

Syllabus

The Geopolitics of the European Union

B.A.-Seminar

Monday 10.00 – 11.30

D 430

WS 2019/20

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FB Politik- und Verwaltungswissenschaft

Overview

According to the conventional wisdom, the EU is said to be, in the now famous words of former Belgian Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens an “economic giant, a political dwarf, and a military worm”. This conceptualization has been mainstream in political, media but also academic discourses. However, recent political events like the Crimean-, the Refugee- and the Brexit-Crisis, new conceptualizations of what security is actually about and renewed scholarly interest in the EU’s security-related policies justify looking at European Security through a lens including European governments *and* the European Union.

From a realist power perspective, the foreign policy of the European Union (EU) is a paradox. On the one hand, foreign and security policy is part of the core state sovereignty of the member states with hardly any incentives to Europeanize. On the other hand, European integration requires a certain transfer of this authority from the national to the European level, and many dimensions of European security are nowadays integrated in the standard policy-making of the EU.

The first part of the seminar will introduce theories of international relations and European integration that are capable of explaining parts of the actual setup of the EU’s security policy. Furthermore, the historic development of the EU’s security policy will be given and reevaluated. We will especially focus on the geopolitical dimension of EU security policy, which re-emerged in the 2010s. We will then develop a more concrete and coherent picture of the actual state and practices of the EU’s security policy in relations to other main powers in the world. Afterwards we turn to the analytic sphere, asking for the influence and distribution of actors, preferences, and institutions in EU security policymaking. In the second part, the four main parts of EU foreign policy are analyzed under geopolitical security concerns. First, the Common Security and Defense Policy, second international Trade policy, third development policy and last enlargement and neighborhood policy.

The third part of the seminar investigates Europe’s relationships to four key strategic “partners” on the respective policy dimensions. (1) the relationship to Russia under a security, energy-security, and cyber-security perspective, (2) the relationship to Turkey under a security, migration, economic and democratic norms perspective, especially in reference to the accession process, (3) the relationship to the US and the UK under a security, trade, and institutional perspective, with a special role of the relationship NATO-EU, and (4) the relationship to China under an economic, cyber-security, and norms perspective, with a special focus on the one-belt, one-road project.

In the end of the seminar, we combine our insights and ask for the emerging security threats for the EU, its potential solutions, Europe’s new role on the world stage and the democratic implications for member countries

Course Goals:

On successful completion of this seminar students will be able to:

- describe the historical course of Europe's foreign policy dimension in reference to the geopolitical situation of the EU
- identify and understand the different aspects of foreign policy in the EU
- understand the changes and effects of actors preferences and institutional settings on foreign policy decision-making
- use the basic concepts, databases and methods of EU foreign policy analysis

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADES:

Student Responsibilities:

The seminar will meet Monday from 10.00 to 11.30 in D 430. The seminar format means that each individual student is responsible for completing the required readings prior to the class meetings, and for contributing to the discussion of the material. Absence from single sessions has to be communicated via mail in advance. Punctuality is crucial and tardiness will not be tolerated, unless specific and justified reasons are presented to the instructor (such as slightly overlapping class, mobility issues).

You have to register in Ilias to get to the course material and in StudIS to get your grade!

Grades:

The grade consists of three parts, the presentations (20%), the development paper (pass/fail), and the research paper (80%). Students can only be graded if they are registered for the course in StudIS. The examination requirements of the department require the weighted mean of all parts to be at least pass (4.0). Additionally, all parts have to be provided. Individual parts cannot be repeated separately.

(Wortlaut FB: „Eine Prüfungsleistung ist bestanden, wenn der gewichtete Durchschnitt aller Teilleistungen mindestens ausreichend ist und alle Teilleistungen erbracht wurden. Einzelne Teilleistungen können nicht gesondert wiederholt werden, sondern nur im Rahmen der Wiederholung der gesamten Prüfungsleistung“)

Group Presentation:

Every student has to present in a group the topic of one country session. In these presentations, we are not looking for complete summaries of the readings, but for thoughtful engagement with the problem under discussion. Try to sketch the development and state of the art of the theoretical and empirical aspect of the phenomenon as brief as possible. Your task is to set the ground for a thoughtful discussion of the required reading in class. Additionally, every student presents an individual research question in this session.

Presentations will be graded on basis of the following criteria:

- Literature incorporated (relevance and precision): 30%
- Theoretical stringency: 30%
- Timing: 10%
- Slides 10 %
- Discussion lead: 20%

Term Paper:

The paper consists of two separate items of work:

First, a short development paper (1 – 2 pages), that takes our readings and discussions as a point of departure and develops a research agenda and/or a preliminary empirical investigation on a topic of your interest (graded pass/fail). This assignment is the first step towards your final paper and is due to January 10th 2020. Topics can thus vary according to individual preferences, but should remain in connection with the class theme, and be chosen in accordance with the instructor.

The final paper (~4000 words) that should include a theoretical argument and an empirical observation related to it has to be handed in no later than 31.03.2020. The final paper is individual, original, fair, and should demonstrate aptitude to both synthetic and critical reasoning. “Original” means that the paper does not exist prior to its writing by the student and reflects the ideas of its author. This requirement excludes plagiarism, and authorized reproduction of already existing papers. “Fair” means that if you borrow from other people’s work (to a limited extent), you should quote it and acknowledge it appropriately (by the use of quotation marks and in a bibliography). “Critical reasoning” means that you are able to use different sources and put them in perspective in order not to simply repeat what other people say, but are able of highlighting or questioning underlying problems, context and crucial conditions, etc.

Term Papers will be graded on basis of the following criteria:

- Research question (relevance and precision): 10%
- Structure (logical consistency): 10%
- State of the art: 10%
- Argument and analysis: 60%
- Scientific standard: 10%

Deadline for Term Papers: 30.03.2020

Course Plan

Basic Literature

The Political System of the EU:

Hix, S., & Høyland, B. (2009). *The political system of the European Union*. London: Macmillan.
Nugent, N. (2012). *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. ECPR Press.

European Integration:

Dinan, D. (1999). *Ever closer union: an introduction to European integration*. Boulder.
Rosamond, B. (2008). *Theories of European integration*. Palgrave MacMillan

EU Foreign and Security Policy

Keukeleire, S., & Delreux, T. (2014). *The foreign policy of the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Hill, C., & Smith, M. (Eds.). (2017). *International relations and the European Union*. Oxford University Press.
Howorth, J. (2014). *Security and defence policy in the European Union*. Pagrave
Biscop, S., Whitman, R.G. (Eds.), 2013. *The Routledge handbook of European security*, Routledge handbooks. Routledge, London ; New York.
Cladi, L., Locatelli, A. (Eds.), 2015. *International Relations Theory and European Security: We Thought We Knew*, 1st ed. Routledge.
Fiott, D., 2019. *Yearbook of European Security 2019*. European Union Institute for Security Studies.
Galbreath, D.J., Chappell, L., Mawdsley, J., 2019. *Contemporary European security*, Routledge.

Key Journals for Research:

Journal of Common Market Studies,
Journal of European Public Policy,
European Union Politics,
European Journal of Political Research,
European Security,
Journal of European Integration

Online Resources:

www.euobserver.com – daily online newspaper focused on EU issues
www.ft.com – Financial Times, very good coverage on EU developments
<http://www.europa.eu> – official site of the European Union
<http://www.iss-eu.org/> – Chaillot Papers for research on security issues

I Theories and Preliminaries

28.10. Session 1: EU Foreign Policy: An Introduction

Required Reading:

Mearsheimer, J.J., 2010. Why is Europe Peaceful Today? *European Political Science* 9, 387–397.

Teaser:

Moravcsick, A. (2017): Europe is still a Superpower, in: Foreign Policy online:
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/13/europe-is-still-a-superpower/>

Additional Presentation:

How to find a research question

Reading: Kellstedt/ Witten (2015): Chapter 1: The Scientific Study of Politics

04.11. Session 2: Development and Present State of EU Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

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

Andreatta, F. and L. Zambonardi(2017): The European Union as a Power, in: C. Hill and M. Smith [eds.]: *International Relations and the European Union* (3. Ed.), Oxford University Press, pp. 74-94.

Vanhonacker, S. (2017): The Institutional Framework, , in: C. Hill and M. Smith [eds.]: *International Relations and the European Union* (3. Ed.), Oxford University Press, pp. 97-123.

II Dimensions of European Foreign Policy

11.11.17 Session 3: CSDP I: Institutions

Required Reading:

Keukeleire, S. and T. Delreux (2014): *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*, Ch. 8: The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), pp. 172-196.

Jensen, C. B., Slapin, J., & König, T. (2007). Who Calls for a Common EU Foreign Policy? Partisan Constraints on CFSP Reform. *European Union Politics*, 8(3), 387-410.

Additional:

Mérand, F., Hofmann, S. C., & Irondelle, B. (2011). Governance and state power: a network analysis of European security. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(1), 121-147.

Additional Material:

How to read a scientific paper

18.11. Session 4 CSDP II: Actions

Required Reading:

Toje, A. (2011). The European Union as a small power. *JCMS: Journal of Common market studies*, 49(1), 43-60.

Additional Reading:

Duke, S. (2009), "Consensus Building in ESDP: The Lessons of Operation *Artemis*," *International Politics*, Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 395-412

Policy Reading:

Crete, A., di Martino, A., Nemedi, M., & Taitto, P. (2017). Civilian and Military Personnel in CSDP Missions and Operations, https://www.theseus.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/124225/Crete_di%20Martino_Nemedi_Taitto.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

25.11. Session 5: Trade:

Required Reading

Meunier/Nicolaidis (2017): The European Union as Trade Power, in: C. Hill and M. Smith [eds]: International Relations and the European Union, Oxford University Press, Ch. 12

Additional Reading:

Dür, A., & Elsig, M. (2011). Principals, agents, and the European Union's foreign economic policies. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18(3), 323-338.

Jacoby, W., & Meunier, S. (2010). Europe and the management of globalization. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(3), 299-317.

Poletti, A., & De Bièvre, D. (2014). Political mobilization, veto players, and WTO litigation: explaining European Union responses in trade disputes. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(8), 1181-1198.

02.12. Session 6: Development and Aid

Required Reading:

Carbone, M (2017): The European Union and International Development, in: C. Hill and M. Smith [eds]: International Relations and the European Union, Oxford University Press Ch. 13

Additional Reading:

Holden, P. (2014). Tensions in the discourse and practice of the European Union's Aid for Trade. *Contemporary Politics*, 20(1), 90-102.

Schneider, C. J., & Tobin, J. L. (2013). Interest coalitions and multilateral aid allocation in the European Union. *International Studies Quarterly*, 57(1), 103-114.

Carbone, M. (2013). Between EU actorness and aid effectiveness: The logics of EU aid to Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Relations*, 27(3), 341-355.

09.12. Session 7: Enlargement and Neighbourhood

Required Reading:

Schimmelfennig, F. (2001). The community trap: Liberal norms, rhetorical action, and the Eastern enlargement of the European Union. *International organization*, 55(1), 47-80.

Hiski Haukkala, "The European Union as a Regional Normative Hegemon: The Case of European Neighbourhood Policy," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 60, No. 9 (November 2008), pp. 1601-1622

Additional Reading:

Böhmelt, T., & Freyburg, T. (2017). Forecasting candidate states' compliance with EU accession rules, 2017–2050. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1-19.

Bindi, F. (2011): A Brief History of EU Enlargements, in: F. Bindi and I. Angelescu [eds.]: The Frontiers of Europe. A Transatlantic Problem, Washington: Brookings, pp.9-24.

Boswell, C. (2003). The 'external dimension' of EU immigration and asylum policy. *International affairs*, 79(3), 619-638.

16.12. Session 8: Research and Data

23.12. Session 9 : Everything you always wanted to know about political science

III EU Relations in Practice

13.01. Session 10 : EU-Russia : Energy Security, Cyber Security, Syria

Wigell, M., & Vihma, A. (2016). Geopolitics versus geoeconomics: the case of Russia's geostrategy and its effects on the EU. *International Affairs*, 92(3), 605-627.

Browning, C. S. (2018). Geostrategies, geopolitics and ontological security in the Eastern neighbourhood: The European Union and the 'new Cold War'. *Political Geography*, 62, 106-115.

20.01. Session 11: EU Turkey: Refugees, Enlargement, Syria

Phinnemore, D., & İçener, E. (2016). Holding the door half (?) open: the EU and Turkey 10 years on. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 24(4), 446-462.

Okyay, A., & Zaragoza-Cristiani, J. (2016). The Leverage of the Gatekeeper: Power and Interdependence in the Migration Nexus between the EU and Turkey. *The International Spectator*, 51(4), 51-66.

27.01. Session 12: EU – China: New belt road, Infrastructure, human rights

Casarini, N. (2016). When all roads lead to Beijing. Assessing China's New Silk Road and its implications for Europe. *The International Spectator*, 51(4), 95-108.

Chen, Z. (2016). China, the European Union and the fragile world order. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(4), 775-792.

03.02. Session 13: EU-UK/US: NATO, Security, Trade

Oliver, T., & Williams, M. J. (2016). Special relationships in flux: Brexit and the future of the US—EU and US—UK relationships. *International Affairs*, 92(3), 547-567.

Rees, W. (2017). America, Brexit and the security of Europe. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19(3), 558-572.

10.02.18: Course Evaluation