

## Chapter 6

# The European Union's Foreign Policy Future: Towards an Integrated European Defence

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### ABSTRACT

*This chapter answers if the European Union should create a unified military force. The European Union currently faces problems both internally and also an unstable European neighbourhood. There are different theoretical perspectives on how Europe can and should perceive its role in the world. The chapter addresses these views, considers the relationship of the EU and NATO, and then comes to assess some of the issues the EU faces on its borders and in its neighbourhood, namely the refugee crisis, the conflict in Ukraine, and the recent conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. It then outlines if a European military could help the EU achieve better peace than the current situation. This chapter argues that the European Union needs to adopt a military in order to better achieve its goals of liberalisation and democratisation on its borders; however, it should be a last resort. There are also considerable practical matters to address to ensure that the EU military can be effective as a stabilising and peacekeeping force and doesn't undermine the very liberal goals the EU aims to follow.*

### INTRODUCTION

Over sixty years ago the Treaty of Rome was ratified, attempting to lay the foundations of 'ever-closer union' between European nations, seeking to foster peace through co-operation. However, after recent challenges to this project have led some commentators to suggest the European Union (EU) is undergoing an identity crisis (Vaughan-Whitehead 2015), with member states divided on key issues such as the economy causing internal conflict (Wasserfallen and Lehner 2019). A growing list of EU policy failures

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embeds this view, indicating its inability to adequately manage large crises (Shaffer 2017). One area where change may be required is the EU's conduction of foreign policy. This chapter considers the influence of a European Army as a means of addressing its issues in the international realm, despite the potential conflict with the Union's original pursuit of global peace. With Euroscepticism growing, alongside Brexit, a change of path is required to manage these challenges to the Union. The EU has two choices; either forfeit ambitions of further integrated foreign affairs and return competences to nation-states or unite its members' foreign policy. This chapter primarily seeks to consider the latter option. Hence, this investigation is placed at the heart of the EU's struggle to build identity and legitimacy internationally. As the Union's core mission declares to be working towards continued harmonization of European policy, it is important to understand how further defence integration would manifest.

This chapter begins by detailing some key information regarding the EU and NATO, to understand the potential for the EU to embark upon a significant militaristic project, and how it could operate in practice. The research question it focuses upon is, to what extent would an EU military better enable the Union to increase its international legitimacy and help it achieve its foreign policy aims? To answer this question, the chapter places itself within the literature upon EU foreign policy, beginning with François Duchêne's 'civilian power Europe' approach, contrasted by Hedley Bull's call for an enforceable military power. This is followed by Ian Manner's notion of Europe as a normative power, and critique from Thomas Diez, arguing that the EU is best understood as a hegemony power. Following this, the chapter sets about investigating the current issues facing the EU, namely within the European Neighbourhood Project (ENP), helping understand current EU failures to achieve peace and promote norms. Once these issues are understood, we consider if and how an EU military can assist in disputes in the ENP, and the challenges it has, before returning to some practical considerations. We conclude that an EU military has the potential to improve its goals of promoting norms and peace on the global stage. However, some significant practical and theoretical concerns must be addressed, such as how decisions are made, to ensure that the EU military is not burdened by ineffectiveness or undermines the liberal and democratic norms it attempts to embody. Importantly, several EU member states consider it increasingly important, with fears reignited over Russia after the invasion of Crimea. This step-change may be more attractive to European federalists, although does it align with the core values of the EU's project? This chapter assumes that whilst the EU should act with trepidation, a European military could further promote European identity and unity.

## **NATO and EU Foreign Policy Compared**

As this chapter devotes its discussion to the European Union's foreign policy and NATO, it is worthwhile to outline how these institutions have evolved and interrelate. Both NATO and the EU were founded in the aftermath of World War II. NATO began in 1949 with the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty by 12 states, believing collective security was in their nation's best interests (NATO, 2020a). The EU began in 1951 as the European Coal and Steel Community (Europa 2016), aiming to regulate industrial production, by integrating members natural resources. French foreign minister Robert Schuman claimed this was to "make war not only unthinkable but materially impossible" (Fontaine 2000). NATO's membership has grown substantially, with the Soviet Union's collapse enabling an eastward expansion. Despite this, the US continues to exert its power over the organization (Koenig 2016; Martill and Sus 2018).

The EU has also gone through drastic changes to its foreign policy. In 1993, the Maastricht Treaty established The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) as one of the EU's three core pillars

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