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EUROPEAN UNION AS A GLOBAL SECURITY ACTOR

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ABSTRACT

The European Union (EU) is rising as a global economic and political actor, a role which the Lisbon Treaty aims to develop. Until now the international order is changing quickly, from the post-Cold War years in some inchoate form of multi-polarity. In with the purpose of the emerging world, both the established and the rising powers face massive tasks in important the contours of a consensual new order which will deal effectively with the interconnect security challenges of the 21st century. The EU's global security role, status as an international actor is clearly demonstrated in this paper. This paper approaches the issue of EU's actors in international affairs by way of institutionally informed conversation possible role-sets for the EU in the international arena, and to how major regional organization to adopt the security in the international arena would assess these roles and also discuss on Common security and defence policy missions involving the international crisis.

KEYWORDS

EU, CSDP, CSDP missions, Regional organization (Middle East, Asia, Africa).

INTRODUCTION

Since the European Union (EU) started to become politically active role, not only towards its Member States, but also to address global issues its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), there has been a fundamental debate whether this activity could actually be considered as an EU foreign policy. However, due to the EU's wide-ranging global involvement and its increased capabilities, it seems to be established that indeed, the EU has a foreign policy.

Since the first half of 20th century the European continent was the theatre of conflicts, which brought millions of dead humans and lots of destruction. For all of the centuries, Europe had a lot of bloody wars, only France and Germany for the period 1870 to 1945 fought three times¹. After the 1945 European continent members were slowly started integration of United Europe, but idea of integration was conceived in the effect of the Second World War. Its main aim was to stop again of conflict and destruction in Western Europe², although such aims were never clearly stated.

The end of Second World War moves towards European integration was seen by many as an escape from the extreme forms of nationalism that had devastated the continent. In 1946 Winston Churchill has told statement call for 'United States of Europe 'becoming louder'³. On the basis of the speech in 1949 the Council of Europe was established as the first pan-European organization. In the year of 1950, the French foreign minister Robert Schuman proposed a community to integrate the coal and steel industries of Europe – these being the two elements necessary to make weapons of war⁴. In 1951 Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg Netherlands and the including Germany signed treaty of Paris creating the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). This treaty main aim begins to unite European countries economically and politically to secure lasting peace.

HISTORY OF EUROPEAN FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

The origins of Security and defense architecture of Europe can be found in after the Second World War situation. The security and defense issues starting in late 1940's cooperation of the European communities, can be idea of "European Defense community" (EDC) was a plan proposed in 1950 by Rene Pleven then the French Prime Minister, in response to the American call for the rearmament of West Germany. The intention was to form a pan-European defense force as an alternative to Germany's proposed accession to NATO meant to harness its military potential in case of conflict with the Soviet bloc. The EDC was to include West Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux countries. A treaty was signed on 27 May 1952, but Communists opposed a plan tying France to the capitalist USA and setting it in opposition to the Communist bloc⁵.

The EDC went for ratification in the French National Assembly on 30 August 1954, and failed by a vote of 319 against 264. After the failed attempts at creating defense and political community, the EU leaders met at the Messina Conference and established the Spaak committee which produced the Spaak report. The Spaak committee was Intergovernmental Committee set up by the Messina Conference in Brussels started on 9 July 1955 and ended on 20 April 1956⁶, when the Heads of Delegation of the six Member States of the ECSC approved the Spaak report. In May 1956 the report was accepted at the Venice Conference where the decision was taken to organize an Intergovernmental Conference. The committees examined the common market, investments and social issues, conventional energy, nuclear energy and public transport and works⁷.

In 1970 the EU was introduced the European Political Cooperation (EPC); EPC was created as a forum for coordinating the member states' foreign policy based on Intergovernmental cooperation. This was the first step towards on political union. EPC is not static, but a process which continues to develop and evolve. Its origins go back to the 1950s, when cooperation on foreign policy was seen as an integral part of building a new Europe after the war, a Europe which could speak with a single voice to the rest of the world. But it was only in 1970, when foreign ministers approved the 'Luxembourg Report'⁸, that the basic procedures of EPC were established⁹.

The EPC vision of a collective geopolitical role an integrated Europe in Worldwide. Their main aim was at the harmonization of views and an alignment of positions in foreign affairs to be expanding integration beyond the economic and diplomatic fields. It was first articulated in the early 1970's under the notion of Europe as a global civilian power, in light of the first enlargement round of the European community in 1973 and the super power rivalry of the Cold War.

¹ Available martial on this website on http://www.parliament.ge/files/1_901_108571_2.pdf, access by Mangalore University , date 19/11/2013

² Achim, hurrelmann, The European Union the history and institutions, downloaded by Mangalore University date 19-11-2013 <http://www6.carleton.ca/ces/elearning/ccms/wp-content/ccms-files/Hurrelmann-EU-History-and-Institutions.pdf>

³ The History of European Union , http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_European_Union

⁴ See Robert Schuman declaration following EU official website on http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration/index_en.htm

⁵ The European defense committee, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Defence_Community downloaded by Mangalore University 27/11/2013

⁶ Sources by Virtual Resource Centre for Knowledge about Europe, published 2012 access date 19-11-2013 http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2007/3/9/42cd3d3b-e28b-4b4a-8e588107b106ac15/publishable_en.pdf

⁷ Ibid

⁸ European political co-operation Report, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1988, downloaded by Mangalore university date 25-11-2013

⁹ Ibid

Europe was envisioned to become an influential, but more peaceful and civilian actor in world politics¹⁰. However the European countries a wand of a collective Europe developing imperial ambition similar to those of its member states. Since then the process of cooperation has gradually been developed, expanded and formalized in a number of stages, culminating in the entry into force of the Single European Act (SEA) on 1 July 1987. The Single Act puts EPC on a Treaty basis for the first time, although it remains quite distinct from the structures and procedures of the Community.

EU AS A GLOBAL SECURITY ACTOR?

The Treaty on European Union (TEU), signed in Maastricht on 7 February 1992, entered into force on 1 November 1993. This Treaty is the result of within member states and other countries events. At outside Europe, the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the outlook of German reunification led to a commitment to reinforce the Community's international position. At within the member countries, the EU wished to supplement the progress achieved by the Single European Act with other reforms. This led to the convening of two Inter-Governmental Conferences, one on EMU and the other on political union.

The TEU was created a single institutional framework based on three pillars –the first pillar European Economic Community (EEC) the second pillar Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and third pillar police and judicial cooperation. The second pillar of CFSP is the organized, agreed foreign policy of the EU for mainly security and defense diplomacy and actions. CFSP deals only with a specific part of the EU's external relations, which domains include mainly trade and commercial policy and other areas such as funding to third countries, etc. Decisions require unanimity among member states in the Council of the EU, but once agreed, certain aspects can be further decided by qualified majority voting (QMV) and finally foreign policy is chaired and represented by the EU's High Representative.

The CFSP sees the NATO responsible for the territorial defense of Europe and "peace-making". However, since 1999, the EU was responsible for implementing missions, such as "peace-keeping" and policing of treaties, etc. A phrase that is often used to describe the relationship between the EU forces and NATO is "separable, but not separate": The same forces and capabilities form the basis of both EU and NATO efforts, but portions can be allocated to the EU if necessary. Concerning missions, the right of first refusal exists: the EU may only act if NATO first decides not to¹¹.

The EU was launched first global military operation in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM/CONCORDIA) on 31 March 2003. The operation made use of NATO assets and capabilities, which was made possible by the completion of work on EU-NATO arrangements. The core aim of CONCORDIA was, at the explicit request of the FYROM government, to contribute further to a stable secure environment and to allow the implementation of the August 2001. The operation contributed to the efforts to achieve a peaceful, democratic and prosperous country, as part of a region of stable countries, where an international security presence is no longer needed. This operation was completed on 15 December 2003¹².

The settlement of Brussels Summit a chance for a new Europe has emerged – not, perhaps, the constitution of Valery Giscard d'Estaing's dreams, but something even more important: a strategy for reshaping global politics. The truly significant business in Brussels came before attention turned to the draft constitution, as the European Council agreed to establish a military planning capability and approved Javier Solana's European Security Strategy (ESS)¹³. While the proposed constitution included a mutual defence clause that is now in limbo, the more concrete decisions remain valid in their own right.

ESS sets out three broad strategic objectives for EU policymakers: First, most immediately, the EU should take necessary actions to address a considerable list of global challenges and security threats, including regional conflicts, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, state failure, organized crime, disease, and destabilizing poverty. Second, the EU should focus particularly on building regional security in its neighborhood: the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean region, and the Middle East. Third, over the longer term, the EU should seek the construction of a rules-based, multilateral world order in which international law, peace, and security are ensured by strong regional and global institutions.

The ESS is the document in which the EU clarifies its security strategy which is aimed at achieving a secure Europe in a better world, identifying the threats facing the Union, defining its strategic objectives and setting out the political implications for Europe. The ESS has been an important reference framework for the EU since its inception in 2003. Without strategy an actor can only really be a 'reactor' to events and developments. In the ESS the EU now has a strategy, with which it has the potential of shifting boundaries and shaping the World.¹⁴

The entry in to Lisbon treaty 1 December 2009, ESDP was renamed Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP), in additionally this treaty introduced the new post of High Representative of Union foreign and security policy, the post merges CSFP and Commissioner of External relations. The Lisbon Treaty formally endorses the extension of the so-called 'Petersberg Tasks', that now include 'joint disarmament operations, humanitarian and rescue tasks, military advice and assistance tasks, conflict prevention and peace-keeping tasks, tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking and post-conflict stabilization'. These tasks may contribute to the fight against terrorism, including by 'supporting third states in combating terrorism in their territories'. Finally, political and military solidarity among EU Member States is in the Treaty via the inclusion of a mutual assistance clause, and a 'solidarity clause'.

CSDP MISSIONS¹⁵

CSDP is establishing a more robust active mission around the world. The EU member states have been exploring ways to increase their military capabilities and promote greater defense integration. These efforts have met with limited success thus far. Civilian missions and capabilities, however, are also central components of CSDP; the majority of CSDP missions have been civilian operations in areas such as police training and rule of law. External policies in technical areas such as trade, humanitarian aid, development assistance, enlargement, and neighborhood policy are formulated and managed through a "community" process at the level of the EU institutions¹⁶. These are the EU's most deeply integrated external policies. Given events in North Africa, the Middle East, and some of the former Soviet states, EU policymakers have been rethinking how such external policy tools might be used to better effect.

As of June 2013, there are 16 active CSDP missions in different regions: 4 military operations and 12missions of a civilian nature. Four of these active missions, one military and three civilian, have been launched since the summer of 2012; all four new missions are in Africa (Mali, Niger/Sahel, South Sudan, and Horn of Africa). An additional 12 CSDP missions—4 military and 8 civilian—have been concluded in recent years. EU missions are generally undertaken on the basis of a U.N. mandate or with the agreement of the host country.

ACTIVE MISSION IN AFRICA

The re-establishment of security and permanent peace in Mali is a most important issue for the stability of the Sahel region and, in the wider sense, for Africa and Europe. On 18 February 2013, at the request of the Malian authorities, and in accordance with international decisions on the subject, in particular United

¹⁰ Preben Hansen, and Flemming Andre Larsen, "The European Political Co-operation 1982."ISSN 0107-6183 http://aei.pitt.edu/4542/1/EPC_factsheet_denark.pdf

¹¹ Jochen Rehr and Hans-Bernhard Weisserth, (ed) Handbook on CSDP The Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union, Publication of the Federal Ministry of Defence and Sports of the Republic of Austria, 2010

¹² European External Action Service, FYROM/CONCORDIA, CSDP missions, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/concordia/mission-description/index_en.htm downloaded by Mangalore university date 27-11-2013

¹³ Mark Leonard and Richard Gowan, Global Europe, Implementing the European Security Strategy, downloaded by Mangalore University date:21-11-2013, <http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/187.pdf>

¹⁴ Sven Biscop, ed.. The EU and the European Security Strategy Forging a Global Europe , Rutledge Advances in European Politics Sweden <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/news/08/Flyer-Biscop-Andersson-ESS.pdf>

¹⁵ For a map CSDP missions, <http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/>

¹⁶ Derek E. Mix , The European Union: Foreign and Security Policy, Congressional Research Service, working paper 7-5700 , April 8, 2013, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41959.pdf>

Nations Security Council Resolution 2085 (2012), the EU launched a training mission for Malian armed forces, EUTM Mali¹⁷. In this operation under the responsibility of the Council and of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the Political and Security Committee (PSC) will exercise the political control and strategic direction of the EU military mission. The EU is implementing a comprehensive approach to the crisis in the Sahel region.

The EU is the largest contributor to Mali's development. At the donors' conference in Brussels on 15 May 2013 for Mali, the international community made commitments worth €3.2 billion (including €523 million from the European Commission). The EU is determined to maintain its commitment to Mali, to help the Malian authorities consolidate peace and security and more generally to find lasting solutions to the crisis in the Sahel region, in close coordination with other regional and international stakeholders¹⁸.

The EU launched a civilian training mission called EUCAP SAHEL Niger in July 2012. With about 50 staff, the mission aims to increase the capacity of the Nigerien police and security forces to combat terrorism and organized crime, with the broader objective of re-establishment of political stability, governance, and security in Niger and the Sahel region. The Sahel has a prominent place in EU policy. Europe has numerous interests in the region, ranging from combating security threats, terrorism, organized crime and illegal migration to assuring energy security. The intensification of the crisis in Mali has highlighted the risk of instability in the region's countries and confirmed the relevance of the regional approach taken in the European Union's strategy for the Sahel, which the Council adopted in March 2011. The impact of the crisis on bordering countries, particularly Niger, calls for a firm response from the security forces.

The EU also began a civilian mission to strengthen airport security in South Sudan in September 2012. The EU Aviation Security Mission (EUAVSEC) will have up to 64 personnel¹⁹. EUAVSEC is the EU's first engagement in South Sudan under the EU's CSDP and is financed within the framework of the EU's CFSP. The mission responds to South Sudan's request for an EU support to strengthening security at Juba International Airport, as part of the international community's overall assistance to the country. A key challenge for South Sudan is to establish a fully operational transport hub for commercial and passenger purposes. Improving the airport security will not only contribute to the fight against crime and international terrorism, but also enable the increased flow of people and goods, thus helping to boost trade and promote regional integration.

MIDDLE EAST AND ASIA

The EU Police Mission in Afghanistan was set up in 2007 in the context of the international community's efforts to support the Afghans in taking responsibility for law and order. EUPOL has a high value as the only multilateral actor able to provide highly qualified civilian policing expertise as well as Rule of Law expertise. This civilian CSDP mission is part of the overall EU commitment to Afghanistan and of a coordinated EU approach that includes local political guidance provided by the EU Special Representative and a reconstruction effort managed notably through the EU delegation in Kabul. EUPOL Afghanistan is deployed at central (Kabul), regional and provincial levels, in several Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs). On the picture above you see EUPOL's handover of the Ring of Steel to the Afghan Police²⁰. The Mission has approximately 350 international and 200 local staff and also 23 Member States plus two contributing states on Canada, Croatia. Moreover mission end will be mandate on 31 December 2014.

The EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq (EUJUST LEX-Iraq) is a civilian crisis management mission conducted under the CSDP. EUJUST LEX-Iraq is the EU's first integrated rule of law mission in the world. The aim this mission was to strengthen the rule of law and to promote a culture of respect for human rights in Iraq by providing professional development opportunities for high and mid-level Iraqi officials from the criminal justice system. The core aim is to contribute to a consolidation of security by underpinning the system of rule of law²¹. After the successful shift in-country, the majority of the Mission's activities are taking place in Iraq; either facilitated the assistance of EU cooperation with other international actors. And also fourth extension of its mandate, the Council of the EU agreed that EUJUST LEX-Iraq would be extended until 31 December 2013.

European some experts remain concerned that a strong EU might act as a counterweight of the U.S. power, others maintain that an assertive and capable EU is very much in the interest of the United States. The focus of the transatlantic relationship has changed since the end of the Cold War: it is now largely about the United States and Europe working together to manage a range of global problems and U.S.-EU cooperation holds the greatest potential for successfully tackling many of today's emergent threats and concerns²². Nevertheless, NATO remains the dominant institutional foundation for transatlantic security affairs.

U.S. policymakers have supported efforts to develop EU security policies on the condition that they do not weaken NATO, where the United States has a strong voice on European security issues. Despite their overlapping membership, the EU and NATO have struggled to work out an effective cooperative relationship. Analysts suggest that sorting out the dynamics of the U.S.-EU NATO relationship to allow for a comprehensive and effective use of Euro-Atlantic resources and capabilities will be a key challenge for U.S. and European policymakers in the years ahead²³.

In today's changing world the EU is called upon to assume increased responsibilities in the maintenance of international peace and security, in order to guarantee the security of its citizens and the promotion of its values and interests. To this end, in its conclusions of December 2012, the European Council expressed its commitment to enhancing the effectiveness of the CSDP as a tangible contribution to international crisis management. In December 2013 the head of the European Defence Agency presented his new report with further proposals and actions to strengthen CSDP. It stresses the importance of enabling the EU to assume increased responsibilities as a security provider, at the international level and in particular in its neighborhood, thereby also enhancing its own security and its role as a strategic global actor.

The EU council believes that the EU through CSDP and other instruments has a strong role to play through its unique comprehensive approach to preventing and managing conflicts and their causes. It stresses the importance of working with its partners, in particular the UN, NATO, OSCE, and African Union, as well as strategic partners and partner countries in its neighborhood, with due respect to the institutional framework and decision-making autonomy of the EU. The EU faces long standing and emerging security challenges, within a rapidly changing and complex geostrategic environment, while the financial crisis is posing challenges to the security and defence capabilities of the European countries. In this context, the Council underlines that security and defence matter. Furthermore, the Council signals that European interdependence is becoming increasingly paramount and therefore stresses the need to address these challenges together, making the best use of scarce national and Union resources through increased and more systematic cooperation and coordination among Member States, and making coherent and effective use of EU's instruments and policies.

The EU Council strongly supports a robust follow-up process to ensure and monitor concrete progress and sustain the momentum across all three clusters of effectiveness, visibility and impact of CSDP, capability development, and industry and market. As part of this process, it welcomes the analysis of the EU's strategic context set out in the High Representative's CSDP report as a basis for further assessing EU's challenges and opportunities in the strategic environment and considering priorities for further actions and for regional engagement. CSDP crisis management missions and operations continue to provide a tangible and effective contribution of the EU to international peace and security. Today the EU deploys more than 7000 staff, in 12 civilian missions and 4 military operations.

¹⁷ EEAS, EUTM Mali, face sheet date September 2013 <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/eeas/security-defence/eu-operations/eutm-mali?lang=fr>. Downloaded by Mangalore university date 26-11-2013

¹⁸ EEAS, EUTM Mali, face sheet date September 2013 <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/eeas/security-defence/eu-operations/eutm-mali?lang=fr>. Downloaded by Mangalore university date 26-11-2013

¹⁹ EEAS, EUAVSEC South Sudan, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/eeas/security-defence/eu-operations/euavsec-southsudan?lang=fr>.

²⁰ EEAS, EUPOL AFGHANISTAN face sheet date may 2013 http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eupol-afghanistan/pdf/03052013_factsheet_eupol-afghanistan_en.pdf downloaded by Mangalore university 26-11-2013

²¹ EEAS EUJUST LEX-Iraq dated http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eujust-lex-iraq/mission-description/index_en.htm

²² Derek E. Mix, The European Union: Foreign and Security Policy, Congressional Research Service, working paper 7-5700, April 8, 2013, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41959.pdf>

²³ ibid

The EU accept that a number of regional strategies are in place, in particular for the Sahel and the Horn of Africa, to ensure a joined-up approach encompassing security that enhances the overall impact of EU action and delivers enduring results. It underlines the need to elaborate new regional strategies where necessary, or update existing ones, thereby further strengthening the regional perspective and close cooperation between the different CSDP missions and operations in a region. They should also take into account the sustainment of EU actions through for example capacity building of partner countries and regional organizations.

The EU Council emphasizes that internal and external security dimensions are increasingly interlinked. It underlines the importance to continue to strengthen the ties between CSDP and Freedom/Security/Justice (FSJ) actors, so as to foster a greater understanding of respective objectives and ensure mutual benefits. This will, *inter alia*, help to cope with important horizontal issues such as illegal immigration, organized crime and terrorism. In this context, the greater contribution of EU agencies (EUROPOL, FRONTEX, and CEPOL) as well as of INTERPOL to CSDP should be further accelerated, as appropriate.

The EU Council stresses its commitment to working in close collaboration with its partners. The Union will continue building and operationalizing regional and bilateral partnerships to be able to cooperate in crisis management. Work will continue to be taken forward within the existing framework, as defined by various European Councils and subsequent arrangements and with due respect to the institutional framework and decision-making autonomy of the EU. In light of this, the Council²⁴:

- EU supports long-standing cooperation with the United Nations in crisis management, building on the experience gained in working together in different theatres, pursuing regular high level dialogue, including through the EU-UN Steering Committee and taking forward the EU-UN Plan of Action to enhance CSDP support to UN peacekeeping, including in the area of rapid response;
- Secondly coherent and mutually reinforcing EU-NATO cooperation in crisis management, in particular in areas where both operate side by side, and on military capability development where requirements overlap, in order to seek synergies, ensure complementarity of effort and avoid unnecessary duplication; it encourages further implementation of practical steps for effective EU cooperation with NATO while keeping with the overall objective of building a true organization to organization relationship;
- EU relations progress made in the peace and security partnership between the EU and the African Union, strengthening dialogue, making the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) fully operational and providing predictable funding for AU's peacekeeping operations, and looks forward to giving renewed impetus at the forthcoming EU-Africa summit of April 2014;
- the close cooperation with the OSCE on shared issues in crisis management; and encourages dialogue by engaging with regional flora with a security dimension;
- The EU accepted the valuable contributions and political support of partner countries to CSDP missions and operations, and encourages pursuing the further signing of Framework Participation Agreements.
- The EU encourages and fosters contributing partners' support to CSDP, with a focus on non-EU NATO Allies, strategic partners, partner countries in the neighborhood, notably the Mediterranean and Eastern partners (including through the newly established Eastern Partnership Panel on CSDP) and other individual partner countries, including by developing regular security and defense dialogues within the framework of EU political dialogues with these partners, and offering opportunities for training and advice, including through the European Security and Defense College.

CONCUSSION

CSDP plays into wider assessments about changing European worldviews and threat perceptions. Many Europeans continue to believe that traditional military threats remain a concern that necessitate the maintenance of military power for territorial self-defense or, when necessary, in an out-of-area context. Increasingly, however, many others in Europe do not regard traditional military threats as a primary security concern. Instead, European threat perceptions tend to emphasize the broad threats posed to societies by challenges rooted in economics, demographics, climate, environment, migration, and terrorism. The utility of military force in addressing such threats is limited, and it is therefore accorded a relatively diminished role in the EU's strategic thinking. Instead, the future roles of European militaries might center on stabilization, peacekeeping, and crisis management.

EU likely to play a more active role in global affairs, the EU has developed a CFSP and a CSDP. On many foreign policy and security issues, the 27 EU member states exert a powerful collective influence. On the other hand, some critics assert that on the whole the EU remains an economic power only, and that its foreign and security policies have little global impact²⁵. Some of the shortcomings in the EU's external policies stem from the inherent difficulties of reaching a complete consensus among the member state governments. Moreover, past institutional arrangements have often failed to coordinate the EU's full range of resources.

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