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EU FOREIGN POLICY AND THE EUROPEANIZATION OF NEUTRAL STATES

Comparing Irish and Austrian foreign policy



NICOLE ALECU DE FLERS

EU Foreign Policy and the Europeanization of Neutral States

This book examines the effects of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the European Union (EU) on the national foreign policies of Ireland and Austria.

Small and neutral EU member states provide a fascinating case study as the CFSP entails a dilemma for them. Their size may create assumptions that they are more likely to adopt EU policy, yet the traditional position of neutrality may act contrary to Europeanization. By concentrating on this side of the reciprocal relationship between EU and national foreign policy, this book takes a new approach to investigate prospects for a common European foreign policy, and goes beyond an examination of changes in the national foreign policies of Ireland and Austria to provide an engaging explanation and understanding of Europeanization. Based on a comprehensive conceptual framework, this text investigates three dimensions of national foreign policy: the Europeanization of foreign policy-making, the Europeanization of foreign policy substance and effects on neutrality, to create an accessible and informed insight into the evolution of European cooperation in the field of foreign policy, and the impact on national foreign policy.

EU Foreign Policy and the Europeanization of Neutral States will be of interest to students and scholars of European Studies, International Relations and Foreign Policy.

Nicole Alecu de Flers is a political scientist from Vienna, Austria.

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Abbreviations

APB	Austrian Foreign Policy Yearbook (Außenpolitischer Bericht)
Art.	Article
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BGBI.	Bundesgesetzblatt
BZÖ	Alliance for the Future of Austria (Bündnis Zukunft Österreich)
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CCW	United Nations Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons
CD	United Nations Conference on Disarmament
CDE	Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIVCOM	committee for the civilian aspects of crisis management
COREU	Correspondance Européenne
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CSIPS	Comprehensive System of International Peace and Security
CTBTO	Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization
DFA	Department of Foreign Affairs (of Ireland)
DRC/DR Congo	Democratic Republic of Congo
DTIB	Defence Industrial and Technological Base
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
EC	European Community
ECMM	European Community Monitoring Mission
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDA	European Defence Agency
EDC	European Defence Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
e.g.	for example (<i>exempli gratia</i>)
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ERRF	European Rapid Reaction Force

ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
esp.	especially
ESS	European Security Strategy
etc.	<i>et cetera</i>
ETISC	East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Union Force
EUMC	European Union Military Committee
EUMS	Military Staff of the EU
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
f.	and the following page
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
ff.	and the following pages
Fn.	Footnote
FMEIA	Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs (of Austria)
FPÖ	Austrian Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs)
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	gross domestic product
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICBL	International Campaign to Ban Landmines
i.e.	that is (<i>id est</i>)
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
IMAS	Austrian Market Research Institute
INTERFET	International Force for East Timor
IR	International Relations
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISDP	International Security and Defence Policy (branch in the Irish Department of Defence)
LIF	Liberal Forum (Liberales Forum)
MRBI	Market Research Bureau of Ireland
MS	member state(s)
n/a	not available
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	non-governmental organization
NNA	Neutral and Non-Aligned Nations
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPCW	Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
ÖVP	Austrian People's Party (Österreichische Volkspartei)
p.	page

PC	Political Committee
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PMG	Politico-Military Group
PSC	Political and Security Committee
QMV	qualified majority voting
RD Congo	République Démocratique du Congo
RTÉ	Raidió Teilifís Éireann
SEA	Single European Act
SPÖ	Social Democratic Party of Austria (Sozialistische/Sozial-demokratische Partei Österreichs)
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TEU-A	Treaty on European Union agreed at the Amsterdam European Council
TEU-L	Treaty on European Union agreed at the Lisbon European Council
TEU-M	Treaty on European Union agreed at the Maastricht European Council
TEU-N	Treaty on European Union agreed at the Nice European Council
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNITAF	Unified Task Force
UNOSOM I	United Nations Operation in Somalia I
UNOSOM II	United Nations Operation in Somalia II
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
US/USA	United States (of America)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	World Trade Organization

1 Introduction and state of the art in the field

1.1 Background and main hypotheses

The foreign policy of the European Union (EU) does not have a good reputation. The focus is usually on examples of when the member states of the EU did not speak with one unified European voice on the world stage, let alone act unanimously. One of the most striking examples of this occurred during the Iraq crisis in 2002–3 when the member states openly demonstrated their differences of opinion about the policy towards Iraq. Thus, rather pessimistic observers assume that the attempts to develop a common European foreign policy have not been very successful so far. However, foreign policy does not only concern the ‘big questions’ of war and peace and decisions in times of crises; foreign policy also consists of ‘day-to-day business’, which does not receive as much public attention, and an evolution towards a greater convergence of member states’ positions can be observed if foreign policy is not reduced to ‘high politics’ (Alec de Flers 2005a). If one takes a longer historical perspective it becomes clear that the success and failure of foreign policy cooperation in the EU should be viewed in a more differentiated way. There has been a considerable development of the procedures and specific instruments as well as the thematic scope of foreign policy cooperation among the member states since the European Political Cooperation (EPC) – the forerunner of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) – was created in 1970.

Although at first the EPC was restricted to a few foreign policy issues, more and more areas have been opened up to the EPC/CFSP. At the same time the number of so-called ‘domaines réservés’, i.e. areas that were considered taboo for foreign policy cooperation because of the reservations of some member states, was reduced. It is especially noteworthy in this respect that although security policy as a highly sensitive core area of national sovereignty had been excluded from foreign policy cooperation for a long time, there have been intensive efforts to create a common European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) since the end of 1998, which was relabelled as the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) when the Lisbon Treaty entered into force on 1 December 2009.¹ Although in comparison to the communitarized first pillar, i.e. the European Community (EC), the CFSP is of a mainly intergovernmental nature and the member states cannot