

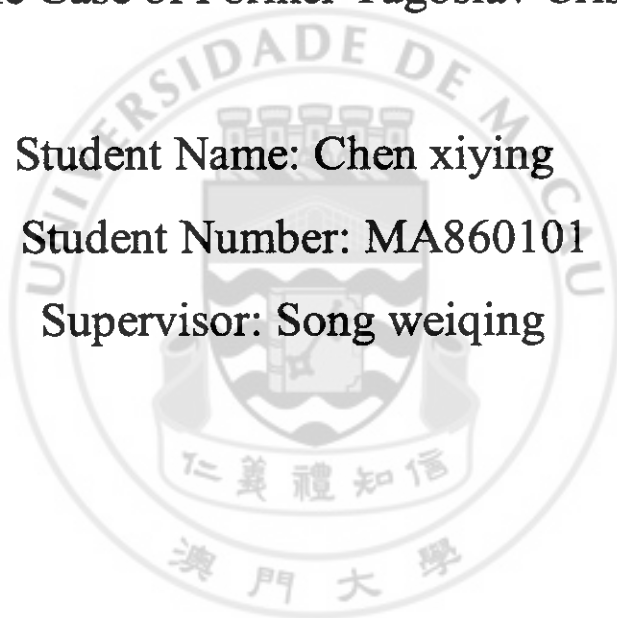
UNIVERSITY OF MACAU
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND
HUMANITIES

Actions and Constraints of the European Union
as an International Actor:
The Case of Former Yugoslav Crisis

Student Name: Chen xiying

Student Number: MA860101

Supervisor: Song weiqing



Thesis Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master in European Studies at the
University of Macau

June 15, 2011

Abstract

Common Foreign and Security Policy is a very important part of a process of European Integration. It concerns the European Union's presentation of a more coherent face to the outside world, but drawing from factual and realistic cases, the CFSP has had limited success in helping the EU act as a single state in crisis situations. Why is the European Union sometimes seemingly powerless to speak as one voice in the world affairs? This paper revolves around this critical question and adopts the theory of intergovernmentalism as a tool for discussing it. I adopt the concept of intergovernmentalism and illustrate the debate between intergovernmentalism and neofunctionalism so as to reveal that national interests of member states dominate in the practical process of decision making. In addition, I will also review the institutional mechanisms of the CFSP with its cumbersome decision-making procedures and through an understanding of the Council mandated intergovernmental conference, resolve the problems and conflicts, and help myself greater explain how the CSFP allows the EU to speak with one voice and affect the world with unanimous action.

Two of the cases involved in this study are the Yugoslav crisis and the Kosovo crisis. In the case of the Yugoslav crisis, state officials in pursuit of the national interest of member states challenged the common position and unified action, as well as exposed powerlessness of the European Union to formulate a credible policy towards the conflict. However, these same member states, by pursuing their own national considerations, allowed for consistent and unified action in response to the Kosovo crisis. Comparing the two cases of intervention, no matter whether unified action is

made by member state or they fail to form effective actions, the national interest of member state determines the final result of decisions.

Although the Council struggles for control of the EU's foreign and security affairs, "common" actions still are still hard to reach due to member states insistence on a spirit of loyalty and sovereign independence. The CFSP as a political sector is subordinate to the calculations of the member state; their divergent behaviors and national perspectives constrain the European Union from becoming a powerful international actor in the world.



Content

Chapter1: Introduction	8
1.1 Research scope of the thesis.....	9
1.2 Research objectives of the thesis	11
Chapter 2: Evolution and Structure of CFSP	16
2.1 The historical and institutional developments of CFSP.....	16
2.1.1. From the European Political Cooperation to the Common Foreign and Security Policy	16
2.1.2 The CFSP system: an inter-governmental model	20
2.1.3 The CFSP from Maastricht to Amsterdam	24
2.2. Institutional dimension of CFSP.....	26
2.2.1. Major institutions in the CFSP	26
2.2.2. Institutional paradoxes of the CFSP.....	31
2.3 Major theoretical perspective on EU as an international actor	34
2.3.1 Federalism and European Integration	34
2.3.2 Neofunctionalist perspective on the EU as an international actor	36
2.3.3 Realist perspective on the EU as an international actor	40
Chapter3: Theoretical Framework and Methodology	44
3.1 The realist tradition	44
3.2 Definition of Intergovernmentalism	46
3.3 Intergovernmentalism versus Neo-functionalism.....	48
3.4 Intergovernmental Model of CFSP	55
3.5Methodology	58
3.5.1Case study	58
3.5.2 The reason for choice	61
Chapter 4: Yugoslav crisis.....	63
4.1 Contexts	63
4.2 Processes	66
4.2.1 EU's action in independence issue of Slovenian and Croatia	66
4.2.2 The EU's action on the independence issue of Macedonia.....	69
4.2.3 EU's actions on the independence issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina	71
4.3 Assessment	72
4.3.1 National interests take precedence over the interests of EU as a whole	73
4.3.2 Institutional problems of CFSP in Yugoslav crisis	77
4.3.3 EU's action in the aftermath of crisis	80
Chapter 5: Kosovo Crisis	82
5.1 Context.....	82
5.2 Process.....	85
5.2.1 Prewar actions of the European Union.....	85
5.2.2 Wartime activities of the European Union	89
5.2.3 Postwar activities of European Union	92
5.3 Assessment	94
5.3.1 Different perception of member states of the Kosovo crisis	96

Chapter 6: the Future of European Foreign and Security Policy..... 102
 6.1 Member States are Rational Calculators 102
 6.2 Need stable military force to support 103
 6.3 Lisbon Treaty..... 105
Bibliography.....111

