ABSTRACTS

Joachim Schild
The Victory of Fear – the failed French Referendum on the Constitutional Treaty

With the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, a precedent was set in France for ratifying extensive treaty reform by referendum. Further supranational integration via the project to establish a „Constitution for Europe", however, failed not merely because of a camp of ‚national-sovereigntists' but equally because of support for a ‚pro-European No'. By closely analysing how the French referendum actually came about as well as the long-term, deeper motives that ultimately led to the rejection of the constitutional treaty, this article makes clear the wider European crisis behind the crisis of ratification. The issues raised, the ideological divides, and especially the line of conflict that the French referendum drew on further enlargement, all point to the supposition that a critical turning point has been reached. Namely, that the expanded EU has not only lost its appeal as an object of identification, but is also increasingly running the risk of becoming a scapegoat for future anxieties.

René Schwok and Stephan Bloetzer
Approaching the Union instead of Full Accession? Switzerland and the EU after the Second Package of Bilateral Treaties

On 26 October 2004, the Swiss Confederation and the European Union signed a second package of bilateral treaties. This sparked a heated debate in Switzerland with the agreement to accede to the Schengen/Dublin system even being put to a referendum on 5 June 2005. The second set of bilateral treaties, however, are somewhat of a paradox: while bringing Switzerland closer to the EU, they simultaneously distance it from the prospect of full membership. One example of this is the Agreement on Interest Taxation. While facilitating relations between Switzerland and the Union on the important area of bank secrecy, it subsequently also makes membership less interesting. As a consequence, the government and also Swiss banks will in future think twice about joining the EU, for accession negotiations would lead to increased pressure to give up Switzerland's bank secrecy. Acceding to the Union therefore also has a price. That is why, with every step towards closer bilateral relations with the EU, Switzerland paradoxically drifts further away from full membership.

Hans-Georg Ehrhart
The EU as a Civil-Military Crisis Manager: Between Reality and Aspiration

Since the establishment of the European Security and Defence Policy in 1999, the EU has embarked on a path that has seen it develop into a civil-military actor in international crisis management. With this development in mind, this article examines how the Union has operated as a crisis manager. The focus, however, is not on its activities in the crisis regions themselves, but rather on the complexity of the decision-making processes. Following a brief examination of the EU's ‚actorness', the article looks at the structures, processes and problems facing the EU in its role as crisis manager. A number of plans and proposals for reform are then examined in order to assess future prospects for the Union in this role. The article comes to the conclusion that one major challenge facing the EU in its attempt to develop a more effective role as a civil-military crisis manager is the need for better institutional coherence. Faced with many real problems in the 21st century, structures and processes will need to be found that go beyond the current reform proposals. Only then will the European Union be able to realise its aspiration of creating a secure Europe in a safer world.

Waldemar Hummer
The Union and its Neighbours: Neighbourhood Policy before and after the Constitutional Treaty

According to Article I-57, Paragraph 1 of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, the EU „shall develop a special relationship with neighbouring countries". On the one hand, this helps create a ‚ring of friends' or ‚puffer zone' around the Union's borders; on the other hand – and as far as it concerns 'European' states – it offers an attractive alternative to accession. All in all, this applies to 16 countries with a combined population of over 400 million people. The only exceptions are the five countries of the western Balkans (Albania, Bosnia-Herzigovina, FYROM, Croatia, and Serbia & Montenegro), which were granted the chance of accession in the Thessalonica Agenda of June 2003. In terms of substance, the neighbourhood countries have been offered the opportunity of „sharing everything with the EU but institutions", or, in other words, the opportunity of substantial economic cooperation without their involvement in the decision-making bodies.

Klaus Scharioth
New Security Challenges and the International Role of Europe

New security challenges have led the EU to assume strategic responsibility in post-Cold War crisis management. Since the launch of the European Security and Defence Policy in 1999, the EU has developed a wide range of military and civilian crisis management capabilities to this end. In 2003, the EU has launched some first military and civilian ESDP operations and has adopted the European Security Strategy. Recent developments in the area of ESDP include, inter alia, the establishment of the European Defence Agency, the decisions on battle groups, the launch of EUJUST Themis in Georgia and ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzigovina, the 2010 Headline Goal and the further improvement of civilian crisis management capabilities.

Jackson Janes
Security and Power in the Transatlantic Relationship

The problem in defining global security is the fact that the world is full of imbalances and asymmetries. For the foreseeable future, the United States will remain the most powerful player, whereas the transatlantic links are the strongest the U.S. has within this web. The challenge today for transatlantic relations is to understand that our mutual security is threatened primarily by factors outside the framework of US-EU relations. And it is the particular region of the Middle East that holds the most dangers. At the same time, as the perception of security differs between the respective domestic debates on either side of the Atlantic, there is fertile ground for friction. Just as we need to revise our thinking shaped by the experiences in the Cold War, we also need to revise our understanding of our goals and our self-perceptions.

Mathias Jopp and Gesa-S. Kuhle
Ways out of the Constitutional Crisis – The EU after the failed Referendums in France and the Netherlands

What consequences can be drawn from the failed referendums in France and the Netherlands for the future of the Constitutional Treaty (CT)? Three factors played a role: first, the rejection of national politics; second, discontent with European politics; and, only in third position, criticism of aspects of the CT itself. In this article, the authors recommend taking the anxieties and fears of the EU's citizens seriously. This entails pursuing pro-active European policies of economic growth and employment, which would lower the risk of rejection in further referendums; considerably strengthening public support for Europe at the national level; and the establishment by the European Council of a high-level reflection group in 2006, to analyse prospects for ratification and if necessary propose further options to ensure approval of the CT.