The course will comprise 12 lectures and 12 seminars. It will be assessed by means of a 5000 word long essay.

Teaching: Lectures on Tuesday 10am – 11am, Seminars on Thursdays 11am – 12.30am

The European Union and its Member States face a number of crises whether at the domestic, European or global levels, with many of them closely interconnected. The ramifications of the euro crisis, the continuing refugee crisis and problems surrounding BREXIT need to be set against the challenges to the existing global order of Russia and China and the so-called BRICS, as well as the unpredictability of the United States under President Trump. The EU itself seems riven by divisions, whether North-South, East-West, Big states vs Small states, or old vs new states. In some respects the Lisbon Treaty of 2009 was aimed at improving policy-making in the EU precisely to meet some of the questions surrounding the making of European foreign policy. In addition, the EU has undertaken countless reviews - of the EU’s Neighbourhood Policy, of the EU’s External Service, and of the security challenges – and launched multiple strategies – Internal Security in 2010 and a new EU Global Strategy in 2016. Some have led to new ideas such as ‘strategic autonomy’ from the United States and sometimes new policies. Others have led to only marginal changes with the threat of the EU becoming irrelevant. The UK, frequently a reluctant actor in European foreign and security policy-making, may still be a problem even after Brexit in March 2019, but neither Euroscepticism nor particular preoccupations have been a British monopoly, making it crucial to examine the factors within and even beyond the Member States that have been instrumental in the making of European foreign policy.

This course therefore looks at both the challenges and crises confronted by the EU and how it has sought to meet them, successfully or otherwise. It looks at the nature of the EU as an international actor, its strengths and weaknesses, its coherence and consistency, and its effectiveness across the economic, political and security fields in which it has aspired to be an actor.

Lectures and seminars will then cover the following topics, beginning 9th October:

1. The nature of the challenges and crises facing the EU.
2. Policy-making in the EU – the formal level
3. Policy-making – the more informal levels
4. Questions of membership, enlargement and variable geometry
5. The Euro-crisis and its implications
6. The EU and migration
7. The EU and terrorism
8. The EU and Russia
9. The EU and the challenge of the BRICS, especially China
10. The EU, security and defence, NATO and the United States
11. The EU and BREXIT
12. Assessing the balance sheet of success/failure

**General Booklist**

Bickerton, Christopher (2011) *European Union Foreign Policy: From Effectiveness to Functionality* (Macmillan Palgrave)


Davis Cross, Mai’a and Melissen, Jan (2013) *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work*, (Palgrave Macmillan)

Diez, Thomas (ed) (2014) *A Different Kind of Power?* International Debate Education Association


Telò, Mario & Ponjaert, Frederik (eds) (2013) The EU's Foreign Policy; What Kind of Power and Diplomatic Action? (Ashgate)

Zielonka, Jan (2018) Counter-Revolution: Liberal Europe in Retreat OUP

These cover either specifically or generally the topics covered in the lectures. Particular chapters are not necessarily cited in the lists below.

The Journal of Common Market Studies Annual Review of the European Union is an invaluable guide for keeping pace with any changes in the EU, including its external relations. Between 2011 and 2016, the European Council on Foreign Relations has published an annual European Foreign Policy Scorecard; the EU’s Institute for Security Studies now issues a very much more formal yearbook of European Security – the latest is YES 2018 at https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/YES_2018.pdf. It also worth looking at the list of reports from the UK’s House of Lords European Committees since the Committees (even if now somewhat preoccupied with Brexit) take evidence from some key actors at national and European levels.

There is not only a growing range of books but also an extensive number of articles written about the EU’s international relations, with the European Foreign Affairs Review specifically concerned with many of the issues discussed. Do check in other leading journals, including the Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS,) the Journal of European Public Policy, the Journal of European Integration, and European Security.
Survival has a much stronger Atlanticist if not global focus, as does International Affairs, International Organization, Foreign Affairs and the International Spectator - but they are worth looking at. Other journals such as West European Politics and East European Politics (until 2011 the Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics), which balance comparative with more EU-focused articles. This has also been the case with journals that concentrate on particular regions such as Mediterranean Politics or South East Europe and Balkan Studies, but which also address EU-related issues along with regional ones; similarly with Europe-Asia Studies and Asia-Europe Journal, Third World Quarterly. To these should be added journals with particular thematic focus such as the Journal of World Trade.

Given the contemporary nature of much of the discussion, many of the most interesting contributions to the debate are products of think tanks etc. Among the most useful websites more specifically geared to European external and foreign policies are:

the European Union Institute for Security Studies: http://www.iss.europa.eu/. Others that may well provide useful insights for a presentation and for your essay are: Chatham House (http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/); the International Institute for Strategic Studies (http://www.iiss.org/); Centre for European Reform http://www.cer.org.uk/; Royal United Services Institute (RUSI): http://www.rusi.org/; and any number of Brussels think tanks such as the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS): (http://www.ceps.be/); the Egmont Institute (http://www.egmontinstitute.be), the European Policy Centre (http://www.epc.eu/) and Carnegie Europe (http://carnegieeurope.eu/). Institutes such as SWP (http://www.swp-berlin.org/) and DGAP in Berlin, (http://www.dgap.org/) also have a strong foreign policy interest, as do the IAI in Rome (http://www.iai.it), which has a site devoted to the EU’s new Global Strategy (https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en), IRIS, the French Institute for International and Strategic Affairs (http://www.iris-france.org/en/), the Danish Institute of International Studies (www.diis.dk), and the Polish Institute for International Affairs (PISM) in Warsaw (http://www.pism.pl/en). In Madrid, there is the Real Instituto Elcano (http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/), while IBEI in Barcelona also some useful Working Papers online (http://www.ibei.org/). There are several thinktanks in the United States such as Brookings (http://www.brookings.edu/) and CSIS (http://www.csis.org/) that have strong European programmes. ETH Zurich hosts a website that points you in the direction of a multitude of relevant sources sorted by subject and region (http://www.isn.ethz.ch) as do the Archive of European Integration at Pittsburgh (http://aei.pitt.edu/). On BREXIT, see, for example, Chatham House, the Centre for European Reform and especially UK in a Changing Europe (http://ukandeu.ac.uk/)
Blogging and tweeting are now a fact of life and you may well read many blogs on a steady or intermittent basis. They need to be treated with caution unless you are wholly confident of their provenance. The University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES) has set up its own ‘Ideas on Europe’ (http://ideasoneurope.eu/) as has LSE in its Europblog (http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europblog/). EU Observer (http://euobserver.com/) is not only a daily record but also has its own set of bloggers and tweeters – as do Brussels POLITICO (https://www.politico.eu/brussels). Many ministers from most countries also tweet, as does the EU’s High Representative, Federica Mogherini even if mostly though speeches and photographs. E-International Relations also has a European/Brexit blog at https://www.e-ir.info/category/blogs/brexit-european-perspective/.
9th October: Lecture 1: The nature of the challenges and crises facing the EU.


16th October: Lecture 2: Policy-making in the EU – the formal level


Baun, M. & D. Marek (eds.),(2013) The New Member States and the European Union: Foreign Policy and Europeanization Routledge


Edwards, Geoffrey (2013) 'The EU’s Foreign Policy and the search for effect' International Relations 27: 3 pp 276-291


Tonra, Ben (2001) The Europeanisation of National Foreign Policy (Ashgate)


23rd October: Lecture 3. Policy-making – the more informal levels


Hill, Christopher (2013) The national interest in question: foreign policy in multicultural societies OUP


Missiroli, Antonio & Isabelle Ioannides (2012) European Think Tanks and the EU Berlaymont Paper no. 2. Brussels: Bureau of European Policy Advisers (BEPA), European Commission


Voltolini, Benedetta (2016) Lobbying in EU Foreign Policy-Making Routledge/UACES

30th October Lecture 4. Questions of membership, enlargement and variable geometry

Esther Ademmer, Laure Delcour & Kataryna Wolczuk (2016) Beyond geopolitics: exploring the impact of the EU and Russia in the “contested neighborhood”, Eurasian Geography and Economics, 57:1, 1-18
Aliboni, Roberto (2005) The geopolitical implications of the European neighbourhood policy European Foreign Affairs Review, 10 pp 1-16

Balfour R (2012), EU conditionality after the Arab Spring, IeMed – European Institute of the Mediterranean (Barcelona) 11-12


Gawrich, Andrea, Melnykovska, Inna, & Schweickert, Rainer (2010) Neighbourhood Europeanization through ENP: The Case of Ukraine JCMS 48: 5 pp1209-1235


6th November: Lecture 5. The Euro-crisis and its implications


Mochella, Manuela & Quaglia, Lucia (2016) ‘To agree or not to agree? Exoaining the cohesiveness of the Eu in the Group of Twenty’ JEPP 23, 6 pp 906-924

Müller, Patrick (2016) EU foreign policy: no major breakthrough despite multiple Crises Journal of European Integration, 38, 3, pp 359–374


Youngs, Richard (2010) Europe’s Decline and Fall: The Struggle Against Global Irrelevance (Profile)

13th November: Lecture 6. The EU and migration


20th November: Lecture 7. The EU and terrorism


Coolsaet, Rik (2010) ‘EU counterterrorism strategy: value added or chimera?’ *International Affairs* 86: 4, pp 857–873,

Cross, Mai’a K. Davis (2017) ‘Counter-terrorism in the EU’s external relations’ *Journal of European Integration*, 39:5, pp 609-624,


Wittendorp, Stef (2016) Conducting Government: Governmentality, Monitoring and EU Counter-Terrorism, Global Society, 30:3, 465-483,

27th November: Lecture 8. The EU and Russia


Götz, E. (ed) (2016) Special Issue: Russia, the West, and the Ukraine Crisis. Contemporary Politics 22 (3).


MacFarlane, S. Neil (2006), ‘The “R” in BRICs: is Russia an emerging power?’, International Affairs. 82: 1 pp 41-57


Noutcheva, G., Pomorska, K., & Bosse, G (2013)*The EU and its Neighbours: Values versus security in European Foreign Policy* (Manchester UP) especially chapter 10

Roth, Mathias (2011), ‘Poland as a Policy Entrepreneur in European External Energy Policy: Towards Greater Energy Solidarity vis-à-vis Russia?’ *Geopolitics* 16 3 pp 600-625


Siddi, Marco (2016) German Foreign Policy towards Russia in the Aftermath of the Ukraine Crisis: A New Ostpolitik?, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68:4, 665-677

Snyder, Timothy (2018) *The Road to Unfreedom* The Bodley Head


22nd January: Lecture 9. The EU and the challenge of the BRICS, especially China


Jing Men, (2014) 'EU-China Relations and Diplomacy: Introductory Note' 19 European Foreign Affairs Review, 19: 3/1, pp. 1–3 Special Issue on EU-China


Summers, Tim (2015) ‘The EU needs a nimbler but focused policy towards China’ Chatham House. Available at: https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/eu-needs-nimbler-focused-policy-towards-china

29th January: Lecture 10. The EU, security and defence, NATO and the United States


Mälksoo, Maria (2016) From the ESS to the EU Global Strategy: external policy, internal purpose, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 37:3, 374-388


Tocci, Nathalie (2017) *Framing the EU Global Strategy: A Stronger Europe in a Fragile World* Palgrave

**5th February: Lecture 11. The EU and BREXIT**


Biscop, Sven (2016) ‘All or nothing? The EU Global Strategy and defence policy after the Brexit.’ *Contemporary Security Policy* 37 (3).


House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee (2016) ‘Implications of the referendum on EU membership for the UK’s role in the world’ Fifth Report of


See: [http://ukandeu.ac.uk/](http://ukandeu.ac.uk/) for papers on various topics related to BREXIT including those by Anand Menon, Iain Begg and Richard Whitman

### 12th February: Lecture 12. Assessing the balance sheet of success/failure


Niemann, Arne & Bretherton, Charlotte (2013) EU external policy at the crossroads: The challenge of actorness and effectiveness' International Relations 27: 3 pp 261-275

Novotna, T. (2017) ‘The EU as a Global Actor: United we Stand, Divided we Fall’ JCMS 55 (1) pp 177-191


Seminars Topics:

11th October meeting to arrange seminar topics

18th October: Seminar 1: The EU as an international actor?

(i) 'A recognised presence with increasingly state-like capabilities does not necessarily make the EU an effective actor.'
(ii) 'The more unified we are on the global stage, the more effective we shall be.'

25th October: Seminar 2: The logics of unity and diversity at the formal level of policy-making

(i) European foreign policy is little more than a vehicle for furthering integration in Europe.'
(ii) 'Europe is simply not geared to acting in a crisis'

1st November: Seminar 3: Informal policy-making structures and the problems of coherence

(i) ‘Behind every foreign policy decision there is such a cacophony of voices from different levels representing everything from not quite the Flat Earth society to organised religion that, even if they do not always make for rational decisions make them more acceptable.’
(ii) ‘The nature of the ‘Brussels Bubble’ of think-tanks and advocacy groups reinforces the inter-institutional rivalries in the EU that invariably hamper the EU’s aspirations to present a united front'.

8th November: Seminar 4: Enlargement and beyond

(i) Without a ‘membership perspective’ for the Eastern Neighbourhood, the EU’s search for peace and security on its borders is likely to fail.’
(ii) ‘Differentiation among Member State interests in the Neighbourhood invariably cut across any European interest.’

15th November: Seminar 5: The € crisis and its implications

(i) 'The € crisis has so consumed European policy-making that it has limited the EU’s capacity and inclination to act abroad.'
(ii) ‘The global effects of Europe's economic crisis may have been variable in terms of trade and investment but it has clearly impacted on the EU as a model of peace and prosperity, a key element in the EU's soft power.'

22nd November: Seminar 6: The EU and Migration
‘Differing approaches to the issue of migration have revealed the limits of any “Europeanisation”, particularly of ‘new’ Member States’. ‘Europe’s position on migration has undermined any pretence of a it pursuing a “normative” foreign policy

29th November: Seminar 7: The EU and terrorism

‘The EU has too often emphasised the essential nature of countering-terrorism but the internal-external divide has invariably limited its impact’. ‘The multidimensional character of terrorism and the means to combat it have strengthened the EU’s security architecture’.

17th January: Seminar 8: The EU and Russia

‘The habit of trying to depoliticise the political has limited the ability of the EU (and its Member States) to react to Russian concerns.’ ‘Given such different histories of its members the EU was bound to fail against a more assertive Russia.’

24th January: Seminar 9: The EU, ‘decline’, and the BRICS

‘The EU’s strategic partnerships with the BRICS are neither strategic nor real partnerships’. ‘Without attempting special relationships, the EU is at risk of falling into global irrelevance.’

31st January: Seminar 10: The EU & NATO

‘If the EU and NATO fail to see each other as complementary they will both become irrelevant to Europe’s security needs.’ ‘The failure of the CSDP to meet its targets simply reflects Europe’s continued free-riding on the United States and NATO.’

7th February: Seminar 11: The EU and BREXIT

‘The factors leading to the UK’s departure from the EU may have been particular to Britain but they need to be set against a wider malaise within the EU itself.’ ‘The UK’s departure will strengthen the EU.’

14th February: Seminar 12: Questions of effectiveness

‘The EU’s contested legitimacy has inevitably impacted on its capacity to act internationally.’
(ii) 'The EU’s aspirations to act comprehensively remain at odds with its (in)ability to bring its influence to bear in resolving crises.'