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The Europranization of national Foreign Policies: The Examples og germany and France within the Framework of Ukraine Crisis

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Abstract. This study aims to investigate the effects of foreign policy cooperation processes laid down at European Union (EU) level on national foreign policies. Vast majority of the current literature on European integration focus on the impacts of developments at EU level, supra-national institutionalization and policy-making processes on member states. However, as the domain of foreign policy, which has been included within the institutional framework of the EU with the Maastricht Treaty, is under the control of member states, it has been excluded from these investigations for a long time. Even though the foreign policy of EU has an intergovernmental character, the expansion of the foreign policy domain and the development of institutional structures after the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty have introduced considerable changes in the national foreign policies of member states. In this context, the main problematic of this study is to examine how and in what ways EU foreign policy, which was designed to be under the control of member states as a result of concerns related with sovereignty, unveil the changes in member states' foreign policies. Providing an explanation for this problematic has become significant as national foreign policies have increasingly become the subject matter of foreign policy-making at EU level after the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty. In order to account for this problematic, the concept of Europeanization, which examines the effects of the EU integration processes and developments on member states and suggests a different approach to the European integration, was employed. Moreover, this study addressed the Ukraine crisis, which posed a considerable threat to European peace and stability in the post-Cold War era, as a case study. The changes in the national foreign policies of two prominent members of the European Union, Germany and France, towards Russia within the course of Ukraine crisis were also examined in the context of the Europeanization concept. Consequently, it is seen that constant participation of member states in the foreign policy-making processes at EU level initiates significant changes in member states' national foreign policies, even though it cannot cause a transformation of national foreign policies. While such change assists the growth of institutional structures at EU level, it also enables more binding decisions to be made for the Europeanization of member states' national foreign policies. Thereby, national foreign policies of member states become more likely to be influenced by the foreign policy at EU level.

Keywords. European Union Foreign Policy, The Europeanization, Ukraine Crisis, National Foreign Policy.

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Highlights

- *The concept of Europeanisation as an new level of analysis in European Studies refers to a set of processes which the EU political, social and economic dynamics become a part of the logic of political structures and national policies.
- *Even though Europeanisation can be considered as a transformation process through adaptation of EU norms and standards for EU member, foreign policy under the control of member states has been excluded from these process for a long time.
- *The expansion of the foreign policy domain and the development of institutional structures after the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty have introduced considerable changes in the national foreign policies of member states. The Europeanization of national foreign policy generally consists of a two way and interactive process in which member states are both appliers and shapers of EU foreign policy in accordance with their interests.
- *As a result, case study is conducted in order to examine how and in what ways EU foreign policy, which was designed to be under the control of member states as a result of concerns related with sovereignty, unveil the changes in two prominent members of the European Union, Germany and France, towards Russia within the course of Ukraine crisis.

Summary

This study is to discuss the development of foreign policy at the EU level regarded as a taboo for European integration for a long while and to analyze its impact on national foreign policies. In this context, the concept of Europeanization as a new level of analysis in European Studies has been addressed to present changes in the national foreign policy of member states. At the same time, this study addressed the Ukraine crisis, which posed a considerable threat to European peace and stability in the post-Cold War era, as a case study. In addition to this, the case study is connected with France and German Foreign policy to analyze the impact of Europeanization on national foreign policy at a time when European peace and stability has been under attack. Consequently, it is seen that permanent participation of member states in the foreign policy-making processes at EU level after Maastricht Treaty has gave rise to considerable changes in national level. Nevertheless, it have to be said that this participation cannot lead to a transformation of national foreign policies. It means that member states have adopted some foreign policy decisions taken at EU level but they can still act autonomously in international relations.

The main reason for choosing the concept of Europeanization is that EU foreign policy has a different approach to the European integration. Indeed, EU foreign policy has characterized as a multifaceted (CFSP, CSDP and external action of EU commission), multi-method (combining intergovernmental and supranational method) and multilevel (the national, European and international level). Under the circumstances, the theories of the EU integration itself has lacked to explain developing a common foreign policy at the European level and not provide the political and policy changes of member states caused by the impact membership in the EU. However, Europeanization has concerned with not just explaining European institution-building process, but also the impact of European integration on domestic political and policy processes of member states and beyond. Thus, Europeanization provides substantial basis for examining the growth and gradually institutionalization of the foreign policy cooperation between member states in the European level. While scholars generally adopted the 'top-down' perspective to account for the dynamics and the outcome of the European integration on domestic policies, politics and polities of member states, this study have focused on both 'top down' and 'bottom up' perspective. Because Europeanization of national foreign policy does not depend upon EU institution, but also depends upon the

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decision of member states about foreign policy at EU level. In other words, EU foreign policy is interaction between the national and EU level and member states are still the main actor to determine European Foreign Policy.

In order to understand the changes in national foreign policy and outcome of this changes, second chapter of thesis has addressed the evolution of European Foreign Policy since 1970s. While the EU was established in 1951, the EU had not have a common foreign policy toward third countries until beginning of 1970s. However, with an international context more conducive to EU political voice in 1969, member states were ready to open discussion on a common foreign policy. In this respect, European Political Cooperation (EPC), constituted the foundation of the EU's foreign policy was founded in 1970 but it was to be separated framework from the EU. Because member states did not abandon their control on foreign policy which was and is still seen as an indispensable element of national sovereignty. Thus, EPC's goal was reasonably restricted such as regular consultation, coordination of national position and so on. The end of the Cold War had deeply impact not only international politics, but also European Integration. In fact, the end of Cold War brought into open new expectation that the EU would take on more responsibility in international affairs. In this context, EPC was no longer taken into consideration for the new world order. Thus, a common foreign policy at EU level was accepted by member states but member states have remained control over The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). In other words, even though the foreign policy has been a part of the EU, it has not been independent status of member states. Of course, CFSP has been altered several time up to the present. Thus, CFSP has been more institutionalized at EU level and began to cover more the external political issues. This situation has paved the way for the EU foreign policy influence to national foreign policy. Because of this reason, Europeanization, before not taking into account in foreign policy analysis, has gained widespread concept as a newly fashionable term to analyze a variety of changes within EU foreign policy and national foreign policy. Because EU foreign policy is not an independent variables but it have to be said that it is a variable dependent on the roles played by EU member states, particularly the powerful members.

Europeanization of national foreign policy contains both uploading national projection to EU level and downloading EU foreign policy to national level. This process generally encompasses through socialization of the foreign policy elites, the pressure of misfit and learning. The question of how these processes are effective in the development of EU foreign policy are answered by addressing the changes in the national foreign policies of two prominent members of the European Union, Germany and France, towards Russia within the course of Ukraine crisis. In doing so, both EU foreign policy and these countries' foreign policy against Russia were examined. In this way, it is tried to show to what extent developing and institutionalizing EU foreign policy affected member states and to what extent member state identified a common foreign policy toward Ukraine Crisis. For sure this situation could only be revealed through Europeanization mechanisms mentioned above. Indeed, it has been seen that all of these mechanism has played an important role in Europeanization of national foreign policy. While the degree of misfit normally has a significant position in adaptation process of member states to EU level, socialization of the foreign policy elites and learning have played a more important role for Europeanization of France and German national foreign policy toward Ukraine Crisis. However, it has to be said that the degree of misfit has been also an effective mechanism because all member states have to adopt the policy which was accepted by member states. In this context, member states decided to impose economic sanction in order to move the conflict from the

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military to the diplomatic and economic levels. With this decision taken at EU level, all member states has been forced to comply with EU foreign policy. Generally, Germany and France are known as a two important countries in directing the EU. It is shown in this study that both countries were pioneers in the determination of EU foreign policy but also they were directly affected by EU foreign policy, especially applying economic sanctions.

Consequently, the EU has considerable presence in international relations after establishing a common foreign policy. While EU foreign policy is based on intergovernmental principles (it means that all decision has to be taken with unanimous voting), foreign policy issues has been more and more discussed and decided by institutions and people based in EU capital, Brussels, rather than in national capitals. The fact that permanent Brussels-based institution was established after Maastricht Treaty has provided a platform where the foreign policy elites come together to discuss foreign policy issues and share information among each others. Thus, this platform helps to occur a confidence-building and thanks to this situation the CFSP's institutional structures as set up by Maastricht have found to more development opportunities. It means that member states do not hesitate to attempt foreign policy cooperation at the EU level. In fact, there were many issues left unsolved during the Maastricht negotiations but providing a constant interaction framework by CFSP, this lead to enhancement and extension of institutional mechanism that open for future cooperation in this area. As seen in case study in this thesis, Germany and France, which were previously unwilling to joint action in foreign policy issues at EU level have acted against Russia within the framework of EU foreign policy in the Ukraine crisis. For sure, this is not mean that member states do share extensive common interest at the EU level and act with EU internationally. The logic of diversity has still exist and this occasionally tends to block agreement on creating more supranational foreign policy machinery and making of foreign policy in the EU level. However, member states, even big members –Germany and France- seek to protect their vital interest by joining EU foreign policy when they lack the necessary capabilities. In this way, they likely persevere their goals at the EU level. In this context, Germany and France did not choose to involve the crisis because it was clear that they would not bolster bilaterally their position in relation to Russia, thus they seek to bolster their position by rallying support from member states and the EU. The participation of Germany and France at the EU level have paved the way for the influencing the national foreign policy. Yet this influence has been still limited because France and Germany have accepted the EU's foreign policy determined against Russia in only economic matters. As result, it can be said that German and France national foreign policies have been Europeanized in the case of economic issues but especially France and Germany have demonstrated their unwillingness to military matters. The fact that joint decisions at the EU level, even if economic level, can be taken shows an increase in participation of member states in EU foreign policy and the impact of Europeanization on national foreign policy. Because the development of foreign policy at the EU level regarded as a taboo for European integration for a long while is seen no longer impossible and now member states can easily discuss and even take decision at the EU level in order to more effectively to protect their common interest and independence.

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