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The European Union's New Foreign Policy

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Martin Westlake
Editor

The European Union's New Foreign Policy

Foreword by Federica Mogherini

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FOREWORD: STANDING TOGETHER, STANDING TALL

Ten years ago, the very existence of a European foreign and security policy was an open question. Today I often wonder what would happen to the world and to Europe if the European Union's external action disappeared all of a sudden. What if we had not contributed to achieving the nuclear deal with Iran and seeking to preserve it after the United States' withdrawal? What if we had not rescued those UN Agencies that faced a budgetary crisis? What if Ukraine could not count on the largest support package it has received in the past five years—the largest ever put together by the EU for any country? The question today is no longer whether the European Union has a foreign and security policy. In these five years, the European Union has become a global point of reference for all those working towards a more cooperative system for global governance. The question today is how we can best use the instruments that we have put in place to render our foreign policy ever more effective.

We live in an age of great-power competition, and at the same time, the centres of powers have multiplied compared to just a few decades ago. In a world of continent-sized powers and multinational companies such as Google or Facebook, with billions of users, the European Union is the best way for Europeans to “take back control” and regain sovereignty. This was one of the central ideas of the 2016 Global Strategy: none of our countries has the strength or the resources to address the challenges of our time alone, but together we are a global power. This is also the foundation

of the “new European Union foreign policy” that Martin Westlake and his contributors describe in this book.

In this foreword I would like to focus on three essential features of such a new foreign policy.

First, since I presented the Global Strategy we have built the foundations of a European Union of Security and Defence. When we started talking about setting up the Permanent Structured Cooperation on defence (PESCO), many were sceptical. Yet, even with all the scepticism and resistance, we did it. And we went even further, with the first-ever unified command centre for EU military missions, with the European Defence Fund (EDF) and the Coordinated Annual Review of national defence budgets (CARD). These are not just names or acronyms. These are real and positive changes for our common security. We are helping Member States to make their defence spending more efficient, to train and equip their militaries together, and to develop all the military capabilities that we need for security in the twenty-first century—from the skies to the seas, to cyberspace. At the same time, we have deepened our cooperation with NATO and with other partners like never before. In the coming years, the full potential of these new initiatives will have to be exploited, and more work will be necessary to consolidate Europe’s strategic autonomy. But after seventy years of failures, we have shown that progress on European defence is possible and is only a matter of political will.

The second feature I would like to stress is the defence of multilateralism. The European Union is, by definition, a cooperative power and multilateralism has always been in the EU’s DNA. Yet in recent years, as multilateralism and the UN system have come under increasing pressure, we have invested in multilateralism like never before. We have worked to achieve and preserve historic multilateral deals—not only the nuclear deal with Iran, but also the Paris agreement against climate change and the Sustainable Development Goals. We have stepped up our financial support to the United Nations, and saved the UN Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA) from its funding crisis. We supported the UN Secretary General’s reform agenda. Most importantly, we have always tried to create the space for multilateral dialogue, even when dialogue and cooperation seemed impossible. In a moment when military confrontation in Venezuela seemed almost inevitable, we created the International Contact Group to stop the escalation and move towards a more positive dynamic—one that could lead towards a peaceful and democratic solution

to the crisis. We have set up an unprecedented trilateral cooperation with the UN and the African Union, evacuating fifty thousand people from detention centres in Libya. We have always worked to bring together all regional powers to discuss peace, from Afghanistan to Syria. We have not just defended multilateralism but we have also renewed it, with innovative solutions.

Thirdly, thanks to the Global Strategy we have improved substantially the way we work together, as a Union. The most obvious example is our external action on migration. When I arrived in Brussels, I was shocked that migration did not even feature on the agenda of EU Foreign Ministers. It was considered an issue for Interior Ministers only—as if migration could be dealt with as a mere border issue. In these years we have not just built the first-ever EU external policy on migration: we have tried to mobilise all our tools to make such policy as effective as possible. First of all, we have intervened directly to save lives at sea and in the desert. But we have also created smarter financial instruments, such as the Trust Funds, to better coordinate and to speed up our action. We have set up the largest ever investment plan for Africa. We have invested in our partners' capacity to take care of their own security, for instance in a crucial area such as the Sahel. Only by mobilising all our instruments can we better govern an historic phenomenon like this. More generally, we have worked to enhance the coherence of our action through more coordinated work within the European Commission, thanks in particular to the Commissioners' Group on External Action which I have convened regularly every month over the past five years. And the EU's Member States—to give another example—have coordinated their positions as never before in the UN Security Council, something that seemed impossible until very recently.

Today's challenges are way too big for any European nation state. From global trade disputes to artificial intelligence, decisions are shaped by those who can mobilise a critical mass at the global level. A European foreign policy is our only way to advance our values and interests. If we want to prevent chaos from spreading, if we want a peaceful resolution of conflicts and a more equal global economy, we need to engage together in world affairs. We cannot expect someone else to do the job. We have to take direct responsibility.

This is the foundation of the new European foreign policy: Europe has the potential to be a global power, and has the responsibility to be a

global force for good. Fulfilling such potential and responsibility is only up to us.

Bruges, Belgium

Federica Mogherini
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Brussels
March 2020

Martin Westlake

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ACRONYMS

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AfDB	African Development Bank
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
APF	African Peace Facility
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
AU	African Union
BEREC	Body of European Regulators for Electronic Communications
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CAR	Central African Republic
CARD	Coordinated Annual Review on Defence
CARIFORUM	Caribbean Forum (ACP Sub-Group)
CBRN	Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear
CC	Civilian Compact
CDP	Capability Development Plan
CDT	Cyber Diplomacy Toolbox
CETA	Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (with Canada)
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COP	Conference of the Parties

COPUOS	Committee for the Peaceful Use of Outer Space
Coreper	Permanent Representatives Committee (from the French, Comité des représentants permanents)
COSCO	China Ocean Shipping Company
CPCC	Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability
CPCO	Centre for Planning and Conduct of Operations
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CSIRTs	Computer Security Incidents Response Teams
CTC	(EU) Counter Terrorism Coordinator
CTG	Chinese Three Gorges Corporation
CW	Chemical Weapons
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention
DCI	Development Cooperation Instrument
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DEG	(EP) Democracy Support and Election Coordination Group
DGBA	Directorate General for Budget and Administration (in the EEAS)
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSU	Dispute Settlement Understanding
EAC	(Directorate-General for) Education and Culture
EBCG	European Border and Coast Guard
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ECA	European Court of Auditors
ECF	European Cultural Foundation
EDA	European Defence Agency
EDF	European Defence Fund
EDF	European Development Fund
EDIDP	European Defence Industrial Development Programme
EDITB	European Defence Industrial and Technological Base
EEA	European Economic Area
EEAS	European External Action Service
EED	European Economic Diplomacy
EFTA	European Free Trade Area
EIB	European Investment Bank
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
EIP	External Investment Plan
EL EU OHQ	Hellenic European Union Headquarters
EMSA	European Maritime Safety Agency
ENI	European Neighbourhood Instrument
ENISA	European Union Agency for Cyber Security (originally entitled European Network and Information Security Agency, hence the acronym)

ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EP	European Parliament
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EPF	European Peace Facility
EU	European Union
EUCAP Sahel Niger	European Union Capacity Building Mission in Niger
EU-ETS	European Union Emissions Trading System
EUGS	European Union Global Strategy
EUMS	EU Military Staff
EUMSS	European Union's Maritime Security Strategy
EUNIC	European Union National Institutes for Culture
EUROPOL	European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FPI	Foreign Policy Instruments
FRONTEX	European Border and Coast Guard Agency (from the French acronym, <i>Frontières extérieures</i> , for 'external borders')
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
FTF	Foreign Terrorist Fighters
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (now North Macedonia)
G5	Group of Five Sahel Countries
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
GNA	(Libyan) Government of National Accord
GRU	(Russian) Military Intelligence Service (<i>Glavnoye Razvedyvatel'noye Upravleniye</i>)
HR/VP	High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAI	(Italian) Institute for Foreign Affairs (<i>Istituto Affari Internazionali</i>)
IAS	Internal Audit Service
ICG	International Contact Group
IcSP	Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund

IMO	International Maritime Organisation
INDC	Intended Nationally Determined Contribution
INF	Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty
INTCEN	(EEAS) Intelligence Centre
Interpol	International Criminal Police Organization
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
IPA	Investment Protection Agreement
IPC	Inter-Parliamentary Conferences
IPCM	Integrated Political Crisis Response Mechanism
IS	Islamic State
ITA-JFHQ	Italian Joint Force Headquarters
JAES	Joint Africa-EU Strategy
JCPOA	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
JSCC	Joint Support Coordination Cell
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex
LNG	Liquid Natural Gas
LoA	Level of Ambition
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
Mercosur	Common Market of the South (Spanish acronym of <i>Mercado Común del Sur</i>)
MFF	Multi-annual Financial Framework
MICIVIH	Mission Civile Internationale en Haïti
MINUSMA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MNHQ	Multinational Headquarters
MOAS	Migrant Off-shore Aid Station
MPCC	Military Planning and Conduct Capability
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NAVSTA Rota	Naval Station Rota
NDI	(US) National Democratic Institute
NDICI	Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation Instrument
NDPP	NATO Defence Planning Process
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIS	Network and Information Systems
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NSR	Northern Sea Route
OHQ	Operational Headquarters
OLAF	European Anti-Fraud Office (from the French acronym, Office Européen de Lutte Antifraude)
OPCW	Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons

PAC	Parliamentary Association Committee
PACE	Parallel and Coordinated Exercise
PESCO	Permanent Structured Cooperation on Security and Defence
PSC	Political and Security Committee
PV	Photovoltaic
QMV	Qualified Majority Vote
RAN	Radicalisation Awareness Network
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SAR	Search and Rescue
SATCEN	Satellite Centre (in Torrejón, Spain)
SCMs	Subsidies and Countervailing Measures
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SHADE	Shared Awareness and Deconfliction
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SIAC	Single Intelligence Analysis Capability
SMEs	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises
SNEs	Seconded National Experts
TEN-T	Trans-European Transport Network
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOMSA	United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
US	United States
USTR	United States Trade Representative
WFP	World Food Programme
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation



CHAPTER 1

Introduction: The European Union's New Foreign Policy

Martin Westlake

WHAT'S NEW?

That the European Union (EU) has something that can accurately be described as a foreign policy is a relatively recent phenomenon. For a long time, the European Community's external policies were focused on trade and development. Foreign policy per se remained a jealously guarded Member State prerogative—defence was completely taboo. The story of the gradual emergence of the European Union's foreign policy has been well-rehearsed,¹ with most commentators identifying the 1992 signing of the Maastricht Treaty, with its provisions on the Common Foreign and Security Policy, as the moment when something recognisable as a proper foreign policy first started to emerge. The question arises, given that this is such a recent phenomenon, why does the title of this book refer to a 'new' foreign policy, with its strong implication that there was an 'old'

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policy? The answer is a composite one, comprising a series of constitutional and institutional, political and geographical developments that have resulted in a new geopolitical environment with a series of new challenges being addressed by a combination of new instruments and actors and old instruments and actors used in new and different ways. Thus, the ‘new’ of the title refers as much, by implication, to the new environment as it does to new instruments, actors and initiatives (and old ones used in new ways). It is, in short, this *ensemble* that justifies the term ‘new’.

Clearly, the 2009 implementation of the Lisbon Treaty represented a major departure in this context, bringing many constitutional and institutional developments in its wake. Amongst the more important constitutional/institutional innovations were, variously: the creation of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy; the (2011) creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS)²; the creation of the permanent Presidency of the European Council; the implementation of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) Article 3.5³ and the concomitant establishment of a holistic overall external policy with a strong prescriptive element. Significant developments that have followed in the wake of the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty have included: the consolidation of the European Council President’s role, as the EU navigated its way through three successive and unexpected crises—namely, the eurozone crisis, the migration crisis and Brexit⁴; the consolidation of the High Representative’s role and empowerment through a series of significant achievements (perhaps most notably, the normalisation of relations with Serbia and the establishment of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran’s nuclear programme—JCPOA) that have, cumulatively, put the High Representative on the map and legitimised the role⁵; in that context, the 2014–2019 Juncker Commission’s creation of ‘teams’ of Commissioners, with one team of seven Commissioners, ‘Europe in the World’, led by the High Representative, finally realising an old ambition to encourage overall coherence in the European Commission’s external actions, and with the new European Commission of Ursula von der Leyen following the same model⁶; also, in that context, the development and adoption of the European External Action Service’s 2016 Global Strategy and its follow-ups (notably, annual reports)⁷; the 2017 activation of Permanent Structured Cooperation on security and defence matters (PESCO)⁸; the growth of the role and powers of the European Parliament⁹ and the parallel growth of parliamentary diplomacy¹⁰ and the growing potential of the euro as a foreign policy instrument.¹¹

The European Union's new geopolitical environment would include a number of significant developments. First, Africa's continued evolution as an economic bloc and the European Union's recognition of this rapidly emerging reality. In March 2018, 49 of the African Union's 55 member states signed an agreement to create an African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) which, if ratified, will represent the largest free trade area in the world in terms of participating countries since the creation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1995. As Jean-Claude Juncker put it in his September 2018 'State of the Union' address to the European Parliament (EP), 'Africa is the future. By 2050, Africa's population will number 2.5 billion. One in four people on earth will be African ... Africa does not need charity, it needs true and fair partnerships. And Europe needs this partnership just as much'.¹² It was this acknowledgement of Africa's fast-evolving emergence as a regional trade bloc that led to what this book has dubbed the 'pivot' to Africa. As Juncker continued, 'I believe we should develop the numerous European-African trade agreements into a continent-to-continent free trade agreement, as an economic partnership between equals'.¹³ Second, the EU has had to come to a new understanding about its neighbourhood, and has had to elaborate a new neighbourhood policy, particularly as a function of such developments as the 2014 Russian annexation of Crimea and the stalling of the EU's previous policy of offering the prospect of future candidate status to all of the former Member States of the Soviet Union without exception. Third, in part as a function of climate change, the Arctic region has been opening up as a source of commercial exploitation and transportation, creating new geopolitical strategic considerations for the EU, as well as concerns about the degradation of the environment. Fourth, the EU has increasingly had to contend with issues arising out of EU membership itself, ranging from 'enlargement fatigue' through to Brexit, but also continued difficult relations with Switzerland and the management of tensions and further progress in the Western Balkans. Fifth, the EU's world view has had to be adapted to take into account a growing number of populist and revisionist leaders who cannot be relied upon to espouse the previously broadly shared attitudes towards growth, development, trade and multilateralism.¹⁴

The European Union's new international political environment would similarly include a number of significant developments. A first concerns the changing behaviour of the United States, formerly considered the EU's natural partner in a multilateral world order. Developments in