

## EUROPE AND THE WORLD: NEW TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY

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### Abstract

*The world of International Relations seems to be moving no less than the speed of light. Rapidly shifting international environment demands equal momentum to catch up with the change. However, the European Union lags behind because of some serious impediments in its foreign policy mechanism. The differences between member states and supranational institutions keep the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in cold storage. Europe's role as an international player in world politics needs to be activated if it desires to remain relevant in a scenario where Russia, China and the US appear more concerned about their respective national interests. This paper compares the emerging trends in international diplomatic arena with the developments in the EU's foreign policy. The paper discusses the tools that the EU requires to play an influential role on the world's diplomatic stage.*

### Introduction

In the age of globalization nothing is as simple as it appears. As the world advances technologically, its system attains more complexity. This intricacy then seeps into the practice of inter-state diplomacy. The foreign policies of various states operate within this byzantine network. The diplomatic artfulness of a country is determined by the posture it takes in the international arena.

William Wallace defines foreign policy as, "A stable set of attitude towards the international environment, an implicit or explicit plan about a country's relationship with outside world"<sup>1</sup>. Similarly another foreign policy expert,

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<sup>1</sup> William Wallace, *Foreign Policy and Political Process* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1971), 11.

Lloyd Jensen terms foreign policy as “a pattern of attitude and behavior, which a state adopts to interact with the international community”<sup>2</sup>

It is therefore estimated that foreign policy is a complex phenomenon, which guides a state’s conduct internationally. The different regulatory aspects of foreign policy include political independence, nation’s prestige, territorial sovereignty and economic wellbeing. The field experts Padelford and Lincoln state, “Foreign policy is the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into concrete course of action to attain these objectives and preserve interests.”<sup>3</sup>

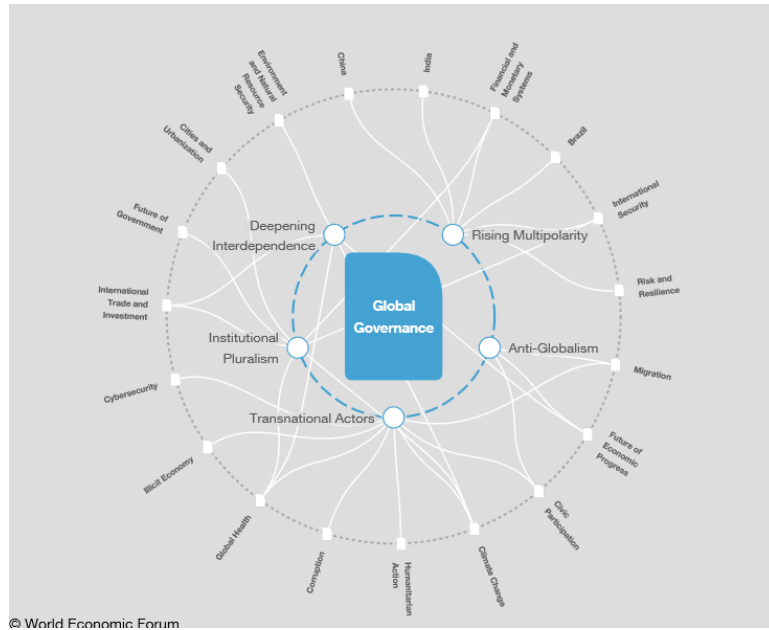
This article studies the dynamics of the European Union’s foreign policy in the context of contemporary global events. It is divided in four sections. The first section presents an overview of the most recent trends in international politics.

The next one studies the emerging course of the European Union’s international conduct. The penultimate part highlights the impediments that come in the way of foreign policy formulation. The concluding section puts forward ideas that in the author’s opinion can improve the foreign policy structure of the EU and keep it prepared for the challenges worldwide.

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<sup>2</sup> Jensen Lloyd, *Explaining Foreign Policy* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, INC, Englewood Cliffs, 1982), 14.

<sup>3</sup> Norman J. Padelford and George A. Lincoln, *The Dynamics of International Politics* (New York: Macmillan, 1977), Quoted In Bruce Russett, and Harvey Starr, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice* (New York: W.H.Freeman and Company, 1996), 223.



### Emerging diplomatic trends in the International arena

The field of International relations has overseen an outgrowth of numerous terminologies in the past half a century. Some of them are uni-polarity, bi-polarity, multiculturalism, isolationism, globalization etc. We inhabit a globalized world. The foreign policies are formulated keeping multilateralism in focus. The world community is taken as a whole where nations commercially depend on each other. Yet, there exists a perception that by virtue of its military prowess the United States of America asserts an undue influence around the globe. The various interventions in different regions have only nurtured resentment and acute anti-Americansim. Moreover, this interventionist behavior seems to have exhausted the patience of the US citizenry. It maintains that it is time that their elected representatives reflect the will of the electorate and relieves them of the heavy financial costs that accompany foreign adventures.

<sup>4</sup> World Economic Forum, Mapping Global Transformations, Available at <https://toplink.weforum.org/knowledge/insight/a1Gb0000000LHN2EAO/explore/summary> accessed March 5, 2018.

In the words of a renowned political economist Paul Kennedy, “if a hegemon state does not prevent surges of military resources, it ultimately would only accelerate its decline”<sup>5</sup>, although the US remained the only superpower that has managed to attain that state according to Rostow’s model of economic growth where it is possible to retain dominance by controlling the levers of economic growth.

Coorespondingly, there has come into being a parallel strategic paradigm. Russia, China and India have put forward a multilateral framework that holds unilateralism in contempt.

The world is entering into a phase where the nations are more concerned about their own national interests and security than the international promotion of liberal values.

Federica Mogherini, the European Union High Representative estimated the new world order to be more “connected, contested and complex”<sup>6</sup> than ever. While speaking to Reuters she defined this new feeling and said, “We’ve been used to friendships, natural partnerships based mainly on values and history and probably we’re entering into a phase where we will be maybe more pragmatic, transactional, some say emotionless”<sup>7</sup>. This new world order is quite opposed to globalization which is defined as “all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society.”<sup>8</sup> One of the most recent manifestations has been the Brexit episode, where in a referendum the electorate rejected the supranational mechanism.

Similarly, Russia and China rejected the idea of imposing hard sanctions on Iran and instead negotiated a deal to restore Tehran’s international trade activities; it goes without saying that by pursuing that line of action Moscow and Beijing served their own political and economic interests. The

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<sup>5</sup> Available at <https://southfront.org/the-collapse-of-globalism-and-the-new-trends-in-international-relations/> accessed March 7, 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Available at [http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/docs/strategic\\_review/eu-strategic-review\\_executive\\_summary\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/docs/strategic_review/eu-strategic-review_executive_summary_en.pdf) accessed March 12, 2018.

<sup>7</sup> Available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-davos-meeting-mood/davos-offers-unsettling-glimpse-of-new-world-order-idUSKBN1542CX> accessed March 12, 2018.

<sup>8</sup> Albrow, Martin and Elizabeth King (eds.), *Globalization, Knowledge and Society* (London: Sage, 1990), 8.

US itself appeared reluctant in using the military option against Iran again in face of such opposition.

All in all, the world is entering into uncharted waters where uncertainty reigns supreme.

To comprehend the contemporary international diplomatic chessboard, it is incumbent to delve into the following issues:

- China – US – Russia triangle, which is pregnant with immense challenges for the entire world community;
- North Korea nuclear issue;
- Iranian strategic superiority in the Middle-east;
- Declining democracy.

#### **China – US – Russia**

“Powers such as China and Russia are challenging the global predominance of the United States and its allies and while great-power war is not inevitable, states are systematically preparing for the possibility of conflict”.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, the China-Russia-US triangle is of immense significance as assessed in the report by The International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS). The report also said that if appropriate measures were not taken then it might also be possible that the advanced countries which are rapidly progressing in defense mechanism could surpass the US. On the other hand, the Russia – China alliance is quite intractable where the two mostly found common ground to accomplish their political and economic interests. Like in the case of Syria, Iran, North Korea and others. This common stance is largely aimed at the US policy.<sup>10</sup>

The two countries share a very close working relationship that goes to the highest official echelons. Recently, China hosted a summit of the Shanghai

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<sup>9</sup> The Military Balance: The Annual Assessment of Global Military Capabilities and Defence Economics, Press Launch 14<sup>th</sup> February 2018 (London: The International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), 2018), 1. Available at <https://www.iiss.org/-/media/.../the-military-balance-2018-press-statement.pdf?la=en>, accessed March 10, 2018.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

Cooperation Organization (SCO), an organisation that typifies Sino-Russian diplomatic congruity.

At the same time, the US President Donald Trump projected his country's vision. According to him, these countries (Russia and China) "challenge American power, influence and interests, attempting to erode American security and prosperity". In addition they "are determined to make economies less free and less fair, to grow their militaries, and to control information and data to repress their societies and expand their influence". However, China and Russia both rejected the criticism and highlighted the US' inability to cope up with the multi-polar world.<sup>11</sup>

### **North Korea**

The North Korean nuclear ambitions have been dominating the world headlines for a considerable period. Lately, the Pacific security architecture has come under severe strains. In his New Year address, the North Korean supremo Kim Jong-un boasted his nuclear strength and threatened that button is "always on my table".<sup>12</sup> Amazingly, the US President retaliated with a tweet that said, "North Korean Leader Kim Jong Un just stated that the "Nuclear Button is on his desk at all times." Will someone from his depleted and food starved regime please inform him that I too have a Nuclear Button, but it is a much bigger & more powerful one than his, and my Button works!"<sup>13</sup>

Here too there are deep diplomatic cleavages. China and Russia do not like to see trouble in the Pacific. They are also varying of Pyonyang's nuclear ambitions but they would not prefer any US military intervention in their backyard. Washington on its part has to come up with a plan that not only ensures its security but also of its allies namely, South Korea and Japan.

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Available at <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/12/north-korea-united-states-a-history/> accessed March 11, 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Available at <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/948355557022420992> accessed March 11, 2018.

The officials in the Trump administration have stated straightforwardly that “all options are on the table, “including the option of using military force to “denuclearize”.<sup>14</sup>

It is pertinent to mention that the recent meeting between President Trump and the North Korean leader Kim Jong-un in Singapore has opened the door to new possibilities. Although it is too early to pass any judgment, the diplomatic maneuverings in the region suggest that a realignment of sorts may be in the offing.

### **Iran**

The ouster of Saddam and his Ba’ath Party in 2003 immensely strengthened Iranian hand in the region. Through its regional allies, Tehran could now project power as far as the Mediterranean. Simultaneously, Iranian nuclear ambitions alarmed its adversaries in the region. The US declared the country part of the ‘Axis of Evil’. A sanctions regime was formulated to compel Iran to abandon its enrichment program. In this regard, Russia and China have tried to ease the stress on Iran by engaging it in a multilateral mechanism. Therefore, despite US’ withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, Beijing and Moscow have vowed to uphold the agreement. It is another sector where they are operating in tandem.

### **Declining democracy**

Last but not the least the trend that the new world order is going to face is the decline in democracy. Democracy that has ruled the world so long, (not debating on its real status) that has cherished the so called champions of democracy and human rights is now appearing as a doomed queen. Countries like Thailand and Turkey are falling into authoritarian trap. European states like France, Austria, Germany, Britain and Netherlands felt an extreme shift of voters from traditional extreme of left/right wings to comparatively advanced and liberal ideologies.<sup>15</sup> Similarly US itself found to

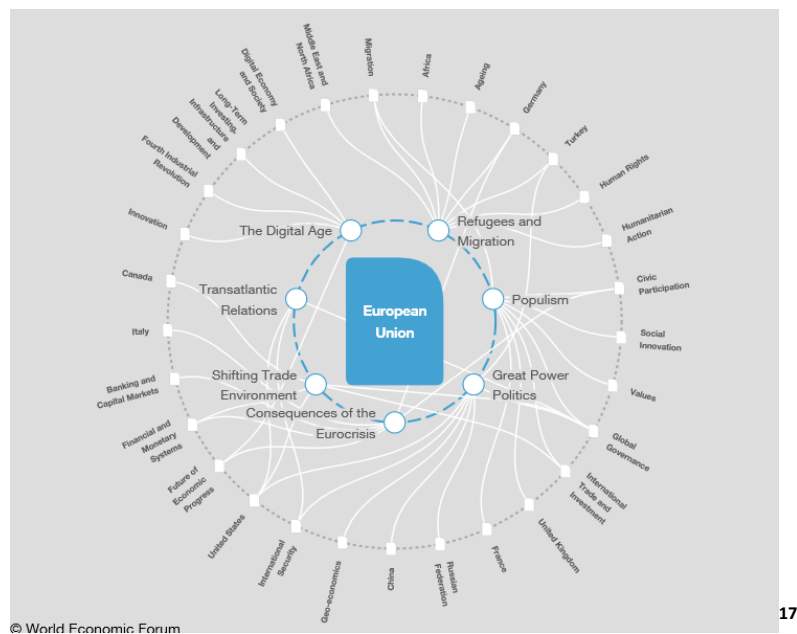
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<sup>14</sup> Andrew Feickert et al., The North Korean Nuclear Challenge: Military Options and Issues for Congress, Summary, Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report, November 6, 2017, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R44994.pdf> accessed March 11, 2018.

<sup>15</sup> Available at <https://www.cfr.org/blog/seven-foreign-policy-stories-watch-2018> accessed March 12, 2018.

be in a practice of “flawed democracy”.<sup>16</sup> However regimes like China and Russia are doing *every good* to regulate the world in authoritarian mode. Hence, struggling to undermine the promotion of democracy around the world.

To conclude, the international politics is entering in a new phase where the imminent challenges as discussed above are on the desk to shape the new trends in foreign policy. Europe in turn has to see its own institutional structure and policy mechanism to compete the world. The new trends in European foreign policy are therefore in turn will be the outcome from the in-depth analysis of emerging trends in international foreign policy arena.



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### New Trends in EU Foreign Policy

Federica Mogherini remarked at the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) Annual Conference in 2015 that, “I want a strategy that

<sup>16</sup> Available at <https://www.cnn.com/2017/01/25/us-is-no-longer-a-full-democracy-eiu-warns.html> accessed March 12, 2018.

<sup>17</sup> World Economic Forum, Mapping Global Transformations. Available at <https://toplink.weforum.org/knowledge/insight/a1Gb0000000LHMsEAO/explore/summary> accessed March 12, 2018.



responds to the ideas, the fears, and even the dreams of the European citizens, the young and the older generations".<sup>18</sup>

European Union being a family of nations faces even more challenges than an individual country. Yet, the main foreign policy challenges faced by the EU are more or less same as faced by the international community. The world is moving towards extremely uncertainty where preservation of national interests is far more important than collective interests, where the authoritarian regimes are getting stronger and national democracies are lagging behind, and where the multilateralism has become the norm of the day. The changing geo-political context, power balance, alliance system, fiscal dynamics and technological advancements all pose serious threats to the world today, and the EU is no exception.

The main foreign policy trends in EU for the year 2018 are as follows:

### **Brexit**

The exit process of Britain from the EU is popularly known as Brexit. It is scheduled to be accomplished on March 29, 2019. The referendum held on June 23, 2016. The majority voted (51.9%) in favor of Brexit while out of 30 million people who took part in voting, 48.1% polled against it.<sup>19</sup> Moreover it is about the future of EU citizens living in UK, and the UK citizens living in EU countries. In addition economists showed their concern about the heavy cost to be bear from both the sides. For the integrated ventures between both the countries are likely to affect heavily the economic sectors of both the UK and EU member countries, the level although differ according to the nature of business they engage in. Hence to avoid such mess, they decided to have a transition period for about two years or so to settle down all affairs on usual course.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, Theresa May the prime minister of UK seems quite hard in her decisions for Brexit, for she wants it to be quick and hard without taking a glimpse of its adverse effects. Free market exit is also a matter to think, for if Britain makes its exit from here as well then it will cause serious problems and challenge for

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<sup>18</sup> Federica Mogherini, 2015. Available at <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/sabine-selchow/mogherini-s-european-union-in-changing-global-environment-discursi> accessed March 12, 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887> accessed March 12, 2018.

<sup>20</sup> Available at <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/01/the-six-issues-that-will-shape-the-eu-in-2017/> accessed March 12, 2018.

EU. In this regard EU needs to make certain changes to its trade policies. In addition a long term strategy should be developed to cater all these issues and imminent risk and potential loss to EU economy. Therefore Brexit is not only the recent trend but a severe issue or challenge for EU in the upcoming years therefore EU need to devise specific and significant amendments in its common foreign and security policy (CFSP) structure to secure its member states' interests and to take lead in the continent.

### **Refugee crisis**

Another trend that has captured the focus of EU foreign policy experts is refugee or illegal migrant flow into the EU member states. This problem is not new. The EU has been tackling the migration influx for many years. However, the recent 'EU- Turkey refugee deal' is at the same time diplomatic and controversial. A deal was signed in Brussels between the EU and Turkey on March 18, 2016.<sup>21</sup> It aimed to check the illegal or irregular migration flow to Europe. Hence it was agreed between both the parties that:

- Every person arrived irregularly at Greek islands will be returned to Turkey.
- For every Syrian returned to Turkey will be resettled in EU on 1:1 basis.
- EU will provide financial aid of about €3bn to Turkey for the settlement of refugees.
- Turkey will also be facilitated in providing a visa free travel to Europe.
- The case of Turkey membership in EU will also be revitalized.<sup>22</sup>

EU reported a 97% drop out in irregular arrivals while a considerable decrease in death rate at sea also noticed. This deal is regarded as a "comprehensive approach on migration"<sup>23</sup> from the European Union.

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<sup>21</sup> Available at [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/eu\\_turkey\\_statement\\_17032017\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/eu_turkey_statement_17032017_en.pdf) accessed March 13, 2018.

<sup>22</sup> Available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35854413> accessed March 14, 2018.

<sup>23</sup> Available at [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/eu\\_turkey\\_statement\\_17032017\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/eu_turkey_statement_17032017_en.pdf) accessed March 13, 2018.

However, it is severely criticized by the human rights organizations, including Amnesty international and common European and Turkish nationals. Widespread protests were seen in different European countries against this fragile deal and was taken as EU turning its back on the refugee crisis. John Dalhuisen, Director Amnesty International for Europe and Central Asia argued, "Promises to respect international and European law appear suspiciously like sugar-coating the cyanide pill that refugee protection in Europe has just been forced to swallow."<sup>24</sup> The ground realities state another catastrophe for the migrants or refugees. A Greece researcher Kondylia Gogou from Amnesty International reported, "On the Greek islands the harrowing human cost of the deal is laid".<sup>25</sup> There is a visible contradiction in what EU reported in its official documents and what was reported by human rights institutions in their reports. People are dying in unhealthy and filthy conditions in the refugee camps; with no proper provision of food, health and security.

On the other hand, Turkey is also not very comfortable with the deal. It holds that the EU is not fulfilling the conditions agreed in the deal. The relationship does not appear promising and may not last long.

### **EU global strategy**

The year 2016 brought a new frame work for Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), termed as European Global Strategy (EUGS). It aims to develop coherence among member states to face the challenges in the outside world. Ironically the foremost challenge facing by EU is inside the Union, i.e. the need to acquire coherence and cooperation among member states and the institutions so that the relations of the Union with the outside world should become smooth and constructive. Hence cases like Ukraine, Syria, Cyprus and several other minor ongoing conflicts around the globe specially in the neighborhood could only be solve with the coherent approach, and strong and committed CFSP.

In the face of changing global dynamics particularly in the field of security and defense EU decided to activate its "sleeping beauty of the Lisbon

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<sup>24</sup> Available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/03/eu-turkey-refugee-deal-a-historic-blow-to-rights/> accessed March 14, 2018.

<sup>25</sup> Available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/03/the-eu-turkey-deal-europes-year-of-shame/> accessed March 14, 2018.

Treaty”<sup>26</sup> (Articles 42 (6) and 46) under its EUGS. Namely ‘Permanent Structured Cooperation’ (PESCO). It is a treaty based framework signed by 25 member states to cope up with the changing security concerns around the world. Federica Mogherini, High Representative and Vice President of the Commission, said in this regard: “We have activated a Permanent Structured Cooperation on Defense – ambitious and inclusive. Member States have committed to join forces on a regular basis, to do things together, spend together, invest together, buy together, and act together. The possibilities of the Permanent Structured Cooperation are immense”.<sup>27</sup> Thus this new trend has given an additional outlook to an economic and political union, as of a defense union. Nevertheless the challenges to take up this new task amidst the big giants like NATO and US is still to see.

### **Changing globe**

In the upcoming years new world order is emerging which inhabits with the closer alliance of EU with China. Moreover Russia is also rapidly gaining foot in the global affairs directly countering US. This new system is quite different from the previous one hence EU needs to frame new strategies to survive the change.

Conclusively EU is facing some new trends in its foreign policy area listing from Brexit with possible economic turn over, migration or refugee crisis, changing world order, to PESCO- a new mechanism to ensure greater coherence and cooperation among member states in the area of security and defense.

### **Loop holes in EU foreign policy mechanism**

In the rapidly changing geopolitical context where authoritarian regimes are gaining hold and power politics is the ruling trend, EU is still struggling with its petty issues of foreign policy. Though an international player yet always hampered by its faulty foreign policy mechanism where the division of power or authority is still overlapping between member states and the institutions. Moreover among member states there exist divergent interests and lack of coordination regarding various international issues.

<sup>26</sup> Available at [https://twitter.com/JunckerEU/status/940175532196589568?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Etfw&ref\\_url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.dw.com%2Fen%2Ftwenty-five-eu-states-sign-pesco-defense-pact%2Fa-41741828](https://twitter.com/JunckerEU/status/940175532196589568?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw&ref_url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.dw.com%2Fen%2Ftwenty-five-eu-states-sign-pesco-defense-pact%2Fa-41741828) accessed March 19, 2018.

<sup>27</sup> Available at [https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/34226/permanent-structured-cooperation-pesco-factsheet\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/34226/permanent-structured-cooperation-pesco-factsheet_en) accessed March 19, 2018.

Hence ineffective decision making and passive behavior prevail as a norm of the day. Since the inception of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, European Union foreign policy is struggling with its drawbacks. Although Lisbon introduced many significant changes, still some areas need to be improved which are broadly categorized into two forms.

### **Member States**

European Union is composed of 28 member states; paradoxically it is still just member states not a 'Union'. The basic reason for this is the national interests that surpass the collective vision. EU countries differ in their vision and perspective to see world issues and their national interests block their collective approach in international affairs. It is due to the fact that they may share common aims being a Union but all of these have their own national interests which are divergent and diversified in nature for instance "special relationships with outside powers, particular regional interests, competition for economic gains, or internal political constraints."<sup>28</sup> For example in case of western Balkans when all the member states supported for Balkans' accession except Greece, Croatia and Romania who have the point to settle their bilateral disputes with Western Balkans before accession to the EU. Then paradoxically minority won over majority. This is how usually EU foreign policy decisions wavered among the member states diverging interests. In addition many a times member states do not show their willingness to accept the responsibility in concrete terms, and leave others to bear the burden while certain other times some member states do not even have a foreign policy other than their own national or regional foreign policy. Hence lacking in military or financial tools they assume the passive status and failed to respond in international crisis.

Similarly another reason behind in coherent approach of EU foreign policy is lack of European public. That means every international challenge is viewed by the eye of 80 million residents of Germany or let's say 20 million of some other country hence calculate the consequences for the same limited nationals. However 500 million citizens of EU stand nowhere, therefore the foreign policy decisions taken in accordance with the state's

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<sup>28</sup> Stefan Lehne, *Is There Hope For EU Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2017), 11, Available at [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP\\_322\\_Lehne\\_EU1.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_322_Lehne_EU1.pdf) accessed March 20, 2018.

approach not with the mindset of the Union for countries like Cyprus, Hungary, Poland and Greece block any decision which doesn't favor them.

<sup>29</sup> Hence it is obvious that member states denied the Union to take over the foreign policy area and stuck to their own foreign policy concerns without bothering about the EU's strategic vision in the outside world.

Due to the above discussed reasons EU foreign and security policy lacks the potential to let the Union act as an effective international player. Especially in the changing dynamics of today's geopolitical force EU needs to develop an extended and coherent foreign policy and enhanced cooperation among member states at different levels.

### ***Institutions***

Institutions in any country or in an organization like EU are the lawful administration of affairs. Therefore, they are crucial for harmony and peace. They are in this sense above the national differences and represent the entire union or organization. Unfortunately, the EU foreign policy mechanism has always been hampered by an unending warfare between institutions and member states. The Lisbon treaty addressed these issues in 2009 by introducing the post of High Representative, and further empowered it by providing an additional crown of Vice President of the European Commission (EC) and the right to chair European Union Council meetings for foreign affairs. Moreover, the creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS), a purely administrative body exclusively managing CFSP matters. The EEAS is composed of officials and diplomats from the institutions and member states respectively. Hence, provide a platform for healthy and effective coordination between the two. Nevertheless, the whole effort could not suffice to overcome the dispute between member states and EU institutions. Member states still vote by unanimity in all foreign policy matters and override EU's institutions including EEAS, they behave more as a nation state than a Union. Hence EU diplomacy is just no less than a national affair.

It matters a lot that the competent leadership is taking foreign policy decisions. As after Lisbon Treaty the role is assigned to High Representative, EEAS, presidents of European Council and Commission. Union's daily basis operations run by EEAS and the High Representative

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, 11-12.

while they need proper financial backup that supposedly come from member states.<sup>30</sup>

European Commission has a significant influence in many external affairs and the instruments running it. For instance, in case of Eastern Europe the Commission insisted to conclude the association agreements, which became one of the reasons of clash with Russia.<sup>31</sup> European Council could also play an important role in foreign policy area yet mostly limited itself to bilateral or multilateral executive meetings.

The limited performance of EU institutions is highly influenced and interfered by the member states that assume a role of informal leader. It is because they constituent diplomatic and military resources of EU, they also establish extensive intelligence network around the globe and reserve their presence in special global circles.<sup>32</sup> Even among the entire member states power goes in the hands of few big giants though EU grants equal sovereignty to all member states however size matters most.

Painful to know, that EU member states take EU no more than as a platform where they can find the way to fulfill their own foreign policy objectives. Therefore may be some times they act individually or some another times make coalition but outside EU structure. Big states usually take EU as an agent to ease their ways in perusing their national interests. They only get involve in EU processes as per their necessities like in applying sanctions or so. These aspects deteriorate EU's performance in world affairs.<sup>33</sup>

These internal divisions and lack of coordination among member states and the EU institutions is not good for Union's image on international forum. For instance China took stage in place of EU in several matters and it was just due to the diversified interests of the EU member states which failed to project a coherent approach. It is well illustrated by the 16+1 annual

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 13.

<sup>31</sup> Charles Grant, "Is the EU Responsible for the Crisis in Ukraine?", Center for European Reform, May 26, 2016, Available at <http://www.cer.eu/in-the-press/eu-responsible-crisis-ukraine> accessed March 27, 2018.

<sup>32</sup> Stefan Lehne, "The Big Three in EU Foreign Policy," Carnegie Europe, July 5, 2012, Available at <http://carnegieeurope.eu/2012/07/05/big-three-in-eu-foreign-policy-pub-48759>. Accessed March 27, 2018.

<sup>33</sup> Stefan Lehne, *Is There Hope For EU Foreign Policy*, 14.

summits held between Central and Eastern European countries and China. Hence Beijing was allowed to play its part at EU's place while member states were just busy in following their own national goals. This paralyzing effect of EU also favors the free play by US in European foreign policy affairs. Hence its influence in the decision making at home and abroad cannot be denied.<sup>34</sup>

In addition Donald Trump's government denied EU the status of a leader<sup>35</sup> for it considers EU too feeble and meek to be a leader.

While summing up, it is important to see on part of member states, whether this individuality while remain in a Union is how far productive or beneficial? Certainly this isolation will throw EU countries in an abyss where the risk of being marginalized in international politics is quite imminent and obvious. If the conditions prevail then it will not be wrong if said "No EU country will be in the G7 by 2050".<sup>36</sup>

### Way Forward

Foreign policy was not that trigger which initiated the process of European integration for the very first time back in 1950's. However it has become the most important concern for the EU to play its international role because foreign policy is the core area through which a country deals a number of its external affairs with rest of the world. Hence the incoherent and divided rather tattered European foreign policy is the most current crisis in EU that needs to be addressed on immediate basis for it has become the reason of Europe's undermined position in an international arena. Analyzing Europe's position as an international actor in current scenario, Angela Merkel- the German Chancellor, in an interview said that

<sup>34</sup> Catherine Gegout, "The Quint: Acknowledging the Existence of a Big Four – US Directoire at the Heart of the European Union's Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, no. 2 (June 2002): 331–34. Available at <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/1468-5965.00357> Accessed March 27, 2018.

<sup>35</sup> Stefan Lehne and Heather Grabbe, "Donald Trump: Europe's Ultimate Wake-Up Call", *Euro news*, January 18, 2017, Available at <http://www.euronews.com/2017/01/18/donald-trump-europe-s-ultimate-wake-up-call> accessed March 29, 2018.

<sup>36</sup> John Hawks Worth, Hannah Audino, and Rob Clarry, "The Long View: How Will the Global Economic Order Change by 2050?" (London: PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2017), Available at <https://www.pwc.com/gx/en/world-2050/assets/pwc-the-world-in-2050-full-report-feb-2017.pdf>. Accessed March 27, 2018.



‘to forge a coherent foreign policy’ is a major challenge for EU in the recent times.<sup>37</sup>

Therefore to deal with this Herculean task this paper offers few suggestions in order to improve the overall architecture of EU foreign policy.

- 1) The fundamental aspect of the Union is the integration and the supranationalism so much so that all member states should share their trust, confidence, strength and solidarity in order to overcome the national interests and priorities in favor of Union’s concerns and should project the wholesome and unified image in the world. In this regard Council should engage member states in some specific tasks setting for them a common objective initially at regional level. This collaborative working between institutions and the member states will eventually develop a sense of unity hence will fortify the overall EU foreign policy mechanism.
- 2) EU’s use of soft power as a diplomatic tool and its urge for more lawful solutions in global crisis management is outdated for the world today and ahead is the place where the concept of nationalism appears to supersede others. Hence the aggressive powers like Russia and US also seek for the same kind of diplomacy. EU therefore amidst this environment needs to build suitable alliances with the countries like China, India, Australia, Canada or Japan which are still operating a multilateral order.<sup>38</sup> These alliances could let the EU behave more strongly in a system of global governance and play its part as a leading international actor. Current scenario speaks high of ‘nation state politics’ where it is really hard to survive with soft power implications and lacking military capabilities hence the organizations like EU if not improved by the time will have no future and its member states in turn will have to pay the heavy cost for it.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Esther King, “Angela Merkel: Europe Needs Coherent Foreign Policy,” *Politico Europe*, September 10, 2017, Available at <https://www.politico.eu/article/angela-merkel-europe-needs-coherent-foreign-policy/> Accessed March 26, 2018.

<sup>38</sup> Stefan Lehne, 17.

<sup>39</sup> Kelly Swanson, “Read: Trump’s Full Speech to the UN General Assembly”, *Vox*, September 19, 2017. Available at <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/9/19/16333290/trump-full-speech-transcript-un-general-assembly>, accessed March 26, 2018.

- 3) EU is in dire need to have a new political insight, which should be comprehensive enough to project common vision among member states about Europe's role in global affairs. It is also necessary for the EU to realize its geo-political stance and its importance as a major international power which could have its own interests like US or Russia. This political vision will give EU a new thought that will project its strength and helps it to deal the matters with a safeguard approach of its interests and motives. Crisis like Ukraine has sent a negative signal to the world about EU foreign policy, because of its needless confrontation with the regional partner like Russia. So the immediate need is to plan a long term strategy which could work with the approach of commonality in vision, mission and interests.<sup>40</sup>
- 4) Under Lisbon treaty, EEAS and high representative still needs the working apparatus to bridge the gap between institutions and member states. The Union's daily functioning is greatly hampered by the lack of working principles. Since EEAS is not an independent agency nor has it a legal capacity required to process the decisions, therefore it follows the process either through the Commission or through the Council of EU. Hence, the need arises for the establishment of proper working rules at administrative level where EEAS and the latter should work in collaboration in order to ensure smooth decision making.
- 5) The EU should make its foreign policy structure flexible enough to allow member states act independently in the interest of the EU. This increased capacity in foreign policy mechanism could work in much wider and practical manner. Like in 2015, during the Ukraine crisis when German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President François Holland struck an understanding to stop war in Eastern Ukraine. In doing so, they did not undermine the supranational consensus. Instead, their bilateral approach enhanced it.
- 6) Finally it's time for Europe to realize the ground realities Europe should accept this fact that not all the conflicts in the region could be settled by it, for it does not possesses the required potential in

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<sup>40</sup> Pierre Vimont, *The Path to an Upgraded EU Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2015), 5 Available at [carnegieendowment.org/files/Vimont\\_EU\\_Foreign\\_Policy\\_Posting.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/Vimont_EU_Foreign_Policy_Posting.pdf) Accessed March 26, 2018.

terms of financial and other capabilities. Hence, to focus on the affairs at which the EU has an upper hand, and to leave the rest will be the wisest approach.

**Conclusion**

The changing global order and its day to day dynamics where the voices of globalization are dying away and the air is now filled with new breeze echoing the music of nation state democracy, which hardly has anything democratic in it. The power politics has come back in the new world order. Powers like Russia and China are ready to pose serious threat to long cherishing US monopoly in international politics. The new environment is equally challenging for Europe. Hence, the already divided and shaggy European foreign policy structure needs some careful and cautious crafting of its mechanism to cope up the changing dynamics of the world. The new political system puts some serious questions on EU credibility as an international actor, urging it to secure its survival on the face of planet.