

THE EUROPEAN UNION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DRAFT

INAF 5805/EURR 5109: Fall 2018

Richcraft Hall 3220
Fridays 8:35am-11:25am

Instructor: Crina Viju
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Office Hours: Tuesday 1pm-3pm 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, development, environment, 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, Canada, Russia, China) and international organizations (i.e. International Monetary Fund, United Nations). 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.

The weekly seminar consists of an initial session where the class will discuss the political, social and economic events in Europe of the past week and their relationship (or otherwise!) to our discussions in class (maximum 45 minutes). This is followed by a discussion based on the readings for the week directed by the Instructor.

REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION

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

Seminar Participation	25%	
Discussion paper and presentation of paper to class	20%	
Commentary on discussion paper	10%	
Proposal research paper	10%	due Friday, October 19
Research paper	35%	due Friday, November 30

- **Seminar participation:** Regular weekly attendance is compulsory for this class. Unexcused absences 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, and, most importantly, demonstrated familiarity with required course readings.

- **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 6-8 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 CULearn electronic drop-box and emailed to the student commentator by **10 a.m. on the Wednesday** 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). 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. The student should be prepared to present the arguments verbally in a presentation of 15 minutes. Students should **NOT** simply read the written paper.
- **Commentary on the discussion paper:** Each student will also prepare an oral presentation commenting on another student's written discussion paper. Commentators will analyze the substantive arguments of the paper, offer constructive critiques, and set the stage for discussion. 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 from among the subjects covered in this course and should be delivered in class or to my office no later than **noon on Friday October 19th**. The topic for the research proposal will be approved by the Instructor in advance of submission. The proposal will include a title, a rationale for the selected topic, research methodology, theoretical framework, and a list of most important academic sources that will be used. It will form the basis for the research paper for the course.
- The **research paper** will be no longer than 20 pages, font Times New Roman 12, double-spaced, on a topic covered in the course and already approved by the instructor. It is to be delivered to my office no later than **noon on November 30**.

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 a date of an oral presentation or commentary will receive a "0" unless a valid medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided. Advance notice should be provided to the instructor.
- 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 CU Learn to Ares). In some cases, the library will only make items available on physical reserves to be consulted onsite in the library (they will be indicated as such in the Ares system).

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 7

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

Keukeleire, S. and Delreux, T. (2014). *The Foreign Policy of the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2nd edition), chapters 1,2,3,4 and 5.

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

September 14

Manners, I. (2002). "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40(2), pp. 235-258.

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.

Damro, C. (2012). "Market Power Europe." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 19(5), pp. 682-699.

Orenstein, M.A. and Kelemen, D.R. (2017). "Trojan Horses in EU Foreign Policy." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 55(1), pp. 87-102.

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 (ON).

- Verdun, A. (2003). "An American-European Divide in European Integration Studies: Bridging the Gap with International Political Economy (IPE)." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 10(1), pp. 84-101 (ON).
- 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 (ON).

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

Week 3 Trade policy

September 21

- 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.
- Elsig, M. (2010). "European Union Trade Policy after Enlargement: Larger Crowds, Shifting Priorities and Informal Decision-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.17(6), pp. 781-798.
- 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. (2011). "The Rise (and Fall?) of the EU's Performance in the Multilateral Trading System." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 33(6), pp. 715-729.
- 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.

Week 4 Development assistance

September 28

- Alter, K. and Meunier, S. (2006). "Nested and Overlapping Regimes in the Transatlantic Banana Dispute." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.13(3), pp. 362-382.
- Young, A. and Peterson, J. (2013). "'We care about you, but...': The Politics of EU Trade Policy and Development." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 26(3), pp. 497-518.
- Farrell, M. (2008). "Internationalising EU development policy." *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol. 9(2), pp. 225-240.
- Hollis, S. (2014). "The Global Construction of EU Development Policy." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 36(6), pp. 567-583.
- Siles-Brügge, G. (2014). "EU Trade and Development Policy beyond the ACP: Subordinating Developmental to Commercial Imperatives in the Reform of GSP." *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 20(1), pp. 49-62.

Week 5 Environment and climate change policy

October 5

- 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.
- 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.

Oberthür, S. (2011). “The European Union’s Performance in the International Climate Change Regime.” *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 33(6), pp. 667-682.

Week 6 Defence and security policy

October 12

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

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.

Fakhoury, T. (2017). “The European Union’s Engagement in Conflict Processes and Conflict Spillovers: The Case of Lebanon since the Onset of the Syrian War.” *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 22(1), pp. 39–58.

Harpaz, G. (2017). “The Causes of the EU’s Ineffectual Contribution to Resolution of the Abkhazian and South Ossetian Conflicts.” *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 22(2), pp. 253–270.

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.

Part III: European Union’s relations with key powers and global institutions

Week 7 Neighbourhood and enlargement (research proposal deadline)

October 19

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.

Gawrich, A., Melnykovska, I. and Schweickert, R. (2010). “Neighbourhood Europeanization through ENP: The Case of Ukraine.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48(5), pp. 1209-1235.

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.

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.

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.

Reading week – no class on October 26

Week 8 Relations with Russia

November 2

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.

Casier, T. (2018). “EU-Russian Relations in Crisis”, in T. Casier and J. DeBardeleben (eds.), *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis. Understanding Diverging Perceptions* (London: Routledge), pp. 13-29.

- DeBardleben, J. (2012). "Applying Constructivism to Understanding EU-Russian Relations." *International Politics*, Vol. 49, pp. 418-433.
- Raik, K. (2016). "Liberalism and geopolitics in EU–Russia relations: rereading the 'Baltic factor'", *European Security*, Vol. 25(2), pp. 237-255.
- Romanova, T. (2016). "Sanctions and the Future of EU–Russian Economic Relations." *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 68(4), pp. 774-796.

Week 9 Relations with China

November 9

- Crookes, P.I. (2013). "Resetting EU–China relations from a values-based to an interests-based engagement." *International Politics*, Vol. 50, pp. 639-663.
- Chen, Z. (2016). "China, the European Union and the Fragile World Order." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 54(4), pp. 775-792.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.

Week 10 Transatlantic relations (the United States and Canada)

November 16

- 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.
- 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 (ON).

Week 11 Relations with Other Regions

November 23

- Gilson, J. (2005). "New Interregionalism? The EU and East Asia." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 27(3), pp. 307-326.
- 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 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.

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.

Week 12 **The European Union and International Organizations (research paper deadline)**

November 30

Gehring, T., Oberthür, S. and Mühleck, M. (2013). "European Union Actorness in International Institutions: Why the EU is Recognized as an Actor in Some International Institutions, but Not in Others." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 51(5), pp. 849-865.

Frieden, J. (2004). "One Europe, One Vote? The Political Economy of European Union Representation in International Organizations." *European Union Politics*, Vol. 5(June), pp. 261-276.

Galarionis, I., Iakovidis, I. and Gianniou, M. (2016). "Factors and Parameters of the EU Performance in International Organisations: A Theoretical Framework." EUI Max Weber Working Paper, 2017/03, Florence,
http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/45904/MWP_2017_03.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

Wessel, R.A. (2011). "The Legal Framework for the Participation of the European Union in International Institutions." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 33(6), pp. 621-635.

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;
- 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.

All suspicions of plagiarism will be dealt with according to the Carleton’s Academic Integrity Policy (<http://carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/>). The Associate Dean of the Faculty will conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. 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).

Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. If permitted in the course outline, late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside room 3305 River Building. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day’s date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

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

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.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.