

SYLLABUS
for
TAM SEMINAR

The EU as a Global Actor

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Fall 2008

Instructor: Holger Moroff

Class Hours: Tuesdays 5:00pm - 7:30pm

Office Hours: Tuesdays 1:00pm - 2:30pm (Hamilton Hall)

I. COURSE DESCRIPTION

This seminar introduces students to basic theoretical approaches to both International Relations and the European Union by focusing on the EU's external relations and foreign policies. The EU is not a classical actor in international relations as it enjoys more decision making powers than an international organization and less than a unitary state. However, these powers vary according to the degree of integration in different policy fields. How have political scientists conceptualized European integration as participating in and changing international relations? How have they explained the development of supranational institutions and decision making in external relations? There are few areas of agreement on these questions, and we shall have the opportunity to compare and contrast the answers that political scientists have provided. In a second step we shall look at the institutional set up of the EU's external relations and analyze a diverse set of EU external policies ranging from trade and soft security issues to diplomatic and military developments as well as taking a closer look at US-EU relations.

II. EXAMINATIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1) A total of **three short papers** (25% each) each of which outlines and critiques the readings for one class session. You may select any session (except for sessions XV and XVI). You may write 1000 to 1200 words (please note the number of words on your paper). Papers should be handed in a day before class for that seminar's reading. Late papers will be penalized. Papers should be written by individual authors, but they may be based on collective discussions and ideas.

2) **Two joint in-class presentations** (7.5% each) for sessions II through XIII as a collaborative project of **two students**, dividing up the topic meaningfully among you. The presentation is about 30 minutes in total and up to 15 minutes for each part. Circulate copies of a handout on your "sub"-topic (one page single-spaced, or two pages double-spaced, including graphs and tables) to all students in the class prior to your presentation.

3) **Participation in class discussion** will count for 10% of your final grade. You should prepare two short questions on substantial points of the required reading for each class. Please don't pursue the "rational" strategy of reading only for seminars when you write a paper or lead discussion. Past experience has shown that the quality of our discussion has been raised to the extent that you discuss the readings among yourselves prior to our meetings. You are encouraged to form study groups to do so – or just meet for informal coffees, etc.

III. BOOKS

Required:

Christopher Hill, Michael Smith (eds), *International Relations and the European Union*, Oxford University Press, 2005.

Recommended:

Helen Wallace, William Wallace, Mark Pollack (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford UP, 5th edition 2005 (selected chapters).

John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union*, Palgrave / Westview Press, 4th edition 2008

Walter Carlsnaes, Helene Sjursen, and Brian White (eds), *Contemporary European Foreign Policy*, London, Thousands Oaks, New Dehli: SAGE Publications 2004.

Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*. London, New York: Routledge, 2006.

I. (August 19) Introduction and Organization

II. (August 26) The EU – a special case of international relations or a special actor in international relations?

Required Reading:

International Relations and the European Union: Themes and Issues (Hill/Smith in Hill/Smith), chapter 1, pp. 3-16.

Foreign Policies (manuscript by Simon Hix to be distributed by email)

Additional Reading:

Ginsberg, Roy H. 1999. "Conceptualizing the European Union as an International Actor: Narrowing the Theoretical Capability-Expectations Gap", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37:3. 429-54.

Tonra, Ben. 2006. "Conceptualizing the European Union's Global Role", in *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, eds. Michelle Cini and Angela K. Bourne. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. 117-30.

Roy Ginsberg, *The European Union in International Politics: Baptism by Fire*, Lnham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

III (2 September) What is so special about EU policy making?

Required Reading:

Theorizing EU Policy-Making (Pollack in Wallace/Wallace/Pollack 2005), chapter 2 pp. 13-47.

Additional Reading:

Ben Rosamond. 2000. *Theories of European Integration*. London: MacMillan Press, chapter 7, pp. 157-186.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2001. *Multi-level Governance and European Integration*, Rowman & Littlefield, Chapter 1.

IV (9 September) How can the EU's international relations be conceptualized?

Required Reading:

Theory and the EU's International Relations (Andreatta in Hill/Smith), chapter 2, pp. 18-38.

Smith, Michael E. 2004. "Toward a Theory of EU Foreign Policy-Making: Multi-Level Governance, Domestic Politics, and National Adaptation to Europe's Common Foreign and Security Policy", *Journal of European Public Policy* 11:4. 740-58.

Additional Reading:

Richard Cooper. 2003. *The Breacking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*, New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

Robert Kagan. 2003. *Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, London: Atlantic Books.

V (16 September) What external policies is the EU actually conducting?

Required Reading:

The Pattern of the EU's Global Activity (Edwards in Hill/Smith), chapter 3, pp. 39-63.

Additional Reading:

Manners, Ian. 2006. "Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads", *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:2. 182-99.

Tonra, Ben. 2006. "Conceptualizing the European Union's Global Role", in *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, eds. Michelle Cini and Angela K. Bourne. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. 117-30.

VI (23 September) The grammar of external relations: Institutional structures and intricacies

Required Reading:

The Institutional Framework (Vanhoonacke in Hill/Smith), chapter 4, pp. 67-90.

Additional Reading:

Knud Erik Jorgensen, "Making CFSP Work," in John Peterson and Michael Shackleton, eds., *The Institutions of the European Union* (Oxford, 2002), ch.10

John Peterson and Michael E. Smith, "The EU as a Global Actor," in Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb, eds., *The European Union: How Does It Work?* (Oxford, 2003), ch.10

VII (30 September) Grammar of external relations II: Evolution, cases and decision making

Required Reading:

Foreign and Security Policy (William Wallace in Wallace/Wallace/Pollack) chapter 4, pp. 429-456.

Additional Reading:

Michael E. Smith, "Institutionalization, Policy Adaptation and European Foreign Policy Cooperation," *European Journal of International Relations* 10:1 (2004), 95-136

Whitman, Richard. 2006. "Road Map for a Route March? (De-)civilianizing through the EU's Security Strategy", *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11:1. 1-15.

VIII (7 October) 27 into 1 or 27 + X: Is the EU a collective actor or a diplomatic club?

Required Reading:

Coherence and Consistency (Nuttall in Hill/Smith), chapter 5, pp. 91-112.

Hill, Christopher. 2004. "Renationalizing or Regrouping? EU Foreign Policy Since 11 September 2001", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42:1. 143-63.

Additional Reading:

Tonra, Ben. 2006. "Conceptualizing the European Union's Global Role", in *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, eds. Michelle Cini and Angela K. Bourne. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. 117-30.

Bretherton, Charlotte, and John Vogler. 2006. Chapter 2: "Nature of the Beast: The Identity and Roles of the EU", in Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*. London, New York: Routledge. 37-61.

IX (14 October) Europeanization, globalization or back to the state?

Required Reading:

The Europeanization of Foreign Policy (Wong in Hill/Smith), chapter 7, pp. 134-153.

Additional Reading:

Olsen, J.P. 2002: "The many faces of Europeanization" in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40/5: 921-51.

Michael E. Smith, "Diplomacy by Decree: The Legalization of EU Foreign Policy," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39:1 (March 2001), 79-104

X (21 October) Structures and actors in the policy process – interlocking or interblocking?

Required Reading:

An Institutional Anatomy and five policy modes (Helen Wallace in Wallace/Wallace/Pollack, chapter 3, pp. 77-90)

Implementation: Making the EU's International Relations Work (Michael E. Smith in Hill/Smith) chapter 8, pp. 154-175.

Additional Reading:

Friis, Lykke, and Anna Murphy. 1999. "The European Union and Central and Eastern Europe: Governance and Boundaries", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37:2. 211-32.

Christiansen, Thomas. 2001. "Intra-institutional Politics and Inter-institutional Relations in the EU: Towards Coherent Governance?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 8:5. 747-69.

XI (28 October) Inside out – where is domestic policy foreign and where is foreign policy domestic?

Required Reading:

The External Face of Internal Security (Rees in Hill/Smith), chapter 10, pp. 205-224.

Enlargement and European Order (Karen E. Smith in Hill/Smith), chapter 13, pp. 270-291.

Additional Reading:

Boswell, Christina. 2003. "The 'External Dimension' of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy", *International Affairs* 79:3. 619-38.

Frank Schimmelfennig, "The Community trap: liberal norms, rhetorical action, and the eastern enlargement of the European Union," *International Organization* 55:1 (Winter 2002), 47-80

Lavenex, Sandra. 2001. "Migration and the EU's New Eastern Border: Between Realism and Liberalism", *Journal of European Public Policy* 8:1. 24-42.

Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova, "National Interest, State Power, and EU Enlargement," *East European Politics and Society* (February 2003)

XII (4 November) Interdependence and trade – how to negotiate and balancing costs and benefits?

Required Reading:

Managing Interdependence: The EU in the World Economy (Tsoukalis in Hill/Smith), chapter 11, pp. 225-246.

The European Union as a Trade Power (Meunier and Nicoaidis in Hill/Smith), chapter 12, pp. 247-269.

Additional Reading:

Meunier, Sophie, and Kalypso Nicolaïdis. 2006. "The European Union as a Conflicted Trade Power", *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:6. 906-25.

Smith, Michael. 2004. "Foreign Economic Policy", in *Contemporary European Foreign Policy*, eds. Walter Carlsnaes, Helene Sjursen, and Brian White. London, Thousands Oaks, New Dehli: SAGE Publications. 75-90.

Woolcock, Stephen. 2005. "Trade Policy", in *Policy-Making in the European Union*, eds. Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark A. Pollack. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 377-99.

XIII (11 November) Transatlantic partnership between conflict or cooperation?

Required Reading:

The EU and the United States (Michael Smith / Steffenson in Hill/Smith), chapter 16, pp. 342-363.

Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review* 113 (June/July 2002), 3-28
(available at: <http://www.policyreview.org/JUN02/kagan.html>)

Additional Reading:

Robert Keohane. 2002. "Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, 4: 743-65.

Charles Kupchan, "The Rise of Europe, America's Changing Internationalism, and the End of U.S. Primacy," *Political Science Quarterly* 118 (Summer 2003), 205-231

Mark A. Pollack and Gregory C. Shaffer, eds., *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), chs.1 and 11

Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Collective Identity in a Democratic Community: The Case of NATO," in Peter Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (Columbia, 1996), ch.10

McCormick, 2007, *The European Super Power* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)

XIV (18 November) Enlightened progress or colonialism in disguise?

Required Reading:

A European Civilising Process? (Linklater in Hill/Smith), chapter 17, pp. 367-387.

Mitzen, Jennifer. 2006. "Anchoring Europe's civilizing identity: habits, capabilities and ontological security" *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:2. 270-285.

Additional Reading:

Mitzen, Jennifer. 2005. "Reading Habermas in Anarchy: Multilateral Diplomacy and Global Public Spheres" *American Political Science Review* 99:3. 401-417.

Manners, Ian. 2002. "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:2. 235-58.

Manners, Ian. 2006. "Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads", *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:2. 182-99.

Helen Sjursen. 2004. "Changes to European Security in a Communicative Perspective" *Cooperation and Conflict* 39:2. 107-128.

XV (25 November) Theory, Reality and a post-modern foreign policy?

Required Reading:

Acting for Europe: Reassessing the European Union's Place in International Relations (Hill / Smith in Hill/Smith), chapter 18, pp. 388-406

Michael Smith, "The framing of European foreign and security policy: towards a post-modern policy framework," *Journal of European Public Policy* 10:4 (2004), 556-575

Additional Reading:

Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, "International Governance as New Raison d'État? The Case of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy," *European Journal of International Relations* 10:2 (June 2004), 147-188

Maria Green Cowles, "Non-state actors and false dichotomies: reviewing IR/IPE approaches to European integration," *Journal of European Public Policy* 10:1 (February 2003), 102-120

XVI (2 December) Conclusion