

European Security in NATO's Shadow

NATO has been a successful forum for managing European security policy. Yet European governments have repeatedly tried to build a new security institution in NATO's shadow. In this innovative book, Stephanie C. Hofmann asks why governments attempted to create an additional institution despite no obvious functional necessity, and why some attempts failed while others succeeded. *European Security in NATO's Shadow* considers security cooperation through the lens of party ideologies to shed new light on these questions. She observes that political parties are motivated to propose new institutions by their multidimensional ideologies. Moreover, the success of efforts to create such institutions depends on the degree of ideological congruence among parties in power. In particular, the relationship between the values of multilateralism, sovereignty and Europe informed the impetus and success rate of the attempts made during negotiations for the Maastricht, Amsterdam and Nice treaties to create a European security institution.

STEPHANIE C. HOFMANN is Assistant Professor at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, where she also holds the post of Deputy Director of the Center on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding.

“Using European security initiatives as a test case, Stephanie C. Hofmann shows that the convergence of party ideologies across countries creates opportunities for international cooperation. Sharply argued, carefully researched and well written, this book makes the exciting argument that party ideologies matter in international relations.

Hofmann also shows that it is impossible to understand European security initiatives such as CFSP and ESDP without taking into account the presence of an alternative, namely NATO, which makes the creation of a new European institution costly and perhaps superfluous unless one factors ideological preferences in.”

Frédéric Mérand,
Associate Professor of Political Science,
Deputy Director at the Centre for
International Peace and Security Studies,
University of Montreal

“Debates over European security too often stress its *sui generis* nature. In this important new book, Stephanie Hofmann argues that its study should instead be grounded in broader debates and theoretical schools within comparative politics and international relations. Adopting a resolutely eclectic stand, Hofmann argues – and shows in richly documented case studies – that security cooperation in Europe can only be understood if we build systematic linkages between the international and the domestic. Indeed, domestic politics – in the form of political parties and their ideologies – play a central role in explaining why Europeans have persisted in efforts at security cooperation ‘in NATO’s shadow.’ Hofmann’s book is thus a must-read for Europeanists as well as the broader community of international relations scholars.”

Jeffrey T. Checkel,
Simons Chair in International Law and Human Security,
Simon Fraser University and Research Professor

“This gem of a book bundles what we know from existing theories of international relations and domestic party politics and refracts that knowledge in an analytically subtle and original manner. Beautifully written, this book yields fresh insights into the largely unknown evolution of European security during the past two decades.”

Peter J. Katzenstein,
Walter S. Carpenter, Jr. Professor of International Studies,
Cornell University

“By bridging the fields of comparative politics and international relations, this book provides a unique and superb analysis of the way party ideology informs intergovernmental bargaining on matters of international security. It is a must-read for all students of party politics, international security and European politics.”

Catherine E. de Vries,
Professor of European Politics,
Department of Politics and International Relations,
University of Oxford

“NATO has cast a long shadow over efforts to carve out an autonomous European defence capability. Why these efforts have persisted and why they have reached fruition in the guise of the European Security and Defence Policy of the EU are matters deftly and expertly dealt with in this volume. Hofmann offers an explanation that focuses less on inter-state negotiation and the institutional rivalries of NATO and the EU, and more on the ideological configurations of domestic politics. Focusing principally on France, Germany and the UK, we are offered an approach that breaks new ground in its view of domestic preferences as an explanation of foreign policy and institutional development. At a time when the shadow of NATO may be waning, this is an important route to understanding just how durable is the EU as the basis of a greater European responsibility in international affairs.”

Mark Webber,
Professor of International Politics and
Head of the School of Government and Society,
University of Birmingham

European Security in NATO's Shadow

*Party Ideologies and
Institution Building*

Stephanie C. Hofmann



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At times, I wished my parents had found European security issues as exciting as I do; however, with time, I realized that this was a blessing. They provided the calm I needed to realize that I was “just writing a book.” Danke Euch Beiden, dass ihr mich nicht das Wichtige aus den Augen habt verlieren lassen.