



Foreign and Security Policy

The (in)effectiveness of EU cooperation

POL 134: IR IN WESTERN EUROPE

“[T]he Community’s capabilities have been talked up, to the point where a significant capability-expectations gap exists.”

- Christopher Hill, 1993: 306

I. Foreign policy interests

- ▶ Tension → EU vs. member state interests
 - Foreign policy is “high politics”
 - States do not want to surrender sovereignty
 - Consensus requires common interests
- ▶ NATO → complement or substitute?



Strategic partnership?
NATO and EU on security

II. Dimensions of EU external policy

- 1) Single market and external economic effects
 - Economic tools
- 2) Humanitarian and development aid
 - EU and national policies
 - For EU, community method
- 3) Foreign and security policy
 - Primarily intergovernmental
- 4) External impact of internal policies
 - Examples of CAP

III. Toward a common foreign policy

- ▶ European Political Cooperation (EPC)
 - Brought into EEC with the SEA, 1986
- ▶ Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)
 - Second Pillar under Maastricht
 - Developed outside of Union method
 - Not subject to ECJ
 - Early challenges → Yugoslavia
 - Helsinki Headline Goal: create European Rapid Reaction Force
- ▶ Changes from Lisbon Treaty
 - CFSP moved into EU
 - still (mostly) intergovernmental

IV. Foreign Policy Success

- ▶ UN bloc
- ▶ Middle East unity
 - Common stance toward Arab states (1970s)
 - Venice declaration
 - homeland for Palestinians (1980)
- ▶ Foreign aid and elections
 - Humanitarian aid
 - Election monitoring
- ▶ Engagement with periphery states
 - e.g. Iran and North Korea



European Union High Representative
Federica Mogherini with Iran's Foreign Minister
Mohammad Javad Zarif

V. Foreign Policy Failures

- ▶ Persian Gulf War (1990-91)
- ▶ Yugoslavia nationalist wars
 - Bosnia (1992-95)
 - NATO involvement
 - Kosovo (1998-99)
 - NATO involvement
- ▶ “War on Terror” and Iraq
 - United after 9/11
 - Division on Iraq War (2003)
- ▶ Arab Spring and Libya (2011)
 - Individual state responses



KFOR, a NATO-led Kosovo peace keeping force, is hailed by civilians



Ethnic Albanian protests

Protesters sprayed with water canons



Orthodox funeral for Serbian police officer

A wife grieves over the coffin of her husband



B-52 bombers land at RAF Fairford

B-52s supported 78 days of NATO's air campaign



Ethnic Albanians support for NATO

Group of refugee children support NATO

VI. Explaining EU foreign policy

- ▶ (neo)realists → foreign policy is “high politics” and states will not cooperate
- ▶ Constructivists → European identity drives common foreign policy
- ▶ Neoliberal institutionalists → transnational networks promote common foreign policy
- ▶ Expectations – Capabilities gap
 - EU “failure” results from it being viewed as int’l actor while it lacks capabilities to meet its perceived role

NATO: Complement or Substitute?

Discussion Activity

- ▶ European integration developed side-by-side with NATO
- ▶ Thus, there was always an institution for security cooperation
 - Albeit, more broad than European members
 - And the US has pushed to keep the cohesion of NATO
- ▶ But there have been times of disagreement between NATO and European states
- ▶ Discuss with 1-3 students:
 - ▶ Is NATO a complement or substitute to European cooperation on foreign policy?
 - ▶ i.e. does NATO's presence deter Europe from deepening on security issues?