



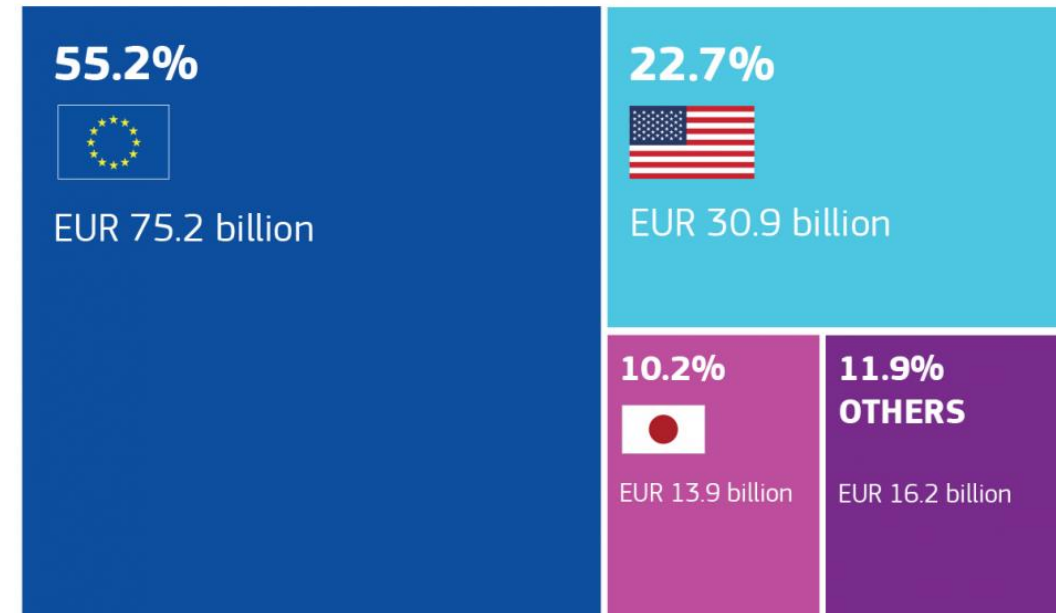
European Union Politics

SESSION 7: EU FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

EU presence in the world

- ▶ Largest economic bloc in the world equal to US and China in GDP in PPS (all 3 ≈ 16%)
- ▶ Largest donor of development aid/assistance in the world
- ▶ Regional influence:
 - Economic cooperation ... membership
 - Migration
 - Values – **political presence “soft power”**

Official Development Assistance:
the EU is the world's biggest donor



Tensions in EU foreign policy ...(and external relations)



— *High representative for CFSP*

— *Member states' foreign policies*

— *European institutions - E Commission
E Council*

- ▶ EU positions, decisions and actions in the world are produced as a result of **complex interactions** in a **multi-level system** involving both **member states** and **EU institutions**

How to speak with one voice?

Relations of the EU with the world

▶ **External relations \approx economic dimension**

- Trade agreements and partnerships (within common commercial policy)
- Enlargement
- Energy, environment, climate
- Development aid, humanitarian aid

...next session

▶ **Foreign-political dimension**

- Foreign-political, diplomatic and security aspects
- European Foreign and Security Policy
- Common Security and Defence Policy

What kind of power?

Tensions in EU foreign policy ...(and external relations)

RESULT of this complex arrangement between 27 states are tensions in areas of:

- ▶ **INTEGRATION: intergovernmentalist vs. supranational** desires
- ▶ **CAPABILITIES: interventionist** states vs. states which **lack will/capability**
military vs. civilian capabilities
- ▶ **ORIENTATION: Atlanticist** cooperation vs. **European** independence
- ▶ At times – schizophrenic position between **economic** and **foreign policy goals**
→ Integration aim: to complement strong economic dimension with a unified political perspective

No other regional organization has aspired to develop its own foreign policy!!!

Integration outside European Communities

- ▶ 1949 – establishment of **NATO**
- ▶ 1950 – proposed (and later) rejected supranational **European Defence Community**
- ▶ 1954 – **Western European Union** – mutual European defence including UK; “European pillar of NATO”
- ▶ 1970 – informal **European Political Cooperation**



1970: European Political Cooperation

External events:

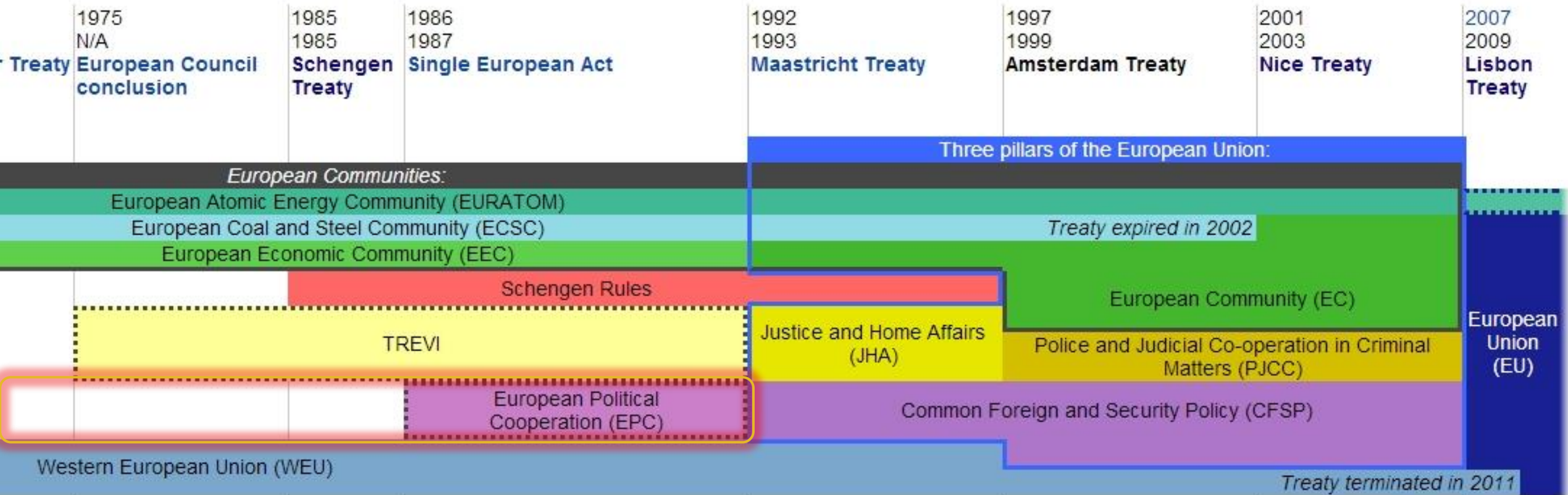
- *1959-1973 US Vietnam War*
- *1971 - Fall of the Bretton-Woods system*
- *1973 - Oil crisis*
- *1973 - Arab-Israeli War*
- *1979 - USSR invaded Afghanistan*
- *1977-1985 - "Second Cold War" Reagan US president intensification of cold war*

First "EPC meeting" – distinct from the EC Council of Ministers meeting – took place in November 1970

INITIALLY

- ▶ Outside the European Communities Treaties
- ▶ Exclusion of the Commission in the first years
- ▶ Private framework for multilateral diplomacy (**COREU** – secure telex link between MFAs)
- ▶ Recognized under the Single European Act 1986

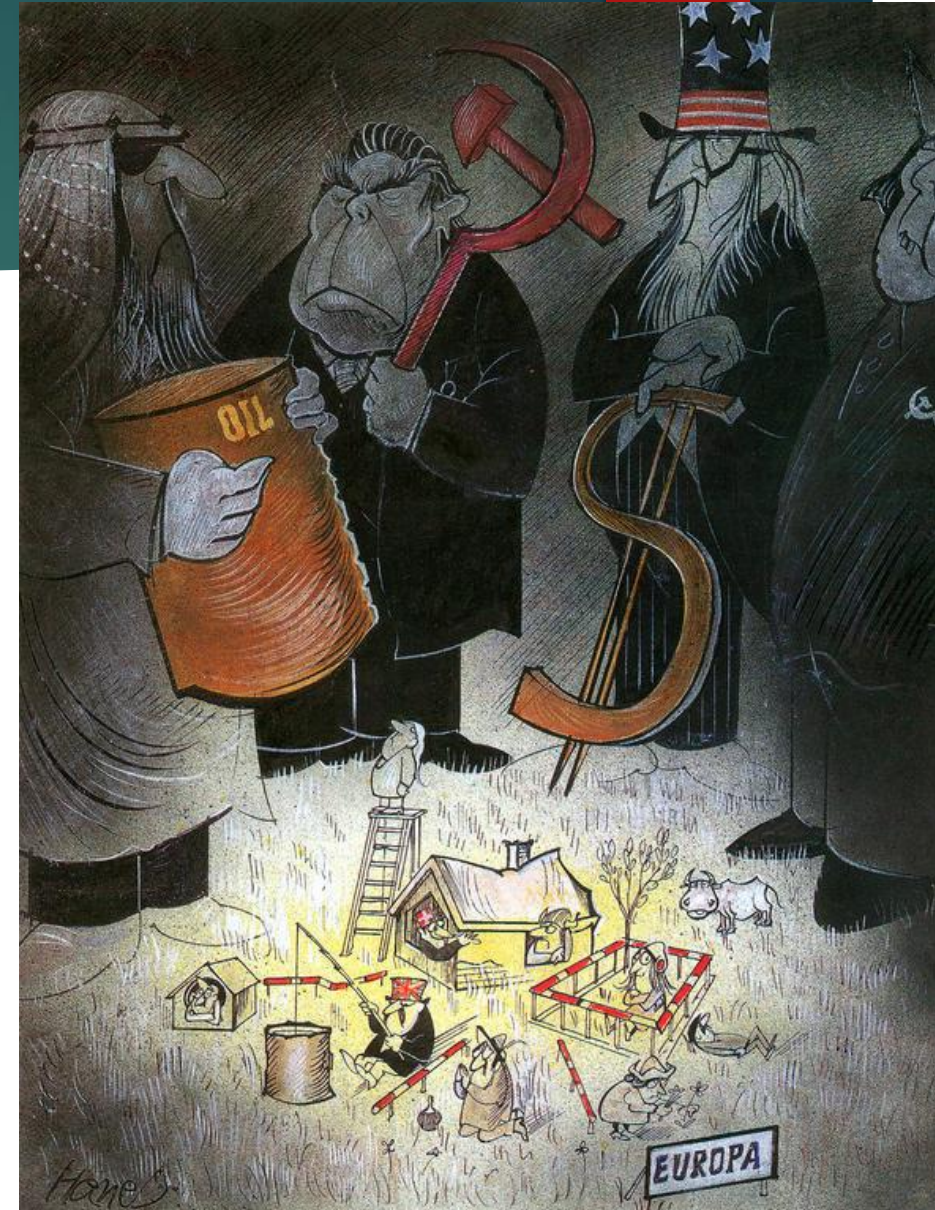
European Political Cooperation



European Political Cooperation

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION

- ▶ Soon the foreign ministers discovered the utility of **informal consultations – no decisions however**
- ▶ Utility of **information sharing**
- ▶ Initially exclusion of security matters (kickback from Denmark, Ireland, Greece)
- ▶ Rise in COREU traffic from 2,000 telegrams a year to some 9,000 in 1989
- ▶ In 1989, the EPC represented a **working model of intergovernmental cooperation** without formal integration



From EPC to CFSP

Common Foreign and Security Policy

External events:

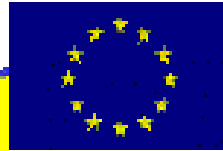
- *1989 - end of the Cold War*
- *1990 - reunification of Germany*
- *1991 - dissolution of the USSR*
- *1990 - Iraq invaded Kuwait*
- *1991 - Yugoslav crisis started*

→ Chance to develop a **political profile** for new EU

TENSIONS RISE

- ▶ **Security:** Atlanticists (NATO) vs. Europeanists
- ▶ **Integration:** National sovereignty vs. transfer of powers to EU
- ▶ **Power:** States with capacity to deploy vs. those that can't
- ▶ **Nature:** Civilian power vs. military power
- ▶ Integration vs. external objectives

Maastricht Treaty 1993



European Union: Three Pillars

European Community

- **Treaty of Rome as revised by Single European Act**
- **Single Market**
- **Democratization of the Institutions**
- **European Citizenship**
- **Economic and Monetary Union**
single currency
European Central Bank
single monetary policy
coordination of economic policies

supranational
QMV

Common Foreign & Security Policy

- **Common Foreign Policy**
systematic cooperation
common positions and joint actions
- **Eventual common defense policy based on the Western European Union**

intergovernmental
unanimity

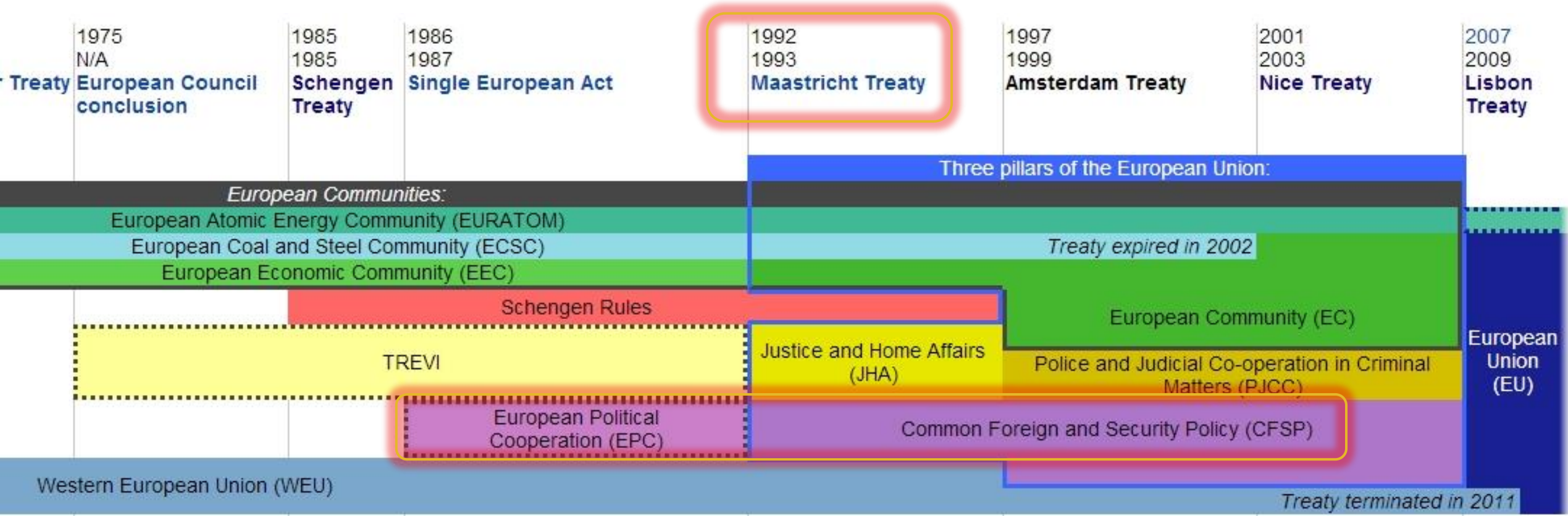
Justice and Home Affairs

- **Closer cooperation**
asylum policy
rules on crossing the Member States' external borders
immigration policy
combating drug addiction
combating international fraud
customs, police and judicial cooperation

Title VI TEU

intergovernmental
unanimity

EPC → CFSP



1993 Maastricht Treaty – creation of II. Pillar *Common* Foreign and Security Policy

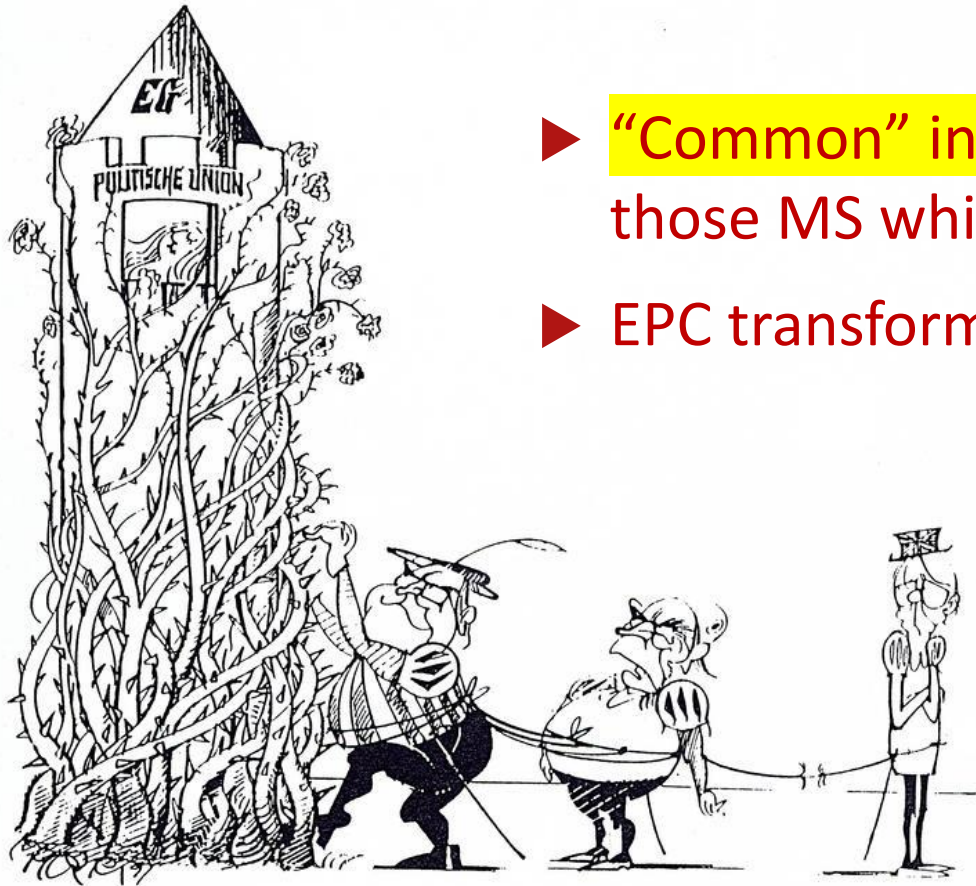
- ▶ **“Common” in name but intergovernmental in practice!** ...to satisfy those MS which opposed pooling of sovereignty in areas of security
- ▶ EPC transformed into CFSP

- ▶ Policy initiative, representation, and implementation explicitly reserved for the **Council presidency**

- ▶ Commission is to be fully “associated”

- ▶ **Defence** matters – not resolved

- ▶ Distinction between “high” politics (intergov.) and “low” economic politics (supranational pillar)



Walter Hanel
POLITISCHE UNION (1992)
Dornröschen und die Prinzen

Common Foreign and Security Policy

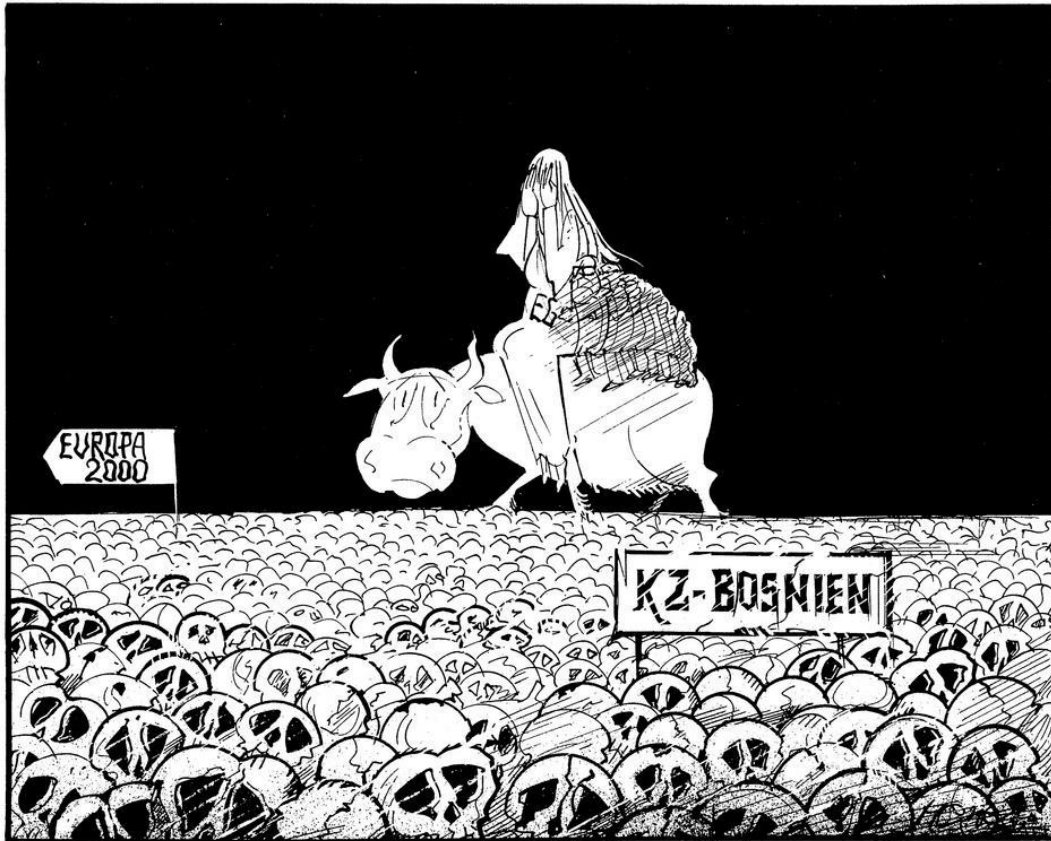
VISIONS 1990s

Maastricht treaty objectives for the EU:

- ▶ *to assert its identity on the international scene, in particular through the **implementation of a common foreign and security policy** including the eventual framing of a common defence policy, which might in time lead to a common defence...*

CFSP objectives:

- to safeguard the common **values**, fundamental **interests** and independence of the Union;
- to strengthen the **security** of the Union and its Member States in all ways;
- to preserve **peace and strengthen international security**, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter as well as the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the objectives of the Paris Charter;
- to promote **international cooperation**;
- to develop and consolidate **democracy** and the **rule of law**, and respect for **human rights** and **fundamental freedoms**.



External events:

- *1991 Gulf war*
- *1990s - Wars in former Yugoslavia*
Slovenia
Croatia
Bosnian War
Kosovo War
(UN involvement, NATO involvement)
(EU incapacity!!!)
- *1993 - Rwanda genocide*

Common Foreign and Security Policy ...in the early 1990s



„Können sie alle gut sehen?“

► CFSP

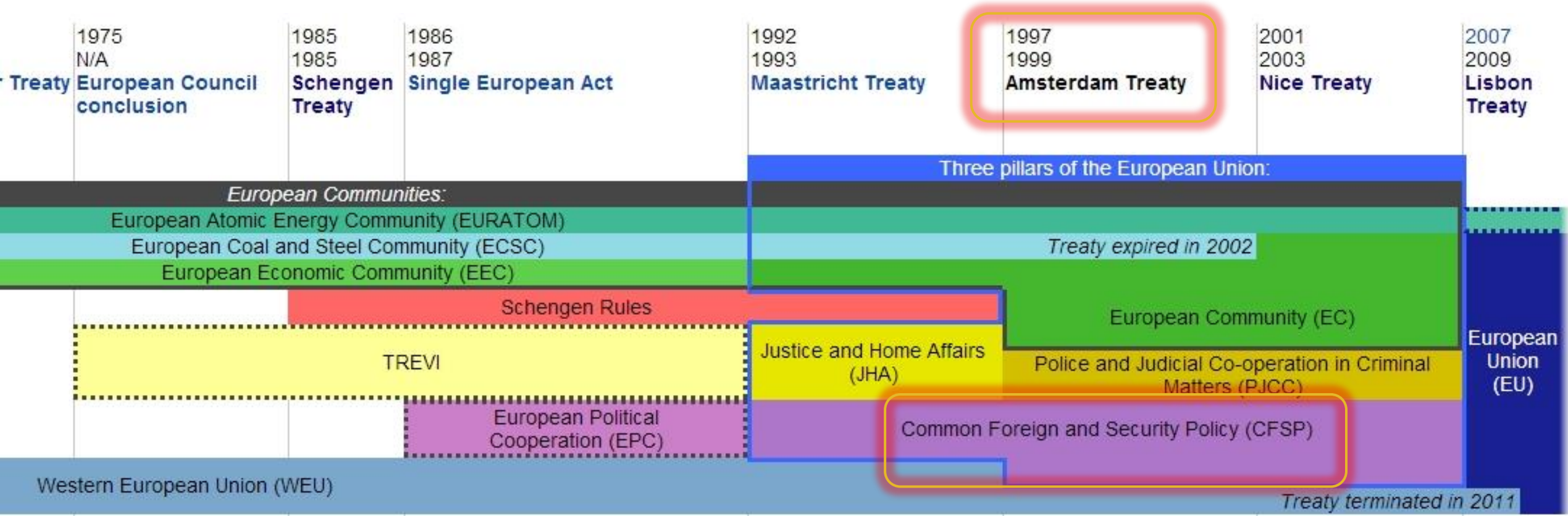
- unanimity = any minister of FA can veto
- common positions – lowest common denominator = low implementation
- lack of clear objectives
- lack of effective capacity to act (in Yugoslavia, Kosovo)

► US / NATO

--> willingness to delegate security responsibility for the region to Europeans -> **Berlin agreement 1996**

--> creation of a **European Security and Defence Identity within NATO**; possibility to use of WEU+NATO capabilities

Inclusion of WEU Petersberg Tasks into EU



“Petersberg Tasks” (est. 1992)

► Adopted by the **Western European Union** (still outside of EU framework)

WEU members are *“prepared to make available military units from the whole spectrum of their conventional armed forces for military tasks conducted under the authority of WEU”*

-> to cope with **possible destabilization in Eastern Europe**

-> put some teeth into OSCE

TASKS:

- **Humanitarian and rescue tasks**
 - Peacekeeping tasks
 - Tasks for combat forces in crisis management including peacemaking
- Military units drawn from WEU member states, including NATO missions (after consultation with NATO)



Amsterdam Treaty 1997/99



- ▶ 1997 incorporation of the Petersberg tasks into EU
 - > and regular meetings of ministers of defence
- ▶ Creation of a **High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy**
 - “Mr. Europe” – Javier Solana (former NATO GS)
 - To further “marry” the supranational external dimension of EU with intergovernmental foreign policy and security dimension of the Member states
 - Oversee creation of European Security and Defence Policy

...eventual framing of a common defence policy...

European Security and Defence Policy

1998 St. Malo Declaration (Blair & Chirac = Franco-British initiative!!!)

- ▶ the European Union *“must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises”*

1999 Cologne summit

--> decision to completely include WEU into EU

--> decision to establish a **European Security and Defence Policy** ...a “European military”

--> appointment of **Javier Solana** as HR CFSP

...**US** not so happy about it: no decoupling, no duplication and no discrimination with respect to NATO!



1999 Helsinki summit ...make ESDP operational!

- ▶ Institutional structure within the GAERC Council – **Political and Security Committee (PSC)** aided by EU Military Committee (EUMC) and EU Military Staff (EU MS)

Formalized in
Nice treaty 2001/3

Helsinki Headline goal by 2003

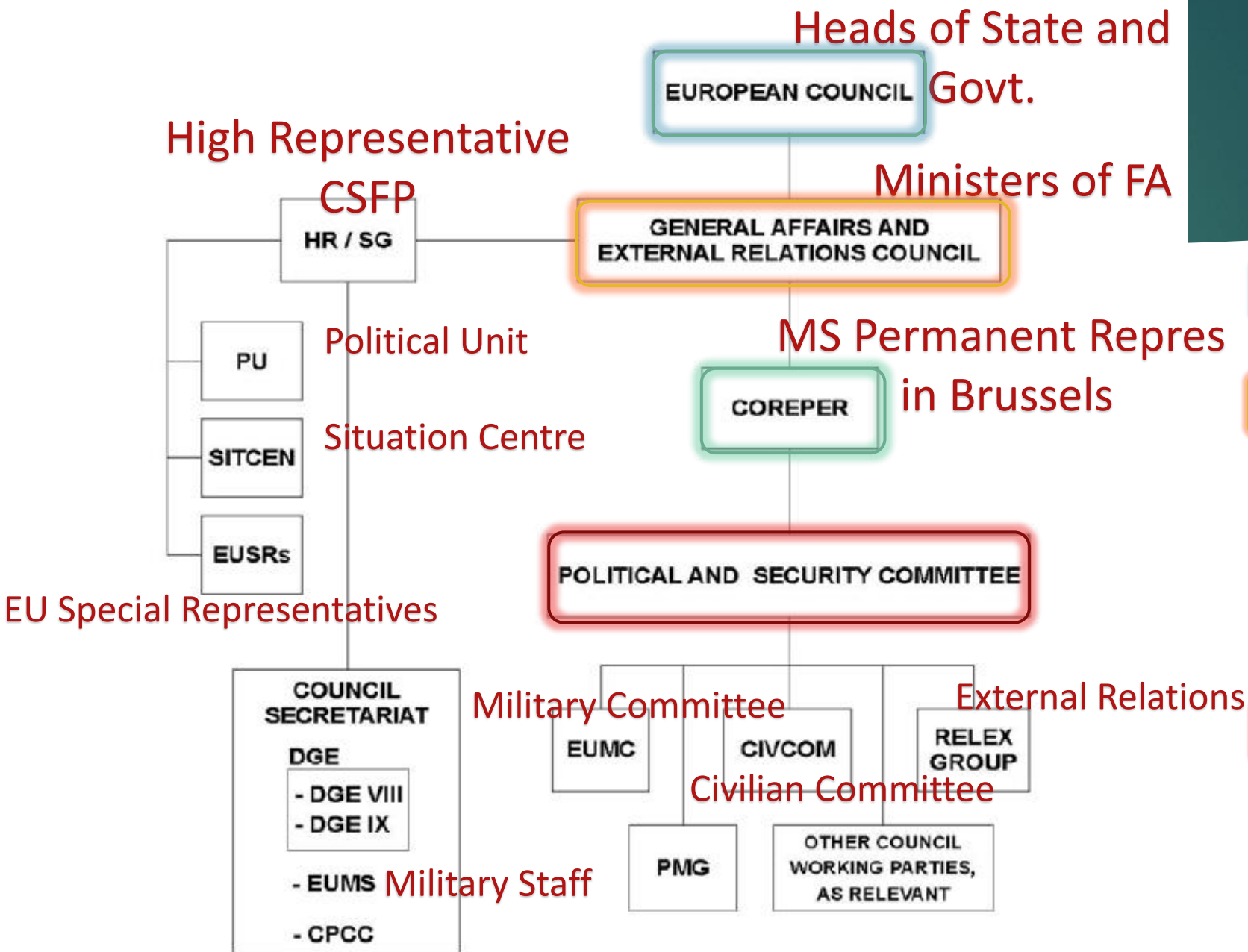
A European Rapid Reaction Force - EUFOR

- > 50,000-60,000 men strong
- > able to deploy rapidly (within 60 days)
- > sustainable up to a year
- > forces capable of the full range of Petersberg tasks

EU agreed to develop **civilian** crisis management capabilities (Finnish and Swedish initiative) → police and rule of law missions



The CFSP/ESDP institutional framework at a glance



European Council – overall political direction

GAERC – sole decision-making authority for CFSP/ESDP

- MFAs monthly meetings (sometimes includes Mo defence)

COREPER – internal MS position coordination pre-Council meeting

Political and Security Committee – external events; monitoring international affairs + drafting options for the Council

Specific CFSP instruments (legislative acts)



- ✓ **Common Positions** – adopted unanimously by the Council
-> no sanction for non-compliance
- ✓ **Joint Actions** – operational actions to implement common positions
- ✓ **Common Strategies** – veery vague position coordination

Joint actions are to be used for specific operational action, while common strategies are meant for less clearly definable situations

EU and NATO late 1990s

▶ **Separable but not separate!**

▶ Madeline Albright's response to St. Malo:

- **no duplication** of what was done effectively in NATO
- **no decoupling** from the US and NATO
- **no discrimination** against non-EU members (Turkey)

▶ **Functioning of ESDP and NATO should be mutually reinforcing**

▶ **2002 Berlin Plus agreement**

- allows the EU to use NATO structures, assets and to carry out military operations if NATO declines
- sharing of information too

...EU is separable but not separate – same forces – **may act only if NATO decides not to**



9/11 and beyond

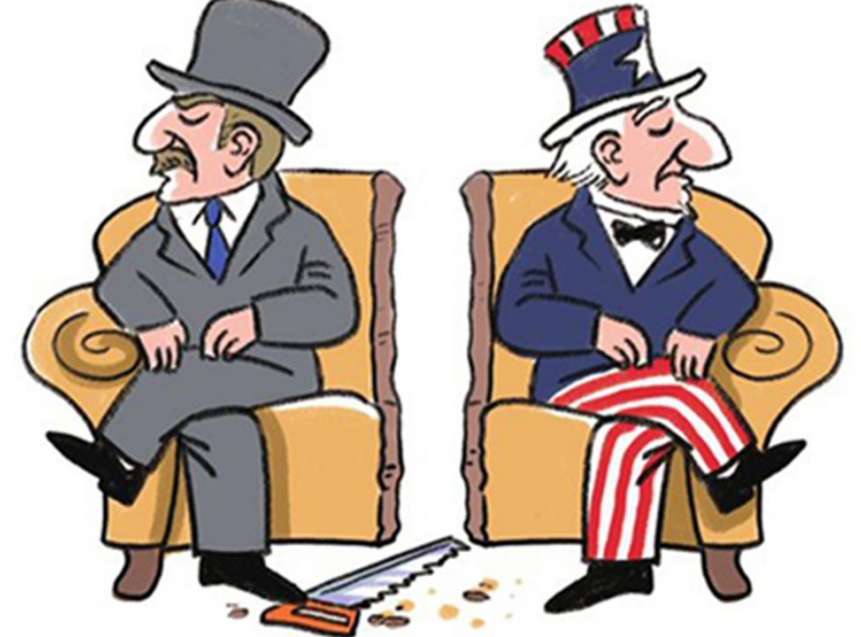
- NY and Pentagon terrorist attacks changed the security situation world-wide
- European solidarity with US people
- NATO invoked art. 5 for the 1st time ever

AFGHANISTAN 2001 – *Operation Enduring Freedom*

- ▶ NATO operation with support of European partners (MS), mostly UK, ES + UN's ISAF Forces

IRAQ 2003 - *Operation Iraqi Freedom*

- ▶ Europeans falling out with the US
- ▶ Division: UK + CEECs support US / not so France, Germany “old” members



CFSP not as ‘common’ as the title suggests -> [European Security Strategy 2003](#)

European Security Strategy 2003

- ▶ Identification of threats: **international terrorism, proliferation of WMDs, regional instability and humanitarian catastrophes** are most significant

MULTI-DIMENSIONAL APPROACH

- ▶ **identification of threats and action against them**; fight against terrorism requires a balanced ratio of intelligence, police cooperation, military and other measures (political, economic, social, humanitarian aid etc)
- ▶ **securing stability in neighbouring regions**; integration should not draw dividing lines between states and conflict resolving in our neighbourhood is a good start for peaceful relationships and prosperity
- ▶ **supporting international order based on effective multilateralism**; spreading good governance, supporting social and political reform, dealing with corruption and abuse of power, establishing the rule of law and protecting human rights are the best means of strengthening the international order

Afghanistan, Iraq ...lessons for EU CFSP

- ▶ **9/11 and Iraq 2003** had an impact on EU
 - > showed painfully the **incapability** of European countries
 - > widening of the **gap between FR/GER/UK and the rest**, the three met in advance to discuss
 - (much to the discreditation of the EU as a forum for foreign policy negotiation)
 - > **larger states** have bigger capabilities
 - > also US preferred to deal within a more confidential and effective MS format (CFSP too cumbersome)

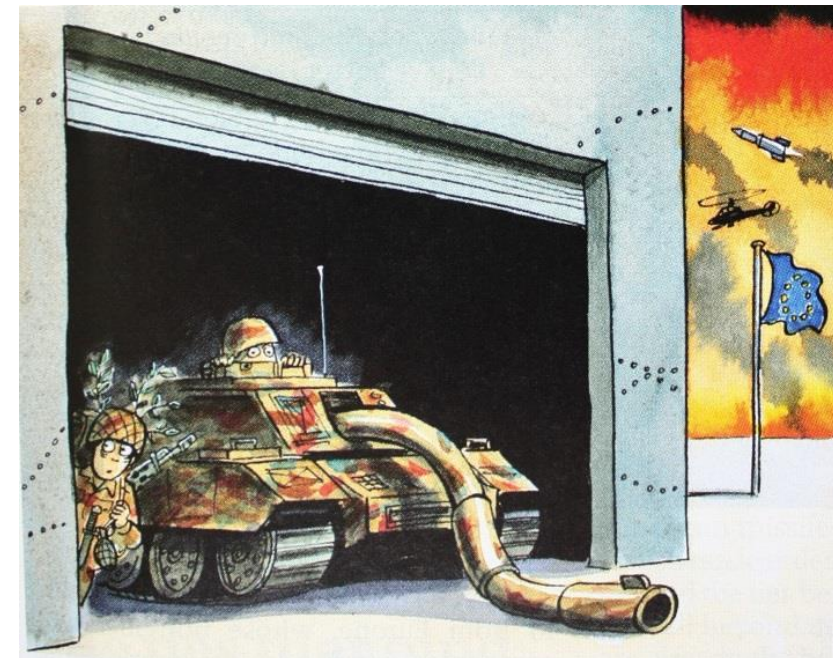


Headline Goal 2010

- ▶ Push for a capability to respond "*be able by 2010 to respond with rapid and decisive action applying a fully coherent approach to the whole spectrum of crisis management operations covered by the Treaty on European Union*" and the **2003 EU Security Strategy**
- i.e. humanitarian and rescue tasks, disarmament operations, support to third countries in combating terrorism, peacekeeping tasks and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, and peacemaking

EU Battlegroups:

- ▶ Deployment within 5-10 days of 1.500 men, sustained for 30 days (120 with resupply) **by 2007 ...yet** to be used in practice
- ▶ Main providers of EU 'battlegroups' (FR/UK/GER/POL)





EUROPEAN
DEFENCE
AGENCY

European Defence Agency (2004)

- ▶ Established *“to support the Member States and the Council in their effort to improve European defence capabilities in the field of crisis management and to sustain the European Security and Defence Policy – now Common Security and Defence Policy – as it stands now and develops in the future”*

TASKS of:

- ▶ **Development of defence capabilities** in the field of crisis management (identifying defence capability requirements, coordination of military requirements; proposing collaborative activities in the operational domain)
- ▶ Promotion and enhancement of **European armaments cooperation** (proposing multilateral cooperative projects to meet ESDP capabilities; coordination of existing programmes; promoting cost-effective procurement, identifying best practices)
- ▶ Strengthening European defence **industrial and technological base** (competitive European defence equipment market; development and harmonization of relevant rules)
- ▶ Enhancement of the effectiveness of **European Defence Research and Technology** (coordination and planning of joint research activities; studies and projects; defense and civil security research programmes)

Table 7.1 Overview of ESDP operations

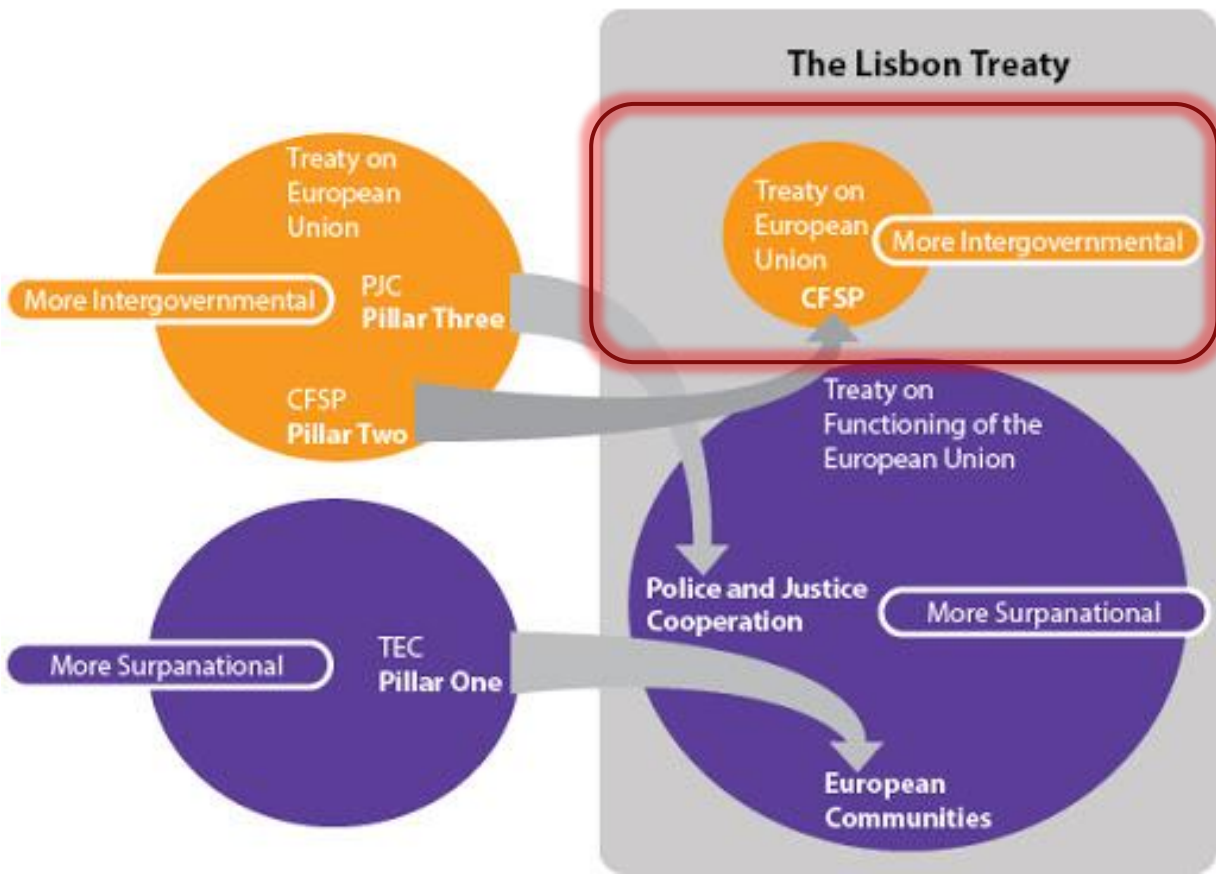
	<i>Operation</i>	<i>Objective</i>	<i>Type of mission</i>	<i>Scope</i>
MILITARY	Operation Concordia (FYROM, 2003)	To ensure a stable, secure environment to facilitate the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement	Berlin Plus	400 forces
	Operation Artemis (DRC, 2003)	Stabilization of security conditions and the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Bunia, North-East DRC	Autonomous (EU OHQ in France)	1,700 forces
	EUFOR Althea (BiH, 2004–)	To contribute to a secure environment with objective of signing the EU AA	Berlin Plus	7,000 forces; reduced to 2,500 in 2007
	EUFOR DR CONGO (DRC, 2006)	Securing the region during elections, in cooperation with the Congolese authorities (in support of the MONUC)	Autonomous (EU OHQ in Germany)	Over 1,000 forces; rapid force available
CIVILIAN	EUPM (BiH, 2003–07)	Support local police capacity including to develop independence and accountability; fight organized crime; create institutions	Police	495 police officers and 59 additional staff
	Operation Proxima (FYROM, 2003–05)	To consolidate law and order; reform of the Interior Ministry; promoting integrated border management; confidence building	Police	200 police experts
	EUPOL KINSHASA (DRC 2005–07)	To monitor, mentor and advise the IPU until national elections	Police	Approx 30 staff members
	EUJUST THEMIS (Georgia, 2004–05)	To support reform of criminal justice system	Rule of law	10 international civilian experts
	EUJUST LEX (Iraq, 2005–2007)	Support to criminal justice system through training of judges, magistrates, senior police, etc., training in the EU and liaison office in Baghdad	Rule of law	800 judges and police officers

CIVILIAN	Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM) (Aceh, 2005–06)	Monitors the implementation of aspects of the peace agreement signed by Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement on 15 August 2005	Monitoring mission	Approx 80 unarmed personnel
	EUPAT (FYROM 2005–06)	Follows termination of Proxima. To support the development of an efficient and professional police service	Police	30 police advisors
	EUPOL COPPS (Palestinian Territories 2005–08)	To provide enhanced support to the Palestinian Authority in establishing sustainable and effective policing arrangements	Police	Approx 33 unarmed police and civilian experts
	EUBAM RAFAH (Palestinian Territories 2005–08)	To monitor (third party presence) the operations of the border crossing point at Rafah (Gaza)	Border assistance mission	Approx 55 police officers, increased to 75
CIVILIAN	EUSEC DR CONGO (DRC, 2005–06)	An EU advisory and assistance mission for security sector reform	Security sector reform	8 experts
	Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (Moldova/Ukraine, 2005–07)	The mission helps to prevent smuggling, trafficking and customs fraud by providing advice and training	Border assistance mission	69 experts and 50 local support staff
	EUPOL AFGHANISTAN (Afghanistan, 2007–10)	The mission will help to develop a self-sustaining capacity to build and maintain a civil police service	Police	160 police and justice sector experts
	EUPT for Kosovo (Kosovo, 2006–)	To prepare for a possible future operation in Kosovo	Rule of law Police	45 officials
CIV/MIL	EU support to Amis II (Darfur) (Sudan, 2005–)	To support the African Union and its political, military and police efforts to address the crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan	Civilian–military	31 police officers, 17 military experts and 10 military observers

Lisbon Treaty 2007/9

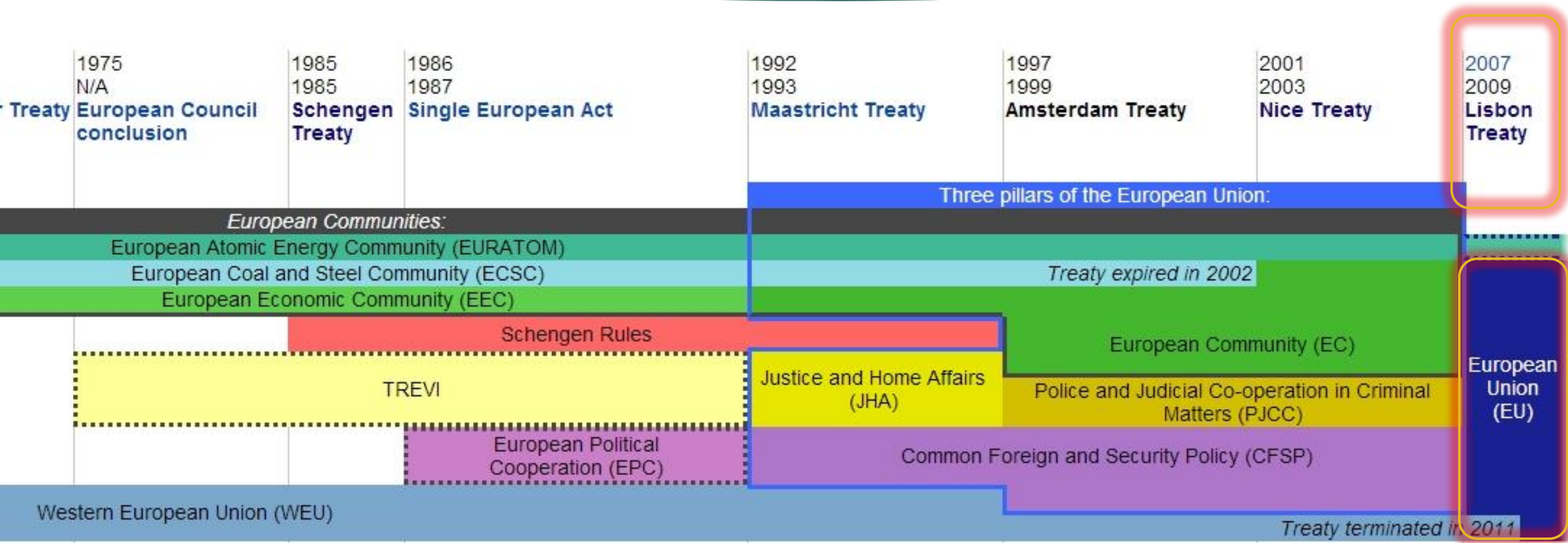
Pre-Lisbon Pillar Structure

Post-Lisbon Structure



- ▶ **Formally:** abolition of the pillar structure
- ▶ **Practically:** division between CFSP and other external activities kept
 - *Treaty on EU – CFSP*
 - *Treaty on Functioning of the EU – European Communities*
- ▶ **HR for Union Foreign Affairs and Security Policy**
- ▶ **Solidarity clause** – help member state in event of a terrorist act or a natural disaster
- ▶ **One legal personality for EU**
- ▶ **Est. a European External Action Service (diplomatic corps.)**
- ▶ **Enhanced cooperation** principle for those more capable

Abolition of the pillar structure in Lisbon



High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy



- ▶ Vice-President of the **Commission** + President of the **Foreign Affairs Council** of EU Ministers

→ By uniting the *supranational* and *intergovernmental*, the *external* and *foreign* policy dimension, HR should increase the impact, the **coherence** and visibility of the EU's external action

ROLE of the HR:

- ▶ **Coordination** of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the Common Security and Defence Policy (renamed European Security and Defence Policy)
- ▶ Responsible for **representing** the EU at international fora
- ▶ Head of the **European External Action Service** and the delegations incl. responsibility for the European Union Special Representatives
- ▶ President of the **European Defence Agency**
- ▶ Chairs the board of the [European Union Institute for Security Studies](#)
- ▶ Secretary-General of the Western European Union 2009-11

European External Action Service (est. 2011)

EU diplomatic corps

- ▶ Geographic areas: Asia-Pacific, Africa, Europe and Central Asia, the Greater Middle East and the Americas
- ▶ Thematic areas: human rights, democracy support, migration, development, response to crises and administrative and financial matters
- ▶ **EU Delegations**: embassies in almost all countries of the world
- ▶ **EU Special Representatives** in troubled regions: for Kosovo; for Sahel, EU SR for Human Rights; for South Caucasus and Georgia

Helps facilitate **POLICIES**:

European Neighbourhood Policy, Eastern Partnership, Black Sea Synergy, European Economic Area



EU Global Strategy (2016) [link](#)

Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe

► VISION:

- **Security of our Union** (values, defence, prosperity, partners)
- **State and Societal Resilience to our East and South** (ENP, Balkans accessions, Turkey, Central Asia, North Africa)
- **An Integrated Approach to Conflicts** (using all EU policies, prevention, response, stabilization, avoid disengagement; rooted in regional partnerships)
- **Cooperative Regional Orders**
- **Global Governance for the 21st Century** (global order based on international law, human rights, sustainable development; multilateralism at all levels)

► ACTION:

- **A Credible Union** (unity, power of attraction, full spectrum of defence capabilities, decisions and action)
- **A Responsive Union** (CSDP must be more responsive; enhanced cooperation among MS should be explored – might lead to more structured cooperation; more aligned development policy)
- **A Joined-up Union** (more joined across MS-EU institutions, internal-external dimensions of policies across policy sectors)

Our interests and values go hand in hand



PESCO

Member States Driven



External events:

- 2010 – today, Middle East instability
- 2014 - Russian aggression in EU neighbourhood
- 2016 - **Brexit referendum**
- 2016 - Trump US president
- 2016 – EU Global Strategy

- ▶ Lisbon Treaty allows to establish a tighter “permanent structured cooperation” → tighter integration between those who want to (not necessarily all MS)
- ▶ 2017: all 25 MS (except Denmark and Malta)
- ▶ Legally binding cooperation to “jointly arrive at a coherent full spectrum of defence capabilities available to Member States for national and multinational (EU, NATO, UN, etc.) missions and operations. This will enhance the EU’s capacity as an international security actor.”
- ▶ **Unanimity** among participating states still prevails
- ▶ EEAS (and EU MilStaff) + EDA = PESCO secretariat
- ▶ Est. a new European Defence Fund

PESCO projects

- ▶ Always coordinated by one (or more) MS
- ▶ Land, air, sea, cyber, space, training and [support projects](#)
- ▶ Those who wish to join → join [cyber](#), [medical](#)

European Defence Fund

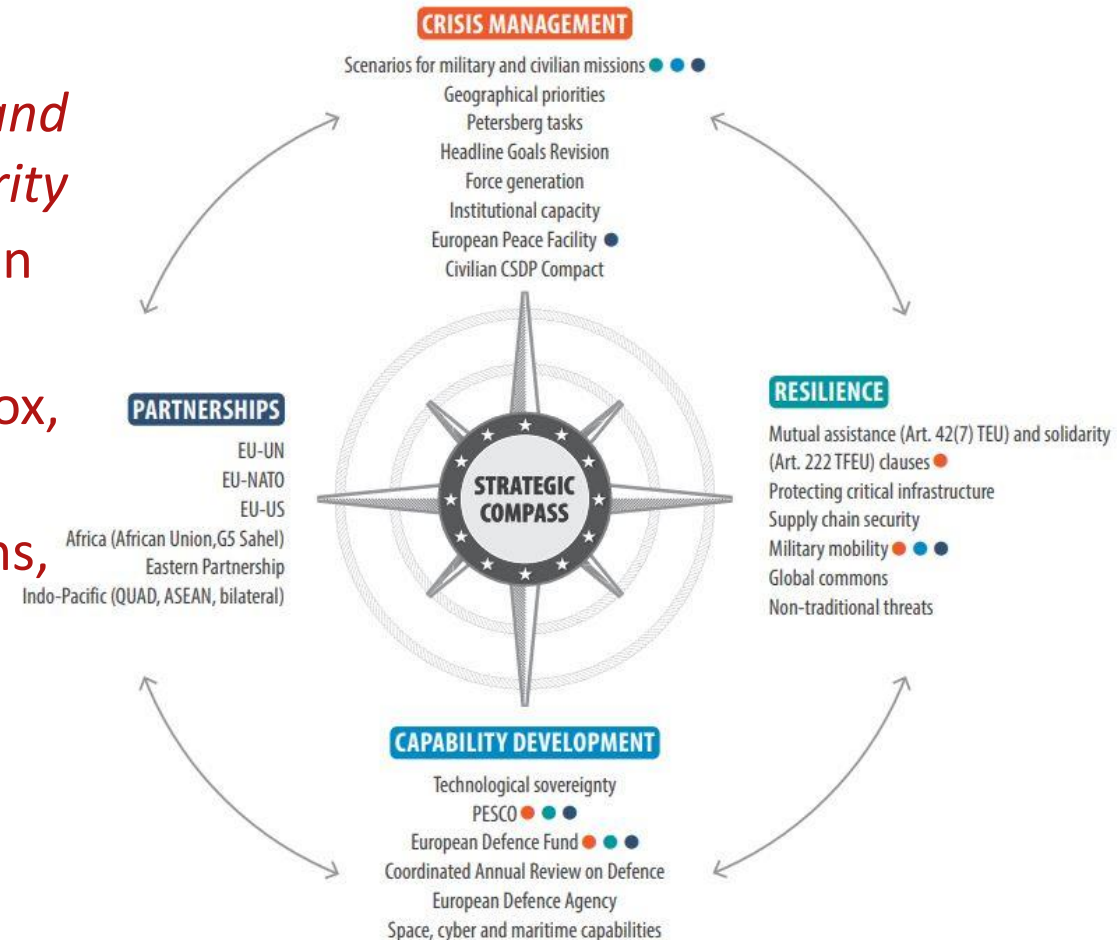
- support research and coordination projects
- Intelligence and secured communications

CARD – Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (akin to EMU European Semester)

- Monitoring national defence spending

Strategic Compass 2022

- ▶ Reaction to 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine
 - For a European Union that protects its citizens, values and interests and contributes to international peace and security*
- **ACT** – reinforce missions, work with partners, strengthen command and control
- **SECURE** – boost intelligence, create an EU Hybrid Toolbox, boost cyber defence policy
- **INVEST** – spend more and better, interoperable solutions, make use of PESCO, EDF and EDA
- **PARTNER** – reinforce NATO partnership, UN, OSCE, regional orgs (AU, ASEAN)



European Neighbourhood Policy 2004

- ▶ Enlargement moved EU's borders closer to countries still emerging from Communism
- ▶ 2004 success story of democratization and good governance in CE Europe
- ▶ **The Balkans:** has clear enlargement potential
- ▶ **Newly Independent States:** what's left of the Soviet Empire (Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia)
- ▶ **North Africa and the Mediterranean**

...EU aspirations to replicate this success in the neighbourhood



EU's neighbours

EU members

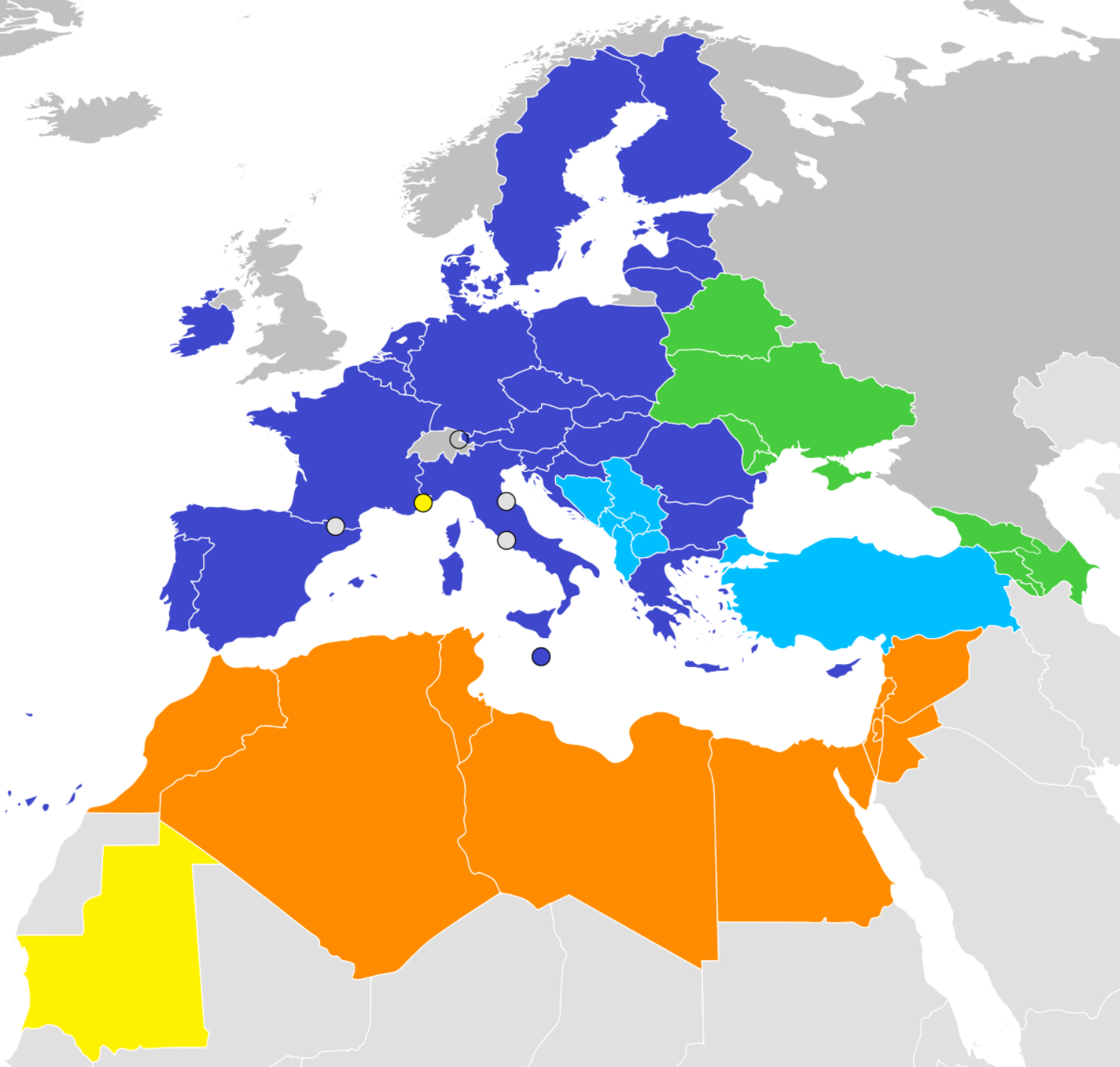
EU enlargement candidates

Eastern Partnership

Union for Mediterranean
(except Libya)

Member of UfM not ENP

...before 2022



European Neighbourhood Policy

Union for the Mediterranean (South) & Eastern Partnership (East)

- ▶ Through this and other policy initiatives the EU is trying to influence its neighbourhood and its trading partners
- ▶ Approach that Romano Prodi described as **‘everything but institutions’**
 - Different degrees of **association** according to country’s profile
 - Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCAs), Action Plans (APs) or Association Agreements (AAs)
- > For countries that can’t become members in a short while (Eastern Europe – Ukraine, Moldova) or at all (North Africa)
- > Idea to build a **‘ring of friends’** – an area of stability and prosperity
- > Deeper economic integration in exchange for political progress (democracy, human rights, rule of law)

Areas of cooperation:

trade
market-oriented
economic reforms
stability in the
neighbourhood
promotion of democracy
responding to crime
migration (border
management)
terrorism
Immigration
energy
health
environment
human rights

South: Mediterranean



- ▶ Northern Africa and the Middle-East
- ▶ Geographical location prevents them from *ever* becoming members (as Morocco found out in 1987)
- ▶ Former European colonies (especially French)
- ▶ **50% of MED exports goes to the EU**
- ▶ **EU is the main source of tourism** in these countries!
- ▶ The Med countries are crucial energy suppliers for EU
- ▶ **All are developing** countries (except Israel) and pose a **security challenge** to the EU (illegal migration, terrorism, social unrest etc.)

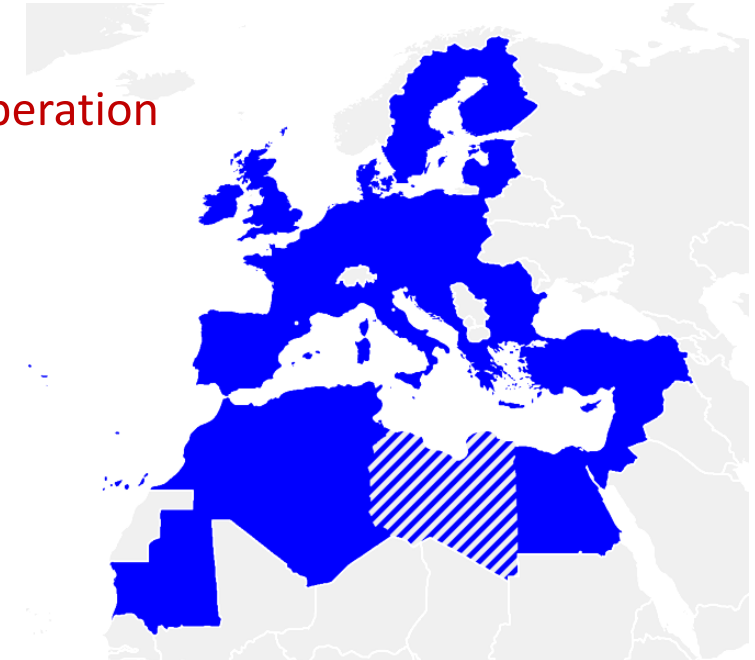
The Barcelona Process

- ▶ 1995 - parallel to CEE Enlargement
- ▶ Designed as a comprehensive multilateral framework for dialogue and cooperation
- ▶ MEDA – financial instrument (similar to PHARE or TACIS)

Initiative in 3 'baskets'

- ✓ political and security
- ✓ economic and financial basket and
- ✓ social cultural and human

- ▶ **Goal** was to convert the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, stability and prosperity
- ▶ **Goal** to sign Association Agreements with EuroMed Countries
- ▶ **Goal** to establish a political dialogue



10 years of Barcelona process (2005)

Total failure of the process:

- ▶ **Politics and security:** EU was delusional thinking it could export democracy just like that, neither security situation has improved
 - ▶ **Economy and finances:** FTA plan by 2010 – never happened (only Israel), the trade within the area never rose; liberalization only in agricultural produce in winter
 - ▶ **Social, cultural, human affairs:** situation is actually worse than in 1995, a growing chasm between the West and the rest
- 'Attractiveness' of EU policies just cannot compete with Islamists movements...
- Continued in the **Union for the Mediterranean** (2008)

EU and the Arab Spring

Sub-regionalism vs. inter-regionalism

- EU creates new dividing lines in the region preferring some and excluding others
 - constant institutional overhaul – but no recipe for the region
- engagement region to region: EU to Gulf Cooperation Council perhaps

Particular vs. common interests

- absence of common interest among EU states
- governments dominate EU foreign policy
- wait-and-see approach to Tunisia, not to offend the regime leaders (France even offered material support to the Tunisian security forces)
- EU's naïve belief in peaceful democratization under Mubarak in Egypt until his resignation



EU and the Arab Spring

► EU torn between **actorness** and **spectatorship**

Old vs. new approaches to the region

- EU 'carrots' are not sufficiently attractive to spur wide-range reforms
- EU model of neoliberal governance is not a solution

Benchmarks vs. policy goals

- how to measure progress? Is 'commitment' enough or a 'minimal benchmark'?
- vague wording of the goals and timetables

Association vs. 'advanced status'

- what does it actually entail?
- same measure for all, Morocco & Jordan got the status despite breaches of the ENP action plans

**Syria is an
absolute fiasco**

Frozen bilateral cooperation
Humanitarian & development aid

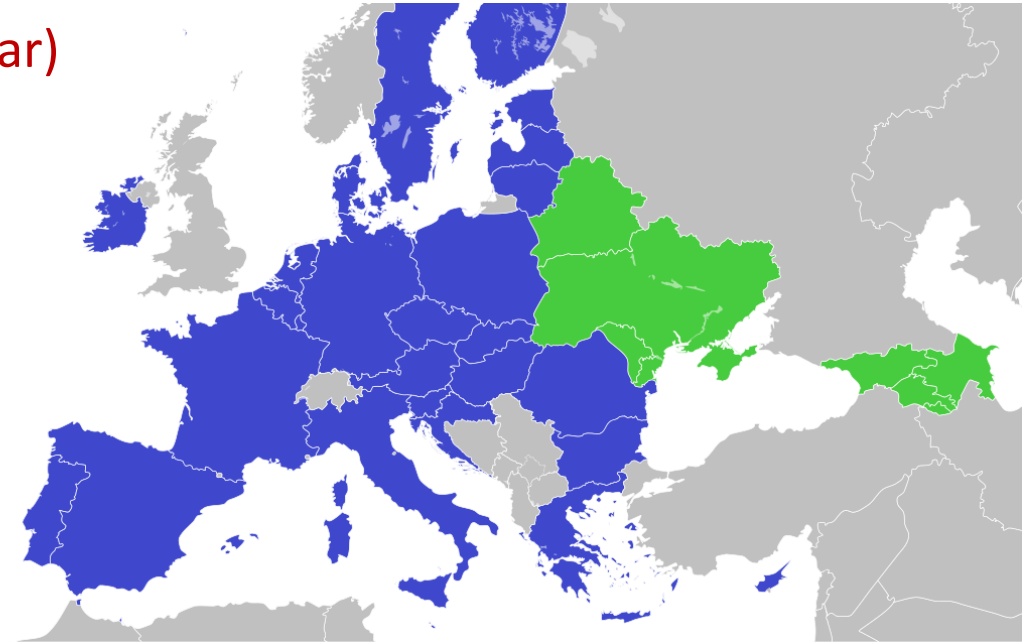
[Brussels V Conference 2021](#)

Eastern Partnership 2009

- ▶ Response to the “colour revolutions” of 2003/2004
- ▶ Energy crises
- ▶ Ethnic conflicts
- ▶ War in Georgia in 2008
- ▶ Reflecting closer ties of some EU countries (Poland in particular) with the region
- ▶ To continue the **enlargement momentum, but without membership**
- ▶ However, membership in the future is not ruled out

4 platforms:

- ✓ democracy, good governance and stability
- ✓ economic integration and convergence with EU policies
- ✓ energy security
- ✓ contacts between the people: EaP Civil Society Forum



EaP goals and problems

- ▶ **New Association Agreements**
- ▶ Build deep and comprehensive **free trade areas**
- ▶ Gradual **integration into the EU economy**
- ▶ Cooperation on **visa-regimes – gradual liberalization**
- ▶ **Energy** cooperation
- ▶ **Security cooperation:** organized crime and illegal migration
- ▶ **Sphere of influence between EU and Russia**
 - **Values or geopolitics?**
 - ▶ Belarus – the last dictatorship with a death penalty
 - ▶ Ukraine's orientation: West, East, West
 - ▶ 'Frozen conflicts' – Nagorno Karabakh, South Ossetia, Abkhazia... now Donetsk/Luhansk and Crimea
 - ▶ Not a hot war in Ukraine ...until 2022!
 - ▶ Human rights!

.... Unequal treatment of the Southern and Eastern neighbours (UfM, EaP)



Ukraine and EU



Will
Ukraine
Enter
Europe?

Biggest of the EaP countries

- ▶ Trying to get the EU to ‘promise membership’ since 2005
- ▶ Short rule of Yushchenko + Tymoshenko – proWestern
- ▶ Since 2010 Yanukovych (president)
 - Release of Tymoshenko – one of EU’s conditions to sign the **Association Agreement** November 2013
 - Reforms ‘sharade’
 - UKR can’t be BOTH in EU and Russian free trade areas (Rus: Eurasian Economic Union)
- ▶ Yanukovych denounced the agreement 21st November 2013
- ▶ 2014 Ukrainian revolution Euromaidan
- ▶ Occupation of Crimea 2014
- ▶ Association Agreement signed in July 2014 (DCFTA, limited visa-free movement)

Ukraine and EU

- ▶ Ukraine is internally divided West/East
- ▶ In the grey zone between the EU and Russia – get the best/worst of both powers
- ▶ EU never called Ukraine European – never openly spoke of membership before 2014
- ▶ EU's soft power can't compete with Russia's hard power
- ▶ EU vague and long-term
- ▶ Russia concrete, immediate

The 2022 Russian WAR in Ukraine changed everything

- ▶ EU aid, including military!
- ▶ Ukraine is now an EU candidate country

