

1-31-2023

## Benelux and European Union CFSP Security in Response to the Russia-Ukraine War

Dedeh Kurniasih

*Universitas Indonesia*, dedeh.kurniasih01@ui.ac.id

Henny Saptatia Drahati Nugrahani

*Universitas Indonesia*, henny.saptatia@ui.ac.id

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/jsgs>



Part of the [International and Area Studies Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Kurniasih, Dedeh and Drahati Nugrahani, Henny Saptatia (2023) "Benelux and European Union CFSP Security in Response to the Russia-Ukraine War," *Journal of Strategic and Global Studies*: Vol. 6: No. 1, Article 4.

DOI: 10.7454/jsgs.v6i1.1111

Available at: <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/jsgs/vol6/iss1/4>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the School of Strategic and Global Studies at UI Scholars Hub. It has been accepted for inclusion in *Journal of Strategic and Global Studies* by an authorized editor of UI Scholars Hub.

# **Benelux and European Union CFSP Security in Response to the Russia-Ukraine War on Battle 2022**

**Dedeh Kurniasih<sup>1</sup>, Henny Saptatia Drajati Nugrahani<sup>2\*</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>European Studies, University of Indonesia, Jl. Salemba Raya No. 4, 10430, Jakarta, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>European Studies, University of Indonesia, Jl. Salemba Raya No. 4, 10430, Jakarta, Indonesia

## **ABSTRACT**

This study discusses the security cooperation of the three countries of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. In particular, this paper elaborates on its role in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) adopted by the European Union in responding to the Russia-Ukraine Conflict, 2014-2022, particularly the last Russia military attack to Ukraine on 24 February 2022. The method used in this research is qualitative with analytical descriptive. The research source uses secondary data in the form of literature review. This study is analysed using the theory of Regional Security Complex (RSC) and the Concept of Cooperative Security. RSC theory is used to analyse the cooperation of Benelux as a regional power in developing European Union CFSP security cooperation. Result shows that Benelux is not brave enough to make a decision which is completely different from the EU public. The Benelux countries' position is to agree with the EU's decision on the Russia-Ukraine war.

**Keywords:** Benelux; Common Foreign and Security Policy; Regional Security Complex

## **1. Introduction**

Benelux is an abbreviation of the names of three countries, namely Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg. All the countries are located on the European continent. The locations of the three countries are geographically close together, in the same landmass. Benelux has become a new identity and self-interest for these three countries. The decision to join this group did not just happen. (Jones, 2003) They have long shared the same geographic space, as “low-lying countries”. They are united by nature, climate and the “feeling” as one.

Most of the Benelux area is level land, except in the south-eastern part and the centre of the Netherlands which is hilly. The territory of each country is not wide. Benelux is surrounded by two major countries, namely France and Germany. The Netherlands is bordered to the north and west by the North Sea. In the south it is bordered by Belgium and in the east by Germany. While the sea area is shared with Belgium, Germany, and the United Kingdom.

---

\*Corresponding author:

E-mail: henny.saptatia@ui.ac.id

Affiliation: School of Strategic and Global Studies, University of Indonesia

The geographic area of Belgium in the North is bordered by the Netherlands, in the East with Germany and in the South with France and Luxembourg. It is bordered on the West by the North Sea, on the opposite by Great Britain. Luxembourg is located in the Northwest of European mainland. This area is a continuation of the Ardennes mountains with dense forests. In the north Luxembourg is bordered by Belgium and Germany. In the south it is bordered by France, in the west by Belgium and in the east by Germany. Luxembourg has no maritime territory.

The three countries had shared a special economic relationship for more than half a century earlier. Compared to other European countries, they are small countries that have actually been united in the longest experience of integration. Ironically, these three countries have differences that caused them to be "separated" in the previous era. For example, the difference is seen in terms of language. The Dutch speaks one language called Dutch, but with variations of dialects ranging from moderate to strong.

Interestingly, these countries that are united by fate still want to separate. Even though each country realizes that they are in the same geographic area, they chose not to live together but still realized that in many ways they could not make it easy walking alone. The journey of these three countries at the turn of the twentieth century was fraught with ups and downs. They fight occasionally, but they can usually get along again in a short period of time.

The Benelux journey begins. As an organization, the Benelux countries share a common origin. During the Second World War, the political leaders of three small nations were united in exile in London. They realized that the formal economic relationship between them would be better if they were united, rather than doing it alone. But they fear that the emergence of domestic opposition groups will thwart these efforts. One of them was the attempt to negotiate with the union of workers during the reconstruction period of the war. They therefore decided to negotiate the terms of the unification of the Benelux before the war ended. In this way, the Benelux unification will happen by itself (Spaak, 1969).

The development of the Benelux is very limited by the differences in the identity of the three countries which are still strongly maintained. These identities, in fact, are often overlap in their own interests. If only they realized that the identity would not be lost when the collaboration took place, then the Benelux unification would be faster and easier. Moreover,

in the practice of unification of the three countries, the longer it takes the farther it goes by itself (Samoy, 1981).

In fact, today the world has recognized the Benelux as a union, which to some extent has overcome the problem of each country's national identity. Whatever the boundaries of unity between them, the Benelux countries are now more than just countries of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. They are a “Benelux country” and therefore can be treated as actors themselves.

Many efforts to unite trade have actually been carried out since the 1930s. In the context of The League of Nations, the Benelux has joined the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway). They joined a tariff alliance called the Oslo Alliance. This name refers to the Norwegian capital where the treaty was signed. The purpose of this alliance is to restrain the movement towards trade protection which coincided with the emergence of the economic depression at that time.

The smaller countries agreed to consult with each other on trade restrictions among themselves, and to cooperate in their tariff negotiations with larger European countries. The result at that time was not as expected. The reason was that the larger countries refused to join the Oslo alliance. They even work actively to promote its disintegration.

By the end of the 1930s, the Oslo alliance was able to work even though it was stumbling. (Van Roon, 1989). In the course of the next time, Oslo's alliance could be said to be a failure. Although it failed, it has provided a new understanding of how important institutionalized collective action is. This can be the basis for the foreign economic policies of each Benelux countries. (Eyck, 1959).

Benelux became a new identity and self-interest of the three countries, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg. The decision to join this group did not just happen. (Jones, 2003) They have long shared the same geographic space, as “low-lying countries”. They are united by nature, climate and the “feeling” as one.

The three countries had also shared a special economic relationship for more than half a century earlier. Compared to other European countries, they are small countries that have been united in the longest experience of integration. Ironically, the three countries have differences that caused them to be "separated" in the previous era. For example, the

difference is seen in terms of language. The Dutch speak one language called Dutch, but with dialectical variations ranging from moderate to strong. Its territory is stretching from South to North and from West to East.

People from Amsterdam, Netherlands (the northwest) can understand well what people from Maastricht, Netherlands (in the southeast) are saying. The people from Maastricht, however, have a little difficulty understanding them. Meanwhile, Belgium is divided by language with which the Northerners speaking Flemish used from a mix of Dutch and French-speaking southerners Walloon, Belgium. The capital of Belgium, Brussels, is officially bilingual, French and Dutch.

Luxembourg people are polyglot. Their historical journey has put them in French and German language education. They use French as their official language. At the same time, they speak the German dialect *–Lëtzebuergisch–* at home. This multilingual education is actually a strategy to keep *Lëtzebuergisch* alive. As long as everyone is equally trained in French and German, no one should feel that they are harming their children by speaking to them in that distinctive dialect.

This linguistic difference, in subsequent developments, is more political than "organic". As people residing in the "Low Countries", they had long spoken different languages and dialects. The same condition, in fact, also occurs in many other places in Europe. However, unlike countries such as France, Germany, or Italy, these countries in the Northwest of the European Continent have never been subject to linguistic homogenization as a group.

In the early 19th century, there was a force that could unite the three. They are under the rule of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. This existence, parallel to France and Germany. This condition lasted until the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

The influence of European powers was increasingly establishing a new balance of power. This balance formed the organization of the new European state system. At that time, the Kingdom of the Netherlands was unable to defend itself against the rise of France or a unified Germany. In spite of that condition, the Dutch could put up a pretty good fight against the oppressed France, and a group of divided German empires.

Hence the Dutch king William van Orange, began to unite the different parts of the Low Countries economically, politically and, after 1819, also culturally and linguistically (Bernard, 1961).

Problems arose when Belgium felt uncomfortable under the supervision of the House of Orange, for religious and linguistic reasons. Belgians were Catholic while Dutch were Protestants. In addition, Belgians were more likely to speak French than Dutch. Meanwhile, Luxembourg preferred its existence as a sovereign duchy rather than as a province that depended on the Kingdom of the Netherlands. They prefer to be independent, although small, rather than being a province under the rule of another country. Moreover, culturally, they felt more attuned to France or Germany than to the Netherlands.

The development of the Benelux is very limited by the differences in the identity of the three which are still strongly maintained. These identities, in fact, often overlap in their own interests. If only they realized that the identity would not be lost when the collaboration took place, then the Benelux unification would be faster and easier. Moreover, in the practice of unification of the three countries, the longer it takes the farther it goes by itself (Samoy, 1981).

In fact, today the world has recognized the Benelux as a unit, which to some extent has overcome the problem of each country's national identity. Whatever the boundaries of unity between them, the Benelux countries are now more than just Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. They are a "Benelux country" and therefore can be treated as actors themselves.

## **2. Literature Review**

This study has looked at a number of studies that have been carried out by previous academics, related to a number of concepts used in this study. The basic concepts and theoretical framework used to analyse the problems in this research are explained according to the interests of the research conducted. These basic concepts explain the position of the EU, Benelux, in relation to the CFSP. Then we proceed with discussing the issue of Benelux Security cooperation in the context of the EU CFSP. RSC theory is used to analyse regional security and its influence on EU policy in responding to the Russia-Ukraine War.

In the context of the CFSP, European countries must coordinate their foreign policies with each other. This area of policy—often referred to as EU foreign policy—is having a broad scope. The CFSP covers all areas of foreign policy, including all questions dealing with security and defence (Duke, 2017).

Other EU external policies, such as trade, development cooperation and humanitarian assistance, are beyond its scope. The CFSP was established by the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. It replaces European Political Cooperation (EPC), in which member states have coordinated their foreign policies since the 1970s. The CFSP is supported within a distinctive institutional framework, in which national diplomats and EU officials together make policy by consensus. The CFSP is led by the High Representative, who is the representative of EU foreign policy and is supported by the European External Action Service (EEAS) which is based in Brussels and has around 140 EU delegates in third countries and international organizations.

Foreign policy is usually a sovereign state affair. There is an extraordinary nature of the CFSP that can "unify" EU foreign policy, which has long been the subject of research by a number of experts as done by Jørgensen, Aarstad, Drieskens, Laatikainen, & Tonra (Jørgensen, 2015); Hill & Smith (Hill, 2011); Keukeleire & Delreux, 2014; Smith (Smith, 2014).

The concept of the CFSP in particular has confused proponents of traditional theories of international relations and European integration. They have difficulty in explaining what the EU does in foreign policy. Ambiguity in foreign diplomatic recognition, and dependence on the resources of its member states make the EU an unconventional international actor. This is a bit out of ordinary, but still acceptable in international relations.

This move was made possible by the EU in a strong international context. The EU's international identity is also questionable. Is the EU a different type of actor—civil or normative power—that derives its influence from non-traditional sources of power? Or is the EU, as a sovereign nation, driven by material interests? Those are among the questions that arose in the discussions of experts related to CFSP.

The relationship between the EU and national foreign policy is actually very important. Member states can act through the EU, to gain greater international influences. At the same time the FSP emphasizes on EU member states to be able to adapt their foreign policies to their national policies. Meanwhile the EU's foreign policy, in practice, can complement the

national (each country's) foreign policy. However, EU foreign policy can also replace and challenge national efforts. This condition often raises the question of coherence. In the end, a number of experts find it very relevant to pay attention to the governance of EU foreign policy.

The method of policy making remains an interesting study. EU member states and institutions coordinate, define and implement the CFSP, and they can also influence policy outcomes. Thus, the driving force behind EU foreign policy plays an important role in understanding the EU's role as an international actor and its relationship to national foreign policy.

### **3. Research Methodology**

This study uses a qualitative method with analytical descriptive. This method was chosen to see and describe the Benelux views on the Russia-Ukraine conflict. This affects the foreign policy of each Benelux country, which at the same time is also a member of the EU. In this case, the foreign policy adopted by the EU will certainly affect the foreign policy of each Benelux country. Furthermore, the descriptive analysis will analyse the Benelux sub-regional cooperation in the security sector, which of course has an influence on policy makers in each Benelux country.

### **4. Results**

This study find that the security cooperation carried out by Benelux as a regional power still follows the CFSP which is part of the implementation of European Union policies. Domestically, each Benelux country has a tendency to express support for all the steps taken by the CFSP. This step includes the imposition of sanctions on Russia as a result of the annexation of Crimea in 2014. Then it continues with sanctions imposed on the result of Russia carrying out a military attack on Ukraine, in 2022. Relations between Benelux member countries, each of which has relatively good economic strength and relatively stable political conditions, have enabled Benelux to develop cooperative security cooperation well. They also develop peace agreements and support for their respective cultural systems, so as not to cause problems among fellow Benelux members.

### **5. Discussion**



Each Benelux country recognizes itself as a small country that has little influence on the prevailing system in the world. That is the reason why they take refuge under the Benelux union to increase that influence. In fact, through the Benelux, they also push their interests on the EU. One of them is done through CFSP.

That is why, in this section, we will look at the dynamics of Benelux's relationship with the EU to strengthen the CFSP. Furthermore, through CFSP Benelux provides a response to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

The analysis is carried out using the RSC theory which is seen in four levels of analysis. The discussion will begin by looking at what is happening inside the Benelux internally. Then their response to the Russia-Ukraine war. Looking at the history, Ukraine and Russia have a long history of closeness. Ukraine was part of the Soviet Union, which was once one of the world's super powers. On the other hand, Russia still has great power in terms of political, economic, cultural, and military influence on Ukraine.

Next, we will see how the interactions between these countries happen, both as individual countries and as well as Benelux. We will also see the existence of the role of a global power, the United States in the region. The analysis of these four levels is placed in the context of the foreign relations of the CFSP, which is part of the EU. Benelux also uses the CFSP for its objectives and interests in responding to the Ukraine and Russia war.

### *5.1 Internal Politics of the Benelux Countries*

Benelux which consists of small countries in the north-western corner of Europe are constitutional monarchies. Their democratic governments are quite rooted. The basis of democracy is, in general, already embedded in public life. When viewed from the history of the past until now, the Benelux countries have a number of different internal problems. However, the economic union ratified in 1959 has united them into a single entity. However, they still have similarities and strong reasons for being able to form Benelux.

Looking at the domestic conditions of the three Benelux member countries, there are indeed some that have historical burdens. Belgium, compared to the other two Benelux member countries, has a historical burden that can always be a threat to its domestic politics.

Belgium's domestic problems are often said to be burdensome. The historical roots of the problem are quite long. Serious problems that often arise, rooted in the history of Flemish - Walloon relationship problems. This problem often comes to the surface in various public faces and enters the political, economic, and cultural areas.

One of them emerged in the form of the 2011 government crisis in Belgium. The government crisis in Belgium began with a dispute over the use of French and Dutch. The crisis even caused Prime Minister Yves Leterme to resign, so that there was an urgent need to form a new government. This government crisis, indeed, raises its own concerns considering that Belgium was once an exemplary country. As a result of this political crisis, they have become a laughing stock in the EU public.

The Dutch-speaking Vlaams and the French-speaking Wallonian groups seem increasingly indifferent to national unity. This kind of domestic political crisis should not happen. Moreover, this political conflict occurred in a country that is located in the European capital. The city where all the eyes of the EU public eyes are turned to, and in the second half of 2011, it will take over the leadership of the European Union.

The dispute which started as an election issue in an electoral district near the city of Brussels, has now spiralled out of control. Failure to localize conflicts and resolve them in a more “civilized” manner would be detrimental to the interests of Belgium, the Benelux and the EU in general.

Geographically, ethnicity in Belgium is almost evenly distributed. In the northern region are 4 Flemish provinces (West and East Flanders, Antwerp and Limburg). The southern region which consists of the four provinces (Hainault, Liege, Namur and Luxembourg), is mostly inhabited by French-speaking Walloons. The ninth province, Brabant, is located in the capital. Population of Brabant are mostly Flemish and French-speaking.

In addition to economic and linguistic problems, the relationship between Fleming and Walloon is also influenced by demographic problems. Fleming's ratio is increasing compared to Walloons. Another important fact is that Dutch-like Flemish is now more widely spoken than ever before. Administratively and legally, it is equivalent to the French language.

Regarding EU integration, Belgium is more than happy with its position as a staunch supporter of EU integration. Although, judging from its trade balance, Belgium should be

more careful in supporting sanctions on Russia. This is because Russia is the second export destination for Belgian products, goods and services.

Meanwhile, the domestic condition of the Netherlands is indeed more fortunate than Belgium. The Netherlands has no serious political and economic problems. The Netherlands has no problem with ethnic minority conflicts. The problem of minority conflicts often takes a lot of energy to resolve, and requires a comprehensive restructuring of the state and a substantial revision of the state constitution. The Netherlands also be avoided from social conflicts.

However, the Dutch could not forget the 80-year struggle against Spain which ended in 1648. The enmity of the Netherlands with Spain continues to be manifested in various ways. That is also the background of the attitude of the Netherlands, which has consistently opposed Spain's entry into the EEC and NATO.

Another problem faced by the Netherlands that has been going on for a long time is related to socio-economic problems. One of the social problems faced is overpopulation. After World War II, Dutch emigration increased to almost 50,000 in 1952. This growth has occurred since the Dutch economy was booming. Growing industrialization is playing an increasingly important role in the Dutch national economy.

The growth of the Dutch economy does not run alone. The Netherlands needed the presence of West Germany. This country is the most important trading partner for the Netherlands. In addition, US investment in the Netherlands also increased. The relative completion of the domestic problems it faces has made the Netherlands more confident in making foreign policy. The Netherlands and the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands continue to be a persistent engine in the pursuit of European integration.

As a country that inherits maritime traditions, the Netherlands has pride in the tradition of being an ancient sailor. That explains why the Netherlands is more oriented to the Atlantic. The strong tradition of the country as an ancient sailor, made the Netherlands never forget the maritime world. In this context, the Netherlands has always been concerned about the dominance of the French and German powers over maritime affairs. That is the reason why the Netherlands feels closer to the UK than its counterparts to continental European countries.

The uncertainty of the Dutch policy towards the EU, more or less influenced its attitude in the Benelux. However, the Netherlands actually have a strong economic "dependence" on a number of major European countries. In the 2020 trade balance, Dutch exports to Germany showed the highest number of exports. Its value reaches 121,984 million United States Dollars. In addition to Germany, Dutch exports are aimed at Belgium, France and England.

Luxembourg is the smallest Benelux member state. There are far fewer internal and external problems compared to Belgium and the Netherlands. Since World War II, the country has been quite stable. This country can be said to be very peaceful and prosperous.

Elections in Luxembourg have traditionally been mandatory for all residents. This is similar to what happened in the other two Benelux countries. The election participants were joined by four parties, namely the Christian Social Party, Socialist, Communist, and Liberal (Democratic) Party. For political and economic affairs, there is a special minister who handles it. Meanwhile, the change of the Luxembourg royal dynasty has been scheduled. That is why leadership succession is relatively not an issue that can cause turmoil in society.

Economically, Luxembourg's wealth was considerable, and the progress made was remarkable. The country relies on a thriving steel industry since 1964. Nearly 98 percent of the raw iron and steel industry is exported. EEC is its main partner and exports to other countries are also increasing. Other sectors that are important and support economic growth are the tourism industry, wine farming, milk and potato production, and wheat.

Luxembourg is also facing problems of inflation and labour shortages. Inflation can still be controlled. The Luxembourg authorities also have a lot to do with the need to find labour in sufficient numbers and cheaply. Most of the existing workforce, comes from abroad. At the start of the industrialization process in 1964, about a third, or more than 15,000 people, were foreign workers. They are mainly from Italy. Most of the foreign workers are employed in construction work. Meanwhile, the iron and steel industry sector employs more local people.

Luxembourg does not face any major problems. Luxembourg belongs to the Atlantic and European Community. Most Luxembourgian speak or at least understand French. A condition, which was indeed supported by the Luxembourg government.

### *5.1 The Benelux response, as well as EU's response to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine*

In general, the EU has condemned Russia's actions in Ukraine. EU said, Russian actions as annexation of Crimea as well as Belarus' role in the conflict. The EU has imposed sanction on Russia in response to its actions and has called for a peaceful resolution to the conflict through diplomatic means. The situation has also led to a deterioration of relations between Russia and European countries and has had a negative impact on the region and its people. The international community, including the United Nations, also condemned Russia action to Ukraine as aggression and called for respect of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The conflict continues to be a source of tension in the region and the international community is still seeking a peaceful resolution.

This step includes the imposition of sanctions on Russia as a result of the annexation of Crimea in 2014. Then it continues with sanctions imposed on the result of Russia carrying out a military attack on Ukraine, in 2022. The specific sanctions included in the package of sanctions may vary, but they may include financial sanctions, travel bans, and asset freezes. These sanctions are meant to put pressure on Russia to calm down and respect Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The European Council's most recent sanctions against Russia were imposed on December 16, 2022. (Council, 2022). The Council adopted a ninth package of sanctions in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, in response to Russia's ongoing war of aggression against Ukraine, and in response to the gravity of the current escalation against civilians and civilian infrastructure. The new regulations prohibit: the export of drone engines; the export of dual-use goods and technology; mining investments; transactions with the Russian Regional Development Bank; advertising, market research, and public opinion polling services. The EU has also suspended the broadcasting licenses of four more Russian outlets, as well as sanctioned 141 individuals and 49 entities.

## **6. Conclusion**

Benelux undertakes security cooperation to strengthen EU CFSP. The efforts made are very possible. The domestic condition of each Benelux country is politically relatively stable and the economy of the country is good. Economic capability can be seen from the trade value of the Benelux with its regional neighbours which is quite large. Imports and exports of the Benelux countries against major European countries within the EU, are almost equal. This

shows the fact that there is interdependence between Benelux which is a regional power and the EU which is a great power.

The parity of trade balance between the Benelux and the EU still requires a prerequisite for political stability and security. This interest encourages Benelux to continue to improve its regional security by supporting EU policies, including in the context of the CFSP. This means that Benelux has no other choice but to support CFS if it wants to ensure continuity of trade.

Cooperation in the security sector is also considered important because each country has national interests that must be protected. So there is interdependence to maintain its security stability. Therefore, they must work together to create stability and security together. Moreover, Benelux as a small country that is building regional power has concerns about the dominance of its big neighbouring countries such as Germany and France.

In a global context, the security cooperation of the Benelux is also important for its interaction with the European Union. Moreover, they are members of the EU. In the spirit of the EU, they have committed to one voice in EU foreign and security policy.

Regarding the Russia-Ukraine war, the Benelux have an ethical obligation to comply with the EU CFSP. In addition, the Benelux will be more comfortable sheltering under the EU's CFSP obligations, rather than having to deal with Russia alone. Moreover, the EU has provided various sanctions to pressure Russia to stop its attacks. Consideration of maintaining “good relations” between Benelux and Russia, also encourages Benelux to seek refuge under the EU CFSP foreign policy agreement.

The imposition of EU sanctions on Russia, and the response of similar sanctions by Russia on the EU, could to some extent be a way out for the Benelux to maintain good relations. The only thing that the Benelux is worried about is that the Russia-Ukraine conflict will spread to Europe. Although, the EU will not let that happen first. This concern is not only related to the trauma of the past as a result of the Second World War, but also concerns that the economy of the Benelux will collapse, which will have bad implications for the people of the Benelux.

As Benelux took a policy of conflict resolution in the Russia-Ukraine war, it will also look at its domestic conditions. Seeing the views of the European public as reflected in the survey conducted by the EU Directorate General of Communications on the European public, then

Benelux will also trust the voice of the public. They are not too brave to take a decision that is completely different from the EU public decision.

When viewed from the position of relations between the Benelux countries, the three Benelux countries agree with the EU's decision on the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The EU public, has a great tendency to pay attention to the humanitarian side of the Ukrainian population who became victims of the war. However, the EU public has not been unanimous about Ukraine's desire to join the EU.

Research on the Benelux Security Cooperation in strengthening the EU's CFSP in response to the Russia-Ukraine war can still be continued with deeper research. Among them, by looking at the real conditions after the Russian military attack in Ukraine in 2022. Will the attack have implications for the creation of a balance and change in the new world order or will there be no changes at all? One thing is certain: the Russia-Ukraine conflict will continue until the end of 2022. Ups and downs in the escalation from February to December 2022.

## **References**

### **Journal Article**

- Duke, S. &. (2006). Administrative governance in the CFSP: Development and practice. *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 11(2), 163–182
- Haugevik, K. (2017). Autonomy or integration? Small-state responses to a changing European security landscape. *Global Affairs*.
- Hyde-Price, A. (2006). “Normative” power Europe: A realist critique. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(2), 217–234.
- Keukeleire, S. (2003). The European Union as a diplomatic actor: Internal, traditional and structural diplomacy. *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 14(3), 31–56.
- Mihalka, M. (2005). Cooperative Security in the 21st Century. *Connections* , Vol. 4, No. 4 , 113-122. Published by: Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes.
- Rieker, P. (2009). The EU: A capable security actor? Developing administrative capabilities. *Journal of European Integration*, 31, 703–719.
- Samoy, A. G. (1981). La création de l’union économique Benelux. *Studia Diplomatica* , 179-198.

### **Book**

- Buzan, B. O. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. Boulder, Colorado, and London, England.
- Eyck, F. G. (1959). *The Benelux Countries: An Historical Survey*. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company.

- Hill, C. &. (2011). *International relations and the European Union (2nd ed.)*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Jones, E. (2003). The Benelux Countries: Identity and Self-Interest. In e. Simon Bulmer and Christian Lequesne, *Member States and the European Union* . Oxford: Oxford University Press (forthcoming).
- Jørgensen, K. A. (2015). *SAGE handbook on European foreign policy*. . Thousand Oaks
- Katzenstein, P. (1985). *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- March, J. G. (1995). *Democratic governance*. New York: The Free Press.
- Milward, A. S. (1984). *The Reconstruction of Western Europe: 1945-1951*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, K. (2014). *European Union foreign policy in a changing world*. London: Polity Press. London, UK.
- Smith, M. E. (2004). *Europe's foreign and security policy: The institutionalization of cooperation*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Spaak, P. H. (1969). *Combats inachevés: De l'indépendance à l'alliance*. Brussels: Librairie Arthème Fayard.

#### **Book chapter in an edited book**

- Buzan, B. &. (2003). *Regions and Powers*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Roon, G. (1989). *Small States in Years of Depression: The Oslo Alliance, 1930-1940*. Assen: Van Gorcum.

#### **Websites**

- Council, E. (2022, December). Timeline - EU response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Retrieved from <https://europa.eu>: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-response-ukraine-invasion/timeline-eu-response-ukraine-invasion/>