The EU, NATO and the community proposition.

Why does membership not always coincide?

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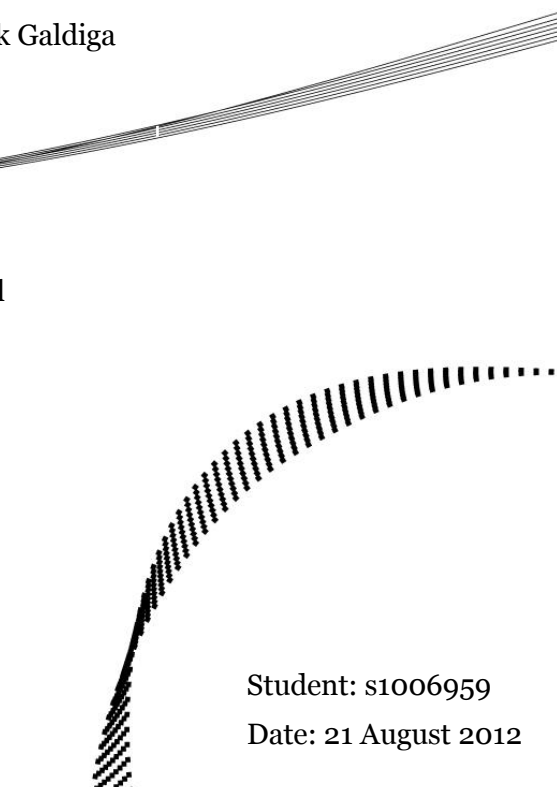Supervisor: Prof. dr. N.S. Groenendijk
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Summary

The relationship between the biggest security providers in Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU), has been the object of extensive study by different scholars. However, the focus of such literature has mostly been on the security dimension and less so on the enlargement policy of both organizations. Departing from the constructivist proposition, according to which EU and NATO are regional organizations of one Western community, this thesis asks: *Why do the EU and NATO differ in their membership composition?*

Both organizations are compared in terms of their membership criteria and shared norms and values that they represent. In a subsequent step, an analysis of deviant cases examines why some countries deviate from the pattern of double membership in both organizations and determines various explanations for this.

The analysis focuses on two groups of countries which are either in NATO or the EU, but not full members in both organisations. While Austria, Finland and Sweden have a tradition of non-alignment in their foreign policy, which is their main obstacle for NATO membership, all three countries are nevertheless participating in the NATO framework and deployed their troops in various missions. Similarly, NATO countries which are not EU members, such as Iceland and Turkey, are tightly linked to the EU's internal market. Thus one main finding is that membership in the EU and NATO has become increasingly flexible.

Furthermore, the EU's body of rules and regulations, the *acquis communautaire,* certainly fulfils a gate-keeping function so that even developed countries which have a long tradition of cooperation with the EU have troubles to adapt to it. Although it is true that both organizations refer to the same set of values and norms in their founding documents, the constructivist proposition only holds to a certain extent. EU and NATO differ in the importance they attach to those liberal values when they are about to grant membership to a particular country. NATO for instance declares to pursue an "open door" policy and has offered membership to countries which are not democratic enough for membership by European Union standards. Although this thesis largely argues

from a constructivist perspective, rationalist flavoured arguments of cost and benefit calculations should not be left out if one wants to understand the decisions made in favour or against accession. Geostrategic importance and the willingness to make military contributions as well as the economic performance of a country can be decisive factors. In the end, the criteria for membership reflect both theoretical bodies.

Finally, the findings of this research can help to assess the prospect of future European Union enlargements by illuminating what has been the actual practice up until now. Future candidates do not necessarily have to become full NATO members in order to be in the European Union, but it is remarkable that all members, except for Cyprus, show at least a minimum level of institutional ties with the Atlantic Alliance.

Abbreviations

CEEC: Central and Eastern European Countries
CFSP: Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSDP: Common Security and Defence Policy
ECSC: European Coal and Steal Community
EEC: European Economic Community
EFTA: European Free Trade Area
ENP: European Neighbourhood Policy
EU: European Union
MAP: Membership Action Plan
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PFP: Partnership for Peace
ROC: Republic of Cyprus
SAA: Stabilisation and Association Agreement
TEU: Treaty on European Union
TFEU: Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
TRNC: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
WEU: Western European Union

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Since the end of the Cold War, the European Union and NATO extended their membership in an unprecedented manner. Next to the impressive speed in which both organizations adapted to the challenges of the post-1990 world order and included former ideological adversaries into their organization, it is especially interesting to see that both processes ran largely in parallel. Accordingly, the EU/NATO enlargements at the beginning of the 21th century are often linked together as the eastern enlargement of Europe and presented as a package-deal (Kuus, 2007, p. 3). In the words of Javier Solana (1999), former NATO Secretary General:

> *Both organisations have inspired the larger European project of integration, of cooperation and reconciliation which is healing the unnatural divide of the past between East and West. They are thus both leaders of the drawing together of Europe, its rejuvenation and reconstruction. [...] In complementing Alliance enlargement, the separate enlargement of the EU will also help to create the basis for both economic progress and political stability. Both enlargements, therefore, are two sides of the same coin.*

So far, research projects focused on explaining European integration through both organizations. There are a number of works which deal with both EU and NATO enlargement but treat them seperately although the same theoretical background and methodological tools are used for both organizations. Yet, attention is lacking for the relation among each other.

What does NATO enlargement mean for the enlargement of the EU? Could it be seen as a prerequisite for EU membership? Constructivist theory explains why both organizations expand to likeminded countries, which in turn explains a large overlap between both organizations. But there are exceptional cases where EU and NATO membership do not go hand in hand. Does the community proposition hold?

This thesis takes the European studies perspective and is interested in the interaction of EU and NATO enlargement processes and what this means for the project of European integration. Therefore, it takes a look at those instances

where membership in EU and NATO do not coincide and puts the community proposition to a test.

Official statements, such as the one above by Javier Solana, which indicate a link between both enlargement processes, have become more clear and frequent over time. CEEC leaders commonly referred to "the West" as a single entity when they were talking about joining the EU and NATO in the late 1990s. While Ruehle & Williams (1995) spotted a hint on parallel and complementary processes between the organizations approaches to enlargement in the NATO ministerial communiqué of December 1994, Smith (1999) claims that both enlargement processes proceed in their own dynamics. In any case, Fierke &Wiener (1999, p. 721) maintain that there has been a lack of analysis between the two parallel processes.

Ruehle & Williams (1995, p. 85) argue, that NATO and EU would have a natural interest in each other's enlargement in order to have the greatest possible congruence amongst their members, to "ensure that [..] Atlanticist and European approaches to key security issues remain in harmony." Smith (1999) refers to "underlapping security guarantees" which could exist if a non-NATO member in the former Western European Union (WEU) inflicts alliance duties on the NATO members among the WEU. However, a more recent publication by Martin Reichard (2006, p. 223) largely rules out that option because the legal loop holes have been filled with the entering into force of the Lisbon Treaty.

In fact, there is a large body of literature that discusses EU-NATO relations since the EU began to build up its own power-projection capabilities with the inception of its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the Maastricht Treaty of 1993. A key point of the dispute is whether NATO and the military capabilities of the EU should be considered as rival or complementary.

Today, there is institutional cooperation between both organizations in form of the Berlin Plus agreements as well as cooperation in the field, for instance in Afghanistan and against piracy (NATO, 2011). Although the military and security dimension is certainly an important aspect of the EU-NATO relationship, this is not the focus of this thesis. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the common denominator in the current literature still describes NATO as the guarantor of European security (Anderson, 2008, p. 36) and the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), as not being the ambitious, military, U.S.-

challenging initiative that some have portrayed it to be (Howorth & Menon, 2009, p. 740).

More in Javier Solana's line of thinking, Ronald D. Asmus claims that the current map of Europe is the result of a "*Common* U.S.-European grand strategy" [emphasis added], with the goal to build a post-Cold War Europe "whole, free, and at peace"(Asmus, 2008, p. 1). In his opinion as a former U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, he finds that NATO and EU effectively split the work. NATO, following his logic, took care of the security issues and opened the doors to the east while the EU "assumed most of the burden of transforming post-communist societies into liberal democratic ones"(Asmus, 2008, p. 1). The constructivist idea, that EU and NATO are two sides of the same coin, is also represented by Jeffrey Simon and Joshua Spero (2011, p. 151), who find that NATO membership "became a requirement for being in the West." And accordingly, NATO membership could be understood as a stepping stone for entrance into the EU.

Of course, NATO and the European Union are two international organizations that are formally independent from each other and this thesis will not attempt to argue otherwise. Nevertheless, the decision to enlarge is taken in those organizations by a majority of countries that are represented in both. From 28 NATO and 27 EU countries, 21 countries possess a double membership. This thesis tries to shed light on the linkage of the enlargement processes of the two biggest security providers in Europe and tries to explain, why membership nevertheless does not always coincide.

1.2 Research Questions

Starting from the sociological-institutionalist proposition that NATO and the European Union are "two major organizations of one international community" (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 77), that is the Western European community, this thesis explores the interrelatedness of both organizations in terms of their enlargement policies.

During the last EU enlargement rounds in 2004 and 2007, all countries that joined the Union were NATO members, except for Malta and Cyprus. Yet, in the other EU enlargement event after the end of the Cold War, which is often referred to as the EFTA enlargement (1995), none of the accession countries were NATO member. In addition to this, there are also a number of NATO countries which are non-member states of the EU. This does not seem to fit the package-deal narrative of enlargement in Europe and thus the research question is:

Why do the EU and NATO differ in their membership composition?

The following sub-questions delineate more clearly which steps need to be taken to answer the main research question:

1: Which theoretical explanations for the enlargement of international organizations are there?

The enlargement of international organizations is largely discussed within two domains of international relations theory, which are rationalism and constructivism. Authors like Frank Schimmelfennig (2003), Wade Jacoby (2004) and Ainius Lasas (2010) employ the two grand theories to analyse the processes around the CEEC enlargement. This thesis will take advantage of their works to discover what theory predicts about the decision to grant membership in either organization.

2: What are the shared values and norms of both organizations?

The underlying proposition of this thesis is that both EU and NATO share certain values and norms, which explain the huge membership overlap that follows from constructivist theory on enlargement. To be able to explain variance in membership, one needs to know those shared values and norms that the EU and NATO assigned to themselves in their constitutive documents.

3: What are the membership criteria and accession mechanisms of both organizations?

In order to make qualified statements about the conditions that are important for a country's admission to the EU and NATO, it is essential to know the official requirements of both organizations. In addition to this, both organizations employ different stages of association with prospective member states in order to safeguard a proper integration into their institutional environment, before full membership is on offer.

4: What has been the actual practice?

After the membership criteria and mechanisms have been illuminated, this thesis looks at what the actual practice in Europe has been. Which countries were granted membership in the EU and NATO? Is the membership overlap as complete as the constructivist idea of one Western international community predicts?

5: How can differences in the EU/NATO membership composition be explained?

EU membership seems to always go in hand with NATO membership. But there are also a number of EU countries to which this pattern of double membership does not apply. Similarly there are also European countries that are NATO member but not in the EU. Given the proposition that both EU and NATO are part of one international community, the question remains why some European countries are not part of both.

1.3 <u>Methodology</u>

In this explanatory research project, the research questions are answered by consulting official EU and NATO documents such as treaties and policy guidelines, as well as existent literature on the enlargement practices of both organizations. Thereby the goal is to explain why the constructivist proposition of one Western international community does not suffice to describe reality, despite core ideas and values that are shared by both organisations. In doing so, an idiographic approach to explanation is being followed. Meaning, that instead of trying to identify various independent variables which generally explain the phenomenon at hand, this thesis tries to reach an in-depth understanding of the EU/NATO membership composition (Babbie, 2010).

      The cases in this research have been selected according to the following criteria. They are European countries that are either member of the EU or NATO or are current or former candidates for membership in those organizations. Thereby the temporal scope of the analysis has been limited to the post-Cold War era as it is beyond doubt that the fall of the Iron Curtain had a considerable effect on both organizations. Many of the accession mechanisms described here are in effect post-Cold War inventions of the EU and NATO to cope with the changing political situation in Europe.

      Furthermore, the geographical scope of the analysis is limited to Europe. This seems self-evident, but Canada and the US are important NATO members that are not dealt with here. More on case selection can be found in chapter 4.

2. Rationalism, constructivism and the enlargement of international organizations

In this theory section, the decision to grant membership to both the EU and NATO will be discussed under the two branches of international relations theory, rationalism and constructivism, which can be considered as social metatheories (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 11). Thereby the aim is not to prove or disprove a particular theory but rather to address the question why and under which circumstances, international organizations expand. First, the focus is on rationalist arguments that seek to explain why the EU and NATO admit some countries while they reject others. Secondly, constructivist thought will be portrayed.

2.1 Rationalism

In rationalist theory, the individual gains and benefits determine the member states' enlargement preferences (Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier, 2002, p. 510). The club theory, which is according to Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2002) the most pertinent approach to EU and NATO enlargement, hypothesizes that an organization "expands its institutions and membership if, for both the member states and the applicant states, the marginal benefits of enlargement exceed the marginal costs"(Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier, 2002, p. 512). Modern club theory departed from the works of Buchanan (1965, as cited in Schimmelfennig, 2003) who developed the focus of analysis from pure public goods to impure public goods, which better reflects the real world situation as international organizations that produce pure public goods are hard to find (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 21).

Impure public goods are characterised by being excludable as well as partially divisible and rival (Schimmelfennig, 2003). In fact, the European Union, through its redistributive policies and market regulation, creates divisible and rival benefits and can thus be described as creating impure public goods (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 22). NATO offers its members military defence and deterrence both with conventional forces and nuclear weapons. Accordingly, countries inside the club have an interest in not changing the status quo of their benefits to the worse by admitting countries that would become competitors. This

status quo however is endangered as soon as new countries join the club, as the access to the shared good has to be re-earned.

Thus the balance of costs/benefits determines whether the EU and NATO enlarge and admit a country. While the focus for the EU members is said to lay mainly on financial benefits and influence in decision making about the distribution of funds such as the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) (Moravcsik & Vachudova, 2003), NATO members are keen to not increase the size of the territory that is protected under Article 5 of the Washington Treaty.

Alternatively, international organizations also expand if the benefitting members states have the bargaining power or can provide for compensation to make the other members agree to enlargement (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 33). Since in an organisation like the EU, different actors have different opinions and characteristics such as their economic power, it is common to speak of a heterogeneous or mixed club.

As the decision to enlarge both organizations is taken by unanimity (and also some decision making procedures in the EU), the different tastes and opinions can be an obstacle if one is to find a common position. Furthermore, the decision to admit additional members in the organization can make future decision making more problematic which is especially important for the EU. The Madrid European Council in 1995 tackled this issue and required the EU to ensure that its institutions and decision making procedures remain effective and accountable when integrating new members (European Commission, 2012a). Accordingly, either organization rather includes like-minded countries with comparable interests and attributes to keep transaction costs low (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 24). This however is also a sociological flavoured argument, but rationalism and constructivism do not always offer mutually exclusive explanations (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 11).

NATO and the EU differ in their key functions and purpose. While NATO was founded to deter Soviet aggression and to reassure Western Europe during its economic recovery in the aftermath of World War II (Yost, 1998), it was precisely the economic recovery that stood at the outset of the European communities. More than half a century later the core functions of NATO can still be described as to provide security and the European Union is still judged by the wealth it creates. Although both organizations evolved during their time of

existence and especially the European Union has the power to influence an unprecedented number of policy fields, one can still argue with some confidence that the main goods that distinguish them are wealth and security.

Rationalism offers different angles within its body of literature which highlight different goods that are in the focus of the cost-benefit analysis. Depending on the context those goods are security (defensive realism), power (offensive realism) and wealth arguments (neo liberalism). Accordingly, a number of propositions can be derived from rationalist thinking about when and why the member states agree to grant membership to an outsider state.

While the concepts security and wealth are relatively straightforward and can easily be attributed to either EU or NATO, power needs more clarification. Economic power is largely covered by the wealth approach described above. In our context, power should be regarded as complementary to the security approach and the concept of security (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 32). Thus in order to grant membership:

1. For each member, accession of a state X increases its net wealth/power/internal-external security.
2. The profiteers among the member states possess the bargaining power to or can provide for compensation to make the other member states agree to the accession of state X.
3. For each member, the respective net benefits of granting membership to a state X are higher than any other form of association with that state.

<div align="right">(Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 30)</div>

2.2 Constructivism

Constructivists argue that actors pursue their relationships with other actors on the basis of common ideas, norms, values, culture and community. By a logic of "appropriate action", actors make decisions on the basis of what seems to be the right thing in the light of the given norms and values portrayed by the community (Linden, 2011, p. 139).

Accordingly, the constructivist proposition about member and applicant state policies is the following:"the more an external state identifies with the international community that the organization represents and the more it shares

the values and norms that define the purpose and the policies of the organization, the stronger the institutional ties it seeks with this organization and the more the member states are willing to pursue horizontal institutionalization with this state"(Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier, 2002, p. 513).

In constructivism, or sociological institutionalism, two terms which according to Schimmelfennig can be used interchangeably (2003, p. 68), NATO and the EU as international organizations are regarded as community organizations. According to Buzan (1993, as quoted in Schimmelfennig, 2003, p.73), those international organizations can have different degrees of intensity to which their community identity is shared. An example of an international organization with a low degree of shared community identity is the United Nations with its universal membership.

As argued in the literature, EU and NATO are both regional organizations of the Western international community and share a number of attributes as identified by Schimmelfennig (2003, p. 77). According to him, the Western international community is characterized by:

- being an interstate community;
- being comprised of liberal states with a domestic and external liberal code of conduct;
- adherence to liberal human rights and the liberal principles of social and political order (social pluralism, the rule of law, democratic political participation and representation, private property and a market based economy);
- liberal and peaceful conflict resolution in the international realm;
- multilateralism as the basic international norm;
- non-boundedness to a specific territory;
- being a "thin identity." It is compatible with different ethnicities and religions. Its content is limited to political culture.

(Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 78)

Furthermore, international organizations can fulfil different tasks in one community (Schimmelfennig 2003, p 73). Accordingly, it is argued that the EU and NATO share their tasks as the main security and wealth provider but define themselves as organizations of a European, liberal-democratic community of

states (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 81; Schimmelfennig, Engert, & Knobel, 2006, p. 5). In addition to this, community organizations can perform different strategies as regards the way they enlarge and include new members. Community building can happen either inclusively or exclusively. Inclusive community building on the one hand implies that the candidate is first admitted to the organization and then learns its rules and behaviour.

Under the exclusive strategy on the other hand, the candidate state must have learned the community rules and needs to be regarded as legitimate part of the international organization before it can join. NATO and the EU are said to pursue an exclusive membership strategy (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 74). Accordingly the constructivist proposition for the EU and NATO is the following.

> A state is admitted to either organization if it has internalized the constitutive values and norms of the international community the organization represents (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 70).

Since EU and NATO are two sides of the same coin under the constructivist perspective, they share constitutive norms and values. Membership in NATO, supposed both organizations have similar entry criteria, can signal the EU members that a country is already part of their Western club and shares their very basic ideas and liberal democratic norms of internal and external conduct.

2.3 Conclusion

To sum up and to find an answer to sub-question one, EU and NATO either expand their membership under the rationalist perspective for cost/benefit calculations that can emphasize different concepts such as wealth, security and power or under the constructivist perspective, if a likeminded democracy is recognized as a legitimate member of the community.

However, both theories should not be seen as mutually exclusive since, for instance, granting membership to a country can increase the net benefits of the organization and at the same time, the country can be considered a legitimate member of the community. Conversely, incurring losses on the members of an organization and not sharing its core ideas and values is certainly not beneficial for the membership prospects of that country. Rather, and as demonstrated in the

studies by Schimmelfennig (2003), Lasas (2010) and Jacoby (2004), both theories should be seen in conjunction.

Several expectations can be derived from the theory. Given that EU and NATO belong to the same value community, one should observe a large membership overlap, since membership in one organization would signal that the respective country has internalized the constitutive values and norms of the international community the organization represents. In addition to this, if the Western community values are equally shared by the EU and NATO, one can expect membership to be offered to applicant countries at roughly the same moment in time once they are considered legitimate members of the value community.

Rationalism could be used to explain why membership has (not) been offered to specific countries based on individual cost/benefit calculations. Especially the deviant cases which do not follow the anticipated membership overlap should be analyzed for attributes that make them (un)attractive in the eyes of the respective organization.

In the following chapter, a look will be taken at the core values of both organizations and their membership criteria, which can also in part be derived from those values. Especially for constructivist thinking, it is important to identify which norms are actually shared. Furthermore, it is also interesting to see which membership criteria reflect which branch of theory.

3. Membership: Values, criteria and accession mechanisms

After the theory section portrayed the basic theoretical considerations that surround the accession of states to the EU and NATO, this part aims to answer the second and third sub-question regarding the shared values and norms of both organizations and the respective membership criteria and accession mechanisms. First, the constitutive values that are common to both organizations are determined. Subsequently, the formal membership criteria and accession mechanisms are portrayed.

3.1 Values

EUROPEAN UNION

If one searches for the values and norms that are shared by the member states of the European Union, the best place to look for them is in the treaties which established the European Union, or the European Community, how the Union was called before the Maastricht Treaty (1993). The so called Lisbon Treaty (2009) is the most current codification of the European Union's functioning, set-up and intent.

It contains three treaties which are the Treaty on European Union (TEU), the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. Already in the preamble of the TEU, the member states confirm "their attachment to the principles of liberty, democracy and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and of the rule of law." Article 2 (TEU) continues:

> *The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.*

Article 3 (5) (TEU) indicates that those values are also valid for the Unions relations with the wider world and shall be uphold and promoted.

Those values are also codified in the TFEU and of course in the Charter of Fundamental Rights and in earlier treaties of the Unions history. Especially the first treaties, the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) (1952) and the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) (1957), are interesting for constructivist thought as they give a hint on the community building purpose of the EU (Schimmelfennig et al., 2006, p. 28).

In contrast to the recent EU Treaty, which lacks such wording, both the preambles of the ECSC and EEC treaties refer more clearly to "[…] the European peoples […]" as a general addressee to "[…] eliminate the barriers which divide Europe […]" (EEC) and "[…] to establish, by creating an economic community, the foundation of a broad and independent community among peoples long divided by bloody conflicts […]" (ECSC). Thus clear reference is made to the community of European people.

NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty (1949) or "Washington treaty" is NATO's founding document. As is the case for the EU, the preamble sets out the core ideas of the organization and refers to the common values. The signatories on both sides of the Atlantic are "[…] determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law."

Furthermore, Article 2 postulates that "they will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions […]." More recently the Partnership for Peace (PFP) Framework Document (1994) phrased the values NATO expects from its associates more explicitly. Under paragraph 2, the "protection and promotion of fundamental freedoms and human rights, and safeguarding of freedom, justice, and peace through democracy […]" are declared fundamental values to the partnership.

Next to that, the signatories "are committed to the preservation of democratic societies, their freedom from coercion and intimidation, and the maintenance of the principles of international law." The 1995 Study on NATO Enlargement reads in a similar vein.

This section discussed which values and norms both NATO and the EU member countries assigned to themselves. As expected, both organizations largely cover the characteristics of the Western international community as identified by Schimmelfennig (2003) and presented in section 2.2. Both refer to liberal democratic principles, respect for human rights and the rule of law in their domestic realm as well as in their external conduct. Accordingly, one can support the constructivist idea of EU and NATO being regional organizations of one Western European community based on certain values. The EU even called explicitly for the community of European people to join them in its founding treaties. However, the degree to which the liberal values are of equal importance to NATO and the EU seems to be debatable as will be shown in the analysis part (Chapter 5).

3.2 <u>Criteria</u>

After the constitutive values of EU and NATO have been portrayed, sub-question three deals with the membership criteria which are build on the values portrayed above. One thing that can be said about both EU and NATO membership criteria right from the start is that they developed and evolved over time. Furthermore, the end of the Cold War and the post-bipolar world order have posed challenges to both organizations that are reflected by extensive debates within those organizations on the precise conditions for membership during the 1990s.

EUROPEAN UNION

In fact, the EU's conditions for membership have been rather general in the beginning. Article 98 (ECSC) and Article 237 (EEC) read: "any European state might apply to become a member of the Community," and in the preamble of the EEC treaty the community is "calling upon the other peoples of Europe who share their ideal to join in their efforts." Today, the EU accession requirements are spelled out more clearly and are shaped by the conclusions drawn at the Copenhagen European Council in 1993 and European Council in Madrid in 1995 (European Commission, 2012a). The so called "Copenhagen criteria" require:

- stable institutions that guarantee democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities;

- a functioning market economy, as well as the ability to cope with the pressure of competition and the market forces at work inside the Union;
- the ability to assume the obligations of membership, in particular adherence to the objectives of political, economic and monetary union.

(European Commission, 2012a)

The Madrid European Council added the necessity for a country to be able to implement the EU's body of law and regulations which is called "*acquis communautaire.*" Furthermore, it was decided that the Union must be capable of including new members in a way that its decision making remains effective and that its actions remain financeable (European Commission, 2012a). Article 49 (TEU) indicates, similar to the early treaties, that membership is in principle open to "any European State which respects the values referred to in Article 2 (see section 3.1) and is committed to promoting them."

NATO

Although NATO never claimed to have a concrete list of membership criteria (Lasas, 2010, p. 89), NATO's membership requirements are based on two sources. The first is Article 10 of the Washington treaty (1949), which states that the signatories "may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European State in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty." Still today, NATO emphasizes the wording of Article 10 and declares to have an "open door" policy (NATO, 2012e).

The second source is the NATO Study on Enlargement (1995), which was drafted in order to review the prospects and challenges that a possible extension would pose on the organization, at a time when a number of CEE countries stated their wish to be part of NATO. The requirements an applicant country needs to fulfil are summarized below:
- a functioning democratic political system based on a market economy;
- the fair treatment of minority populations;
- a commitment to the peaceful resolution of conflicts;
- the ability and willingness to make a military contribution to NATO operations; and

- a commitment to democratic civil-military relations and institutional structures. (NATO, 2012e)

In their membership criteria, NATO and the EU require a democratic political system based on a market economy. Furthermore, both emphasize the fair treatment of minorities. Yet in contrast to the shared values which show more congruence between both, the criteria are more organization specific. The Copenhagen criteria are explicit on stable institutions as well as the ability to assume the obligations of membership in a political, economic and monetary union. Special attention is also given to the pressure of competition and the market forces at work within the Union. NATO on the other hand, is less explicit on the political institutions and the economic competitiveness. It stresses "the ability and willingness to make a military contribution to NATO operations" and requires civil-military relations and institutional structures.

CONCLUSION

Taken together, both EU and NATO membership criteria reflect rationalist as well as constructivist ideas. Common values and ideas are stressed but reference is also made to hard facts as the economic performance of a country or its military capabilities. Both organizations show special requirements that fit their main purpose of existence; those are requirements relating to economic performance and military capabilities. It should be stressed that both organizations call for "any European state" to apply for membership which supports the idea of one European community to which they feel related.

3.3 Accession mechanisms

The second part of sub-question three is dedicated to the accession mechanisms of both organizations. Usually, candidates for membership in both the EU and NATO are not immediately admitted at the time they issue their application. Prior to accession, both EU and NATO offer different levels of association and support in order to prepare the applicants for membership. In constructivist terms, both organizations pursue an exclusive membership strategy. Thereby association serves to teach the community rules to the aspirant state and to test its ability and willingness to learn them (Schimmelfennig, 2003, p. 75).

Ulrich Sedelmeier (2010) identifies three stages towards EU accession. The first stage is the association agreement after a country expressed the desire to join the EU. Afterwards, pre-accession preparations take place with the goal for the country to be recognized as an official candidate for membership. The final stage then, is the negotiation and ratification of the accession treaty after the European Commission issued its opinion. Negotiations circle around specific "chapters" of the acquis that can be opened and closed if negotiations were successful. The European Council has to decide upon accession unanimously with the consent of the European Parliament.

The EU has a long tradition of association agreements that are currently dealt with under Title V of the TFEU. Those association agreements vary in terms of substance and do not necessarily lead to membership in the EU. However, those agreements concluded under Article 217 (TFEU) are an essential part of the enlargement process, as they help to align target countries to the functioning of the EU by different means. They can encompass technical assistance, which helps to prepare the bureaucratic and institutional structures for membership, as well as financial incentives.

The countries that are currently in the focus of enlargement policy, the Balkans, find themselves in the framework of the "Stabilization and Association Process" (SAP) and individual "Stabilization and Association Agreements" (SAA). In contrast to former agreements, and owing to the special legacy of the region, the SAA have the concrete aim to stabilise the region and are more explicit in formulating the possibility of EU membership (European Commission, 2012d; Sedelmeier, 2010).

NATO

Similar to the EU, also NATO aspirants usually undergo different stages of association before membership is rewarded. The broadest form of linkage with NATO is through its Partnership for Peace (PFP). It must be understood as a broad framework in which NATO can pursue individual action plans (IPAP) with its partners. Thereby the 50 nations encompassing Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) functions as the political framework for NATO's cooperation with

its Partner countries, which are not only located in central Europe (NATO, 2012a). Interestingly, the PFP comprises countries to which the EU also has relations under its European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). However, in contrast to NATO's PFP, the EU clearly states that the ENP is not about membership (European Commission, 2010). For the PFP, there is no such statement. Instead, NATO ministers declared at the Bucharest Summit in 2008 that the PFP participants Georgia and Ukraine will be NATO members one day in the future (NATO, 2012e).

Countries participating in the PFP and having established IPAPS can be invited to an Intensified Dialogue, which is followed by the Membership Action Plan (MAP). The MAP was established in 1999 and all seven countries that joined NATO since that time took part in the MAP. However, NATO stresses that participation in the MAP would not guarantee membership, although it is a key preparation mechanism (NATO, 2012e).

Remarkable, though, is NATO's prioritization concerning its expectations on aspirant countries. Their ability to "[...] contribute to security in the Euro-Atlantic area [...]" is mentioned before their ability to meet "[...] certain political, economic and military criteria [...]" (NATO, 2012e). Invitees have to follow individual reform timetables until finally all NATO members agree to ratify the accession protocols.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter was dedicated to find answers to sub-question two and three concerning the shared values, membership criteria and accession mechanisms of both organizations.

To conclude, both EU and NATO are founded on roughly the same set of liberal values of the social and political order that contain the adherence to the rule of law, respect for human rights and democracy. In constructivist terms, both organizations can be regarded as community organizations of the Western community. However, membership criteria of both organizations represent rationalist as well as constructivist thought which confirms the overall impression that both theories should be seen in conjunction. For example, NATO's preference for military potent applicants is apparent. Furthermore, both organizations are comparable in their socialization strategies towards applicants,

as both try to align prospective member states to their institutional structures by different association mechanisms before they are actually admitted. In addition to this, the decision to enlarge is made at the intergovernmental level in both organizations.

NATO's "open door" policy provides a clue for the research question why membership in both organizations not always coincides. Although it is not unusual for an international organization to have a platform for cooperation with numerous external states such as the PFP (see e.g. the EU's neighbourhood policy (ENP)), the EU is more reluctant to address the possibility of membership in its external relations from the outset.

4. What has been the actual practice?

After the membership criteria have been portrayed and the theory part elaborated on how and why the EU and NATO admit new countries into their ranks, the next task is to deal with sub-question four and to see, what has actually taken place on Europe's landscape and which countries became part of either organization. At the same time, this chapter functions as a justification for the selection of cases analysed in chapter five. Overall, the case selection follows a deviant case logic, as the research question (*Why do the EU and NATO differ in their membership composition?),* calls for the analysis of outliers. At the end of this chapter, one can find a summary on the selected cases and the different country categories that have been identified in *Table 3*.

First of all, an overview on all current EU/NATO members is created which can be found as *Table 1* below. The table lists all countries and their respective accession date to either organisation.

A first finding is that of the current 27 member states of the EU, 21 countries are NATO members as well, which is roughly 78%. Furthermore, all current EU member countries which are full members of NATO (except for Germany), have been NATO member states before they joined the European Union, even if the temporal distance between some, especially in the 2004 enlargement round, was just about a few months. This has been visualized in *Figure 1*.

Table 1: Overview on EU and NATO accession dates

EU Membership Date	Country	NATO Membership Date	Temporal precedence	Partnership for Peace
23 July 1952	Belgium	04.04.1949	Yes	n/a
	Germany	09.05.1955	No	n/a
	Italy	04.04.1949	Yes	n/a
	France	04.04.1949	Yes	n/a
	Luxembourg	04.04.1949	Yes	n/a
	Netherlands	04.04.1949	Yes	n/a
1 January 1973	Denmark	04.04.1949	Yes	n/a
	UK	04.04.1949	Yes	n/a
	Ireland	n/a	n/a	December 1999
1 January 1981	Greece	18.02.1952	Yes	n/a
1 January 1986	Portugal	04.04.1949	Yes	n/a
	Spain	30.05.1982	Yes	n/a
1 January 1995	**Sweden**	n/a	n/a	May 9, 1994
	Austria	n/a	n/a	February 10, 1995
	Finland	n/a	n/a	May 9, 1994
1 May 2004	**Cyprus**	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Czech Republic	12.03.1999	Yes	1994
	Estonia	29.03.2004	Yes	1994
	Hungary	12.03.1999	Yes	1994
	Latvia	29.03.2004	Yes	1994
	Lithuania	29.03.2004	Yes	1994
	Malta	n/a	n/a	joined April 26, 1995 (with interruption)
	Poland	12.03.1999	Yes	1994
	Slovakia	29.03.2004	Yes	1994
	Slovenia	29.03.2004	Yes	1994
1 January 2007	Romania	29.03.2004	Yes	1994
	Bulgaria	29.03.2004	Yes	1994
Acceding 2013	Croatia	01.04.2009	Yes	May 25, 2000

Selected cases in **bold**. Source: European Commission (2012b), NATO (2012g)

Figure 1: EU/NATO accession over time per country
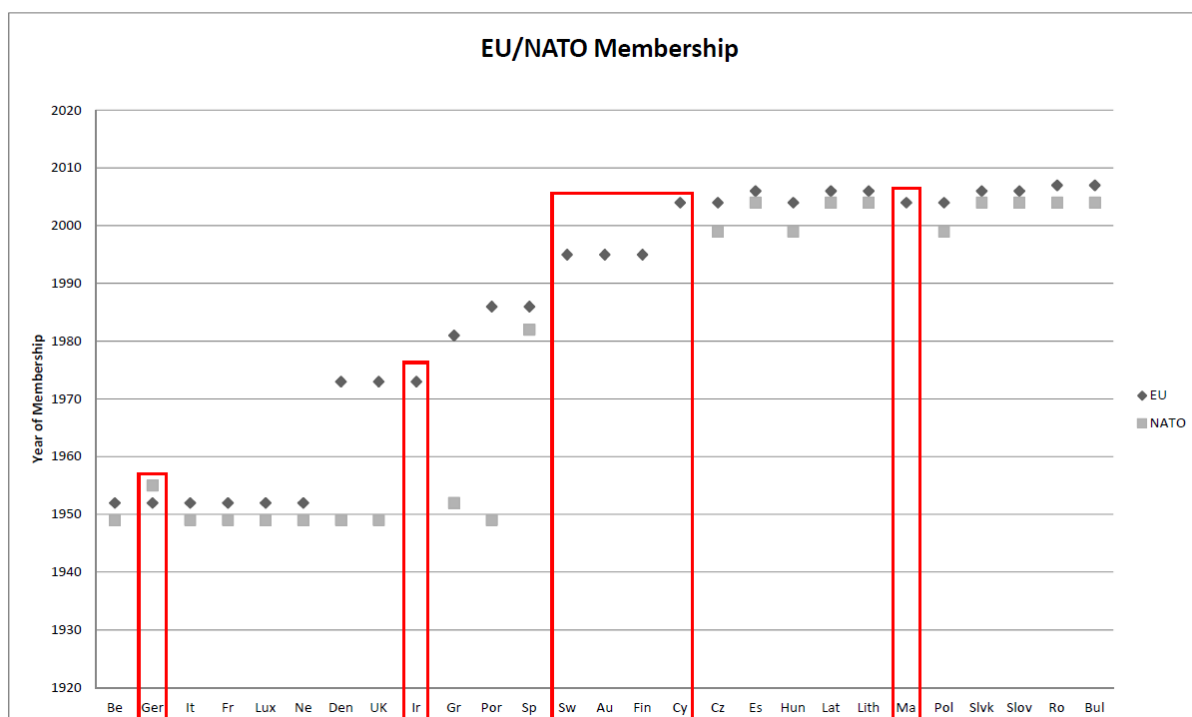
Source: European Commission (2012b), NATO (2012g)

The figure also shows a number of current EU countries which are non-member of NATO. Those countries are ordered by enlargement round: Ireland (1973), Austria, Finland, Sweden (all 1995), Cyprus and Malta (both 2004). However, this research will only deal with the post-1990 enlargements as both organizations undergone extensive changes after the end of the Cold War, which makes it difficult to compare the pre/post 1990 enlargements. Thus, except for Ireland, all the above mentioned countries will be considered as cases for further analysis.

For the sake of clarity, all countries are divided into five categories which can be found in *Table 3*. Those categories are: 1. Only EU member, 2. Only NATO member, 3. Not EU, not NATO member, 4. First EU, then NATO member, 5. First NATO, then EU member. Accordingly, Austria, Finland, Sweden, Cyprus and Malta are in category one. Whereas the creation of category 1 and 2 is straightforward, category 3, 4 and 5 require more explanation. Category 3 covers the (potential) candidates for membership in either organisation. Category 4 and 5 capture the fact that a country's EU membership has almost always been preceded by membership in NATO.

In addition to the previously discussed instances where EU countries are not member of NATO, there are also a number of countries which are only NATO member (See *Table 2*). The most prominent example for this is Turkey but also Albania and Iceland fall into this category. A large part of the analysis will deal with the countries in that second category because they are clear outliers to the double membership pattern that has been identified. Canada, Norway and the US are also NATO but not EU member.

Yet, Canada and the US are not considered since they are not EU candidates and this thesis focuses on European countries and the European integration process. This is also true for Morocco, whose EU application was rejected in 1987 by the European Council. Norway, on the contrary, is a European state, a founding member of NATO, and applied for EU membership. However, the application was rejected by public referenda and EU membership is not on the political agenda at the moment. Norway is thus not considered for further analysis but Norway can still contribute to answering the research question, as overall, the willingness of a country to be a member of an international organization certainly explains why there is no complete membership overlap.

Similar to Norway, also Switzerland applied for EU membership in the past but its application was torn down by a domestic public referendum, too. But in contrast to Norway, Switzerland is not a NATO member due to its neutrality although it participates in the PFP framework. Since EU accession is also not on the agenda in Switzerland, it is not considered for further analysis, too.

The picture then becomes really mixed if one takes a look at the countries which are in the current focus of the EU's enlargement policy, the Balkans. Those countries are in category three because they are neither member of the EU nor NATO, except for Albania, which is in category two and NATO member. Those current and potential candidates for EU accession are especially interesting for the social relevance of the study. They are the next countries that are expected to become EU and/or NATO member and the circumstances of the "and/or" question motivate this work.

Albania is a striking case in direct comparison with Croatia and Serbia. While Croatia supports the finding that NATO membership often precedes EU membership, Albania is NATO member but only potential EU candidate. Serbia on the other hand, is one formal step ahead of Albania in the EU enlargement process while its position towards NATO membership is ambiguous and it does not participate in the MAP.

The other Balkan countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia seem to follow the general pattern that NATO membership precedes or takes place at roughly the same time as EU membership. They are official EU candidates and are also taking part in NATO's membership action plan (MAP).

Table 2: Overview on former and potential EU/NATO candidates

Potential members	European Union Status	NATO Status	Partnership for Peace
Albania	Potential candidate	Member since 01.04.2009	February 23, 1994
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Potential candidate	MAP aspirant country as of council meeting 7 december 2011	December 2006
Iceland	Negotiating	Founding member	n/a
Kosovo	Potential candidate (without prejudice on status and in line with UN Security Council Resolution 1244/99)	KFOR mission	n/a
Macedonia	Official candidate	MAP aspirant country as of council meeting 7 december 2011	November 1995
Montenegro	Official candidate	MAP aspirant country as of council meeting 7 december 2011	December 2006
Morocco	Applied 1987 rejected by European Council	Mediterranean Dialogue	n/a
Norway	Applied 62,67,92, rejected referenda	04.04.1949	n/a
Serbia	Official candidate 2012	Partnership for Peace (PFP) since 2006, Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) since 2011	14.12.2006
Switzerland	Applied 92 rejected referendum	Partnership for Peace since 1996	December 1996
Turkey	Negotiating	18.02.1952	n/a
US	n/a	1949	n/a
Canada	n/a	1949	n/a

Source: European Commission (2012b), NATO (2012g)

The only country in the fourth category, Germany, will not be considered for the following reasons: Germany was arguably not a founding member of NATO because it was divided in different occupation zones in the years after WWII and was not allowed to rearm. However, it was a founding member of the European Union and became a full NATO member in 1955. Furthermore, as a founding country, Germany never "acceded" the EU as later members did. Equally, the pre/post 1990 argument applies here.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, countries in category five will not be considered because they follow the anticipated pattern of double EU/NATO membership. However, it is worth to note that in all instances where this pattern of double membership applies (except for Germany), NATO membership preceded EU membership. Category one and two (see *Table 3*) are of prime relevance for this thesis as they resemble those countries which do not follow the community proposition.

Countries in category three are interesting for further research when it is time to apply the knowledge gained from this project. Those countries are to varying extent involved in the NATO and EU accession processes, but possess no full membership in either organization. Germany, the only country in category four, will not be considered since it is a founding EU member. Thus, first, the analysis will deal with the countries represented in category one (only EU member) and subsequently, with the states in the second category (only NATO member).

In addition to this, it seems that also the domestic opinion about membership in either organization has an influence on the membership question, as can be seen in Norway and Switzerland. In this regard, it is certainly a limitation of this thesis that membership in the EU and NATO is rather viewed through the organizational lens. This is, when and how membership is granted to a country. Further research should also include the perspective of candidate states and analyse their interest to join and whether such interest exists.

Table 3: Five country categories

1. Only EU member	2. Only NATO member	3. Not EU, not NATO member	4. First EU, then NATO member	5. First NATO, then EU member
Ireland	**Albania**	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Germany	Belgium
Sweden	**Iceland**	Kosovo		Italy
Austria	Norway	Macedonia		France
Finland	**Turkey**	Montenegro		Luxembourg
Cyprus	US	Morocco		Netherlands
Malta	Canada	Serbia		Denmark
		Switzerland		UK
				Greece
				Portugal
				Spain
				Czech Republic
				Estonia
				Hungary
				Latvia
				Lithuania
				Poland
				Slovakia
				Slovenia
				Romania
				Bulgaria
				Croatia

Selected cases for further analysis in **bold.**

5. Analysis of deviant cases

As described in section three above, EU and NATO share norms and values that they assigned to themselves in their constitutive treaties and that are reflected in their membership requirements. According to constructivist theory, they can be regarded as community organizations.

One could thus assume that countries which meet the requirements of organization A, are also eligible to join organization B, since they are founded on the same norms and values. This thought is reflected in Europe's present political map which shows a huge membership overlap of 21 countries which are both in the EU and NATO. However, there are discrepancies in the membership congruence, meaning that there are countries that are member of NATO but not the EU, and also countries which are member of the EU but not of NATO. Why then, is this the case, given the community idea? Are membership requirements the key or are there other factors that play a role? And if it is the membership requirements, to which extent are they the decisive factor?

In the following section, the deviant cases from the first two categories presented in *Table 3* above are analysed for their membership in either organization. Afterwards, section 5.3 provides for a discussion of the findings and an answer to sub-question five: How can differences in the EU/NATO membership composition be explained?

5.1 First category: EU countries that are not in NATO

The analysis starts with the group of countries that are only member of the EU, which are Austria, Finland, Sweden, Cyprus and Malta. These countries are interesting to study because they can indicate under which circumstances countries deviate from the community typical behaviour of double membership.

Within this group one can identify basically two types of reasons why they are not a member of NATO. The first reason is neutrality in foreign policy relations, which is true for Austria, Finland, Sweden and Malta. The second reason is really specific and relates to Cyprus and its identity crisis.

The countries of the first post-Cold War enlargement in 1995, **Austria, Finland and Sweden,** have been non-committal during the Cold War and continued this

policy. With their EU entry they gave up a considerable extend of their neutrality because they are now affected by the CFSP, but they continued their policy of formal military nonalignment.

Austria, Finland and Sweden are member of the PFP since its inception and pursue individual action plans (NATO, 2012b, 2012c, 2012f). Thereby, the partnerships with the alliance are made of more than just the exchange of ideas. All three countries deployed troops in the Balkan conflicts as well as in Afghanistan, and Sweden helped to enforce the no-fly zone over Libya (NATO, 2012f). The common rationale behind this behaviour which is clearly not "neutral" in the narrow sense of the word, is that those states do not equate neutrality with passivity. At the recent NATO summit in Chicago, Austria's Chancellor Faymann also referred to Finland and Sweden when he said that, "[...] neutrality does not mean to be a passive observer of world affairs but to contribute actively to security [literally translated]" (Krone.at, 2012).

Similarly Hendrickson (2007) argues that, "although Sweden remains militarily non-aligned, it is clear that it is anything but neutral when it comes to NATO." Yet both countries seem to feel comfortable in their special "in-between" position and only Finland flirts more openly with possible NATO membership in the future (Ministry For Foreign Affairs Of Finland, 2012; NATO, 2012c).

Malta also belongs to the group of countries whose neutrality contradicts membership in a military alliance. Malta participates in the PFP, too, albeit with several years of interruption (NATO, 2012d). It rejoined in 2008 because it did not want to be excluded any longer in some EU organs which deal with EU/NATO security cooperation (Vassallo, 2008). Thereby the Maltese government had to stress that its membership in the PFP would not impact Malta's constitutional neutrality (Vassallo, 2008). Malta has furthermore not deployed its military under NATO command and can overall be described less integrated in the NATO framework than its other formally neutral EU partners.

The focus is now on **Cyprus** which is arguably in a unique position. It is divided into two parts. While the northern part of the island, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) is only recognized by Turkey, the southern Greek-Cypriot Republic of Cyprus (ROC)[1] became EU member in 2004. In contrast to the other EU countries, Cyprus is the only member of the Union which

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[1] In this thesis "Cyprus" refers to the Republic of Cyprus.

is neither member of NATO nor participates in the PFP (Euractiv.com, 2012). The country's issues with the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Turkey can be seen as the main reason for this. In fact, Turkey which is a NATO member and Cyprus as an EU member, are blocking each other's incentives right away with the consequence that Turkey tends to veto any move of NATO towards Cyprus, while Cyprus vetoes Turkeys involvement in EU-defence policies (Vogel, 2010).

In sum, it seems that the membership differences in the first group of countries are due to political reasons and cannot be attributed to missing respect for liberal democratic principles and human rights because they are all EU members. From NATO's perspective, those countries should be suited for membership as far the shared liberal democratic norms and values are concerned because they have fulfilled the EU's Copenhagen criteria. They are also participating in NATO's framework to some extent without full membership, which is not contrary to the general pattern of double membership. Rather, an alternative explanation comes in which derives from the domestic arena of those countries and this is their neutrality. Thereby the reason behind Cyprus non-alignment to NATO seems more substantive. As long as the issues with Turkey are not resolved it could not be part of NATO even if it would like to, due to the latter's veto power in NATO.

5.2 Second category: NATO countries that are not in the EU

This section deals with the countries that are NATO member countries and are currently applying for EU membership. Those countries are Iceland, Albania and Turkey. Why are they NATO member but are not in the EU? Are shared values and norms not enough to be admitted to the EU? Or do both organizations have different value and norm standards that applicants need to fulfil?

The official Commission homepage (2012c) calls **Iceland** a country "with deep democratic roots and a tradition of good governance." Furthermore it attributes "a high degree of integration with the EU" due to Iceland's membership in EFTA. In fact, Iceland put up a record when it opened four and closed two chapters immediately when it started accession negotiations on 27 June 2011 (Euractiv.com, 2011; Willis, 2011).

As of today 10 chapters have been provisionally closed but obstacles to membership remain (European Commission, 2012c) and it is contested to which

degree Iceland has already aligned itself to the acquis through its EFTA membership (Euractiv.com, 2009; Guðmundsson, 2009). The main policy area which needs reform according to the Commission (2011) is Fisheries.

Furthermore Iceland's economy, which was badly hit during the financial crisis, is an area of concern. Nevertheless, according to the Commission "the overall level of preparedness to meet EU *acquis* requirements remains good, in particular due to Iceland's participation in the European Economic Area" (European Commission, 2011b).

Albania is NATO member since 2009, but in contrast to Iceland and Turkey it is not an official EU candidate and has "potential candidate" status under the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with the EU (European Commission, 2011d). Elez Biberaj (2011, p. 369) states that "more than any other country in south-eastern Europe, Albania suffers from weak governance, ineffective institutions and a failure to fully embrace the rule of law."

Indeed, according to the Commission's report (2011a), Albania faces political deadlock since 2009 and made limited progress to fulfil the political criteria of membership. The legislative and oversight functions of the parliament, the treatment of the Roma community, the anti-corruption policy and the judiciary are major areas of concern. Yet despite Albania's democratic institutions not being developed enough to be considered for EU membership in the near future, the issue seems to have been of secondary importance to the Atlantic alliance.

More precisely NATO praises Albania for its support in ISAF, SFOR and for its major role during the Kosovo conflict (NATO, 2010). It hosted NATO troops and a regional military NATO headquarters was set up in Tirana. Elez Biberaj (2011, p. 389) highlights especially the strategic partnership Albania pursues with the US. Albania followed US positions even outside the NATO framework and deployed troops in Iraq. Furthermore Biberaj notes that former president George W. Bush "received a hero's welcome during a visit to Tirana in 2007" (see also: BBC News, 2007).

Turkey is an early member of NATO (1952) and has also a long tradition of association with the EU that dates back to the late 1950s (Dursun-Özkanca, 2008, p. 119). However, only since 1999 Turkey is official candidate for EU enlargement and the accession negotiations started in 2005 (European

Commission, 2011e). Currently, only one out of 35 chapters has been closed and the accession process stalemates since 2006 because Ankara refuses to implement the Additional Protocol to the Ankara Agreement, which implies a recognition of the Republic of Cyprus (European Commission, 2011f).

Apart from that, some areas of the Turkish policy are not in line with the Commission's expectations. Turkey's human rights records, freedom of expression, women's rights and freedom of religion are points of critique (European Commission, 2011c). In addition to this, Turkey's potential accession to the EU is probably the most controversial topic in the enlargement discussion and especially the question of Turkey's 'europeanness' traditionally dominates the public debate.

5.3 Discussion of the findings

Taken together the analysis of the two groups of countries brings up a number of findings.

First of all, there is no single explanation for the found discrepancies in the EU/NATO membership. For the first category of countries, their non-membership in NATO can be explained by their respective political tradition of military non-alignment, or in the case of Cyprus, with its special status under international law and its identity crisis.

Given that the countries to which the non-alignment criterion applies, have mostly been involved in military missions under the NATO umbrella, makes their objection to full membership look more like a formal than a substantive issue. Hence, also for those countries EU and NATO association seems to go hand in hand, which does not really sets them apart from the majority of EU members presented in category 5. They share the values of both organizations and pursue a flexible form of membership in NATO. Interestingly, all EU countries except for Cyprus are at least associated with NATO through its PFP. Malta, which left the PFP for some time, rejoined to gain access to classified documents and meetings which are restricted to European Union PFP/NATO members. This indicates that congruence in membership between both organisations could be a functional necessity.

As expected, the analysis of the second group of countries, Albania, Iceland and Turkey offered more controversial findings. Iceland shows, that even

a highly developed country, which takes part in the EU's internal market through its EFTA membership, has problems to fully implement the acquis communautaire. Thus being a Western country and sharing Western values and norms, is certainly not a guarantee to be accepted to both community organizations. The *acquis* arguably fulfils a doorman function.

Compared to the EU acquis communautaire, NATO's regulatory burden is often said to be comparatively thin (Fierke & Wiener, 1999; Jacoby, 2004; Lasas, 2010). NATO seems, even after the Cold War, to emphasize strategic gains and policy loyalty and it can't be ruled out that this happens at the expense of other membership requirements. NATO clearly states in its Study on Enlargement that it assesses a country's "ability and willingness to make a military contribution to NATO operations"(NATO, 1995). By the same token, it was probably not a disadvantage for Albania's membership bid to host regional NATO headquarters and to deploy its troops in Bosnia and the Kosovo conflict. Wade Jacoby (2004) underscores this suspicion by stressing that twelve days after the admission of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary, those countries were at war with Serbia (Jacoby, 2004, p. 122).

Similarly he states that the demands for policy loyalty in NATO, through the strong role of the US, have gotten stronger in the wake of September 11th. CEE countries such as Poland, which entered NATO in 1999, as well as the back then prospective candidates, were supportive towards the US administration's policy towards Iraq even outside the NATO framework where it was a contentious issue.

It is often brought forward that NATO's reference to democratic values and their promotion is rather a post-Cold War invention and should be seen as an answer to its legitimacy question (Lasas, 2010, p. 89; Lucarelli, 2002, p. 19; Sjursen, 2004). Acknowledging, that NATO was there to counter a threat and recalling that "from the 1960s to the mid-1980s there was a dominant consensus in the West that security interests could be best guaranteed by authoritarian regimes which could provide political stability and openness to a capitalist-like economy"(Zielonka, 2001, as quoted by Lucarelli, 2002, p.20), it is comprehensible that NATO might have been inconsistent in its democratic identity during the Cold War and tolerated Portugal's dictatorship and Turkeys numerous military coup d'états.

NATO proves to be more flexible as regards the fulfilment of its fundamental norms and values than the EU is. This seems not only to be true for the expectations towards its own members but also with regard to the PFP as it includes some of the worst autocratic regimes eastern Europe and Central Asia (Lucarelli, 2002). It looks as if NATO's "open door" policy (see *Section 3.2*) can sometimes be taken literally.

Yet still today Albania's poor human rights and democracy records damage NATO's image and make it problematic, in the words of Sjursen (2004, p.688), "to conceptualize NATO as a community of liberal democratic values [...]." Thus outside the formal membership criteria und founding values, other factors, such as US influence in NATO, seem to have an influence on NATO's membership policy. Overall then, NATO membership criteria only resemble the EU's demands to some extent and are only one part of the story. This makes it difficult to sustain the idea of a common blueprint for enlargement shared by both organizations. Despite shared norms and values, organizational specific rules and criteria determine the decision to grant membership.

6. Conclusion and Outlook

Two main findings help to answer the research question *why the EU and NATO differ in their membership composition*.

First of all, membership in both EU and NATO has become increasingly flexible. Countries can, to some degree, be included as well as excluded from the institutional ties the organization has on offer. While this is true for the EU, where association is not always a linear process that leads to membership as can be seen in the case of Turkey, it is even truer for NATO. The integration of Sweden, Finland and Austria into real NATO missions begs the question, what sets apart their status from full membership.

Secondly, EU and NATO differ in their regulatory dimension. The adoption of the acquis communautaire is a huge challenge even for a highly developed country such as Iceland. Its demands on a state's bureaucracy and legal institutions are certainly even harder to fulfil for countries that went through a civil war not too long ago. NATO, in comparison, also has a body of norms and rules that a target state has to adapt to. Yet it seems that both organizations are just not comparable in their regulatory burden.

To stay with NATO, it also seems that the economic and political membership criteria, as well as the values and norms it expects from aspirant countries, are subordinate to a greater policy importance which the inclusion or exclusion of a particular country means to the organization. The fact that NATO declares to have an "open door" policy supports this assessment.

However, the flexible memberships that have been identified underscore the idea that NATO and EU membership are going hand in hand. Where no full membership is present, it is often substituted by other forms of association. Out of all countries that are EU members, only Cyprus does not participate in the NATO framework at all and Malta participates in the PFP only to a minimum extent. Their status is due to very specific reasons that set them apart from their fellow countries. It is thus certainly possible for a country to be granted membership in the EU without being an active NATO member.

Yet, prospective EU candidates on the Balkans and elsewhere should anticipate a lively membership debate. Being part of either organization is not a

prerequisite for membership in the other, but practice shows that for a vast majority of countries EU and NATO are two sides of the same coin.

EU and NATO are very similar in the core values they refer to. Both claim to defend and uphold liberal democratic values and human rights as well as a market based economy. On the basis of this, the constructivist idea of community organizations seems to be justified upon first sight. The membership overlap between both organizations is great. Furthermore, the accession of applicant countries to both organizations after the Cold War usually happened at roughly the same time and EU membership was preceded by NATO membership except for those instances, where NATO membership was not an option because of domestic political traditions.

While constructivist theory provides for the expectation that accession takes place at roughly the same time, neither rationalism nor constructivism explains why NATO membership often preceded EU membership and why it is not the other way around. Yet, based on the other findings, it is arguable that the temporal precedence can be attributed to the different regulatory burdens both organizations pose on their applicants.

In addition to this, it is not clear in how far the organizations adhere to the values they proclaim. Especially in the case of NATO, some authors call the promotion of liberal democratic values a rather recent invention, and this is a topic for further research. But in the end, NATO is primarily a military alliance and rationalist arguments should not be dismissed to understand its actions and purpose.

Similarly individual gains and benefits calculations also determine the EU's choice for prospective members. A country's reference to its democracy efforts is certainly not enough to be granted membership. Rather, and in line with the works of other authors like Frank Schimmelfennig, Ainius Lasas und Wade Jacoby, rationalist and constructivist arguments should be viewed in synthesis.

Constructivist theory can explain in general why there is a huge membership overlap, but it does not suffice to describe why some countries, such as Sweden and Austria are not part in both organizations although they can be considered "Western". On the other hand, the question of "Westernness" is more fruitful regarding Albania and Turkey. Yet still the question is why both organizations have different "Westernness" standards. Leaving aside the tradition

of neutrality in the EFTA countries, which can serve as an alternative explanation, utility calculations such as the geostrategic importance of a country help to understand why NATO accepted countries that were not Western enough by European Union standards.

A limitation of this research turns out to be its primary focus on the organization's perspective on membership candidates. Future projects should emphasize more why a particular country might have an interest in (not) joining one or the other international organization to get a fuller picture.

Similarly, one could devote more time on the role of the US as the main security guarantor in NATO and focus on the question whether the US has in fact a prerogative in determining future NATO members and examine its influence on membership in international organizations in Europe.

Malta's need to reactivate its PFP membership points at the institutional relations between the EU and NATO that have largely been left out here. It would be interesting to see in how far the membership overlap is owed to the functional necessities of the Berlin Plus agreements, compared to the Western community proposition employed in this thesis.

Furthermore, a lot has been said on liberal norms and values and to which extent they are shared by EU and NATO. However, it has not been tested here to which extent a particular country can truthfully be called democratic and similarly no attempt was made to rank order countries by their respect for human rights etc. Doing this, could certainly strengthen the research results.

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