

PS 2505 Topics in International Relations
Fall 2004, Thursdays 12:00-3:00, WWPH 4625 (4N51)

The European Union and International Relations

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This seminar draws on theories of international relations and of European integration to analyze the European Union's relations with non-member states and its emerging role in world affairs. Few would deny that much has changed in the two decades since Hedley Bull declared that "Europe" is not an actor in international affairs, and does not seem likely to become one." (*JCMS* 1982) And yet, the European Union is not a state and does not possess a foreign policy of the sort normally associated with states. So what does IR theory tell us about European integration? How exactly has Europe's international role changed? How do the EU and its Member States develop policies toward actors and institutions beyond their borders? What do these developments tell us about the fundamental structures and dynamics of international relations?

In Part I of the seminar, we will survey explanations of European and regional integration, with a particular focus on theories drawn from the literature of international relations. In Part II, we will consider the evolution of EU policy-making for external relations and explore various explanations for this process. In Part III, we will examine multiple theoretical perspectives on particular issue-areas in the EU's external relations, stretching from areas of traditional "Community competence" such as trade, development, and enlargement to human rights, transatlantic relations and security policy. In Part IV, we will consider the implications of these developments for European integration and for international relations.

The seminar is intended for graduate students with some prior training in international relations theory (PS 2501) and/or EU studies (PS 2310). Any student who is not familiar with the following works should read them carefully before the start of the semester: Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, chaps.5-6; Robert Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, any edition, chaps.1-2; Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51:4 (Autumn 1997); Emanuel Adler, "Constructivism," and James Fearon and Alexander Wendt, "Rationalism vs. Constructivism: A Skeptical View," both in Walter Carlsnaes et al., eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (1999). Except for Moravcsik's article, which can be accessed on-line, all are on reserve in Hillman.

The “3 Rs”

Reading: All students must complete assigned readings and be prepared to discuss them on the indicated date. Most readings are articles drawn from journals that are accessible on-line; other readings (marked with **) will be on reserve in the department office. No books are required for purchase. All students will also take turns (in pairs) leading seminar discussions.

Riting: All students must distribute by e-mail a list of discussion questions (one per reading) at least 24 hours before class, and complete a research paper by December 9.

Rithmatic: Grades will be calculated as follows: research paper on a topic related to the external relations of the EU (50%), seminar participation (20%), discussion leading (20%), and weekly questions (10%).

Part One: THEORIES OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Special class Monday, August 30, 6:00-8:00 pm, room 4801 (4R51):

Liberal Intergovernmental, Neo-Realist and other Rationalist Approaches

- Andrew Moravcsik, “Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31 (1993), 473-524
- Joseph Grieco, “State Interests and International Rule Trajectories: A Neorealist Interpretation of the Maastricht Treaty and European Economic and Monetary Union,” *Security Studies* 5:3 (1996), 261-306 **
- Mark Pollack, “Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Community,” *International Organization* 51:1 (Winter 1997), 99-134
- Walter Mattli, *The Logic of Regional Integration* (Cambridge, 1999), ch.3 **

September 9: Neo-Functionalist and Institutional Approaches

- Philippe C. Schmitter, “Three Neo-Functional Hypotheses about International Integration,” *International Organization*, 23:1 (Winter 1969), 161-7 (SKIM)
- Simon Bulmer, “The Governance of the European Union: A New Institutional Approach,” *Journal of Public Policy* 13:4 (1994) **
- Paul Pierson, “The Path to European Integration; A Historical Institutional Analysis,” *Comparative Political Studies* 29:2 (1996), 123-163
- Wayne Sandholtz, “Membership Matters: Limits of the Functional Approach to European Institutions,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34:3 (September 1996)
- Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, Kermit Blanks, “European integration from the 1980s: State-centric v. multi-level governance,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34:3 (September 1996), 341-359
- Alec Stone Sweet and Wayne Sandholtz, “European integration and supranational governance,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 4:3 (1997), 297-317

September 16: Constructivist Approaches

- Thomas Risse-Kappen, “Exploring the Nature of the Beast,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (March 1996), 53-80
- Thomas Christiansen, Knud Erik Jørgensen and Antje Wiener, “Introduction,” in *ibid*, *The Social Construction of Europe* (Sage, 2001), ch.1 **
- Jeffrey T. Checkel, “Social Construction and European Integration,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6:4 (1999)
- Lars-Erik Cederman, “Political Boundaries and Identity Trade-Offs” and “Exclusion Versus Dilution: Real or Imagined Trade-Off,” both in Cederman, ed., *Constructing Europe’s Identity: The External Dimension* (Lynne Reinner, 2001), 1-32, 233-262 **

Part Two: THE EVOLUTION AND SOURCES OF E.U. EXTERNAL RELATIONS

September 23: Evolution, Process and Instruments

- Anthony Forster and William Wallace, “Common Foreign and Security Policy: From Shadow to Substance?” in Helen Wallace and William Wallace, eds., *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 2000), ch.17 **
- Knud Erik Jørgensen, “Making CFSP Work,” in John Peterson and Michael Shackleton, eds., *The Institutions of the European Union* (Oxford, 2002), ch.10 **
- John Peterson and Michael E. Smith, “The EU as a Global Actor,” in Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb, eds., *The European Union: How Does It Work?* (Oxford, 2003), ch.10 **
- Joseph Jupille, “The European Union and International Outcomes,” *International Organization* 53:2 (Spring 1999), 409-425

September 30: Domestic Politics, Political Culture, and Non-State Actors

- Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, “International Governance as New Raison d’État? The Case of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy,” *European Journal of International Relations* 10:2 (June 2004), 147-188
- Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, “Explaining Government Preferences for Institutional Change in EU Foreign and Security Policy,” *International Organization* 58:1 (Winter 2004), 137-174
- Michael E. Smith, “Conforming to Europe: The Domestic Impact of European Foreign Policy Cooperation,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 7:4 (December 2000), 613-631
- Maria Green Cowles, “Non-state actors and false dichotomies: reviewing IR/IPE approaches to European integration,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 10:1 (February 2003), 102-120

October 7: National Interests and Supranational Institutions

- Christopher Hill, “National Interests – The Insuperable Obstacles?” in Christopher Hill, ed., *National Foreign Policies and European Political Cooperation* (Allen & Unwin, 1983), 185-202 **

- Christopher Hill, ed., *The Actors in Europe's Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 1996), 1-16 and 288-304 **
- Michael E. Smith, "Diplomacy by Decree: The Legalization of EU Foreign Policy," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39:1 (March 2001), 79-104
- Michael E. Smith, "Institutionalization, Policy Adaptation and European Foreign Policy Cooperation," *European Journal of International Relations* 10:1 (2004), 95-136
- Michael Smith, "The framing of European foreign and security policy: towards a post-modern policy framework," *Journal of European Public Policy* 10:4 (2004), 556-575

Part Three: ISSUES IN E.U. EXTERNAL RELATIONS

October 14: Enlargement

- Lykke Friis, "EU Enlargement... And Then There Were 28?" in Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb, eds., *The European Union: How Does It Work?* (Oxford, 2003), ch.9 **
- Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Theorizing EU enlargement: research focus, hypotheses, and the state of research," *Journal of European Public Policy* 9:4 (August 2002), 500-528
- Frank Schimmelfennig, "The Community trap: liberal norms, rhetorical action, and the eastern enlargement of the European Union," *International Organization* 55:1 (Winter 2002), 47-80
- Andreas Bieler, "The struggle over EU enlargement: a historical materialist analysis of European integration," *Journal of European Public Policy* 9:4 (August 2002), 575-597
- Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova, "National Interest, State Power, and EU Enlargement," *East European Politics and Society* (February 2003) **

October 21: International Trade

- Stephen Woolcock, "European Trade Policy: Global Pressures and Domestic Constraints," in Helen Wallace and William Wallace, eds., *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 2000), ch.14 **
- Brian Hanson, "What Happened to Fortress Europe? External Trade Policy Liberalization in the European Union," *International Organization* 52:1 (Winter 1998), 55-85
- Sophie Meunier, "What Single Voice? European Institutions and E.U.-U.S. Trade Negotiations," *International Organization* 54:1 (Winter 2000), 103-136
- Alasdair R. Young, "The Adaptation of European Foreign Economic Policy: From Rome to Seattle," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38:1 (March 2000), 93-116

October 28: Third World Development

- Christopher Stevens, "Trade with Developing Countries," in Helen Wallace and William Wallace, eds., *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 2000), ch.15 **
- Carol Cosgrove-Sacks, "Europe, Diplomacy and Development Cooperation with the ACP Group," in Carol Cosgrove-Sacks, ed., *Europe, Diplomacy and Development* (Palgrave, 2001), 259-286 **
- Martin Holland, *The European Union and the Third World* (Palgrave, 2002), chs.4-5 **
- Genevra Forwood, "The Road to Cotonou: Negotiating a Successor to Lomé," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39:3 (September 2001), 423-442
- Ole Elgström, "Norm negotiations: The construction of new norms regarding gender and development in EU foreign aid policy," *Journal of European Public Policy* 7:3 (September 2000), 457-476

November 4: Human Rights

- Andrew Clapham, "Where is the EU's Human Rights Common Foreign Policy and How is it Manifested in Multilateral Fora?" in Philip Alston, Mara R. Bustelo and James Heenan, eds., *The EU and Human Rights* (Oxford, 1999), ch.19 **
- Manfred Nowak, "Human Rights Conditionality in Relation to Entry to and Full Participation in the EU," in Philip Alston, Mara R. Bustelo and James Heenan, eds., *The EU and Human Rights* (Oxford, 1999), ch.20 **
- Bruno Simma, Jo Beatrix Aschenbrunner, and Constanze Schulte, "Human Rights Considerations in the Development Co-operation Activities of the EC," in Philip Alston, Mara R. Bustelo and James Heenan, eds., *The EU and Human Rights* (Oxford, 1999), ch.18 **
- Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:2 (June 2002), 235-259
- Richard Youngs, "Normative Dynamics and Strategic Interests in the EU's External Identity," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42:2 (June 2004), 415-436

November 11: Transatlantic Relations

- Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Collective Identity in a Democratic Community: The Case of NATO," in Peter Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (Columbia, 1996), ch.10 **
- Mark A. Pollack and Gregory C. Shaffer, eds., *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), chs.1 and 11 **
- Charles Kupchan, "The Rise of Europe, America's Changing Internationalism, and the End of U.S. Primacy," *Political Science Quarterly* 118 (Summer 2003), 205-231
- Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review* 113 (June/July 2002), 3-28
- Honor Mahony, "Europe must take itself seriously, says top Brussels envoy," *EU Observer*, July 29, 2004 <http://www.euobserver.com/?sid=9&aid=17028> **

November 18: Security Policy

- Philip Gordon, "Europe's Uncommon Foreign Policy," *International Security* 22:3 (Winter 1997/98), 74-100
- Jolyon Howorth, "European Defence and the Changing Politics of the European Union: Hanging Together or Hanging Separately?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39:4 (November 2001), 765-789
- Wolfgang Wagner, "Why the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy Will Remain Intergovernmental: A Rationalist Institutional Choice Analysis of European Crisis Management Policy," *Journal of European Public Policy* 10:4 (January 2003), 576-595
- "A Secure Europe in a Better World - A European Security Strategy," European Council, December 12, 2003 <http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf> **
- Barry Posen, "ESDP and the Structure of World Power," *International Spectator* 34:1 (2004), 5-17 <http://www.iai.it/pdf/articles/posen.pdf> **
- Richard Eichenberg, "Having It Both Ways: European Defense Integration and the Commitment to NATO," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67 (2003), 627-659

November 25: No class – Thanksgiving holiday

Part Four: CONCLUSIONS

December 2: Territoriality, Sovereignty, and European Integration

- John Gerard Ruggie, "Territoriality and beyond: problematizing modernity in international relations," *International Organization* 47:1 (Winter 1993), 139-174
- James A. Caporaso, "The European Union and Forms of State: Wesphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34:1 (March 1996)
- Thomas Diez and Richard Whitman, "Analysing European Integration: Reflecting on the English School – Scenarios for an Encounter," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:1 (March 2002), 43-67
- Tanja E. Aalberts, "The Future of Sovereignty in Multilevel Governance Europe," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42:1 (March 2004), 23-47
- Robert Keohane, "Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:4 (November 2002), 743-765

December 9: Final Discussion

FYI: Useful websites for research on EU and CFSP

Europa – Gateway to the European Union < http://www.europa.eu.int/index_en.htm>

AEI - Archive of European Integration < <http://aei.pitt.edu/>>

European Foreign Policy Bulletin <<http://www.iue.it/EFPB/Welcome.html>>

FORNET – Network of research and teaching on European foreign policy
< <http://www.fornet.info/index.shtml>>