The European Union's New Foreign Policy

Martin Westlake, David Davies of Llandinam Research Fellow in the Department of International Relations of the London School of Economics and Political Science, 2018-2019

Final Report

What's new?

That the European Union (EU) has something that can accurately be described as a foreign policy is a relatively recent phenomenon. For a long time, the European Community's external policies were focused on trade and development. Foreign policy *per se* remained a jealously-guarded Member State prerogative – defence was completely taboo. The story of the gradual emergence of the European Union's foreign policy has been well-rehearsed[1], with most commentators identifying the 1992 signing of the Maastricht Treaty, with its provisions on the Common Foreign and Security Policy, as the moment when something recognisable as a proper foreign policy first started to emerge. The question arises, given that this is such a recent phenomenon, why does the title of this book refer to a 'new' foreign policy, with its strong implication that there was an 'old' policy? The answer is a composite one, comprising a series of constitutional and institutional, political and geographical developments that have resulted in a new geo-political environment with a series of new challenges being addressed by a combination of new instruments and actors and old instruments and actors used in new and different ways. Thus, the 'new' of the title refers as much, by implication, to the new environment as it does to new instruments, actors and initiatives (and old ones used in new ways). It is, in short, this *ensemble* that justifies the term 'new'.

Clearly, the 2009 implementation of the Lisbon Treaty represented a major departure in this context, bringing many constitutional and institutional developments in its wake. Among the more important constitutional/institutional innovations were, variously: the creation of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy; the (2011) creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS)[2]; the creation of the permanent Presidency of the European Council; the implementation of Treaty on European Union (TEU) Article 3.5[3] and the concomitant establishment of a holistic overall external policy with a strong prescriptive element. Significant developments that have followed in the wake of the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty have included: the consolidation of the European Council President's role, as the EU navigated its way through three successive and unexpected crises – namely, the eurozone crisis, the migration crisis, and Brexit[4]; the consolidation of the High Representative's role and empowerment through a series of significant achievements (perhaps most notably, the normalization of relations with Serbia and the establishment of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran's nuclear programme - JCPOA) that have, cumulatively, put the High Representative on the map and legitimised the role[5]; in that context, the 2014-2019 Juncker Commission's creation of 'teams' of Commissioners, with one team of seven Commissioners, 'Europe in the World', led by the High Representative, finally realising an old ambition to encourage overall coherence in the European Commission's external actions, and with the new European Commission of Ursula von der Leyen following the same model[6]; also, in that context, the development and adoption of the European External Action Service's 2016 Global Strategy and its follow-ups (notably, annual reports)[7]; the 2017 activation of Permanent Structured Cooperation on security and defence matters (PESCO)[8]; the growth of the role and powers of the European

Parliament[9] and the parallel growth of parliamentary diplomacy[10]; and the growing potential of the euro as a foreign policy instrument[11].

The European Union's new geo-political environment would include a number of significant developments. First, Africa's continued evolution as an economic bloc and the European Union's recognition of this rapidly emerging reality. In March 2018, 49 of the African Union's 55 member states signed an agreement to create an African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) which, if ratified, will represent the largest free trade area in the world in terms of participating countries since the creation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1995. As Jean-Claude Juncker put it in his September 2018 'State of the Union' address to the European Parliament (EP), 'Africa is the future. By 2050, Africa's population will number 2.5 billion. One in four people on earth will be African … Africa does not need charity, it needs true and fair partnerships. And Europe needs this partnership just as much.'[12] It was this acknowledgement of Africa's fast-evolving emergence as a regional trade bloc that led to what this book has dubbed the 'pivot' to Africa. As Juncker continued, 'I believe we should develop the numerous European-African trade agreements into a continent-to-continent free trade agreement, as an economic partnership between equals.'[13] Second, the EU has had to come to a new understanding about its neighbourhood, and has had to elaborate a new neighbourhood policy, particularly as a function of such developments as the 2014 Russian annexation of Crimea and the stalling of the EU's previous policy of offering the prospect of future candidate status to all of the former member states of the Soviet Union without exception. Third, in part as a function of climate change, the Arctic region has been opening up as a source of commercial exploitation and transportation, creating new geo-political strategic considerations for the EU, as well as concerns about the degradation of the environment. Fourth, the EU has increasingly had to contend with issues arising out of EU membership itself, ranging from 'enlargement fatigue' through to Brexit, but also continued difficult relations with Switzerland and the management of tensions and further progress in the Western Balkans. Fifth, the EU's world view has had to be adapted to take into account a growing number of populist and revisionist leaders who cannot be relied upon to espouse the previously broadly shared attitudes towards growth, development, trade and multilateralism.[14]

The European Union's new international political environment would similarly include a number of significant developments. A first concerns the changing behaviour of the United States, formerly considered the EU's natural partner in a multilateral world order. Developments in this context would include the 2011 US pivot to Asia under President Barack Obama[15] and the post-2017 US withdrawal from the multilateral world system (including trade and monetary policy) and President Donald Trump's neo-Westphalian foreign policy stance. A second concerns the growth of an assertive China as an economic and trade power and also as a geo-political actor, particularly since the 2013 launch of its 'one belt one road' initiative.[16] The EU has had to adapt not just to China's increasing presence in areas of geopolitical importance, including Africa[17], but also to the instability arising out of US-China relations, particularly in trade and monetary policy. A third concerns the aggressive assertiveness of the Russian Federation under an increasingly autocratic Vladimir Putin, encapsulated in such developments as the Russian Federation's 2014-15 military intervention in Ukraine and annexation of Crimea[18], and its role in Syria and Libya, and an aggressive, though not pugnacious, stance in the Arctic region.[19] A fourth concerns the imperative for the EU to establish a new, more bilateral and regional, trade policy following the 2008 stalling of the Doha round of WTO-sponsored trade talks, a policy which must, variously, fully implement the normative approach of TEU Articles 2[20] and 21(1)[21] in general and take into account the muscular trade approaches of the US and China in particular.

New and increasingly urgent challenges for the European Union include: migration and demography, with refugee flows on the one hand, but ageing populations and shrinking work forces on the other; climate change and environmental issues, and the concomitant development of energy policies; access to resources, including water and minerals; and, in an increasingly interconnected world, the rise of issues such as cyber-security and autonomy in areas such as developing its own global satellite navigation system (Galileo).[22]

In all these different contexts – constitutional and institutional developments, the new geo-political environment, the new international political environment, new and increasingly urgent challenges – the European Union has been developing new instruments and actors and bringing old instruments and actors to bear in new and different ways. Cumulatively, collectively, this is the new foreign policy in the title of this work.

David Davies of Llandinam (1880-1944)

Lord David Davies was a Welsh businessman, (Liberal) politician, international campaigner and philanthropist. Profoundly influenced by the 1914-1918 war (he saw active service in the trenches on the Western Front), he devoted much of his post-war energy and thought to the search for a new approach to international relations. Indeed, although other origins have recently been posited[23], David Davies is commonly thought to have been the primary force in creating international relations as a distinct field of academic study. In particular, in 1919, he endowed what was to become Aberystwyth University with the Woodrow Wilson Chair in International Relations – the first of its kind anywhere in the world (the inaugural chairholder was Sir Alfred Eckhard Zimmern, creator *inter alia* of the concepts of 'the Commonwealth' and 'the welfare state').

A founder member of the League of Nations Union and a dedicated liberal internationalist, Davies left a significant mark on the academic and political landscapes of Britain and Wales.[24] In 1931 he conceived a society, 'The New Commonwealth', to seek a new international order between states. This became a major vehicle for his campaigning on the international stage. In 1934, he financed the building of the Temple of Peace in Cardiff (the building still stands and houses, inter alia, the Welsh Centre for International Affairs), a public building and memorial, incorporating meeting places and a library housing many books with international themes. Davies' approach to international relations had at its core a profound commitment to democracy, a recognition that ordinary people paid the price for failures in relations between states, and a belief that elites everywhere should wake up to the fact that, in his words, 'the world is our concern.'

Davies was himself a prolific and prescient writer on international affairs, concerned about the potential for war in an anarchic international system, a theme he explored in several major works, including *The Problem of the Twentieth Century* (1934), *A Federated Europe* (1940) and *The Seven Pillars of Peace* (1945). His prescience, and the urgency with which he pressed his case, were illustrated in his 1934 work, *Force and the Future*, in which he predicted that: 'the next war will be waged in the air' (p. 10); 'nerve centres – cities, government buildings, factories, railways, ports, shipping, etc., will be bombed (p. 14); 'there will be no distinction between civilians and the fighting forces. It will be '*la guerre totale*' (p. 16); and that 'against attack from the air there is no defence except reprisals' (p. 20). This was two years before the second Italo-Ethiopian War (1935-36)[25] and three years before the bombardment of Guernica (1937) – both bloody precursors of '*la guerre totale*' that broke out in 1939. (Davies's prescience, alas, did not prevent tragedy touching his own family; in

September 1944 his oldest son, ‘Mike’, was killed in action with the 6th Royal Welch Fusiliers on the Dutch border.)

The LSE’s International Relations Department and the David Davies of Llandinam Research Fellowship

The London School of Economics and Political Science was also an early and formative force in the creation of the new discipline of International Relations. In 1924 it created the Sir Ernest Cassel Chair of International Relations and appointed Philip Noel-Baker as the first holder of the chair.[26] Noel-Baker started teaching several courses already in the 1924-25 academic year and in 1927 the LSE’s Professorial Council took the evident next step of creating a Department of International Relations, a Department that has gone from strength to strength, growing into one of the most prominent centres world-wide for the study of, and research into, international politics.[27]

In 2006, the trustees of the Dinam Charity, originally created by David Davies, decided to wind up the charity and create an endowment to support the David Davies of Llandinam (Dinam) Research Fellowship. The LSE’s International Relations Department was a logical home for the Fellowship, which was established to support the founder’s vision by furthering the understanding of international relations among academics and practitioners, particularly those involved in the field, and in policy making. The Fellowship is intended to give practitioners in the field of international politics and policy an opportunity to undertake sustained research in an academic environment. The particular aim of the Fellowship is to bridge divisions between theorists and practitioners and support the study of international relations which directly links the application of expertise in international relations to policy development and execution. The idea is to advance understanding between academics, policymakers and practitioners and thus ensure that studies are rooted in the real world and concerned with practical, actionable outcomes. The Fellowship offers practitioners a period of reflection during which, with access to leading academic analysis and thought within a stimulating and supportive environment, they can develop a richer and more considered approach to their work.

The Dinam seminar series, 2018-2019, and the ensuing book

It was my privilege and pleasure to be appointed the David Davies of Llandinam Research Fellow at the LSE’s International Relations Department for the 2018-2019 academic year. My research proposal, under the general title of ‘The European Union’s New Foreign Policy’, had two main elements: first, the organisation of a seminar series in Lent term, 2019, intended to bring to the LSE a series of distinguished EU practitioners who would interact with the faculty and students in the International Relations Department; and, second, to develop and edit a book project that would be built on the theme of the seminar series but also go beyond it. The seminar series was, I think all those who attended it would agree, a popular success. I am also Visiting Professor of Practice in the European Institute at the LSE and we threw the doors open also to students from the Institute. The large number of students present at the seminars made for lively exchanges in which the guest speakers were enthusiastic participants (a common refrain was ‘it is a shame we can’t do this more often’). Each of the seminars was co-chaired by the Dinam Fellow and a specialised member of the International Relations Department faculty. The Box sets out the speakers, themes and co-chairs of the nine seminars. In an ideal world, it would have been good to have had more speakers covering

more themes, but the seminar could only be held once a week (and was, indeed, held every possible week of that term).

The 2019 Dinam Seminar Series on the European Union's New Foreign Policy at the International Relations Department and the European Institute at the LSE

Friday, 18 January 2019, Christian Leffler, Deputy Secretary-General, European External Action Service, Global and Economic Issues, 'Championing Multilateralism'. Co-chairs: Dr Martin Westlake, and Dr Karen E Smith, Professor of International Relations.

Friday, 25 January 2019, Stavros Lambrinidis, European Union Special Representative on Human Rights, 'The Positive Narrative on Human Rights'. Co-chairs: Dr Martin Westlake and Dr Spryos Economides, Associate Professor in International Relations and European Politics.

Friday, 1 February 2019, Koen Vervaeke, Managing Director, Africa, European External Action Service, 'The "pivot" to Africa'. Co-chairs: Dr Martin Westlake and Dr Chris Alden, Professor of International Relations.

Friday, 8 February 2019, Patrick Costello, Head of Division for Democracy and Electoral Observation, European External Action Service, 'Values and Interests in Post-Lisbon European Union Foreign Policy'. Co-chairs: Dr Martin Westlake and Dr Katerina Dalacoura, Associate Professor in International Relations.

Friday, 15 February 2019, Marie-Anne Coninsx, EU Ambassador at Large for the Arctic, 'The European Union's Northern Window – a New View on the World'. Co-chairs: Dr Martin Westlake and Dr Alexandra-Maria Bocse, Fellow in International Relations.

Friday, 1 March 2019, Pedro Serrano, Deputy Secretary-General, European External Action Service, Common Security and Defence Policy and Crisis Response, 'Working for a Safer World'. Co-chairs: Dr Martin Westlake and Dr Karen E Smith, Professor of International Relations.

Friday, 8 March 2019, Johannes Noack, Member, Private Office of Johannes Hahn, Commissioner responsible for European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations, 'Looking after the Neighbourhood.' Co-chairs: Dr Martin Westlake and Dr Spyros Economides, Associate Professor in International Relations and European Politics.

Friday, 15 March 2019, Gianmarco di Vita, Director-General of Resources, European External Action Service, 'Creating and Managing a New Diplomatic Service'. Co-chairs: Dr Martin Westlake and Dr Federica Bicchi, Associate Professor of International Relations.

Friday, 22 March 2019, Maria Åsenius, Head of the Private Office of Cecilia Malmström, European Commissioner for Trade, 'Trade in Turbulent Times'. Co-chairs: Dr Martin Westlake and Dr Stephen Woolcock, Lecturer in International Political Economy.

The book project grew out of, and was built upon, the Dinam seminar series but goes far beyond it. In the spirit of the Dinam fellowship, the main voice in the book is that of a group of distinguished practitioners, but there is also a mix with theoreticians (and, in some cases, as with the editor, contributors happened to be both practitioners and theoreticians).[28] Clearly, the book could not be comprehensive in its coverage of all the 'new' backdrop set out in the introduction above. Rather, the approach taken is sample-based and illustrative. For example, the study covers climate change, but it does not cover energy policy; it covers the EU's emerging cultural diplomacy, but it does not cover social clauses in trade agreements (for example); it covers parliamentary diplomacy, but it does not cover Member State EU foreign policy coordination; it covers Africa and the Arctic region, but it does not cover the Mediterranean. The book would have had to have been very big indeed to have covered all salient aspects! Similarly, the collection eschews any major discussion of the different possible theoretical approaches that might have served as the framework and the background to a more classical academic study. Nevertheless, the collection of studies gathered together in this volume provide a selection of authoritative analyses of various aspects of the European Union's new foreign policy.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One addresses a series of over-arching issues; multilateralism, human rights, values and interests, security and defence, trade, but also parliamentary and cultural diplomacy. Thus, in Chapter One, Christian Leffler, Deputy Secretary-General for Global and Economic Issues in the European External Action Service (2015-2020) considers the European Union's distinctive attitude towards multilateralism from a practical point of view. The European Union itself embodies the multilateral approach to international relations and has served as a model for various similar regional organisations. Such developments as Vladimir Putin's disregard for international cooperation and the Trump administration's abandonment of multilateralism in favour of a more Westphalian approach to world affairs have left the EU alone to champion the cause of multilateralism, one of the core planks of its 2016 Global Strategy. What, in practice, does this mean and how can it be effectively managed, given the current behaviour of the world's great powers and the Union's other geo-political concerns? The chapter concludes by considering the challenging fact that, going forward, 'the EU will increasingly need to engage key international partners that will not necessarily be like-minded.'

In Chapter Two, Stavros Lambrinidis, now the EU's ambassador to the United States, but previously the EU's Special Representative for Human Rights, 2012-2019, argues the practical case for a positive narrative on human rights. As reinforced by the Lisbon Treaty's provisions and the Global Strategy, the European Union's basic stance is that all human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent. The EU actively promotes and defends them both within its borders and when engaging in relations with non-EU countries. The EU's human rights and democracy policy encompasses civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. The EU is adamant about protecting the universal nature of human rights when this is questioned on grounds of cultural or political differences. The EU furthermore believes that democracy is the only political system which can fully realize all human rights. The European Union is founded on a strong engagement to promote and protect human rights, democracy and rule of law worldwide. Sustainable peace and stability, long-term development and prosperity cannot exist without respect for human rights and democratic institutions. This commitment underpins all internal and external policies of the European Union. So how, in practice, did the EU's Special Representative for Human Rights carry out his role? The chapter concludes by considering the EU's/EEAS's new, Good Human Rights Stories Initiative, both within the Union and in third countries. How does that work in practice?

In Chapter Three, Patrick Costello, currently Head of Division for Democracy and Electoral Observation in the European External Action Service, considers values and interests in post-Lisbon European foreign policy. TEU Article 3.7 (of the Lisbon Treaty) declares that, 'In its relations with the wider world, the Union shall uphold and promote its values and interests … It shall contribute to peace, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights…' So how does such a complex organisation as the EU go about upholding and promoting its values, whilst also upholding and promoting its *interests*, and what mechanisms has it developed to ensure coherence and consistency between these two post-Lisbon concerns?

In Chapter Four, Pedro Serrano, now Head of the Private Office of Josep Borrell, the EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, but Deputy Secretary-General for Common Security and Defence Policy and Crisis Response in the European External Action Service 2015-2019, considers how the European Union is constantly working for a safer world. The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is now an integral part of EU foreign policy. Through its military operations and civilian missions, the EU has contributed to regional and global stability. Since its inception, the CSDP has responded to a shifting regional security context. It has played a vital role in crisis management in the EU's near and wider neighbourhood, but it is also an essential part of the EU's broader approach to the protection of Europe and capacity building. The EU's capacity in this regard is rapidly increasing and its global footprint has, quietly but effectively, become ever greater. How can the EU work for a safer world when faced with American unilateralism and Russian neo-colonialism, to take but two of the most prevalent challenges it faces?

In Chapter Five, Maria Åsenius, who was Head of the Private Office of the European Commissioner for Trade, Cecilia Malmström, 2014-2019 considers how the European Union, a trading and regulatory giant, is adapting its behaviour to the new reality of trade turbulence and the American drift away from multilateralism. She looks, in turn, at the EU's steady development of deep and comprehensive bilateral agreements, whilst always hoping they might also serve as a basis for a more multilateral approach in due course, at how the EU is seeking to defend and reform the rules-based WTO system, and how it is managing its relations with a more pugnaciously Westphalian US.

In Chapter Six, Myriam Goinard, a policy adviser in the External Policies Directorate-General of the European Parliament considers the growing role of parliamentary diplomacy in the EU's new foreign policy. Following the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty in particular, the powers of the European Parliament in external relations have gradually expanded and its influence over the foreign policy of the European Union continues to grow – indeed, it has become a characteristic aspect of the EU's new foreign policy. So, in what ways has the European Parliament become an international actor and what is its growing role outside the EU territory across different policy areas including human rights, international aid, trade, crisis management and the environment? What about the European Parliament's regional interactions? And how is this growing parliamentary diplomacy subsumed within, and coordinated with, the EU's overall foreign policy whilst respecting due institutional political autonomy?

In Chapter Seven, Gijs de Vries, currently a Visiting Fellow at the European Institute of the LSE and who has served, variously, as a minister and member of the European Parliament, looks at the currently neglected topic of the EU's emerging cultural diplomacy. In June 2016, the EU High Representative and the then European Commissioner with responsibility for education and culture,

Tibor Navracsics, put forward a proposal to develop an EU strategy for international cultural relations as part of the EU's overarching priority of making the EU a stronger global actor. The strategy has three main objectives: unlocking the potential of culture and creativity for sustainable social and economic development; promoting peace and fighting radicalisation through intercultural dialogue; and strengthening cooperation on cultural heritage. How has the strategy been working out in practice and what leverage can it bring to bear?

In Chapter Eight, Gianmarco di Vita, Director General of the European External Action Service's Directorate-General for Budget and Administration, gives a view, from the coalface, of how the new European External Action Service (EEAS) was built and how it is managed. He considers the complexity of this remarkable and novel service and the managerial challenges it faces, in part because of its unique composition. Above all, he shows how the EEAS has proven the added-value inherent in the logic of its creation. In particular, its single voice is more than a simple sum of the voices of all the EU Member States.

Part Two looks at some of the new geo-political challenges the European Union faces. Thus, in Chapter Nine, Johannes Noack, who worked in the Private Office of the European Commissioner with responsibility for the EU's enlargement and neighbourhood policies, Johannes Hahn, 2014-2019, considers how the Union manages its relationships with its closest neighbours. The European Union has devised a cohesive strategy with regard to its neighbourhood, but the neighbourhood has not necessarily behaved as expected; for example, a member state (the United Kingdom) is about to become a neighbouring country, whilst a candidate country (Turkey) has effectively frozen its accession negotiations. Meanwhile, the Western Balkan countries dream of membership whilst Ukraine and the Caucasus countries struggle for a stable relationship in a swirl of geopolitical angst. But the neighbourhood is important to the European Union, not only in terms of peace and stability but also as an economic partnership. So how is it done? How does the European Union look after its neighbourhood?

In Chapter Ten, Koen Vervaeke, Managing Director for Africa in the European External Action Service, considers the EU's 'pivot' to Africa. In 1950, Germany, Italy and the UK were among the ten most populous countries in the world. By 2015, they had long since gone, replaced by the likes of Brazil, Pakistan and Nigeria. By 2100, five of the ten most populous countries in the world will come from the African continent – Congo, Ethiopia, Niger, Nigeria, Tanzania (the others will be China, India, Indonesia, the USA and Pakistan). It is in part this prospect that led European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker to declare the 'pivot' to Africa in his September 2018 State of the Union address. There is a sense of urgency about this twin 'pivot', from other trading blocs to the African continent, from development aid to trade partnerships. Already, as seen above, in March 2018, 49 of the African Union's 55 member states signed an agreement to create an African Continental Free Trade Area which, if ratified, will represent the largest free trade area in the world in terms of participating countries since the creation of the World Trade Organisation in 1995. How did this 'pivot' work its way through the EU's new foreign policy machinery, and how will it be followed through?

In Chapter Ten, Marie-Anne Coninsx, the European Union's first Ambassador at Large for the Arctic Region, 2017-2019, considers the EU's northern window. The European Union is inextricably linked to the Arctic region by a unique combination of history, geography, economy and scientific achievements. Three Member States – Denmark (Greenland), Finland and Sweden – have territories in the Arctic. Two other Arctic states – Iceland and Norway – are members of the European

Economic Area. Canada, Russia and the United States are strategic partners of the EU. European Arctic areas are a priority in the EU's Northern Dimension policy. In April 2016 the High Representative and the European Commission adopted a Joint Communication on an integrated EU policy for the Arctic Region.[29] Climate change, sustainable development and international cooperation on scientific and other matters are now all integral concerns within the EU's overall post-Lisbon holistic approach to external relations. As part of that integrated policy, in 2017 the High Representative appointed a first roving ambassador to the region. What does the outgoing first ambassador see as being the challenges in a changing context where receding sea and land ice mean that shipping lanes and mineral resources are becoming increasingly accessible, and where the Union's economic and geopolitical interests may not necessarily entirely overlap with its values?

Part Three looks a few of the policy challenges the European Union is increasingly facing. In Chapter Twelve, Dr Alexandra-Maria Bocse, Fellow in International Relations at the LSE, takes a look at the EU's climate change policy as an aspect of its foreign policy. Through original interview material and additional research, she demonstrates how the European Union and certain Member States (particularly France) turned their diplomatic skills and the Union's networks to good effect in pushing and pursuing the climate change agenda, culminating in the 2016 Paris Agreement. She shows also how, in the absence of US support, the EU has engaged in innovative diplomacy with individual US states, and she considers also the irony embodied in the EU's domestic progress rendering overall progress, in terms of temperature reduction, more difficult.

In Chapter Thirteen, three European Commission officials, Nelle Eichhorn, Alina Nedea and Ulrik Trolle-Smed, consider the European Union's developing mechanisms in the fields of hybrid threats and cyber security more generally. As the world has become steadily more interconnected, so fresh threats to security have arisen posing new challenges for public authorities in general. How has the European Union reacted to these challenges? And how has it developed a coherent policy and effective instruments? They demonstrate how, quietly but surely, the Union has indeed been equipping itself to deal with this particular aspect of the modern world.

In Chapter Fourteen, Dr Karen E Smith, Professor of International Relations at the LSE, a renowned expert on the European Union's foreign policy and author of the standard work on the subject, casts a critical eye back over the past decade and considers the European Union' post-Lisbon foreign policy in the round. Ten years after the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty and the subsequent creation of the European External Action Service, and at the beginnings of the mandates of a new series of high office holders and external relations actors, from the Presidents of the European Council and Commission through to the new High Representative, where does the European Union's new foreign policy stand with regard to its initial lofty ambitions? Where has it succeeded and where does it still need to make progress? What major challenges has it faced, how has it overcome them and what has it learnt?

Finally, in an Afterward, I consider whether and how the EU's new foreign policy might be regarded a success and, as the title suggests, I conclude, with measured optimism that, whilst much progress has been made and much further progress needs to be made, the momentum to progress is very much there.

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Contents

Notes on contributors

Note: all of the contributors to this book have written in a personal capacity only. The views expressed are their own and do not represent any official position of any organisation or institution.

Maria Åsenius served as Head of the Private Office of European Commissioner for Trade, Cecilia Malmström, 2014-2019. She was also Head of Commissioner Malmström's Private Office, 2010-2014, when she held the portfolio for Home Affairs. Before that she worked as State Secretary for European Affairs in Stockholm. She was a member, and then Deputy Head, of European Commissioner Olli Rehn's Private Office, 2004 to 2007. She was a Political Adviser to the President of the European Parliament, 2002-2004 and before that was a desk officer for the ELDR Group in the European Parliament, 1995-2002. Åsenius graduated from the Stockholm School of Economics with a degree in business and economics in 1986, and subsequently started a career in journalism as an editorial writer at *Göteborgs-Tidningen*, 1986-1988 and at *Dagens Nyheter*, 1988. She then worked as freelance journalist in Brasilia and Paris, including work as correspondent for the Swedish business magazine *Veckans affärer*. In March 1993 she began to work in the Government Offices in Stockholm, first as Deputy Press Secretary to the Minister for Finance and then as a Political Adviser to the Minister for Culture and Immigration.

Alexandra-Maria Bocse is Fellow in International Relations at the LSE. She completed a PhD in Politics and International Studies at University of Cambridge, UK and an MPhil in International Relations at the same institution. In 2015-2016 Bocse was a Fulbright-Schuman Fellow at Harvard University. Her research and analysis interests are related to European Affairs, energy and environmental politics and policy, as well as international governance. She has taught European Politics, Global Energy and Environmental Politics, and International Affairs at University of Cambridge, the London School of Economics, and King's College London.

Marie-Anne Coninsx was the first Ambassador at Large for the Arctic of the European Union (EU) from September 2017 to October 2019. She was previously the European Union's Ambassador to Canada (2013-2017), after serving four years as the EU Ambassador to Mexico. In Canada, she extensively visited the Canadian Arctic. Her other postings abroad include having served as the number two at the EU Delegations in New York and in Geneva, providing her with an extensive experience on multilateral issues. Marie-Anne Coninsx has been an official of the European Union for 35 years. She started her career in the European Commission at the Legal Service and worked for twelve consecutive years as a Staff Member at Cabinets of three Commissioners, dealing respectively with: External Relations and Trade; the Internal Market; EU Development Policy, and relations with the European Parliament. She also worked at the External Relations Department at EU HQ, overseeing relations between the European Union and Latin America. She studied law at Ghent University in Belgium and did post-graduate studies at Cambridge University (UK) - which included studying Law of the Sea, and at the European University Centre in Nancy (France).

Patrick Costello is currently Head of the Democracy and Electoral Observation Division in the European External Action Service (EEAS). He has been an EU official for twenty-two years, working in the European Parliament, the European Commission and the EEAS and has served in a number of Private Offices including those of Chris Patten (European Commissioner for External Relations, 1999-2004), European Parliament President Josep Borrell (as diplomatic adviser), 2004-2006, Vice-President Margot Wallström (as deputy Head of Cabinet), 2007-2009, and as Head of the Private Office of Karmenu Vella (European Commissioner for Environment, Maritime Affairs and Fisheries). Other jobs have included EEAS Head of Division for the Middle East and Deputy to the Chair of the

Political and Security Committee. Prior to joining the European Union institutions, he worked for the United Nations in Haiti (MICIVIH) and as an electoral observer in South Africa (UNOMSA). He started his career as a human rights campaigner on Central America.

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Martin Westlake, Brussels, March 2020

NOTES

[1] For example, Smith, 2014; Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014
[2] Spence and Bátora, 2015
[3] 'In its relations with the wider world, the Union shall uphold and promote its values and interests and contribute to the protection of its citizens. It shall contribute to peace, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights, in particular the rights of the child, as well as to the strict observance and the development of international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.'
[4] Van Rompuy, 2014; Van Middelaar, 2019
[5] See, for example, Viceré, 2018
[6] See Westlake, 2016, pp. 16-18
[7] European External Action Service, 2016
[8] European External Action Service, 2019
[9] Costa, 2019
[10] Bajtay, 2015
[11] European Commission, 2018
[12] Juncker, 2018, p. 8
[13] ibid.
[14] Economides, 2017
[15] Davidson, 2014; Shambaugh, 2013
[16] Ferdinand, 2016
[17] Alden, 2007
[18] Arbatova and Dynkin, 2016
[19] Astrasheuskaya and Foy, 2019
[20] '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.'
[21] 'The Union's action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.'
[22] Westlake, 2019
[23] Thakur, Davis and Vale, 2017
[24] Lewis, undated; Jones, 2000-01
[25] Davies, 1936
[26] It is an irrelevance, but Noel-Baker is the only person ever to have won both an Olympic (silver) medal (as a runner, at Antwerp, in 1920) and the Nobel Peace Prize (in 1959, as 'an ardent, lifelong worker for international peace and cooperation').
[27] Bauer and Brighi, 2003
[28] As editor, I took a decision not to impose too much of an academic style on the practitioners' contributions but, rather, to let them flow naturally, thus providing as much practitioners' insights and observations as a more traditionally rigorous academic formalism. The book therefore contains a mixture of the two styles but is, I think, the stronger for it.
[29] European External Action Service, 2016

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