

Contents

<i>List of Figures, Tables and Boxes</i>	viii
<i>Preface to the Second Edition</i>	x
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xii
Introduction	1
Scope, Rationale and Relevance of the Book	1
The Changing Context of EU Foreign Policy	4
Objectives and Approach	6
Outline of Chapters	6
1 The Nature of EU Foreign Policy	11
Understanding EU Foreign Policy	11
Areas of Tension in EU Foreign Policy	19
Back to the Treaties: Principles and Objectives	25
Relational and Structural Foreign Policy	27
The Globalizing Context of EU Foreign Policy	30
Conclusion	33
2 European Integration and Foreign Policy: Historical Overview	35
European Integration: The Product of a Structural Foreign Policy (1945–52)	35
The First Decades (1952–70): A Taboo on Defence, Decisive Steps on Trade and International Agreements	39
European Political Cooperation: Setting the Stage (1970–93)	42
The Maastricht Treaty (1993) and the Illusory CFSP	46
The Amsterdam Treaty (1999) and ESDP: Moving towards Action	51
Eastern Enlargement (2004/07), the Lisbon Treaty (2009) and New Challenges	55
Conclusion	60
3 The EU's Foreign Policy System: Actors	61
One Framework, Two Policy-making Methods, or a Continuum?	61
The European Council	63
The Council	66
The Commission	72
The High Representative/Vice-President and the EEAS	77
The European Parliament	85

	The Court of Justice	89
	Other Actors	90
	Conclusion	93
4	The EU's Foreign Policy System: Policy-making	94
	Competences	94
	Decision-making	97
	Policy-making in Practice	104
	Financing EU Foreign Policy	107
	Consistency	113
	Conclusion	115
5	EU Foreign Policy and National Foreign Policy	116
	Foreign Policy-making in the Member States	116
	Power, Interests and Identity of Member States	121
	Europeanization	129
	Conclusion	134
6	Key Issues in EU Foreign Policy	135
	Human Rights, Democracy, Rule of Law	135
	Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management and Peace-building	143
	Non-Proliferation and Control of Arms Export	149
	The Fight against Terrorism	152
	Conclusion	155
7	The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)	156
	Formal Features and Nature of CFSP	156
	Modus Operandi	159
	Scope and Priorities	164
	Declaratory versus Operational Foreign Policy	166
	Conclusion	169
8	The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)	172
	The Nature of CSDP	173
	The Military Dimension	175
	The Civilian Dimension	181
	Military Operations and Civilian Missions	184
	The Industrial and Technological Aspect	192
	Conclusion	195
9	Trade, Development and Other External Action	197
	Trade	197
	Association and Cooperation Agreements	203
	Enlargement	207
	Development Cooperation	211

Sanctions	218
Humanitarian Aid	220
Conclusion	221
10 The External Dimension of Internal Policies	222
Energy	222
Environment and Climate Change	227
Freedom, Security and Justice	232
Challenges without a Real External Policy: Health and Demography	237
Conclusion	241
11 EU Foreign Policy towards the Neighbourhood	242
The Western Balkans and Turkey	242
The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)	250
The Eastern Neighbourhood	256
The Mediterranean Region and the Middle East	262
Conclusion	271
12 Competition with Major Powers: The US, Russia, China, Emerging Powers and Islamism	273
The United States	275
Russia	279
China	283
Emerging Powers and Strategic Partners	290
Islamism: Challenging the Dominant Structures	294
Conclusion	298
13 The EU and Multilateral Organizations	299
The EU's Choice of Effective Multilateralism	300
The EU in International Fora: Legal Status, Coordination and Representation	301
The EU and the UN	308
The EU and International Financial Institutions	311
The EU and the G7/8 and G20	315
Competing Multilateralisms	317
Conclusion	320
14 Conclusions: Theorizing EU Foreign Policy	321
International Relations Theories	322
European Integration Theories	323
Constructivism: Ideas, Values and Identity	326
Structural Foreign Policy	328
<i>References</i>	334
<i>Index</i>	369