

BOOK REVIEW:**New Approaches to EU Foreign Policy**

Maciej Wilga and Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski (eds.)

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Lisbon Treaty, the last revision Treaty of the EU, has provided significant changes in the EU foreign policy system both in the institutional, financial and policy-making framework. The volume, taking its starting point from the idea of the current challenges the EU faces in foreign policy, and institutional developments took place after the Lisbon Treaty, issues of legitimacy, constitutionalization and parliamentarisation of the EUFP/CFSP, the very complex and analytical object was put under research presenting newer approaches to EU foreign policy such as delegation approach, the parliamentarisation approach, post-modern perspective on foreign policy. This book, which is edited, by Maciej Wilga and Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski has three consecutive parts addressing these issues in an analytical, empirical and comparative way. It is thus a valuable contribution to EU literature, putting together the chapters of which were written between 2011-2013.

Originating from this background, the first part of the book elaborates on recent theoretical concepts and studies in the internal dimension of the European Union Foreign Policy (EUFP)/ Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), including chapters about modified or novel approaches in the field. These chapters range from complexity and multi-causality of the EUFP/CFSP to different ways of delegating foreign policy competences, the committee approach and the practice of diplomacy, as well as a parliamentary focus in the research agenda via the chapters on the

European Parliament and national parliaments. In this line, the first part of the volume, including six chapters have contributed to the more theoretical research agenda of the CFSP, thereby enriching the already existent conceptual/ analytical acquis of EU foreign policy.

While the first part of the book lays the structure of the book dwelling on the various theoretical aspects of EU foreign policy, the second part of the book basically sets the background for the audience to interpret the relation to the EUFP/ CFSP institutions from an external perspective. In this framework, the EU analyzes the nature of the EUFP/ CFSP from normative as well as military means and the Eastern EU enlargement in the context of the rhetorical action perspective and external democracy promotion. Finally, EU action in South Caucasus is pitted against Turkish foreign policy in that region and studied interestingly via a power constellations' approach. In this line, the second part of the book has a more empirical character, as it examines various recent phenomena in EU foreign policy to put forward the question whether the EU has made a difference in world politics.

The last part of the book gathers some of the systemic analysis about the newer and refined approaches in EU foreign policy mentioned throughout the book in a final chapter. In this chapter, thus, the complex picture of EUFP/ CFSP field of the study is mingled with empirical complexity and theoretical richness. It discusses the relevance of the new approaches as well as the pros and cons and questions about why they add to our understanding about of EU foreign policy. In addition, this chapter emphasizes the fact that various approaches exist in parallel in CFSP field of study, in which there is no clear-cut paradigm shift. Therefore, this chapter is meant to give focus to the analysis of the novel approaches to EU foreign policy, as complementary to the first and second parts of the book, in which the theoretical and empirical dimensions of the issue are set.

Although the volume confines itself mainly to the new approaches in EU foreign policy, the editors' broad approach in exploring the new dynamics in EU foreign policy via theoretical, empirical and analytical perspectives makes the volume motivating to read after the recent developments in the field that took place with the Lisbon Treaty. What becomes clear from reading many of the studies included in this collection is that the field of EU foreign policy has become a much more complex issue with the institutional developments as well as a policy-making framework which has had an impact indirectly on Turkey-EU relations.

The editors and some of the leading international scholars in the field as contributors to the book have addressed very important questions discussing new approaches in EU foreign policy. They offer fresh insights in EU foreign policy

provide a number of different perspectives to the various policy areas with respect to the field and come up with new questions for further studies in the field of foreign policy. This empirically structured approach is overall the main strength of the book.

Turning back to more detailed information about the coverage of the chapters of the collection following the introductory chapter, the second chapter of the book was written by Finn Laursen, which explores the institutional consequences of the Lisbon Treaty for the EUFP. Currently, the EU having a legal personality has been introduced with a complex picture of institutional changes such as the position of High Representative (HR) for Foreign and Security Policy. The author mainly argues that the Lisbon Treaty is the outcome of a difficult interstate bargaining process, where power came to the fore as the decisive element, through which various bargaining exchanges have created a very complex system (p. 19). Thus, the effectiveness as well as the governance of the EU foreign policy was put under scrutiny. This situation has created a very complex picture difficult to handle.

On the institutional side, one of the most important novelties in the institutional structure is the new role given to the European Commission positioning the HR as the vice president of the Commission, the supranational hat of the HR. With institutional novelty enacted in the Lisbon Treaty, the role of the HR is enhanced. The European Commission has increasingly become the hub of the EU institutional arrangements in foreign policy. It is not only foreign policy competence issues but also the efficiency of policy-making, as coordination problems arise among the nation states that may give the Commission an advantage over the Member States. Parallel to this line, Hylke Dijkstra takes into account the importance of the study of the European Commission from the perspective of it as EU foreign policy actor, in Chapter four. The author convincingly argues that the delegation of foreign policy competences to the Commission has been subject to little analytical object (p. 39). The book addresses some of the raised issues by mainly presenting newer approaches to EU foreign policy. The Main strength of the chapter is that rather than a descriptive account of the topic, he relates to the main debates in European integration theory and aims to make a contribution by analyzing why the member states have delegated functions to the Commission. The author makes use of the rationalist and constructivist explanations of delegation while attempting to theorize the role of the Commission in foreign policy. In this way, with this constructive explanation he provides a better understanding of why the Commission got involved in the sensitive field of foreign policy. His new approach to studying the role of the Commission in relation to foreign policy, it seems, yields innovative insights for one of the most important bureaucratic developments in the EU today.

In chapter four, Monika Sus, explores institutional and foreign policy coherence in the case of the Eastern enlargement (EaP), while focusing on the High Representative (HR) and the European External Action Service (EEAS). It incorporates the intra-institutional adaptation of the HR and the EEAS, as well as inter-institutional and inter-level cooperation between the new Service and other EU foreign policy stakeholders (p.59-62). Furthermore, the chapter investigates the process of reaching institutional coherence among actors involved in dealing with Eastern Partnership countries. The chapter is valuable in identifying the main challenges of the process and offering some tentative conclusions regarding the added value of the research on institutional coherence as well as limitations of institutional coherence. The chapter also paves way for further research on EEAS as one of the most significant innovations of the Lisbon Treaty from the point of view of coherence.

Nicola Chelotti deals in Chapter five with the role of committees and groups involved in the foreign policy decision-making process of the Council. His chapter aims to fill the gap by analyzing national officials working in CSDP, and even less its security and defense aspects. Questionnaires and semi-structured interviews in his chapter aim to fill the gap by analyzing national officials working in CSDP committees. The methods he used to construct his chapter give strength to the paper in that this has enhanced the validity of the study. He explores the working practices of these officials, and investigates what strategies the EU member states adopt when assigning national diplomats to the groups and committees of the Council. The author draws attention to when and how these officials do play an important role in determining EU foreign policy, depending on an original dataset of 138 close-ended questionnaires with national officials participating in the committees and parties of the CFSP/ CSDP. Thus, the chapter contributes to this literature and our knowledge of the characteristics and dynamics of these committees.

Mai'a K. Davis Cross constructs her paper on the question of whether the EU has the potential to become a significant security actor with the ability to protect its common borders and make important contributions to global security. In chapter six, the author argues that networks of high-level diplomats based in Brussels play a key role in bringing together disparate interests from across member states to make security integration possible. Considering the importance of the Committee of Permanent Representatives and the Political and Security Committee as the pinnacle of this diplomatic activity, the author uses a constructivist approach and an epistemic community framework to examine how the internal processes within

these groups impact upon their ability to shape the trajectory of security integration (p. 112).

The discussion about the internal part of the European Foreign Policy (EUIP) is completed with chapter seven by Kolja Raube. The author in this chapter focuses on the role of the European Parliament in the EUIP/ CFSP. By bringing parliaments into the study of EU foreign policy, he draws attention to a research field that concentrates on the role of legislatives in CFSP. By focusing on the importance of the role of parliaments in EU foreign policy, he underlines the fact that well-established approaches to CFSP have gone beyond the state-centered neo-realist and intergovernmental approaches. Rather than merely focusing on the fundamental interests of states as unitary actors in CFSP, the changing institutional setting of CFSP is crucial to understand the recent dynamics in the CSDP according to Raube (p. 139). The author also asks whether recent changes through the Lisbon Treaty imply that parliaments and citizens have gained more oversight of CFSP, and takes the issue towards governance of the EU foreign policy for further studies.

The second part of the book starts with Chapter eight, which basically discusses normative power and military means in EU foreign policy. Trineke Palm constructs his paper on the need to fill the gap of producing more theoretically informed studies about EU foreign policy, introducing different theoretical positions on the EU's international actorness. Thus, the author investigates the characteristics of the EU's foreign involvement and whether this actorness is expected to change as a result of the use of military means (p. 148). In empirical terms, the chapter analyses the EU's involvement with FYR Macedonia from 1999 until 2005, as the first country in which the EU intervened militarily. Thus, the chapter contributes to the discussion on whether a normative power Europe with only civilian instruments as a rather powerless normative power.

In the ninth Chapter, Dieter Mahncke explores the notion of post-modern foreign policy in the EU. Based on the Lisbon Treaty and the institutional developments enforced in the Lisbon Treaty, the objective of this chapter is to explore whether and how EU foreign policy can and might pursue a new path in its foreign policy to make Europe "more secure in a better world" (p. 168). The author asks whether the EU has a sufficiently strong conceptual base to pursue a "post-modern" diplomacy; whether it possesses the necessary instruments to ensure both a common policy and its implementation in the political and diplomatic arenas, and what the obstacles and what are the opportunities and chances of success. The basic strength of this chapter is to open the way forward for more outward looking approaches focusing more on the outcomes rather than just policy-making processes.

Regarding challenges in external perspectives on EU foreign policy, Thomas Mehlhausen, in the tenth chapter, refers to the theoretical debate on the enlargement policy as one of the most effective instruments in EU foreign policy. His part contributes to the book via extending Schimmelfennig's theory of rhetorical action. In this line, the author attempts to argue that only a combination of material incentives and community norms can fill the gap about why the attitude of the EU on Eastern enlargement changed at the EU summit in Copenhagen in 1993.

In Chapter eleven, Irene Hahn-Fuhr focuses on democracy promotion by the European Union via exploring the democracy donor level and, specifically, the genesis of actions and strategies of the EU in external democratization. Her chapter convincingly argues those variations in EU democracy promotion and the perception of and reaction to goal conflicts that emerge out of democratization. The chapter challenges both the all-pervasive "one-size-fits-all" view of the EU's approach, and that of its critics. Depending on the cases with which the author exemplifies her argument, it seems the EU pursues a context-sensitive approach in line with least resistance on a case-by-case basis, while balancing the long- and short-term costs, preferences, benefits, and risks of democracy promotion.

Meltem Müftüler Baç and Aybars Görgülü use a different perspective, in Chapter twelve. The authors construct their analysis around the European neighbourhood policy (ENP) and its significance in the Caucasus. It presents an external view on the EU's foreign policy in the region and it assesses the possible role that Turkey could play in that aspect. With this chapter, the EU action in South Caucasus is pitted against Turkish foreign policy in that region and studied via a 'power constellations' approach. With this approach, it is mainly argued that Turkey's contribution to the EU's foreign policy in the Caucasus is substantial and has even higher potential for furthering the EU's civilian power in this region. The chapter analyses the power constellations between Turkey and the EU presence in the South Caucasus via the ENP, which is linked to the region of an 'energy periphery' situated on the route of Iranian, Turkmen, Kazakh and Russian energy exports.

Finally, in the concluding part, the last chapter of the volume revisits the subject matter of the EUFP/ CFSP as presented in the preceding chapters. It draws attention to the EUFP/ CFSP historical developments, and stresses the growing institutional arrangements (*acquis institutionel*), and the growing richness of the *acquis* technique of EU foreign policy studies (p. 246-49), the chapter then takes up the individual analytical, conceptual and theoretical approaches used in the contributions to this volume in order to see how they relate to the overall *acquis* academic of the foreign policy field (p. 250-54). The author then also looks into the ways in which the

analytical and theoretical approaches applied in the book enlarge the analytical, conceptual and theoretical potential of the field. Through this way, the chapter not only discussed novel theoretical approaches and conceptual and analytical framework but also their application to different time spans, different events, both over time and across policy areas.

Overall, this volume provides a motivating read, its chapters exploring new approaches in EU foreign policy both theoretically and empirically, laying a ground for further studies in terms of having a fuller understanding of EU foreign policy development. All the chapters of the volume offer new empirical aspects of the EUFP developments and contribute to the growing research complexity in this field of study. The strength of the volume is seen in its focus on giving space to these new or modified theoretical and analytical approaches, some of which are on the way to becoming more important in the scholarly debate on EUFP, highlighting, for instance, the parliamentary, network, or diplomatic dimensions of EU foreign policy. All the contributions of the volume are well written and structured, demonstrate clear arguments, and convincing theoretical assumptions. In that regard, this book is a significant contribution to the literature and an essential reference for the EUFP that resembles a complex institutionally multifaceted governance system with a multitude of different actors.

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