what the UN and NATO define that they are the key threats, namely terrorism, the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime. Due to the first objective, what the EU tries to address the global security challenges is to addressing the threats and it does not say that what it will do further. Moreover, the key areas that the EU is interested in are the neighbourhood area, which are in Balkans, Mediterranean, Africa, Middle East, and Caucasus. What the EU does to build security in the neighbourhood are perhaps the most concrete strategic security policy. It declares the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in order to tackle with the conflicts within the region. This is mainly because the conflicts within the European continent affects to the EU and the EU Member States so much that it cannot just wait and see what happen in the neighbourhood. According to the fact that the EU is neoliberalism and it is no free lunch in the world, although the EU does want to tackle with the conflicts within its continent, it also calculate whether its operations are worth for the expense or not. This is the reason why the EU has adopted objective 3 related to multilateral actions.

In addition, what the EU calls international order based on effective multilateralism are not the real military mission. The EU tries to act as a Kantian in order to save the military cost and try not to engage with wars. The EU calls its operations as the humanitarian missions and limited itself to the UN or NATO mandate. What the EU does is peacekeeping, not peace making and try not to engage in any conflicts with the disputed countries. It sounds perfect that the EU tries to be a peacekeeping but if one takes a look closely on the EU missions, it can be seen that the EU tries to limit its military missions as least as possible. It can be said that perhaps

⁶⁵ "The European Strategy", available from [http://www.ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/esdp_\(2009\)_March_26](http://www.ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/esdp_(2009)_March_26)).

some of the developing countries such as Thailand has done the military missions under the UN mandate much more than the EU does. For this reason, it is obviously that the EU tries to limit its costs by disguising itself as a Kantian.

Furthermore, the EU tries to use more civilian operations rather than the military operations because it does not cost as much as the military operations. It is true to say that the EU does something new, but what the EU does is not only benefit for reducing its military cost but also benefits from its reputation to promote its values to the conflicting countries. In reality, what the EU calls the “European values” does not belong only to the EU. This is because what the EU declared as standard values for them, namely, democracy, human rights, the rule of law and good governance are also the UN’s universal values and have been done properly worldwide both in developed and developing countries. The EU grasps a chance of being Kantian to benefit its neoliberal trade and investment worldwide. Some of what the EU does in civilian operations is for expanding its imperialism. The EU tries hard to promote itself as a strong economical and political actor, and takes advantages from its reputation to invest in other countries. It tries to provide assistance and they will occupy other countries with its own values in order to open markets and do the trade liberalization in those countries. In conclusion, preliminary article 3 related to no standing armies in which Kant has written in *Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch* cannot be done in reality because the standing armies are needed in order to guarantee the states’ political and military stability, and perform the military missions under the mandate of international organizations such as the UN and the NATO. For this reason, the standing armies are hardly eliminated. However, the EU, as Kantian, tries to be peaceful by avoiding the use of force and promote the civilian operations which emphasize on promoting the EU values such as democracy, good governance and respecting human rights. The EU is seen as Kantian, but it is not Kantian by necessity, but by the willingness of the EU itself⁶⁶. The EU pretends to be lack of military power, be in the US military shield, and always follow the legal mandate of the UN and NATO because it is a free rider. It can cut

⁶⁶ Kalypto Nicolaidis, “The Power of the Superpowerless” in Tod Lindberg (ed.), *Beyond Paradise and Power: Europe, America and the Future of a Troubled Partnership*, (New York: Routledge) , p. 98.

the military costs and invest more in civilian power in order to gain the reputation and do the business with countries those in dispute. For this reason, it can be seen that the EU is well-fitted with Kantian neoliberalism and it does quite well in pretending itself as Kantian idealism.

4.4 The EU as Kantian Neoliberalism: Case Studies from the EU Development

Kant has proposed in preliminary article 4 of Perpetual Peace that 'No national debt shall be contracted in connection with the external affairs of the state.'⁶⁷ He also asserts that assistance must be without suspicion, because a credit system can be used by a creditor as an instrument of aggression against one another. The indebted country will suffer from its tax-deficit and be able to lead to the national bankruptcy in the long run⁶⁸. International debts are a great obstacle in the way of perpetual peace; therefore, other states are justified in allying themselves against such a state and its pretensions⁶⁹. However, what Kant proposes cannot be done in the real world. No states will grant their money to developing countries. They want to get more in what they have paid. For this reason, the credit system is reasonable for them and this credit system has been existed for several hundred years. Kant cannot eliminate the credit system as long as the states' neoliberal agendas still exist. For this reason, the EU, as a world's largest donor and aid assistance provider, is also cannot eliminate the credit system. This is because the EU benefits pretty much from it. The reasons why the EU tries to help the poorer countries are not because of the humanitarian purpose, but also neoliberal purpose. The EU gains more profits from helping the poor countries. This is because it can open more markets, more investment, and also maintain its power in its former-colonial countries especially in the Africa Caribbean and Pacific Countries (ACP).

⁶⁷ Kant, "Perpetual Peace", p. 95.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 95.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 95.

4.4.1 The EU Development Policy

The EU development policy is a responsibility of the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO). The EU sets up the European Consensus on Development to be the guideline for the EU and the EU Member States practices in terms of development and humanitarian aid. Its current challenges are;

1. Poverty eradication and sustainable development
2. Development cooperation as a shared competence between the European Community and its Member States
3. The EU and the EU Member States should speak in one voice about the basic principles, fundamental values and the development objectives agreed at the multilateral level⁷⁰

In order to make the EU and the EU Member states speak in one voice, the European Consensus on Development is established and jointly agreed by the Council and the representatives of the governments of the Member States meeting within the European Council, the European Commission, and the European Parliament. Its common objectives are;

1. Eradication of poverty in the context of sustainable development, including pursuit of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)
2. Fulfill the obligation of the MDGs made by the UN, which are to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce the mortality rate of children, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, and ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development

⁷⁰ European Commission, The European Consensus on Development, (Luxembourg:

3. Promote the sustainable development, which includes good governance, human rights and political, economic, social and environment aspects
4. A Strategic partnership with the UN
5. Promote policy coherent for development
6. Provide funds and assistance for low-income countries, middle income countries, and least developed countries⁷¹

4.4.2 EU Development Relations with the ACP Countries

The EU (and the EU Member States) concerns much about the ACP countries. This can be resulted in percentage of assistance that the EU grants for them, which can be seen in figure 9 that it is more than half. The relationship between the EU and the ACP countries are strong because of three reasons. Firstly, the ACP countries used to be the EU Member States and this has strongly influenced the subsequent EU-ACP relations. Secondly, it is the need for the EU to tackle with poverty in least developed countries according to the MDGs. Finally, it is the neoliberal need to open new markets, investment and trade within the ACP region.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

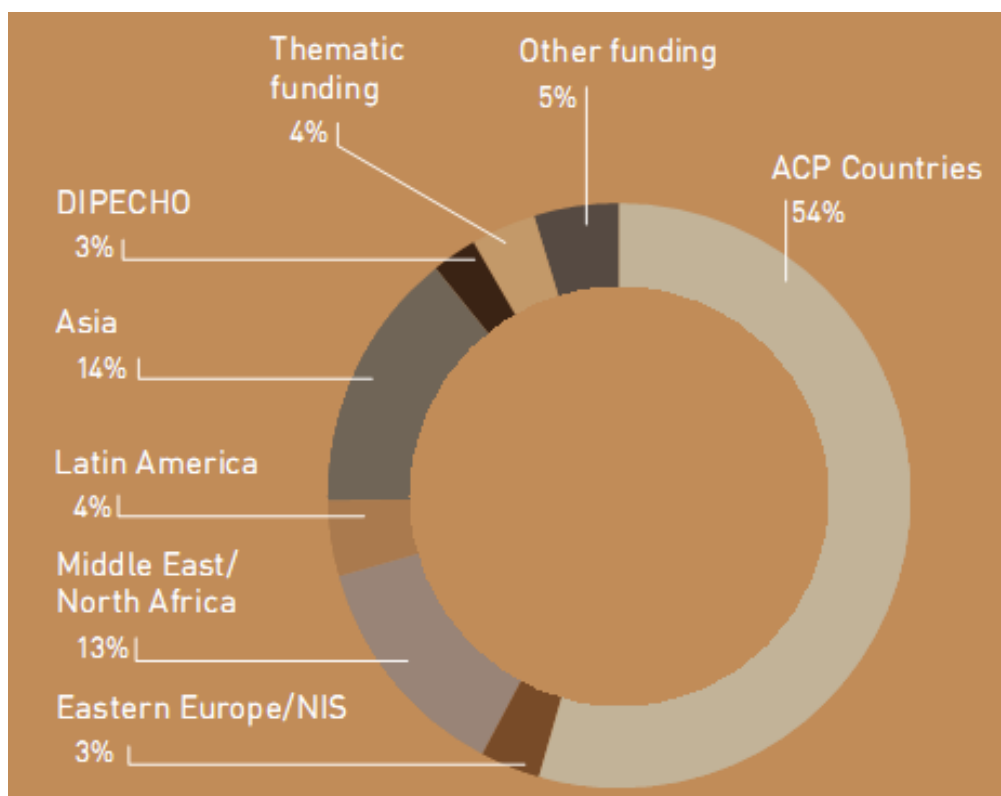


Figure 10: The global EU funding

Source: ECHO annual review 2007

The EU's relationship with the ACP states started with the European Economic Community (EEC) links with the colonial and former colonial territories of the treaty of Rome in 1957. The relations started with the Yaounde Convention, the Lome Convention, and the Cotonou Convention respectively. The ACP countries has given the 'most favoured nation' status and special levy custom duties, in order to facilitate trading with the EU during the Yaounde Convention. In the Lome Convention, the ACP countries are granted to be the 'equal partners' of the European Community (EC). It is also introduced an export revenue stabilization scheme, which is known as Stabex⁷². The concept of the Stabex is that export revenues of the ACP states could be stabilized by the European development Fund (EDF).

⁷² Clive Archer, The European Union: Structure and Process, p. 214.

4.4.3 The EU as the World's Largest Donor and Big Creditor

The EU always promote itself as the world's largest donor with 56% of share of international development aid and spends more than 46 billion Euros per year for humanitarian and aid assistance⁷³. Moreover, it is the world's biggest trader with nearly 20% of its global exports and exports⁷⁴. This is because the EU is the main trading partner of developing countries. 40% of the EU imports are from developing countries that the EU provides humanitarian assistance⁷⁵. Furthermore, the EU tries to open market in those developing countries. This can be resulted in 80% of the developing countries' exports, which came into the EU duty free or at reduced rates of duty in 2003⁷⁶. The EU benefits a lot from its development program. It is true that what the EU does is good for developing countries in terms of humanitarian aid and joint action with other international organizations such as the UN, the Red Cross, or the NGOs, but it cannot deny that it does not benefit from doing so. Joseph Nye said that the EU exercises its soft power through trade and aid worldwide. However, the EU use of soft power is also benefits for the EU's foreign trade and investment worldwide, especially in developing countries. This is because aid and assistance from the EU comes with the restricted conditions. The EU and the EU Member States will consider the funds for developing countries as a case-by-case basis⁷⁷. They will select its humanitarian partner by considering that the country in need has fulfilled these criteria;

1. Professionalism and management capability
2. Capability to response to identified need (technical and logistical capacity, including presence and success)

⁷³ European Commission, EU Development Policy, (Luxembourg: Office for Publications of the European Community, 2005.), p. 3.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

⁷⁷ EIB Factsheet, available from <http://www.eib.org/lending/acp/en/index.htm>. (2009,

3. Adherence to the humanitarian principles and international law as well as international codes of conduct
4. Guiding and best practice in delivery of aid, specialist knowledge or mandate
5. Cost-efficiency
6. Local Partnership and experience in operational contexts
7. Readiness to take part in coordination activities established for overall operational effectiveness
8. Accountability, including responding transparency on results and quality of implementation capacity, including sound financial management⁷⁸

If the countries in need can fulfill all criteria, the Commission will consult the Member States and the European Parliament in order to provide the budget. After that, the Commission will draw up the criteria for Community participation in global funds and contributions to them⁷⁹. However, the EU concerns much about its own values. For this reason, it will benefit the developing countries if they can follow the EU's values, which are respect for human rights, fundamental freedom, peace, democracy, good governance, gender equality, the rule of law and solidarity and justice.⁸⁰

The EU tries to promote its values by trying to convince the third world countries to follow its own values, and weighs these values as the common understanding before making any partnership and dialogue. The EU values are seen as

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ European Commissions, [The European Consensus on Development](#), pp. 14.

the basic requirements for the third world countries to be in the relationship with the EU. For this reason, it is perceived that the EU tries to force others to follow its system.

However, the EU has responded to the claims that “The EU does not try to impose its system on others, but is not shy about its values.⁸¹” In addition to this, the EU opposes Kant’s preliminary article quite strongly that the grant should be given without any condition. In addition, the EU does not only provide assistance with restricted conditions, it also behaves itself as a huge creditor. The EU provides a large amount of money for developing countries under the European Investment Bank (EIB).

EIB is the EU’s major financing institution⁸². It plays a key point in the EU’s relationship with developing countries. It provides financial loans in ACP countries and other developing countries with 1.7 billion Euros capacity from its own resources to the ACP countries in order to manage the business generated by the new facility⁸³. Moreover, not only public sector in the developing countries can ask for the loan from the EIB, the private sector also benefits from the EIB according to the Investment Facility (IF) for the ACP countries, under the Cotonou agreement in 2003⁸⁴. As a result of this, it can be seen that the EIB is more ready to be the creditor. The EIB provides more and more loans for the ACP countries. In 2007, the EIB provided the financial assistance for the ACP countries for 746.4 million Euros, which is much higher than the figure given in 2006, as can be seen in table 5.

⁸¹ European Commissions, The EU in the World: the Foreign Policy of the EU,

(Luxembourg: Office for official publications of the European Communities, 2006), p. 4.

⁸² EIB Factsheet, available from <http://www.eib.org/lending/acp/en/index.htm>. (2009,

March 26.)

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

ACP lending in EUR m	ACP Investment Facility	Own resources	Total
2006	569.6	167.3	736.9
2007	314.6	431.8	746.4

Table 5: EIB loans for the ACP countries

Source: IF annual report 2007

As a result of all practices above, it is obviously seen that the EU does not follow Kant's preliminary article 4 because it is a big creditor and takes many advantages from the ACP and other developing countries. It exercises the use of soft power through trade and aid. Aid assistance that it made for the developing countries are not for free. The EU has created the restricted criteria for partner countries in order to impose the EU standards and invests in those countries. Moreover, the EU tries to open its market everywhere it goes. This resulted in the success of the EU as the world's largest import and export trader. In addition, the EU also benefits from its loan interests and operation fees from the loans of the ACP countries. These are clear-cut practices to explain why the EU, as a world's largest donor is perceived as Kantian neoliberalism.

In conclusion, case studies from Kant's perpetual peace are an attempt to explain why the EU can be perceived as Kantian neoliberalism. According to case studies, it can be seen that the EU does not follow Kant's preliminary article 3 and 4 due to its neoliberal agendas in cutting military costs and tries to invest more in aid and trade because it more profits than performing military operations. In addition, the EU tries to make use of its Kantian soft power to perform its external relations with the rest of the world. It tries to be nice in order to open its new markets, trade liberalization, and promoting its own values to set the same political and economical practices which will enable the EU to perform its business easier. The EU is wise enough to perform the win-win situations for its partners and this is the reason why the EU is Kantian neoliberalism.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The EU is perceived as Kantian because of the use soft power to exploit its own power in international trade and aid. In doing so, the EU promotes its values to the countries that the EU has the relations with. In addition, the EU is also seen as an effective multilateral collaboration. However, the EU does not exactly follow Kant's political writing, "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch". This is partly because some of Kant's articles are no longer valid with the current international order. Furthermore, it is the EU willingness not to impose the Kantian doctrine because it will lose benefits and power in doing so. This study shows how the EU, as Kantian is neoliberal by using the two case studies from Kant's preliminary article 3 and 4 from "Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch".

According to article 3, Kant asserts that the standing armies can be hostile to peace and the elimination of standing armies will make greater success in peace building and cut the military costs. The EU, however, has its own standing armies with the collaboration of the Member States. Its military missions are limited only to crisis management and those military missions must be under the international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). As a result, it can be obviously seen that the EU is sluggish in military and has no intention to be the military superpower as same as the United States. Nevertheless, it does not mean that what the EU does means that the EU is peaceful. The reason why the EU act like this is because the EU and the EU voters do not want to pay more attention to military. The EU is a free rider because it rests under the US military shield and never conducts its own military missions without the help from the NATO even the conflicts are in their continent. The EU, itself is not weak. It is an economic superpower with enough capacity to perform its military missions but what they do now is neglecting the global military dimension and let the US alone with its own hard power. In doing so, the EU benefits both from the EU reputation as a soft power and can save a lot of military costs.

In addition, the EU civilian power is an alternative for the EU to perform its security strategy. It tries to invest more in civilian power because it is cheaper than the military missions, and in doing so, it can also promote the European values worldwide with the spread of its civilian power. This is because its civilian power comes with the purpose of promoting the European values, such as the rule of law and human rights in the disputed countries. However, it raises the question that 'do the countries in conflict need such help?' This is some of the EU civilian mission such as election monitoring is, on the other hand, seen as an intervention, rather than the operation. In addition to this, the EU itself is not a democratic organization because some of the EU positions are appointed, not elected. Therefore, how can the EU claim for the right to promote democracy in developing countries? This is because the EU itself still suffers a lot from the democratic deficits. Moreover, the reason why the EU try to promote its own standards and values is because the EU wants to exploit its economic benefits where the EU operations or aid assistance have been reached. It is better for the EU firms to work within the same single standard and it is worth for the EU to invest more in infrastructure, funding, and trading with developing countries.

According to Kant's claims on perpetual peace that there should be no international debts because it will cause the tax-deficit and bankruptcy in the long run, the EU fulfills this obligation at all. This is because the EU is the world's largest donor. The EU also benefits a lot from trade and development from the developing countries. This can be resulted in the EU's economic success as a world's largest trader and a big creditor with developing countries. This is the reason why the EU tries to expand its soft power through trade and aid. It claims that opening markets and trade liberalization will help the developing countries alleviate their poverty.

However, it can be seen that the EU tries to invest its neoliberal agenda with developing countries, but it is surprisingly that the result of aid and development binds those developing countries to depend on the EU economy. This is because after opening the markets, almost goods, mainly agricultural products are imported to the EU, and the EU itself, has the strong protection in agricultural products. For this reason,

those developing countries are inferior to the EU in terms of negotiating power because the EU provides funds and aid assistance to those countries, which can be resulted in the bilateral free trade agreements and multilateral trade agreement, especially in the World Trade Organization (WTO). In addition the depending on imports also causes economic instability to the developing countries' economy system. What happen if the EU or other importers do not want their products? This can be resulted clearly in the Sub-Prime crisis in America that gives such a great impact to the world. Moreover, does the emergence of sub-prime mean the end of global neoliberalism? This is because most of neoliberal states which depend themselves on import and export suffers a lot from the incident.

The research concludes that the EU is Kantian, but not idealism Kantian, it is Kantian neoliberalism. The Findings of the study shows that the EU does not follow Kant doctrine but some of its operations are as same as Kant's idealism. This is the answer why the EU is called as Kantian. In addition, the research shows that the EU Kantian are not peaceful, it neglects the military burden in order to spend more budget on trade and development, which can benefits them much higher than investing in the military operations. As a result of its peaceful reputation, the EU maintains its claims and values in order to negotiate with other countries to achieve its neoliberal economic interests. This is the reason why the EU is also able to call the "EU Kantian neoliberalism."

With the identity of the EU as Kantian neoliberalism, one can assume that the EU is not really a force for good. It is as same as the US in the neoliberal agenda to exploit the economic benefit worldwide. The EU itself is not the perfect institution with the peaceful means of negotiation and multilateralism. It consists of neoliberal institutions such as the Economic and Monetary Union, the European Central Bank, the European Single Market and the Common Agricultural Policy. It is as same as the United States with the use of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to be the guideline for developing countries. The EU tries to be a new imperialism in terms of economic and monetary imperialism. The EU aid assistance comes with the conditions that bind the recipients together with the EU norms and

values. For this reason, the developing countries should beware of the EU help and support because it may deteriorate their own internal economy and lose their sovereignty control.

The study implies that the EU has twofold. It may be true that the EU is Kantian according to the force for good and the use of soft power but the EU also benefits from being good at the same time. The EU can enjoy its economic benefits and its reputation. However, the main difference between the EU Kantian and the EU Kantian neoliberalism is that the EU Kantian presents the EU only in a good way but the EU as Kantian neoliberalism tries to present the EU to be both Kantian and neoliberalism.

It is true that the EU represents the use of soft power and exercises its power through trade and aid. However, the EU can enjoy its neoliberal benefits at the same time. The reason why the EU tries to avoid the use of soft power and tends to use the civilian power is not only because the EU represents the force for good, but also because the EU wants to cut the military costs and tries to promote its values and standard through the use of civilian power. Moreover, the EU, as the world's largest donor sets conditions for the EU assistance for developing countries in order to facilitate its trade and investment in those countries.

For this reason, countries, especially developing countries who deal with the EU should know that the EU is Kantian neoliberalism. The EU objectives to help developing countries are good but behind its good objectives are neoliberal agendas. This is in contrast to what the EU always says that it is a force for good and a representative of soft power according to the propaganda through its publications. However, countries deal with the EU should realize that there is no free lunch in this world and should calculate the outcomes before any treaties or agreements between them and the EU will be signed.

In addition to the EU identity as Kantian neoliberalism, it can be seen that the EU itself still has internal problems related to democratic deficits and its failure to create a supranational organization. This is the lesson for the EU that nobody is perfect. Although the EU has claimed for its success in regional integration, but the EU still has to face many problems during its process of integration. However, the EU integration is admired as a pilot project for the regional integration with the economic drive. It is true that neoliberalism has taken part in the EU economic integration, as can be seen in the EU institutions which have an element of state deregulation. Nevertheless, the success of the EU integration does not imply that the EU integration process and its economic success are the best practices in the world. This is because there is no single panacea in the world order. Any countries or regions who wish to follow the EU integration should know this point and try not to follow all of the EU process. The EU neoliberal integration process should be seen as a lesson rather than a guideline for them.

In addition, it can be seen that neoliberalism in this research is classic neoliberalism. This is because the EU neoliberalism is different from American neoliberalism. The EU neoliberalism is obviously seen as an exercise of its economic power through trade and aid. In addition to this, the EU currency is still second to the US dollar, and the EU currency has not much impact to the world economy as the US dollar does. The EU neoliberalism is different from the US neoliberalism in the sense that at least it tries to help developing countries with the humanitarian purpose. It still has strong social policies and strong labour unions. The EU also has the environmental concerns and shares its environmental responsibility to the world as can be seen in the Kyoto Protocol and try follow the mandate of international organizations such as the NATO and the UN strictly. Neoliberalism in the US context is about to maximize its own benefits through trade, aid and finance and takes the lead to the US capitalism nowadays.

In addition to this, the emergence of the US sub-prime in finance implies that neoliberalism is not the right question for the world economy. The liberalization of markets, trade and investment is also a time bomb in itself. The open economy and globalization can be devastated if one country, especially a big country like the US, fails

in its own economics. This is because it has a huge impact on imports and exports of countries deal with that country and other countries will face its economic crises as well as the first country has like a domino.

The emergence of sub-prime can be seen as an opportunity for the countries to realize that maybe it is the time to prove whether neoliberalism is the best practice for The world economics or not, and further analyze what will they do to be alive in the changing world.

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BIOGRAPHY

Thitarat Sriwattanapong was born on May 31, 1985 in Nakhonratchasima, Thailand. She graduated from Chulalongkorn University in 2007 with degrees in Political Sciences. She enrolled for her MAEUS at Chulalongkorn University in 2008.