

## 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



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment  
 978-1-107-02909-5 — European Security in NATO's Shadow  
 Stephanie C. Hofmann  
 Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)



**CAMBRIDGE**  
 UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom  
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA  
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
 314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India  
 103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107029095](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107029095)

© Stephanie C. Hofmann 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2013

First paperback edition 2015

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data*

Hofmann, Stephanie C., 1977–

European security in NATO's shadow : party ideologies and institution building / Stephanie C. Hofmann.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-02909-5 (hardback)

1. National security—Europe. 2. Europe—Politics and government—1945– 3. North Atlantic Treaty Organization. I. Title.

JZ6009.E85H64 2013

355'.03304—dc23

2012026435

ISBN 978-1-107-02909-5 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-52174-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## Contents

---

<i>List of figures</i>	page viii
<i>List of tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	x
1 Introduction	1
2 Political party ideologies and security cooperation	13
3 The success and failure of European security cooperation	36
4 The end of the Cold War and the Maastricht Treaty: the weak Common Foreign and Security Policy	77
5 Renegotiating Maastricht at Amsterdam: the failure to go beyond CFSP	127
6 Saint Malo, Cologne and Nice: the creation of the robust ESDP	163
7 Conclusion	204
<i>References</i>	217
<i>Index</i>	259

## Figures

---

2.1 Mapping party ideologies in a multidimensional space	<i>page</i> 24
3.1 Step 1 – government preference formation	45
3.2 Step 2 – international ideological configurations	47
3.3 Cases along the ideological congruence continuum	48
4.1 Degree of ideological congruence, 1990	116
5.1 Degree of ideological congruence, 1996	150
5.2 Degree of ideological congruence, 1997	154
6.1 Degree of ideological congruence, 1999	189
6.2 Force posture in Europe 1990–9 (France, Germany, UK and United States)	197

## Tables

---

4.1 Domestic and international party configuration, 1990	<i>page</i> 101
5.1 Domestic and international party configuration, 1996	139
5.2 Domestic and international party configuration, 1997	140
6.1 Domestic and international party configuration, 1999	172
6.2 Military and civil-military ESDP operations	195
7.1 Ideological congruence and outcomes	205
7.2 Alternative IR explanations	206
7.3 Partisan values explanation	208

## Acknowledgments

---

“Think eclectic” is a credo I took away from Peter Katzenstein. This book has become just that, eclectic not only in its theoretical foundations but also in terms of the support I have received from various individuals and organizations throughout the years and the places in which I conducted my research and wrote the book. The subject of the book dates back to my stay at the University of Washington, Seattle, where I had the good fortune to attend a lecture by Jolyon Howorth. Had he not sparked my interest in European security, this book would likely have been written on a very different topic.

The first version of this book appeared in the form of my Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell. Peter Katzenstein was a wonderful *Doktorvater*, teaching me much about research, writing and pedagogy. Matt Evangelista wisely suggested that I not lose sight of the United States when writing about European security. And Chris Anderson did much to sharpen my understanding of party politics.

Throughout the years, discussions with friends sharpened my thinking about International Relations and politics more generally. My fellow colleagues at Cornell helped keep life stimulating, particularly Michelle Renée Smith, Scott Siegel, Jason Lyall, Maria Zaitseva, Eryn MacDonald, Seo-Hyun Park, Ute Tellmann, Irene Mittelberg, Leila Mohsen Ibrahim, Ryan Plumley and Andrew Yeo. In Geneva, Nicolas Berman, Jovi Carapic, Catherine de Vries, Oliver Jütersonke, Celine Poilly, Emily Meierding, Rahul Mukherjee and Melanie Wahl have provided me with a great support system and inspiration.

Helpful comments, sometimes verging on heated discussions, improved this book profoundly. Among others, I want to extend my gratitude to Frédéric Mérand, Chris Reynolds, Brian Rathbun, Catherine de Vries, Gail McElroy, Nick Onuf, Anand Menon, Rob Weiner, François Heisbourg, David Sylvan, Michael Clarke, Paul Cornish, Andrew Bennett, Lee Seymour, Andrea Volkens, Zeljko Branovic, Eva Gross, Kathleen McNamara, Lora Viola and Keith Krause – as well as to my students at the Graduate Institute who have patiently listened to me

spinning my arguments to them and, luckily, always enjoyed engaging with them.

I was very impressed by how many officials, both in capitals and at the IO-level in Brussels, were willing to share their expertise with me. Many of the most interesting interviews were with policy-makers who asked to remain anonymous. I am thankful for the access and information they provided. A number of policy-makers I interviewed deserve special mention for opening their doors to me. In New York, Sir Emyr Jones Parry was gracious enough to share his unique insights into European security policy in the 1990s over tea; the same can be said of Hubert Védrine in Paris, though as per French custom, tea was not served. Interviews with Joschka Fischer, Joachim Bitterlich and Klaus Scharioth were most helpful in illuminating German perspectives.

The financial support from the VolkswagenStiftung, Compagnia di San Paolo and Riksbankens Jubileumsfond Grant greatly facilitated the research for this book. Furthermore, within their joint research and training program “European Foreign and Security Policy Studies,” an unwieldy title for an excellent network of scholars on European security, I was able to present and discuss my ideas to fellow scholars working on the same policy field. I also benefited from support from the German Academic Exchange (DAAD), a Luigi Einaudi Fellowship from Cornell’s Institute for European Studies and a Mellon grant.

The *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik* (SWP) in Berlin was kind enough to host me for three years of research and writing. SWP credentials provided excellent access to policy-makers and scholars in Germany and throughout Europe. Particular thanks go to Heinz Kramer, Olga Ott, Volker Heise and Peter Schmidt. Though much shorter, my stay at the Centre d’Etudes de Recherches Internationales (CERI) in Paris was highly beneficial and would not have been possible without help from Bastien Irondelle. The EUI in Fiesole provided me with culinary and intellectual support to find the courage to revise the book (also called Jean Monnet Fellowship). Most recently, my new academic home in Geneva has provided just the right incentive to transform the dissertation into a book.

To write this book, I needed to be able to move around and, at times, be distracted. Cafés in Paris and Vienna of the eighteenth century have the reputation for instigating and nurturing politically controversial thought or, at least, as places where one can share ideas, read, write and talk. While the cafés in which I wrote and thought about this book might not correspond to those of Paris or Vienna in the eighteenth century, they nonetheless provided me with a great environment to write. Allegro, Gimme!, La Cité Sankt Oberholz and Livresse deserve

xii Acknowledgments

a special thanks – they have become my offices whenever I am in Berlin, Ithaca, Florence Seattle or Geneva.

I am grateful to my research assistant, Jon Strandquist, for helping me with the copyediting. I also want to thank Cambridge University Press, and John Haslam in particular, for their support throughout the publishing process. A disclaimer should be voiced: though research and writing has never been a strictly individual endeavor, all errors are mine.

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.