

SUMMARY OF THE PROJECT

“The National Foreign Policies and the EU Foreign Policy: Conflict or Convergence?”

The proposed project aims to compare the EU member states' foreign policies and, in turn, to compare them with the national foreign policies of the major international actors.

In 2010, a book edited by Federiga Bindi – itself a result of a Jean Monnet grant (Bindi F., ed., 2010: *The Foreign Policy of the European Union. Assessing Europe's Role in the World*, Brookings Institution Press Washington DC) - concluded that, despite a number of remarkable successes, the lack of EU institutional coherence is reflected in its failure to give birth to a unified foreign policy actor. However, there is now a window of opportunity provided by the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty that has to be seized; it is in particular crucial that the EU member states coordinate their national foreign policies. Yet, the perceived differences prevent effective convergence. The more the EU member states will understand that their differences are in fact comparatively smaller than they think, the more they will be willing to cooperate and converge.

The proposed research aims at providing the evidence that the member states' vital interests are closer than the national decision makers would think and, in turn, make them realize that it is in their national interest to have a European Foreign Policy.

As we know, the Lisbon Treaty introduces enhanced tools in view of a EU foreign policy. The High Representative and the European External Service are fundamental steps forward, whose spill-over effects will grow as time passes. However, there will be no European Foreign Policy if the member states will not be willing to work for an increased convergence of their foreign policies. The goal of the proposed project is therefore multiple.

First and foremost, it will analyze the level of convergence and divergence of the foreign policies of the EU member states by selecting a number of relevant and representative policies (policies toward other areas of the world, energy and environment; defence and NATO; competition policy, IIOO etc). This will allow us to understand where the most critical points lie and, conversely, which are the areas of greater convergence. We will also define European minimum and maximum denominators for each of the policies analyzed.

Secondly, we will compare the member states' positions to the EU's positions on a number of policies. Thirdly, we will compare the EU's and the EU member states stances to those of the US, Russia, China, Brazil, Egypt and India. This last comparison will show how, regardless of the differences among Europeans, the gap between them is smaller than the gap that exists with the rest of the major world players. As an ultimate goal, the project therefore aims to suggest that by looking from the outside, those differences that seem so wide from the national capitals, are in fact much smaller when seen in a global context. It also aims to show how the single member states, however “big” they may be, will find it increasingly difficult in having their voices heard at the global level. The proposed project therefore aims to show that the member states' national interest is to have a unified European Foreign Policy.

From a methodological point of view, there will be 9 European national research teams. These are the 6 “bigger” member states (UK, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Poland – which by the way regularly hold consultations among themselves) in addition to 3 “smaller” member states: The Netherlands, Romania, Denmark. In addition, there will be a research team in each of the 6 following extra-EU countries: USA, Russia, China, Brazil, India and Egypt. In most cases the team will be headed by a Jean Monnet Chair, assisted by a young researcher (a PhD candidate or the like). The project therefore also has a sub aim of giving young researchers the possibility to work together with senior colleagues and benefit from their expertise and contacts.

Each national team will be charged with presenting a paper and writing an article on the foreign policy of “their own” state. Each article shall deal with the following issues: 1. Historical introduction: the main directives of the national foreign policy; 2. The relations with Russia, the US, the Balkans, Caucasus, Middle East, Latin America, Africa, China, India since the end of the Cold War. 3. The national interests in the following fields: energy and environment; defence and NATO; competition policy, IIOO with particular reference to the UN. Each team will also prepare a matrix ranking the national priorities both in geographical and in thematic terms, indicating the 3 top priorities within each sub-area.

The teams will work in close contact and cooperation thanks to IT tools (web site – with both public and private pages; skype etc) in order to exchange ideas and share comments as the work progresses. In the spring 2012 there will be a public conference where the results of the research will be presented and discussed with experts and policy makers. The website will be interactive with the possibility for the public to click and get up-to-date information on the EU Foreign Policy. In this sense, a stable cooperation will be established with the website <http://www.globeurope.com/> that is specialized on EU Foreign Policy.

The articles will be included in an edited book published by the Brookings Institution Press. This will guarantee visibility and impact non only in Europe but well beyond it. Furthermore, as it will be the third book published by Brookings Press on various aspects of the EU Foreign Policy (all three the result of Jean Monnet grants), this will maximize its visibility. There is also now a consolidated tradition in cooperating with Brookings Press that will ensure the most successful enterprise. Upon publishing, the book will be presented in a number of press conferences and conferences both in Europe (Rome, Milan, Bruxelles, London, Paris, Berlin ect) and outside (the US, Russia ect).

The impact envisaged is twofold. On the one side, we aim to influence decision makers and opinion makers (journalists ect), both within and outside Europe. In this sense, the cooperation with the Brookings Institution and SAIS-John Hopkings University, possibly respectively the most influential think tank and University teaching and researching in foreign policy in the world, is the best guarantee for visibility and qualified audience. On the other side, the book aims at influencing public opinion in order for it to better understand and thus support a EU Foreign Policy. Again, Brookings and SAIS are the most suited place for ensuring this result. To this aim, the authors will engage in using an easy-to-understand language and the book will also include two introductory chapters: one the instruments of the EU Foreign Policy and the other on the great themes of the European Foreign Policy.

The proposed project will bring together **some of the most well known international scholars in European and International Relations studies**, which not by chance are almost all **Jean Monnet Chairs**. Federiga Bindi, the project coordinator, is Jean Monnet Chair in European Political Integration since 2004 and responsible for the European Centre of Excellence of the University of Rome Tor Vergata. She is also a Non Resident Fellow at the prestigious Brookings Institution in Washington DC. She has coordinated various EU projects and has published books on Italy and the EU, on the European Foreign Policy and of the History and Institutions of the European Union.

As for the partners of the proposed project, from European Union members states one finds: Federico Niglia (Germany), Federica Bicchì (United Kingdom), Bernard Yvars (France), Jan Bielanski (Poland), Antonio Estella (Spain), Duco Hellema and Mathieu Segers (The Netherlands), Jan Ifversen (Denmark), Irina Angelescu (Romania), while from non EU member states, Dan Hamilton and Kurt Volkner (USA), Paulo Canela de Castro e Zhang Jiao (China), Mark Lvovich Entin (Russia), Marcos A. Guedes de Oliveira and Karine de Souza Silva (Brasil), Come Carpentier (India) and Khaled Emara (Egypt). The partners and their area of work is schematized as following.

1 Fedrico Niglia	LUISS	German foreign policy
2.Federica Bicchì	London School of Economics	UK foreign policy
3.Bernard Yvars	University of Bordeaux	French foreign policy
4.Jan Bielanski	University of Krakow	Polish foreign policy
5.Antonio Estella	Fundacion Ideias	Spanish foreign policy
6.Jan Ifversen	University of Aarhus	Danish foreign policy
7 Duco Hellema and Mathieu Segers	University of Utrecht	Dutch foreign policy
8.Irina Angelescu	University of Rome Tor Vergata	Romanian foreign policy
9.Dan Hamilton	SAIS – John Hopkings	American foreign policy
10. Marcos A. Guedes de Oliveira and Karine de Souza Silva	Universidade do Vale do Itajaí, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco	Brasilian foreign policy
11 Paulo Canelas de Castro, Zhang Jiao	University of Macao	Chinese foreign policy
12.Come A Carpentier	Euro Asia Institute	Indian foreign policy
13 Mark Lvovich Entin	Moscow State University	Russian foreign policy
14 Khalid Emara	Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Egyptian foreign policy

Timetable (activity stages within project's lifetime ¹)	Length of activity (duration of each stage)	Specific Activities (Teaching, Events, Deliverables)	Title	Human resources required (by staff category)	N° of teaching hours / N° of participants
Second semester 2010	2 months	Set up of project web site and cooperation with Global Europe.com	Project Web site	Management, Technicians IT – UTV	
Second semester 2010	3 hours	Online meeting		Researchers (all partners)	15
Second Semester 2010	12 months	Beginning of papers writings		Researchers (all partners)	
First semester 2011	3 days	Public Conference	Conference "The National Foreign Policy and the EU Foreign Policies: Conflict or Convergence?"	All categories	200
First semester 2011	3 months	Editing of the materials for the final publication		Researchers and assistants	
Second semester 2011	3 months	Publication of the book	Book "The National Foreign Policies and the EU Foreign Policy: Conflict or Convergence?"	All categories	

¹ For example, first semester, first year, second year etc.