FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Introduction

The European Union is a new, unprecedented and quite unique actor on the international stage. It has no analogues in history and contemporary politics, and there are no precise definitions of it as a political object. In order to analyze the European Union’s external behavior, we first should formulate some characteristics of the EU as an international actor:

1. The European Union is not a conventional state; it lacks statehood in many terms. The EU, at the same time, is more than merely an international organization. It has incorporated many supranational characteristics into its structure. Thus, its external behavior can not be examined the same way as external affairs of a nation-state or activity of an international organization.

2. Foreign and security policies differ from all the other policy areas within the European Union. It is a sphere of “high politics”, which directly influences areas of significant importance for each member state. Foreign policies are widely perceived as one of the ultimate expressions of national sovereignty. A common policy of the EU in the international arena can present challenges to nation states and may lead to substantial decrease in their sovereignty. This makes political integration an extremely complicated issue for EU member-states. The EU’s achievements in this sphere remain limited in the comparison with market integration.

3. The EU countries differ from each other substantially due to deeply rooted national interests, identities, discrepancies in power etc. Despite common values in international affairs, such as democracy, liberalism and human rights, it is difficult for member states to define common objectives and reach the unity of purpose. The EU often lacks single-mindedness at the political levels of decision-making. It’s difficult to formulate a common European outlook and common conception of Europe’s role in world affairs. There is no consensus on common defense and in particular on the establishment of a fully integrated European military capacity.
All these factors make foreign policy of united Europe a very complicated matter and very sensitive matter in domestic politics. On the one hand, a common foreign and security policy of the EU is widely regarded as a myth, because the EU proved unable to manage many of the international issues and produce real actions. Member countries do not wish to establish supranational power within the political field; as a result intergovernmental decision-making still dominates. The EU also lacks some of the essential prerequisites of a great power status, including military capability.

On the other hand, we must admit that EU foreign policy cooperation has made a good progress in the last 30 years. EU countries try to take decisions on common foreign and security policy (CFSP) matters collectively. It is important to realize that integration in the area of foreign and military policy is a long process. The creation of a united opinion amongst all the member states will remain a difficult task for the future. It will take some time for the European Union to reach a unity of purpose, formulate a common identity, common strategic culture and to become a truly great power in international relations.

The purpose of this course is to familiarize students with the history and contemporary challenges of the European Union’s foreign and security policy. The study of the EU’s external behavior is important for several reasons. The creation of the European Union is one of the most successful political projects in contemporary history of Europe. The EU is the largest economical power and a very important political actor in international affairs. Continued progress towards integration in Europe has undeniable implications for the future of international politics both within and beyond Europe. The EU exercises important influence on Russia as well. Understanding the successful experience of European integration could be useful for analyzing the Commonwealth of Independent States.

**Course description**

At the beginning of the course students are familiarized with theoretical approaches and analytical tools for understanding the development of European foreign policy. We’ll compare and contrast theoretical approaches to foreign policy analysis. In order to get a fuller understanding of EU’s common foreign policy it is useful to give a brief overview of its evolution: we will consider the history of European political cooperation from 1950’s to the Nice treaty of 2001. The procedural issues and institutional mechanisms of how foreign policy decisions are reached within the EU will be briefly discussed as well. Then we will logically proceed to national foreign policies of European states and overview their central concepts. It will form a large part of the course because, as we mentioned before, national actors still dominate within EU’s institutions. Section V covers security and defense matters. It focuses on the development of European defense framework, analyses the main security organizations in Europe and look at how they operate and how they are adopted to the new
world order. The section also addresses two particular aspects: the transatlantic dimension of European security and EU’s own defense capabilities. Section VI will give students and overview of the main directions of CFSP in some geographical regions. Through these different readings, the students are presented with a balanced view on common foreign and security policy of Europe.

I. Theoretical approaches to foreign policy analysis

Theoretical explanations of European integration with a focus on EU’s international relations: Liberal Intergovernmental, Neo-Realist, Neo-Functional, Institutionalist, Constructivist Approaches.

Essential reading:


Optional reading:

2. Kissack, Robert: Theoretical Approaches to the study of the EU as an actor in the multilateral system // London School of Economics, 7/8 November 2003, 12 p.
5. Tonra, Ben: Social Constructivism and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (Centre for European Studies, Department of International Politics, University of Wales, Aberystwyth)

II The main steps towards a political union in Europe.

Creation of a Common European Foreign Policy (CFSP)


Essential reading:

Optional reading:

III Institutions of the EU, decision-making procedures
in the area of common foreign policy
Institutional structure of the EU: The European Council, the Council of Ministers, the presidency, the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Court of Justice: their structure, functions and authorities. High representative of the EU for CFSP, his functions and authorities. Javier Solana’s views on CFSP. Decision-making procedures in Pillar II area. Evaluation of the scope of EU competence in CFSP area vis-a-vis member states. Different theoretical approaches to understanding the institutional foundations.

**Essential reading:**
1. EU Institutions and other bodies. URL: http://europa.eu/institutions/index_en.htm

**Optional reading:**
2. Grevi, Giovanni; Manca, Daniela; Quille, Gerrard: A Foreign Minister for the EU – Past, Present and Future (URL: http://www.fornet.info/documents/Working%20Paper%20no%207.pdf)

**IV National strategies in the sphere of foreign and security policy**

Member countries political cultures, foreign policy traditions and stances, growing out of their particular histories and domestic political constellations. The debates between “Euro-optimists” and “Euro-skeptics”, “Europeanists” and “Atlanticists” on foreign and security policy: theoretical issues and the position of several countries. The comparative influence of the main national actors in shaping the EU’s external relations. The impact of EU membership on national foreign policies.

**Reading:**

1. **France.** An account of French foreign and security policy after World War II, an overview of its main elements. Messianic approach. Leadership in the process of European integration. Paris views on political project and country’s objectives aimed at CFSP. Paris animosity towards the US dominated foreign policy and US-French disputes. Opposition to Atlanticist countries in the

Reading:

2. **United Kingdom.** Historical legacy and national political culture, their influence on contemporary foreign policy. The main features of diplomatic strategy: globalism of foreign policy interests, Anglo-Saxon messianic approach, strong relationship within the US, traditional dualism toward Europe, minimalist and intergovernmental approach to integration. British reasons to be conservative and skeptical. British “return” to Europe at the end of 1990s and the policy of Tony Blair. British military capacities. British view of alliance strategy, the centrality of NATO. British view of the WEU. London’s policy in the third world and in the Commonwealth framework.

Reading:

3. **Germany.** Historical factors that influence German foreign and security policy: World War II experience, Soviet threat, development from an occupied country into EU’s and NATO’s central
player. The main trends in German foreign policy: a wish to reject totalitarian legacy, German partnership with the US, heavy dependence on American security guarantees, European integration as a German political strategy, combination of Atlanticism and Europeanism in foreign policy, special partnership with France, extending German influence eastwards and cooperation with Eastern Europe, “soft” power approach. Foreign policy priorities of Gerhard Schröder and Angela Merkel.

Reading:

2. Künnhardt, Ludger: Germany's Role in European Security // SAIS Review15 Special Issue (1995) 103-128

4. Spain. The impact of historic and geographic factors on the diplomatic agenda of Madrid. Foreign policy of F. Franco. Isolation of Spain after the end of WWII. Gradual improvement of the relationship with the West. Entry into the UN. Transformation of Spanish foreign policy after F. Franco. Integration into international community. Entry into the EEC. Foreign policy priorities: European integration, Latin America, Mediterranean, the US etc. Spain’s participation in the European security architecture, its role in NATO and WEU. Spain and the problem of terrorism. Iraq war issue.

Reading:


5. Italy. The main priorities of Italian foreign policy. Italian point of view on European integration and CFSP. An attempt to demonstrate independence and activity of country’s foreign policy after the end of Cold War. The foreign policy priorities of Silvio Berlusconi: Italian policy in NATO, Rome and transatlantic relations. Italian initiatives in the sphere of common European foreign policy. Geographical regions of Italian “responsibilities” – Mediterranean, Africa, Balkans, Central and Eastern Europe, Russian-Italian relations. The policy priorities of Romano Prodi: his point of view on Italian role in the EU and transatlantic relations.

Reading:
V European defense and security

European security architecture. The range of organizations through which European security is viewed: NATO, WEU, OSCE.


Reading:


**Reading:**


**Reading:**

1. The Prague Summit and NATO’s Transformation (URL: http://www.nato.int/docu/rdr-gde-prg/rdr-gde-prg-eng.pdf)
3. Johnson, Rebecca, Micah Zenko: All dressed up and no place to go: why NATO should be on the front lines in the war on terror // Parameters 32.4 (Winter 2002): 48(16).


**Reading:**


**VI. External relations of the EU.**

**European policies toward key regions and actors.**

EU-Mediterranean. EU’s policy in the Middle East. EU and the Iranian issue. EU and the problems of African continent. EU’s priorities in Latin America. Russia-EU relations. EU-CIS countries. EU policy in Asia-Pacific (relations with Japan, China, Korea, India, ASEAN etc.). EU and the North Korean issue. EU and developing countries etc.

**Readings:**


Course requirements and students responsibilities:

1. Reading and class participation: Students are expected to have done the reading for each week ahead of the lecture. They are required to attend classes regularly and participate in class discussion. They will be graded on class participation.

2. Presentations: Students are required to give 15 minutes presentations on external relations of the EU.

3. Papers: Students are required to write up and elaborate their presentations into short final papers (10 pages), where they will also summarize and critically analyze the readings.

4. Exams: Students are expected to provide an answer to one of the following questions.

Questions for final exam

1. History of political integration in Europe
2. Institutions of the EU. Decision-making in the sphere of foreign policy
3. Contemporary foreign and security policy of France
4. The main directions of German foreign policy
5. Priorities of British foreign policy
6. Foreign and defense policy of Spain
7. Key priorities of Italian foreign policy
8. The main directions of Common foreign policy of the EU
9. Transatlantic relations: Cold War period
10. Transatlantic relations after the end of Cold War
11. European and American security strategies: differences in approaches
12. Europeanism and Atlantism in foreign policy of the EU
13. The development of European integration in security and defense sphere
14. History of the Western European Union (WEU)
15. NATO in European security architecture
16. Activity of OSCE