

STILL EUROPEANIZED? GREEK FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE EUROZONE CRISIS

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Another ‘crisis’ presentation...?

Introduction

- General question: How has the Eurozone crisis influenced Greek foreign policy?
- Research question: How has the crisis influenced the relationship between Greek foreign policy and Europe?
- Energy security and migration/border control

Crisis and Greek Foreign Policy

- Relatively understudied but increased interest
 - a) Economic aspect
 - b) Search for new relations (e.g. Gulf)
 - c) Recalibration of existing relations (US, Russia)
 - d) Regional aspect (Balkans, Turkey)
 - e) Impact on policymaking/bureaucracy
- (How much) Change?

Crisis and Greek Foreign Policy

- Not addressed in literature: Greek f.p. and EU
- Crisis of strategic orientation: where do we belong?
- Is the EU still Greece's strategic anchor?

Europeanization of Foreign Policy

- ‘Europeanization’: The impact of EU membership on national politics, policies and policymaking
- Europeanization of f.p. a puzzle :
 - a) National sovereignty
 - b) Intergovernmentalism/veto
 - c) No enforcement mechanism

Europeanization of Foreign Policy

- Why:
 - a) EU as framework for the promotion of national interests → Maximize influence
 - b) Socialization on the bureaucratic and elite level – ‘coordination reflex’
 - c) Primacy of national interests, but attraction of EU’s norms and values (peace, human rights etc.)

Europeanization of Foreign Policy

- ‘Broad and slow trend towards convergence’ (Wong and Hill 2012):
 - a) More common values and procedures in national foreign policies
 - b) More use of EU ‘tools’ (peace, human rights, markets) in national foreign policies
 - c) Member-states pursue f.p. goals through EU institutions → Common EU positions
 - d) But: Inconsistency across time and policy issues → Defections possible

Europeanization of Foreign Policy

- Factors negatively affecting Europeanization
 - a) International/geopolitical factors
 - a) Domestic factors: party politics, ideological resistance to Europe

Greek Foreign Policy and Europe

- A member-state with ‘difficult’ national foreign policy priorities:
Turkey, Cyprus, FYROM [after 1991]
- EEC/EU: Not a strategic actor
- Greece a difficult fit → 1970s: Europe as a ‘security provider’

Greek Foreign Policy and Europe

- 1981-1996: A ‘difficult partner’
 - a) Turkey → Membership veto
 - b) Balkans/Yugoslavia
 - c) FYROM → Huge cognitive and emotional discrepancy with Europe
- Greece ‘importing its problems’ in the EU

Greek Foreign Policy and Europe

- 1996-2000: Turn towards Europe
- Landmark: 1999 Helsinki EU Council
 - a) Greece accepts Turkey's EU candidacy
 - b) Agrees to submit differences in the Aegean to negotiation
 - c) Cyprus' accession bid not obstructed by partition → Reunification plan before EU entry

A Europeanized Foreign Policy?

- New approach since 2000:
 - a) Foreign policy goals integrated in the broader EU agenda (peace, human rights etc.)
 - b) No unilateral moves → ‘coordination reflex’
 - c) Use of EU tools and policies → enlargement
 - d) Partial reformulation of goals and interests
 - e) Foreign policy ‘denationalized’ and ‘multilateralized’ (Economides 2005)

A Europeanized Foreign Policy?

- But:
 - a) Socialization or national interest projection?
(Tsardanidis and Stavridis 2005)
 - b) Internalization of EU f.p. goals? Or
reformulation of national goals to match
European instruments?
 - c) Domestic support for nuanced readings of
national interest? Mass socialization?

EU Foreign Policy and Eurocrisis

- After Maastricht Treaty (1992): European integration moves forward through deeper cooperation between states
- ‘Dual constitution of the EU: one supranational, the other intergovernmental’ (Fabbrini 2013)
- Eurozone: ECB (supranational authority), but other macroeconomic policies rely on national coordination and harmonization

EU Foreign Policy and Eurocrisis

- Eurozone crisis: No solutions on a European level. Coordination of national policies (Fiscal Pact, austerity)
- A financial crisis turned into a crisis of intra-European relations (bailouts)
- Crisis of intergovernmental governance →
How does this translate into foreign policy?

EU Foreign Policy and Eurocrisis

- Impact on Europeanization of national f.p.
 - a) States give priority to national interests (esp. economic ones) > common EU positions and values → more unilateral initiatives
 - b) Common EU positions become weaker and more controversial → lower common denominator, more defections

EU Foreign Policy and Eurocrisis

- Impact on Europeanization of national f.p.
- c) Upsetting party politics/public opinion → rise of populists and Eurosceptics
- d) Intra-EU diplomacy burdened by the politics of austerity and bailouts → trade-offs between economic and foreign policy
- e) Leverage of non-EU powers

Greek Foreign Policy during Crisis

- Energy security and border protection:
 - Increasingly relevant dimensions of EU f.p.
 - Increasingly important areas for Greek f.p.
(Turkey, Russia)
- Crisis of intergovernmentalism:
 - a) Tension with preferences of other member-states and the EU as a whole
 - b) Tension of national interests with the EU's normative/liberal agenda

Pre-Crisis: 2008-2010

Migration: Intended but tense Europeanization

- a) Push the EU to recognize Greek borders as ‘EU borders’ and request assistance (2008)
- b) First ever deployment of special RABITs units in the Aegean (2010)
- c) Main grievance: Dublin convention

Pre-Crisis: 2008-2010

Energy: Problematic Europeanization

- a) Karamanlis government: Turn Greece into 'energy hub' → geopolitical goal (Burgas oil pipeline with Russia), decrease dependency on Turkey (EU-favoured gas interconnectors)
- b) EU prioritizes Nabucco gas pipeline, which bypasses Greece → tension between Greek and EU strategic goals (diversification of supplies)
- c) Prevalence of geopolitical readings of energy whereas EU also lays emphasis on liberal, market-based goals

Crisis: Pro-EU governments (2010-15)

- Migration: Europeanization of hope
 - a) Strengthening of preventive measures:
Securitization of border > European values
(fence on Evros river, Frontex)
 - b) Islands: ‘loci of fencing and externalization of EU border control’ (Triantafyllidou 2014)
 - c) A hard choice: obligations for control and detention in return for EU assistance

Crisis: Pro-EU governments (2010-15)

- Energy: Europeanization of ambition
 - a) Geopolitical goals but European discourse
 - b) Inconsistencies: Support both TAP (Azerbaijan) and South Stream (Russia) gas pipelines
 - c) Energy findings in Cyprus presented as important for Europe's 'energy security'
 - d) Commission opposing Gazprom investment in Greece (2013): EU market-based approach to energy clashing with Greece's economic interests

SYRIZA 2015-2016

- Migration:
 - a) First SYRIZA government: Instrumental use of migration during bailout renegotiations (statements by MFA, MoD)
 - b) Second SYRIZA government: Alignment with normative EU discourse during migration crisis (still linkage with economic matters?)
 - c) Equivocal towards European assistance
 - d) Foreign policy ramifications of migration crisis: Aegean, FYROM vs. Schengen

SYRIZA 2015-2016

- Energy:
 - a) Overtures to Moscow during bailout renegotiation: Tsipras' visit (April 2015)
 - b) Energy cooperation in Eastern Mediterranean (Cyprus, Israel): Less emphasis on Europe, more on 'multidimensional foreign policy'
 - c) Greece a 'force for peace in its region': Inadvertent reference to EU norms?

Interpretation

- Mismatch between Greek and EU strategic interests and values in energy and migration predates the crisis
- New domestic political context with regards to energy, migration and the EU
- Linkage with crisis: The ‘geopolitical argument’ used both by pro-EU and anti-austerity governments, but to different effect

Interpretation

- Instrumental view of Europe:
 - a) Pro-EU governments: ‘European reflex’ but in order to get assistance from EU and raise Greece’s profile. Little reference to EU market-based and normative goals.
 - b) Anti-austerity governments: Clear effort to link f.p. issues with economy and ‘renegotiation’

Interpretation

- Different processes of conceptualizing relationship between Greek interests and EU
- Pro-European parties:
 - a) Main goal: national interests classically understood
 - b) Emphasize the value of Europe in order to justify anchoring to EU despite austerity
- Anti-austerity parties:
 - a) Main goal: rebalance relationship with EU
 - b) Foreign policy misfits legitimize an overall vision of structurally tense Greece-EU relations

Conclusions

- Crisis has effected subtle policy changes → Tensions between GR/EU f.p. before the crisis
- Primacy of economy → More outwardly instrumental view of Europe
- Most important effect: Different political narratives about Europe in Greek society and politics
 - a) Two instrumental but opposing views of Europe
 - b) Europeanization of politics (Mair 2000) → De-Europeanization of policies?