

**BOOK REVIEW:**

**THE EUROPEAN UNION'S NEW  
FOREIGN POLICY**

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**Editor: Martin Westlake**

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Today, the European Union (EU) is trying to determine its place in the international system where there are multipolar power centers. Editor Martin Westlake and other contributing authors lay out the foundations of the Union's new foreign policy in "The European Union's New Foreign Policy." The foreign policy issue, which has been under the jurisdiction of the Member States for many years, has become a phenomenon with the Common Foreign and Security Policy column created with the Maastricht Treaty signed in 1992 (p.1). This phenomenon also raises the book's fundamental research question: Why is there a need to explain the "old" foreign policy as "new" today? The book, which was synthesized from different perspectives by more than one author, makes sense of the new foreign policy of the EU with its constitutional, institutional, political and geographical aspects. The presence of the word "new" reflects the tools, actors, initiatives, and the EU framing these factors (p.2).

The book consists of four parts and thirteen chapters, apart from the introduction. There are two concluding chapters in the fourth part of the book. Federica Mogherini, who wrote the foreword of the work, served as the European Union's High Representative on Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and the Vice President of the European Commission between 2014-2019. Mogherini begins her preface to "Standing Together, Standing Long"

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by answering today "how the tools put forward to make foreign policy more effective can best use." According to her, it should be discussed before the Union whether there was a European foreign and security policy ten years ago. With the Iran nuclear deal, the financial support package to Ukraine, and aid to United Nations (UN) agencies facing a budgetary crisis, the EU is a global reference point for all working towards a more collaborative system for global governance. She prefers to examine the new EU foreign policy through its three major features: First, she emphasizes the place and roles of the High Representative; the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), the European Defense Fund (EDF), and the Coordinated Annual Review of national defense budgets (CARD) in the new foreign policy. While Mogherini tries to make sense of creating a unique European defense through various means from a theoretical perspective, she reduces NATO's effectiveness to the level of other collaborating actors. Second, she underlines that multilateralism constitutes the basis of European foreign policy. Concerning the historical past of the EU, the protection of multilateralism, which faces various difficulties in today's international system, is explained. The effects of the EU on creating dynamics for ensuring global security by supporting the processes established by the UN, such as the Paris Agreement and the Sustainable Development Goals, are touched upon (p.VI). She stresses how the EU Global Strategy has improved how the Member States cooperate in foreign policy, giving the example of migration. Third, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy points out that the EU Global Strategy changes how the Union works together.

The first chapter, titled "Introduction: The European Union's New Foreign Policy," written by the book's editor, offers the readers an overview before going into the details of the study. Westlake further underlines that beyond treaty-based changes, developments in regions and policy areas such as Africa, Russia, the Western Balkans, the Arctic, Brexit, and rising populism have brought about the restructuring of the Union's foreign policy. He argues that due to the progress of the international system towards multipolarity, the great powers have had to act in line with new parameters. Westlake shows the following developments, respectively, as the signs of the new international system: The World Trade Organization's (WTO) Doha Tour, which ended inconclusively in 2008, the US's return to the Asian Axis and the Pacific Region (2011), China's One Belt One Road Initiative (2013), Russia's annexation of Crimea (2014), especially its activities in the Mediterranean and the Middle East (2015), and the start of the trade war between the United States (US) and China (p.4). Noting that such developments also lead to new

challenges, he contends that the new foreign policy of the EU should also be formed in such a way to meet these challenges. Westlake finally emphasizes that the authors of the other chapters in the book ask to discuss the new European foreign policy to reflect the continent's fundamental values, especially human rights, multilateralism, security, defense, diplomacy, and trade issues.

There are eight chapters in the book's first part, "Over-Arching Issues." In Chapter 2, Christian Leffler, Deputy Secretary-General for Global and Economic Issues in the European External Action Service (2015–2020), questions the main lines of the EU's foreign policy based on multilateralism (p.9). This chapter seeks to answer how great powers approach unique situations in real politics. According to the author, the EU can be the leading actor in determining international engagement rules by taking a different stance. In this respect, the EU Global Strategy is a fundamental document for the multilateralism of the Union. The author argues that the EU has pursued multilateralism, in contrast to the protectionist foreign policy of the US during the Trump era and the increasingly authoritarian management strategies of China and Russia.

In Chapter 3, Stavros Lambrinidis, the EU's ambassador to the United States, examines the Union's new foreign policy of fundamental values. By promoting human rights in its foreign policy, the Union makes this value indispensable in its relations with other actors. Lambrinidis, mainly based on his own experience, refers to the effects of the EU's priorities, such as peace, stability, development, and respect for democratic institutions in the international arena. While the chapter shows the EU's achievements in promoting human rights, it ignores the Union's shortcomings in solving the problems brought about by the migration crisis in recent years.

In Chapter 4, Patrick Costello, currently Head of Division for Democracy and Electoral Observation in the European External Action Service, considers values and interests in post-Lisbon European foreign policy. While Costello focuses on the reflections of the EU's values and interests in foreign policy after Lisbon Treaty, he seeks to answer the fundamental question: How does an organization as complex as the EU continue to protect and develop its values while protecting and promoting its interests? (p.46). In the chapter, Costello reveals how the Union is in a dilemma in continuing the compatibility-consistency line in its foreign policy with its values and interests after the Lisbon Treaty. Thus, his chapter tests how human rights and other core values of the EU, expressed in the previous chapter, are created and

promoted around interests in international relations. In this sense, the chapter shows how the EU can overcome the interests-values dilemma left blank in the previous chapter by Leffler.

In Chapter 5, Pedro A. Serrano de Haro evaluates how the EU continually works towards a safer world. He examines how the steps towards ensuring global security have increased recently. He further reveals how the aggressive behavior of great powers such as the USA, China, and Russia have also caused various difficulties (p.64). The chapter deals with the importance of security and defense from the early stages of European integration, first with the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and then with the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) as an integral part of the EU's foreign policy. Serrano de Haro underlines that the EU has increased its efforts to protect its geography and ensure global security. The author prefers not to adopt a critical approach toward the security aspect of EU foreign policy.

In Chapter 6, Maria Åsenius reveals how the EU, a trading and regulatory giant, is adapting its behavior to the new reality of trade turbulence and the American drift away from multilateralism. She evaluates the developments affecting the EU's trade policy, such as the withdrawal of the USA from the post-2017 multilateral world system and President Donald Trump's neo-Westphalian foreign policy stance. She suggests specific priorities that the Union should set. According to Åsenius, the EU should prioritize transforming the international system in such a way to enhance multilateralism through critically reflecting on the Union's capabilities and developing the necessary foreign policy tools and mechanisms. Furthermore, she suggests that the EU should improve its bilateral relations with the leading actors of global trade (through bilateral agreements, where/if possible), especially with China.

In Chapter 7, Myriam Goinard, a policy adviser in the External Policies Directorate-General of the European Parliament, considers the growing role of parliamentary diplomacy in the EU's new foreign policy. She tries to fill the ignored aspects of the European Parliament in the European studies literature with the concept of parliamentary diplomacy. This chapter reveals how the EU's new foreign policy includes parliamentary diplomacy. Goinard argues that the European Parliament's role has become more visible in the Union's foreign policy as its decision-making powers increased, especially regarding the supranational aspects of the Union's external action, such as international trade and development (p.114). Goinard contends that with the increasing legal role of the European Parliament, the EU's interest in human

rights, development aid, crisis management, and the environment has increased. Among the remarkable findings of the chapter, she contends that the correct use of diplomacy in terms of inter-parliamentary relations constitutes the basis for establishing the new EU foreign policy on solid foundations.

In Chapter 8, Gijs de Vries, currently a Senior Visiting Fellow at the European Institute of the LSE, looks at the presently neglected topic of the EU's emerging cultural diplomacy. This chapter highlights the three main objectives that ensure the completion of cultural diplomacy: unlocking the potential of creativity, promoting peace, and strengthening cooperation (p.128). These objectives can be achieved by combining the soft power elements of the EU with its existing normative power and ultimately achieving innovative management. Following de Vries, it can be argued that ensuring the theory-practice harmony of the EU Global Strategy facilitates the success of the new EU foreign policy (p.134-135).

In Chapter 9, Gianmarco Di Vita, Director General of Budget and Management of the European External Action Service, declares his experience managing the new European External Action Service (EEAS). The author's experiences in the EEAS provide direct information to the readers conveying the institutional structure and internal workings. The continuation of this situation today shows the difficulties of implementing the new foreign policy. Referring to the added value created by the European External Action Service to the new EU foreign policy, Di Vita draws attention to the fact that a univocal Union is as valuable an achievement as the sum of the voices of the Member States (p.142).

Part II looks at some of the new geopolitical challenges the EU faces. The chapter examines how the problems caused by the EU's squeeze between ensuring an environment of peace and stability and economic partnership processes resolve. Thus, in Chapter 10, Johannes Noack, who worked in the Private Office of the European Commissioner responsible for the EU's enlargement and neighborhood policies, considers how the Union manages its relationships with its closest neighbors. While Noack claims that the strategy provided by the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) delivers significant gains in practical terms, he points out the contradiction between the de facto frozen relations with a country like Turkey that is in the process of candidacy and accession negotiations (p.159). At the same time, while the membership goals of the Western Balkan countries are kept alive, developments that cause instability in Ukraine and the Caucasus weakens the chances of success of the ENP.

The new geopolitical environment of the European Union brings with it several crucial developments. In Chapter 11, Koen Vervaeke, Managing Director for Africa in the European External Action Service, considers the EU's "pivot" to Africa. Vervaeke underlines that, thus, Africa is a significant area of interest for the Union. In his view, this is why the former President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, declared a "return" to Africa as a necessity for the EU in his State of the Union speech in September 2018 (p.172). This recognition of Africa's rapidly evolving emergence as a regional trading bloc gives rise to what this book calls the "return" of Africa.

The EU is inextricably linked to the Arctic region by its unique history, geography, economy, and scientific achievements. The glacier meltdowns caused by climate change reveal new trade routes, especially in the Arctic Region. In Chapter 12, Marie-Anne Coninx, the European Union's first Ambassador at Large for the Arctic Region, 2017–2019, considers the EU's northern window. Coninx begins her work by giving brief information about the area. This information indicates that three EU Member States (Denmark, Sweden, and Finland) locate in the Arctic Region. The two Arctic states, Iceland and Norway, are in the European Economic Area (EEA). The strategic partners of the EU, Canada, the USA, and Russia, are part of the Arctic Region (p.179). After a brief introduction to the region, the author delves into the Union's Arctic policy details showing that the EU evaluates the North Pole in the context of the North Dimension Policy (p.188). She contends that this context determined that the importance of climate change, sustainable development, and scientific research has increased in the EU foreign policy after the Lisbon Treaty. The chapter concludes with reflections on legal regulations' effects on political decisions on the new EU foreign policy.

Part III looks at some of the EU's policy challenges. In Chapter 13, Dr. Alexandra-Maria Bocse, Fellow in International Relations at the LSE, looks at the EU's climate change policy as an aspect of its foreign policy. Climate change also poses new geostrategic threats to the EU by raising concerns about environmental degradation. The chapter's contribution to the literature is its reflections on what the EU can do to realize the carbon-neutral goal it is trying to establish with the Green Deal today. Bocse employs a different and more academic method from other researchers contributing to the book through interviews with experts on the subject. The chapter evaluates the EU's contributions to the Paris Agreement, which entered into force in 2016. Bocse concludes that the contribution of the EU's diplomatic initiatives to the climate

change process becomes even more critical after the USA's withdrawal from the agreement (p.196).

In Chapter 14, three European Commission officials, Nele Eichhorn, Alina Nedeia, and Ulrik Trolle Smed, consider the EU's developing hybrid threats and cybersecurity mechanisms. The authors argue that with the effect of globalization, the probability of encountering security threats has increased for all actors in the international system, especially for public authorities (p.215). The topics covered by the chapter are how the EU responds to emerging challenges and which coherent policy and practical tools it has developed for solving the issue. The chapter sheds light on how the EU could have an autonomous political path in cybersecurity, with priorities like creating its own global satellite navigation system (Galileo) in an increasingly interconnected world.

There are two concluding chapters in the fourth part of the book. In Chapter 15, Dr. Karen E. Smith, Professor of International Relations at the LSE, critically addresses the past decade and considers the EU's post-Lisbon foreign policy. Smith argues that the last decade of EU foreign policy has not been very dynamic, although new institutions have been established and the Union published a global strategy. Smith lists several challenges to EU foreign policy: Developments such as a worldwide financial and economic crisis, the rise of authoritarian or illiberal regimes in the EU's neighbors (especially Libya, Syria, and Ukraine) that challenge Union norms, and the growth of anti-EU solid movements on the continent (p.243). She asserts that the objectives of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy "to promote the common European interests" and to pursue the interests of Europe at the international level have not been achieved (p.241). The weaknesses of the new EU foreign policy, which were only superficially touched upon by other contributing authors, are reviewed in detail in Smith's chapter. The USA's "Pivot to Asia" strategy (2011) increases the power struggle in the world. Since China's "One belt, One Road" (BRI) initiative in 2013, China has become assertive as an economic and geopolitical power. All of the tense relations created by Russia's aggressive assertiveness determine the new foreign policy orientations of the EU. However, as Smith pointed out (p.246-247), the actions of Member States, far from promoting political unity and joint effort, make it difficult for the new EU foreign policy to remain optimistic in a very challenging world.

Finally, Editor Martin Westlake evaluates whether the new EU foreign policy can be considered successful in the book's afterword. He states that

cumulatively, the new foreign policy in the title of this study is a summary of all the elements mentioned above (p.258). The editor classifies and contends the new EU foreign policy under geopolitical, geostrategic, and pressing challenges. He evaluates the state of EU foreign policy by looking at areas of progress, areas that require further improvement, and areas of neither progress nor regression. He argues that today, the EU employs the old and new tools it has developed with and after the Lisbon Treaty. With all its transparency, the book reveals the challenges faced by the EU, as a supranational organization, regarding different subjects and geographies. The chapters covering the multipolar international system, human rights, security, trade, diplomacy, the ENP, Africa, the Arctic, climate change, and cyber security are reference sources for researchers interested in the European foreign policy field. Although each part of the study is written by a different author(s), all chapters reflect a methodologically common approach. The authors who contributed to the book are primarily people who worked within the EU institutional structure and provided their expertise in the chapters they wrote. In this sense, each chapter contributes to the literature revealing the foundations of the new EU foreign policy. As Martin Westlake, the editor, states: "the core of the book is a mixture of a group of distinguished practitioners and expert theorists" (p.8), which marks the book's significant contribution. Another feature that distinguishes the book from other publications in the field is that Federica Mogherini, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy between 2014-2019, wrote the foreword. However, Mogherini avoids self-criticism as she does not express the EU's new foreign policy flaws transparently.

The book does not have the in-depth capacity to cover all aspects of the new EU foreign policy. According to the editor, the book is example-based and explanatory (p.8) and pursues a hybrid methodology. Even though "the book had to be big to cover all the important aspects" (p.9), it might have been necessary to include more in-depth analyses to make it easier for the reader to understand the background of the discussions. Also, due to the lack of a neat theoretical foundation, the book avoids any significant discussion of possible theoretical approaches to the EU's new foreign policy. Nevertheless, the book has the potential to provide data for recent publications in which foreign policy can be evaluated on the axis of theoretical discussions.

The implications of the transformations in the EU's foreign and security policies after the Lisbon Treaty, which entered into force in 2009, continue to be felt ten years later. The process within which this book got published



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included a seminar series that aimed to produce solutions to the problems of the EU today, and it seems to have achieved its purpose. To conclude, the book "The European Union's New Foreign Policy" is valuable for underlining the significance of the new European foreign policy and offering insider information about it.



## **CORRIGENDUM**

Prof. Dr. Yücel OĞURLU'nun Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisinde (Cilt:12, No:2, Yıl: 2013, s.81-104) yayınlanmış olan "Bölgesel Güç olarak Avrupa Birliği ve Dış Politika" makalesinde sehven "UĞURLU" olarak yazılmış soyadı "OĞURLU" olarak düzeltilmiştir.

