SECURITY ASPECTS OF EUROPEAN UNION DIPLOMACY
DEVELOPMENT OF A UNIQUE ACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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By

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ABSTRACT

The European Union (EU) has during the past decades developed into a unique actor in international relations. This development notwithstanding, International Relations scholarship has been slow with catching up and defining what influence the EU may have on international affairs in general and security outcomes in particular. The literature has furthermore paid almost no attention to the diplomatic actions of the EU, despite the fact that there on a daily basis are a vast number of diplomatic steps taken by the Union in order to affect security issues globally. These actions are examined and their effects discussed and measured on a scale from no success to success in an attempt to illustrate (a) the gap in the literature and (b) the actual effects of the actions themselves and their impact on the EU as a player in international relations with true 'actorness' on par with nation-states.

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List of Abbreviations

ECSC   European Coal and Steel Community

EEC   European Economic Community

EC   European Communities

EU   European Union

IR   International Relations (scholarship)

1   Introduction

The European Union (EU) is in many ways a unique actor in international relations. Never since the organization of the world into sovereign states has a non-state actor been able to exert as much influence on international developments as the EU of today. In its attempt to explain world events however, most International Relations (IR) literature focuses on states as the main actors of global politics. Only in recent years has parts of this scholarship started to grapple with the fact that players on other levels also may impact international outcomes in an array of fields; from the environment to international conflicts, from financial matters to international terrorism.

During the Cold War, the political world was divided into two blocks, each led by a strong state, leaving little room for non-nation-state actors to influence international affairs. As the Cold War ended, the international arena opened and soon allowed non-state actors to play greater and more independent roles internationally. The field of security politics is no exception to this influx of actors, even if arguably nation-states have kept much of the legitimacy in this realm.

The end of the Cold War furthermore helped the art of international diplomacy (both bi- and multilateral) to regain ground as perhaps the most legitimate method of solving international conflicts. As the world had come out of a century filled with major wars, followed by the development of weapons of mass destruction, global activities centering

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on diplomacy gained ground. The 1990s therefore saw an increase in global support of the United Nations and other international organizations devoted to diplomatic methods.

Diplomacy is not a new phenomenon. In Cohen's words, it is in fact a 3000 years old 'continuous Great Tradition', passed down through the phases of history, often leaving international actors no choice but to enter into its rules of engagement if they wanted to interact politically or economically with others outside of their borders[1]. While several strands of diplomacy emerged over the centuries, modern diplomacy of the post-Cold War world, finding its base in Grotian conceptions of equality and trust, has been the preponderant channel for international relations. The key functions of this art, as Sharp highlights, include the role of representing symbolism, power, the 'national interest' and the idea of peace[2]. While sovereignty remained the privilege of nation-states, arguably several of these functions in recent years started to transfer also to other forms of international actors. Coming out of a century of wars, world leaders found diplomacy to be a useful tool in their dealings with many of the issues presented in the 1990s, hence a tremendous increase in the activities of the UN as well as of regional organizations, such as the African Union and ASEAN.

In great part due to this increased attention to diplomacy, the European Union (EU), as a unique entity in international relations (the nature of which is discussed in chapter 4),

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[1] Raymond Cohen, 'The Great Tradition: The Spread of Diplomacy in the Ancient World', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Volume 12., Issue 1. (Oxford, Routledge, 2001), pp. 44-55.
[2] Paul Sharp, 'Who Needs Diplomats? The problem of diplomatic representation', in Richard Langhorne and Christer Jönsson, *Diplomacy*, Volume III (London, Sage, 2004), pp. 58-78.

also gained a great deal of influence globally during the 1990s. While wielding only a limited amount of military 'hard power', the EU has in the past two decades since 1989[3] increasingly capitalized on its 'soft power' (of diplomatic, economic, cultural and other influence) to affect outcomes in international relations around the globe. The importance of diplomacy has in recent years been even further enhanced, as *inter alia* US actions post-9/11 in Afghanistan and Iraq have shown that military force in many instances is less effective in dealing with highly complex security environments of the post-Cold War world. The need to understand the European project's[4] diplomatic agency and its relationship to security effects has thus been given enhanced importance, and a thorough examination of its historical development, current features, effectiveness and potential is therefore warranted.

Without prejudice to the statement of nation-states as legitimate actors in international security affairs, this paper will examine the impact of European Union diplomacy on security issues around the world. It will in this context discuss the current framework of literature for understanding the EU as an international relations actor and examine the very term 'actorness' as well (for a definition of this term, see Chapter 3). It will situate

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[3] The 'European Union' as such was not created until the Treaty of Maastricht entered into force in 1993. The continuity of development of European actions in diplomacy have however been discussed in the literature, sometimes referring to the entirety of European integration as the development of a 'European project'. (See Fonyódi, Eddy, *Protocol, Representation and Recognition – Presence and Assertion by the European Union as Diplomatic Agent and Foreign Policy Actor*, Master's Thesis (Bruges, College of Europe, 2008)).

[4] Fonyódi, *Ibid.*

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the EU in the IR debate and specifically focus on how the Union has gained ground as a diplomatic agent.

Building on previous research on EU diplomacy, the paper will then examine the diplomatic 'tools' the EU has used in its foreign policy actions[5]. Having established the extent to which the EU uses diplomacy to conduct its foreign policy, the paper will then evaluate the success rate of EU diplomacy on specific security issues around the world. It will closely examine all EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) agreements and statements with security implications between 1997 and 2007 and sort them into fourteen different categories. Each category will then be measured in terms of how successful the EU has been to reach the goals it set out with the diplomatic action in the specific situation as pertains to the security issue in focus. Finally, based on the findings, current and future potentials of EU diplomatic actions in security affairs will be suggested and room for improvement discussed.

The paper will demonstrate how the European Union has engaged diplomatically in carefully chosen areas of security affairs. The success rate across these areas is highly varied and certain areas more than others reflect need for improvement. At the same time however, the data will also show that the EU indeed is a global actor with diplomatic influence in security matters. It is in this vein therefore argued that both EU diplomacy

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[5] The author is grateful to Professor Madeleine Albright for having focused his thinking about foreign policy methods around the concept of a limited "toolbox" from which an actor has to pull out the specific tools it wants to use at any given moment.

and its relationship to the EU as a security actor should be discussed more in future IR literature than is the case today.

2 The Literature on EU International Actions – Diplomacy and Security

Much literature has been written on the art and craft of diplomacy through history. A great deal has also been written on international security and on the European project (and especially the EU of today) as an international security actor. Very little attention has however been devoted to the role of diplomacy as perhaps *the key element* of the development of European influence in international security matters.

This thesis therefore combines an analysis of the literature on diplomacy with selected literature on international security and thus – through an examination of EU actions – attempts to give insights into how and to what extent the European project has been able to develop influence in international security affairs on par with nation-states.

Before turning to this evaluation however, we will examine briefly the current state of the literature. This will be done in three small steps. The overview will first briefly analyze the state of the art during the Cold War. Second, it will examine how the literature in the field evolved alongside the European Union, focusing on a few, key texts related to the matter. Third, it will highlight and summarize the findings presented, existing gaps and provide the road map for the discussion in the rest of the paper.

2.1 The Cold War – A Drought

Writings on the topic of European international diplomatic and security actions were rather sparse during the Cold War itself. As the dominant paradigm in International

Relations for many years was realism in its many shapes (Morgenthau 1948, Niebuhr 1964, Butterfield and Wight 1966, Wight 1978, Aron 1962, Waltz 1959 and 1979), there was very little space in academic circles to explore the topic of European international security actions at all. This was due to the fact that the only actor of real importance for realism was the nation-state itself. While power was seen as the crucial state interest of earlier realists, Waltz and other neo-realists argued that two fundamental components limited international actions. The first was anarchy, whereby states did not have a world government to adjudicate disputes, leading to uncertainty and a self-help system for all states. The second was the distribution of capabilities, whereby the relative distribution of military and other 'hard' power in the international system led to a certain 'polarity' – during the Cold War a bipolar world. Any state action was claimed to be the fight for survival in this harsh world. The EU and its Cold War predecessors were hence seen as little more than forms of cooperation to serve the national interests of the member states themselves.

The literature on diplomacy itself looked very different, with many excellent works published also during the Cold War years (see e.g. Nicolson 1954, Plischke 1979 and Calvet De Magalhães 1988). In the same years, a few but often ignored, pieces were published on European external diplomatic representation – the words 'agency' or 'actor' however in general not being used – (Raux 1966, Pescatore 1974 and Brinkhorst 1984 being a few, notable examples).

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Only a very small number of works were published on either European diplomatic or security actions and none of the literature explicitly dealt with a combination of the two. Interestingly however, as the Cold War ended and Europe proceeded into a new era of integration and common action, while the literature on European external action grew, the literature gap between EU diplomacy and EU security actions remained to be filled. To this we shall now thus turn.

2.2   End of the Cold War – Increasing Literature but Remaining Gap

As the Cold War ended and the European Union started taking shape, several important pieces of literature appeared on Europe in international relations. Based on the literature on diplomacy (e.g. Anderson 1993 and Hamilton & Langhorne 1995) and in parallel to some writings on European internal diplomacy (Hocking 1999, Davis Cross 2007), a body of works emerged that dealt with European international action. For purposes relevant to this paper, those works should be identified, that deal with diplomacy and the security aspects of these actions. Examining the writings, it emerges that these works in general can be divided into two camps.

The first discusses the European Union as a diplomatic actor (Bruter 1999, Daerr 1999, Hocking 1999, Duke 2002 and 2008, Keukeleire 2003, Bale 2004, Bátora 2005, Cohen-Hadria 2005, Dimier & McGeever 2006, Avery 2007, Kucharski 2007, Fonyódi 2008). Several seminal works in the subject matter are to be found in this body of literature, but what these writings share is that they lack a fundamental approach to the

European Union as an international security actor. In examining a few works in the next section, we will see in what way and why.

The second camp of works on European international diplomatic and security actions discusses the European Union as an international political and security actor (Salmon 1993, Buchan 1993, Cameron 1999, Weaver 2000, Dannreuther 2004, Bretherton & Vogler 2005, Regelsberger 2007, Deighton & Bossuat 2007, Francis 2008). Countless works have been produced in this category, but with some very few exceptions discussing European diplomacy in limited terms (Leonard 2005 and Smith 2008), they do not discuss diplomacy in depth. Our deeper examination of a few, key texts should reveal also an answer to the reasons for this.

2.2.1   The Diplomacy Literature

A seminal academic work, laying much of the foundations of thinking about a common European diplomacy, was a brief article by Bruter (1999). It discusses both the opportunities and the difficulties that an entity such as the European Union encounters in its diplomatic relations with states. Bruter argues that the European Union has managed to assert itself on the diplomatic stage with unique delegations (of the European Commission), acting efficiently as *quasi* embassies in a vast number of countries around the world[6]. Bruter brings to the reader's attention that the delegations perform embassy-

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[6] Michael Bruter, 'Diplomacy without a state: the external delegations of the European Commission', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 6, Number 2 (Oxford, Routledge, 1999), p. 183.

like tasks without the powers of a sovereign to back them up[7], without a foreign policy to guide them[8] and without diplomats to effectuate their functions[9]. While showing us that the European Union indeed is an effective diplomatic actor, Bruter's argument does not include any discussion on issue-areas of security policy, as this policy is dealt with by the Council of the European Union and not the European Commission, the institution the delegations answer to. Since Bruter's article became a fundament in the thinking about European diplomacy, in our quest for further discussion of the issue, we must examine also those who came after him.

Arguably the most influential work on the topic post-Bruter is that of Bátora (2005). Bátora claims that the European Union has effectively started to transform the institution of diplomacy by placing its diplomatic representatives at the same table as those of nation states[10]. Bátora expands the argument of Bruter, by engaging with a wider field of diplomatic action by the European Union. He includes several issue areas that relate to European foreign policy goals and weaves in an argument of how internal diplomatic dynamics of Europe reflect externally on its relations with others[11]. Bátora, probably for much the same reasons as Bruter, also however fails to engage with the effect this argued change in diplomacy has in the security field, e.g. by combining the discussion about the changes in diplomacy brought about by the delegations with a

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 186.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 191.
[10] Jozef Bátora, 'Does the European Union transform the institution of diplomacy?', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 12, Number 1 (Oxford, Routledge, 2005), p. 44.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-60.

discussion on those changes brought about by other European diplomatic actions –
outside of the scope of Commission delegations. Such an approach could have paved the
way for a discussion on diplomatic action in the security field, but as mentioned this is
not to be found.

Turning thus to the literature on European actions in the international security
field, let us see what aspects of diplomacy it is possible to discern from this.

2.2.2   The Security Literature

One of the most influential writers on European security and defense policy – and
in extension thus on European international security actions – is Cameron (1999), who
puts forward a very strong case for a fast-developing international security 'actorness' of
the European Union[12]. Cameron argues that the EU needs a common approach externally
– both on terms of 'soft' and 'hard' instruments in order to have a voice in the world, to
enable action internationally and to protect its own security on the continent[13]. He puts
forward a strong case for how the EU through its many foreign policy instruments has
been able to achieve international actorness in international affairs[14]. Basing his
arguments – *inter alia* – on the various tools the European Union has had at its disposal,
he strikingly only makes a marginal reference to diplomacy. It is possible that avoiding
an in-depth discussion of diplomacy saves him from a very sticky issue, which through

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[12] Fraser Cameron, *The Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union: Past, Present and Future* (London, Sheffield Academic Press, 1999)
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
[14] *Ibid.*

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the years often has been accused of being a discipline of anecdotes. Yet Cameron misses out on the very point that details of the diplomatic presence and assertion by the European Union on the global stage may contain several important explanatory variables to why and how the Union has reached such a high state in security action development.

Following on from Cameron's discussion, Wæver makes a yet stronger point of an emerging security agency of the European Union, and this in a very unique sense of the word. He calls the Union a "post-sovereign experimentation"[15], which indeed is reaching new heights of agency in a most particular way. Wæver, however, fails to include a detailed discussion of diplomacy as a closely related element to this agency, which, as is argued here, ought to be a useful tool for understanding it.

In a recent effort to bridge the literature on various aspects of European Union foreign and security policy actions, Deighton and Bossuat (2007) published an influential work, if arguably of unclear precision. In their attempts to include international security roles and actions of the Union to as great an extent as possible, the actual discussion about international security agency is marginalized and diplomacy is in principle not mentioned.

What then could be done to move forward from these differing yet highly connected bodies of literature? A few solutions are discussed below.

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[15] Ole Wæver, 'The EU as a security actor – Reflections from a pessimistic constructivist on post-sovereign security orders', Morten Kelstrup and Michael Charles Williams, *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration* (London, Routledge, 2000), p. 250.

2.3   Bridging the Gap

In order to embark upon an investigation of the influence of diplomacy on the development of an international security agency of the European Union, one must attempt to bridge the gap between the aforementioned two bodies of literature. This is a daunting task, especially considering that true issue-linkage between these two areas has not yet occurred in the literature. For this very reason however, the task is yet more important than would there have been a bookshelf full of works in the area. Very few works in fact incorporate both strands of thought, Leonard (2005) being one of them.

What this thesis thus will do is to examine how the European Union has used diplomacy to affect security outcomes in the world and situate these empirics in the literature of International Relations theory, diplomacy and European security policy. The empirics will in other words be the key link between the bodies of literature and show upon the potential of further European actions in the field.

As this brief review has discussed, there is at present a vast amount of literature written on diplomacy, European diplomacy and European external actions and actorness. Little, however, is written on the potentially causal relationship between European diplomatic clout and its effect on international security outcomes. The paper will therefore now try to take this task on.

3   Methodology and Hypothesis

This paper argues that by examining the output-effect of European Union diplomatic actions on security issues, conclusions can be drawn about the EU's strength as an actor in international security affairs. It bases its theoretical assumptions in the broad spectrum of IR literature and evaluates how European diplomatic actions may fit into concepts of diplomacy and security presented by this body of scholarship. The paper then goes on to examine those 378 of the 2424 EU Common Foreign and Security Policy actions publicly available between 1997 and 2007 that are found to have security components. In other words, it discusses those EU diplomatic actions within the CFSP that were aimed at having some sort of influence on a security issue.

It is important to note that to keep the paper focused, and for lack of space, these instances do not include *all* EU external actions. They do however include *all* Council-published statements, meetings and agreements between the stated years and therefore should give a sufficiently good indicator as to the effect EU diplomacy may have in international security affairs.

'EU diplomatic action' is treated as the independent variable and 'security outcomes' are treated as the dependent variables by this paper. While the diplomatic actions are divergent in type, since the purpose of this paper is to tease out effects of EU diplomacy on security issues *writ large*, it is not deemed necessary to further distinguish between various forms of diplomatic action as various independent variables.

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Nevertheless, as the paper will show, different 'tools', or types of different EU diplomatic actions have varying degrees of success rates, thus nuancing the various forms of actions taken.

The main question this paper examines is to what extent EU diplomatic action has had an effect on international security outcomes and in extension to what extent such an effect has bestowed upon the EU international security 'actorness' at par with nation-states.

While literature treating international relations often uses the terms 'actor' or 'agent', very rarely does it delve into definitions of these very terms. A notable exception is Ginsberg, who discusses EU 'actorness' and reviews the few existing writings on what the expression may mean[16]. Ginsberg's focus is however not the actor-capacity itself, but the political impact of certain EU actions in specific instances.

For the purposes of this paper, actorness will be defined as 'the ability of the European Union to use diplomatic action to successfully affect security outcomes in relations with other actors'. 'Success' is measured as the extent to which the EU reached the goals it set out to reach by the specific diplomatic action examined.

The limits of this approach are here acknowledged, but the above definition is deemed to give a sufficiently broad perspective of EU actions to allow for an understanding of EU diplomatic influence in international security affairs.

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[16] Roy H. Ginsberg, *The European Union in International Politics: Baptism by Fire* (Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001), pp. 46-48.

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4 Theoretical Approaches to Diplomacy and International Security

Diplomacy is often described as a function of sovereignty – the diplomat being the empowered representative of the traditionally legitimate actor in international affairs; the nation-state. This chapter will examine this argument first by taking a look at the arguments of sovereignty as the main determinant of international actorness. Second, the concepts of diplomacy and security actorness will be analyzed. Third, the effects of the development of the European project on these concepts will be measured against the backdrop of the preceding two sections.

4.1 The Sovereign State Argument

Since the Peace of Westphalia[17], sovereign nation-states have arguably been the main actors of the international arena. In the time frame relevant to this paper, i.e. the latter part of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, three broad strands of literature were until recently dominant in explaining the relations between these actors.

These strands have been classified and reclassified by IR scholars, but a perhaps well-nuanced approach was taken by Martin Wight, categorizing them as three schools of thought: realism (or Machiavellian), rationalism (or Grotian) and revolutionism (or

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[17] It is here acknowledged that the 'Peace of Westphalia' in fact was constituted of a multitude of peace agreements that stretched over several years. In line with much IR literature, the expression however refers to the year 1648, where the end of the 30 Years War led to the organization of international actors into the sovereign nation-states, that conceptually until today have remained in the same form.

Kantian)[18]. The differences between these schools of thought reveal somewhat where the European Union might or might not fit in as a player with 'actorness'.

The realist camp is the one which least of the three could accept any form of true actorness of the EU. Its argument that sovereignty is indivisible and an absolute norm of international relations trickles down through generations of IR scholars, from earlier literature (Carr[19], Morgenthau[20]) to the later, neo-realist schools based on concepts discussed by Waltz and focusing on the notion of security as the ultimate aim of states. From a realist perspective, the EU would hence be nothing more than an efficient way of its member states to maximize their security, but that ultimately their rights and actions as sovereigns remain. As we shall soon see, this approach is problematic when observing EU actions in themselves.

The rationalist school of thought, while maintaining the notion of sovereignty as the right of nation-states, allows for a broader and deeper view of international cooperation than the realist school. According to this school, states join each other in international institutions to genuinely work towards the achievement of their common interests. Sovereignty is nevertheless maintained as an absolute and seen as one of many

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[18] Martin Wight, *International Theory – The Three Traditions* (London, Leicester University Press, 1991), pp. 7-24.
[19] Edward Hallett Carr, *Nationalism and After* (London, Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1945)
[20] Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations – The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 7th edition (New York, NY, McGraw-Hill/Irwin, 2005), p. 29.

normative criteria the system of nation-states finds itself bound by[21]. Sovereignty is furthermore seen as the best form of organization to accommodate for the differences between people globally and thus does not allow for any infraction upon it[22]. Again hence the European Union is seen as little more than the coordinated expression of member states' sovereign yearnings to achieve common goals in the international realm, but without affecting their own, sovereign rights as nation-states. As we shall see, also this is insufficient to explain external diplomatic actions of the EU.

Finally, perhaps the revolutionist strand is that which comes closest to explaining the actions of others than nation-states. It believes that sovereignty is a passing phenomenon, or at least that the present forms of it will be transcended eventually by some sort of society of nations[23]. It is however rather problematic to apply this strand of IR thought to EU external actions for two distinct reasons. First, the European Union – while indeed allowing for some 'pooling' of sovereignty from its member states – has never reflected attempts to do away with sovereignty as a prevailing concept within its borders. In fact, it is arguably the combined powers of sovereignty of its 27 member states that in the eyes of other actors give the EU legitimacy to interact as one with the external world. Second, the very attempts of the EU to act diplomatically internationally

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[21] Friedrich Kratochwil, 'Sovereignty as Dominium: Is There a Right of Humanitarian Intervention?' in Gene M. Lyons and Michael Mastanduno (Editors), *Beyond Westphalia? – State Sovereignty and International* Intervention (Baltimore, MD, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), Chapter 2.
[22] Robert H. Jackson, *The Global Covenant: human conduct in a world of states* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003)
[23] Wight, *loc. cit.*

reflect a yearning to be accepted into the 'club' of sovereign nation-states as a quasi-equal member.

Having briefly reflected upon the notion of sovereignty as pertains to the EU, let us move on to a discussion of diplomacy and security actorness.

4.2   Diplomacy and Security Actorness

"Diplomacy is allowing somebody to have your way"
(Unknown)

If sovereignty traditionally has been seen as the trademark of those actors that truly could influence international affairs, diplomacy has been regarded as the ultimate (peaceful) expression of this ability. Diplomacy in other words has since the formation of nation-states been seen as a prerogative of them and them alone – as a function of sovereignty. As far as international actions to affect security outcomes are concerned, also these were for the past few hundred years reserved to be the legitimate tools of nation-states alone.

With the establishment of the United Nations and its charter after the Second World War, much of the international law reflecting these practices was codified and reinforced the prerogatives of nation-states. The United Nations Security Council, by all accounts the highest global authority in terms of international peace and security, consists of representatives of nation-states and, while reflecting the victory-situation in 1945, it

still today retains its legitimacy as derived from all UN member nation-states in the world.

The development of the European project from the European Coal and Steel Community 1952 to the European Union of today has however in several ways changed certain fundamental perceptions about diplomacy, interestingly enough without affecting the notion of sovereignty to any greater extent. To these developments we must now thus turn.

4.3 A New Beginning

In attempting to determine to what extent the European Union is a new form of actor in international relations, and hence potentially have both diplomatic clout and influence on security issues, one must first try to explain what type of entity the EU in itself should be seen as. Many attempts have been made to label the EU into one or the other conventionally used categories of international entity, but the perhaps most applicable term is given us by Hix, who calls the EU a "political system"[24]. The usefulness of this expression for the purposes of this paper is that it reflects an actor that wants to achieve something politically – and as judged by actual EU statements and actions – to do this both internally and externally. The external reflection of policy is for the EU embodied in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), which will serve as the basis for the empirics in Chapter 6.

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[24] Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union* (Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 2-3.

Various views have been put forward to explain what the EU 'wants' to achieve with its CFSP. Aggestam e.g. argues that the EU as a collection of its member states is trying to find a new sense of collective legitimacy and purpose and that it does this through foreign and security relations[25]. This approach is supported by Brenner, who discusses the European quest for an international security identity in some detail[26]. Bain develops the concept of purpose further and claims that Europeans in fact have a long history of wanting to make life better for people around the world[27]. Others join this argument, claiming that the very quest to achieve European unity internally (to avoid future wars) has reflected externally in the work towards peace and security[28] and that the EU by its nature as a peace project always has been involved in security issues[29]. In fact, Jean Monnet, one of the fathers of European integration, himself said that "La communauté elle-même n'est qu'une étape vers les formes d'organisation du monde de demain"[30] (The community itself is nothing but a step towards the forms of organization of the world of tomorrow, Author's translation). As the data in Chapter 6 will show, EU

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[25] Lisbeth Aggestam, 'Introduction: ethical power Europe?', *International Affairs*, Volume 84, Number 1 (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2008), p. 1.

[26] Michael J. Brenner, 'Europe's New Security Vocation', *McNair Paper 66* (Washington, DC, Institute for National Strategic Studies, 2002), p. 1.

[27] William Bain, 'The Tyranny of Benevolence: National Security, Human Security, and the Practice of Statecraft', *Global Society*, Volume 15, Number 3 (Canterbury, University of Kent at Canterbury, 2001)

[28] Reinhard Rummel, 'West European Security Policy: Between Assertiveness and Dependence' in Reinhard Rummel (Editor), *The Evolution of an International Actor – Western Europe's New Assertiveness* (Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1990), p. 82.

[29] Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, 2nd Edition (Abingdon, Oxon, 2005), p. 208. and David Buchan, *Europe: The Strange Superpower* (Brookfield, VT, Dartmouth Publishing Company, 1993), p. 60.

[30] Jean Monnet as quoted in Rummel in Rummel, *loc. cit.*

diplomatic action in security issues has indeed been extensive, but it has been channeled towards certain specific areas of security issues.

If it really is the case that the EU wants to make the world a better place, then we should truly be able to observe the EU at work to have an impact on politics of global security. The question that arises next is *how* the EU would be making these attempts. Even a quick glance at EU capabilities reveals that its military strength is extremely limited, while its economic power is quite remarkable. Examining EU actions, several authors have therefore noted a particular nature in which EU actions unfold. Hill e.g. claims that the EU has used diplomacy without any obvious leverage behind it to affect outcomes in negotiations around conflicts in several parts of the world[31]. This claim of course does have its limitations as the EU certainly has used also its economic power and trade relations as bargaining chips in such situations. The lack of military leverage does suggest however that EU diplomatic action, if successful, would be the result of skilful use of those resources available and indeed the art and craft of diplomacy itself. For these reasons, arguments have been put forward that the EU is underway in developing into a diplomatically respected counterpart to other states in the world, almost at par with sovereign states in terms of diplomatic recognition[32].

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[31] Christopher Hill, 'European Foreign Policy: Power Bloc, Civilian Model – or Flop?', in Rummel, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[32] See e.g. Rafael Daerr, *EU Diplomatic Co-operation in Third Countries*, Master's Thesis (Bruges, College of Europe, 1999), Emmanuel Cohen-Hadria, *The European External Action Service and the future of Union Delegations*, Master's Thesis (Bruges, College of Europe, 2005), Robert Kucharski, *Developments of the European External Action Service – struggle for Common Diplomatic Service*, Master's Thesis (Bruges, College of Europe, 2007) and Fonyódi, *op. cit.*

Disagreements prevail in the literature however as to the effectiveness of EU foreign policy. While some argue that the EU has had significant influence in global policy issues[33], and succeeded in facilitating cooperation between parties in conflict[34], others claim that the impact of EU foreign policy actions so far have had limited effects. Dahrendorf e.g. argues that the EU is more likely to have influence with small nations than with superpowers[35]. And the classical example by Hill of Europe's "capability-expectations gap"[36] is often echoed by others even today, 16 years after the claim was made.

The fact that foreign policy outcomes are hard to measure does of course not make it easier to alleviate mentioned disagreements. As Jørgensen points out, yardsticks of measurement are often ill defined, but output effect can be measured by looking at actors, observers or a combination of the two[37]. The evaluation of effects in Chapter 6 acknowledges the difficulties of measurement, and puts forward a model based on comparison between set goals and achievements as a possible alternative to an actor-observer focus.

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[33] Bretherton and Vogler, *op. cit.*

[34] K. M. Fierke, *Diplomatic Interventions: Conflict and Change in a Globalizing World* (Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 1.

[35] Ralf Dahrendorf, 'Europe: A Model?', in Ralf Dahrendorf (Editor), *A New World Order? Problems and Prospects of International Relations in the 1980s* (Ghana, University of Ghana, 1979), p. 45.

[36] Christopher Hill, 'The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe's International Role', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 31, Number 3 (Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1993)

[37] Knud Erik Jørgensen, 'The European Union's Performance in World Politics: How Should We Measure Success?' in Jan Zielonka (Editor), *Paradoxes of European Foreign Policy* (The Hague, Kluwer Law International, 1998), p. 87.

The above discussion allows us to draw a number of conclusions about the EU's external relations aspects. First, the EU wants to achieve a certain level of international actorness in international relations in general. Second, the security field is important to the EU in order to advance its member states' yearnings for a more peaceful world. Third, the limited military resources of the EU have led it to focus on diplomacy as a major channel for foreign policy action. Fourth, the effects of EU action in the foreign policy and security realms are hard to measure.

4.4 A Word from Constructivism

The strand of literature that often is mentioned when attempting to explain actorness or agency of non-state actors is constructivism. Basing their assumptions on the intersubjectivity of agency and structure, its proponents claim (1) that the environment in which agents operate is social as well as material and (2) that this environment can provide the agents with understandings of their interests[38]. Furthermore, as *inter alia* Wendt claims, the structure itself is seen as a product of the interaction between its component actors or agents[39].

If we apply these arguments onto the international system or society of states[40], to borrow from Bull, *any* agent would be able to affect the structure and thus adapt it in

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[38] Jeffrey T. Checkel, 'The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory', *World Politics*, Volume 50, Number 2 (Baltimore, MD, The Johns Hopkins University Press), p. 325.

[39] Alexander Wendt as quoted in Dale C. Copeland, 'The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism', *International Security*, Volume 25, Number 2 (Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press), p. 204.

[40] Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, Third Edition (New York, NY, Columbia University Press, 2002)

relation to other agents in the system. The EU could in other words rise to the level of actorness of nation-states and simply be equally respected by them in its diplomatic efforts and international actions. While many developments reflect certain aspects of this concept, such assumptions have a number of inherent problems. First, the EU is seen by most observers as a *sui generis* entity that therefore – even if accepted by most nation-states as a quasi-equal actor – would not prove that the structure can be changed any further and e.g. accept other actors as well in the same way. Second, the EU's interests do not include (at least as far as we know today) a claim towards a change of the system itself, away from the principle of sovereignty. In fact, many of the EU's actions have had as purpose to strengthen governments and the rule of law in countries around the world. Finally, as Moravcsik argues, constructivism does not offer enough theoretical clarity to be applicable to the European Union in a useful and purposeful way[41].

To sum up, constructivism's claims are not very clearly applicable to the foreign policy actions of the European Union, why an examination of the empirii is warranted.

What remains to discuss before evaluating the actual actions of the EU, are the particular diplomatic tools available to the Union in its relations with the outside world – the *how* in the statement of European diplomatic exercise. To this we turn in the next chapter.

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[41] Andrew Moravcsik in Jeffrey T. Checkel and Andrew Moravcsik, 'A Constructivist Research Program in EU Studies?', *European Union Politics*, Volume 2, Number 2 (London, SAGE Publications, 2001)

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5 The Tools of European Diplomacy and Security Issue-Areas

5.1 *EU Diplomatic Tools*

The European Union has a number of 'tools' to pull out from the toolbox in its exercise of international diplomacy. While there is no official list of tools available, Table 5-1 lists those 18 tools that by scholars in general are seen as making up the EU's diplomatic 'toolbox'. The table also lists the number of times each tool was used in security issues during the period examined.

The European Union's diplomatic instruments

Tool[42]	Number of times used in security-related actions, 1997-2007[43]
Administering a foreign city	-
Agreements on CFSP or JHA matters	59
Declarations/Statements	22
Démarches	6
Diplomatic recognition	-
Diplomatic sanctions	16
High-level visits	16
Imposing arms embargoes	-
Making peace proposals	3
Offering EU membership	14
Political dialogue	198

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[42] List of tools as adopted from Karen E. Smith, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, Second Edition (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2008), p. 63.

[43] The cases listed include those 2424 statements and agreements discussed in this paper and not the entirety of EU foreign policy actions. As compiled from Council of the European Union, 'Relations with third countries (Press releases on Meetings & Agreements)' and 'Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) Statements', retrieved 10 October, 2009,
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/App/newsroom/loadbook.aspx?BID=102&LANG=1&cmsid=360 and
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/App/newsroom/loadbook.aspx?BID=73&LANG=1&cmsid=359.

Sending cease-fire monitors	-
Sending civilian experts	5
Sending election observers	4
Sending special envoys	19
Sponsoring peace conferences	1
Supporting action by other international	9
Travel/visa bans on particular individuals	6

Table 5-1   The EU's diplomatic instruments

While not all of these tools can be considered as useful in security issues, interestingly enough most of them seem to have some sort of security connotation. It is remarkable therefore how the EU, lacking a strong military force and often having difficulties converting its economic power into diplomatic yield, has managed to come up with such an elaborate list of tools to employ purely diplomatically in its relations with other actors in the international realm.

The data gathered includes almost each and every one of these tools, reflecting that the EU indeed utilizes most of them to affect security outcomes globally. The data shows that the by far most commonly used tool is the political dialogue, indicating that the EU prefers to discuss issues of security concerns rather than utilizing harsher measures. The political dialogue is followed by agreements with third countries, a figure that also includes discussions under the auspices of certain agreements, reinforcing the same conclusion about dialogue.

In Chapter 6, the success rate of these tools will be evaluated within each region and for each issue-area in which they were employed. Before turning to the evaluation

itself however, let us quickly have a look at the issue-areas within the security field the EU was involved with during the time period under investigation.

5.2   Security Issue-Areas

The data gathered shows a vast array of issue-areas the EU has been involved in within the security field globally. Upon a closer examination of the data, these can be distilled down into fourteen specific areas of EU action. Table 5-2 shows the issue-areas and the number of instances the EU was involved between 1997 and 2007.

Security Issue-Areas of EU Involvement 1997-2007[44]

Issue-Area	Number of EU Involvements
Bilateral security issue	33
Counterterrorism	31
Democracy and elections	37
Energy security	6
Foreign policy cooperation	17
Human rights	21
International security cooperation	48
Network security	1
Peacekeeping	4
Peacemaking/negotiations	35
Regional security cooperation	86
Rule of law	25
Security agreement	13
Weapons proliferation	21

Table 5-2   Security Issue-Areas of EU Involvement

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[44] Raw data source: Council of the European Union, *op. cit.*

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The list gives us a good overview of the security areas the EU deems as important to activate its foreign policy machinery for. This summary furthermore tells us a number of things about EU priorities.

The strikingly highest number is that of regional security cooperation, a figure that includes cooperation with other regional organizations and with some third-party states for cooperation on regional security. It shows us that the EU, perhaps by virtue of being a multi-state entity itself, seems to have a preference to discuss regional security issues in general and with other regional entities in particular. The same can be said about international security cooperation, which includes instances of the EU cooperating with other regional entities or third states on international security issues.

The rest of the table tells us that the EU lends fairly equal attention to most other security issues it decides to engage with. Notable is however that the first counterterrorism diplomatic action took place in 2002 (post-9/11), and that the number of actions taken within this category nevertheless have caught up with some of the other issue-areas.

Finally, before evaluating levels of success, the regions of engagements will be briefly examined.

5.3   Regions of EU Action

Statements by the EU often indicate that it wants to be a power of global positive influence and as the discussed literature claims, this belief is shared by many authors.

Table 5-3 shows the number of occasions the EU took diplomatic action on security issues in various regions around the world.

EU Regional Involvement 1997-2007[45]

Region	Number of diplomatic actions on security issues
Africa[46]	82
Asia	89
Europe (non-EU)[47]	95
Middle East	40
North America	30
Oceania	1
Other	4
South America	37

Table 5-3   Regional EU Security Diplomacy Involvement

The data indicates that the EU indeed has spread its security diplomacy actions globally, with a high concentration to those regions that have experienced many security issues as per Table 5-2 as top priorities. A remarkable number of diplomatic actions have also taken part within Europe with actors outside of the EU. This reflects the EU's often-stated yearning to secure its neighborhood and immediate surroundings.

Having discussed EU diplomatic tools, areas of action and regions, let us move on to the analysis of the effects of these three variables taken together.

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[45] Raw data source: Council of the European Union, *op. cit.*
[46] Including Caribbean and Pacific countries
[47] Including the Mediterranean Region (Northern Africa and Israel-The Occupied Palestinian Territories)

6   EU Security Diplomacy in Action – Effects

The data gathered for this paper includes all 2424 instances of published CFSP interactions (press releases, statements and agreements) with third countries and actors between 1997 and 2007. For purposes of space and feasibility, the data thus does not include other – also significant – EU external actions, such as actions by the Commission Delegations or additional actions by the High Representative for the CFSP or any of his Special Representatives. To be included in the 378 instances of security-related interactions, the action had to be a 'diplomatic action on a security issue'. If several security issues were included in the same diplomatic act, the most preponderant of these was chosen.

Security in this study is viewed broadly – much in the way the EU defines security broadly, hence the inclusion of 'human security' issues such as human rights in the data. Only concrete statements and agreements have been taken into account; actions where the EU has merely stated something but that have not been intended to have direct effects on the security issues in question have not been included in the study.

The level of success (No Success, Partial Success and Success) is measured based on whether the action taken by the EU reached the goal set by the EU in the particular issue at hand. The study does not extend to further implications of the action. E.g. if an agreement on security cooperation was the aim with a particular meeting and this

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agreement was signed, it will appear as 'Success' even if the agreement e.g. was broken at a later point in time.
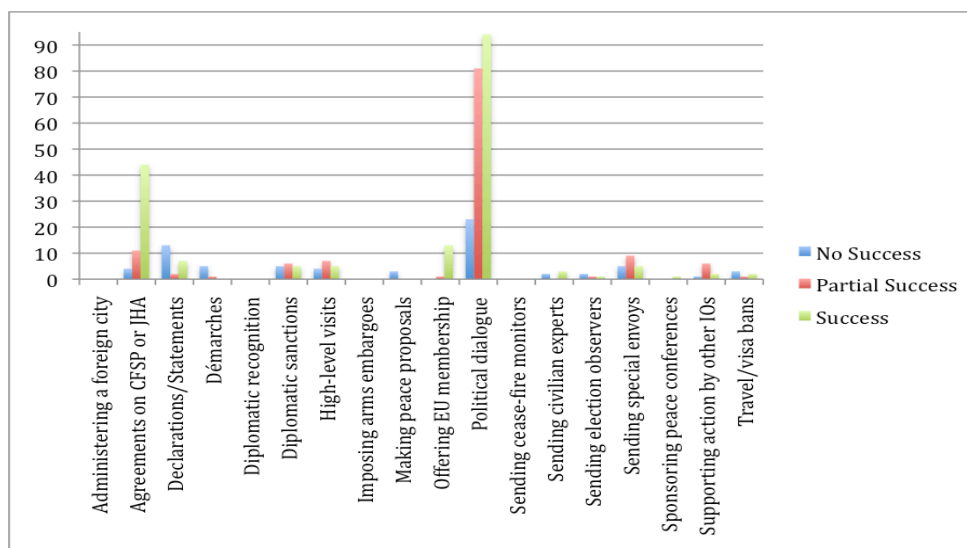
Graphs 6-1 and 6-2 show the overall results of the study.

Total EU Engagements and Success Rates
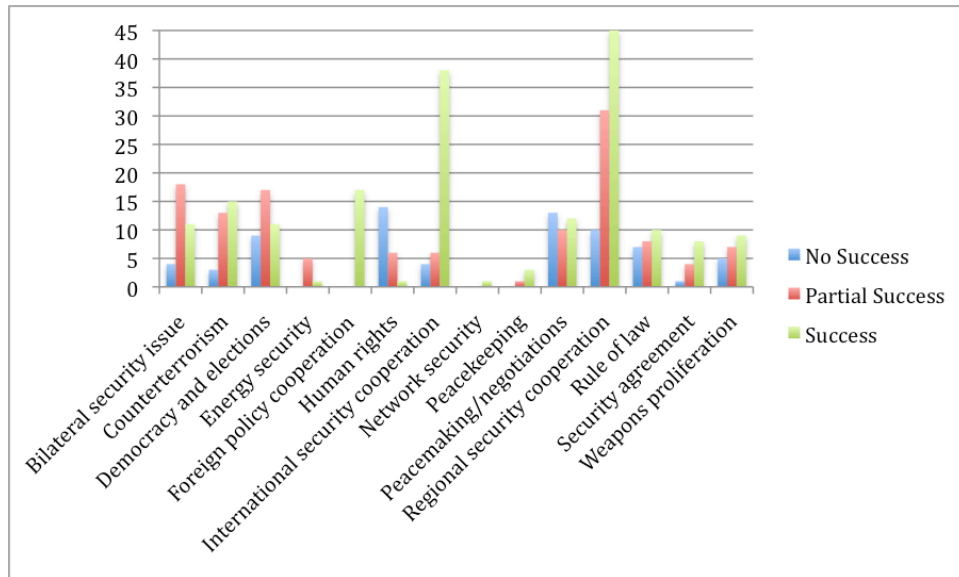
Graph 6-1   Total EU engagement success rates

Total EU Actions and Success Rates

Graph 6-2   Total EU activity and success rates

Table 6-1 illustrates the most frequently occurring outcomes of European diplomatic action in security affairs.

Total occurrences with over three per event

Region	Issue	Tool Used	Result	Occurrence
Europe	Reg Sec	Pol Dial	Success	13
N America	Intl Sec	Pol Dial	Success	13
Asia	Intl Sec	Pol Dial	Success	12
Europe	FP Coop	Off EU Mem	Success	12
Africa	Reg Sec	Pol Dial	Success	11
Asia	Bilat Sec	Pol Dial	Partial Success	7
Asia	Counterterr	Pol Dial	Partial Success	6
Europe	Reg Sec	Pol Dial	Partial Success	6
M East	Reg Sec	Pol Dial	Partial Success	6
Africa	Reg Sec	Pol Dial	Partial Success	5
Europe	Reg Sec	Pol Dial	Not Successful	5
S America	Intl Sec	Pol Dial	Success	5
Africa	Dem El	Agreement	Partial Success	4
Africa	Dem El	Agreement	Success	4
Africa	Reg Sec	Agreement	Success	4

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|				
Asia	Reg Sec	Pol Dial	Partial Success	4
Asia	Reg Sec	Pol Dial	Success	4
Europe	En Sec	Pol Dial	Partial Success	4
Europe	Sec Agr	Agreement	Success	4
N America	Counterterr	Pol Dial	Success	4
S America	Counterterr	Pol Dial	Partial Success	4

Table 6-1   Total occurrence with over three per event

Figure 6-3 illustrates the total EU activity without political dialogues and agreements.

Total EU Activity Less Political Dialogue and Agreements
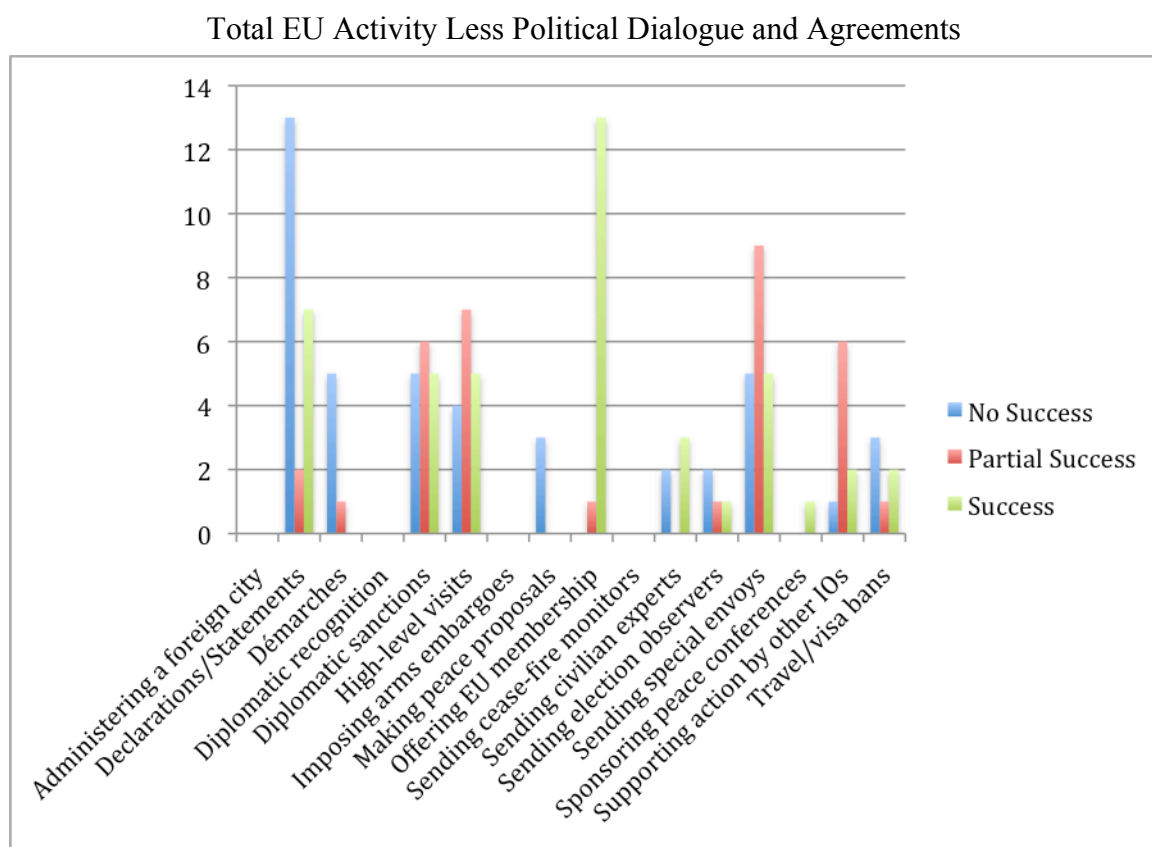
Graph 6-3   Total EU activity less political dialogue and agreements

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Relative Success Rates of EU Actions
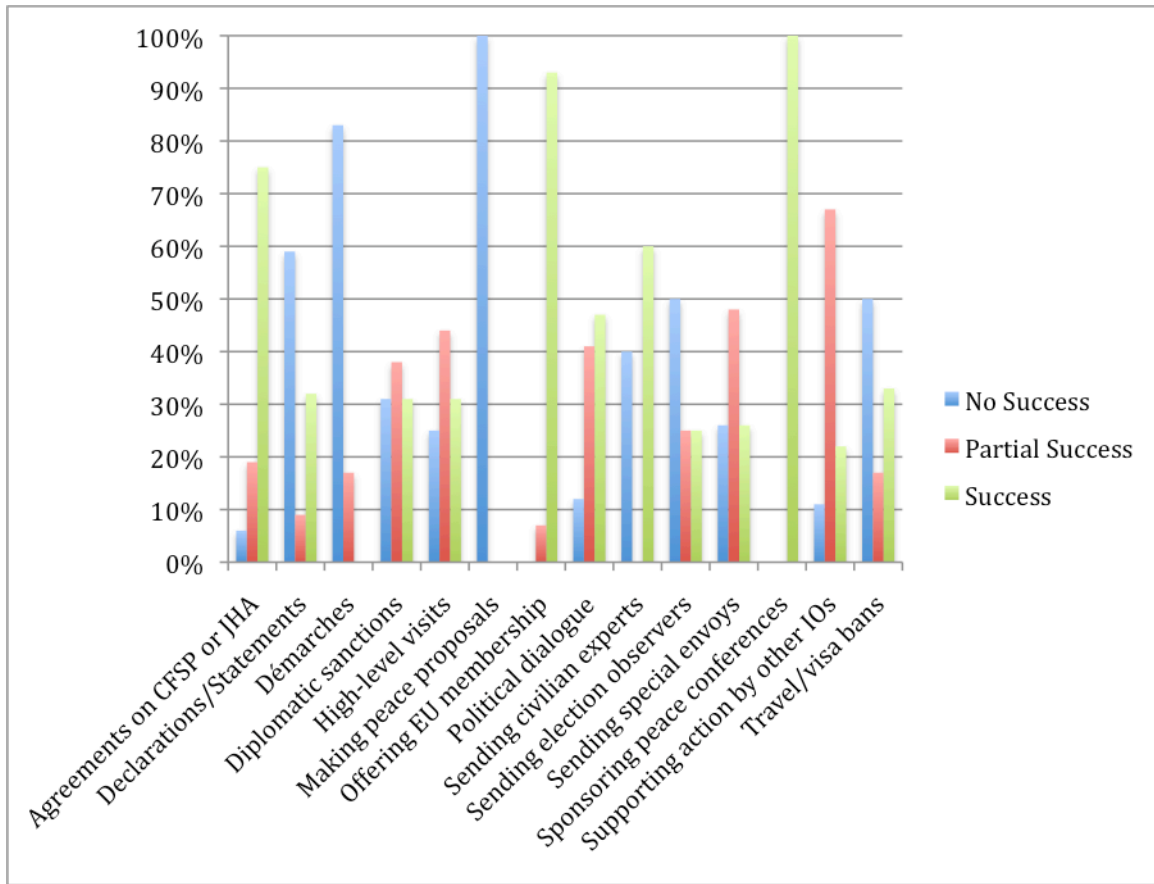
Graph 6-4   Relative success rate of EU actions

The summary of data tells us a number of important things about EU diplomatic activity in the security field. First, not only is the political dialogue the most frequently used EU diplomatic tool to affect security outcomes, but it is also one of the most successful ones. Counting partial and full successes, it almost has a 100% success rate.

Looking at strong successes in general, 'softer' actions are leading the scale. The support of peace conferences, agreements with others, the offer of EU membership and efforts of civilian experts have had consistently strong success rates. This may very well be due to the fact that the EU leverages its diplomacy with economics and other 'softer'
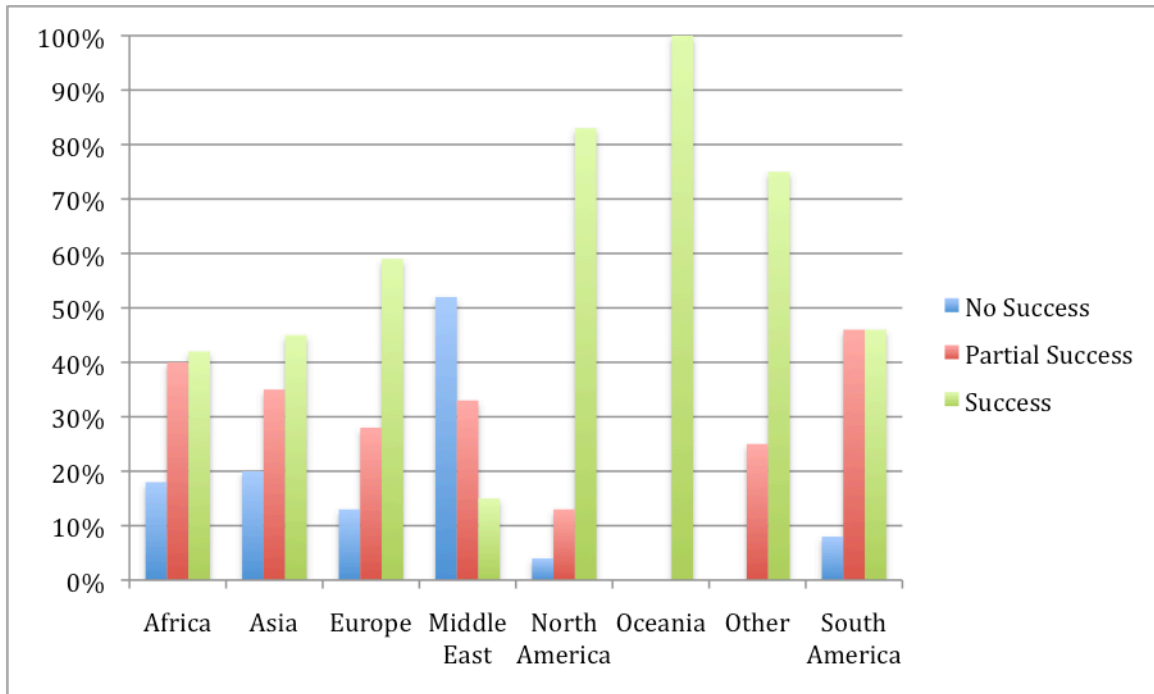
35

bargaining chips and that it therefore is more successful in situations and with methods where the other party already has a benign attitude towards success.

Conversely, the least successful EU actions seem to be those where 'harder' tools were attempted. Declarations of dissent, démarches, peace proposals, election observers and visa bans are all methods used when tougher issues such as conflicts or severe human rights abuses were in the picture. They are also those actions where some failure rates were as high as 100%.

Relative Success Rate of EU Engagement Areas
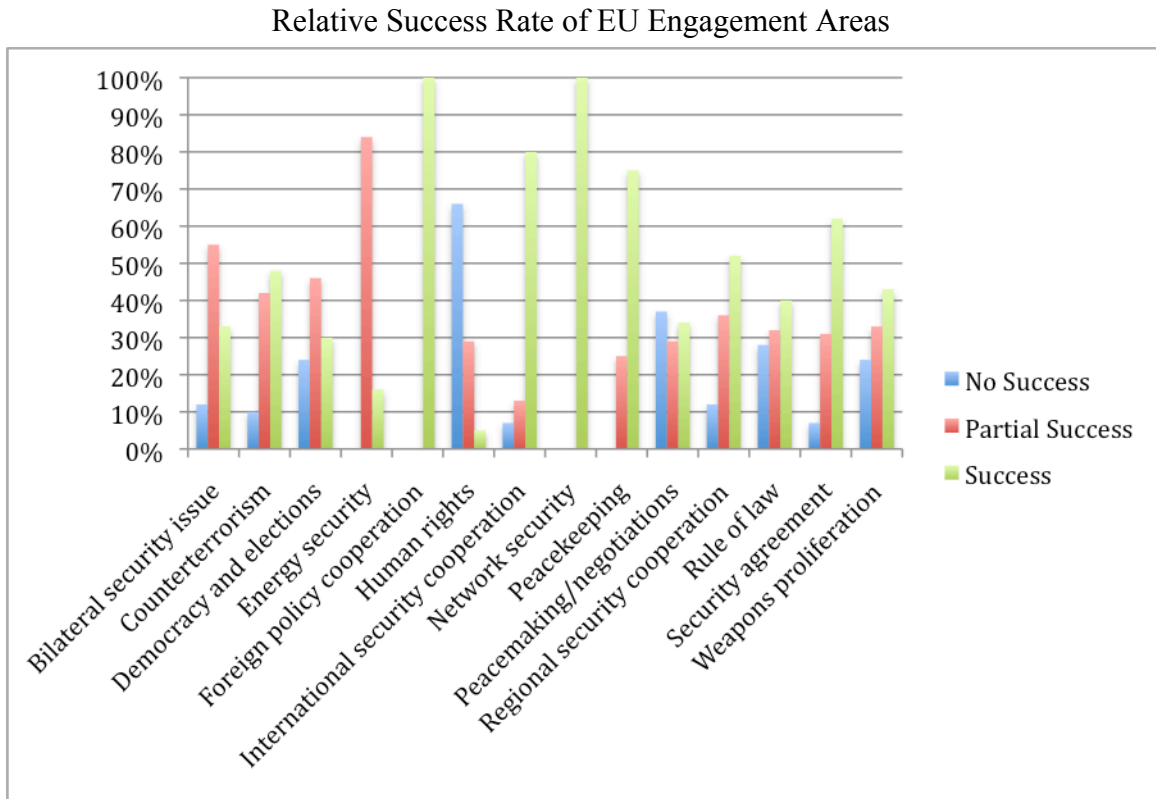
Graph 6-5   Relative success rate of EU engagement areas

Graph 6-6   Relative success rate of EU engagement regions

Examining the success rates among EU engagement areas reveals that diplomatic action related to foreign policy cooperation, international security cooperation, network security and peacekeeping yields the highest results. The data has however also shown us that political dialogue is a favorite success story on the agenda of the EU. Examining the engagement areas closer consequently reveals that where political dialogue has been frequently used, partial and full successes can be observed more than where it has not.

This notwithstanding, taking into account the weight the EU puts into regional security cooperation (see Table 5-2), the figures of relative success are disappointing.

Similarly, a closer look at the regional success rates show us discrepancies with what the EU seems to deem most important. The Union's three highest priority regions,

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Europe, Africa and Asia all return mixed results in success rates. This can partly be explained by volume – that in fact many more actions have been taken in these regions than in others – but not completely. Specifically for Europe and the Mediterranean, the EU has been involved in a number of tricky conflicts in the Balkans and in Israel-The Occupied Palestinian Territories more directly in terms of peace-brokering and diplomatic actions than in many other regions. As for Africa and Asia, two regions where the numbers show similar results, the EU has acted – although often more distanced – upon human rights and democracy failings that are not to be found in any of the other regions examined.

As Figure 6-7 and 6-8 furthermore demonstrate, the EU has diversified its engagement with Africa more than with Asia, consequently with a greater span of mixed results. This testifies of the complicated political landscape in Africa, where the EU has had to attempt various avenues for security diplomatic action in order to yield results.

Success Rate of EU Actions in Africa
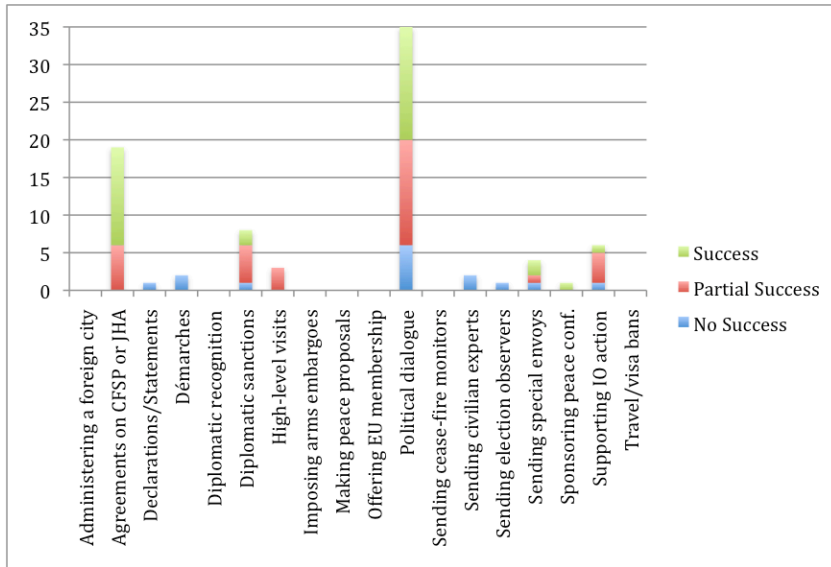
Graph 6-7   Success Rate of EU Actions in Africa

Success Rate of EU Actions in Asia
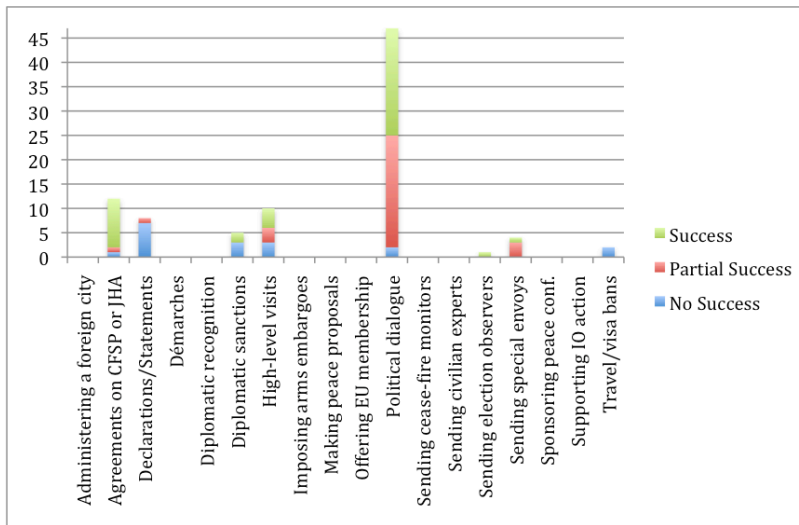
Graph 6-8   Success Rate of EU Actions in Asia

An extremely positive sign is the diplomatic actions in the security field taken with North America (Canada and the United States), where security cooperation as indicated by Figure 6-6 almost is flawless.

It is now time to return to our original question: is the EU bestowed with international security actorness through diplomacy? It is fairly safe to say that while many EU diplomatic actions see mixed results at best, there is a solid enough foundation and day-to-day exercise of diplomatic methods in security issues by the Union to answer the question in the affirmative. Across fields of action, regions and methods, the Union has for at least the time period examined in this paper affected hundreds of security outcomes in the world through the exercise of diplomacy; sometimes exactly the way it wanted and sometimes only in part. In sum however, its presence as a diplomatic security actor on the international stage, despite lacking sovereignty and other attributes of classical international players, is deemed to be asserted.

Having analyzed some of the major findings in the dataset and come to the above conclusion, a number of further derivatives can be drawn and some policy recommendations made on current and future potentials for EU diplomacy in the security realm.

7   Current and Future Potentials

As has been shown in this paper, the EU already has diplomatic clout in several areas of international security politics. The question of how it could develop this further and whether it should develop it at all ultimately comes down to what effects or outputs the Union would like to see on the international arena. If staying focused within the 14 fields identified in this paper and if seeing most of them as important to affect, the Union will however have to refine and develop its potentials in certain specific areas.

Our investigation also reveals however that a vast majority of the cases listed (241 of 378) had unique or almost unique outcomes (3 or less of the same outcome from the same region with the same issue and the same tool used). This is important to bear in mind when planning policy, not to get over-confident in what outcome a certain action may yield. Some level of uncertainty and contingency planning should therefore always be calculated into EU diplomatic actions in the security realm.

Specifically related to certain areas, seeing that regional security cooperation sits high on the agenda of the EU, a concerted effort to improve the dialogues ongoing could be made to move more and more of these from the 'partial' to the 'full' success box.

Furthermore, while human rights and peacemaking are two crucial areas for the EU, the data show that these are the two specific fields in which improvement of success truly has potential. Realizing that the reason for the challenges encountered lie not wholly with the EU but a great deal with the issue-areas, this paper nevertheless argues that the

Union – in order to fulfill its own policy objectives – should seek to improve in these two areas.

Finally, any improvement in any area listed in this paper can only yet strengthen the diplomatic clout in security issues developed by the European Union and should therefore be encouraged, especially considering that the EU – the Lisbon Treaty recently having been ratified – soon will have an international legal personality and therefore in its own right will be able to represent itself in many more international fora.

8 Conclusion and Future Research

As this paper has shown, the European Union can look back not only at a vast array of diplomatic attempts in the security realm in the past decade or so, but also at a great number of success stories derived from the same. That it is an 'actor' in this context as per our definition is therefore argued in this thesis. It is furthermore argued that the gap in the literature between diplomacy and European security writings is unwarranted and unhelpful for the better understanding of European international security actions.

At the same time, this paper is merely a first attempt in bridging this literary gap and broader and deeper research will help to yet further understand the EU's role as a diplomatic security actor in international politics. This can be done in several ways.

First, an assessment of *all* EU external actions could be done to yet further sharpen the conclusions.

Second, linkage between the various EU diplomatic security actions could be established by connecting several actions taken towards a specific actor and evaluating the combined successes of those actions.

Third, the EU's actions could be compared with a number of those of nation-states, to yet better understand the extent to which the EU manages to match certain states in diplomatic influence in security affairs.

Finally, as the EU continues to develop into an increasingly influential actor of global politics, an update of this very study in five to ten years down the line will be

warranted to compare the success rate of EU actions at that time to that of this past decade.

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