

# The paradigm governing new security strategy of Europe with an emphasis on the role of culture

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## Abstract

The economic crisis of 2008 that led to the debt crisis in 2011, the Arab revolutions in 2011 that led to the rise of ISIS and the civil war in Syria and Iraq in 2014, the war in Libya in 2011, the Ukraine crisis, and Russia's invasion of Crimea in 2014, the asylum crisis in 2015, the referendum on Britain's exit from the European Union, and the inauguration of Donald Trump in the United States in 2016 were all crises that resulted in threats such as the spread of poverty in Europe, terrorism, immigration and asylum, populism and extremist nationalism, the resurgence of the Russian threat, the gap in transatlantic relations, the rise of China, the inefficiency of the European Union, the threats to energy, environmental and cyber security, and the emergence of a new European security environment in general. New security challenges have made it clear to European officials that, unlike previous approaches to security, which were based on the logic of separating internal security from external security and closing external borders to ensure internal security, in the new security environment, with the characteristics of mutual security dependence and mutual vulnerability, stability and security can no longer be achieved based on the old attitudes and approaches toward security. Therefore, in such a new interdependent security environment; realism and pragmatism must form the general spirit of the new European foreign and security policy strategy. Therefore, with the drafting of the Global Strategy Document in 2016, the EU leaders tried to take a realistic look at the current international position of the EU and have a correct understanding of the new political and security situation, and also give an appropriate and efficient response to the wide-ranging changes that have taken place in the overall security situation in Europe. Meanwhile, considering the fact that, the most important source of instability and insecurity in the European Union is its surroundings, especially in the Middle East and North Africa, the new European security strategy has a special focus on these regions and their influential powers. This security strategy is designed to influence these areas through culture because the most important tool for the union to influence its normative power is its ability to shape the norms of other societies. In this research, by the use of the descriptive-analytical method and the theory of soft power, an attempt has been made to study the paradigm governing the new European security strategy with an emphasis on the role of culture.

**Keywords:** European Union, culture, soft power, repairability, pragmatism

## 1. Introduction

A review of European developments in recent decades shows that the European security environment has changed since 2008 and the recession this year was the beginning of this transformation.

The EU was at the climax of the economic crisis, when the Arab revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa in 2010, and then the civil wars in Libya, Syria, Iraq, and the Ukraine crisis, and the rise of the ISIS terrorist group in 2014 had happened and not only severely destabilized its external environment due to the proliferation of fragile governments, but also it sent terrorism to its internal borders, both in number and form of occurrence and in the range of casualties, much more than in the past. The consequences of this peripheral insecurity did not end there, and it brought more important challenges to the union in 2015, such as the refugee crisis. Tensions over how to manage the asylum crisis and the distribution of asylum seekers in EU member states have had an even greater impact on European integration than the economic crisis and led some members to adopt nationalist policies such as rejecting the asylum quota allocated by the European Commission and suspending the Schengen Agreement, one of the fundamental treaties of European integration and closing national borders

(Noor Alivand, 2020: 12). The issue of the return of terrorists and the security issues, social and economic issues that the refugees brought with them to the EU been exacerbated by the current unfavorable economic conditions and the growing ground for divergent and destabilizing trends such as extremist nationalism and national and ethnic separatism. The result is the rise of far-right, far-left, and anti-union parties in various European countries and separatists such as Britain's secession from the European Union and Catalonia's secession from Spain. Along with all this, the Ukraine crisis and Russia's expansionism in Eastern Europe, and the annexation of Crimea to this country have revived the atmosphere of the Cold War and the resurgence of the Russian threat to Europe and the difference is that this time Europe is facing a more pragmatic and intelligent Russia, not only on its eastern borders but also on its Mediterranean borders - presence in Syria - and on the other hand, it is witnessed the passivity and inefficiency of NATO and the dim days of the transatlantic alliance and the US security umbrella as a result of Donald Trump coming to power. The combination of these threats and challenges, along with other threats such as organized crime, energy security, cyber security, and environmental security, presents a complex and diverse mix of threats to the EU, which has led this Union to move away from the prosperous years of the last decade of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, by entering a new tense and threatening security environment.

Until now, the EU has pursued its foreign and security policy strategy in an idealistic atmosphere based on the European idea of "soft power" and "normative power" - based on a peaceful and integrated continental discourse capable of developing its model of law-based cooperation in the world. Its axis is all over the world. The advancement of this foreign policy often relied on the use of civic tools such as trade, foreign aid, and diplomacy based on economic logic. The Union's foreign policy instruments fluctuated from economic diplomacy (economic aid and sanctions) to Military operations with the aim of peacekeeping issues. Within the framework of this policy, the European Union tried to present a different model as a soft power in areas such as crisis management, conflict prevention, peacemaking, and economic reconstruction and tried to implement its normative policy to expand and generalize European standards at the level of the international system and influence the policies of partners and economic parties; but as mentioned, this atmosphere completely changed after the developments of 2008, because previous strategies did not take into account the developments and realities of recent years. The sum of the security-political situation and the changes that have taken place in the international arena and the general weakening of the EU's power over the past indicate the lack of comprehensiveness, inefficiency and inconsistency of the European security view with existing and generally outdated realities and challenges and the general obsolescence of previous EU strategies, especially the 2003 EU security strategy.

Recent crises have shown that European security is inseparable from global security and the security of other regions. New security challenges have made it clear to European officials that, unlike previous approaches to security, which were based on the logic of separating internal security from external security and closing external borders to ensure internal security, In the new security environment with the characteristics of mutual security interdependence and mutual vulnerability, stability and security can no longer be achieved based on the old attitudes and approaches toward security. In fact, the changing security environment in Europe is the starting point and platform for formulating this new strategy. Emphasizing the urgent need and importance of implementing a new strategy, the EU officials of State called on EU foreign policy chief Federica Mogherini to make a strategic assessment considering the challenges and changes that have taken place in the EU security and political environment and the need to address and overcome the negative consequences of these challenges; the result was released in the form of the third Security Strategy document, entitled as "Joint Action

Vision: A Stronger Europe (Global Strategy for the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union)", abbreviated to "EU Global Strategy", in June 2016.

As stated in the introduction to this strategy, the growing trend of globalization, growing tensions considering economic, religious, and ideological issues, and the emergence of new global and regional actors have made the world "more relevant, more competitive, and more complex," and have highlighted the need to connect the political and security spheres inside and outside Europe: "Europe's internal and external security is increasingly intertwined. Europe's internal security depends on peace and security beyond the continent's borders. Our European project, which has brought unprecedented peace, prosperity, and democracy, has been questioned. "In the east, the European security agenda has been violated, while the plague of terrorism and violence has engulfed North Africa and the Middle East, as well as Europe itself." Therefore, in the new document of their global strategy, the EU leaders have tried to remove the obstacles to the success of the previous strategies, to take a realistic look at the international position of the EU and to respond appropriately to the wide-ranging change that has taken place in the overall security situation in Europe considering a proper understanding of the current political and security situation. As a result, changes in the EU security environment have led to changes in its foreign and security policy strategies and approaches. As one of the most important sources of instability and insecurity in the European Union is its periphery, especially in the Middle East and North Africa, the new European security strategy has a special focus on the region and its influential powers. This security strategy is designed to influence these areas through cultural issues. The purpose of this article is to explain the ability of the European Union to develop an effective public diplomacy strategy in a new global context by emphasizing the role of culture. To this end, in this study, using the theory of soft power, we will try to examine the paradigm governing the new European security strategy with an emphasis on the role of culture.

## **2. Theoretical framework: Soft power**

Power is structurally divided into hard and soft parts. Hard power is an obvious and tangible power which its resources are economy, technology, politics, and military force, and having them changes the position of a country or individuals. In contrast, soft power is the ability to shape the preferences of others by persuading and attracting others using the power of culture, values, and norms (Nye, 2004, p.7). Because the field of cultural diplomacy and its tools are concerned with shaping and persuading the preferences of others, one of the most important concepts that can be considered the theoretical basis of cultural diplomacy has been proposed and theorized by Joseph Nye. In an article published in the Atlantic Monthly in 1990, he emphasized the importance of soft power, calling future power the power to control and disseminate information and the ability to change the behavior of other governments (Nye, 2004, p.8).

Soft power in the term means the ability to shape the preferences of others through persuasion and attract others explicitly, but it is an intangible power that is used to achieve the desired results through attraction instead of coercion or bribery and by using tools and Indirect practices will affect the interests or behaviors of other countries (Nye, 2008,43-47). Soft power, like other forms of power, is the result of several different sources. Knowledge of the sources of any power is important because these resources largely determine the nature of that power. In his book, Joseph Nye identifies sources of soft power, including cultural values, public diplomacy, the policies of politicians and institutions, and foreign policy (Nye, 2008,14-15).

Sanders and Mitchell list the most important positive and negative dimensions of soft power as follows: Changing the ruling ideology, reducing the political participation of the people by inducing religious and national inefficiency of the citizens by destroying their historical background, manipulating public opinion towards their demands and against the ruling system, changing the ruling political cohesion, changing social values and

creating cultural transformation, creating a new culture and changing the ruling political paradigm, intensifying and strengthening ethnic realism. (Elyasi, 2010:50)

The ability to shape the preferences of others also depends on assets such as attractive personalities, sources of soft power, universal values, efficient political organizations, and policies that have legitimacy and moral credibility. In fact, soft power uses a variety of common tools (other than force and money) to attract cooperation. When a country's culture embraces universal values and its policies promote values and interests that others share: in that case, achieving the desired results will be provided for that country. (Nye, 1999,8-9)

Dimensions of soft power are operated by countries using tools such as public diplomacy, media diplomacy, and cultural diplomacy. According to many theorists of international relations, cultural diplomacy is a clear example of implementing soft power, which allows countries to penetrate the other side and achieve their goals according to the capacities and cultural tools at their disposal.

### **3. European Union approaches in the international system**

The beginning of theorizing about the role and approach of Europe in international politics dates back to the 70s and 80s of the twentieth century. However, after the formation of the European Union and the definition of common foreign and security policy, there were many serious theoretical discussions about the role of the European Union in the international system and its foreign policy approach in international politics. In this regard, many theorists since the 1970s have studied the identity, structure, goals, and actions of the European Union and have made various theories about its role and approach in international politics. The first conceptual label was "civil power", coined by Francois Duchene in 1972. Duchene stated that the focus of Europe on cooperation and collective action through the rule of law is a force for making the change in international relations. In contrast, Hedley Bull (1982) argued that without the need for military force to accompany civilian power, European society would never become an influential power. The debate between Duchene and Bull paved the way for further discussions and exchanges on the role and place of the European Union in the international system. An alternative view was the concept of "European normative power" introduced by Ian Manners in 2002.

The European Union as an unfamiliar superpower, a soft power, a silent superpower, a postmodern power, a declining mediator, a Kantian power, a moral power, a pragmatic power and a director of global conflict are among the many other theories that in recent decades have sought to explain the role and approach of the European Union in the international arena (verola, 2010; Smith, 2003). In this section, the most important approaches related to soft power are examined.

#### **3.1. Civilian Power Europe**

One of the concepts that have always attracted the most attention in the introduction of the European Union is the European concept of "civil power", which was first applied to the European Economic Community in 1972 by Francois Duchene, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London. Theorizing about European civil power continued not only in the 1990s but also under the influence of recent developments in the EU's common security and defense policies, in particular the EU's intention to form battle groups. Numerous notes and articles have been written over the past few years emphasizing that the EU can and must remain as a civil power.

The civil power is often defined in contrast to military power. In this regard, most observers distinguish between civilian and military instruments: civilian instruments are in fact non-military instruments, including economic, diplomatic, and cultural policies, and rely on soft power and persuasion. While military tools include the use of armed forces and military equipment, military power is an actor that uses military tools, relies on coercion to

influence other actors, pursues military goals unilaterally (objectives such as territorial conquest with achieving greater military power) and its security policy-making process is less transparent and democratic (Smith, 2005, pp. 68-69).

**Table 1. Comparison between civilian and military power**

Military Power	Civil Power
Military tools	Non-military tools
Military objectives	Non-military objectives
Coercion / hard power	Persuasion / soft power
Lack of democratic control over foreign policy	Democratic control over foreign policy

However, sometimes there is theoretically little difference between military and civilian power: for example, peacekeeper forces are often seen as tools of civilian foreign policy. Of course, a civil power is often defined not only by the tools it uses, but also by the goals it pursues, the ways in which those tools are used, and the process of foreign policy. In other words, four elements are necessary to have a civil power: tools; targets; the use of persuasion, and civil control over foreign and defense policy (Smith, 2005, pp. 68-69).

The final element of the definition of civil power is democratic control over the foreign and security policy-making process, a concept that is rarely discussed in the literature. According to Hill, civil powers tend to consider "open diplomacy and persuading a more advanced public debate on foreign policy issues." This means that democratic control over foreign policy is an important element in civil power. In this regard, Hazel Smith argues that the EU is under pressure to pursue an ethical foreign policy because of its very open and transparent structure - under the supervision of member states, their parliaments, the European Parliament and public opinion.

For this reason, it simply cannot engage in the worst kind of foreign policy power which is policy of power. In general, by combining the four elements mentioned, an ideal - albeit approximate - definition of civil power can be obtained: "Civil power is an actor who uses civil tools to persuade and pursue civil goals. And its foreign policy process is democratically controlled by public scrutiny (Smith, 2005, p.68).

The first and most famous definition given exclusively of the civil power of the European Union (the same as the European Union at the time) was the Duchene definition, although he did not provide a clear definition of the implementing or nature of civil power. The Duchene definition of civil power emphasizes two of the four elements of the definition of civil power, namely tools and goals. Duchene called on the European Union to be "an example of a new stage in political civilization", in particular, the European Community has a chance to show the influence it can wield through a large political cooperative organization that wields power to implement civil forms. As the European Union is a "civilian group of countries that have economic power and relatively less reliance on military power" and is interested in establishing peaceful relations between countries, Duchene calls on the European Union to have a common sense of responsibility for international affairs and establish contract-based policies that in the past were limited to "internal" rather than "external".

He also warns that "European society can make the most of opportunities only if it stays true to its inner selves." In this regard, the following elements are prioritized: civilian goals and tools, creating a sense of collective action and an internal collective action that reflects the social values of equality, justice, and tolerance (Smith, 2005, p.66).

Hanns Maull's definition, as another traditional definition of civil power, refers to only two of the above four important elements:

- Accepting the need to work with others to achieve international goals;
- Focusing on civilian tools, primarily economic, to achieve national goals, with military power as a remaining tool in the service of protecting other tools of international interaction, and
- The desire to create transnational structures to address important issues of international management

As noted, Maull's definition focuses primarily on civic tools and a willingness to cooperate with others. This definition focuses only on national goals and how to use the tools to achieve those goals. He also called for the development of a set of values that includes "solidarity with other communities and a sense of responsibility for the future of the world, and especially the global environment." In general, the goals set for a civil power by Maull and Duchene include international cooperation, solidarity, de-escalation of international relations, strengthening the rule of law in international relations, responsibility for the global environment, and the promotion of equality, justice, and tolerance. (Smith, 2005, p.66).

Christopher Hill is one of the key defenders of the concept of European civil power. According to Hill, while power blocs use coercion, civilian powers use the tools of soft power (persuasion and attraction) rather than coercion (carrot and stick) in dealing with third countries and international issues (Ibid, p.68). For Hill, the reluctance to use military force is a key feature of European civil power. Hill argues that the global behavior of Western Europe has relied on "diplomatic rather than coercive tools, the centrality of mediation in conflict, and the importance of economic solutions to political problems." Thus, diplomacy alongside economics is among the basic tenets of European civil power (Hill, 1993, pp.310-311). In addition to Hill, another group of theorists such as Karen Smith and Mario Telo believes that the EU can influence some of the world's results, but this actor is effective on the margins and only as a civilian power and through the use of civilian tools. Smith argues, for example, that the lack of a European defense identity, along with the desire of European countries to support NATO's integrity, has made the European Union a civil power by default.

As stated, in the context of civil power, the advancement of European goals is not through military tools but the use of economic and political ones. Various elements such as trade, cooperation with trade agreements, financial aid, institutional and structured negotiations, and the promise of EU membership are among the factors that create and promote the civil power of the European Union (Romaniuk, 2010, p.4). Thus, European civil power emphasizes the importance of economic and diplomatic power over military power. In contrast to financial aid, the EU also has the ability to impose economic and financial sanctions on third countries. As part of its sanctions policy, the EU is forcibly imposing sanctions in order to influence the cost-benefit calculation of the target government by incurring higher costs.

Another method used by European civil power is the principle of conditionality. In this context, the EU is increasingly using positive and negative conditions to persuade or dissuade the other side. A negative condition includes the reduction, suspension, or termination of benefits provided in the event of a breach by the opposing government. Agreements, grants, loans, and negotiations are promised on a regular basis, provided that partner countries meet certain political and economic conditions (Smith, 2005, p. 70). In addition to economics, diplomacy and multilateralism are key elements of the EU's civil power. The European Union has played a pivotal role in the development of the international community. The adoption and implementation of important new multilateral legal instruments, such as the Kyoto Protocol, the International Criminal Court, and initiatives such as the Convention on Biological and Toxic Weapons and the Convention on the Prohibition of Anti-Personnel Mines are among these pivotal actions (MacNaughtan and Keukeleire, 2008, p. 302).

Multilateral diplomacy is defined considering unilateralism, and in addition to civilly enhancing the EU's role in international affairs, it also promotes values and principles agreed upon by the international community.

### **3.2. Normative Power Europe**

Another concept that has been used in the last two decades to explain the role and approach of the European Union in foreign policy is the concept of "Normative Power Europe". This concept was first introduced by Ban Manners in an article entitled "Normative Power Europe; Contradiction in Vocabulary" (2002) (In this article, Manners examines the concept of a Europe of normative power by examining the normative discourses and performance of European society in the 1980s and 1990s (Manners, 2008, pp. 235-238). In addition to Manners, postmodern thinkers in international relations have spoken extensively about the normative power of the European Union. Friedrich Nietzsche, Jean Baudrillard, Jacques Derrida, and Julia Kristeva have all contributed greatly to the question of the EU and normative theory. Nevertheless, it is Manners who, more than anyone else, has developed the European approach of normative power well and with great focus.

Manners's conceptualization of normative power is inspired by the old concept of EU civil power. Accordingly, Manners believes that both Duchene and Maul's definition of civil power suffer from conceptual bias, because they value only physical power, especially economic power, and neglect spiritual and inspiring power (Noor Alivand, 2020:40) In his view, "this approach (civil power, the power of norms) is not properly understood and underestimates the international influence of the European Union." Thus, for Manners, the concept of normative power differs from the two concepts of civil power and military power in that it is fundamentally based on the power of ideas and not on material or physical power. In this regard, Manners argues that far from the issues of military power and civilian power, the influence of ideas of European identity and international role reflects its normative power. In fact, according to Manners, military power is "the ability to use military tools" and normative power is "the ability to form normative concepts." According to Manners, the European Union is a normative power in the international arena, because Europe itself is based on normative principles. In this sense, the EU, as a post-sovereign and post-Westphalian entity, seeks to discredit Westphalian relations and values such as peace, democracy, the rule of law and human rights, as well as the value-rational approach to foreign policy in the light of international presence, and as a normative power, it helps reduce violence in world politics and the development of global social justice. (Manners, 2008, pp. 238-240).

Manners believes that the most important factor shaping the EU's international role is not what the EU says or does, but the nature of the EU. In fact, due to the fundamental need of the European Union for values and norms, after years of conflict and war on the continent, the principle of union formation was formed based on values. For this reason, the nature of the European Union as an international actor is also special and unique and is focused on values and not the zero algebraic logic of the balance of power (Shirgholami, 2007: 129). In this regard, in Manners's view, the five fundamental norms that have been so much emphasized in European documents and treaties that form the basis of the normative power of the European Union: the peace enshrined in the Schuman symbolic declaration and the Coal and Steel community treaty; the issue of freedom emphasized after 1957 and the three principles of democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights as enshrined in the post-1991 EU treaties - including the EU treaty, articles on the EU's common foreign and security policy (Article Eleven of the Maastricht Treaty) and the norms for EU membership adopted in 1993 at the Copenhagen European Council (Manners, 2008, p.242).

According to Manners, in addition to these five main norms, there are four sub-norms of social cohesion, anti-discrimination, sustainable development, and good governance, which strengthen the normative discourse of the European Union. Recent sub-norms are also emphasized in Articles 2 and 6 of the EU Treaty, Articles 6 and 13 of the EU Treaty, the Copenhagen Criteria and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. These norms and principles on which the European Union is based form the normative basis of the European

Union, influence the goals and approaches of the European Union and put the European Union on the path of normative behavior (Ibid, p. 25).

Manners goes on to say that the European Union promotes these principles and norms in the outside world considering six ways:

1. Contagion: contagion is a way of "involuntarily spreading ideas from the union to other political actors."
2. Dissemination of information: dissemination of information is the result of employing "a range of strategic and declarative communications".
3. Dissemination of procedures: it is defined as "institutionalization of the relationship between the EU and third parties".
4. Transfer: in which the European Union transfers its desired values to those parties through the exchange of "goods, trade, financial assistance and technical assistance with third parties".
5. Explicit dissemination: which results from the "physical presence of the European Union in third countries and international organizations".
6. Cultural filter: "which affects international norms and effective political learning in third countries and organizations and leads to learning, adaptation or even resistance to norms" (Manners, 2008, p. 244)

However, some authors consider broader ways of disseminating European norms, including even coercion.

In this regard, Benjamin Kienzle believes that from a practical point of view, there are at least four other ways to disseminate norms: persuasion, integration, manipulation, and coercion.

Persuasion is based on a kind of pure force of argument. This means that others learn or are convinced of the superiority of certain ideas over political positions. Political negotiations, such as human rights negotiations between Iran and the European Union, are clear examples of this kind of norm dissemination. Integration is not fundamentally different from persuasion, because the dissemination of the norm is still unavoidable; however, in this case, the emphasis is not on integration, but rather on bringing others into a common structure; a structure in which actors become full members by accepting certain norms. This type of normative publication has been used in the EU enlargement process in the 1990s and to a lesser extent in the European Neighborhood Policy. The third type of dissemination of norms is manipulation, which involves negative or positive incentives or stimuli for the application of certain norms. Additionally, its specific cases are the offer of rewards in the form of trade concessions, just as what the European Union has proposed in its negotiations with Iran under the Trade and Cooperation Agreement, threatening the negative consequences in the form of sanctions. In a sense, the application and implementation of norms by a third party is the result of a cost-benefit calculation. Typically, diplomatic negotiations form the basis of a manipulative approach. Coercion is the imposition of norms on others, either through control of a particular territory or the use of military force. In this approach, unlike other types of publication of norms, the cooperation of the target actor is not required. Examples of this type of dissemination of norms are the colonial powers in their colonies with the military occupation of another country (Kienzle, 2012, p.82).

In general, the European Union uses various tools to promote its normative principles and values, based on its normative power. Some of these tools are the same tools of traditional diplomacy and foreign policy, such as declarations, political actions through diplomatic missions in third countries, as well as resolutions and interventions within the framework of the United Nations. In addition, the European Union promotes human rights and the democratic process through various negotiations and cooperation programs implemented in third countries and through political negotiations with them. To do this, the European Union follows a special legal basis known as the "Human Rights Clause" and is mostly included in EU agreements with third countries as a key component (Waldner, 2007: 47-46)



The EU's most important tools in the field of human rights in foreign policy are common strategies, common positions, joint actions, statements, policies, and negotiations with third countries. The Charter of Fundamental Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights are also among the most important tools used by the Union in foreign relations. Article 21 of the EU Treaty also sets out the general principles of human rights to be applied in the EU's external relations. The Fundamental Rights Agency is also one of the responsible human rights institutions, which was established in 2007. In general, the European Union regularly addresses the issue of human rights in its political negotiations with regional organizations and third countries and holds human rights negotiations with more than forty countries. In this regard, 79 African, Pacific, and Caribbean States are engaged in human rights negotiations with the European Union under Article 8 of the Cotonou Agreement. The EU has been particularly successful in terms of transmission, dissemination, and transmission. Manners cites as an example that the European Union has succeeded in eliminating the death penalty by its more limited use by disseminating and clarifying norms regarding the prohibition of the death penalty (Manners, 2008, p. 248).

He claims that the normative power of the European Union in the international community in the issue of the death penalty shows itself (Shirgholami, 2015: 119). The expansion of the European Union to the east and center of Europe by promoting its norms in these regions, participating in the Iran nuclear negotiations through the publication of procedures and efforts to promote human rights in Turkey, which is a precondition for the country to join the EU, can be considered as some cases that the European Union has been somewhat successful in them. Manners argues that Europe can influence other actors' perceptions of what should be considered a norm. The European Union has always been known for its actions such as peacekeeping, regional integration and multilateralism (Thamudi Pilehroud, 2017:6)

Thus, for a theorist like Manners, the acquisition of military tools could undermine the debate over European normative power. The acquisition of military capability could lead to a fundamental shift in European politics and its shift to traditional great powers. He also states that the process of militarization of the European Union through various political instruments, such as the European Security Strategy, has weakened the EU's claims regarding its normative power. These conditions have changed the character of the European Union in the international arena, or more precisely, the identity of the European Union's foreign policy towards a direction that is more visible from an emerging power-hungry state (Manners, 2008, p. 171).

Although the EU itself claims that normative power and military capability are well compatible, and that in this context military action will support European normative power, and that normative power will constructively affect the effectiveness of European military power, some others do. Analysts Nova and Manners believe that the EU's efforts at a common defense policy have undermined its normative identity. In this perspective, the more the normative power of Europe is combined with its military capabilities, the less Europe relies on normative power and the less it will be different from traditional forms of power (Shirgholami, 2017: 123).

According to proponents of this approach, the EU's move towards militarization after 2003 could have unintended consequences for the EU's normative power in world politics. The adoption of the EU Security Strategy in 2003 sets out important goals for the EU in the field of security. Some experts, such as Gerard Kill, believe that a European security strategy could be an important step towards achieving a strategic culture of the European Union. He believes that the European Union has changed its course from normative policy and is moving as fast as possible towards military intervention (Ortoleva, 2008, p.11).

#### **4. The paradigm governing the new security strategy**

In the new security strategy of the European Union, the change of this union from a normative actor to a pragmatic actor is done and the macro analysis and evaluation of each security strategy are formulated within

the framework of a specific security paradigm and discourse. Obviously, that paradigm is derived from the security environment and the developments and trends that take place in this environment. Therefore, by carefully studying the EU's global strategy, we find that key and repetitive concepts such as; fundamental pragmatism and reproducibility shape the discourse and paradigm that governs the new European security strategy. Therefore, in order to better understand the security paradigm governing the EU's global strategy, these concepts must be analyzed and interpreted.

#### **4.1. Principled pragmatism**

According to this principle, the European Union prefers pragmatism on the one hand to isolationism and on the other hand to interventionism in its foreign policy action. "The EU will communicate with the world to find a way out of the dilemma of isolationism and ill-considered interventionism, and will bring to the fore its responsibility regarding others and its sensitivity to unforeseen events". Principled pragmatism will guide our foreign action in the incoming years" (EUGS, 2016, p.16). In fact, principled pragmatism is described in this document as a "realistic assessment of the current strategic environment": "Our interests and values go on together. We have an interest in promoting our values in the world. At the same time, our core values are embedded in our interests. Therefore, the EU will be guided by principled pragmatism. Relying on clear principles, as much as it comes from a realistic assessment of the strategic environment, stems from an idealistic desire to advance a better world" (Ibid).

The above description shows that the EU must adapt to a rapidly changing environment, incorporate political realism into its foreign policy, and at the same time adhere to its principles as much as possible. Although the term "principles" still emphasizes adherence to European values and norms, but as a choice between a realistic analysis of the situation and pragmatism, albeit contrary to values, or a choice based on EU values such as freedom, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights, as in the past, acting on values and norms will no longer have priority, precedence and superiority and decisions will be taken on a case-by-case basis, taking into account the general interest of the European Union. Case-by-case decisions mean that approaches that have been effective in one issue or one country or region may not necessarily achieve the expected result in an issue with another country. Therefore, the foreign policy approach should be analyzed and evaluated according to the needs and characteristics of each country or the essence of each issue and an appropriate approach should be taken. This leads to setting realistic and practical goals and using the appropriate tools to achieve those goals (Tzvetkova, 2017, p.79-81).

According to Biscop, why the EU is now abandoning its emphasis on democratizing its neighborhood and replacing it with a policy of restoration and resilience can be explained in terms of the principle of pragmatism inherent in the new EU security strategy (Biscop, 2016, p.1-2). Theoretically, fundamentalist pragmatism while claiming that it continues to promote democracy and human rights, argues that the EU should manage its foreign action on a case-by-case basis. Therefore, within this principle, the EU is caught between two different logics - the old neoliberal position that considers a threat, defense geopolitics and liberal intervention, and the new logic that considers risk, flexibility, complexity, and capacity building. The principle of principled pragmatism prescribes this approach to the regional strategy of the European Union in support of liberal values, in which the Union must be cautious and find the right balance (Noor Alivand, 1399: 63). Under this principle, returning to the legal concerns of citizens in the Middle East and North Africa is not a stable issue for the EU. Also, recent developments in the region have led the EU to realize that the groundwork for the popular uprisings of the Arab world in 2011 still exists and that although many regional regimes remain repressive, they are also inherently fragile. The EU may not be able to change these realities at the risk of putting a liberal ambition at the forefront,

and it may once again fall into the trap of regional instability and insecurity (Ibid). Therefore, within the framework of the principle of principled pragmatism, the EU will work with both governments that want to have a close relationship with the EU and governments that do not want to do so, including authoritarian regimes. In fact, principled pragmatism is a move towards a more pragmatic foreign policy that allows the EU to put both cooperation and competition with other international powers on its agenda.

#### **4.2. Rehabilitation**

Rehabilitation can be defined as "the internal capacity of societies to deal with crises, with an emphasis on organizational development and internal capacities and capabilities rather than the provision of foreign aid, resources, and political solutions." "The rehabilitation of governments and communities is our strategic priority in our neighborhood," the EU's global strategy states. Many people in the European Neighborhood Policy, both in the East and in the South, aspire to build closer ties with the Union" (EUGS, 2016, p. 25).

The Global Strategy for Rehabilitation considers "a broad concept that encompasses all individuals and society as a whole" and is characterized by "democracy, trust in institutions and sustainable development and the capacity for reform." The global strategy to achieve this goal states: "the EU supports rehabilitation in several ways, targeting severe cases of government, economic, social and environmental vulnerabilities with energy, as well as developing effective migration policies for Europe and its partners" (EUGS, 2016, p.9). The EU's new security strategy to implement this policy adds: "social communication will be strengthened through increased mobility, cultural and educational exchanges, research cooperation and civil society work programs" (EUGS, 2016, p. 25).

In this context; The EU is considering more effective methods for its fundamental reform process, one of which is to engage with civil, economic, and social actors. In this regard, the European Union will work with all parties on comprehensive human rights and democracy issues. In fact, in addition to engaging and supporting civil society, human rights and democracy will be discussed through political negotiations within the framework of an agreement with all partners (European Commission, 2015, pp. 5-6).

#### **5. The values and principles of the European Union regarding its cultural diplomacy**

In this article, first, the values and principles that make the European Union culturally attractive are listed, and then some of the cultural policies of the European Union are considered.

##### **5.1. The values and principles of the European Union: the foundation of the power of attraction**

In order to accurately measure the strength of the European Union, it is necessary to consider the persuasive dimension or its ability to influence. To this end, analysts must go beyond politics and focus on values that describe and motivate the union's ideals, aspirations, ways of understanding the world, principles, norms, and beliefs.

However, other international powers share most of these values and principles. So, what really represents the identity of the European Union? Mannors interprets the common features of the European Union that are the common values that make up the European Union.

The EU's core value is the promotion of what is known as "lasting peace"; and it means highlighting the union's interest in lasting peace. This interest is driven by a long history of military conflict in which the territories of the Union have suffered on various occasions. This quest for lasting peace has given rise to a special way of resolving the EU's disputes with itself and others: the EU addresses structural factors to prevent recurrence of conflicts,

produces cooperative links in civil society, and eliminates the effects of violence through peaceful negotiations and the promotion of economic and social development.

Another structural element of the European Union is the defense of democracy as a political system. In this case, however, the union has its own interpretations but, the EU emphasizes the satisfaction and consensus aspects of democracy, highlighting the relative benefits of elected representation. This approach is interpreted in practice as the possibility of a coalition government in which power is divided between different parties and political forces. This setting is a testament to the balance of power that is developing between the various governing bodies of the European Union. In the European Union, democratic freedom is balanced by social responsibilities; this means that individual freedom should not jeopardize other social values. This "social freedom" first manifests itself in the economic system. The European economy is based on the capitalist system and the free market, but is tempered by "social cohesion"; this social cohesion seeks to redistribute wealth and welfare, to cover basic needs (creating housing, health, education, and protection from widespread government intervention in economic affairs (Rouhani, 2013: 127). It can be argued that while American capitalism emphasizes the origin of the economic process and seeks to create equal opportunities for all citizens. European capitalism is at the end of this process, trying to ensure equal results and reduce economic inequality between member states and regions.

This social cohesion is specifically designed in line with the EU's development cooperation policy. The goal of this policy is sustainable development, which not only means respecting the environment but also includes social, political, and economic development in general. This unique way of understanding personal freedom is also reflected in the concept of human rights. According to the European Union, human rights must be participatory (collective human rights), for example, the rights of individuals must be defended as equals as collective rights that are fully interrelated.

Concerning international law, the European Union promotes the principles of "supranational" law. Accordingly, this model operates in three ways: at the community level, by promoting the supremacy of the rights of communal societies in the areas assigned to member states; at the international level, by encouraging adherence to the European Union and its member states to the supremacy of "European legislation"; and in the field of international citizenship (international law), the union and its members follow the principles established by humanitarian law (Manners, 2006, p.240)

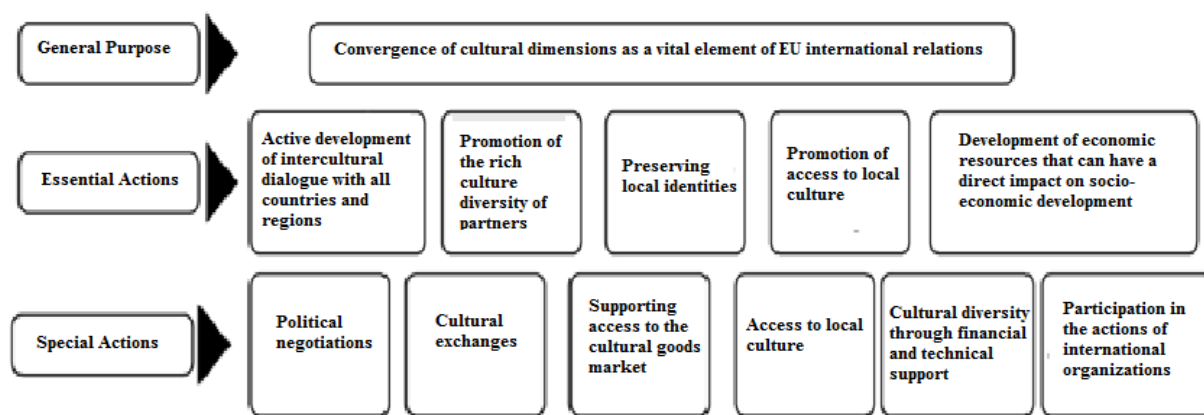
The excellence of law leads to inclusive equality and offers a broad perspective on the fight against discrimination, including each factor involving different social behaviors. However; This principle reveals certain incompatibilities between values and cultural life in the union.

Like the last issue, the EU also has its own interpretation of the concept of "good governance". This concept encompasses all of the previously stated values and includes equality, transparency, representation, participation, social interaction, and responsibility. Its application is based on two basic principles: the participation of civil society, especially within society, and multilateralism in international relations and promoting collective decisions in the United Nations, but Europe was born with a global call and invitation, and these principles are not provided for domestic regulations. The European Union has promoted them internationally, offering this version as an alternative to resolving global conflicts and threats. This is the reason for the decisions taken in Kyoto (1997), Bonn (2001), Johannesburg (2002), and Copenhagen on climate change (2009), in Doha at the World Trade Organization (2001), and also establishing an international war crimes tribunal, enacting anti-personnel mine laws, and committing to cooperating with Third World countries (Lucarelli, 2007, p.18). The principles and values set out above underlie the EU's key contribution to international politics, promoting good governance, supporting social and political reform, combating corruption and abuse of

power, and strengthening state law in defense. Human rights and the strengthening of international order, all of which have been promoted through multilateral action and constructive partnership with developing countries. The distinguishing feature of the EU's international power is the use of persuasion and the promotion of collective action between different countries, rather than coercion or unilateralism.

## **5.2. Investigating the most important cultural policies of the European Union**

History has shown that the EU is reluctant to use the title of cultural diplomacy and at the same time does not want to be recognized as an active organization in relation to people outside the EU. This institution has mostly used terms such as information, cultural and educational exchanges, or communication instead of cultural diplomacy. Moreover, with the necessary implementation of the Maastricht Treaty in early November 1993 and the mention of "organizing cultural cooperation and the need for the flourishing of the culture of the member states of the European Union" in Article 3 of this treaty, a new season of cultural policy was opened to member states. Additionally, by dedicating Article 128 of the Maastricht Treaty to cultural issues, this approach has gained a foothold in European society as a recognized goal with valid legal backing. This article was subsequently reinstated in paragraph 151 of the Amsterdam Convention in 1997. According to Article 151 of the Amsterdam Treaty, the first generation of cultural programs, first as a pilot and then as a set of common activities, entered the field of implementation from 1993 to 1999. These experiences paved the way for the implementation of three cultural programs "Kalidoscope", "Arian" and "Raphael" between 1996 and 1999. By the end of the kaleidoscope, Arian and Raphael programs, in June 1999 the European Parliament and Council of Europe approved (Culture 2000 Programme) proposed by the Commission on 14 February 2000. Culture 2000, which brought together the three programs of Kalidoscope, Arian and Raphael, considered raising the level of interaction, regarding European cultural heritage, new ways of presenting cultures, as well as the socio-economic functions of culture and supports joint projects between countries. The program lasted from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2000 to December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2006 (European Union, 2007). The following is the proposal of the Parliament and the Council of Europe in the framework of the " Culture 2007 Programme " on the 4th of July, 2004. This program, which is a continuation of the Culture 2000 Programme and is much more complete than that, continued from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007 to the end of December 2013. The Culture 2007 Programme pursued three main goals: first, to facilitate the transfer and circulation of artworks and cultural products across national borders; second, to support the transfer of cultural professionals across the Union's member states in order to enhance the level of exchanges and the transfer of experience; third, to create and promote intercultural dialogue based on the equality and homogeneity of different cultures. The program also provided arrangements for cooperation with third countries (outside the Union), especially those that have signed a bilateral cultural cooperation agreement with the Union. It was then that the EU's cultural policy orientation towards the outside world became more serious and centralized. In this regard, in 1995, within the framework of the Commission "European Agenda for Culture in a Globalizing World", a bold step was taken for the cultural agenda. The agenda covered three aspects: first, the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, second, the promotion of culture as a catalyst for creativity within the framework of the Lisbon Strategy, and third, the promotion of culture as a vital element in EU international relations. The set of goals for the promotion of culture as a vital element of the EU's international relations, which is emphasized in the "European Agenda for Culture in a Globalizing World", is presented in the following form.



**Figure 1. Objectives of EU cultural diplomacy (Safavi et al., 2018: 10)**

The Commission emphasized that Europe's richness and cultural diversity are closely linked to its role and influence in the world. The European Union is not just an economic process or a trading power, but it is now perceived as an unprecedented and successful social and cultural project. The European Union must use this capacity to be a successful example of soft power in establishing and promoting norms and values to inspire the world of tomorrow. However, the commission's efforts paid off, and the idea of creating a role for culture in the EU's external relations was endorsed by EU leaders. The Council of Europe in June of 2008 recognized the value of cultural cooperation and international dialogue at the highest level as an integral part of the Union's foreign policy.

The Council agreed on the promotion of cultural diversity and international dialogue in foreign relations of the union and its member states were adopted in November 2008 entitled as " the strategic approach to culture and intercultural dialogue in the framework of foreign relations "(Isar, 2012: 5-12). With the ratification of this treaty, EU cultural diplomacy is no longer poorly pursued by the Secretariat of the Council or the Commission, but it is pursued by the European External Action Service (Duke, 2013: 10-15).

Despite these measures, Marietje Schaake's report to the European Parliament in 2011 showed that there was still widespread inconsistency between member states and various groups and institutions within the Union regarding the use of the role of culture in foreign relations. This incoherence and lack of a common strategy prevented the full and efficient use of the union's cultural resources and budget. The European Parliament subsequently adopted a resolution in support of the report's recommendations, authorizing the European External Action Service and the European Commission to coordinate the strategic deployment of different aspects of culture in foreign policy, the systematic and continuous integration of culture in European foreign relations and a complementary issue for the foreign cultural policy of the member states. The complement to the foreign cultural policy of the member states Today, the EU is pursuing this strategy with organizations from its member states, such as the Goethe-Institute in Germany, the British Council, the Danish Cultural Institute, the European Cultural Foundation, the French Institute and the Brussels Center for Fine Arts, which have the benefit of an extensive network of offices in 54 countries. Also, in February 2014, the Senior Cultural Adviser was appointed to the Office of the Secretary-General of the European External Action Service. Although culture is still under the jurisdiction of each member state, the European Union is active in the field of foreign cultural relations and it is a complement to the activities of member states in this field at the appropriate time (Lisack, 2014, p.10). Generally, it can be said that the Council of Europe, the European Commission and the European External Action Service are the key institutions responsible for cultural diplomacy at the EU level. The main task of these institutions is to coordinate cultural diplomacy activities inside and outside the European Union. It

should also be added that the EU cultural budget for 2007-2013 was equal to one billion and two hundred million euros, which has increased to one billion and eight hundred million euros for the period 2014-2020 (Ebels, 2012, p. 23).

Regarding the sources of soft power in the European Union, Western researchers believe that various European norms have provided the EU with adequate support for cultural diplomacy, and the dissemination of these norms can facilitate its influence in the target communities. Norms such as respect for peace, cooperation, human rights and democracy, civil rights, and the rule of law. Also, having advanced technologies, effective presence in international organizations and forums, suitable capacity for mediation, and having the position of first partnership with great powers are other sources of the soft power of the union.

## **6. Conclusion**

In the European Union; Since the late 2000s, the stability and optimism of the last decade of the twentieth century and the first years of the twenty-first century have gradually been replaced by a deteriorating security environment due to a combination of domestic, regional, international and technological factors. The economic crisis of 2008 that led to the debt crisis in 2011, the Arab revolutions in 2011 that led to the rise of ISIS and the civil war in Syria and Iraq in 2014, the war in Libya in 2011, the crisis in Ukraine and the invasion of Russia to Crimea in 2014, the 2015 asylum crisis, the British referendum on Britain's exit from the European Union, and Donald Trump's ruling period in the United States in 2016 were all crises that resulted in threats such as the spread of poverty in Europe, terrorism, immigration and asylum, populism and extremist nationalism, the resurgence of the Russian threat, the gaps in transatlantic relations, the rise of China, the inefficiency of the European Union, threats to energy, environmental and cyber security, and generally shaping the new European security environment. The multiplicity of power, the link between the internal security environment and the external environment, the return of power politics and the importance of the geopolitical element on the EU's periphery and the inefficiency of Cold War security institutions, not only challenge the EU's most important strategic pillars, "stability and security", and by making security issues in Europe, it replaced instability and insecurity instead of peace and stability in the post-Cold War security environment, rather, it has threatened the very existence of the European Union by challenging the liberal order that underpins growing economic growth and the effectiveness of the EU's value-oriented and normative foreign policy. In other words, the post-Cold War security environment, which lacked a direct threat and a major challenge to the EU and the national security of its member states, was replaced by a new security environment with diverse and often direct threats to European security, the most important consequence of which was undermining the ability of the union to define and promote its strategic goals in the outside world, as well as internal and external instability and insecurity for the EU. Thus, the change in the EU security environment has led EU leaders and officials to take a realistic look at the need for policy revisions and new assessments of their strategic environment. The result of this strategic revision was a change in European security strategy. Indeed, the many and varied crises and threats of the new European security environment have shown that European security is inseparable from global security and the security of other regions. New security challenges have made it clear to European officials that, unlike previous approaches to security, which were based on the logic of separating internal security from external security and closing external borders to ensure internal security, in the new security environment, with the characteristics of mutual security dependence and mutual vulnerability, stability and security can no longer be achieved based on the old attitudes and approaches to security. Therefore, in such a new, interdependent security environment; It is necessary that realism and pragmatism form the general spirit of the new European foreign and security policy strategy. Thus, with the drafting of the Global Strategy Paper in 2016, the EU leaders sought to take a realistic

look at the EU's current international position and have a correct understanding of the new political and security situation, to respond appropriately and efficiently to the wide-ranging changes that have taken place in the overall security situation in Europe. In other words, the result of this change in attitude is a change in the new EU security strategy in the form of inclusion and emphasis on authorized and non-authorized principles such as the rehabilitation of governments and societies in the East and South, multilateralism, collaborative regional orders, balanced participation in the regions, strategic autonomy, principled pragmatism and smartification of power and a combined understanding of threats and strategic pragmatism in general. The set of principles gives the EU a new understanding of its foreign policy strategy that it must adapt to a "rapidly changing environment" and take political realism into account in its foreign policy. At the same time, adhere to the principles and values as much as possible. However, due to the economic, political, security, efficiency, and legitimacy crises, the EU project has been forced to change its security paradigm and move away from the era of idealism, the era of value-based normativeness, and is moving towards more realistic and pragmatic policies and changing its foreign policy approach from imposing values on its eastern and southern neighbors to making them able to be rehabilitated and resilient in order to create security and stability. Meanwhile, given that one of the most important sources of instability and insecurity in the European Union is its surroundings, especially in the Middle East and North Africa, the new European security strategy has a special focus on the region and its influential powers and intends to influence these areas through culture, because the most important tool for the union to influence its normative power is its ability to shape the norms of other societies. The Union's ability to operate informally on the margins of foreign policy and its material resources also helps to increase the efficiency of public diplomacy in general and cultural diplomacy in particular. The comparative advantage of the union's normative power makes the union pay more attention to cultural communication strategies and influence public opinion in its foreign policy.

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