

**MPHIL IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**  
**EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY: CRISES AND CHALLENGES**

**2019-20**

Dr Geoffrey Edwards

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

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 currently scheduled for 31 October 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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 China and the BRICS
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)

Biscop, Sven & Whitman, Richard (eds) (2012) *The Routledge Handbook of European Security* (Routledge)

Bretherton, Charlotte. & Vogler, John (2006) *The European Union as Global Actor* (second ed. Routledge)

Chappell, L., Mawdsley, J., & Petrov, P. (eds) (2016) *The EU, Strategy and Security Policy: Regional and Strategic Challenges* (Routledge)

Copsey, Nathaniel (2015) *Rethinking the European Union* (Palgrave Macmillan)

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

Dinan, D. N. Nugent, and W. Paterson (eds) (2017) *The European Union in Crisis* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).

Hadfield, Amelia, Manners, Ian & Whitman Richard (eds) (2017) *Foreign Policies of EU Member States* (Routledge)

Hill, Christopher & Smith, Michael (eds) (2017) *International Relations and the European Union* (third ed. Oxford University Press)

Nicolaïdis, Kalypso, Sèbe, Berny & Maas, Gabrielle (2015) (eds) *Echoes of Empire* I B Tauris

Smith, Karen (2014) *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (third ed. Polity)

Smith, M., Keukeleire, S., Vanhoonacker, S. (eds) (2015) *The Diplomatic System of the European Union: Evolution, change and challenges* (Routledge)

Van Middelaar, Luuk (2019) *Alarums & Excursions: Improvising Politics on the European Stage* Agenda Publishing

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](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 a vast 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, as is our own *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 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](http://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.ibeio.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 Europp blog (<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/>). *EU Observer* (<http://euobserver.com/>) is not only a daily record but also has its own set of bloggers and tweeters – as does *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 through speeches and photographs. UCL has a European/Brexit blog at <https://ucl-brexit.blog/>, as does E-International Relations at <https://www.e-ir.info/category/blogs/brexit-european-perspective/>.

## 15<sup>th</sup> October: Lecture 1: The nature of the challenges and crises facing the EU.

Balfour, Rosa (rapporteur) (2016) 'Europe's troublemakers The populist challenge to foreign policy' EPC (Available at:

[https://www.epc.eu/documents/uploads/pub\\_6377\\_europe\\_s\\_troublemakers.pdf](https://www.epc.eu/documents/uploads/pub_6377_europe_s_troublemakers.pdf)

Barakat, Sultan & Steven A. Zyck (2015) 'The Syrian refugee crisis and the erosion of Europe's moral authority' Brookings Institution 15 September

Börzel, T. A. and Risse, T. (2018) From the euro to the Schengen crises: European integration theories, politicization and identity politics. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25 (1), 83-108.

Castells, Manuel *et al* (2018) *Europe's Crises* Polity

Cross, Mai'a K Davis (2017) *The Politics of Crisis in Europe* CUP

Damro, Chad (2012) 'Market Power Europe' *Journal of European Public Policy* 19 5 pp 682-99

Dennison, S., U. Franke and P. Zerka (2018) The Nightmare of the Dark: The Security Fears that keep Europeans awake at night, *ECFR*, available at:

[https://www.ecfr.eu/specials/scorecard/the\\_nightmare\\_of\\_the\\_dark\\_the\\_security\\_fears\\_that\\_keep\\_europeans\\_away\\_at\\_n](https://www.ecfr.eu/specials/scorecard/the_nightmare_of_the_dark_the_security_fears_that_keep_europeans_away_at_n)

EPRS (2018) *Peace and Security in 2018 Overview of EU action and outlook for the future* PE 620.207

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2018/620207/EPRS\\_STU\(2018\)620207\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2018/620207/EPRS_STU(2018)620207_EN.pdf)

Falkner, R. (2017) Rethinking Europe's external relations in an age of global turmoil: an introduction. *International Politics* 54 (4).

Kupchan, C.A. (2012), "The Democratic Malaise. Globalization and the Threat to the West". *Foreign Affairs* 91: 1 pp62-7

Lucarelli, Sonia (2018) 'The EU and the Crisis of Liberal Order: At Home and Abroad' GLOBUS Research Paper 12/2018. Available at

<https://www.globus.uio.no/publications/globus-research-papers/2018/2018-12-globus-research-paper-lucarelli.html>

Lucarelli, Sonia, Sperling, James & Webber, Mark (eds) (2019) 'Securitisation The European Union, Security Governance and Collective Securitisation' *West European Politics* Special Issue 42: 2

Menon, Anand, (2014) 'The JCMS Annual Review Lecture Divided and Declining? Europe in a Changing World' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52, S1 pp 5-24

Moffitt, Benjamin (2015) 'How to Perform Crisis: A Model for Understanding the Key Role of Crisis in Contemporary Populism' *Government and Opposition*, 50, 2, pp. 189-217

Rosamond, Ben (2013) 'Three Ways of Speaking Europe to the World: Markets, Peace, Cosmopolitan Duty and the EU's Normative Power' *BJPIR: 2014* 16, pp 133-148

Doty, Annemarie Peen, Whitman, Richard Wolff, Stefan (2015) Theorising the European Union as an International Security Provider: Actors, Processes, Outcomes and Impact *Global Society Special Issue* 29, 2, (later published by Routledge)

Tocci, Nathalie (ed) (2011) *The European Union, Civil Society and Conflict* (Routledge/UACES)

Viceré, Maria Giulia Amado (2015) "Which Role Should The EU Play In International Relations? Understanding The Post-Lisbon Foreign Policy At Times Of Changes" Report of two workshops held in LUISS, Rome Seminars: LUISS/IAI. Available at: <http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iai1507.pdf>

Youngs, Richard (2010) *The EU's Role in World Politics A retreat from liberal internationalism* Routledge

Zwolski, Kamil (2012) The EU as an international security actor after Lisbon: Finally a green light for a holistic approach? *Cooperation and Conflict* March 2012 47: pp 68-87

## **22nd October: Lecture 2: Policy-making in the EU - the formal level**

Alecu, N. de Flers and Müller, P. (2012) 'Dimensions and Mechanisms of the Europeanization of Member State Foreign Policy: State of the Art and New Research Avenues', *Journal of European Integration*, 34(1): 19-35.

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

Bickerton, C. *et al* (2015) 'The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era' *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 53: 4 pp 703-722

Bickerton, C. Irondelle, B. and Menon, F. (2011) 'Security cooperation beyond the nation-state: The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49 (1), pp1-21

Caporaso, J. (2017) Europe's Triple Crisis and the Uneven Role of Institutions: the Euro, Refugees, and Brexit. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55 (1).

Dinan, D. (2017) Governance and Institutions: The Insidious Effect of Chronic Crisis. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55 (1).

Duke, Simon (2012) 'The European External Action Service: Antidote against Incoherence?' *European Foreign Affairs Review* 17, no. 1 pp 45-68.

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

Emerson, M. et al. (2011) *Upgrading the EU's Role as Global Actor: Institutions, Law and the Restructuring of European Diplomacy*, Brussels, CEPS

Gebhard, Carmen (2012) 'The institutional nature of the EU as a global conflict manager' in Richard G Whitman & Stefan Wolff (eds) *The European Union as a Global Conflict Manager* (Routledge) pp 23-32

Gross, Eva (2007) 'Germany and European Security and Defence Cooperation: The Europeanization of National Crisis Management Policies?' *Security Dialogue* 38: 4 pp 501-520

Keukeleire, Stephan & Delreux, Tom (2017) 'Actors in the EU's foreign policy system: New faces, some new approaches, but no fundamental changes' [an update of chapter 3 of their book on EU foreign policy]

[https://www.macmillanihe.com/resources/CW%20resources%20\(by%20Author\)/K/Keukeleire-And-Delreux-The-Foreign-Policy-Of-The-European-Union-2e/Update%20Chapter%203%20Actors%20-%20New%20faces%20some%20new%20approaches%20but%20no%20fundamental%20changes.pdf](https://www.macmillanihe.com/resources/CW%20resources%20(by%20Author)/K/Keukeleire-And-Delreux-The-Foreign-Policy-Of-The-European-Union-2e/Update%20Chapter%203%20Actors%20-%20New%20faces%20some%20new%20approaches%20but%20no%20fundamental%20changes.pdf)

Koenig, Nicole (2011): The EU and the Libyan Crisis - In Quest of Coherence?, *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 46:4, pp 11-30

Larsen, Henrik (2012) 'EU to the Rescue? EU Support in National Foreign Policy Crises and the Danish Mohammed Cartoon Case'. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 17: 3 pp 387-410.

Lehne, Stefan (2012) 'The Big Three in EU Foreign Policy' Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (available at: <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/07/05/big-three-in-eu-foreign-policy/ck4c>)

Lonardo, L. (2019). 'The Relative Influence of the European Council in EU External Action', *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 15: 1 pp 36-56.

Kaunert, Christian & Léonard, Sarah (2012) 'Supranational governance and European Union security after the Lisbon Treaty - Exogenous shocks, policy entrepreneurs and 11 September 2001' *Conflict and Cooperation* 47: 4 pp 417-432

Morgenstern-Pomorski, Jost-Henrik (2018). *The Contested Diplomacy of the European External Action Service*. Routledge



Nuttall, Simon (2005) 'Coherence and Consistency', in Christopher Hill and Michael Smith (eds.) *The European Union and International Relations* (Oxford University Press) pp. 91-112

Rosén, Guri & Raube, Kolja (2018) 'Influence beyond formal powers: The parliamentarisation of European Union security policy' *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20 1 pp 69-83

Schimmelfennig, Frank (2015) What's the News in 'New Intergovernmentalism'? A Critique of Bickerton, Hodson and Puetter *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 53: 4 pp 723-730

Thomas, Daniel C. (2009) Explaining the negotiation of EU foreign policy: Normative institutionalism and alternative approaches *International Politics* 46, pp 339-357

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

Wong, Reuben & Hill, Christopher (eds) (2012) *National and European Foreign Policies* (Routledge)

### **29<sup>th</sup> October: Lecture 3. Policy-making - the more informal levels**

Aggestam, Lisbeth & Christopher Hill (2008) 'The challenge of multiculturalism in European foreign policy' *International Affairs* 84: 1, pp 97-114

Beyers, Jan & Bart Kerremans (2007) Critical resource dependencies and the Europeanization of domestic interest groups *Journal of European Public Policy* 14: 3, pp 460-481. Special Issue: Empirical and Theoretical Studies in EU Lobbying

Cadier, David & Sus Monika (2017) 'Think Tank Involvement in Foreign Policymaking in the Czech Republic and Poland' *The International Spectator* 52, 1 pp 116-131

De Bièvre, D. and Eckhardt, J. (2011) 'Interest groups and EU anti-dumping policy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18: 3 pp 339-360.

Delreux, T. and S. Keukeleire (2017) 'Informal division of labour in EU foreign policy-making'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27 (10).

Dür, Andreas & Manfred Elsig (2011) Principals, agents, and the European Union's foreign economic policies *Journal of European Public Policy* 18: 3 pp 323-338

Eriksson, J & Rhinard, M (2009) 'The internal-external security nexus' *Cooperation & Conflict* 44: 3 pp243-67

Howorth, Jolyon (2004) Discourse, Ideas, and Epistemic Communities in European Security and Defence Policy *West European Politics* 27: 2 pp 211-234 Special Issue: Policy Change and Discourse in Europe.

Kuusik, Piret & Raik, Kristi (2018) 'The Nordic-Baltic Region in the EU: A Loose Club of Friends' SIEPS (Stockholm)10epa  
[http://www.sieps.se/globalassets/publikationer/2018/2018\\_10epa.pdf](http://www.sieps.se/globalassets/publikationer/2018/2018_10epa.pdf)

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

Shain, Yossi and Aharon Barth (2003) Diasporas and International Relations Theory *International Organization* 57: 03 pp 449-479

Shapovalova, Natalia (2016) The power of informality: European Union's engagement with non-state actors in Common Security and Defence Policy, *European Security*, 25:3, 326-345

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

#### **5<sup>th</sup> November 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

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

Bechev, Dimitar & Kalypso Nicolaïdis (2010) From Policy to Polity: Can the EU's Special Relations with its 'Neighbourhood' be Decentred? *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 48: 3, pp 475–500

Bicchi, F (2014), "The politics of foreign aid and the European Neighbourhood Policy post-Arab Spring: 'more for more' or less of the same?" *Mediterranean Politics*, 19: 3; pp 318-332

Börzel, T., A. Dimitrova, and F. Schimmelfennig (eds) (2017) Special Issue: European Union enlargement and integration capacity: concepts, findings, and policy implications. *Journal of European Public Policy* 24 (2).

Christou, G. (2010) 'European Union security logics to the east: The European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership', *European Security*, 19: 3; pp 413-430.

Dimitrovova, Bohdana (2012) Imperial re-bordering of Europe: the case of the European Neighbourhood Policy, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 25:2, pp 249-267

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

Lacey, J. and R. Bauböck (2017) Enlargement, association, accession – a normative account of membership in a union of states. *Journal of European Integration* 39 (5).

Liik, Kadri (2015) ECFR Riga Papers. Available at:

<http://www.ecfr.eu/wider/rigapapers>

Pomorksa, K. and G. Noutcheva (2017) Europe as a Regional Actor: Waning Influence in an Unstable and Authoritarian Neighbourhood. *JCMS* 55 (1).

Techau J (2014), "What if Europe had reacted strategically to the Arab Spring?" Carnegie-Europe Brussels <http://carnegieeurope.eu/publications/?fa=54672>

Jan Claudius Völkel, (2014) 'More for More, Less for Less – More or Less: A Critique of the EU's Arab Spring Response à la Cinderella' *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 19: 2, pp. 263-281

## **12<sup>th</sup> November: Lecture 5. The Euro-crisis and its implications**

Björn Fägersten (2014) 'The Implications of the Euro Crisis for European Foreign Policy- Lessons from Crisis Management and International Trade' *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 19: 4, pp. 483-502

Champeau, S., Closa, C., Innerarity, D., Poiares Pessoa Maduro, L M (2014) *The future of Europe : democracy, legitimacy and justice after the Euro crisis* Rowman & Littlefield

Christou, George & Kyris, George (2017) 'The Impact of the Eurozone Crisis on National Foreign Policy: Enhancing Europeanization in the Case of Cyprus' *JCMS* 55: 6 pp 1290-1305

Frieden, J. and Walter, S. (2017) Understanding the Political Economy of the Eurozone Crisis. *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (1), 371-390.

Hodson, Dermot & Lucia Quaglia (2009) European Perspectives on the Global Financial Crisis: Introduction *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies Special Issue: European Perspectives on the Global Financial Crisis* 47: 5 pp 939-953

Kempin, Ronja & Marco Overhaus, (2014) 'EU Foreign Policy in Times of the Financial and Debt Crisis' *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 19: 2 , pp. 179-194

Mochella, Manuela & Quaglia, Lucia (2016) 'To agree or not to agree? Examining 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

Overbeek, H & van Apeldoorn, B. (eds) (2012) *Neoliberalism in crisis* Palgrave

Pagliari, S. (2013) 'A Wall Around Europe? The European Regulatory Response to the Global Financial Crisis and the Turn in Transatlantic Relations', *Journal of European Integration*, 35: 4 pp 391-408.

Schwarzer, Daniela, Steinberg, Federico & Valiante, Diego (2013) 'Towards a Common External Representation for the Eurozone?' *TGAE Policy Paper 86* (Available at: <http://www.notre-europe.eu/media/eurozoneexternalrepresentation-schwarzersteinbergvaliante-ne-jdi-mar13.pdf>)

Thompson, Helen (2015) Germany and the Euro-Zone Crisis: The European Reformation of the German Banking Crisis and the Future of the Euro, *New Political Economy*, 20:6, 851-870

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

### **19<sup>th</sup> November: Lecture 6. The EU and migration**

Adamson, Fiona B. (2006) Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security *International Security* 31: 1, pp 165-199

Adamson Fiona B., Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos & Aristide R. Zolberg (2011) The Limits of the Liberal State: Migration, Identity and Belonging in Europe *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37: 6 pp 843-859 Special Issue: The Limits of the Liberal State: Migration, Identity and Belonging in Europe and the United States

Carrera, Sergio, Parkin, Joanna, & den Hertog, Leonhard (2013) 'EU Migration Policy after the Arab Spring: the Pitfalls of Home Affairs Diplomacy' Policy Paper 74 CEPS/Notre Europe. Available at: <https://www.ceps.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/arabsspringmigration-carreradenhertogparkin-ne-jdi-feb13.pdf>

Ceccorulli, Michela & Lucarelli, Sonia (2017) 'Migration and the EU Global Strategy: Narratives and Dilemmas,' *The International Spectator*, 52:3 83-102

Clemens, M A & Postel, H M (2018) 'Deterring Emigration with Foreign Aid: An Overview of Evidence from Low-Income Countries.' CGD Policy Paper. Washington, DC: Center for Global Development. <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/deterring-emigration-foreign-aid-overviewevidence-low-income-countries>

Funk, Marco *et al* (2017) 'Tackling irregular migration through development - a flawed approach?' EPC. Available at:  
[https://www.epc.eu/documents/uploads/pub\\_7693\\_tacklingirregularmigrationthroughdevelopment.pdf](https://www.epc.eu/documents/uploads/pub_7693_tacklingirregularmigrationthroughdevelopment.pdf)

Huysmans, Jeff (2000) 'The European Union and the Securitization of Migration' *JCMS* 38: 5 pp 751-777

Jansen, Y., Celikates, R., and de Bloois, J. (eds) (2014) *The Irregularization of Migration in Contemporary Europe: Detention, Deportation, Drowning* (Rowman & Littlefield)

Joffe, George (2016) 'Barcelona, Twenty Years On' in Zoubir Y.H. and White G. (eds) *North African politics: change and continuity*, Routledge (London)]

Leonard S (2010) 'EU Border Security and Migration into the European Union: FRONTEX and securitization through practice' *European Security* 19: 2 pp 231-54

Niemann, Arne. and Natascha Zaun (eds) (2018) Special Issue: EU Refugee Policies and Politics in Times of Crisis. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56 (1).

Tassinari, Fabrizio (2016) 'The Disintegration of European Security: Lessons from the Refugee Crisis' *PRISM* 6 2 pp 71-83 (available at:  
[http://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism\\_6-2/Tassinari.pdf?ver=2016-07-05-104622-137](http://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_6-2/Tassinari.pdf?ver=2016-07-05-104622-137) )

Tazzioli, M & Walters, W. (2016) 'The Sight of Migration: Governmentality, Visibility and Europe's Contested Borders', *Global Society*, 30:3, 445-464

Trauner, Florian & Wolff, Sarah (2014) The Negotiation and Contestation of EU Migration Policy Instruments: A Research Framework *European Journal of Migration and Law* 16 1-18

Venturi, Bernardo (ed) (2017) 'The Security-Migration- Development Nexus Revised: A Perspective from the Sahel' FEPS/IAI. Available at:  
<https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/9788868129729.pdf>

## **26<sup>th</sup> November: Lecture 7 The EU and terrorism**

Andreeva, C. (2019) 'The EU's counter-terrorism policy after 2015 – "Europe wasn't ready" – "but it has proven that it's adaptable"' *ERA Forum* 1-28

Argomaniz, Javier (2012) 'A Rhetorical Spillover? Exploring the Link between the European Union Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and the External Dimension in EU Counterterrorism', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 17: 2/1, pp. 35-52

Balzacq, T & Carrera, S (eds) (2006) *Security versus Freedom?* Ashgate

Brattberg, Eric & Mark Rhinard (2012) 'The EU as a counter-terrorism actor in the making' *European Security* 21: 4 pp 557-577. Special Issue: The external dimension of the European Union's counter-terrorism

Bures, Oldrich (2006) EU Counterterrorism Policy: A Paper Tiger? *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18: 1, pp 57-78

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## Seminars Topics:

15<sup>th</sup> October meeting to arrange seminar topics

22<sup>nd</sup> 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.'

29<sup>th</sup> 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'

5<sup>th</sup> 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'.

12<sup>th</sup> 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.'

19<sup>th</sup> 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.'

26<sup>th</sup> November: Seminar 6: The EU and Migration

- (i) 'Differing approaches to the issue of migration have revealed the limits of any "Europeanisation", particularly of 'new' Member States'.
- (ii) 'Europe's position on migration has undermined any pretence of a it pursuing a "normative" foreign policy

3<sup>rd</sup> December: Seminar 7: The EU and terrorism

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

21<sup>st</sup> January: Seminar 8: The EU and Russia

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

28<sup>th</sup> January: Seminar 9: The EU, 'decline', China and the BRICS

- (i) 'The EU's lack of coherence in its relationship with China merely hastens its global irrelevance'
- (ii) 'By establishing special relationships and strategic partnerships, the EU is trying to maintain its global significance.'

4<sup>th</sup> February: Seminar 10: The EU & NATO

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

11<sup>th</sup> February: Seminar 11: The EU and BREXIT

- (i) '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.'
- (ii) 'The UK's departure will strengthen the EU.'



18<sup>th</sup> February: Seminar 12: Questions of effectiveness

- (i) '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.'