University of Pittsburgh Department of Political Science

PS 1330 EUROPEAN UNION CAPSTONE SEMINAR:

The Foreign Policy of the European Union

Spring Term 2016 Classroom: WWPH 4625 Monday & Wednesday, 3 - 4:15 pm

Dr. Gemma Marolda Office Hours:

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Course Description

Since the end of the Cold War, the European Union (EU) has forged ahead its international role to become a leading global authority in the world. From the 1950s and 1960s when the European Community had relations with former European colonies, to the beginning of the 21st century as the European Union became heavily engaged in economic and political relations with almost every country in the world, the EU is now a major player in international trade negotiations, the world's most generous aid donor, and a widely recognized 'force for good' exporting values and norms in the world. Notwithstanding these achievements, for the 28 EU member states speaking with 'one voice' continues to be the hardest challenge. The prolonged effects of the global economic and financial crises of 2008-2009 and 2010-2012 have made the European Union's pursuit of efficient and effective policies towards the rest of the world even more arduous a task.

The foreign policy of the European Union is based on a complex framework sustained by a symbiotic relationship between two main components -- the European Union and the member states' foreign policies. The EU itself comprises the European Community (now including Justice and Home Affairs) and the Common Foreign, Security and Defense Policy (CFSDP). The newly established European External Action Service (EEAS) and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy along with the foreign policy entities of the 28 EU member states work together to produce the foreign policy of the European Union.

Taking a close look into this complex framework, this course centers around four broad themes: evolution and structure of EU foreign policy; economic, security and norm components of EU foreign policy; EU relations 'with the rest of the world'; challenges and issues in EU foreign policy.

Teaching Method

This capstone course is based on lectures as well as student-led discussions, case-studies and presentations. <u>Active participation and interaction</u> are required of all students. Students are required to complete the assigned readings prior to coming to class. Discussions on institutional and policy aspects of EU foreign policy are conducted in class and on courseweb. Case-studies and presentations are examined in class to offer students a closer look at the different aspects of the foreign policy of the European Union.

Class meets twice a week. Students are expected to attend all classes. More than two absences will affect a student's final grade.

Organization of Course Content

The course is organized around four themes:

- 1. After a brief overview of the historical origins of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), students are introduced to the EU external policies. Examining the institutionalization of CFSP, the course looks at the competences of the EU in foreign policy and discuss the role of the EU as a norm setter.
- 2. Once the institutions and actors are examined, the focus shifts to the three dimensions of EU foreign policy, including security, economic and norm components.
- 3. The course continues with an analysis of the European Union's relations with the world. Students study the EU and its neighbors, the EU and major trading partners (including the US and China), and, lastly, the EU and its relations with Latin American, Africa and Asia.
- 4. The course concludes with an examination and discussion of current foreign policy challenges, including international trade, monetary issues, energy security, development assistance and environment as well as human rights and good governance.

The objective of the course is to give students a broad understanding of the complexity of the role of the EU in the global arena.

Course Requirements and Grading

Grading: Students' final letter grade is based on a 100 pt. scale.

97 - 100 = A + 80 - 81.9 = B - 93 - 96.9 = A 70 - 79 = C 90 - 92.9 = A - 60 - 69 = D 87 - 89.9 = B + less than 60 = F 82 - 86.9 = B

Students are expected to be on time and attend all classes. They are to complete all assigned readings and assignments for a successful completion of the course. Students' assignments are as follows:

Project Type	Task	Outcome	Grade
In-Class/	Weekly	One-page weekly brief and discussion	15%
Mid-Term Exam	2 Essay Questions	In-class Exam	20%
Research Paper	Class Presentation	8 min class presentation	10%
Research Paper	Research Paper	20-pages Research Paper (incl. class presentation)	30%
Final Exam	2 Essay Questions	In-class Exam	25%

In-Class Participation (15%)

Classes include interactive lectures, and discussions on the readings. In-class participation include in-class group exercises in which students will be given class time to prepare presentations to the rest of the class on the assigned readings for the week. In order to facilitate class discussion, each week students are required to bring a one-page written brief on a current news topic that relates to the weekly readings. Students will present the brief in class. Active participation is important to students' ability to understand and absorb the material covered in class and in weekly readings.

Mid-Term Exam (20%)

Students are scheduled to take an in-class mid-term exam on March 2. The exam will include 4-5 essay questions, and the student is required to write 2 essays (each worth 10 points). The exam is designed to test students' knowledge of material covered in class and in the readings up to Feb. 24.

Research Paper Class Presentation (10%)*

Students are asked to make a oral presentation in class on Feb. 29. The presentation will be 8-minute long. A handout with details on this assignment will be distributed on week 1.

Research Paper (30%)*

Students will research and write a 15-pages research paper. The paper should be double-spaced in 12pt Times New Roman font with 1-inch margins and it should include bibliographic references. The research paper will include a literature review and address a specific research question regarding a current foreign policy issue in the European Union. The research will be based on primary as well as secondary sources. Students will **consult with the instructor** on the paper topic by **January 20**. Students are required to write a literature review and turn it in on Feb. 17. In addition, they will

write an abstract and an outline of the paper. The outline should include an annotated bibliography. The **abstract** and the **outline/bibliography** are due in class respectively on **February 10** and **February 24**. The **rough draft** of the entire paper should be turned by **April 13**. The **final draft** of the paper is due on **April 18**.

*A rubric will be distributed week 1.

Final Exam (25%)

Students are scheduled to take a cumulative final exam on a later to be announced date during finals' week. The exam will be include 2 essay questions, each worth 12.5 points. The exam is designed to test students' knowledge of material covered in class from the beginning of the course up to the last lecture.

Academic Integrity Policy

Cheating/plagiarism will not be tolerated. Students suspected of violating the University of Pittsburgh Policy on Academic Integrity, noted below from the February 1974, Senate Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom reported to the Senate Council, will be required to participate in the outlined procedural process as initiated by the instructor. A minimum sanction of a zero score for the quiz or exam will be imposed.

The integrity of the academic process requires fair and impartial evaluation on the part of faculty, and honest academic conduct on the part of students. To this end, students are expected to conduct themselves at a high level of responsibility in the fulfillment of the course of their study. It is the corresponding responsibility of faculty to make clear to students those standards by which students will be evaluated, and the resources permissible for use by students during the course of their study and evaluation. The educational process is perceived as a joint faculty-student enterprise which will perforce involve professional judgment by faculty and may involve —without penalty—reasoned exception by students to the data or views offered by faculty.

Senate Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom, February 1974.

Students with Disabilities

If you have a disability for which you are or may be requesting accommodations, you should contact the instructor and the Disability Resources and Services (216 William Pitt Union, 412-628-7890) as early as possible in the term.

Required Texts

Smith, Karen E. (2014). European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World. 3^{rd} edition. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Telo`, Mario and Ponjaert, Frederik, eds. *The EU's Foreign Policy: What Kind of Power and Diplomatic Action?* Ashgate, 2013. Available as an e-book on Pitt's University Library System.

Students are required to complete weekly readings as assigned.

During the fall term, students are also strongly encourage to follow the latest news from Europe by reading one or more of the following publications and websites:

The Financial Times
The Economist
EUobserver.com
EurActiv.com
EUpolitix.com
Le Monde
Der Spiegel

Background Readings:

The Treaty of Lisbon at a glance, http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/glance/index_en.htm J.H.H. Weiler, On the political and legal DNA of the Union and the Current European Crisis, http://www.hertieschool.org/fileadmin/images/Downloads/media_events/weiler_rede.pdf Kristin Archick, European Union Enlargement, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21344.pdf Kristin Archick, Derek E. Mix, The European Union's Reform Process: The Lisbon Treaty, http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RS21618_20110208.pdf

The ABC of European Union Law, sections on 'the "Constitution" of the European Union' and 'the EU's means of action', http://europa.eu/documentation/legislation/pdf/oa8107147_en.pdf
The European Union Budget at a glance,

http://ec.europa.eu/budget/library/biblio/publications/glance/budget_glance_en.pdf
Jörg Monar, The European Union's institutional balance of power after the Treaty of Lisbon,
http://ec.europa.eu/education/jean-monnet/doc/ecsa10/monarb_en.pd

Background Online Resources:

"Key facts and figures about the EU" (EU Commission)

<u>http://europa.eu.int/abc/keyfigures/index_en.htm</u>
Schuman Declaration:

http://www.eppgroup.eu/Activities/docs/divers/schuman-en.pdf

The History of the European Union

http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/index_en.htm

Key Websites:

European Union Council of the EU

http://europa.eu/index_en.htm http://www.consilium.europa.eu/homepage

European Union External Action http://eeas.europa.eu/cfsp/index_en.htm

The European Parliament – Committee on Foreign Affairs http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/afet/home.html

Centre for European Reform Centre for European Policy Studies

www.cer.org.uk www.ceps.be

Other Online Resources:

www.euobserver.com – daily online news on EU issues

www.ft.com - Financial Times

http://www.europa.eu – official site of the European Union

http://www.iss-eu.org/ - Chaillot Papers (for research on security issues)

<u>http://www.ena.lu/</u> – European Navigator (multimedia reference on the history of the EU)

http://eeas.europa.eu/cfsp/index_en.htm -- European Union External Action

Think Tanks:

Security & Defence Agenda http://www.securitydefenceagenda.org/

Friends of Europe http://www.friendsofeurope.org/

Centre for European Policy Studies http://www.ceps.eu

EGMONT Royal Institute for International Relations http://www.egmontinstitute.be/

BRUEGEL, Brussels European and Global Economic Laboratory http://www.bruegel.org/

European Policy Centre, EPC http://www.epc.eu/

COURSE PLAN

Europe's Common Foreign Policy: Development, Actors, and Goals

January 6 INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE COURSE

Wednesday: **Introduction and Course Overview**

Syllabus Distribution:

Topics Covered Course Requirements

Assignments

Instructor and Students Course Expectations

WEEK 1 Overview of the Course;

January 11-13 EU Foreign Policy: Challenges of a 'Liberal' Superpower

Monday: Conceptualizing EU Foreign Policy

Smith, chapter 1 (20)

Bickerton, Chris J. (2011) "Towards a Social Theory of EU Foreign and Security Policy," *JCMS*, vol. 49, n. 1, pp. 171-190. (19)

Chelotti, Nicola (2015) "A 'Diplomatic Republic of Europe'? Explaining Role Conceptions in EU Foreign Policy," *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 50, n. 2, pp. 190-210. (20)

Wednesday: "Europe Today: A Discussion of Foreign Policy Dynamics in Europe, and the Role of the EU in the World"

Harding, Gareth. (2012), "The Myth of Europe," *Foreign Policy*, Jan./Feb., available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/01/03/the_myth_of_europe (8)

The Big Three in EU Foreign Policy – Carnegie Europe http://carnegieeurope.eu/publications/?fa=48759# (20)

Mix, Derek E. (2013), "The European Union: Foreign and Security Policy," *Congressional Research Service*, April 8, available at http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41959.pdf (28)

WEEK 2 The European Union Common Foreign and Security Policy Development and Institutional Challenges

Evolution of the EU as an International Actor;

January 18-20 Development and Institutional Challenges *Paper Topic Consultation with Instructor* (Wednesday)

Monday: MLK – UNIVERSITY CLOSED

CFSP and ESDP: The Challenge of a Common Foreign Policy

Smith, chapter 2 (23) Telo, chapter 2 (37)

WEEK 3 The Lisbon Treaty: Improving EU Foreign Policy?

January 25-27

Wednesday:

Monday: Lisbon: Institutional Changes in EU Foreign Policy

Telo`, chapter 3 (13), chapter 4 (7), chapter 5 (17)

Wednesday: Lisbon: Creating a More Coherent Common Foreign Policy in Europe

Smith, chapter 3 (22)

Edwards, Geoffrey (2013) "The EU's Foreign Policy and the Search for Effect," *International Relations*, vol. 27, n. 3, pp. 276-291. (15)

"The impact of the Lisbon Treaty on CFSP and ESDP," *European Security Review*, Number 37, March 2008, ISIS Europe, http://www.isis-europe.eu/sites/default/files/programmes-downloads/2008_artrel_150_esr37tol-mar08.pdf (6)

WEEK 4 EU Foreign Policy and the Transatlantic Partnership:

February 1-3 Managing an Independent European Foreign Policy *research paper abstract due* (Wednesday)

Monday: The EU-US Partnership: A Discussion of the Security Dimension Zaborowski M. (2011), 'How to Renew Transatlantic Relations in the 21st Century' *The International Spectator*, 46(1): p. 101-113. (12)

Pavlova, Pavlina (2015). "Beyond Economics: the Geopolitical Importance of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership," *European View*, December 2015, vol.14, n. 2, pp. 209-216.

McKinney, Joseph. (2014). "Transatlantic Conflict and Cooperation Concerning Trade Issues," *Managing Global Transitions*, 10/2014, vol.12, n. 3, pp. 201-217.

Wednesday: The Transatlantic Relationship and EU's Foreign Policy

Simon, J. S. "EU-NATO Cooperation: A Case of Institutional Fatigue?" *European Security*, vol. 20, issue 2, 2011, p. 243-264. (21)

Teodor, L.M. "Under Whose Umbrella? The European Security Architecture," *CES Working Papers*, vol. 2, issue 4, 2010, pp. 54-60. (6)

Simon, Luis, (2015). "Europe, the Rise of Asia and the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship," *International Affairs*, 09/2015, vol. 91, n. 5, pp. 969-989.

EU FOREIGN POLICY: A THREE-DIMENSIONAL PICTURE

WEEK 5 Security, Defense and Counter-Terrorism

February 8-10

Monday: Security and Defense

Smith, chapter 8

Dijkstra, H. (2012) "The Influence of EU Officials in European Security and Defence," *European Security*, vol. 21, n. 3, pp. 311-327. (16)

Shepher, Alistair J.K. (2015). "The European Security Continuum and the EU as an International Security Provider," *Global Society*, vol. 29, n. 2, pp. 156-174. (18)

Anand Menon, "European Defense Policy: From Lisbon to Libya," *Survival*, vol.53, 3 (2011), pp.75-90 (25)

Wednesday: Counter-Terrorism

Kaunert, Christian. (2010) "The External Dimension of EU Counter-Terrorism Relations: Competences, Interests, and Institutions," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 22, pp. 41-61. (20)

Martins, Bruno O. and Laura C. Ferreira-Pereira (2012). "Stepping Inside? CSDP Missions and EU Counter-Terrorism," *European Security*, vol. 21, n. 4, pp. 537-556. (19)

The European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy, http://register.consilium.eu.int/pdf/en/05/st14/st14469-re04.en05.pdf

WEEK 6 Trade, Aid and Development

February 15-17 Research paper Literature Review due (Wednesday)*

Monday: Trade and Investment Issues in European Foreign Policy

De Ville, Ferdi. (2013) "The Promise of Critical Historical Institutionalism for EU Trade Policy Analysis," *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, vol. 9, n.4, pp.618-632.

Meunier S., Nicolaïdis K. (2011), 'The European Union as a Trade Power' in Hill C., Smith M. (eds.), *International Relations and the European Union. Second edition*, New York, Oxford University Press, p. 275-298. (22)

Wednesday: The EU's Development Policy

Young, Alasdair R. and John Peterson. (2013) "'We Care About You, But...': The Politics of EU Trade Policy and Development," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 26, n. 3, pp. 497-518.

Barder, Owen; Clark, Julia; Lepissier, Alice; Reynolds, Liza; Roodman, David. "Europe Beyond Aid: Assessing European Countries' Individual and Collective Commitment to Development," *Journal of International Development*, 08/2013, vol. 25, issue 6, pp.832-853. (21)

WEEK 7 Norms, Practices, Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management

February 22-24 *research paper outline and annotated bibliography due (Wednesday)*

Monday: The EU as a Normative Power Debate

Smith, chapter 7.

Wood, Steve. "The European Union: A Normative or Normal Power?" *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 14, 2009, pp. 113-128. (15)

Sieglinde, Gstőhl. "EU Diplomacy After Lisbon: More Effective Multilateralism?" *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 17, issue 2, 2011, p. 181-191. (10)

Wednesday: Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management: Normative Power in Action?

Nielsen, Kristian L. (2013). "EU Soft Power and the Capability-Expectations Gap," *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, vol. 9, n. 5, pp.723-739.

Kamil, Zwolski. "The EU as an International Security Actor After Lisbon: Finally a Green Light for a Holistic Approach?" *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 47, issue 1, 2012, pp. 67-87. (20)

Braniff, Maire. (2013). "The European Union Building Peace Near and Afar: Monitoring the Implementation of International Peace Agreements," *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, vol. 9, n. 5, pp. 682-695.

WEEK 8 Presentations and Mid-Term Exam

February 29- March 2

Monday: Students' Research Paper Presentations

Wednesday: MID-TERM EXAM

WEEK 9 SPRING RECESS - No Class on March 7 and March 9

REGIONS NEAR AND FAR

WEEK 10 Europe's Neighborhood I:

March 14-16 Russia and Ukraine; The Balkans; Turkey

Monday: Russia and Ukraine; Western Balkans

Smith, chapter 4 (relevant sections)

Kuzemko, Carolin. (2014) "Ideas, Power and change: Explaining EU-Russia Energy Relations," *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 21, n1, pp. 58-75.

Schubert, Samuel R; Johannes Pollak; Elina Brutschin. (2014) "Two Futures: EU-Russia Relations in the Context of Ukraine," *European Journal of Futures Reseach*, Deember, vol. 2, n. 1, (52) pp. 2-7.

Wednesday: EU and Turkey

Bonifazi, Corrado; Crisci, Massimiliano; Marini, Cristiano; Sanmartin, Anna. (2014) "The Balkans and the EU: Recent Trends of a Mediterranean Migration," *South-East European Journal of Political Science*, September, vol. 2, n. 3.

Karacasulu, Nilufer and Irem Askar Karakir. (2014) "EU-Turkey Relations in the Context of the Middle East after the Arab Spring," *Insight Turkey*, October, vol. 16, n. 4, pp. 201-219.

WEEK 11 Europe's Neighborhood II:

March 21-23 The Mediterranean, the Arab World and Africa

Monday: The Mediterranean and the Arab World

Smith, chapter 4 (relevant sections)

Gugan, Daniel. (2013). "Europe and the Mediterranean: An Area of Growing Interdependence," *European Scientific Journal*, February, vol. 9, n. 5, pp. 338-354.

Korteweg, Rem. (2014). "Treacherous Sands: The EU and Terrorism in the Broader Sahel," *European View*, December, vol. 13, n. 2, pp. 251-258.

Wednesday: Africa

Telo`, chapter 7 (13)

Mangala, J. ed. *Africa and the European Union: A Strategic Partnership*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. (only chapter 3) (21) (online on the university library system)

WEEK 12 Asia: Trade, Investment, and Competition

March 28-30

Monday: The EU Pivot to Asia: regional powers and inter-regional politics

Telo`, chapter 10 (13)

Smith, chapter 4 (relevant sections)

Maier-Knapp, Naila. (2014). "The European Union as a Normative Actor and its External Relations with Southeast Asia," *Journal of contemporary European Research*, vol. 10, n. 2, pp. 221-235.

Wednesday: EU-China Relations

Telo`, chapter 11 (19)

Smith, Michael. (2014). "EU-China Relations and the Limits of Economic Diplomacy," *Asia Europe Journal*, March, vol. 12, n. 1, pp. 35-48.

Christiansen, T; Kirchner, E; Murray, P. *The Palgrave Handbook of EU-Asia Relations*, Palgrave, 2013. (only chapter 2 (14) – copies to be distributed in class)

ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

WEEK 13 Economic Security and Energy Security
April 4-6 Crises: Energy and Economic Sustainability

Monday: The EU and the Eurozone Crisis

Emerson, Michael. "Implications of the Eurozone Crisis for EU Foreign Policy: Costs and Opportunities," *CEPS Commentary*, 1 June 2012. (3)

Stelzenmuller, Constanze, (2012) "Europe On its Own: How the Crisis-Ridden Continent will Respond to a Decade of U.S. Retrenchment: Three Scenarios" German Marshall Fund, The EuroFuture Project (June). (to be distributed in class)

Mark Blyth. 2013. "The Austerity Delusion. Why a Bad Idea Won Over the West." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2013.

Wednesday: EU and Energy Security

EU Commission, "The EU Energy Policy: Engaging with Partners beyond our Borders," (COM/2011/539), available at http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ/do?uri=CELEX:52011DC0539:EN:HTML:NOT

Pardo Sierra, Oscar. "A Corridor through Thorns: EU Energy Security and the Southern Energy Corridor," *European Security*, 2010, volume 19, issue 4, pp. 643 – 660. (17)

Umback, Frank. "Global Energy Security and the Implications for the EU," *Energy Policy*, 2010, volume 38, issue 3, pp. 1229-1240. (11)

WEEK 14 Democracy, Human Rights and Migration:

April 11-13 Intersecting Economics and Security

research paper draft due (Wednesday)

Monday: Security and Democracy Assistance

Smith, chapters 5 and 6.

'One Size Fits All! EU Policies for the Promotion of Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law', Tanja Borzel and Thomas Risse, Prepared for the Workshop on Democracy Promotion, Oct. 4-5, 2004, Center for Development, Democracy, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University http://www.eu-newgov.org/database/public/p23000-02-clu302 one size fits all.pdf (25)

Sicurelli, Daniela. (2015) "The EU as a Promoter of Human Rights in Bilateral Trade Agreements: The Case of Negotiations with Vietnam," *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, vol. 11, n. 2, pp. 230-245.

Richard Youngs, What has Europe Been Doing? Trends in Democracy Assistance, *Journal of Democracy* Volume 19, Number 2 April 2008 http://www.fride.org/download/ART_EU_Democracy_Aid_EN_abr08.pdf (10)

Wednesday: Migration

Cortinovis, Roberto. (2015) "The Evolution of Frontex Governance: Shifting from Soft to Hard Law?" *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, vol. 11, n. 3, pp. 252-267.

Pew Survey on Muslims in Europe.

Christina Boswell, Andrew Geddes and Peter Scholten (eds.) (2011), "States, Knowledge and Narratives of Migration: The Construction of Migration in European Policy-Making," special edition of the *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 13 (1), 2011, pp. 125.

WEEK 15 The Foreign Policy of The European Union:

April 18-20 *Research Paper Due (Monday)*

Monday: EU Foreign Policy: Final Considerations

(including a review in preparation for the final exam)

Smith, chapter 9.

Ulrich Krotz, "Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe Won't Emerge as a Full Actor on the World Stage Soon," Journal of Common Market Studies 47:3 (2009), ppp.555-578 (23)

Jolyon Howorth, "The European Union as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain?" The Journal of Common Market Studies 48:3 (2010), pp.455-474 (19)

Wednesday: No Class – Time allocated for final exam preparation

WEEK 16 April 25-30 FINAL EXAM (date and time: TBA)