

COURSE OUTLINES

The European Union in International Affairs EURR 5109/INAF 5805 (graduate course)

The course outline is provided here in generic form as a curricular resource. The course was offered in Fall 2023 with Prof. Crina Viju-Miljusevic as part of her activities for the Jean Monnet Chair in EU External Relations (Sept. 2022- August 2025), Carleton University, Ottawa.



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THE EUROPEAN UNION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INAF 5805/EURR 5109: Fall 2023
Tuesdays: 11:35AM-2:25PM (on zoom)

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Office Hours (in person or online): Mondays 1-2PM; Tuesdays 10-11AM or by appointment

DESCRIPTION

This course examines and explains the international role and external action of the European Union (EU). The course begins with the origins and institutional evolution of the EU's foreign policy making system and highlights diverse theoretical and methodological approaches concerning the study of the EU as a global actor. Following that, it focuses on the role of the EU in the world examining various policy areas such as trade, environment and climate change, security and defence. In addition, it evaluates the role of the EU in its close neighborhood and the EU enlargement policy. The course concludes with the assessment of the interactions between the EU and key powers (i.e. USA, Russia, China) and other regions. The aim of the course is (1) to understand the significance of the EU as an actor in international affairs; (2) to explore the EU's external action in multiple policy areas; and (3) to analyse the relations between the EU and various key international actors.

CLASS WORK AND SCHEDULING

Well-prepared participation in online and synchronous class discussions are crucial for students' success in the course. A certain portion of work for each class session will be prepared by students outside of the scheduled class time. In addition, each week we will meet together online in a synchronous manner. Please be sure that you have a good internet connection including a **webcam and microphone for these sessions**. Webcams should be turned on. To reduce Zoom fatigue, in most weeks we will endeavour to finish the class by 2:15; in some weeks the whole three-hour period may be needed, so please keep it free.

This course outline provides a list of required and optional course readings for each week. One week before each class session the instructor will post on Brightspace a more detailed description of the activities and assignments for that week.

REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION

Students will be assigned a grade for the course according to the following scheme:

Seminar Participation (in class and posts on Brightspace)	25%
Discussion paper and presentation	20%
Commentary on discussion paper of another student	10%

Proposal research paper (due Tuesday, October 31)	10%
Research paper (due Friday, December 15)	35%

Please note: For all assignments, work previously submitted to another course may not be used to fulfil course requirements. Likewise, work to be submitted to another course this term may not be used to fulfil course requirements for this course. Also the same work or substantially similar work may not be used to fulfil more than one course requirement. Do NOT use Chat GPT or other AI sources in any submissions or assignments unless approved by the Instructor. If you have questions about this, please contact me directly.

- **Seminar participation:** Regular weekly attendance in synchronous sessions and posts on the Brightspace discussion forum are compulsory for this class. Unexcused absences and failure to write posts will result in a significant reduction in the participation mark, which can have a marked impact on the course grade. Students will be graded on the basis of attendance, the quality of regular contributions to the class discussion, to the discussion forum on Brightspace and, most importantly, demonstrated familiarity with required course readings. Each session will start with a discussion of the weekly news.

Discussion forum: Each student will write a minimum of 4 blogposts (but more are encouraged for an improvement of participation mark) of 150 words each and respond to other blogposts. Questions for blogposts will be posted on Brightspace each Thursday before the synchronous session. All students are encouraged to read the blogposts before each class sessions as they will be discussed during the synchronous session.

Participation in synchronous class sessions: Discussion in these sessions will draw on readings and other assigned materials and will elaborate on the presentation as well as issues raised in the discussion forum. All students will be required to participate orally at least once during the synchronous session.

- **Discussion paper:** The paper should address a specific question provided by the course instructor in advance (usually two weeks before the respective class). The length should be 5-6 pages (double-spaced, 12-point font). The paper should contrast, critique, and analyze selected readings, offering a concrete argument with respect to a question developed with the course instructor. Additional reading, beyond what is required for the week, may be required and specified by the instructor to enrich your discussion. The paper should **NOT** simply describe or reiterate the readings. The paper should be submitted to the Brightspace electronic drop-box by **10 a.m. on the Monday** before the class presentation.
- **Presentation of the Discussion Paper:** All students will present their discussion paper to the class (dates will be assigned in the first meeting). Students will have a maximum of 10 minutes for the presentation. In the presentation, each student should focus on the key arguments made within the written discussion paper, drawing on examples from the readings where appropriate. Students should **NOT** simply read the written paper.
- **Commentary on discussion paper:** Each student will also prepare an oral presentation commenting on another student's written analytical paper. Commentators will analyze the substantive arguments of the paper, offer constructive critiques, and set the stage for discussion by posing two questions. The commentator should refer to specific course readings. The commentary should be no longer than 10 minutes in length. If a discussion paper is not received or is received late, the commentator should be prepared to make comments on the question and reading(s) that were to be addressed in the paper.
- The **research proposal** is a maximum of 5- pages outline proposing a research topic related to EU's foreign policy and should be submitted to the Brightspace drop-box by **4 p.m. on Tuesday October 31st**. The proposal will include a title, the research question, a rationale for the selected topic and an outline (1 page). Additionally,

the proposal should include an annotated list of most important academic sources that will be used (min 5 academic sources) (4 pages). You should explain how you found each of the sources (google scholar, databases (such as web of science), ChatGPT etc.). Please see dates and penalties for details.

- **Term paper (due December 15 by 4PM on Brightspace):** The research paper should address a topic related to EU's foreign policy. The paper should be of analytical nature and, thus, explore a „why“ or „how“ question. Additional research materials are required for this paper, including academic writings (articles, books, chapters) and, where appropriate, primary source documents (e.g., government documents). The paper will be evaluated on the basis of the quality of the research, the analysis, and the presentation. The paper should be handed in electronically through Brightspace drop-box. The paper should be 14-17 pages (not including reference list), double-spaced and font Times New Roman 12.

Late penalties and failure to submit assignments:

- Any student who fails to hand in the discussion paper or the research paper will receive a failing mark in the course. Penalties for late assignments will be as follows:
 - Research proposal and research paper: Two points (of a % scale) for each day late (including weekends). Papers will not be accepted more than one week after the due date without a valid (e.g., written medical) excuse.
 - Discussion papers: Late assignments will suffer an immediate deduction of 15% (on a 100% scale), and 3% for each day late.
- Students absent on the date of the discussion of their presentation will receive a deduction of 15% from the discussion paper grade unless a valid medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided. Advance notice should be provided to the instructor.
- Students absent on the date of the commentary will receive a grade of 0 for this assignment.
- Consistent attendance is expected in this weekly seminar; it is expected that students who must miss a class for any reason will contact the instructor in advance, if possible.

Course Readings:

The main course readings will be accessible through the Ares Course Reserves system (there is a link in Brightspace to Ares).

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

Part I: The European Union: What kind of actor?

Week 1 Introduction: The origins and institutional structure of the EU foreign policy
September 12

Background reading:

If you have not completed a course on politics of the European Union, the following background reading is required.

Keukeleire, S. and Delreux, T. (2022). *The Foreign Policy of the European Union* (Bloomsbury Academic, 3rd edition), chapters 1,2 and 3.

Optional readings:

- Blavoukos, S. and Bourantonis, D. (eds.) (2011). *The EU Presence in International Organizations* (London: Routledge).
- Devuyst, Y. (2012). “The European Council and the CFSP after the Lisbon Treaty.” *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 17(3), pp. 327–350.
- Galariotis, I. and Gianniou, M. (2016). “The European External Action Service: Towards a More Coherent EU Foreign Policy?” *St Antony’s International Review*, Vol. 12(1), pp. 104-119.
- Howorth, J. (2014) *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (London: Palgrave, 2nd edition).
- Nugent, N. (2010) *The Government and Politics of the European Union* (London: Palgrave, 7th edition).
- Smith, M. (2004) *Europe’s Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Week 2 **The European Union as a global actor I**

September 19

- Manners, I. (2006). “Normative Power Europe Reconsidered.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13(2), pp. 182-199.
- Hyde-Price, A. (2006). “‘Normative’ Power Europe: A Realist Critique.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13(2), pp.217-234.
- Wagner, W. (2017). “Liberal Power Europe.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 55(6), pp. 1398-1414.
- Damro, C. (2012). “Market Power Europe.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 19(5), pp. 682-699.
- Bradford, A. (2016). “The EU as a Regulatory Power”, in Mark Leonhard (ed.) *Connectivity Wars. Why trade, migration and finance are the geo-economic battlegrounds of the future*, pp. 133-142
https://ecfr.eu/wp-content/uploads/Connectivity_Wars.pdf
- Kundnani, H. (2016). “Europe’s Limitations”, in Mark Leonhard (ed.) *Connectivity Wars. Why trade, migration and finance are the geo-economic battlegrounds of the future*, pp. 156-162 https://ecfr.eu/wp-content/uploads/Connectivity_Wars.pdf

Optional readings:

- Pollack, M.A. (2001). “International Relations Theory and European Integration.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 39 (2), pp. 221-244 (ON).
- Moravcsik, A. (2005). “The European Constitutional Compromise and the Neofunctionalist Legacy.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 12(2), pp. 349-386.
- Meunier, S. and Vachudova, M.A. (2018). “Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 56(7), pp. 1631-1647.
- Webber, D. (2014). “How Likely Is It that the European Union will Disintegrate? A Critical Analysis of Competing Theoretical Perspectives.” *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 20(2), pp. 341-365.
- O’Rourke, K. (2018). *A Short History of Brexit. From Brentry to Backstop*. Pelican Books (Chapter 9, pp. 153-174).
- Bretherton, C. and Vogler, J. (2013). “A global actor past its peak?” *International Relations*, Vol. 27(3), pp. 375-390.
- Kelstrup, J.D. (2015). “Market Power Europe—A Constructive Critique,” *International Journal of Public Administration*, Vol.38(12), pp. 895-901.

Week 3 **The European Union as a global actor II**

September 26

- Moravcsik, A. (2017). “Europe Is Still a Superpower. And it's going to remain one for decades to come,” *Foreign Affairs*, April, 13th. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/13/europe-is-still-a-superpower/>

- Müller, P., Pomorska, K. and Tonra, B. (2021). "The Domestic Challenge to EU Foreign Policy-Making: From Europeanisation to de-Europeanisation?" *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.43(5), pp. 519-534.
- Rieker, P. and Riddervold, M. (2022). "Not so unique after all? Urgency and norms in EU foreign and security policy," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 44(4), pp. 459-473.
- Costa, O. and Barbé, E. (2023). "A moving target. EU actorness and the Russian invasion of Ukraine," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 45(3), pp. 431-446.
- Helwig, N. and Sinkkonen, V. (2022). "Strategic Autonomy and the EU as a Global Actor: The Evolution, Debate and Theory of a Contested Term," 27, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 27(SI), pp. 1-20.

Optional readings:

- Anghel, V. and Jones, E. (2023). "Is Europe really forged through crisis? Pandemic EU and the Russia – Ukraine war," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 30(4), pp. 766-786.
- Bosse, G. (2022), "Values, rights, and changing interests: The EU's response to the war against Ukraine and the responsibility to protect Europeans," *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 43(3), pp. 531-546.
- Lavenex, S. (2019). "Common market, normative power or super-state? Conflicting political identities in EU asylum and immigration policy," *Comparative European Politics* Vol. 17(4), pp. 567-584.
- Aggestam, L. and Hyde-Price, A. (2020). "Learning to Lead? Germany and the Leadership Paradox in EU Foreign Policy," *German Politics*, Vol. 29(1), pp. 8-24.
- Sjursen, H. and Rosén, G. (2017). "Arguing Sanctions. On the EU's Response to the Crisis in Ukraine." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 55(1), pp. 20-36.
- Portela, C., Pospieszna, P., Skrzypczynska, J. and Walentek, D. (Aug. 2020). "Consensus against all odds: explaining the persistence of EU sanctions on Russia." *Journal of European Integration*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2020.1803854> .

Part II: The European Union's external action in various policy domains

Week 4 Trade policy

October 3

- Leblond, P. and Viju-Miljusevic, C. (2019). "EU trade policy in the twenty first century: change, continuity and challenges," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 26(12), 1836-1846.
- De Bièvre, D. (2020). "Towards Explaining Varying Degrees of Politicization of EU Trade Agreement Negotiations." *Politics and Governance*. Vol. 8(1), pp. 243-253.
- Duina, F. and Viju-Miljusevic, C. (2023). "Introduction: In the EU Image?" in Francesco Duina and Crina Viju-Miljusevic (eds.) *Standardizing the World: EU Trade Policy and the Road to Convergence*, Chapter 1, New York: Oxford Academic.
- Garcia-Duran, P. and Eliasson, L. J. (2022). "Was the European Union's 2021 Trade Strategy a Critical Juncture?" *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 27(4), pp. 563-584.
- De Ville, F., Happersberger, S. and Kalimo, H. (2023). "The Unilateral Turn in EU Trade Policy? The Origins and Characteristics of the EU's New Trade Instruments," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 28 (SI), pp. 15-34.
- Weib, W. (2023). "The EU's strategic autonomy in times of politicization of international trade: The future of commission accountability." *Global Policy* Vol. 14(S3), pp. 54-64.

Optional readings:

- Gstöhl, S. and De Bièvre, D. (2018). *The Trade Policy of the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan (Chapter 7, pp. 176-203).

- Meunier, S. and Nicolaidis, K. (2006). "The European Union as a Conflicted Trade Power." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13(6), pp. 906-925.
- Meunier, S. (2022). "The End of Naivety: Assertiveness and New Instruments in EU Trade and Investment Policy". *European University Institute Global Governance Program*, Issue 2022/55, November 2022. <https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/75041/QM-AX-22-055-EN-N.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.
- Hübner, K., Deman, A.-S., and Balik, T. (2017). "EU and Trade Policy-Making: The Contentious Case of CETA." *Journal of European Integration* Vol. 39(7), pp. 843-857.
- Conceição-Heldt, E. (2014). "When Speaking with a Single Voice Isn't Enough: Bargaining Power (a)Symmetry and EU External Effectiveness in Global Trade Governance." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 21(7), pp. 980-995.
- Young, A.R. (2017). *The New Politics of Trade. Lessons from TTIP*. Agenda Publishing (Chapter 5, pp. 67-92).
- Young, A.R. (2019). "Two wrongs make a right? The politicization of trade policy and European trade strategy." *Journal of European Public Policy*. Vol. 26(12), pp. 1883-1899.
- Duina, F. (2019). "Why the excitement? Values, identities, and the politicization of EU trade policy with North America." *Journal of Public Policy*. Vol. 26(12), pp. 1866-1882.
- Schmitz, L., and Seidl, T. (2023). "As Open as Possible, as Autonomous as Necessary: Understanding the Rise of Open Strategic Autonomy in EU Trade Policy." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 61(3), pp. 834-852.

Week 5 **Environment and climate change policy**

October 10

- von Homeyer, I. and Oberthür, S. and Dupont, C. (2022). "Implementing the European Green Deal during the Evolving Energy Crisis," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 60(S1), pp. 125-136.
- Oberthür, S. and Dupont, C. (2021). "The European Union's international climate leadership: towards a grand climate strategy?" *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 28(7), pp. 1095-1114.
- Huber, R.A., Maltby, T., Szulecki, K. and Četković, S. (2021). "Is populism a challenge to European energy and climate policy? Empirical evidence across varieties of populism," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 28(7), pp. 998-1017.
- Jänicke, M. and Wurzel, R.K.W. (2019). "Leadership and lesson-drawing in the European Union's multilevel climate governance system." *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 28(1), pp. 22-42.
- Smith, I. D., Overland, I. and Szulecki, K. (2023). "The EU's CBAM and Its 'Significant Others': Three Perspectives on the Political Fallout from Europe's Unilateral Climate Policy Initiative," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13512>.

Optional readings:

- von Homeyer, I., Oberthür, S. and Jordan, A.J. (2021). "EU climate and energy governance in times of crisis: towards a new agenda," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 28(7), pp. 959-979.
- Kelemen, D. (2010). "Globalizing European Union Environmental Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 17(3), pp. 335-349.
- Delreux, T. and Van den Brande, K. (2013). "Taking the Lead: Informal Division of Labour in the EU's External Environmental Policy-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 20(1), pp. 113-13.
- Oberthür, S. (2011). "The European Union's Performance in the International Climate Change Regime." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 33(6), pp. 667-682.
- Delreux, T. (2014). "EU Actorness, Cohesiveness and Effectiveness in Environmental Affairs," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 21(7), pp. 1017-1032.
- Bäckstrand, K. and Elgström, O. (2013). "The EU's Role in Climate Change Negotiations: From Leader to 'Lediator'." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 20(10), pp. 1369-1386.

Parker, C.F., Karlsson, C. and Hjerpe, M. (2017). "Assessing the European Union's global climate change leadership: from Copenhagen to the Paris Agreement." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 39(2), pp. 239-252.

Week 6 Defence and security policy

October 17

Palm, T. and Crum, B. (2019). "Military operations and the EU's identity as an international security actor," *European Security*, Vol. 28(4), 513-534.

Fiott, D. (2023). "In every crisis an opportunity? European Union integration in defence and the War on Ukraine," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 45(3), pp. 447-462.

Bunde, T. (2022). "Lessons (to be) learned? Germany's Zeitenwende and European security after the Russian invasion of Ukraine," *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 43(3), pp. 516-530.

Howorth, J. (2018). "Strategic autonomy and EU-NATO cooperation: threat or opportunity for transatlantic defence relations?" *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.40(5), pp. 523-537.

Sweeney, S. and Winn, N. (2022). "Understanding the ambition in the EU's Strategic Compass: a case for optimism at last?" *Defence Studies*, Vol. 22(2), pp. 192-210.

Optional readings:

Havel, S. (2022). "Strategic Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Canadian Journal of European and Russian Studies* Vol.15(2), pp. 25-54, <https://ojs.library.carleton.ca/index.php/CJERS/article/view/3284>.

Ojanen, H. (2006). "The EU and NATO: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 44(1), pp. 57-76.

Fiott, D. (2017). "The EU, NATO and the European defence market: do institutional responses to defence globalisation matter?" *European Security*, Vol. 26(3), pp. 398-414.

Fiott, D. (2023). *Cooperation in an Era of Strategic Competition: EU-NATO Relations in the Context of War and Rivalry*. Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI).

Howorth, J. (2017). "The European Union's Security and Defence Policy: The Quest for Purpose", in C. Hill, M. Smith and S. Vanhoonacker (eds.), *International Relations and the European Union*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3rd edition), pp. 341-364.

Biscop, S. (2018). "European Defence: Give PESCO a Chance." *Survival*, Vol. 60(3), pp. 161-180.

Calcara, A. (2019). "Making sense of European armaments policies: A liberal intergovernmentalist research agenda." *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 38(6), pp. 567-581.

Bergmann, J. and Niemann, A. (2015). "Mediating International Conflicts: The European Union as an Effective Peacemaker?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 53(5), pp. 957-975.

Pänke, J. (2019). "Liberal Empire, Geopolitics and EU Strategy: Norms and Interests in European Foreign Policy Making," *Geopolitics* Vol. 24(1), pp. 100-123.

Bosson, R., and Rhinard, M. (2021). "The internal and external security nexus in Europe. Exploring and problematizing its emergence," in Roberta Haar, Thomas Christiansen, Sabina Lange, Sophie Vanhoonacker (Eds.) *The Making of European Security Policy. Between Institutional Dynamics and Global Challenges*, pp. 104-123. Routledge.

Bergmann, J. and Müller, P. (2021). "Failing forward in the EU's common security and defense policy: the integration of EU crisis management," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 28(10), pp. 1669-1687.

Reading week – no class on October 24

Part III: European Union's relations with key powers

Week 7 Eastern Neighbourhood (research proposal deadline)

October 31

- Schimmelfennig, F. and Sedelmeier, U. (2020). "The Europeanization of Eastern Europe: the external incentives model revisited." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 27(6), pp. 814-833.
- Börzel, T. A. and Sedelmeier, U. (2017), "Larger and more law abiding? The impact of enlargement on compliance in the European Union," *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(2), 197-215.
- Petrova, I. and Delcour, L. (2020). "From principle to practice? The resilience–local ownership nexus in the EU Eastern Partnership policy," *Contemporary Security Policy* Vol. 41(2), pp. 336-360.
- Anghel, V. and Džankić, J. (2023). "Wartime EU: consequences of the Russia – Ukraine war on the enlargement process," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 45(3), pp. 487-501.
- Ágh, A. (2016). "The Decline of Democracy in East-Central Europe." *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 63(5-6), pp. 277-287.
- Kelemen, R.D. and Blauburger, M. (2017). "Introducing the debate: European Union safeguards against member states' democratic backsliding." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 24(3), pp. 317-320.

Optional readings:

- Börzel, T., Dimitrova, A. and Schimmelfennig, F. (2017). "European Union Enlargement and Integration Capacity: Concepts, Findings, and Policy Implications." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 24(2), pp. 157-176.
- Noutcheva, G. (2021). "Normative Power in the Eastern Neighbourhood" in Roberta Haar, Thomas Christiansen, Sabina Lange and Sophie Vanhoonacker (eds.) *The Making of European Security Policy. Between Institutional Dynamics and Global Challenges*, Routledge.
- Ikani, N. (2019). "Change and Continuity in the European Neighbourhood Policy: The Ukraine Crisis as a Critical Juncture," *Geopolitics* Vol. 24(1), pp. 20-50.
- Peters, K., Rood, J. and Gromadzki, G. (2009). "The Eastern Partnership: Towards a New Era of Cooperation between the EU and its Eastern Neighbours?" Revised Overview Paper, EU Policies Seminar Series, Clingendael European Studies Program, The Hague, December 2009, <http://www.policy pointers.org/Page/View/10479>.
- Börzel, T. (2011). "When Europe hits ... beyond its borders: Europeanization and the near abroad." *Comparative European Politics*. Vol. 9, pp. 394–413 .
- Gawrich, A., Melnykowska, I. and Schweickert, R. (2010). "Neighbourhood Europeanization through ENP: The Case of Ukraine." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48(5), pp. 1209-1235 .
- Ikani, N. (2019). "Change and Continuity in the European Neighbourhood Policy: The Ukraine Crisis as a Critical Juncture." *Geopolitics*, Vol. 24(1), pp. 20-50 .
- Howorth, J. (2016). "'Stability on the Borders': The Ukraine Crisis and the EU's Constrained Policy towards the Eastern Neighbourhood." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 55(1), pp. 121-136 .
- Bozóki, A. and Hegedűs, D. (2018). "An externally constrained hybrid regime: Hungary in the European Union." *Democratization*, Vol. 25(7), pp. 1173-1189 .
- Karakas, C. (2013). "EU–Turkey: Integration without Full Membership or Membership without Full Integration? A Conceptual Framework for Accession Alternatives." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 51(6), pp. 1057-1073 .

Week 8 Southern Neighbourhood

November 7

- Hatab, S. (2019), "Deepening democracy or stabilization? European neighborhood policy (ENP) and the "Arab spring"", *Review of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. 4(1), pp. 20-37.
- Serida L. Catalano, Paolo R. Graziano. (2016) Europeanization as a Democratization Tool? The Case of Morocco. *Mediterranean Politics* 21:3, pages 364-386.
- Raik, K. and Dinesen, R.L. (2015). "The European Union and Upheavals in its Neighborhood: A Force for Stability?" *International Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 38(12), pp. 902-914.
- Börzel, T. and Lebanidze, B. (2017). ""The transformative power of Europe" beyond enlargement: the EU's performance in promoting democracy in its neighbourhood." *East European Politics*, Vol. 33(1), pp. 17-35.
- Dandashly, A. (2019). "EU democracy promotion and the dominance of the security-stability nexus" in Roberto Roccu and Benedetta Voltolini (eds.) *The EU in the Mediterranean after the Arab Uprisings*, pp. 62-82, Routledge.

Optional readings:

- Cardwell, P. (2011). "EuroMed, European Neighbourhood Policy and the Union for the Mediterranean: Overlapping Policy Frames in the EU's Governance of the Mediterranean." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 49(2), pp. 219-241.
- Völkel, J.C. (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*, Vol. 19(2), pp. 263-282.
- Ikani, N. (2019). "Change and Continuity in the European Neighbourhood Policy: The Ukraine Crisis as a Critical Juncture," *Geopolitics* Vol. 24(1), pp. 20-50.

Week 9 Relations with Russia

November 14

- Casier, T. (2018). "EU-Russia Relations in Crisis: The Dynamics of a Breakup", in T. Casier and J. DeBardeleben (eds.), *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis. Understanding Diverging Perceptions* (London: Routledge), pp. 13-29.
- DeBardeleben, J. (2018). "Alternative Paradigms for EU-Russian Neighbourhood Relations", in T. Casier and J. DeBardeleben (eds.), *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis. Understanding Diverging Perceptions* (London: Routledge), pp. 115-136.
- DeBardeleben, J. (2021). "Ideas and Normative Competition" in *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Russian Relations*, pp. 58-68.
- Haukkala, H. (2018). "Negative Mutual Interdependence? The Clashing Perceptions of EU-Russia Economic Relations", in T. Casier and J. DeBardeleben (eds.), *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis. Understanding Diverging Perceptions* (London: Routledge), pp. 53-72.
- Siddi, M. (2020). "A Contested Hegemon? Germany's Leadership in EU Relations with Russia," *German Politics*, Vol. 29(1), pp. 97-114.
- Portela, C. and Kluge, J. (2022). *Slow-acting tools – evaluating EU sanctions against Russia after the invasion of Ukraine*. European Union Institute for Security Studies, <https://www.iss.europa.eu/content/slow-acting-tools-evaluating-eu-sanctions-against-russia-after-invasion-ukraine>.

Optional readings:

- Meister, S. (2022). "A Paradigm Shift: EU-Russia Relations After the War in Ukraine," Carnegie Europe, November 29, 2022, <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2022/11/29/paradigm-shift-eu-russia-relations-after-war-in-ukraine-pub-88476>.
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- Haukkala, H. (2015). "From Cooperative to Contested Europe? The Conflict in Ukraine as a Culmination of a Long-Term Crisis in EU–Russia Relations." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 23(1), pp. 25-40.
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- Romanova, T. (2016). "Sanctions and the Future of EU–Russian Economic Relations." *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 68(4), pp. 774-796.
- Cardwell, P.J. and Moret, E. (2023). "The EU, sanctions and regional leadership," *European Security*, Vol. 32(1), pp. 1-21.
- Siddi, M. (2018). "The Role of Power in EU–Russia Energy Relations: The Interplay between Markets and Geopolitics." *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 70(10), pp. 1552-1571.
- Raik, K. (2016). "Liberalism and geopolitics in EU–Russia relations: rereading the 'Baltic factor'", *European Security*, Vol. 25(2), pp. 237-255.
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Week 10 **Relations with China**

November 21

- Barton, B. (2021). "The Belt-and-Road Initiative as a paradigm change for European Union-China security cooperation? The case of Central Asia." *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 19, pp. 391–409.
- Cottey, A. (2021). "The European Union and China: Partnership in Changing Times" in Ferreira-Pereira, L.C., Smith, M. (eds) *The European Union's Strategic Partnerships. The European Union in International Affairs*, pp. 221-244, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
- Fabry, E. and Gugliotta, G. (2023). "Europe's response to the Sino-American rivalry," Policy paper #288 Jacques Delors Institute, https://institutdelors.eu/wp-content/uploads/dlm_uploads/2020/11/PP288_Comment-IEurope-repond-a-la-rivalite-sino-americaine_EN_Fabry-1.pdf.
- Perthes, V. (2021). "Dimensions of rivalry: China, the United States, and Europe." *China International Strategy Review*, Vol. 3, pp.56–65.
- Jones, C. (2021). "Understanding the Belt and Road Initiative in EU-China relations," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 43(7), pp. 915-921.

Optional readings:

- Crookes, P.I. (2013). "Resetting EU–China relations from a values-based to an interests-based engagement." *International Politics*, Vol. 50, pp. 639-663.
- Wu, P. and Jensen, M.D. (2017). "Examining the EU-China Relationship in the Aftermath of the Economic Crisis." *International Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 40(14), pp. 1223-1236.
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- Kahn-Nisser, S. (2022). "The EU, China, trade dependence and human rights," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 35(4), pp. 545-565.
- Maher, R. (2016). "The elusive EU-China strategic partnership." *International Affairs*, Vol. 92(4), pp. 959–976.

- Michalski, A. and Pan, Z. (2017). "Role Dynamics in a Structured Relationship: The EU–China Strategic Partnership." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 55(3), pp. 611-627.
- Šteinbuka, I., Muravska, T. and Kuznieks, A. (2017). "Cooperation Formats of China and Europe: Synergies and Divergences." *Baltic Journal of European Studies*, Vol. 7(1), pp. 98-118.
- Tiberghien, Y. (2021). "The EU as Pivotal Player in the Growing China–U.S. Conflict." in Chand, B., Danner, L.K. (eds.) *New Challenges and Opportunities in European-Asian Relations*, pp. 19-46. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Week 11 Transatlantic relations (the United States and Canada)

November 28

- Riddervold, M. and Newsome, A. (2022). "Introduction: Out With the Old, In With the New? Explaining Changing EU–US Relations." *Politics and Governance*, Vol. 10(2), pp. 128-133.
- Riddervold, M. and Rosén, G. (2018). "Unified in response to rising powers? China, Russia and EU-US relations." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 40(5), pp. 555-570.
- Smith, M. (2022). "How Much of a New Agenda? International Structures, Agency, and Transatlantic Order," *Politics and Governance*, Vol. 10(2), pp. 219-228.
- Knutsen, B.O. (2022). "A Weakening Transatlantic Relationship? Redefining the EU-US Security and Defence Cooperation," *Politics and Governance*, Vol. 10(2), pp. 165-175.
- Brunet-Jailly, E. (2022). "Canada-EU-US Relations" in Donald E. Abelson and Stephen Brooks (eds.) *Transatlantic Relations. Challenge and Resilience*, Chapter 7, Routledge.
- Verdun, A. (2021). "The EU-Canada Strategic Partnership: Challenges and Opportunities" in Ferreira-Pereira, L.C., Smith, M. (eds) *The European Union's Strategic Partnerships. The European Union in International Affairs*, pp. 121-148, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Optional readings:

- Aggestam, L. and Hyde-Price, A. (2019). "Double Trouble: Trump, Transatlantic Relations and European Strategic Autonomy." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 57 (S1), pp. 114-127.
- Hübner, K. and Anderson, J. (2020). "Canada and the European Union." *Oxford Research Encyclopedias. Politics*. <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-1161>.
- Hamilton, D. S. (2014). "Transatlantic Challenges: Ukraine, TTIP and the Struggle to be Strategic." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52(S1), pp. 25-39 .
- Jancic, D. (2016). "The Role of the European Parliament and the US Congress in Shaping Transatlantic Relations: TTIP, NSA Surveillance, and CIA Renditions." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 54(4), pp. 896-912.
- Peterson, J. (2018). "Structure, agency and transatlantic relations in the Trump era." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 40(5), pp. 637-652.
- Riddervold, M. and Newsome, A. (2018). "Transatlantic relations in times of uncertainty: crises and EU-US relations." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.40(5), 505-511.
- Ville, F. and Siles-Brügge, G. (2016). "Why TTIP is a Game-Changer and Its Critics have a Point." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 24(10), pp. 1491-1505.
- Dolata-Kreutzkamp, P. (2010), "Drifting apart? Canada, the European Union, and the North Atlantic", *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien*, Vol. 30(2), pp. 28-44.
- Haglund, D.G. and Mérand, F. (2010-2011). "Transatlantic Relations in the New Strategic Landscape. Implications for Canada." *International Journal*, Vol. 66(1), pp. 22-38.

Week 12 Relations with Other Regions

December 5

- Carbone, M. (2023). "When elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers: the Russo-Ukrainian conflict and the decentring-recentring conundrum in EU-Africa relations," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 45(3), pp. 539-557.
- Hooijmaaijers, B. and Keukeleire, S. (2020). "The BRICS Countries and the European Union," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Politics*, March 2020.
- Gilson, J. (2020). "EU-ASEAN relations in the 2020s: pragmatic inter-regionalism?" *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Vol. 17, pp. 727-745.
- Gratius, S. (2020). "The European Union, Latin America, and the Caribbean." *Oxford Research Encyclopedias. Politics*, January 2020.

Optional readings:

- Meissner, K.L. (2019). "Leveraging interregionalism: EU strategic interests in Asia, Latin America and the Gulf region." *International Politics*, Vol. 56, pp. 359-374.
- Gilson, J. (2005). "New Interregionalism? The EU and East Asia." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 27(3), pp. 307-326.
- Mattheis, F. and Wunderlich, U. (2017). "Regional actorness and interregional relations: ASEAN, the EU and Mercosur." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 39(6), pp. 723-738.
- Haastrup, T. (2013). "EU as Mentor? Promoting Regionalism as External Relations Practice in EU-Africa Relations." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 35(7), pp. 785-800.
- Icaza, R. (2010). "Global Europe, Guilty! Contesting EU neoliberal governance for Latin America and the Caribbean." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 31(1), pp. 123-139.
- Keukeleire, S. and De Bruyn, T. (2017). "The European Union, the BRICS, and Other Emerging Powers: A New World Order?" in Hill, C., Smith, M. and Vanhoonacker, S. (eds.) *International Relations and the European Union*, Oxford University Press (3rd edition), Chapter 18 (pp. 418-440).
- Keukeleire, S. and Hooijmaaijers, B. (2014). "The BRICS and Other Emerging Power Alliances and Multilateral Organizations in the Asia-Pacific and the Global South: Challenges for the European Union and Its View on Multilateralism." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52(3), pp. 582-599.
- Susanne Therese Hansen, Nicholas Marsh. (2015) Normative power and organized hypocrisy: European Union member states' arms export to Libya. *European Security* 24:2, pages 264-286.
- Mark Langan. (2012) Normative Power Europe and the Moral Economy of Africa-EU Ties: A Conceptual Reorientation of 'Normative Power'. *New Political Economy* 17:3, pages 243-270.

Academic Accommodations

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. carleton.ca/pmc

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and its survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;

- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Student Mental Health

As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you.

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

Carleton Resources:

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off Campus Resources:

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Approval of final grades

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies website is the official course outline.