



EUROPEAN  
COMMISSION

Community research

## **EU RESEARCH ON SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES**

***Foreign Policy Governance in Europe –  
Research Network Modernising, Widening  
and Deepening Research on a Vital Pillar of  
the EU***

***FORNET***

## Interested in European research?

**Research\*eu** is our monthly magazine keeping you in touch with main developments (results, programmes, events, etc.). It is available in English, French, German and Spanish. A free sample copy or free subscription can be obtained from:

European Commission  
Directorate-General for Research  
Communication Unit  
B-1049 Brussels  
Fax (32-2) 29-58220  
E-mail: [research-eu@ec.europa.eu](mailto:research-eu@ec.europa.eu)  
Internet: <http://ec.europa.eu/research/research-eu>

## EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Directorate-General for Research  
Directorate L — Science, economy and society  
B-1049 Brussels  
Fax (32-2) 2994462

<http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences>  
[http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/cooperation/socio-economic\\_en.html](http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/cooperation/socio-economic_en.html)

# EU RESEARCH ON SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

## Foreign Policy Governance in Europe – Research Network Modernising, Widening and Deepening Research on a Vital Pillar of the EU

### FORNET

Final report

HPSE-CT-2002-50020

Funded under the Key Action  
'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' of FP5

DG Research  
European Commission

Issued in  
March 2006

#### Coordinator of project:

Centre for International Studies, University of Cambridge  
(formerly of) London School of Economics and Political Science  
United Kingdom  
Professor Christopher Hill  
[www.fornet.info](http://www.fornet.info)

#### Partners:

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, ES, Prof. Esther Barbe  
Trans European Policy Studies Associations, Brussels, BE, Prof. Christian Franck  
University of Cologne, DE, Renate Arlinghaus  
University of Vienna, AT, Prof. Hanspeter Neuhold  
Université Catholique de Louvain, BE, Prof. Tanguy De Wilde D'Estmael  
Bulgarian European Community Studies Association, Sofia, BG, Krassimir Nikolov  
Cyprus Institute for Mediterranean, European and International Studies, Nicosia, CY, Prof. Dr Costas Melakopides  
Institute of International Relations, CZ  
Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen, DK, Christian-Marius Stryken  
Estonian Foreign Policy Institute, Tallinn, EE, Dr Andres Kasekamp  
Institut fuer Europaeische Politik, Berlin, DE, Dr Mathias Jopp  
Greek Centre of European Studies and Research, Athens, EL, Nikos Frangakis  
Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Helsinki, FI, Dr Tapani Vaahtoranta  
Institut français des relations internationales, Paris, FR, Prof. Philippe Moireau Defarges  
Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Budapest, HU, Zoltan Galik  
University College Dublin, IE  
Istituto Affari Interzazionali, Roma, IT, Prof. Gianni Bonvicini  
University of Malta, Malta (Left Summer 2005)  
Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Den Haag, NL, Prof. Jan Rood  
European Centre Natolin, PL  
Institute for Strategic and International Studies, Lisbon, PT, Dr Álvaro Vasconcelos  
University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, SI, Dr Zlatko Sabic  
Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, SE, Gunilla Herolf  
Turkish Universities Association in EC Studies, Istanbul, TR, Prof. Haluk Kabaalioglu

***EUROPE DIRECT is a service to help you find answers  
to your questions about the European Union***

Freephone number(\*):  
**00 800 6 7 8 9 10 11**

(\* Certain mobile telephone operators do not allow access to 00 800 numbers  
or these calls may be billed

## **LEGAL NOTICE**

Neither the European Commission nor any person acting on behalf of the Commission is responsible for the use which might be made of the following information.

The views expressed in this publication are the sole responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission.

A great deal of additional information on the European Union is available on the Internet.  
It can be accessed through the Europa server (<http://europa.eu>).

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication.

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2007

ISBN 978-92-79-07743-2

© European Communities, 2007

Reproduction is authorised provided the source is acknowledged.

*Printed in Belgium*

PRINTED ON WHITE CHLORINE-FREE PAPER

## Preface

Within the Fifth Community RTD Framework Programme of the European Union (1998–2002), the Key Action 'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' had broad and ambitious objectives, namely: to improve our understanding of the structural changes taking place in European society, to identify ways of managing these changes and to promote the active involvement of European citizens in shaping their own futures. A further important aim was to mobilise the research communities in the social sciences and humanities at the European level and to provide scientific support to policies at various levels, with particular attention to EU policy fields.

This Key Action had a total budget of EUR 155 million and was implemented through three Calls for proposals. As a result, 185 projects involving more than 1 600 research teams from 38 countries have been selected for funding and have started their research between 1999 and 2002.

Most of these projects are now finalised and results are systematically published in the form of a Final Report.

The calls have addressed different but interrelated research themes which have contributed to the objectives outlined above. These themes can be grouped under a certain number of areas of policy relevance, each of which are addressed by a significant number of projects from a variety of perspectives.

These areas are the following:

- ***Societal trends and structural change***

16 projects, total investment of EUR 14.6 million, 164 teams

- ***Quality of life of European citizens***

5 projects, total investment of EUR 6.4 million, 36 teams

- ***European socio-economic models and challenges***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 9.3 million, 91 teams

- ***Social cohesion, migration and welfare***

30 projects, total investment of EUR 28 million, 249 teams

- ***Employment and changes in work***

18 projects, total investment of EUR 17.5 million, 149 teams

- ***Gender, participation and quality of life***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.3 million, 97 teams

- ***Dynamics of knowledge, generation and use***

8 projects, total investment of EUR 6.1 million, 77 teams

- ***Education, training and new forms of learning***

14 projects, total investment of EUR 12.9 million, 105 teams

- ***Economic development and dynamics***

22 projects, total investment of EUR 15.3 million, 134 teams

- ***Governance, democracy and citizenship***

28 projects; total investment of EUR 25.5 million, 233 teams

- ***Challenges from European enlargement***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.8 million, 116 teams

- ***Infrastructures to build the European research area***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 15.4 million, 74 teams

This publication contains the final report of the project 'Foreign Policy Governance in Europe –Research Network Modernising, Widening and Deepening Research on a Vital Pillar of the EU', whose work has primarily contributed to the area 'Citizenship, governance and the dynamics of European integration and enlargement'.

The report contains information about the main scientific findings of FORNET and their policy implications. The research was carried out by 26 teams over a period of three years, starting in January 2003.

The abstract and executive summary presented in this edition offer the reader an overview of the main scientific and policy conclusions, before the main body of the research provided in the other chapters of this report.

As the results of the projects financed under the Key Action become available to the scientific and policy communities, Priority 7 'Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society' of the Sixth Framework Programme is building on the progress already made and aims at making a further contribution to the development of a European Research Area in the social sciences and the humanities.

I hope readers find the information in this publication both interesting and useful as well as clear evidence of the importance attached by the European Union to fostering research in the field of social sciences and the humanities.

J.-M. BAER,

Director

## Table of contents

<b>Preface</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>I. Executive Summary</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1. The Approach of FORNET</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>2. Deliverables</b>	<b>12</b>
2.1. Deliverables contributing to the <i>acquis académique</i>	12
2.2. Deliverables on the FORNET Website	13
2.3. Deliverables in working groups	14
2.4. Deliverables: Plenary Meetings and Lectures	15
3. Completion of the project	15
<b>II. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>1. The intellectual ancestry of FORNET</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>2. The problems addressed and their European dimension</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>3. Additional objectives: modernising, deepening &amp; widening research on CFSP</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>4. The Need for a Wider European Network in a Vital Policy Area</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>III. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>1. Description of work undertaken and methodology used</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2. Methodology</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>3. Deliverables contributing to the <i>acquis académique</i></b>	<b>22</b>
3.1. CFSP Watch Reports	22
3.2. Database	24
3.3. Dissemination report	25
3.4. State of the art report	26
3.5. Working Papers and Policy Papers	26
<b>4. Digital Outreach: FORNET Website</b>	<b>26</b>
4.1. Website Design and content	26
4.2. CFSP Forum	27
4.3. Virtual Study Units (VSU)	28
4.4. Discussion Board	29

<b>5. Working Groups: Core research themes</b>	<b>30</b>
5.1. Division of partners	30
5.2. Theories and Approaches on CFSP	30
5.3. The Evolution and Democratic Accountability of CFSP Institutions	32
5.4. CFSP and Enlargement	34
5.5. The Evolution of ESDP	34
5.6. CFSP in Regional Perspective: Dialogue, Crisis Management & Conflict Resolution	35
<b>6. Plenary Network Meeting</b>	<b>37</b>
6.1. Overview	37
6.2. 2003	37
6.3. 2004	38
6.4. 2005	39
<b>7. Guest Lectures</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>IV. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>1. Conclusions</b>	<b>42</b>
1.1. How the state of the art was advanced	42
1.2. Substantive contributions for researchers	43
<b>2. Policy Recommendations</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>V. DISSEMINATION AND EXPLOITATIONS OF RESULTS</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>1. Data on dissemination</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>2. Future Plans</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>VI. ANNEXES</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>1. List of deliverables</b>	<b>52</b>



## Acknowledgements

I should like to thank everyone involved in FORNET for making it so enjoyable and so worthwhile a project, and to wish them all the very best for their future their research. Since one of our objectives was to deepen and widen the membership of the European foreign policy community, I hope that the new members will flourish and continue to participate in such networks in the future.

I should like especially to thank my colleagues in the Steering Group for all of their support in managing the project. They have contributed enormously to its overall intellectual success – that is, Professor Esther Barbé of the Instituto Universitario de Estudios Europeos in the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Professor Christian Franck of the Trans European Policies Study Association (TEPSA) and Professor Wolfgang Wessels of the Jean Monnet Chair for Political Science at the University of Cologne. Each institution has involved additional staff, many of whom have played key roles. Dr Karen E. Smith from the LSE has done an extraordinary job in re-starting the *CFSP FORUM* as an on-line journal, and in establishing it so quickly as a reference source within the discipline. It is a testimony to her professionalism and dedication that she will remain as editor for the foreseeable future, consolidating the considerable success of the Forum achieved in the first three years. Another hugely important person in FORNET is Dr Udo Diedrichs, who was been responsible for the Virtual Study Units that have taken up a considerable amount of his time and energy. He is also responsible for much of the drafting of the original proposal (the technical annex).

In each of the principal partner institutions the senior staff have been assisted by a number of junior colleagues. In Barcelona, Ms Anna Herranz has done much of the work compiling and editing the contributions to the CFSP Database. Ms Mireia Barrachina Plo and Ms Nadège Ricaud at TEPSA have worked tirelessly to organise the annual plenary meetings at the Fondation Universitaire, and their predecessors Ms Barbara Engelstoft and Ms Marlène Arany. At the Jean Monnet Chair in Cologne University Ms. Funda Tekin have been responsible for the editing of the CFSP Watch and gathering data for the annual dissemination reports, as were her predecessors Ms Dorota Pyszna-Nigge and Ms Nadia Klein. They have also worked on the Virtual Study Units to great effect. At LSE the website was designed and managed immaculately by Ms Alison Carter and the network was supported by staff from the Project and Finance department, especially Ms Bhimla Dheeramojee and Ms Alison Karmel. I am most grateful to them all.

The single most important person in running FORNET has been Mr Robert Kissack, its Administrator, who is also a PhD student at LSE. Robert has done a tremendous job,

going well beyond the call of duty and showing a capacity for initiative and for trouble-shooting which I had no right to expect. European foreign policy needs people like him, and all the colleagues mentioned above, to help future studies, and perhaps also to participate in its making.

Professor Christopher Hill

FORNET Coordinator

Centre for International Studies

University of Cambridge

March 2006

## **I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

FORNET consists of 25 research institutions specialising in the field of European Foreign Policy from across the recently enlarged European Union, as well as Bulgaria and Turkey. The objective of the group is to bring together for the first time a network of researchers from across the geographical breadth the EU and build the foundations of a wider, post Enlargement academic community that will play an instrumental role in shaping the debate on European foreign policy during the coming years.

FORNET is coordinated by Professor Christopher Hill. Since during 2005 Professor Hill has been in post as the Sir Patrick Sheehy Professor of International Relations at the Centre for International Studies, University of Cambridge, and the project has been managed from the London School of Economics under the guidance of Dr Karen E Smith. It has run smoothly through the frequent communications between Professor Hill and the LSE. The other members of the Steering Group are Professor Esther Barbé of the Instituto Universitario de Estudios Europeos in the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Professor Christian Franck of the Trans European Policies Study Association (TEPSA) and Professor Wolfgang Wessels of the Jean Monnet Chair for Political Science at the University of Cologne. Dr Karen E Smith (who is editor of the bi-monthly CFSP Forum and the FORNET website) has been assisted by Ms Alison Carter (web design) and Mr Robert Kissack (Administrator), as well as staff in the Project Management department, who provide technical financial assistance for the distribution of funds to the partner organisations. There are other staff members from each of the principal partner institutions involved in the administration of FORNET, including Dr Udo Diedrichs and Ms Funda Tekin in Cologne, Ms Anna Herranz in Barcelona and Ms Mireia Barrachina Plo at TEPSA.

### **1. The Approach of FORNET**

FORNET has three primary aims in its contribution towards furthering the debate on European foreign policy. This first is to modernise the debate by modernising the approach taken to research across the EU and the accession states. Modernisation is taking place through the application of new technology and improving the coordination and distribution of existing research and FORNET harnesses these opportunities in the dissemination of its research and in the coordination of its activities. This is achieved primarily through a dedicated website, ([www.fornet.info](http://www.fornet.info)) where much of the research produced by FORNET is freely available in the public domain.

The second aim is to deepen the mutual understanding of research into European foreign policy. Deepening takes place in new policy areas that remain under-studied at present

and are in constant flux, such as the emergence of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). It is also the aim of FORNET to create networks between historians and political scientists in order to apply new theoretical approaches (such as constructivism) to existing policy areas, thus creating new understandings that complement existing knowledge. This will lead to the creation of a permanent and sustainable structure for exchanging scientific research in a wider Europe.

The final aim of FORNET is to widen participation in the academic debate over European foreign policy by welcoming in new members to the research community. The widening takes place in two dimensions, one geographical and the other generational. FORNET has twenty-five partners across Europe from both EU states and accession states and has designed to allow scholars from both sides to meet and exchange ideas in preparation for the enlarged Europe of 2004. The second dimension of widening is generational and consists of the efforts by FORNET to involve younger researchers from across Europe in the project. This is done on two levels, firstly by working with young academics in various states and also by encouraging graduate students or recently qualified doctoral students to contribute to the various FORNET forums, be they working group presentations, discussion papers, the website bulletin board or in the electronic journal of the project, CFSP Forum.

## **2. Deliverables**

Overall, there has been an extremely high completion rate of the deliverables set out at the beginning of the project. These can be split up into four sections, and each will be briefly mentioned and a summary related activities given.

### **2.1. Deliverables contributing to the *acquis académique***

The deliverables contributing to the *acquis académique* consist of empirical research and discussion papers based on that research contributed by all of the members of the network around a common methodological framework. The contributions have been gathered and are presented as a comparative study in a number of related areas. The material can be classified in two broad groups, those which are annual reports and have a degree of temporal analysis, and those that are individual contributions to the *acquis académique*. Taking first the annual reports, a total of 66 *CFSP Watch Reports* were promised by the package, and currently 54 have been completed. These reports are available on line and give information on the national discourse and parliamentary debate relating to CFSP issues each year.

A similar undertaking is the *CFSP database*, which is a PDF based document containing references to key speeches, white and green papers and other relevant documents concerning the CFSP at the domestic level. Once again, each of the partners of the network was responsible for gathering the data and sending it to the partner responsible (UAB – Barcelona). This deliverable was based on a single questionnaire and was carried out only once. Similarly, a *State of the Art Report* was written and published on the FORNET website in early 2004, representing an overview of the discipline and serving to focus on how FORNET could contribute to the literature. Eight *policy papers* written by both academics and practitioners were published on the FORNET website during the course of the network's three year life and represented an opportunity for more substantial and detailed contributions to the literature to be included in the network's outputs. Finally, the annual *Dissemination Reports* were drafted each year based as an audit of the outputs of the partners over the previous 12 months and allowed the network to appraise its contribution to debate on European foreign policy.

## **2.2. Deliverables on the FORNET Website**

The website ([www.fornet.info](http://www.fornet.info)) was an integral part of FORNET's objective of reaching as wide an audience as possible, and in order to do this its content was continually expanded and updated during the three years of the project. The network was also used as a method of communication between members of the network, and in this respect was part of the infrastructure of the project, as well as one of its primary deliverables. Three specific items were designed to form the core of the content, in addition to the deliverables mentioned above. The first was the *CFSP Forum*, a bi-monthly newsletter produced by Dr Karen E Smith at the LSE. The first edition came out in July 2003 and the newsletter quickly established itself and has been produced regularly ever since September 2003. Its method of distribution is through the FORNET website and it has become widely regarded by academics and practitioners.

The second major web-based deliverable were the *Virtual Study Units (VSU)*, a series of interactive pages of text, pictures and hyperlinks that serve as an introduction to the subject of European foreign policy, accessible to anyone with access to the Internet. There are 75 pages in total and they have recently become available online. The final deliverable was the interactive *Discussion Board*, an attempt to create a virtual arena of discussion and debate about the CFSP and matters related to it. The board proved less successful than was originally hoped, but served as an intra-network communication forum in preparation for some of the plenary events.

### 2.3. Deliverables in working groups

The twenty-five partners within FORNET were split into five working groups, each led by one of the Steering Group members and responsible for coordinating and organising the working groups. Each working group consisted of a number of defined members who are jointly responsible for the production of the policy papers produced at two meetings of the group members to be held over the two years. (One group took the initiative to hold a third meeting in November 2005). The groups were on (i) *Theories and Approaches on CFSP*, (ii) *The Evolution and Democratic Accountability of CFSP Institutions*, (iii) *CFSP and Enlargement*, (iv) *The Evolution of ESDP*, and finally, (v) *CFSP in Regional Perspective: Dialogue, Crisis Management and Conflict Resolution*. The meetings were an opportunity for the network to reach out and shape the debate in a number of capitals around Europe, and very often served as forums in which local academics and practitioners could meet with FORNET partners from other European countries. The meetings produced a number of working papers and presentations, all of which were made available through the website. The same groups also held sessions in the annual plenary meetings so as to allow partners that were unable to attend the working groups to gain an insight into the various core research topics under consideration in the whole network.

**Table 1.** List of meetings

Working Group	1st Meeting	2nd Meeting	3rd Meeting
1. Theories & Approaches	11/2003 LSE	11/2004 Copenhagen	
2. Evolution & Accountability	3/2004 Parma	3/2005 Barcelona	
3. CFSP & Enlargement	3/2003 Vienna	4/2005 TEPSA	
4. Evolution of ESDP	4/2004 TEPSA	11/2004 Stockholm	11/2005 Lisbon
5. Regional Perspectives	2/2004 TEPSA	1-/2004 Sofia	

## **2.4. Deliverables: Plenary Meetings and Lectures**

Yearly plenary sessions were a central part of the FORNET project because they provided an opportunity for the partners to meet each other, prepare the agenda for the following year and attend a conference devoted to research into European foreign policy. The plenary meetings all took place in Brussels in the Fondation Universitaire, and they offered the opportunity for Commission and Council representatives, as well as other members of the academic community based in Brussels, to participate in the events as delegates and as speakers. The plenary meetings were open to academic colleagues and other specialists in the field who were not FORNET members, as well as young researchers from across Europe. They were important because of FORNET's two commitments, firstly to build a wider academic community of researchers on CFSP from Western, Eastern and Southern Europe and secondly to incorporate the younger generation of researchers into the wider community. Year-on-year the attendance of each meeting grew, from 34 in 2003, to 57 in 2004 and to 99 in 2005. These figures demonstrate the importance of FORNET and the impact it has made on the academic community during the duration of the project.

A second activity that raised the profile of the network were the Guest Lectures. These two events, one in Sofia and one in Turkey, were given by Professor Hill and Professor Wessels respectively. The purpose of the lectures was to reach out to the popular debates in the applicant states to contribute to the debate on EU membership and the role of the CFSP within the structure of the EU. By doing this they allow FORNET to widen the understanding of the CFSP within the EU in countries that will become members in the short to medium term.

## **3. Completion of the project**

Auditing the success of FORNET after three years shows a considerable number of the deliverables have been completed, with only 12 out of 66 CFSP Watch Reports missing and three entries to the CFSP Database. All of the other major work packages were completed, and the outstanding aspects of the programme have come from partners that have been unable to complete everything asked of them. These missing parts should not cloud the overall picture of the FORNET, which has worked efficiently and effectively to produce so much of what was planned over three years ago. It should be remembered that a number of the members had not participated in EU funded projects in the past and were on steep learning curves. There are many aspects of participating in such networks that are taken for granted in large, established research institutions and universities, most notably the support staff that administer the financial side of membership. The

partners in FORNET that were from small institutions did not have these luxuries and therefore along with their existing commitments as scholars, were expected to be administrators as well.

One of the objective of FORNET was to widen and deepen the membership of the European foreign policy research community, and hopefully the new members of FORNET will continue to participate in the next generation of pan-European research projects, building on their experience from FORNET. Thus FORNET should not only be judged on the deliverables produced in the last three years, although they themselves are significant. The bigger aim of FORNET was to nurture a new research community across the 25 Member States and beyond, and the success of this will be judged in the years to come.



## **II. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT**

### **1. The intellectual ancestry of FORNET**

For the last thirty five years European Political Cooperation system (EPC) and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) have played an important role in constructing the European Union (EU) system (Art. 2 and Art. 11 TEU), as well as serving as a cornerstone of national foreign policies over. The CFSP can be regarded as a model of multi-level governance stressing the interaction between the national, European and international arenas. Procedures and practices of the second pillar constitute a specific form in a multi-faceted set of "modes of governance" within the EU and a specific way of building up the EU as an international actor.

Investigation into this special kind of EU governance has become an ever more prominent issue in recent years; however, cross-national and interdisciplinary research – including historical, political and legal approaches - represented a major challenge. FORNET – 'Foreign Policy Governance in Europe – modernizing, widening and deepening research on a vital pillar of the EU' sought to meet that challenge by addressing these demands while also contributing a wider European dimension to the investigation of the CFSP. The model chosen to do this made use of an informal network of regular meetings that many of the FORNET partners had been participating in for over two decades. The meetings and activities centred around the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) in Brussels, the Department of International Relations of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and the Institut für Europäische Politik (IEP) in Berlin.

The basis of the FORNET proposal was to build on the foundations of the informal network and construct a coherent and sustainable project of research activities on CFSP on a European scale, bringing together academics and institutes in the Member States and in accession countries. When the project was first envisaged in 2001, the Enlargement of the EU from 15 to 25 states was clearly imminent and the inclusion of scholars from the candidate countries was an important consideration. FORNET aimed to widen participation in the academic debate on European foreign policy by welcoming new members to the research community from both EU states and accession states. FORNET was designed to allow established and emerging scholars from both sides to meet and exchange ideas in preparation for the enlarged European Union of 2004.

## **2. The problems addressed and their European dimension**

The objectives of FORNET were identified as a result of an assessment of a number of problems and challenges that existed in previous studies of the CFSP within the discipline. These can be divided into two groups, structural problems and research problems.

Taking the structural problems first, FORNET set out to address three main areas. Firstly, the discipline lacked a working and efficient academic infrastructure on the CFSP that included both existing and future Member States' institutions. This represented a crucial problem, given the lack of existing opportunities for EU-wide cooperation. FORNET brought together many experts from existing Member States (EU15) and successfully incorporated experts from the accession states as well as the applicant states of Bulgaria and Turkey. A second consideration was the challenge to unite a number of different approaches to research across Europe and overcome the incomparability of research in different countries. In order to do this FORNET included a set of rigorously specified common methodological approaches to data collection and analysis. These were a necessary precondition for scientific discussions and improvements based on the FORNET project and greatly exceeded the previous possible level of information exchange of scientific results on a European scale. The third structural problem that FORNET set out to overcome was how to integrate internet-based communication and information dissemination ('virtualisation') into the research programme and make it into a manageable tool for linking research in different countries, as well as for publicising the CFSP to the wider public across Europe.

The research problems addressed by FORNET can be broken down into five basic issues. Firstly, it was recognised that while the literature acknowledged the emergence of the EU as an international actor, there were a number of approaches to describing and analysing its role. The variety of theoretical and conceptual approaches used thus needed discussion and testing. Research into the respective 'modes of governance' was the other side of this coin. Secondly, the emergence of the security and defence policy dimension within the CFSP meant that the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) was identified as a major issue to be studied in further depth, particularly given its implications for the study of the evolution and accountability of CFSP institutions. Two widely held hypotheses on the future of the ESDP pointed to it either becoming a 'pillar within the pillar', or alternatively smoothly integrating into the existing CFSP norms and procedures. Through studying the ESDP from an institutional and a practical perspective the project aimed to identify which hypothesis was more accurate.

The fourth issue was that of the new security challenges to Europe, and how the EU as a whole and the CFSP in particular could play a more pronounced role in solving conflicts and contributing to stability in and around the continent. Crisis management, early warning and conflict prevention lie at the heart of this policy field. The EU's role in its immediate geographical neighbourhood, most notably in South Eastern Europe and in the Mediterranean region, were identified as the key case studies to consider. Finally, the dimension of enlargement was a core element of the research agenda, due to the international implications of the European security scene in which NATO, the USA and Russia also play a crucial role. As the EU sought to develop relations of a new kind with NATO alongside the building up of the Common Security and Defence Policy, a broader dialogue and exchange of views with European partner institutes and academics was going to be necessary.

### **3. Additional objectives: modernising, deepening & widening research on CFSP**

FORNET sought to make a number of contributions beyond the scope of objectives outline above by *qualitatively* changing the landscape of the research on CFSP undertaken at the European level. The first of these was the design, construction, and servicing of a website that would provide a virtual European Research Area on the Internet. The purpose of this was to modernise research activities by establishing the FORNET website with a research bulletin (*CFSP Forum*), working papers, and a discussion board, as well as specially designed modules for 'virtual studies' in a core curriculum. This resource was envisaged as an open-access source of information and reference across Europe and beyond, accessible by anyone with a personal computer and access to the Internet. It had the further advantage of resuscitating the *CFSP Forum*, which had been a significant success in hard copy form, but which had ceased publication due to lack of funds.

A second qualitative objective of FORNET was to deepen mutual understanding in the study of new developments in CFSP, such as the ESDP, and to test new theoretical approaches like constructivism. The purpose of deepening understanding was to make it easier to pool the capacities of research institutions across Europe and allow them to research European foreign policy and CFSP in a more methodologically coherent manner, thereby making the body of knowledge and experience more permanent and sustainable over time in a wider Europe. Thirdly, FORNET sought to widen contacts between countries and between generations. By associating colleagues from applicant countries with their specific interests and by involving a growing number of younger researchers from all over the EU, FORNET managed to contribute to the civic and societal dimension of enlargement in the sphere of the research community. FORNET was also able to

address the gender imbalance within the research community of the discipline by actively assisting emerging female researchers to become more involved in the study of international relations and of European foreign policy.

#### **4. The Need for a Wider European Network in a Vital Policy Area**

One of the key objectives of FORNET was to consolidate the 'acquis académique' on the European Political Co-operation (EPC) and CFSP that had been informally built up over the past decades by the core members of the network. Since the early days academic studies from universities, research institutes and think tanks – many drawn from the network of partners – have identified, observed, analysed and assessed major features within the discipline, such as:

- historical events and trends;
- the institutional, procedural and legal framework of the CFSP – amendments and revisions of the written provisions were especially studied in relation to Intergovernmental Conferences;
- the performance of EPC and CFSP in specific crises and regions of conflict, as well as in international organisations and conferences;
- theoretical approaches and explanations such as realism, fusion, institutionalism and constructivism.

Through the life of the project FORNET has continually sought to update and enhance research on these subjects by taking into account the broader geographical and political scope of the integration process. The CFSP has grown in importance over the three years of the FORNET network and will probably continue to grow in the coming years. During the course of the FORNET the enlargement of the EU has provided a real-time case study into the adjustments made by the Union as it took onboard ten new members. By including a wide range of partners from accession and candidate countries the project FORNET was able to gauge the impact of enlargement on CFSP from 'both sides', as well as its impact in Bulgaria and Turkey. Through this three-way cross-section, including existing, accession, applicant states, FORNET provided a unique means of enriching academic discourse in a vital area of EU politics.

### **III. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **1. Description of work undertaken and methodology used**

In this section a scientific description of the project results is given, explaining how FORNET succeeded in delivering on the objectives that were set out in the preceding section, as well as the methodology. An important distinction needs to be made between the research undertaken in the traditional sense and the deliverables that were tailored towards to promotion of knowledge about the CFSP, such as the FORUM, the Virtual Study Units (VSUs), the working group meetings and the plenary, visiting lectures and the website. The former can be assessed through the content of the deliverables alone, while for the latter the criteria by which they are judged should take into account their outreach and audience. FORNET set out to make an impact on the constituency of the debate over European foreign policy, not just the content. Within each section an outline of the specific task is presented, after which comes an analysis of the results gained. This section begins by setting out the parameters of the methodology used, and then focuses on the core deliverables.

#### **2. Methodology**

As will be specified below, the methodology used by partners depended on which of the deliverables of the project they were working on. A basic methodological demand addressed in this project is the comparability of research and in the application of common patterns of analysis (e.g. for the national reports by using a questionnaire). Also, didactical methods linked to virtual forms of presentation were used in the virtualisation-based deliverables. Theoretical and institutional analysis was a key element in the policy papers, which were thoroughly discussed in the separate working groups that were designed and run in order to tackle specific issues.

Another central feature was the interdisciplinary and multidimensional approach pursued by bringing together legal experts, political scientists and historians. In all general perspectives, legal analyses complemented historical contributions on the origins of EPC/CFSP, as well as investigating the institutional and political set-up of the Second Pillar. The selection of the participants was designed to bring together different scientific disciplines and communities in order to facilitate 'cross-cutting' and mutually enriching discussions. The core steering group was in charge of all of the different deliverables included in the project in order to ensure that there was consistency between the various parts of each programme, as well as across the whole project.

### **3. Deliverables contributing to the *acquis académique***

#### **3.1. CFSP Watch Reports**

The CFSP Reports were gathered for the years 2003, 2004 and 2005 from each of the partner institutions within the project.<sup>1</sup> These reports were written based on a questionnaire drafted and circulated by the Jean Monnet Chair staff in the University of Cologne, under the guidance of Professor Wolfgang Wessels and Dr Udo Diedrichs. The questionnaire specified that each author should collect, categorise and write a narrative account of all CFSP-related government documents and associated literature produced in his/her country that year. The completed reports were then collected by the Jean Monnet Chair in Cologne, which had the responsibility of standardising the content and format. The 'CFSP Watch' was not envisaged as a single document produced by FORNET, but was instead part of a collective effort by all of the partners representing their national debates, while at the same time making the cross-comparison between Member States as simple as possible, given their shared methodology and focus.

The reports were also intended to be part of the workload that would bring young researchers into the established academic research community. The budget of each partner contained a sum of money to employ a research assistant to work together with a senior fellow in the production of the report. The questionnaire served as a set of guidelines and point of orientation, supporting the comparability of findings within FORNET. Each member of FORNET engaged one or several young researchers at their institutions in these activities. Once the reports were completed, they were uploaded onto the FORNET website and made available as a free-to-use public access resource. The reports also gave young academics and researchers an early chance to establish themselves in the field with a publication. All reports are included in the CD-Rom appendices. To see the online versions go to <http://www.fornet.info/CFSPwatch.html>

The results of the reports are extremely encouraging. There was near-universal completion of the deliverable, both across partners and over the timeframe, which means that as a cross-national and cross-temporal source of information they have made an invaluable contribution to the literature. The reports also succeeded in drawing young researchers into the discipline, with a number of reports drafted by young scholars. Austria, Cyprus, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden, Turkey and the UK all used at some point over the three years young researchers or recently qualified academics to produce the reports, meaning

---

<sup>1</sup> Except in the situation when a Member State had two partners in it, such as Germany (the Jean Monnet Chair and the University of Cologne and the IEP in Berlin) and Belgium, (TESPA and Louvain University).

that a possible maximum of 45 new scholarly publications were produced in the name of young academics. The three questionnaires used over the course of the project are included in the appendices provided on CD-Rom.

**Table 2.** Completion of the CFSP Watch Report by country, 2003-2005 (March 2006)

<b>Country</b>	<b>2003 Report</b>	<b>2004 Report</b>	<b>2005 Report</b>
Austria	1	1	1
Belgium	1	1	0
Bulgaria	1	1	1
Cyprus	1	1	1
Czech Republic	1	1	0
Denmark	1	1	1
Estonia	1	0	1
Finland	1	1	1
France	1	0	1
Germany	1	1	0
Greece	1	1	1
Hungary	1	0	0
Ireland	1	1	1
Italy	1	1	1
Netherlands	0	0	0
Poland	1	1	1
Portugal	1	1	1
Slovenia	1	1	1
Spain	1	1	1
Sweden	1	1	1
Turkey	1	0	0
United Kingdom	1	1	1

### 3.2. Database

In addition to the annual reports the network partners are contracted to submit one set of answers to a questionnaire sent out by the Observatory of European Foreign Policy at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) under the supervision of Professor Esther Barbé. The methodology of the questionnaire was the same as the CFSP Reports, namely a set of questions designed to elicit answers that could then be placed in a CFSP database. Each partner would gather data from their national debates and policy making in all issues related to the CFSP and submit their answers to the personnel responsible to creating the database in Barcelona. The questionnaire is on the CD-Rom attached. It required information on the following specific issues:

- Political events;
- Instruments such as:
  - Declarations;
  - Common positions (Art. 15 TEU);
  - Joint actions (Art. 12 and 14 TEU);
  - Common strategies (Art. 12 and 13 TEU).
- Research competence in the field of CFSP including a mapping of major expertise in relevant institutions.

The database took the efforts undertaken at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence for the European Foreign Policy Bulletin as a major point of reference. However, it has supplemented and enriched the existing standard or reference material through documenting national contributions of relevance, such as white papers, strategy documents, major foreign policy declarations and legislation. After a number of alternative formats were proposed, the final version decided upon was as a PDF file with active hypertext links to external websites, so as to allow further browsing beyond the document. This format was chosen so that it could also stand as a separate file or be printed out. The downside to this is that it is fairly difficult to update since it requires re-formatting the entire document, and this is not conducive to frequent revision. The database was prepared during the second year of FORNET and it went online in the summer of 2004 with around 60% of the national contributions gathered. A number of further contributions have been added since then, and by the end of the project it was about 90% complete, (those countries not included: Netherlands, Turkey and Austria).



On reflection, the database was a very successful part of the FORNET's output; it provides a unique source of reference material and brief commentary on the most relevant documents produced nationally and relating to the CFSP. The prevailing approach to the study of the CFSP in the literature is to consider the European-level initiatives brought through the Council. The FORNET database provides empirical data for the study of the impact of CFSP on national level policies, in effect from the 'top-down' – and conversely, that is, the specific inputs of national foreign policies to the collective endeavour. The diverse range of national contributions brought together in a single source makes the database a valuable research tool and contribution to the discipline.

The database file is on the accompanying CD-Rom with all the documents, and can be seen at: <http://www.fornet.info/documents/FORNET%20DATABASE.pdf>

### **3.3. Dissemination report**

Annual dissemination reports were produced by the Jean Monnet Chair in the University of Cologne, gathering information on the publications, public speaking, conferences and media outreach of each of the network's partners. The purpose of this was to gauge the level of impact FORNET was having on national debates in each country, as well as the level of the audience to which they were speaking. FORNET clearly defined one of its objectives as being to widen the debate on the CFSP, and the reports played an important role in measuring this.

The data-gathering process was adapted over the three years of the project. In the first year a questionnaire was sent out asking each partner to list the various ways in which they disseminated information about CFSP. However, due to a rather long delay in receiving answers and the inconsistent notions of what constituted an appropriate contribution to the questionnaire, in the second and third year staff from the Chair visited the websites of each of the partners and collected the information themselves, and then sent their list to each partner for acceptance. The new system was favoured because it allowed an appraisal to be made over an accurate time period and did not rely on the memory of partners (which was occasionally slightly vague!) It was also reasoned that institution websites are very often kept up to date and therefore provided the best entry point into the institution to measure their policy outputs.

### **3.4. State of the art report**

In the early months of the project a 'state of the art' report was produced and uploaded onto the FORNET website. This document set out the major theoretical schools in the discipline, the topography of the current debate and identified the key areas where FORNET would be able to make its contribution. In keeping with the project ethos of involving and developing young scholars, the report was written by Robert Kissack, a PhD student from the London School of Economics, working alongside the project Coordinator Professor Christopher Hill and a senior department staff member, Dr Karen Smith. The report is of considerable length (around 30 pages/10000 words) and was intended to provide a route map into the field that could be used by a student new to the subject of European foreign policy and the CFSP.

### **3.5. Working Papers and Policy Papers**

The final contribution to the *acquis académique* was a series of working papers produced by members of the network. The papers are free to download in PDF format. <http://www.fornet.info/CFSPforumworkingpapers.html> Over the three years of the project eight working papers were completed by a range of authors. Two papers were written by Professor Wolfgang Wessels, one by Professor Christopher Hill, and one by a senior scholar-practitioner, together with contributions by staff from the European Policy Centre (EPC), the German Marshall Fund and PhD students from across Europe. In addition to these eight working papers there are, elsewhere on the web-site, nine other full-length papers presented over the three years at the various working group meetings and plenary sessions of the network. The topics of these nine papers range widely, reflecting the variety of subject tackled by FORNET over the course of the project. All have been put on the CD-Rom.

## **4. Digital Outreach: FORNET Website**

### **4.1. Website Design and content**

The website ([www.fornet.info](http://www.fornet.info)) was the first major part of the project to be set up, and it represents the core of the project. The website was designed and first presented to the FORNET partners at the April 2003 plenary and went live shortly afterwards. As a network of institutions, the website was conceived as being the locus of all communication and was intended to be the virtual meeting place of the partner institutions. It was also the bridge between the network and the wider European public in the effort to widen the debate on CFSP, and the bridge between the network and other academics and practitioners in the field in the effort to engage with a broader research community. In

order to pursue both these ends there was a concerted effort to update the site frequently with new information, the majority of which has been produced by the members of the project. It was decided that the design and content of the portal should be fairly basic with minimum graphics components so as to maximise the practicality for Internet users who were either using older technologies or slower Internet connections. The Steering Group wanted the content of the site to be as accessible as possible, and this included guaranteeing that access to technology was not a barrier to usage. The key content of the site includes:

- CFSP Forum;
- Virtual Study Units;
- Discussion Board;
- The *acquis académique* set out in 2.3.

#### **4.2. CFSP Forum**

The CFSP Forum is a newsletter produced and distributed electronically by Dr Karen E Smith from the LSE. <http://www.fornet.info/CFSPforum.html> The Forum contains articles by both FORNET partners and researchers and practitioners outside the network, and was modelled on the CFSP Forum published for a number of years by the *Institut für Europäische Politik*. Given its frequent publication and electronic distribution, the CFSP Forum is well suited to disseminate first comments concerning new issues in the field. It also offers younger researchers an opportunity to publish articles early in their careers. The first issue was published in July 2003, and from September 2003 issues have been produced bi-monthly. Each edition has a theme, and in the first months they included *the EU Constitution, the EU as a 'security actor'* and *Enlargement*. The *Forum* can be clearly seen to be gaining momentum, as demonstrated by its ever-increasing size from five pages in the first issue to 20 pages six months later.

In 2004 six issues of the *CFSP Forum* newsletter were produced according to schedule at a bi-monthly interval. The topics covered were *European Union within the United Nations*, (January) *European Defence Policy* (March) *Enlargement* (May), *the Draft Constitution*, (July) *Institutional Reform*, (September) and the *EU and International Issues* (November) and attracted a wide range of contributions from academics and practitioners. In 2005 the topics covered were *Security and defence* (January 2005), *the EU's evolving relationship with Southeastern Europe and with the Western Balkans* (March 2005), *The impact of Enlargement, one year on* (May 2005), *the Implications of the double-rejection of the draft constitution on the CFSP* (July 2005), an issue dedicated to the work of

*young scholars*, (September 2005), an analysis of the *EU's powers* (November 2005). The first issue of 2006 looked at the *Russia-Ukraine dispute*.

Added to this, the Forum was recently cited in established in Esther Brimmer and Stefan Frohlich, eds, *The Strategic Implications of European Union Enlargement* (Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University, 2005). The success of the *Forum* has meant that with the end of the FORNET the responsibility for keeping it going has moved to the Consent Project (FP6), with Dr Smith still responsible for the bi-monthly publication. It is a testimony not only to her enthusiasm, drive and dedication, which have established the *Forum* in so short a period of time, but also to the value added by the FORNET project that this (along with a number of other deliverables) has such sustainability beyond the duration of the funding.

#### **4.3. Virtual Study Units (VSU)**

In the original proposal setting out the design of FORNET, the virtual study units on CFSP were seen as being an online set of course notes that would give anyone interested in European foreign policy an opportunity to learn more about it. In the first instance it was to be focused on a 'core curriculum' and provide a basic guide, although the eventual possibilities were much broader. 'Virtualisation' of learning would enable the rapid and informal dissemination of ideas, especially among younger scholars, as well as the onward transmission of factual information currently difficult because requiring time-consuming assembly by individuals. The Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Cologne was responsible for the design and construction of the units.

The VSUs were by far the most ambitious part of the FORNET project. The basic design was agreed at an early stage; a four-window frame with three columns. The left column is permanent and contains an outline of the site. The middle one has the body-text and the right column is split into two, with an upper window presenting graphics and the lower glossary terms. Internal and external hypertext links are included. However, the production of the study units was much more demanding and exhausting than could have been imagined. Technical difficulties delayed production but the final product consists of 75 pages of information, each with dedicated graphics including roll-over features which activate images and secondary text in an adjacent window that is designed to ensure that the material is read on-line and not printed out. There was also an added delay in the translation of the material from German to English, as well as some strange technical hitches (such as the fact that when the entire file was copied onto a CD Rom, certain links between pages stopped working).

All of these factors contributed to delays in the completion of the deliverable. The original schedule was for completion midway through the project, but the final version was not in the event ready until the last month of FORNET, (December 2005). The reasons for this are clearly set out above, and delay was due to both an over-ambitious delivery date and a number of unforeseen complications. However, the VSUs are now completed and represent a second, major sustainable deliverable to have come out of FORNET. The VSUs are accessible from the FORNET website that is now hosted in Rome with the IAI, a partner in CONSENT.

#### **4.4. Discussion Board**

An innovative part of the FORNET project was the construction of a discussion board that would allow the partners of the network, as well as non-FORNET members, to discuss ongoing issues related to the CFSP. Out of all of the proposals contained within FORNET for widening the debate on European foreign policy, and in democratising access to the discussion, the discussion board was the most radical. The design of the boards followed the five core research topics (discussed more in detail below), as well as a general board for all postings. On reflection, this part of the website and of FORNET was not as successful as hoped, although a number of initiatives were taken to try and increase usage.

The first effort was to raise the prominence of the board on the FORNET website, by placing clearly identifiable links to it on the homepage. This, it was hoped, would encourage users of the site that were visiting for specific purposes (such as to download a CFSP Forum or a CFSP Watch) to explore parts they were less familiar with and had not used before. Also, a number of articles were placed on the board, including a reproduction of Antonio Missiroli's editorial piece for the Wall Street Journal Europe from 1 October 2004 and an op-ed by Lord William Wallace earlier in 2004. Both attracted a little debate, but neither produced the volume that had been hoped. Probably there are just too many available for discussion, given the time-pressures which academics live under these days. One way in which they were successful, however, was in the preparation of plenary meetings and working group meetings, in which the participants posted preparatory documents and information related to the meetings in advance. The boards in this instance facilitated intra-network communication rather than the wider engagement envisaged. Overall, however, at the end of the project and with the transferral of the website to a new host in Italy, the Steering Group took the decision to remove the discussion board from the website. The main reason was that it still required periodic surveillance to check it was not being misused, and it was decided that this risk outweighed any gains from retaining the pages.

## 5. Working Groups: Core research themes

### 5.1. Division of partners

The twenty-five partners within FORNET were split into five working groups, each led by one of the Steering Group members and responsible for coordinating and organising the working groups. Each working group consisted of a number of defined members who are jointly responsible for the production of the policy papers and whose travel and subsistence expenditures to the workshop meetings will be covered by FORNET; these meetings were linked to core issues and problems already identified. It was clearly stated that while the FORNET partners were to form the basis of the groups, they were not to be organised as closed circles. Invitations were sent out to other researchers, (especially young and emerging researchers), as well as to the broader academic community in the EU and applicant countries. The working groups preparatory papers and outputs were uploaded onto the FORNET website afterwards.

**Table 3.** Thematic Working Groups

<b>Group 1: Theories and Approaches on CFSP</b>	<b>Group 2: The Evolution and Democratic Accountability of CFSP Institutions</b>	<b>Group 3: CFSP and Enlargement</b>	<b>Group 4: The Evolution of ESDP</b>	<b>Group 5: CFSP in Regional Perspective: Dialogue, Crisis Management and Conflict Resolution</b>
LSE; Louvain, Belgium; DIIS, Denmark; UCD, Ireland.	Barcelona; IEP, Germany; IFRI, France; IAI, Italy; Clingendael, NL.	TEPSA, Belgium; Vienna, Austria; CfE, Poland; EFPI, Estonian; Ljubljana, Slovenia.	JMC, Germany; IEEI, Portugal; UI, Sweden; ASIR, Czech Rep.	TEPSA; EKEME, Greece; UPI, Finland; TLI, Hungary; MEDAC, Malta; BECSA, Bulgaria; KIMEDE, Cyprus; TUNACES, Turkey.

### 5.2. Theories and Approaches on CFSP

This working group was managed by the European Foreign Policy Unit (EFPU) at the London School of Economics. Two meetings were held, the first in November 2003 in London and the second in November 2004 in Copenhagen. The key discursive points were the analysis of major CFSP developments from a theoretical perspective, taking up recent discussions about approaches such as institutionalism, intergovernmentalism, transgovernmentalism and constructivism. It also sought to link the field of CFSP more closely to the broader concept of 'European Governance' and identify its specific features. This group attracted a lot of interest from other network partners (beyond the four

primary members) interested in the theoretical dimension of the study of European foreign policy.

In November 2003 the LSE held the first working in this Working Group. As well as partners from the group, (from Belgium, Ireland and Denmark), a number of other partners sent participants, while the meeting also proved a good opportunity for FORNET to engage with the UK-based CFSP academic community. Around 30 people attended, and in total six papers were presented over the two days of the meeting, which also attracted a number of PhD students from the LSE.

- Overview of Theories and Approaches in the Study of European Foreign Policy *Christopher Hill;*
- Relations between Trade Policies and the CFSP/ESDP: theoretical aspects of the problem of coherence *Jess Pilegaard;*
- Theoretical Approaches to the study of the EU as an actor in the multilateral system *Robert Kissack;*
- Liberal intergovernmentalism and European Foreign Policy *Catherine Gegout;*
- Theorising the Union's Global role: A Constructivist Approach *Ben Tonra;*
- Foreign Policy Analysis and collective foreign policy-making *Brian White.*

The Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) organised and hosted the second working group meeting in November 2004. The event was attended by 27 people, including a number of FORNET members outside of this working group, established academics and members of the Danish Government. The working group was a mixture of theory and practice, with two sessions dedicated to Theoretical approaches to the CFSP and The challenge of theorising over the CFSP, which had contributions from a number of leading Danish scholars from the Copenhagen School of IR, including Professor Walter Carlsnaes and Professor Knud Erik Jorgensen. The four practical sessions addressed the issues of Iraq and sanctions, Iraq and European pre-war alignments, the European Security Strategy, and Enlargement and European Foreign Policy. There was also one session devoted to the EU's strategic partnership with the Mediterranean and the Middle East, presented by staff from the Danish foreign ministry.

### 5.3. The Evolution and Democratic Accountability of CFSP Institutions

This group was led by the IUEE at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) and held two seminars, the first in Bologna in March 2004 and the second in Barcelona in March 2005. The key concerns of this working group were how to organize CFSP in an enlarged EU, the impact of the Treaty of Nice and the prospective results of the convention and the next IGC. The role of the European Parliament was also scrutinised, as well as considering different models for the evolution of accountability. The future shape of CFSP cannot be separated from the issue of accountability requiring a focus particularly on the role of the European Parliament and the Commission, but also on other possibilities for democratic control of the CFSP, given the fresh dynamics of security and defence issues.

In March 2004 the Istituto Affari Interzionali (IAI) held the first working group meeting on accountability in Parma, Italy, as part of a larger meeting organised by the IAI in association with the European Commission. The theme of the conference was the *CFSP and the Role of the European Parliament* and included participation from Elmar Brok, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, European Parliament, and Christopher Pattern, European Commissioner for External Affairs. A number of FORNET partners were involved in the panels over the course of the conference, which was a good opportunity to increase the exposure of FORNET within Italy and with a number of senior European politicians.

The second meeting of the Working Group on Evolution and democratic accountability of CFSP institutions was held on the 4 and 5 March 2005 and consisted of six panels presentation, each one with a paper giver, a discussant and a chair. The papers addressed two of the most important debates of the democratic deficit of the European foreign policy.

The first one was the accountability of CFSP institutions. Is the current degree of parliamentary oversight of these policies the most appropriate? Has the disengagement of national parliaments regarding European foreign policy been counterbalanced by giving sufficient powers to the European Parliament? And, regarding the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), are national parliaments effectively controlling it? Nathaniel Lalone reviewed the evolution of the EP's formal and informal powers in the field of Common Commercial Policy (CCP) and compared them to the powers of the Parliament in the CFSP. Stelios Stavridis analysed the progresses made in the accountability of CFSP institutions during the European Convention and the debate on the European Constitution. Giovanna Bono delved into the parliamentary oversight of the ESDP by national parliaments. Specifically, the author examines the role of the British, Italian and



French Parliaments in scrutinising the first two EU-led peace-enforcement operations: Concordia (EU military operation in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) and Artemis (EU Military operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo).

The second dimension of the debate is related to the wider question of whether the European Parliament is capable of legitimising EU policy outcomes. In the absence of a Europe-wide demos and of a true party system, what interests do Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) represent when dealing with foreign policy issues? Are there transnational cleavages in foreign policy or are they mainly national? Furthermore, is the European Parliament developing a transnational, autonomous stance on foreign policy issues, different from that of the Council or the Commission? Eduard Soler i Lecha, analysed the national and political cleavages in the European Parliament regarding Turkish membership. Anna Herranz, analysed the interplay of national and Parliamentary Groups' priorities of MEPs that participate in interparliamentary delegations. Flavia Zanon evaluated the extent to which the EP has developed a transnational view of foreign policy issues, autonomous from that of the Council and the Commission, and the impact of the recent enlargement in this regard.

The papers, which include original research and work with primary sources and interviews to MEPs and MPs of various countries, were published by the Office of the European Parliament in Barcelona: Barbé, E. and Herranz, A. (Eds.) *The role of Parliaments in European foreign policy: Debating on accountability and legitimacy*, Barcelona: Office of the European Parliament in Barcelona, 2005. This book is also available at the Observatory's website: <http://www.uab.es/iuee> (direct website: [http://selene.uab.es/\\_cs\\_iuee/catala/obs/m\\_working.html](http://selene.uab.es/_cs_iuee/catala/obs/m_working.html))

The meeting was attended by various members of Fonet (Gianni Bonvicini, Cigdem Nas, Alfred Pijpers, Elfriede Regelsberger, Funda Tekin, Ben Tonra, Rafal Trzaskowski), Spanish officials, scholars and students. The Office of the European Parliament contributed with the venue for the celebration of the meeting and with the financing of the publication. The *Departament d'Universitats, Recerca i Societat de la Informació-Generalitat de Catalunya* also contributed with funds to invite non-Fonet members to participate in the meeting.

#### **5.4. CFSP and Enlargement**

The working group on the CFSP and Enlargement was coordinated by TEPSA. The enlargement of the EU has become a major area for investigation in recent years; and the accession of the first new members required deeper analysis and research on the impact and consequences for CFSP in institutional as well as in policy terms. The efficiency of the CFSP system was a major topic, but so was the new role of an enlarged EU in the world, especially in its geographical neighbourhood. This working group was charged with trying to give answers to these questions and triggering off a broader public debate about the foreign policy of a new and 'greater' EU. A seminar was held early in 2003 at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna. A second meeting was held in Brussels in April 2005.

The second working group meeting was held in Brussels on the 21 April 2005 at the Fondation Universitaire, the day before the third plenary meeting. The working group focused on the impact of Enlargement on the CFSP and reflected on the first year's achievements. This was considered in three ways; firstly the European response to the Ukrainian 'Orange revolution', secondly the developments in CFSP policy in the Balkans, and thirdly the impact of the CFSP on Bulgarian foreign policy, an accession state. There were also panels on the CFSP and South-Eastern Europe, and a closing session on the New Neighbourhood Policy. The meeting was well attended thanks to its scheduling one day prior to the plenary meeting, which allowed more partners to attend this group than simply those allocated to it.

#### **5.5. The Evolution of ESDP**

The coordination of the working group on the evolution of the ESDP was the responsibility of the Jean Monnet Chair in Cologne. The evolution of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) can be regarded as a unique and dramatic development; a fresh dynamic has been started which will enable the EU to implement military operations on the basis of the Petersberg tasks. This required discussion about the future international role of the Union and its transatlantic implications, most importantly with NATO. Furthermore, new structures and bodies have been created which must be integrated into the existing institutional set-up of the CFSP.

In order to do this, three meetings of the working group on the Evolution of the ESDP were held in 2004, the first at the Fondation Universitaire in April 2004, the second time in Stockholm in November 2004, and the third in Lisbon in November 2005. The

Stockholm working group meeting was funded by the Swedish Foreign Ministry and the Fritz-Thyssen-Foundation, and was divided into four sessions:

- Options and Resources for EU Crisis-Management at regional and global levels.
- Lessons from EU Crisis-Management: strengths and weaknesses of EU Crisis-Management.
- European and Transatlantic Perceptions of EU Crisis-Management: Expectations and Concepts.
- Strategic Choices and Options for EU Crisis-Management: Regional Pacifier or Global Power?

On the 4 November 2005 a third meeting was held in Lisbon hosted by the FORNET partner in Portugal, the IEEI (Institute for Strategic and International Studies) on the ESDP and EU Neighbourhood Impact on the Mediterranean. The meeting was an opportunity for FORNET partners to meet colleagues from another EuroMeSCo another network that the IEEI is involved in. The meeting was opened by Manuel Lobo Antunes, the Secretary of State of National Defence and Sea Affairs, and continued with four further sessions. The first session was on The multi and bilateral dimensions of the EU's relations with its neighbours, and was introduced by Erwan Lannon of Ghent University. Two FORNET members (Munevver Cebeci and Gunilla Herolf) acted as discussants. The second session was on Neighbourhood and ESDP: what added value? and was led by Maria do Rosário de Moraes Vaz of the IEEI. The discussants served as George Joffé of the EuroMeSCo, and Rafal Trzaskowski, of the Natolin European Centre. The third was on the Southern and Eastern Perceptions of ESDP and the fourth was What does the ENP bring to Euro-Med security and defence relations? No members of the FORNET network participated in presenting or discussing on these panels, although they contributed to the discussion sessions afterwards.

#### **5.6. CFSP in Regional Perspective: Dialogue, Crisis Management & Conflict Resolution**

This working group on the 'CFSP in Regional Perspective' was also coordinated by TEPSA in Brussels. The key concern of this group was the role of the EU in its regional neighbourhood, especially in South Eastern Europe, in the Mediterranean basin and in the Baltic region. Given the recent developments in security and defence policy, but also with a view on the repercussions of international developments after September 11<sup>th</sup>, new demands and expectations arose for the EU and this group was charged with investigating them. Its role in the broader European context (particularly after

enlargement) needed further discussion and explanation, and as a way of focusing more clearly on what the EU could offer, the working group looked at civilian crisis management, peace research and conflict resolution.

Two meetings were held in 2004, the first in Brussels, Belgium in February and the second in Sofia, Bulgaria in October. The February meeting was held over two days and began with a keynote address from Simon Duke talking about the CFSP after 9-11. There then followed three panel sessions addressing the *Barcelona* process, the *Eastern neighbours* and the *Balkans*. On the morning of the second day (Saturday), sessions were dedicated to *Cyprus and the role of Turkey* and *Africa, the ARTEMUS Mission*. The presenters were a mix of FORNET members and practitioners, including Koen Vervaeke from the Council's PPEWU Task force Africa. A number of the presentations were subsequently published on the website.

- An Assessment of the Euro-Med Partnership *Stephen C. Calleya*.
- The European Union and the West Balkans *Stefan Lehne*.
- The EU Conditional Assistance as a Policy Tool towards Southeastern Europe *Plamen Ralchev*.

The second meeting was held in Sofia on October 1-2 2004, and was a great success, thanks to the efforts of the Bulgarian partner (Bulgarian European Community Studies Association BECSA) and its General Secretary Dr Krassimir Nikolov. The meeting was supported by the Bulgarian Ministry of Defence and speakers included the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, along with other high-ranking political staff, a number of military staff and various national dignitaries, including the Georgian Ambassador to Bulgaria. This meeting was especially important as it helped to raise the profile of the CFSP in an applicant state, and the interest shown in Bulgaria exemplifies the successful realisation of FORNET objectives. Due to the fact that some of the papers presented were not in English, only one was readily made available on the website.

- The Greek Contribution to CFSP and Civilian Crisis Management *Eleni Demiri and Evangelos Vlioras*.

## **6. Plenary Network Meeting**

### **6.1. Overview**

Yearly plenary sessions were a central part of the FORNET project because they provided an opportunity for the partners to meet each other, prepare the agenda for the following year and attend a conference devoted to research into European foreign policy. The plenary meetings all took place in Brussels in the Fondation Universitaire, and they offered the opportunity for Commission and Council representatives, as well as other members of the academic community based in Brussels, to participate in the events as delegates and as speakers. The plenary meetings were open to academic colleagues and other specialists in the field who were not FORNET members, as well as young researchers from across Europe. They were important because of FORNET's two commitments, firstly to build a wider academic community of researchers on CFSP from Western, Eastern and Southern Europe and secondly to incorporate the younger generation of researchers into the wider community. Year-on-year the attendance of each meeting grew, from 34 in 2003, to 57 in 2004 and to 99 in 2005. These figures demonstrate the importance of FORNET and the impact it has made on the academic community during the course of the project.

### **6.2. 2003**

The first plenary meeting was held on 25-26 April 2003 and included a number of sessions chaired by partners and including presentations by other FORNET members over a number of key central topics, such as *Theoretical and Conceptual Approaches to CFSP* and *Enlargement and CFSP*, as well as topical sessions on the Convention, and on Trans-Atlantic relations during the Iraq Crisis. A Keynote address by Javier Solana was unfortunately cancelled at the last minute. The main scientific findings of the session concerned the analysis of the results of the Convention for a Draft Constitution and the presentation of the analysis in a roundtable debate by four leading experts in the field of European foreign policy, Professor Wolfgang Wessels, Professor Esther Barbé, Professor Christian Franck and Professor Gianni Bonvicini. They examined the external, defence and legal personality provisions within the draft document and gave their expert opinions on how this would shape the future of the EU as an international actor. The session also focused on the impact of Enlargement on the EU and how this would effect the development of the Union in the coming years. The topic facilitated fruitful discussions between all members of FORNET.

The Plenary was attended by many of the members of the group, (25 FORNET members) and by 11 guests. Although four partners were unable to attend, the meeting was deemed a success because it helped prepared the ground for the other working group meetings that all took place after this one, and was an important first meeting for some of the new partners who had not worked in a large, pan-European study programme of this nature before.

### **6.3. 2004**

The 2004 plenary was held on the 23-24 April 2004 and built on the success of the previous one, both in terms of improved organisation and a larger attendance. While in 2003 34 people attended the plenary, in 2004 the number attending during the two days increased by nearly 70% to 57 (a full list of attendees to the plenary is attached in the CD-Rom). In keeping with the increased profile of FORNET, in 2004 we were privileged to welcome Robert Cooper, Director General External Economic Relations and CFSP in the European Council to give the keynote address to delegates. Furthermore, thanks to close cooperation between FORNET and TEPSA there was a TEPSA sponsored reception in the evening with a presentation on the *European Union's Neighbourhood Policy* given by Graham Avery, Chief Adviser, Directorate for External Relations, European Commission.

The title of the plenary programme was *Addressing the problem of Coherence: The External Action title*, and contained two open discussion sessions led by Professor Lord Wallace and Professor Wolfgang Wessels, as well as four seminar sessions that dealt with particular aspects of the question relating to the various working group areas into which FORNET members are divided. These four sessions, looking at *Security and Transnational Relations*, *Institutional Reform and Enlargement*, *Substantive Problems of Foreign Policy and the Near Abroad*, and *Theory and Approaches to the CFSP* respectively allowed members of the various working groups to present their findings to the rest of the FORNET, as well as to see what other members were doing. The seminar sessions and open discussion sessions allowed members to network beyond their working group partners, as well as giving those participants who are not affiliated to a FORNET institution an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the full breadth of FORNET expertise and interest. Two working papers, one by Professor Regelsberger and the other by Dr Tanguy de Wilde and Ms Galia Glume were later made available to the public via the FORNET website as part of the project's commitment to disseminate its documents as widely as possible. (These documents are on the accompanying CD-Rom.)

After the plenary, the Steering Group recognised on reflection that the quality of preparation for each seminar session had varied and although an instruction had been

given to each presenter to circulate a paper beforehand, this had not been universally obeyed (hence only two working papers were uploaded onto the FORNET website). For the final plenary the Steering Group wanted to ensure that these shortcomings were remedied, and so it decided to delegate full responsibility for the organisation of each session to a member of each working group who would report back to the Steering Group on the progress being made in the spring of 2005. Another issue that needed to be addressed was the absence of a number of members from the plenary meeting. (Austria, Cyprus, France, Italy, Malta and Sweden were unable to attend.) The absence of the French and Italian partners was later noted in the External Evaluators' report.

#### **6.4. 2005**

The 2005 plenary represented another significant step forward for the FORNET network, both in terms of the number of participants and the scope and design of the programme. At the meeting there were 41 network members and 58 non-FORNET members present, giving a total attendance of 99. This figure represents a three-fold increase on the 2003 figure, which is an extremely impressive rate of growth over the two years between the 2003 and 2005 meetings. In attendance were a number of young scholars, established academics, staff from the European Commission and the European Parliament, members of the research community based in Brussels and diplomatic staff from various national delegations. The structure of the plenary was the same as previous years, split over two days (Friday/Saturday) and a mixture of single and parallel sessions. The keynote address was given by Antonio Missiroli from the Institute of Strategic Studies in Paris, and in the evening there was a further special address by Graham Avery, the Director of Strategy, Coordination and Analysis of the DG External Relations, on the *External Action: The Constitutional Treaty's Institutional Architecture*. In between these two talks were two sessions each with two panels, and the Saturday morning panel was a special event for young scholars.

Following a decision by the Steering Group in the previous year, the planning of each seminar session was decentralised and allocated to various partner institutions, thus allowing them to focus on presenting some of the findings of their working group meetings to the entire network. It also allowed experts in the various fields to invite practitioners and academics from outside the network to address the plenary. The five working groups of the network were thus each put in charge of one session, with four taking place on the Friday afternoon and one on the Saturday morning. The decentralised structure appeared to improve the level of preparation for each session, since as requested, four discussion papers for each of the Friday sessions were made available prior to the meeting. The following papers were presented:

### Seminar Session 1:

- The problem of accountability and the democratic deficit of EU institutions *Ettore Greco (Istituto Affari Internazionali)*.
- ESDP – The Challenges Ahead *Gunilla Herolf (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)*.

### Seminar Session 2:

- The EU, Russia and the European Neighbourhood: The Case of Moldova *Hiski Haukkala (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)*.
- EU & Turkey: Challenges & Opportunities in Enlargement & Foreign Policy *Cigdem Nas (TUNACES & European Community Institute, Marmara University)*.

The intention of the panels was to allow network members to participate in groups that they were interested in (but not members of, and thus not able to attend the working group meetings). The allocation of responsibility for preparing the panel session for the fifth working group, *Theories and Approaches to CFSP*, went to Ben Tonra from the University of Dublin. He decided that in keeping with the objectives of FORNET, the plenary session would be a good opportunity for young scholars working on theoretical issues related to the CFSP to present short papers to the plenary. A call for papers was circulated for the *Theoretical Perspectives on the CFSP: New Scholars' Roundtable* and around 40 abstracts were received, from which six papers were chosen. The six chosen papers were:

- Theorising the effects of CFSP on national foreign policy and the concept of Europeanisation *Nicole Alecu de Flers (Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Vienna University)*;
- The European Foreign Policy: Providing a 'Structural' Alternative in a Unilateral World? *Marie Gibert (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)*;
- The institutionalisation process of CFSP: a historical institutionalist approach *Ana Elisa Juncos García (Loughborough University)*;
- Europeanisation: framework or fashion? *Karolina Pomorska (Loughborough University) & Claudia Major (University of Birmingham)*;



- Discourse Analysis Approaches to European Foreign Policy: A Distinct, but Complementary Set of Hypotheses? *Sebastien Loisel (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris)*;
- Preference formation in the absence of structural mechanisms: Explaining the institutionalisation of security policy within the EU *Moritz Weiss (International University Bremen)*.

The roundtable was widely regarded as highly successful, innovative and a refreshing change from the more typical approaches to presenting theory. The papers were published on the FORNET website and also printed in the CFSP Forum of September 2005, thus contributing to the wider FORNET objectives of reaching out to new scholars and giving them a chance to publish their work through the network.

## **7. Guest Lectures**

The first guest lecture took place in Sofia, Bulgaria on 28 June 2004 and was given by Professor Christopher Hill, to the title 'Pushing the stone uphill: the endless trials of Europe's common foreign policy'. The event was coordinated by Krassimir Nikolov in his capacity as General Secretary of the Bulgarian FORNET partner, the Bulgarian European Community Studies Association (BECSA). A number of important dignitaries attended and the event received a substantial amount of press coverage in the national news media. This was the first FORNET event held with a simultaneous translation service in order to fulfil the objective of reaching out to the widest audience in the applicant states to contribute to the debate on EU membership and the role of the CFSP within the structure of the EU.

The second guest lecture was given in Turkey by Professor Wolfgang Wessels in Ankara on 5<sup>th</sup> May 2005. Professor Wessels was invited by the Centre of European Studies (CES) at Middle East Technical University (METU) to hold a lecture in front of scholars and PhD-students. Due to the debate on the Constitutional Treaty the topic chosen was 'A 'Saut constitutionnel' out of an intergovernmental trap? The provisions of the Constitutional Treaty for the Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy.' This lecture represented a good opportunity to communicate the research focus of FORNET and its results that had been reached so far to the research community beyond FORNET. METU – not being a FORNET partner institute but sharing the same fields of interest – was very interested in an intense exchange of thought and the debate with the Turkish researchers broad forward interesting insights.

## IV. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

### 1. Conclusions

#### 1.1. How the state of the art was advanced

The impact of FORNET on the state of the art of studying European foreign policy and its making has been considerable but indirect, given that this has been a research network and not a specific research project. One need be neither vainglorious nor excessively modest in saying that if FORNET had never existed, a great deal of hard and productive work would not have been done – or at least, would not have been done in the same focused, concentrated way with the many economies of scale which were in fact achieved.

There are five main ways in which FORNET has contributed to the advancement of research in this key area of European endeavour:

- By turning informal collaboration into a systematic and lasting network. For many years previously a small core group of experts had worked intermittently together to promote the study of the European Union's role in the world, producing some joint publications and gradually drawing in younger colleagues. But the lack of resources meant that this was a very hit and miss process. FORNET has enabled us to put this on a proper footing, with 25 member institutions contributing at least two individuals each to a series of meetings and common activities. It has established the principle that every Member State should have at least one centre capable of contributing to EU-wide investigations, and it has alerted many people who would not otherwise have realised the possibilities to the existence of an effective network. There seems every chance that both the name and the reality of FORNET will live on, albeit in attenuated form, particularly since CONSENT provides a platform for nesting and compatible activity.
- By decentralising and encouraging new centres of specialisation. This has been particularly the case in relation to the new Member States, and candidate states, according to our original brief. Not all have progressed with the same speed or effectiveness, but it is clear that in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Sweden and Turkey there has been particular enthusiasm for building up a centre of expertise in Europe's international dimension. Furthermore, even in established Member States such as Denmark, Ireland and Spain we have observed a flourishing of this area of study which is certainly associated with FORNET, and quite probably due to its stimulus.

- This means that there has been a widening of the scope of the research network. The traditional monopoly of expertise in Benelux, France, Germany, Italy and the UK has been definitively loosened. But even within the old core FORNET has made possible the development of existing institutions and a widening of their net to more younger researchers, as has undoubtedly been the case with EFPU (the European Foreign Policy Unit) at the London School of Economics.
- By encouraging younger researchers. Through the structured but informal working groups, through recruitment to work on CFSP Watch reports, and through the special session that Dr. Ben Tonra mobilised at the last Plenary for new researchers, a younger generation of scholars has been drawn in. It has to be admitted right away that the last ten years have in any case seen an explosion of interest among postgraduate students in the political and analytical problems of EU foreign policy. FORNET has not created this wave of interest, but it has encouraged its growth and provided a focal point for many young people who might not otherwise know how to proceed, especially those isolated in a university with few specialist teachers or fellow-students working in the same area.
- By creating a welcoming, open environment in which both junior and senior scholars can participate on equal terms, and in which young female researchers feel at their ease. This is not to say that the informal networks of the past were exclusive or hidebound; far from it. But inevitably their self-selecting quality, or particular funding sources, made some sensitive about exclusion, while in general terms the study of foreign and security policies was traditionally male territory. This is no longer the case at all, and although FORNET is not the root cause of the changes which have taken place over the last decade it has made a positive contribution in the direction of inclusiveness. It is notable what a high proportion of young women have participated in the working groups, and (increasingly) at the Plenaries. Senior women such as Esther Barbé, Gunilla Herolf and Karen Smith have provided important role models in this respect.

## **1.2. Substantive contributions for researchers**

There are four major contributions of a concrete, substantive kind which FORNET has made to the research environment of specialists in European foreign policy:

- The data represented in the '*CFSP Watch Reports*' is exceptionally useful to those concerned with the interaction between the national and collective levels of policy-making. With reports for all the three years 2003-2004-2005 on developments in every Member States we have produced an invaluable collection of material which

can be used comparatively over both time and space. Various books have attempted something similar in the past, but inevitably take a synoptic view over long periods of time, and cannot provide much detail. They also appear infrequently. The CFSP Reports here are not mechanistically configured to exactly the same questions or length, but they are a mine of relevant information and commentary impossible to find elsewhere.

- *The CFSP data-base* is a further important source. It consists of 110 pages of catalogues material, arranged on the basis of first of all individual Member States, and then themes – foreign policy, defence, development cooperation and human rights with a wealth of different kinds of references, whether to parliamentary or other official papers. Unfortunately some of the partners did not fulfil their obligations to complete all the work they had undertaken to do, to the point where they have accepted the need to return money to the Commission, but this minority failing does not undermine the value of the data-base as a whole. Indeed it is a pity that the end of FORNET funding means that this part of the project cannot be sustained over a longer term, as researchers find it an unusually extensive reference tool.
- *The CFSP Forum* was the original reason for the formation of FORNET, in that the original printed version, published by the Institut für Europäische Politik in Germany had proved immensely useful to scholars and had been sadly missed since the cessation of its publication in English. The on-line version created and sponsored by FORNET has proved even more of a success, thanks in no small part to the imagination and energy of its editor in chief, Dr. Karen Smith. Together with the *European Foreign Affairs Review* and the *Journal of Common Market Studies* it is one of the three indispensable English language journals for any student of European foreign policy, and of the three it is certainly the quickest to respond to recent developments and the most accessible for younger scholars – both to use and to publish in. Since it began in July 2003 there have been 16 issues, coming out regularly every two months. The journal has grown in size from five to 18 pages, and themes of the separate issues have ranged widely, from the external Action service to the impact of Enlargement, from Spanish foreign policy to the Aceh monitoring mission. The emphasis has always been on scholarly but accessible empirical work which would interest both academic and practitioner readers.
- The *Working Papers* represent the last major source of materials which FORNET has generated by way of substantive intellectual contribution to analytical work on

European foreign policy. Two of the working groups – that is, those dealing with ‘Theories and Approaches’ and with ‘CFSP in a Regional Perspective’, produced a series of papers which are available on the web to stimulate debate. The other working groups also produced written papers. Although these were not collected together in the same way on the web, a number of them found their way subsequently into print.

## **2. Policy Recommendations**

Once again, it must be stressed that the fact that FORNET is a network of excellence rather than an integrated research project places limits on the substantive conclusion which can be drawn. Twenty-five partners, and nearly 100 individuals, will always have a healthy set of disagreements on how to diagnosis the problem let alone on how to prescribe political solutions even in a research project. In a network designed principally to encourage informed debate and understanding this will be even more the case.

Nonetheless it seems reasonable and desirable for the Coordinator of the network, in a personal capacity at least, to draw some threads together by suggesting some major themes which have come out of our discussions in FORNET, and which many participants would feel able to subscribe to – without, of course, implying that any other particular colleague holds these views. If they are not ‘policy recommendations’ in the strict sense then they certainly have implications for the practical as well as academic understanding of the world of European international relations.

- Firstly, one might conclude that an understanding of *both* the national and the EU levels of foreign policy-making is indispensable for a successful analysis of what the EU does in the world. They need to be treated both separately, as having their own independent status and causal processes and in terms of their interplay. It is a truism, but one frequently ignored, that it is impossible to study (say) German foreign policy without reference to the EU context. Equally, but perhaps less obviously, it is myopic to approach the CFSP, and indeed the external relations of Pillar I, without simultaneous reference to the motives and actions of the Member States. Most FORNET debates have tended to take this dualism as axiomatic.
- A second conclusion is one which most academics would have little trouble with, but which some practitioners might raise eyebrows at, namely that both theoretical and empirical work are necessary in the study of our subject. It is important to have ‘pure’ theory, in the sense of establishing good foundations for methodology and knowing what is constituted by ‘knowledge’. But this level will naturally only be of interest to specialists. Even practical men and women of affairs, however, may

readily appreciate that discussions of matters such as 'soft power' or the 'Mars versus Venus' debate over European foreign policy are in important respects also theoretical, even if the theory has a strongly applied quality. The difficulty of classifying the European Union as a conventional, 'state-like actor' in international relations only strengthens the point. Unless we are to dismiss its validity altogether through some extreme form of realism (itself a theory, of course) we are then forced to consider what the well-known category of *sui generis* international action might actually mean – and in so doing we enter a debate which has both theoretical and empirical components, each of which informs the other. We hope that in the three years of FORNET we have helped to convey the importance of combining sophisticated but clearly thought-out theoretical work with knowledge and accurate empiricism, and to have exposed a number of practitioners to this truth, through our writings and conferences.

- This leads naturally to the third major point to come out of FORNET's work. The dialogue between academics and practitioners is of the utmost importance for the future. Indeed it cannot be avoided even if one side were to so wish. The debate between Robert Kagan and Robert Cooper illustrated this point. Here were two practitioners both talking in essentially intellectual (even if in somewhat over-dramatised) terms about Europe's role in the world. Conversely, some academics get drawn in to quite detailed and down to earth policy advice, whether at the level of the EU or of national governments (which may not be their own; there are frequent cases of individual scholars acting as consultants to the governments of other Member States than their own). Either way, most important issues, from Macedonia to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, from human security to common embassies, will not be so publicly appealing as those of grand generalisations about Europe's rising or declining power. It is perhaps even more important, however, to sustain a dialogue across the policy-scholarship frontier on such matters, and through the *Forum*, its plenaries and special working group meetings, FORNET has made a real contribution to bringing the barriers down.
- The study of European foreign policy will only be two-dimensional if it does not include the wider activities taking place within the subjects of International Relations and Political Science. Areas like human rights, decision-making, and the political aspects of development policy, all important to Europe's capacity to influence events outside its borders, have already generated large scholarly literatures, and anyone approaching (say) the CFSP solely through the lens of EU studies would be significantly disadvantaged. This has been clear in the more specialised aspects of FORNET's work, whether in the working groups or

publications in the *Forum*. Of course stretching things too wide so that the particular focus of European foreign policy becomes lost is equally self-defeating, but the younger generation of scholars is certainly keenly aware of how much there is for them to draw down from areas such as political philosophy, comparative politics and security studies. One important example is the debate over 'duties beyond borders', which has taken place among students of ethics and international relations for two decades. How far is the EU committed to a particular vision or degree of international obligation, by virtue of being what has been termed 'a normative power'? The challenge will be to apply these debates and insights from other fields while remaining accessible in thought and language to non-academic audiences.

- The last general conclusion which maybe drawn from FORNET's work without taking undue liberties with its richness and diversity is that there are dangers in setting up too many specialised sub-areas as the result of the development of EU external activity on the one hand, and of the explosion of interest among students and young scholars on the other. It is natural for the Commission and the Council to spawn endless new initiatives, institutions and concepts, such as the Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit (Policy Unit), crisis management, conflict prevention, human security, battle-groups and the rest. It is equally natural for scholars and commentators to accept these 'realities' and to set their agendas around them. But it should not be forgotten that no particular way of dividing up the cake is inevitable or permanent, even if bureaucratic and academic vested interests often make it difficult to stand back from the 'weight of the existing order of things'. Equally, it would be very parochial were we not able – especially as academics – to stand back a little from the hurly-burly of everyday policy-making to ask the big questions, such as: (1) What is Europe as a whole able to do effectively in the world (and what not?), where and why? And what *should* it do, from a normative perspective which balances the needs of its citizens against those of wider human obligations? (2) What instruments and capabilities does the EU need to have in place by way of insurance, to give itself a serious chance of success when it does want/need to act? (3) And what simply cannot be afforded? (4) What is the appropriate and realistic balance to be struck between matters to be handled at the level of national foreign policy and matters which require collective action? In other words, how is subsidiarity in foreign policy to be handled?

FORNET has made some important contributions to stimulating discussion of these first-order questions in our approach to understanding Europe's role in the world. There is much more to do, and we trust that FORNET and its tradition will continue to be at the forefront of the necessary work.



## V. DISSEMINATION AND EXPLOITATIONS OF RESULTS

### 1. Data on dissemination

The project was designed to make its internet portal central to its dissemination mechanism. The website went on line in June 2003 and grew in size as deliverables completed by the partners were added to its pages. Software was installed that counted the number of hits and data was gathered for the year 2004. Unfortunately, the fact that FORNET is now hosted, via CONSENT, on a different server in Italy means that it has not been possible to measure the amount of recent traffic. This was not an expected situation and no regular data was kept since all was available online throughout the duration of the project while it was hosted in the UK. Work is underway to fix the problem, but as yet no new information beyond that published last year is available.

As the table below shows, by the end of 2004 there were over 22,000 hits per month, which refers to the number of requests for information received by the server. This translates to between 7,000 and 11,000 visitors to the site per month, up from around 3,000 at the beginning of the year, and represents significant progress towards the goal of making FORNET the 'first port of call' for Internet browsers interested in European Foreign Policy. By way of example, when entering 'European Foreign Policy' into the search engine *Google* in February 2006, FORNET is the third site to be listed, behind the European University Institute in Florence and the London School of Economics European Foreign Policy Unit (EFPU) – itself closely associated with FORNET. (By comparison, FORNET ranked six in December 2004, which shows the growth of the network over the last year). However, FORNET does not rely exclusively on electronic media for the dissemination of ideas, since the CFSP Forum is an important publication that is designed to be printed out and circulated in paper format, even if its method of distribution remains electronic.

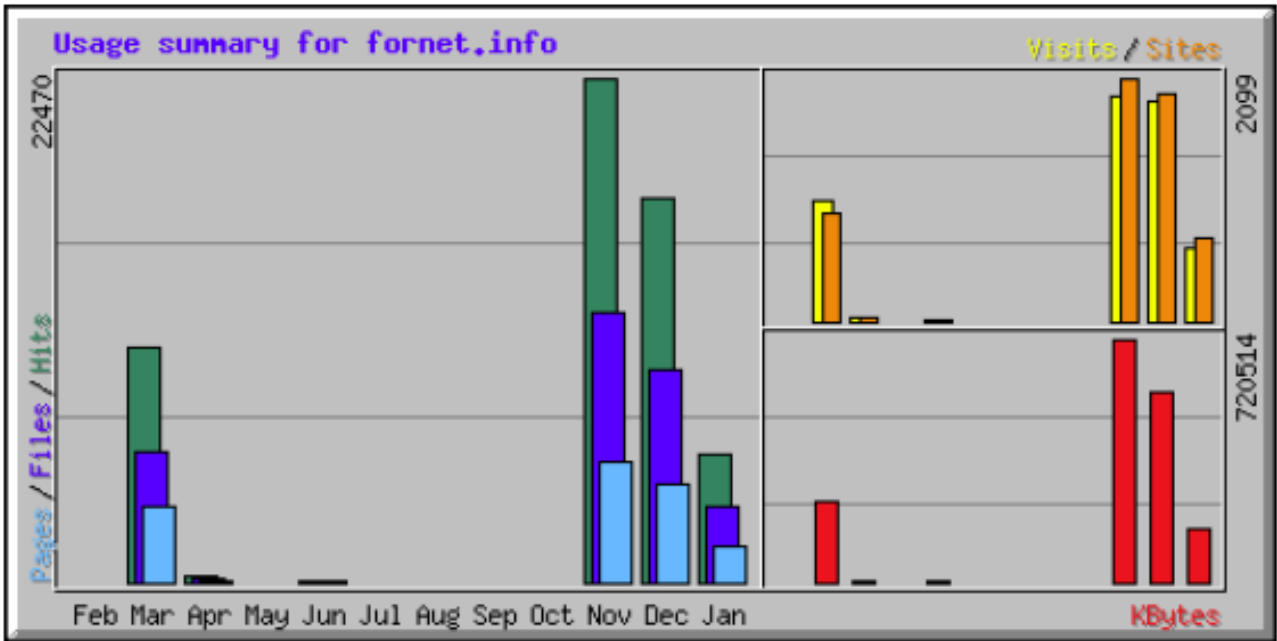
#### Usage Statistics for fornet.info

Summary Period: January 2004 – January 2005

Generated 11-Jan-2005 11:20 GMT

Generated by [Webalizer Version 2.01](#)

**Figure 1.** Usage summary for fornet.info



**Table 4.** Summary by month

Month	Daily Avg				Monthly Totals					
	Hits	Files	Pages	Visits	Sites	KBytes	Visits	Pages	Files	Hits
Jan 2005	515	311	145	56	726	157249	622	1595	3429	5669
Dec 2004	553	304	141	61	1960	560267	1896	4380	9446	17154
Nov 2004	749	401	178	64	2099	720514	1946	5361	12059	22470
Jun 2003	5	2	3	2	5	37	6	11	7	15
Apr 2004	313	151	73	24	40	6957	24	73	151	313
Mar 2004	581	325	185	57	927	239319	1031	3345	5863	10463
<b>Totals</b>						<b>1684343</b>	<b>5525</b>	<b>14765</b>	<b>30955</b>	<b>56084</b>

## **2. Future Plans**

As detailed elsewhere in this report, the future dissemination of the output of FORNET is guaranteed for the next 4 years as part of the CONSENT project, funded under the Commission's FP6 programme. This ensures the continued availability of the website and the continued production of the *CFSP Forum* which will remain an output disseminated through the website. Together with the Virtual Study Units, (which have only recently been finished), the amount of usage of the FORNET website is expected to *increase* after the life of the project, a fact that is testimony to the quality of the existing material and the word-of-mouth reputation of the site with successive generations of new students. Added to this, the increased interest in European foreign policy across the new Member States and accession states will also contribute to the continued importance of the website.

## VI. ANNEXES

### 1. List of deliverables

Table 5. Deliverables

Deliverable No	Deliverable title and Description	Delivery date month	Completed (month)	Notes
1	CFSP – acquis académique – “State of the Art Report” and “Mapping of Competences”	10	Yes (14)	
2	CFSP Report (Total 66)	12, 23, 30	Yes	54 Reports completed
3	Database (22 entries)	15	Yes (15)	20 Completed
4	CFSP-Web-Forum	12	Yes (6)	15 issues produced, 6 months early
5	Virtual study units	17	Yes (36)	75 interactive pages produced
6	policy papers based upon conferences on “Theories and Approaches on CFSP”	19, 30	Yes	November 2003 November 2004
7	policy papers based upon conferences “The Evolution and Democratic on Accountability of CFSP Institutions”	19, 30	Yes	March 2004 March 2005
8	policy papers based upon conferences on “CFSP and Enlargement”	19, 30	Yes	February 2003 April 2005
9	policy papers based upon conferences on “The Evolution of ESDP”	19, 30	Yes	April 2004 November 2004 October 2005
10	policy papers based upon conferences on “CFSP in Regional Perspective: Dialogue, Crisis Management and Conflict Resolution”	19, 30	Yes	February 2004 October 2004
11	3 Plenary Network Meetings 3 Core Steering Group Meetings	3, 15, 35 6, 24, 32	Yes	
12	Policy papers and publications on the CFSP-	11, 23, 33	Yes	Eight completed on Website

	Website			
13	Dissemination report	11, 23, 27	Yes	January 2004, January 2005, December 2005
14	Guest lectures	14-16, 25-27	Yes	Bulgaria 2004 Turkey 2005
15	Workshop on follow-up activities	24	Yes	April 2005 December 2005
16	Elaboration of follow up proposals	35	Yes	CONSENT web hosting
17	Initial Evaluation Report	11	Yes (16)	
18	Mid-Term Evaluation Report	21	Yes (28)	
19	Final Evaluation Report	30	T.B.C.	









European Commission

**EUR 22083 — EU RESEARCH ON SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES — Foreign Policy  
Governance in Europe — Research Network Modernising, Widening and Deepening  
Research on a Vital Pillar of the EU - FORNET**

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

2007 — 60 pp. — 21,0 x 29,7 cm

ISBN 978-92-79-07743-2



### **How to obtain EU publications**

Our priced publications are available from EU Bookshop (<http://bookshop.europa.eu/>), where you can place an order with the sales agent of your choice.

The Publications Office has a worldwide network of sales agents. You can obtain their contact details by sending a fax to (352) 29 29-42758.

