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Explaining Euro-Paralysis

**Why Europe is Unable to Act
in International Politics**

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Acknowledgments

This study has taken many unexpected turns from its inception in 1994. It started as a short analysis of Europe's handling of the nuclear proliferation issue and developed into a comprehensive analysis of the Union's common foreign and security policy. The study was supposed to be accomplished during my one-year sabbatical in Oxford, but it went on for nearly four years, following me back to Leiden, and then to Florence, where I assumed a new position in January 1996. I started this study with Europe's traditional foreign policy agenda and ended with an agenda dominated by cultural and democratic items. I began with a great dose of confidence, but ended with more questions than answers. I intended to develop a comprehensive European strategy for the next millennium, but in the end I decided to recommend only two basic measures: that the Union should fix its ever-shifting borders and that it should dispose of its military aspirations. In my judgment all these changes and turns proved to be for the better rather than for the worse and were chiefly due to the splendid academic environments I encountered at each of the three different institutions. True, the pace and scope of events in Europe kept me permanently alert. The mushrooming literature on the subject was ever inspiring. But the fact that I was given a lot of freedom and resources to accomplish this work has been of fundamental importance, not to mention the rich intellectual environments in which I was able to conduct my research. I am therefore indebted to several individuals and institutions.

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Florence,
January 15, 1998

List of Abbreviations

CFE Treaty	Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Forces
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
CSBM	Confidence- and Security-Building Measure
CSCE	Conference of Security and Cooperation
DG	Directorate General
EC	European Community
EDC	European Defense Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Area
EMS	European Monetary System
EMU	European Monetary Union
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ERM	Exchange Rate Mechanism
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ESDI	European Defense and Security Identity
EU	European Union
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
FCO	Foreign Commonwealth Office
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPT	Nuclear Proliferation Treaty
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SEA	Single European Act
TEU	Treaty on European Union
UN	United Nations
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	World Trade Organization