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## **"But We Have To Do Something" : the drivers behind EU crisis management operations**

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**Author:** Pohl, Benjamin

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# Stellingen

behorende bij het proefschrift: *'But We Have To Do Something!' The Drivers behind EU Crisis Management Operations* van Benjamin Pohl.

1. Contemporary foreign policy-making in the European Union is pervaded by a perceived 'need to do *something*'.
2. The EU's security policy has been based more on reactive pragmatism than any proactive strategy, whether power-political or ideational. There is no master plan for ESDP.
3. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) does not serve the purpose of balancing the United States of America. The United States of America has instead played a major role for European Union (EU) foreign policy by encouraging action in the ESDP framework.
4. Although the pursuit of liberal values has informed ESDP action, they were overshadowed by concerns over regional stability and foreign policy credibility. This renders the descriptive value of a 'normative' or 'ethical power Europe' doubtful.
5. What the EU did and did not do in the framework of ESDP was above all what EU governments believed their societies would accept and expect from them.
6. There is little to suggest that the foreign policy cultures within the EU have converged during the 10 years since ESDP has become operational.
7. The primacy of foreign policy over domestic politics is obsolete in contemporary Europe – if it has not been a myth all along.
8. Structural realism is idealist at heart to the extent that it assumes that governmental interests can be assumed as identical to state and/or national interests.
9. The challenge of trying to identify the logic underlying ESDP action has been summed up well by Harry Mulisch: 'Should anyone discover how a policy is made – which is virtually impossible – he will spend the rest of his life with a fundamental feeling of insecurity'.
10. Whoever came up with the quip that 'you never finish a PhD, you only abandon it' captured a major challenge embodied in the project.