



L'Europe en formation

Revue d'études sur la construction européenne et le fédéralisme

Journal of Studies on European Integration and Federalism

DOSSIER

**Green Priorities and EU Governance:
The European Green Deal and the
COVID-19 Pandemic**

**Priorités environnementales et
gouvernance européenne : le Pacte vert
européen et la pandémie de COVID-19**

L'Europe en formation

Revue d'études sur la construction européenne et le fédéralisme
Journal of Studies on European Integration and Federalism

DIRECTEUR DE LA PUBLICATION Matthias Waechter

RÉDACTEUR EN CHEF Frédéric Lépine

ÉDITEUR ADJOINT Martin Molko

COMITÉ DE RÉDACTION Frédéric Lépine, Laurent Baechler, Matthias Waechter,
Anna Dimitrova, Mathias Jopp, George Tzogopoulos

FONDATEUR Alexandre Marc †

CONSEIL SCIENTIFIQUE

François Bafoil (France), Katrin Böttger (Allemagne), Vlad Constantinesco (France),
Paul Culley (Irlande), Sylvie Faucheuix (France), Tobias Flessenkemper (Allemagne),
Alexandre Herlea (Roumanie), Agnieszka Kurczewska (Pologne),
Hartmut Marhold (Allemagne), Cecilia Iulia Mihail (Roumanie),
Susanne Nies (Allemagne), Claude Nigoul (France),
Jean-Marie Rousseau (France, Belgique), Dagmar Rötsches-Dubois (Allemagne),
Philippe Poirier (France, Luxem-bourg), Cristian Dan Preda (Roumanie),
Ingrid Shikova (Bulgarie), Mario Telò (Italie, Belgique)

ADMINISTRATION

CIFE « L'Adriatic » 81 rue de France F-06000 Nice France

Courriel: europe.formation@cife.eu

Téléphone: +33 4 93 97 93 97 Fax: +33 4 93 97 93 98

Site web: www.cife.eu

Facebook: CIFE, Centre international de formation européenne

Twitter: @CIFE_EUstudies

L'Europe en formation est publiée par le Centre international de formation européenne,
association dont le président est Herman Van Rompuy.

© CIFE 2022, tous droits réservés pour tous pays

L'Europe en formation n° 393 2021/2

ISSN EN LIGNE 2410-9231

ISBN 978-2-85505-213-7 (PDF)

L'Europe en formation

Nº 393 – 2021/2

DOSSIER

Green Priorities and EU Governance: The European Green Deal and the COVID-19 Pandemic

Priorités environnementales et gouvernance européenne : le Pacte vert européen et la pandémie de COVID-19

Editor – Coordinateur: Arnaud Leconte & Hartmut Marhold

Arnaud Leconte – *Preface*

p. 3

Hartmut Marhold – *Introduction*

European Green Deal – Next Generation EU: From Proposal to Implementation p. 6

Hartmut Marhold

The EU Recovering from the COVID-19 Pandemic: Lessons Drawn from the Post-2008 Crisis Policy

p. 24

Sven Grimm, Niklas Helwig, Wulf Reiners & Marco Siddi

Leadership and Partnerships for the European Green Deal: EU Relations with (Re)Emerging Economies

p. 40

Laurent Baechler

Le Pacte vert européen : à la hauteur de ses ambitions ?

p. 64

Carolina Curreli

EU Lobbying in the “Age of Zoom”: How Was Environmental Policy Impacted? p. 77

Eda Bülbül

Fit for 55: Is the Social Climate Fund Fit from an Energy Justice Perspective?

p. 106

Sofia Mocchegiani

Smart City: The Modern Tool That, in Nuce, Expresses All the Features of the European Green New Deal

p. 127

Alicia Bellón Moral, Giada Calamanti & Ezgi Erdaç

EU-US Green Initiatives: Opportunities and Challenges for the Future of Transatlantic Green Partnerships

p. 140

Daniel Olsson & Lauren Janssens

The Green New Deal in the United States: A Realistic Blueprint for Climate Action?

p. 157

Giacomo Famigli

Chinese Environmentalism with European Characteristics

p. 174

Simone Lucatello & Arnaud Leconte

Complex Systems, Fragility and Security: Challenges for the EU Governance and Its Global Partners in Climate Change and Digitalization

p. 188

DOSSIER

***Green Priorities and EU Governance:
The European Green Deal and the
COVID-19 Pandemic***

***Priorités environnementales et
gouvernance européenne : le Pacte vert
européen et la pandémie de COVID-19***

Preface

Arnaud Leconte

Arnaud Leconte, Economist, Ph. D. in Economics and Finance, Director of the Joint Masters in Global Economic Governance and Public Affairs (GEGPA) and in EU Trade & Climate Diplomacy (EUDIPLO) co-organised by CIFE and the School of Government of University LUISS Guido Carli.

In summer 2019, the new president of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, launched an ambitious “European Green New Deal” project, placing the fight against climate change, the protection of biodiversity, digitalisation and, in a broader sense, sustainable development at the heart of EU policies. Just as the project was taking shape, the COVID-19 pandemic broke out and demanded the EU’s attention and action itself: “Next Generation EU” is the equally ambitious recovery programme that the EU has put on track from May 2020.

In this issue of CIFE’s journal, *L’Europe en formation*, we analyse the governance of Sustainable Development under the perspective of the EU Green New Deal and “Next generation EU”.

When Prof. Hartmut Marhold and I discussed the project of a publication on the governance of sustainable development, we considered three main ideas.

First, this publication should have a holistic approach and be multidisciplinary, in line with the original concept of sustainable development promoted by the Brundtland report “Our Common Future”. In this issue, you will learn about the European Green New Deal and other geopolitical initiatives towards green development through the contribution of researchers in law, political sciences, economics, history, but also in the hard sciences.

Second, the idea was that the governance of sustainable development is marked by the necessity to deal with complex systems. Complexity thinking refers to a way of thinking in terms of connectedness, relationships, and context, which is

particularly relevant in the field of sustainable development, which involves the co-evolution of human and natural sub-systems of the global socio-ecological system.

Last but not least, the idea was that the new and future generation of policy-makers should be an integral part of this publication. Therefore, we decided, to associate some of the best alumni of the CIFE 2020-2021 Master's programme in the writing of articles, namely Carolina Curreli, Sofia Mocchegiani, Alicia Bellon, Giada Calamanti, Ezgi Erdaç, Daniel Olsson, Lauren Janssens.

We hope that this publication will stimulate your curiosity and your eagerness to learn more about a subject that will be critical for a successful achievement of the Green Deal and Europe's recovery.

§

Post-scriptum

Today, in March 2022, war in Europe is taking precedence as an historic and systemic moment with “catastrophic” consequences in its etymological sense: “an overturn”. The war will clearly have an impact on the governance of sustainable development, not only by its fundamental negation of “sustainable development” and the increase in poverty, but also by its impact on (nuclear and chemical) pollution and the diversion of much needed resources to deal with climate change and biodiversity loss. These consequences will have to be addressed in (an)other edition(s) of *L'Europe en Formation*. Still, climate change, the loss of biodiversity and other issues of sustainable development must not become the casualties of this war – these are the challenges of the future, whereas Russia's war addresses the past. Sustainable development, the Green Deal and NextGeneration EU deserve our undiminished attention. This issue of *L'Europe en formation* is therefore no less topical than it was before the Russia-Ukraine war.

European Green Deal – Next Generation EU: From Proposal to Implementation

Hartmut Marhold

Former Director-General of the CIFE “Centre international de formation européenne”, he is an associate member of the CIFE research team and Chairman of its Scientific Board. He teaches within various CIFE programmes, but also at the University of Cologne and at the Turkish-German University in Istanbul. He specialises in the history of European integration and the European politics of Germany. He also works on the institutional and constitutional development of the European Union and on federalism.

Introduction

It “is an exciting and testing time for our Union”, nothing less than “Europe’s Man on the Moon Moment”, said EU Commission President Ursula von der Leyen when presenting the European Green Deal, 11 December 2019¹ – half a year before COVID-19 got a grip on Europe, insisting on “protecting our planet and our shared environment is our generation’s defining task”, and the European Green Deal becoming “Europe’s hallmark”²; a “Hamiltonian Moment”, in the eyes of Germany’s then Minister of Finance, now Chancellor, Olaf Scholz, with regard to the NextGenerationEU programme; “a paradigm shift like the discovery of the Americas, it is a paradigm shift like the Second World War, a paradigm shift like the Industrial Revolution”, says Frans Timmermans, First Vice-President of the European Commission and charged with the implementation

1. Press remarks by President von der Leyen on the occasion of the adoption of the European Green Deal Communication; https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/SPEECH_19_6753; the first quotation from Ursula von der Leyen (vdL), Mission Letter to Frans Timmermans, 1 December 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/sites/default/files/commissioner_mission_letters/mission-letter-frans-timmermans-2019_en.pdf.

2. Ibid.

The EU Recovering from the COVID-19 Pandemic: Lessons Drawn from the Post-2008 Crisis Policy

Hartmut Marhold

Former Director-General of the CIFE “Centre international de formation européenne”, he is an associate member of the CIFE research team and Chairman of its Scientific Board. He teaches within various CIFE programmes, but also at the University of Cologne and at the Turkish-German University in Istanbul. He specialises in the history of European integration and the European politics of Germany. He also works on the institutional and constitutional development of the European Union and on federalism.

Introduction

Twelve years after the financial, economic and state debt crisis (“FES”, misleadingly dubbed “Euro-Crisis”), the EU (and the whole world indeed) is in a new crisis again: the COVID-19, or Corona, pandemic. A decade ago, the EU had to invent and launch policies aiming at controlling or even overcoming the crisis. The complex policy mix composed of various financial and regulatory instruments improvised after 2008 serves now as a precious era of experience. The EU learnt lessons from what was successful and what went wrong in the FES-crisis: The fight against the economic and social crisis triggered by the pandemic is largely marked by consequences drawn from the previous crisis.

In GDP terms, both crises seem to be (so far) of similar size (as far as one can say anything reliable at the end of 2021, when the pandemic is far from being definitely under control): The economic downturn in 2009 was 4,4% (4,5% in the Eurozone)¹, in 2020 it amounted to 5,0%². The threat for employment and the fear to lose one’s job reached similar thresholds too and frightened a large share of the European societies. The reaction of the whole multilevel governance system

1. Statista, Growth rate of the real gross domestic product (GDP) in the European Union (EU-28) from 2008 to 2016; <https://www.statista.com/statistics/701576/eu-gdp-growth/>; Eurozone separately: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=XC>

2. Trading Economics, Euro Area GDP Growth Rate; <https://tradingeconomics.com/euro-area/gdp-growth>

Leadership and Partnerships for the European Green Deal: EU Relations with (Re)Emerging Economies

Sven Grimm, Niklas Helwig, Wulf Reiners & Marco Siddi

Dr Sven Grimm is Head of Research Programme on “Inter- and Transnational Cooperation” at the German Development Institute/Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE) in Bonn, Germany, and Extraordinary Professor of Stellenbosch University, South Africa. As a political scientist, he has published widely on both the European Union and on China’s external relations (with Africa). At DIE, he is heading the institute’s training activities. Knowledge cooperation, work on rising powers’ international cooperation as well as the science-policy-interface are part of his portfolio.

Dr Niklas Helwig is a Leading Researcher at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs in Helsinki. His research interests include EU foreign policy and defence cooperation, German foreign and security policy, as well as transatlantic relations. He previously worked at the RAND Corporation and SAIS–Johns Hopkins in Washington DC, at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in Berlin, and at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels. He researched and taught at the University of Cologne and the University of Edinburgh, from where he received a double PhD ('co-tutelle').

Dr Wulf Reiners is Senior Researcher and Head of the ‘Managing Global Governance’ (MGG) programme of the German Development Institute/Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE). He is also the coordinator of the Horizon 2020 project PRODIGEES (2020-2025) on digitalization and sustainable development in Europe and emerging economies. Previously, he was Assistant Professor at the Turkish-German University in Istanbul, researcher at the University of Cologne, and Marie Curie Visiting Researcher at the University of Pittsburgh. He has served as coordinator, director or researcher in EU-funded projects on EU external action, multilateralism and EU-Turkey relations.

*Dr Marco Siddi is Senior Research Fellow at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs and Montalcini Assistant Professor at the University of Cagliari (Italy). He focuses primarily on EU-Russia relations, European energy and climate policy, and European identity and memory politics. He has published in renowned peer-reviewed journals in his research field, including the *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Geopolitics*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Politics and International Politics*.*

Abstract

The European Green Deal (EGD) has been described as a transformation strategy for the European continent, but its success also depends on cooperation at global level. Therefore, the EU intends to engage other actors and show international leadership on the climate agenda and the energy transition. This paper analyses the external dimension of the EGD, with a focus on global partnerships and EU leadership. Specifically, it examines EU relations with (re)emerging economies, in particular China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, and South Africa. Based on information acquired through cooperation with local research institutions, the paper examines prospects for partnership between the EU and these countries in the implementation of the EGD goals. We argue that great potential exists for green cooperation between the EU and re(emerging) economies. However, diplomatic conflict may occur if the EU attempts to shift the costs of the energy transition on partner countries.

Résumé

L'European Green Deal (EGD) (en français, Pacte vert pour l'Europe) a été décrit comme une stratégie de transformation pour le continent européen, mais son succès dépend également de la coopération au niveau mondial. Par conséquent, l'UE a l'intention d'impliquer d'autres acteurs et de faire preuve de leadership international sur l'agenda climatique et la transition énergétique. Le présent document analyse la dimension extérieure de la stratégie européenne de développement durable, en mettant l'accent sur les partenariats mondiaux et le leadership de l'UE. Plus précisément, il examine les relations entre l'UE et les économies (ré)émergentes, notamment avec la Chine, l'Inde, l'Indonésie, le Mexique, la Russie et l'Afrique du Sud. Sur la base d'informations acquises grâce à la coopération avec des institutions de recherche locales, le document examine les perspectives de partenariat entre l'UE et ces pays dans la mise en œuvre des objectifs de l'EGD. Nous soutenons qu'il existe un grand potentiel pour une coopération verte entre l'UE et les économies (émergentes). Toutefois, un conflit diplomatique pourrait survenir si l'UE tente de transférer les coûts de la transition énergétique sur les pays partenaires.

§

Introduction

In December 2019, the new European Commission presided over by President Ursula von der Leyen made the energy transition one of its main goals, and announced that it would pursue a European Green Deal (EGD). The EGD is a road-map of key policies for the EU's climate agenda, based on which the Commission has started, and will continue to develop, legislative proposals and strategies from 2020 onwards. Achieving net-zero greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 2050 is arguably the central goal set by the Commission's Communication on the European Green Deal. In order to achieve this, EU institutions negotiated a European climate law and a more ambitious GHG reduction target for the year 2030.¹

1. Kati Kulovesi and Sebastian Oberthür, "Assessing the EU's 2030 Climate and Energy Policy Framework: Incremental change toward radical transformation?," *Review of European, Comparative & International Environmental Law* 2020.; Marco Siddi, "Coping With Turbulence: EU Negotiations on the 2030 and 2050 Climate Targets," *Politics and Governance* 9-3 (2021).

Le Pacte vert européen : à la hauteur de ses ambitions ?

Laurent Baechler

Laurent Baechler, docteur en économie, dirige le module « Mondialisation économique et développement durable » au CIFE – Centre international de formation européenne. Depuis 2013, il est Directeur du Diplôme des hautes études européennes et internationales (DHEEI) – Construction européenne et études globales. Laurent Baechler mène une série de recherches sur le développement durable, en particulier sur les politiques énergétiques et climatiques.

Introduction

Contrairement à une idée reçue largement répandue, le New Deal adopté sous la présidence de Franklin D. Roosevelt pour sortir les États-Unis de la Grande Dépression des années 1930 n'était pas spécifiquement d'inspiration keynésienne, même si, bien entendu, il rejoignait Keynes dans l'idée d'un soutien massif à la relance économique par la dépense publique. Il fut même critiqué par l'économiste britannique dans une célèbre lettre ouverte au président américain¹, publiée par le *New York Times* le 31 décembre 1933, avec comme argument principal que les politiques de relance à court terme de l'activité économique devaient précéder logiquement les mesures de réforme de long terme de l'économie américaine, contrairement à ce que faisait l'administration américaine à l'époque. L'idée principale de Keynes était que précipiter les réformes structurelles avant d'avoir engrangé les bénéfices de la relance risquait d'éroder l'impact de ces réformes par la perte de confiance des acteurs concernés, au premier rang desquels figuraient les investisseurs².

1. Voir <http://la.utexas.edu/users/hcleaver/368/368KeynesOpenLetFDRtable.pdf>.

2. Pour un commentaire, voir <https://www.nber.org/papers/w24367>.

EU Lobbying in the “Age of Zoom”: How Was Environmental Policy Impacted?

Carolina Curreli

Carolina Curreli is currently a master’s Student of Global Management and Politics at LUISS University. She obtained her a Joint Master in Global Economic Governance and Public Affairs, offered by LUISS University and the Centre International de Formation Européenne (CIFE), held in Rome, Berlin and Nice. In addition to her academic career, she developed experience as a junior assistant at Dreamocracy—Collective Intelligence for the Common Good, a Brussels-based think tank.

Abstract

The pandemic facing the entire world has generated the disruption of our society, forcing all sectors to devise new approaches and adapt to an online life. In a contest underpinned by a potential surge of policy change, the environmental lobbying sector has had to be flexible and open to practising new methods. The EU’s profound interest for environmental policy has been particularly evident in the European Green Deal, and this dossier attracted the most intense lobbying during the first waves of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the current emergency has generated new challenges, which have had an impact on the focus of lobbying, as well as on the visibility, coalitions and tactics of environmental organizations. The results of the interviews conducted in this analysis showed that digitalization has already invaded our society, so much so that the ‘zoom era’ has not hampered environmental lobbying activities. In the future, however, lobbying will rely on hybrid strategies, while continuing to focus on green issues, which are now central for the EU.

Résumé

La pandémie à laquelle le monde est confronté a bouleversé notre société, obligeant tous les secteurs à concevoir de nouvelles approches et s’adapter à une vie en ligne. Dans le cadre d’une compétition soutenue par une vague potentielle de changements politiques, le secteur du lobbying environnemental a dû faire preuve de souplesse et s’ouvrir à la pratique de nouvelles méthodes. Le véritable intérêt de l’UE pour la politique environnementale s’est traduit par le « Green Deal » européen (Pacte vert pour l’Europe). Ce dossier a suscité le plus intense de lobbying au cours des premières vagues de la pandémie de COVID-19. Toutefois, l’urgence actuelle a généré de nouveaux défis, qui ont eu un impact sur l’orientation du lobbying, ainsi que sur la visibilité, les coalitions et les tactiques des organisations environnementales. Les résultats des entretiens menés pour cette analyse ont montré que la numérisation a déjà envahi notre société, de sorte que l’« ère du zoom » n’a pas entravé les activités de lobbying environnemental. À l’avenir, toutefois, le lobbying s’appuiera sur des stratégies hybrides, sans cesser de se concentrer sur les enjeux écologiques, désormais centraux pour l’UE.

KEYWORDS

Environmental lobbying, European Green Deal, age of Zoom, qualitative research, hybrid strategies

Fit for 55: Is the Social Climate Fund Fit from an Energy Justice Perspective?

Eda Bülbül

Eda Bülbül has master's degrees in Global Energy Transition and Governance and International Relations: Turkey, Europe, and the Middle East. She has a background in Business Economics and has worked as a research assistant for the Centre International de Formation Européenne on a Just Transition research project with the support from The Franco-German Youth Office (OFAJ-DFJW). Previously, she also worked with UN Agencies and INGOs as a humanitarian worker responding to the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey.

Abstract

In July 2021, the European Commission (EC) proposed to extend the Emissions Trading Scheme to the buildings and transport sectors, in the framework of the Fit for 55 package. As part of its scope, the EC also introduced the Social Climate Fund (SCF) to mitigate the impact of the Fit for 55-related initiatives on vulnerable consumers. This article aims to reveal whether Social Climate Fund can address the needs emerging with Fit for 55. First, it will use the three tenets of the Energy Justice Framework to analyse the impact of Fit for 55. Then, it will present SCF and the challenges in responding to the identified impact. Finally, it will propose three solutions aimed at improving the implementation of the Social Climate Fund, which involve a) an enhanced understanding of "Just Transition"; b) a greater involvement of local governments in implementing Social Climate Fund; and c) an increased role of civil society to target and include the most vulnerable groups.

Résumé

En juillet 2021, la Commission européenne (CE) a proposé d'étendre le système d'échange de quotas d'émission aux secteurs du bâtiment et des transports, dans le cadre du package Fit for 55. Dans le cadre de ce dernier, la CE a également introduit le Fonds social pour le climat (FSC) afin d'atténuer l'impact des initiatives liées à Fit for 55 sur les consommateurs vulnérables. Cet article vise à déterminer si le Fonds social pour le climat peut répondre aux besoins associés à Fit for 55. Tout d'abord, nous utiliserons les trois principes du cadre de justice énergétique (Energy Justice Framework) pour analyser l'impact de Fit for 55. Ensuite, nous présenterons le FSC et les défis à relever pour répondre à l'impact identifié. Enfin, nous proposerons trois solutions visant à améliorer la mise en œuvre du Fonds social pour le climat impliquant : a) une meilleure compréhension de la « transition juste » ; b) une plus grande implication des gouvernements locaux dans la mise en œuvre du Fonds social pour le climat ; et c) un rôle accru de la société civile visant à cibler et à inclure les groupes les plus vulnérables.

MOTS-CLÉS

Energy justice, Fit for 55, Social Climate Fund, energy poverty.

Smart City: The Modern Tool That, in Nuce, Expresses All the Features of the European Green New Deal

Sofia Mocchegiani

Sofia Mocchegiani is an Advanced Master student at Vrije Universiteit Brussel in “European Integration”. She holds degrees from Luiss School of Governance and Centre International de Formation Européenne (Joint Master of Arts Degree in “EU Trade and Climate Diplomacy”), and Alma Mater Studiorum University of Bologna (Bachelor’s Degree in Humanities). Her fields of expertise include European Environmental Governance, Climate Diplomacy, European Economy, and EU Trade and Investment Diplomacy.

Abstract

In this paper we will try to analyse the “European Green New Deal”, its features, and its abrupt emergence in order to understand why it was relevant in 2019 for the Commission to propose such an ambitious growth strategy. Then we will test its relevance in the context of the health and economic crises brought about by the pandemic, and we will conclude that the commitment shown by the Executive Vice-President Frans Timmermans has confirmed the hypothesis that the timely challenges of fighting climate change and rethink our growth strategy determined a new way of policymaking that promotes a green recovery instead of going back to “business as usual” models. Our focal point will then be urban planning that it is indeed the EU medium-term strategy as its policy package focuses particularly on electricity, buildings renovation, circular economy, and transport.

Résumé

Dans cet article, nous tâcherons d’analyser le « Green New Deal Européen », ses caractéristiques et son avènement soudain, et ce afin de mieux saisir pourquoi il fut opportun en 2019 pour la Commission de proposer une telle stratégie de croissance ambitieuse. Ensuite, nous évaluerons sa pertinence dans le contexte des crises sanitaires et économiques provoquées par la pandémie, pour aboutir à la conclusion que l’engagement dont a fait preuve le vice-président exécutif Frans Timmermans a confirmé l’hypothèse selon laquelle les défis actuels de la lutte contre le changement climatique et de la refonte de notre stratégie de croissance ont déterminé une nouvelle façon d’élaborer des politiques qui favorisent une reprise verte au lieu de revenir à des modèles « business as usual ». Notre point de mire sera alors l’urbanisme : il s’agit là de la stratégie à moyen terme de l’UE, dont le paquet politique se concentre particulièrement sur l’électricité, la rénovation des bâtiments, l’économie circulaire et les transports.

EU-US Green Initiatives: Opportunities and Challenges for the Future of Transatlantic Green Partnerships

Alicia Bellón Moral, Giada Calamanti & Ezgi Erdaç

Alicia Bellón Moral is a junior EU affairs consultant on environmental sustainability at the Brussels-based public affairs consultancy firm Eamonn Bates Europe. Her work focuses mostly on sustainable packaging. She graduated in International Relations and Translation and Interpreting from the Comillas Pontifical University in Madrid with a joint master's degree in EU Trade and Climate Diplomacy from the LUISS School of Government and CIFE. Her professional experience includes working for the European Parliament, the Commerce Office of Peru in Madrid and the Spanish Ministry of the Interior.

Giada Calamanti is a trainee at the EU Delegation to the United Nations. She graduated in Economics from the Marche Polytechnic University. She holds a master's degree in International Economics and Business from the Marche Polytechnic University and a Joint Master's degree in EU Trade and Climate Diplomacy from the LUISS School of Government and CIFE.

Ezgi Erdaç is a project assistant at the Council of Europe Programme Office in Ankara. Her project is focused on strengthening the criminal justice system and the capacity of justice professionals on the prevention of the European Convention on Human Rights Violations in Turkey. She is also a policy officer at European and International Organizations. She graduated from the International Relations Department at Bilkent University in 2020, Turkey, and she holds a master's in EU Trade and Climate Diplomacy from the LUISS School of Government and CIFE.

Abstract

After the 2018 IPCC special report on the impacts of global warming of 1.5 degrees Celsius above the pre-industrial level, global leaders and the international community have promoted climate mitigation policies. Many countries have released strategies to address climate change and meet the objectives of the Paris Agreement. The European Union and South Korea were the first to launch a holistic green deal while Japan and China have announced net-zero emissions commitments. The United States is still defining its posture after the end of the Trump Presidency. In light of the critical need for international cooperation on climate change, green partnerships between the European Union and the United States as traditional allies but also large emitters can foster greater and faster climate change mitigation developments at the global stage.

Résumé

Après le rapport spécial du GIEC de 2018 sur les conséquences d'un réchauffement climatique de 1,5 degré Celsius supérieur au niveau préindustriel, les dirigeants mondiaux et la communauté internationale ont encouragé les politiques d'atténuation du climat. De nombreux pays ont dévoilé des stratégies pour lutter contre le changement climatique et satisfaire aux objectifs de l'Accord de Paris. L'Union européenne et la Corée du Sud ont été les premières à lancer un accord vert global, tandis que le Japon et la Chine ont annoncé des engagements d'émissions nettes nulles. Les États-Unis, eux, poursuivent la définition de leur posture après la fin de la présidence Trump. Compte tenu du besoin crucial de coopération internationale en matière de changement climatique, les partenariats verts entre l'Union européenne et les États-Unis – en tant qu'alliés traditionnels, mais aussi grands émetteurs – pourraient favoriser une évolution plus marquée et accélérée de l'atténuation du changement climatique sur la scène mondiale.

KEYWORDS

Green diplomacy, transatlantic relations, climate change, European Green Deal, Green New Deal, Paris Agreement, the United States

§

Introduction

After the IPCC special report on the impacts of global warming of 1.5 degrees Celsius above the pre-industrial level in 2018, global leaders promoted the adaptation of green initiatives and commitments at the national or regional level to tackle the persistent unsustainable development that has characterized the last decades. The European Union (EU) and South Korea were the first actors to launch a holistic green deal while other countries such as Japan and China mirroring these examples have announced net-zero emissions commitments. The United States (the US), despite being the second-largest emitter, is still on track to define a solid green strategy due to political issues although some commitments have been announced.

In the light of new developments towards green commitments since the start of the Biden administration and considering the close ties and like-mindedness between the EU and the US, our aim is to identify new opportunities and challenges for EU-US bilateral relations that arise from both green initiatives. This research will aim to answer the following question: how does the European Green Deal interplay with the American Green New Deal in the context of green development initiatives? To respond to this question, we will first provide a brief introduction to the US strategies considering the radical changes between the last two administrations, i.e. Trump and Biden presidencies. We will proceed with an overview of the technicalities of the American green strategy, considering who the drivers, managers, and organizers are, and the relationship between civil society and states. This research will continue comparing the European and American strategies, taking into account the level of ambition, feasibility, and targets, by

The Green New Deal in the United States: A Realistic Blueprint for Climate Action?

Daniel Olsson & Lauren Janssens

Daniel Olsson is the Delivery Manager for the Climate Change team at Hampshire County Council in the UK. He graduated Summa Cum Laude from CIFE (Centre international de formation européenne) with a master degree in Global Energy Transition and Governance in 2021. His research interests include the politics of energy in Europe and the United States, and the role of local government in the energy transition.

Lauren Janssens works as a Business Developer at the Belgian Institute for Sustainable IT. She has master degrees in History, European Studies and graduated Summa Cum Laude from CIFE (Centre international de formation européenne) with a master in Global Energy Transition and Governance in 2021. Her research interests include energy politics and the role of nuclear energy in the European Green Deal as well as European Political History.

Abstract

The last three years have been years of crisis, not only the COVID-19 pandemic comes to mind, but also the dozens of floods, forest fires, and other natural disasters all around the world. The need for a comprehensive approach to climate change has been uttered by countries all around the world, like the recent COP 26 in Glasgow. However, there have been 25 previous COPs, and still there are a lot of opponents to a comprehensive plan to tackle the problem of global warming. In the United States, there have been several plans that are called "The Green New Deal", either by its creators, the press or its opponents. The Green New Deal represents the basis of President Biden's infrastructure bill, presented to Congress on April 28, 2021. The feasibility of the Green New Deal is political, not economic, as its opponents claim. Biden's bill deliberately prioritizes job creation and infrastructure projects in an attempt to overcome the political animosity felt towards the Green New Deal by the Republican Party and their media proxies. The EU Green Deal is hailed as "Europe's man on the moon moment" by the EU Commission. What is the difference between the EU and the United States regarding tackling climate change through a comprehensive approach?

Résumé

Les trois dernières années ont été des années de crise ; qu'il s'agisse de la pandémie de COVID-19, mais aussi les dizaines d'inondations, de feux de forêt et d'autres catastrophes naturelles dans le monde entier. La nécessité d'une approche globale du changement climatique a été exprimée par les pays du monde entier, comme ce fut le cas lors de la récente COP 26 à Glasgow. Cependant, 25 COP ont déjà eu lieu, et les opposants à un plan global de lutte contre le réchauffement de la planète restent nombreux. Aux États-Unis, plusieurs plans ont été désignés sous le nom de « The Green New Deal », que ce soit par leurs créateurs, la presse ou leurs opposants. Le « Green New Deal » constitue la base du projet de loi sur les infrastructures du président Biden, présenté au Congrès le 28 avril 2021. La faisabilité du Green New Deal est politique, et non économique, comme le clament ses opposants. Le projet de loi de Biden accorde délibérément la priorité à la création d'emplois et aux projets d'infrastructure pour tenter de surmonter l'animosité politique ressentie à l'égard du Green New Deal, que ce soit par le parti républicain ou par ses alliés médiatiques. Le Pacte vert pour l'Europe est présenté tel un « moment de l'homme sur la lune pour l'Europe » par la Commission européenne. En quoi l'UE et les États-Unis se distinguent-ils lorsqu'il s'agit de lutter contre le changement climatique au travers d'une approche globale ?

Chinese Environmentalism with European Characteristics

Giacomo Famigli

Giacomo Famigli graduated in law from Bocconi University and holds a joint Master's degree in political science from the LUISS School of Government and the CIFE. His main areas of interest are global and national politics, in particular the European and East Asian regions. He is currently conducting research on climate and energy issues as a volunteer for the Italian Green Party.

Abstract

The concept of a Chinese environmentalism with European characteristics originates from the need for European know-how in Chinese environmental policies. Although China is very successful in rapid transformations, such as its shift from a relatively poor country to the richest economy, its green finance remains underdeveloped and many green projects are facing difficulties. Moreover, even as it tries to remain politically isolated, it inevitably seeks economic partnerships, thus having to come to terms with its authoritarianism. The European Union could offer a solution to many of its problems given its extensive experience in sustainable financing and funds to assist China's transformation. However, a partnership would only be possible in certain circumstances and under certain conditions. As many of the required changes are already part of the EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI), harmonisation could be facilitated. However, the choice remains with the upper political levels of the Chinese government...

Résumé

Le concept d'un environnementalisme chinois aux caractéristiques européennes trouve son origine dans la nécessité d'un savoir-faire européen en matière de politiques environnementales chinoises. Bien que la Chine soit très performante lors de transformations rapides, à l'instar de son passage de pays pauvre à l'économie la plus riche, sa finance verte reste sous-développée et de nombreux projets verts éprouvent des difficultés. De plus, même si elle tente de se maintenir isolée politiquement, elle cherche inévitablement à établir des partenariats économiques, l'obligeant ainsi à composer avec son autoritarisme. L'Union européenne pourrait offrir une solution à bon nombre de ses problèmes, en raison de sa grande expérience en matière de financement durable et des fonds dont elle pourrait disposer pour aider à la transformation de la Chine. Toutefois, un partenariat ne serait possible que dans certaines circonstances et sous certaines conditions. Étant donné que bon nombre des changements requis font déjà partie de l'accord global UE-Chine sur les investissements (AGI), une harmonisation pourrait être facilitée. Toutefois, c'est aux échelons politiques supérieurs du gouvernement chinois qu'appartient ce choix...

Complex Systems, Fragility and Security: Challenges for the EU Governance and Its Global Partners in Climate Change and Digitalization

Simone Lucatello & Arnaud Leconte

Simone Lucatello, Senior researcher at Instituto Mora, Mexico City, Mexico. MSc in International Relations from the London School of Economics (LSE) and Ph.D. in Governance for Sustainable Development from the International Venice University and Cá Foscari, Italy. Currently Coordinating Leading Author for the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change (UN/IPCC).

Arnaud Leconte, Economist, Ph. D. in Economics and Finance, Director of the Joint Masters in Global Economic Governance and Public Affairs (GEGPA) and in EU Trade & Climate Diplomacy (EUDIPLO) co-organised by CIFE and the School of Government of University LUISS Guido Carli.

Abstract

The current model of global governance is characterized by the interaction of several non-linear systems and variables. This creates a complex environment that poses significant challenges for the EU and other political and economic actors in the North and South of the world. Fragility, security amid climate threats and digital transformation, constitute a global framework where the EU and its global partners have to find a way through. In this article we analyse some of these complex governance systems for the EU and argue that we need to move beyond traditional regulatory approaches that focus on rule-making and compliance and enforcement by encompassing new governance settings. These must include improving the interaction between science and policy by fostering and engaging dialogues on complex environmental decisions and actions, such as the interaction between climate change and digitalization. More effective collaboration between different sectors – including the private sphere – can help improve governance structures to achieve sustainable outcomes in a world of complex systems.

Résumé

Le modèle actuel de gouvernance mondiale se caractérise par l'interaction de plusieurs systèmes et variables non linéaires. Il en résulte un environnement complexe qui pose des défis importants à l'UE et aux autres acteurs politiques et économiques du Nord et du Sud. La fragilité, les menaces climatiques face aux menaces sécuritaires ainsi que la transformation numérique constituent un cadre mondial dans lequel l'UE et ses partenaires mondiaux doivent aller de l'avant. Dans cet article, nous analysons certains de ces systèmes de gouvernance complexes auxquels l'UE fait face. Nous soutenons qu'il devient nécessaire d'aller au-delà des approches réglementaires traditionnelles d'élaboration de règles, de conformité et de leur application ; il s'agirait surtout d'adopter de nouveaux cadres de gouvernance. Il s'agit notamment d'améliorer l'interaction entre la science et la politique, en favorisant et engageant des dialogues sur des décisions et des actions environnementales complexes, tels que l'interaction entre le changement climatique et la numérisation. Une collaboration plus efficace entre les différents secteurs, y compris le secteur privé, peut contribuer à optimiser les structures de gouvernance et à atteindre des résultats durables dans un monde aux systèmes complexes.

KEYWORDS

Complex systems, governance, digitalization, climate change

POLITIQUE ÉDITORIALE

L'Europe en formation examine avec intérêt toute proposition d'article original en langue française ou anglaise, portant sur la construction européenne, les relations internationales et le fédéralisme. Seront traités avec une attention particulière les articles en lien avec les thématiques spécifiques aux numéros à venir. Les thèmes et le calendrier de publication sont présentés sur le site Internet de la revue.

Les propositions d'articles doivent être envoyées à l'adresse courriel de la revue sous forme de fichier électronique (de 4 000 à 10 000 mots), accompagnées d'un résumé (100 mots) et d'une brève présentation de l'auteur.

Les articles seront soumis anonymement à un comité de lecture, qui recommandera ou non sa publication, ou proposera des modifications. Les textes proposés dans les rubriques *Tribune*, *Chronique* ou *Lectures*, seront soumis uniquement au comité de rédaction.

ABONNEMENTS 2021/2022

Abonnement électronique via la plateforme cairn.info

www.cife.eu



CAIRN.INFO
chercher, repérer, avancer

La diffusion de **L'Europe en formation** sur Internet est assurée par la plateforme de revues scientifiques électroniques Cairn.info.

The online circulation of **L'Europe en formation** is ensured by Cairn.info website for scientific journals.

www.cairn.info/revue-l-europe-en-formation.htm



**L'Europe en formation est publiée
par le Centre international de formation européenne**



Avec le soutien du programme Erasmus+
de l'Union européenne

With the support of the Erasmus+ programme
of the European Union

Cette publication est financée avec le soutien de la Commission européenne.
Elle n'engage que ses auteurs et la Commission n'est pas responsable de l'usage
qui pourrait être fait des informations qui y sont contenues.

This publication has been funded with support from the European Commission.
It reflects the views only of its authors, and the Commission cannot be held
responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.