

Political Science 3997/4997
Capstone Seminar: The European Union and the World

Instructor: Prof. Mark A. Pollack
Department of Political Science
461 Gladfelter Hall

E-mail: mark.pollack@temple.edu
Phone: 215 204 7782
Office Hours: W 1:00 – 3:00 p.m.

This course offers an introduction to, and in-depth discussion of, the European Union (EU) and its place in world politics. The course is organized in four parts. In the first part (Weeks 1-4), we introduce the history, institutions and theory of the European Union, and spend a week looking at research design, methods and sources in the study of EU politics. In the second part of the course (Weeks 5-7), we examine the EU as an economic actor, including its classic competences in international trade and development, its relations with the United States, and its broader role in the development of global economic and environmental regulation. The third part of the course (Weeks 8-11) examines the “high politics” of EU foreign policy, including the development of a Common Foreign and Security Policy, the difficulties of working together, the establishment of a defense component to EU politics, the notion of the EU as a “normative” power, and the EU’s use of enlargement as a tool of foreign policy. Finally, the fourth part of the course (Weeks 12-14) concludes with student presentations of original research projects. The schedule of class meetings, then, is as follows:

- Week 1: Introduction (Jan 20)
- Week 2: The European Union: History, Theory, and Institutions (Jan 27)
- Week 3: Theorizing the EU as a Global Actor (Feb 3)
- Week 4: Conducting EU Research (Feb 10)
- Week 5: The EU as an Economic Actor I: Trade and Development (Feb 17)
- Week 6: The EU as an Economic Actor II: Transatlantic Relations (Feb 24)
- Week 7: The EU as an Economic Actor III: The EU and Global Regulation (March 3)
- Week 8: Individual Meetings and Writing, No Class (March 17)
- Week 9: CFSP 1: History and Institutions (March 24)
- Week 10: CFSP 2: European Defense and Enlargement Policies (March 31)
- Week 11: Individual Meetings and Writing, No Class (April 7)
- Week 12: Class Presentations 1 (April 14)
- Week 13: Class Presentations 2 (April 21)
- Week 14: Final Papers and Conclusions (April 28)

Course Requirements. As a capstone seminar, this course is also listed as writing-intensive, meaning that we will place heavy emphasis on reading comprehension, writing, and classroom presentation and discussion. Specific course requirements include:

1. Weekly readings of approximately 100-200 pages per week;

2. Participation in class discussions (20% of the grade);
3. Four short essays (1-2 pages, *double*-spaced) responding to the weekly readings, of which three should be written in the first seven weeks of the course; these papers are due at the start of class on the Wednesday for which the material is assigned, and late papers will not be accepted (30% of the grade); and
4. A research paper on a topic of the student's choice, to be undertaken in five stages:
 - (a) a preliminary statement of the topic and argument of the paper, and a draft outline of the paper, maximum 1-2 pages (5% of the grade), due March 3rd;
 - (b) a preliminary annotated bibliography of primary and secondary sources used in the research of the paper (5% of the grade), due March 24th;
 - (c) oral presentation of the draft paper in class during weeks 12-13 (approx 15-20 minutes plus question-and-answer session with fellow students, 10% of the grade);
 - (d) a first-draft paper (approx. 15-20 pages, 15% of the grade), which should be substantially complete with full text and citations, due on April 14th; and
 - (e) a revised, final draft paper (15% of the grade), due on April 28th.

Please note that all of the writing assignments will be assessed primarily on the basis of the substantive arguments about the foreign policy of the EU, but also on the basis of how clearly and carefully they are written.

Required Reading: The following required books have been ordered from the Temple University Bookstore:

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

* John Vogler and Charlotte Bretherton, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2006).

* Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

Unless otherwise indicated, all other **required** readings will be made available through electronic reserve. Other good texts on the European Union, which will be used only briefly or not at all in the course but may be useful as starting points for research papers, include:

* Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, 2nd edition (New York: Palgrave, 2005).

* Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*, 3rd edition (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2005).

* Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young, eds., *Policy-Making*

in the European Union, 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

In addition to these core texts, the syllabus lists a number of *recommended* readings on various topics. These readings will generally not be discussed in class, but are included for students with an interest in doing extra research in one of these areas. Finally, in addition to these secondary sources, we will hold a special session during the first half of the term on the use of *primary* sources, discussing how to find these sources, how to search through them efficiently, and how to cite them in written work.

Please note that all readings are subject to potential revision as new and more up-to-date sources are released.

Sources for current events in the EU. In addition to these readings, students are strongly encouraged to read a good European daily newspaper, or one of the growing number of good websites devoted to EU politics. The best news site for EU politics is *euobserver* at <http://www.euobserver.com>. Other useful websites include the EU's own *Europa* website at <http://europa.eu.int>, and *Eupolitix* at <http://www.eupolitix.com>. The semi-weekly newsletter *European Report* offers excellent and detailed coverage of the EU, and is available through the Lexis-Nexis database. The best English-language daily newspaper coverage of the EU can be found in the Financial Times, which has a good web site at <http://www.ft.com>, and offers special rates for students during the semester. The news service "Euronews" provides video footage on a large number of European politics issues, including EU institutions and policies: <http://www.Euronews.net>.

Of particular interest for this course is the website *Global Europe*, an aggregator that collects daily links to EU-related foreign relations news stories: <http://www.globeurope.com/news-views>. Finally, note that there are a number of good EU-oriented think-tanks that produce occasional high-quality policy papers on specific topics that might be useful in your research. These include:

European Policy Centre: www.epc.eu
Center for European Policy Studies: www.ceps.be
Institute for Security Studies: www.iss.europa.eu
Centre for European Reform: www.cer.org.uk
European Council on Foreign Relations: www.ecfr.eu

Disability policy: Any student who has a need for accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact me privately to discuss the specific situation as soon as possible. Contact Disability Resources and Services at 215-204-1280 or 100 Ritter Annex to coordinate reasonable accommodations for students with documented disabilities.

Academic Conduct: Temple University has adopted standards on academic conduct, and all students in PS 460 are expected to comply fully with those standards, including with reference to the important issue of plagiarism. All students should, in all assignments, fully and unambiguously cite sources from which they are drawing

important ideas and/or sizable quotations (for example, more than eight consecutive words or more than 50% of a given sentence or paragraph). Failure to do so constitutes plagiarism, which is a serious act of academic misconduct and will result in a failing grade for the course and notification of the infraction to the Dean of Students. Similarly, cheating during exams, copying written assignments from other students, or providing answers to others during exams are considered acts of academic misconduct. If you are unfamiliar with policies about plagiarism or other types of academic misconduct, you may wish to consult the on-line guide to “Quoting, Paraphrasing, and Acknowledging Sources,” available at the Temple Writing Center (http://www.temple.edu/writingctr/student_resources/student_resources.htm) or if you still have remaining doubts or specific questions, raise them directly with me.

Temple University policy on the freedom to teach and learn:

Freedom to teach and freedom to learn are inseparable facets of academic freedom. The University has adopted a policy on Student and Faculty Academic Rights and Responsibilities (Policy # 03.70.02) which can be accessed through the following link: http://policies.temple.edu/getdoc.asp?policy_no=03.70.02.

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

PART I: INTRODUCTION TO THE EU AND EU RESEARCH

Week 1: Introduction (Jan 20)

Charles Grant, “Is Europe Doomed to Fail as a Power?” with a response by Robert Cooper, *Centre for European Reform essays* (London: Centre for European Reform, July 2009).

Andrew Moravcsik, “Europe: The Quiet Superpower,” *French Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 3/4 (Sept-Dec 2009), pp. 403-422.

No study questions for this week.

Week 2: The European Union: History, Theory, and Institutions (Jan 27)

Required Reading

Elizabeth Bomberg, John Peterson, and Andrew Stubb, eds., *The European Union: How Does it Work?*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), chapters 1-3, pp. 3-70.

Mark A. Pollack, Chapter 2, "Theorizing EU Policy-Making," in Wallace, Pollack, and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2010).

Alasdair R. Young, "The Single Market," Chapter 5 in Wallace, Pollack and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2010).

Dermot Hodson, "Economic and Monetary Union," chapter 7 in Wallace, Pollack, and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2010).

Study Questions (please answer just one, not all of the questions below!)

This week, we learn a bit about the EU, its history, its institutions, and efforts to theorize about it, as background to the study of EU foreign policy in the rest of the semester. With that in mind, please answer one of the following questions:

1. What are the EU's primary functions *internally*? What implications do these functions have for the EU's relations with the rest of the world?
2. How would you summarize, in brief, the primary institutions of the EU? Which of these institutions are likely to be particularly important (or unimportant) in dealing with other countries?

Recommended Reading

Neill Nugent, *Government and Politics of the European Union*, 6th edition (Duke University Press, 2006).

Michelle Cini, ed., *European Union Politics*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Ian Bache and Stephen George, *Politics in the European Union*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

John Peterson and Elizabeth Bomberg, *Decision-Making in the European Union* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton, *The Institutions of the European Union*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Ian Bache and Stephen George, *Politics in the European Union*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, eds., *European Integration Theory*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

John T.S. Keeler, "Mapping EU Studies: The Evolution from Boutique to Boom Field 1960-2001," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 551-82.

Knud Erik Jorgensen, Mark A. Pollack, and Ben Rosamond, eds., *The Handbook of European Union Politics* (New York: Sage Publications, 2007).

Week 3: The EU as a Global Actor: Theoretical Perspectives (Feb 3)

Required Readings

* Hill and Smith, *International Relations and the European Union*, chapters 1 (editors) and 2 (Andreatta), pp. 1-38.

* Bretherton and Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, Introduction and Chapters 1-2.

Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (2002), pp. 235-58.

Liesbeth Aggestam, "Introduction: Ethical Power Europe?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 1 (2008), pp. 1-11.

Martijn L.P. Groenler and Louise G. Van Schaik, "United We Stand? The European Union's International Actorness in the Cases of the International Criminal Court and the Kyoto Protocol," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 5 (2007), pp. 969-998.

Study Questions (Please answer only one)

1. The EU is a collection of 27 member states, which jealously guard their prerogatives and their sovereignty on the world stage. Under the circumstances, can we think of the EU as a single "actor" in world affairs – more than just the sum of its 27 parts? If so, what are the distinguishing features of that "actor," and in what areas is the EU as an actor particularly significant?
2. Since Ian Manners' seminal 2002 article, it has become commonplace to argue that the EU is an inherently "normative" actor. How, and why, does Manners argue that the EU is indeed a normative power? Do you find this characterization convincing as a starting point for EU foreign policy analysis? Why or why not?

Recommended

Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003).

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

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

Sonia Lucarelli and Ian Manners, eds., *Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Andrew Linklater, "A European Civilising Process?" Chapter 17 in Hill and Smith, *International Relations and the European Union*, pp. 367-87.

Mary Farrell, "EU External Relations: Exporting the EU Model of Governance?" *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Winter 2005.

Thomas Diez, "Constructing the Self and Changing Others: Reconsidering 'Normative Power Europe,'" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2005), pp. 613-36.

Ian Manners, "The European Union as a Normative Power: A Reply to Thomas Diez," *Millennium*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2006), pp. 167-80.

Sibylle Scheipers and Daniela Sicurelli, "Normative Power Europe: A Credible Utopia?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (2007), pp. 435-57.

Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2006), pp. 182-99.

Ole Elgstrom and Michael Smith, eds., *The European Union's Roles in International Politics: Concepts and Analysis* (London: Routledge, 2006).

Zaki Laïdi, *Norms over Force: The Enigma of European Power* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Zaki Laïdi, "European Preferences and Their Reception," in Zaki Laïdi, ed., *EU Foreign Policy in a Globalized World: Normative Power and Social Preferences* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 1-18.

Karen E. Smith, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, 2nd edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Knud Erik Jorgensen, ed., *The European Union and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2009).

Legal Aspects of the EU as a Global Actor

Jan Klabbers, "Presumptive Personality: The European Union in International Law," in M. Koskeniemi, ed., *International Law Aspects of the EU* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1998), pp. 231-53.

Michael E. Smith, "Diplomacy by Decree: The Legalization of EU Foreign Policy," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (2001), pp. 79-104.

Paul Craig and Grainne de Burca, “External Community Competence,” and “External Capacity and Community Competence,” in Craig and de Burca, *EU Law: Text, Cases, and Materials*, 4th edition (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 95-100, 173-82.

P. Koutrakos, *EU External Relations Law* (London: Hart Publishing, 2006).

P. Eeckhout, *External Relations of the European Union: Legal and Constitutional Foundations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Marise Cremona, ed., *Developments in EU External Relations Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Marise Cremona and Bruno De Witte, eds., *EU Foreign Relations Law: Constitutional Fundamentals* (London: Hart Publishing, 2008).

Alan Dashwood and Marc Maresceau, eds., *Law and Practice of EU External Relations: Salient Features of a Changing Landscape* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Week 4: Conducting EU Research (Feb 10)

Required Reading

* Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), Introduction and Chapters 1-6, (pp. 1-111).

Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Science* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004), chapters 3-6, 10 (pp. 67-124, 205-32).

Stacy A. Nyikos and Mark A. Pollack. "Researching the European Union: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches," in Tanja Boerzel and Rachel Cichowski, eds., *The State of the European Union, Volume IV: Law, Politics, and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, Fall 2003).

Study Question

1. Why do political scientists undertake case study research? What can case studies teach us about the world? And how, if we want to learn more about the world, should we choose the cases we want to study?

Recommended Reading

Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), chapters 1, 3 and 4 (pp. 1-15, 45-91).

Stefano Guzzini, "The Significance and Roles of Teaching Theory in International Relations," *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2001), pp. 98-117.

Marysa Zalewski, "All These Theories and Yet the Bodies Keep Piling Up: Theories, Theorists, and Theorising," in Steve Smith, Ken booth, and Marysa Zalewski, eds., *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 340-53).

John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), chapter 1 (pp. 1-19).

Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, eds., *Designing Social Inquiry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), read chapters 1 and 3 (pp. 3-33, 75-114; also skim chapter 2, pp. 34-74).

Marc Trachtenberg, *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), chapters 1-2 (pp. 1-50; rest of book strongly recommended for those doing historical research).

Robert K. Yin, 1994. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, second edition (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage).

Ian S. Lustick, "History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (1996), pp. 605-18.

Barbara Geddes, "How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics," *Political Analysis*, Vol. 2 (1990), pp. 131-52.

Gerry Stoker, "Introduction," in David Marsh and Gerry Stoker, eds., *Theory and Methods in Political Science* (Macmillan), pp. 1-18.

PART II: THE EU AS AN ECONOMIC ACTOR

Week 5: The EU as an Economic Actor I: Trade and Development (Feb 17)

Required Reading

* Hill and Smith, *International Relations and the European Union*, chapters 12 (Meunier and Nicolaidis), pp. 247-269.

C. Randall Henning and Sophie Meunier, "United Against the United States? The EU's Role in Global Trade and Finance," in Nicolas Jabko and Craig Parsons eds., *The State of the European Union Vol. 7* (Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 75-102.

Alasdair R. Young and John Peterson, "The EU and the New Trade Politics," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 6 (September 2006), pp. 795-814.

* Bretherton and Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, Chapter 5, "The EU as Development and Humanitarian Actor," pp. 111-36.

Maurizio Carbone, *The European Union and International Development: The Politics of Foreign Aid* (London: Routledge, 2007), Introduction and Chapter 2, pp. 1-10, 30-59.

Study Questions (please answer just one)

1. How, in a nutshell, does the EU conduct its trade policy? What does the EU want – what are its preferences – in foreign trade, and how effective has it been in negotiations with other countries?
2. Does the EU have a coherent development policy to help people in need in other countries? How does EU policy get made, and what are its strengths and weaknesses?

Recommended Reading

* Bretherton and Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, Chapter 3: "The EU as an Economic Power and Trade Actor," pp. 62-88.

Sophie Meunier, "What Single Voice? European Institutions and EU-U.S. Trade Negotiations," *International Organizations*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (2000), pp. 103-35.

Joseph Jupille, "The European Union and International Outcomes," *International Organization*, vol. 53, No. 2 (1999), pp. 409-25.

Alasdair Young, "The Incidental Fortress: The Single European Market and World Trade," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2004), p. 393-414.

Sophie Meunier, *Trading Voices: The European Union in International Commercial Negotiations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

Stephen Woolcock, "Trade Policy," Chapter 16 in Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young, eds. *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2010).

Dermot Hodson and Lucia Quaglia, "European Perspectives on the Global Financial Crisis: Introduction," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 5 (2009), pp. 939-953.

Federico Bonaglia, Andrea Goldstein, and Fabio Petito, "Values in European Union Development Cooperation Policy," in Sonia Lucarelli and Ian Manners, eds., *Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 164-84.

A. Hadfield, "Janus Advances? An Analysis of EC Development Policy and the 2005 Amended Cotonou Partnership Agreement," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 12 (2007), pp. 39-66.

Marjorie Lister and Maurizio Carbone, eds., *New Pathways in International Development: Gender And Civil Society in EU Policy* (London: Ashgate, 2006).

Maurizio Carbone, ed., *Policy Coherence in EU Development Policy* (London: Routledge, 2009).

Martin Holland, *The European Union and the Third World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

Week 6: The EU as an Economic Actor II: Transatlantic Economic Relations (Feb 24)

Required Reading

Mark A. Pollack. "JCMS Annual Lecture: The New Transatlantic Agenda at Ten: Reflections on an Experiment in International Governance," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (December 2005), pp. 899-919.

Elliot Posner, "Making Rules for Global Finance: Transatlantic Regulatory Cooperation at the Turn of the Millennium," *International Organization*, Vol. 63, No. 4 (2009), pp. 665-699.

Alasdair R. Young, "Confounding Conventional Wisdom: Political Not Principled Differences in the Transatlantic Regulatory Relationship," *British Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 666-89.

Jeremy Shapiro and Nick Witney, *Towards a Post-American Europe: A Power Audit of EU-US Relations*, European Council on Foreign Relations, 2 November 2009, available at: http://ecfr.3cdn.net/cdb1d0a4be418dc49c_2em6bg7a0.pdf.

Study Question

1. The United States and the countries of Europe are long-standing political and economic partners, but it is only in the last decade or so that the US and the EU as such have attempted to build systematic links between Washington and "Brussels." How are US/EU relations structured in institutional terms? What have been the greatest areas of success, and of weakness, in the transatlantic partnership?

Recommended Reading

Mark A. Pollack and Gregory C. Shaffer, eds., *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

Robert Kagan, *Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Random House, 2003).

Abraham L. Newman, "Building Transnational Civil Liberties: Transgovernmental Entrepreneurs and the European Data Privacy Directive," *International Organization*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (2008), pp 103-130.

Kanet, R. E. (2008). "A New US Approach to Europe? The Transatlantic Relationship after Bush," *International Politics* 45:3, 348-63.

Sarotte, M. E. (2008) "The Worst Allies, Except for All the Others: US-European Relations in the Age of George W. Bush," *International Politics* 45:3, 310-24.

John Peterson and Rebecca Steffenson, "Transatlantic Institutions: Can Partnership Be Engineered?" *British Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2009), pp. 25-45.

Kern Alexander, Eilís Ferran, Howell Jackson and Niamh Moloney, "Transatlantic Financial Services Regulatory Dialogue," *European Business Organization Law Review* (EBOR), Vol. 7, No. 3 (2006), pp 647-673.

Week 7: The EU as an Economic Actor III: The Environment and Human Rights (March 3)

Required Reading

Bretherton and Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, Chapter 4, "Environmental Policy," pp. 89-110.

R. Daniel Kelemen, "Globalizing European Union Foreign Policy," paper presented at the European Union Studies Association 11th Biennial Conference, Marina Del Rey, California, 23-25 April 2009.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, *Forced to Be Good: Why Trade Agreements Boost Human Rights* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), selections.

Richard Gowan and Franziska Brantner, *A Global Force for Human Rights? An Audit of European Power at the UN* (London: European Council on Foreign Relations, September 2008), pp. 1-10, 37-46.

Wade Jacoby and Sophie Meunier, "Europe and the Management of Globalization: Responding to Globalization Pressures," unpublished paper, 2009.

Study Questions (Please choose just one)

1. The environment is one of the strongest and best established EU internal policies, yet environmental policy is a "mixed" policy area, not an area of exclusive EU competence like trade. What does this "mixed" formula mean in practice? How does the EU "act" in economic policy? Is it a coherent actor, and if so, what are the EU's collective preferences in global environmental politics? How successful has the EU been in shaping global environmental policy to reflect its preferences?
2. Human rights are among the core values of the EU as a "normative power." In what ways has the EU attempted to promote human rights throughout the world, according to Hafner-Burton and Gowan and Brantner, and how effective has it been in that attempt?

Recommended Reading

Alberta Sbragia, "Institution-Building from Below and Above: The European Community in Global Environmental Politics," in Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet, eds., *The European Union and Supranational Governance* (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 283-303.

L. Bartels, *Human Rights Conditionality in the EU's International Agreements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Richard Balme, "The European Union, China, and Human Rights," in Zaki Laidi, ed., *EU Foreign Policy in a Globalized World: Normative Power and Social Preferences* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 143-73.

Week 8: Individual Meetings and Writing, No Class (March 17)

PART III: EU COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

Week 9: CFSP 1: History and Institutions (March 24)

Required Reading

* Hill and Smith, *International Relations and the European Union*, chapters 4 (Vanhoonacker), 7 (Wong), and 8 (Smith), pp. 67-90, 134-175.

Bastien Giegerich and William Wallace, "Foreign and Security Policy," Chapter 18 in Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young, eds. *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2010).

Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, No. 113 (June/July 2002), pp. 3-28.

Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003), pp. 155-172.

A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy, Brussels, 12 December 2003.

Caroline Fehel, "Living with a Reluctant Hegemon: The Transatlantic Conflict over Multilateral Arms Control," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2008), pp. 259-87.

Study Questions (please choose just one)

1. In the beginning, the European Economic Community's external-relations powers were limited largely to international trade, with little or no role in the "high politics" of foreign policy. Today, the EU has a Common Foreign and Domestic Policy. How does the EU formulate a common foreign policy, and how is CFSP represented to the rest of the world?
2. What are the EU's aims or preferences in its foreign policy? Does the EU appear to be motivated primarily by normative concerns, as Manners suggests, or by the geopolitical interests of the EU's member states? What evidence can you point to support your argument?
3. Has the EU been particularly successful, or unsuccessful, in particular areas of its foreign policy? If so, which areas have been particularly successful, and how might you explain this success?

Recommended Reading

Christopher Hill, "The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe's International Role," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (1993), pp. 305-28.

Peterson, John, and Helen Sjursen, *A Common Foreign Policy for Europe? Competing Visions of the CFSP* (London: Routledge).

Michael E. Smith, "Institutionalization, Policy Adaptation and European Foreign Policy Cooperation," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2004), pp. 95-136.

Michael E. Smith, *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutions of Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Matthias Koenig-Archibugi, "Explaining Government Preferences for Institutional Change in EU Foreign and Security Policy," *International Organization*, Vol. 58 (2004), pp. 137-74.

Robert Cooper, "The European Answer to Robert Kagan," *Transatlantic Internationale Politik*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2003), pp. 19-24.

Anand Menon, Kalypso Nicolaïdis, and Jennifer Welsh, "In Defence of Europe: A Response to Kagan," *Journal of European Affairs*, September 2004.

Christopher Hill, "Rationalizing or Regrouping? EU Foreign Policy Since 11 September 2001," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (2004), pp. 143-63.

Fraser Cameron, *An Introduction to European Foreign Policy* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Week 10: CFSP 2: Civilian or Military Power? European Defense and Enlargement Policy (March 31)

Required Reading

* Hill and Smith, *International Relations and the European Union*, chapter 9 (Howorth), pp. 179-204.

Catherine Gegout, "Causes and Consequences of the EU's Military Intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Realist Explanation," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 10, pp. 427-443.

Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds., *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), Chapters 1, 2, and 11, pp. 1-50, 210-228.

Rachel A. Epstein and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Beyond Conditionality: International Institutions in Postcommunist Europe after Enlargement," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 6 (September 2008), pp. 795-805.

Study Questions (please answer just one)

In this final week of substantive readings, we cover two very different topics: the EU's move toward military and defense capacity on the one hand, and the EU's use of its enlargement policy to influence the policies of would-be members:

1. Until recently, it was common wisdom that the EU was a "civilian power," and that it should not attempt to be a military power, and that it would not succeed if it tried. And yet, as we saw in last week's and in this week's readings, the EU has moved toward a "European Security and Defense Policy," including deployments of EU peacekeeping missions to places like Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. How is EU defense cooperation structured, and how effective does it seem to have been, on the basis of the readings from last and this week?
2. The two decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall have witnessed a huge enlargement of the EU, from 12 in 1989 to 27 members today, with more waiting in the wings. Scholars during this period have debated both whether and, if so, through what mechanisms the EU has influenced the politics of candidate countries. What mechanisms for EU influence over candidate countries do Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier theorize? Which ones seem to best account for the changes we find in those countries, and how do we know this?

Recommended Reading

Anne Deighton, "The European Security and Defence Policy," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2002), pp. 719-41.

Jolyon Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007).

Richard Whitman, "Road Map for a Route March? (De-)civilianizing through the EU's Security Strategy," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2006), pp. 1-15.

D. Papadimitrou, P. Petrov, and L. Greicevici, "To Build a State: Europeanization, EU Actorness and State-Building in Kosovo," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 12 (2007), pp. 219-38.

Ulrich Krotz, "Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe Won't Emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage Soon," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (2009), pp. 555-578.

Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "The Study of EU Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches and Empirical Findings," in Michelle Cini and Angela K. Bourne, *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, pp. 96-116.

Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Eastern Enlargement," Chapter 17 in Wallace, Pollack, and Young eds., *Policy-Making in the European Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2010).

Frank Schimmelfennig (2001). "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union," *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 1, pp. 47-80.

Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (2002). "Theorising EU Enlargement: Research Focus, Hypotheses, and the State of Research," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9(4): 500-528.

Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Vachudova (2002) "Bargaining Among Unequals: Enlargement and the Future of European Integration," *EUSA Review*, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 1-3, available on-line at: <http://www.eustudies.org/MoravcsikVachudovaEssay.pdf>.

Jacoby, Wade (2004). *The Enlargement of the European Union: Ordering from the Menu in Central Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Vachudova, Milada Anna (2005). *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Schimmelfennig, F. (2008), "EU Political Accession Conditionality after the 2004 Enlargement: Consistency and Effectiveness," *Journal of European Public Policy* 15/6: 918-37.

Frank Schimmelfennig, "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union," *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (2001), pp. 47-80.

Sandra Lavenex, "Migration and the EU's New Eastern Border: Between Realism and Liberalism," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2001), pp. 24-42.

Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Vachudova, "Preferences, Power and Equilibrium: The Causes and Consequences of EU Enlargement," in Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds., *The Politics of European Union Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches* (London: Routledge, 198-212).

Sieglinde Gstöhl, "Scandinavia and Switzerland: Small, Successful, and Stubborn towards the EU," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2002), pp. 529-49.

Roland Danreuther, "Developing the Alternative to Enlargement: The European Neighborhood Policy," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2006), pp. 183-201.

Judith Kelley, "New Wine in Old Wineskins: Promoting Political Reforms through the New European Neighborhood Policy," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (2006), pp. 29-55.

Grigore Pop-Eleches, "Why No Backsliding? The EU's Impact on Democracy and Governance Before and After Accession," forthcoming in *Comparative Political Studies*.

PART IV: STUDENT RESEARCH

Week 11: Individual Meetings and Writing, No Class (April 7)

Week 12: Class Presentations 1 (April 14)

Week 13: Class Presentations 2 (April 21)

Week 14: Final Papers and Conclusions (April 28)