



# The Foreign Policy of the EU

## Chapter 10

# Main Arenas of EU Foreign Policy

Keukeleire, S. and MacNaughtan, J. (2008)

*The Foreign Policy of the European Union,*

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.



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# 1. Approach and categorization

- Three categories of arenas:
  - (potential) membership: Central and Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Turkey
  - European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP): CIS, the Mediterranean region, and the Middle East
  - Member states' old colonial ties: Africa
- Approach:
  - Assessment beyond trade and contractual relations
  - Conventional and structural foreign policy approach
- Limitation: Asia and Latin-America
  - Focus on trade and contractual relations
  - Promotion of interregionalism



## 2. Central and Eastern Europe - Structural foreign policy -

- Decaying communist regimes
  - Trade and cooperation agreements, PHARE
- ‘Europe (association) Agreements’ since 1991
- Copenhagen Criteria aiming full membership (1993):
- Accession in two rounds: 2004 (8 CEECs) and 2007 (2 CEECs)
- Assessment:
  - long-term and comprehensive policy
  - positive endogenous forces in CEECs
  - no manifest military security threats
  - EU seen as added value and complementary to own interests



## 2. Central and Eastern Europe - Conventional foreign policy -

- De-escalation and desecuritization of regional tensions
  - Between Baltic countries and Russia
  - Minority issues
  - Czechoslovakia
  - Specific bilateral conflicts
- Yet, limited role of the CFSP ↔ structural foreign policy approach

# 3. The Balkans and Turkey

## - Conventional foreign policy -

- Yugoslav War: failure to prevent escalation
  - civilian power without necessary military instruments
- UK refusal to use military crisis management tools + US ambivalent attitude
- First pillar compensated for CFSP's weakness
- Conflict in the Balkans: institutional impact
  - High Representative Solana
  - 3 EU Special Representatives
- Several ESDP missions since 2003
  - lever to breathe life into CFSP and create ESDP
  - EU's potential as a post-crisis stabilization force

# 3. The Balkans and Turkey

## - Structural foreign policy -

### ■ Balkans

- Fundamental transformation in addition to military forces
- Complemented by NATO conventional foreign policy
- *Stabilization and Association Process* (SAP) (1999)
- Conditionality specific to the Balkans
- Problems: inter- and intrastate animosity

### ■ Turkey

- Conflict over Cyprus
- Specific conditions
- Gains for EU:
  - positive model for other Muslim states
  - energy-supply



## 4. The CIS

### - Structural foreign policy -

- Economic power supports political and economic reforms
- Bilateral PCAs (late 1990s)
- ENP (launched in 2004)
  - Complements PCAs
  - ENP Action Plans
  - ‘common values’ and structural changes
  - Distinct from enlargement process
  - structural support without major incentive of EU accession
- Struggle in Central Asia
  - Upholding own values
  - Strategic importance of this region



## 4. The CIS

### - Conventional foreign policy -

- From 2003: use of second pillar instruments
  - EU Special Representatives
  - ESDP missions
  
- Yet, balance EU as a regional power vs. maintaining good relationships with Russia



# 5. The Mediterranean Region structural foreign policy

- 1995 ‘Barcelona Process’: 3 partnerships
  - Political and security partnership
  - Economic and financial partnership
  - Partnership in social, cultural and human affairs

→ Disappointing achievements and effects
- ENP to ‘reinvigorate’ the Barcelona Process
  - strengthened rather than revised
  - challenges remain
- 2008 ‘Union for the Mediterranean’



## 5. The Mediterranean Region - Conventional foreign policy -

- Nearly no joint actions, common positions or ESDP operations
- Diverging views and bilateral relationships
  - conventional even more problematic than structural
  - Barcelona Process and ENP not used as leverage



## 6. The Middle East

- EC/EPC/EU in Israeli-Palestinian conflict
  - international agenda-setting; redefined terms of debate
- Structural foreign policy
  - Supporting creation of Palestinian structures
  - Funding
  - Short-term success vs. long-term failure
  - ENP
- Conventional foreign policy
  - 1993 Oslo: absent
  - Pro-active role after collapse: diplomatic and military
  - Yet: absence of hard security guarantees; pro-Arab?



## 7. Africa

- Geographically subdivided policies:
  - Mediterranean: ENP and Barcelona Process
  - Sub-Saharan: Cotonou Agreement and 2<sup>o</sup> pillar
  - South Africa: bilateral TD&C Agreement
- Strategy for Africa (European Council, 2005)
- Focus on sub-Saharan Africa



# 7. Africa

## - Structural foreign policy -

- Cotonou Agreement
  - Signed in 2000, into force in April 2003
  - Three main developments:
    - Trade
    - Participation
    - Political dialogue and conditionality
- 2005 EU Strategy for Africa
- Translated into 'Joint EU/Africa Strategy'
  - from development to structural foreign policy



## 7. Africa

### - Conventional foreign policy -

- Peace-building through EC instruments: funding
  - African Peace Facility: regional organizations
  - Instrument for Stability: peacekeeping efforts
    - development money for security issues
- CFSP/ESDP actions
  - Mostly Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)
  - Engagement in Darfur/Sudan
    - modest CFSP role

# Exploring EU Foreign Policy

See the Website Companion and Online Resource Guide:

<http://www.exploring-europe.eu/foreignpolicy>

- Guide to the maze of information sources on EU foreign policy for researchers, students and practitioners
- EU-Documents
- Official EU-links
- Links to sources from international organisations
- Links to information from non-governmental organisations, research centres and think tanks
- Latest online news on EU Foreign Policy
- Updated tables and PowerPoint presentations
- References to recent literature