

**International Relations Program
Winter 18**

Course title: The EU in the World

Language of instruction: English

Professor: Jordi Mas Elias

Professor' s contact and office hours: jmas@ibei.org (office hours on appointment)

Course contact hours: 45

Recommended credit: 3 US credits-6 ECTS credits

Course prerequisites: there are no prerequisites for this course

Language requirements: None

Course focus and approach: European Union, International Political Economy, International Relations, Comparative Politics, Foreign Policy.

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Course description: How similar is the European Union (EU) compared to other countries such as the United States? Do they play similar roles in the world? How internal (Brexit) and external events (Trump) may affect the very nature of the EU and its foreign policies? This course studies the EU and its external activities through the discussion of key issues on the EU agenda placing a comparative focus on the United States. The first part of the course analyzes the historical evolution of the European polity and the decision-making of its external action. It raises questions about the geographical and political limits of Europe, what are the main drivers of its integration and tackles the issue of Brexit. The second part of the course deals with a variety of challenges of globalization that the EU faces in world politics: trade liberalization, global warming, energy supplies or international migration are some of the issues that will be tackled separately in different sessions. Finally, the last part analyzes the relations between the EU and other states and world regions: from the

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neighborhood in Eastern Europe and the Middle East to the major global players such as the United States.

Learning objectives: The course has three main objectives. First, it introduces the students to the institutional reality of the European Union. It does so by examining its history and decision-making processes in foreign policy, as well as by comparing the EU with other existing polities in the world. Second, through the study of recent global challenges faced by the European, it aims to provide tools to students in order to engage and critically discuss some of the major relevant debates in the disciplines of International Political Economy and International Relations fields. And finally, the course aims at improving students group-working, research, essay writing and presentation skills.

Course workload: The course requires the attendance to the lectures and the compliment of the tasks proposed by the instructor. It includes developing short in-class and online activities, reading the compulsory material for every lecture, participating in a simulation and presenting and writing an essay on the topic of the presentation. Students have to write also two exams: a mock exam in the first half of the course and a final exam at the end of it.

Teaching methodology: The course comprises twenty-two sessions. In twenty of them combine the traditional lecture-style with a seminar-style approach, consisting in discussions and in-class short activities oriented towards developing students' abilities and skills. During the first third of the course, students will have to perform a simulation exercise related to the European decision-making process. The last third of the course includes an essay writing class followed by a mid-term 'mock' exam.

Assessment criteria: Students will be assessed through different items: a simulation (10%), a 2.500-word individual essay and a presentation (40%), participation (10%) and a final exam (40%).

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Absence policy: After the add/drop, all registrations are considered final and **EAP Absence Policy** begins to apply. For the academic year 2011-2012, such policy is as follows:

Attending class is mandatory and will be monitored daily by professors. Missing classes will impact on the student' s final grade as follows:

Absences	Penalization
<i>Up to two (2) absences</i>	<i>No penalization</i>
<i>Three (3) absences</i>	<i>1 point subtracted from final grade (on a 10 point scale)</i>
<i>Four (4) absences</i>	<i>2 points subtracted from final grade (on a 10 point scale)</i>
<i>Five (5) absences or more</i>	<i>The student receives an INCOMPLETE ("NO PRESENTAT") for the course</i>

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*The PEHE/HESP attendance policy **does not distinguish between justified or unjustified absences**. The student is deemed responsible to manage his/her absences.*

Emergency situations (hospitalization, family emergency...) will be analyzed on a case by case basis by the Academic Director of the program.

Classroom norms:

- No food or drink is permitted in class
- Students will have a ten-minute break after the first hour of each session
- To use of mobile phones is only permitted with the authorization of the instructor and only with the purpose of developing in-class activities.

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Course schedule

Lesson 1: On the lands beyond the wall: where are the external limits of Europe?

The introductory session discusses the concept of Europe as a region 'in the making'. The EU has suffered many changes in their geographical size during its 60 years of existence. Does it have any final aspiration? If any, where are the external limits of Europe?

Required reading: Schimmelfennig, Frank (2016) 'Chapter 9. Europe', In: Börzel, Tanja A. and Risse, Thomas (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism, 178-201.

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Lesson 2: The EU foreign policy in historical perspective: institutional path dependency or inter-state bargaining?

How do we have arrived to what the EU is nowadays? Historically, the explanation seems an easy: step by step. But questioning 'how' is more complicated to assess as it embraces one of the key debates of the European integration. Some reckon that the Member States have always taken the control of the construction of Europe. Other observers uphold that the building has been constructed primarily beyond the Member States will: once started in the 1950s, the European project triggered a chain of events towards integration impossible to stop for the Member States.

Required reading: Dinan, Desmond (2010) Ever Closer Union: an introduction to European integration, Palgrave Macmillan, 4th edition, [Part I, read at least until 1992]

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Additional reading: Milward, Alan S. (2000) The European rescue of the Nation State, London: Routledge Ch.1-2, 1-45.

Lesson 3: The EU external apparatus: adding value to the member states?

The complex institutional apparatus of the European Union turns even more complicated to understand when looking at the external action machinery. This is the most institutional policy-making class that we have in the course. It analyzes how the EU works in foreign policy and whether having a 'EU voice' adds value to Member States foreign policy.

Required reading: Vanhoonacker, Sophie (2011) The Institutional Framework, in Hill, C. and Smith, M. 'International Relations and the European Union, Oxford: OUP, 75-100.

Additional reading: European Commission, Directorate-General for Communication (2014) How the European Union works: Your guide to the EU institutions, Brussels: European Commission. Available online: <http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/how-the-european-union-works-pbNA3212336>

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Lesson 4: The political economy of integration: What does the EU do in foreign policy? Should it?

The political economy uses a powerful rationale to explain which competences should be allocated at the EU level and which not. However, the rationale does not fit with reality of the EU foreign policy. This session inquires on the political constraints that impede the EU to have a full external capacity.

Required reading: Alesina, Alberto; Angeloni, Ignazio and Schuknecht, Ludger (2005) "What does the European Union do?" , Public Choice 123(3): 275-319.

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Lesson 5: And now the UK: a threat or an opportunity for EU (dis)integration?

The Brexit has shaken the European project. Although it is too soon to foresee its implications, this session ends the first block of the course with a wide discussion about the internal challenges of the EU. It provides elements to debate the direction that has to take the European project taking into account its high institutional volatility.

Required reading: Gostyńska-Jakubowska, Agata and Odendahl, Christian (2017) "A flexible EU: A new beginning or the beginning of the end" , Centre for European Reform, 18 May 2017

Lesson 6: Simulation: the EU joint decision trap

This session simulates a decision in the Council of Ministers of the EU. It attempts to recreate how the EU decision-making works, with different Member States using their influence to promote their interests at the European level.

Required reading: The materials for the simulation. They will be provided on lesson 3.

Additional readings: Scharpf, Fritz W. (2006) The Joint-Decision Trap Revisited, Journal of Common Market Studies 44(4), 845-864.

Lesson 7: Overcoming the unanimity rule: how can the European Commission escape from the institutional blockade?

Although being an extremely complex entangled web of different institutions and states interests, the EU still works. Surprisingly, sometimes it does things. How? This lesson begins the second block of the course with an overview of trade policy and it reviews theory on public policy about how the executive, in our case the European Commission, can have some room of maneuver for escaping from Member States control.

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Required reading: Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) Chapter 2. Executive Politics, in Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) The Political System of the European Union, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 23-48.

Additional readings: Majone, Giandomenico (2001) Two logics of delegation, agency and fiduciary relationships in EU governance, European Union Politics 2(1), 103-122.

Lesson 8: Winners and losers from trade policy: an imbalanced game?

It seems that protectionist interests take always the worse part from trade policy. Despite claiming for policies restricting trade, the EU has opted widely for trade liberalization in the last decades. Does the EU 'only' obey to those interests prone to market openness? Why? This lesson reviews how private interests attempt to promote their preferences into the EU level and why some of them succeed and others not.

Required reading: Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) Chapter 7. Interest Representation, in Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) The Political System of the European Union, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 159-188.

Additional readings: Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) Chapter 2: Interest Groups against Liberalization; in Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco, The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline?, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 91-100.

Lesson 9: Capitalism, democracy and the European Union: and then there were two.

This lecture addresses the difficult relationship between two of the most important challenges that the EU has to tackle: capitalism and democracy. The European project has embraced democracy, which by nature has a strong trend

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to go downwards at the subnational level. On the contrary, the EU has also embraced the capitalist economy, which tends upwards to the international level. How can the EU reconcile the trade-off?

Required reading: Rodrik, Dani (2011) The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy, New York: WW Norton & Co. Chs 10-11.

Additional readings: Olson, Mancur (2000) Ch4. The Developed Democracies Since World War II, in Olson, Mancur (2000) The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities, Yale: Yale University Press, 75-117.

Majone, Giandomenico (1997) The Regulatory State and its Legitimacy Problems, West European Politics 22(1), 1-24.

Lesson 10: Globalization and welfare: is globalization eroding the EU welfare state?

One of the common arguments in Europe against globalization and especially against trade agreements has been that they damage the welfare state. The United Kingdom, for example, raised the debate that the TTIP would harm their health insurance system (NHS). However, numbers do not back the argument. This lecture reviews the political and economic arguments for and against this logic.

Required readings: Scarpetta, Vincenzo (2016) "There' s no basis for claims that the NHS is under threat from TTIP" , Open Europe, available online in: <http://openeurope.org.uk/today/blog/theres-no-basis-claims-nhs-threat-ttip/> and Quinn, Ben (2016) TTIP deal poses 'real and serious risk' to NHS, says leading QC, The Guardian, available online in: <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/feb/22/ttip-deal-real-serious-risk-nhs-leading-qc>

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Lesson 11: Migration and welfare: a race to the bottom?

Globalization and the process of European integration have brought a huge mobility of labor across countries. Some voices claim that it produces huge externalities that steer the European welfare state towards a 'race to the bottom', lowering down the quality of public services. To what extent this political struggle is also sound economics?

Required reading: Skupnik, Christoph (2014) EU enlargement and the race to the bottom of welfare states, Journal of Migration 15(3), available online: <https://izajodm.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186/s40176-014-0015-6>

Lesson 12: Mid-term exam

Don't panic. This mid-term exam is rather a mock exam, although it is compulsory. The first part of the session consists in an essay writing lecture. The purpose is to give some tips that can be applied to the exam, which takes place during the second hour. The grade obtained in the exam is a kind of insurance. If in the final exam you obtain a lower mark, then the mock exam will count the 50% of the final exam. If the final exam you obtain a higher mark, then the mock exam does not count.

Required reading: -

Lesson 13: Development politics: European aid to whom and with what intentions?

The EU is the largest donor in the world. It accounts almost half of the international foreign aid. Its colonial past makes part of the picture as the European countries want to have closer relationships with their former colonies. But which are, if any, the intentions hidden in this unequal relationship?

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Required reading: Carbone, M. (2011) Development policy: the EU as a bilateral and multilateral donor. In: Wunderlich, J.U. and Bailey, D. (eds.) The European Union and Global Governance: A Handbook. Series: Routledge International Handbooks.

Additional reading: Alesina, A. and D. Dollar (2000). "Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?" Journal of Economic Growth 5, 33-63.

Lesson 14: Climate politics: a self-interested power or a value-promoter?

Why is the EU a leader in global climate politics? We truly know that Europe is a land scarce of resources such as oil or carbon. So it this impetus towards clean energy self-interested driven? This lecture examines the issue of the environment, and gives a glance as well to the last events occurred: the Treaty of Paris and Donald Trump's retreat.

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Required reading: Van Schaik, Louise and Schunz, S. (2012) Explaining EU activism and impact in Global climate politics: is the Union a norm- or interested driven actor?, Journal of Common Market Studies 50(1), 169-186.

Additional readings: Lenschow, A. and Sprunk, C. (2010) 'The myth of a green Europe', Journal of Common Market Studies 48(1), 133-154.

Parker, C. and Karlsson, C. (2010) Climate change and the European Union's leadership moment', Journal of Common Market Studies 48(4), 923-943.

Lesson 15: Energy politics: a struggle for 'im-perfecting' the competition?

Marked by its scarce energetic resources, the EU relies basically in external suppliers to keep the continent functioning. This economic game produces a

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great political battle between the EU and its energy suppliers in the neighborhood such as Russia, the Middle East and Northern Africa.

Required reading: Herranz-Surrallés, Anna (2015) "European External Energy Policy: Governance, Diplomacy and Sustainability" , in A.K. Aarstad, E. Drieskens, K.E Jørgensen, K. Laatikainen and B. Tonra (eds.) Sage Handbook of European Foreign Policy, London: Sage, 911-925.

Lesson 16: Go West: transition to democracy through EU accession?

This lecture historically reviews the process of Enlargement, particularly towards Central and Eastern Europe. Transition to democracy in socialist economies resulted especially complicated and faced important political economy challenges, both for the EU and for the Eastern newcomers.

Required reading: Bronk, R. (2002) Commitment and Credibility: EU Conditionality and Interm Gains, EI Working Paper, 2002-02.

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Lesson 17: The EU and the Balkans: what did we do wrong with Bosnia?

This lecture reviews the European approach to the Balkans since the end of the war in the zone in the mid 1990s. Most of the Balkan countries have progressed. Some have joined the European Union. However, Bosnia seems to be still anchored in the past. Did the EU do anything wrong in the institutional reconstruction of Bosnia? Can it be fixed?

Required reading: Juncos, Ana E. (2011) Europeanization by Decree? The Case of Policy Reform in Bosnia, Journal of Common Market Studies, 49(2).

Additional readings: Gordon, C. (2009) The Stabilization and Association Process in the Western Balkans: An Effective Instrument of Post-Conflict Management, Ethnopolitics, 8(3-4), 325-340.

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Lesson 18: Is the neighborhood policy an extension of the EU' approach to enlargement?

The necessity of political stability and energy supply has given special relevance to the EU policies towards its neighbors. These relationships are institutionalized under the framework of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP), directed to the Eastern and Southern neighbors. This lecture reviews the adequacy of the EU approach.

Required reading: Freyburg, T. et al (2009) EU promotion of democratic governance in the neighborhood, Journal of European Public Policy, 16, 914-936.

Lesson 19: Russia: a friend or a foe?

After the end of the USSR, the EU constructed the post-Cold War 'Europe' without Russia. But what seemed a weak and friendly ally, it has turned to be a strong and wary emerging power. This session examines the European policy towards Russia, its consequences, and focuses particularly on the conflict in Ukraine.

Required reading: Blockmans, Steven (2008) 'EU-Russian Relations Through the Prism of the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument', European Foreign Affairs Review, 13(2), 167-187.

Lesson 20: The EU and the United States: keeping the Westworld together.

This lesson analyzes and discusses the main similarities and differences between the EU and the United States foreign policies during the post-Cold War period. Although being relatively similar polities in terms of embracing liberal democracy, the lecture aims to answer why they have pursued different and sometimes conflicting goals in the world.

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Required reading: Pollack, Mark (2003) Unilateral America, Multilateral Europe?, in John Peterson and Mark Pollack (eds.) Europe, America, Bush: Transatlantic Relations in the Twenty-First Century, Routledge.

Lesson 21: Once brothers. Donald Trump and the EU.

The European aim to construct a 'European-wise' world is languishing in the last years. The emerging economies, with values different to the European ones, have nowadays a larger role in international politics. Moreover, the best Western-liberal ally, the US, is less prone to the promotion of multilateralism and liberal ideas. This session ends the last block of the course by discussing the EU external challenges and the repercussion of the election of Donald Trump in world politics.

Required reading: TBC

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Lesson 22: Conclusion

End of the course. This session reviews the contents of the course and groups the main ideas developed in the last week. It also attempts to establish a final comparison between what has been learnt about the EU and the United States. The last hour will be focused on preparing the students for the final exam.

Required reading: TBC

Required readings:

Alesina, Alberto; Angeloni, Ignazio and Schuknecht, Ludger (2005) "What does the European Union do?" , Public Choice 123(3): 275-319.

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Blockmans, Steven (2008) 'EU-Russian Relations Through the Prism of the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 13(2), 167-187.

Bronk, R. (2002) *Commitment and Credibility: EU Conditionality and Interm Gains*, EI Working Paper, 2002-02.

Carbone, M. (2011) *Development policy: the EU as a bilateral and multilateral donor*. In: Wunderlich, J.U. and Bailey, D. (eds.) *The European Union and Global Governance: A Handbook*. Series: Routledge International Handbooks.

Dinan, Desmond (2010) *Ever Closer Union: an introduction to European integration*, Palgrave Macmillan, 4th edition, [Part I].

Freyburg, T. et al (2009) *EU promotion of democratic governance in the neighborhood*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16, 914-936.

Juncos, Ana E. (2011) *Europeanization by Decree? The Case of Policy Reform in Bosnia*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(2).

Gostyńska-Jakubowska, Agata and Odendahl, Christian (2017) "A flexible EU: A new beginning or the beginning of the end" , Centre for European Reform, 18 May 2017.

Herranz-Surrallés, Anna (2015) "European External Energy Policy: Governance, Diplomacy and Sustainability" , in A.K. Aarstad, E. Drieskens, K.E Jørgensen, K. Laatikainen and B. Tonra (eds.) *Sage Handbook of European Foreign Policy*, London: Sage, 911-925.

Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) Chapter 7. Interest Representation, in Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) *The Political System of the European Union*, Houndmillas, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 159-188.

Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) Chapter 2. Executive Politics, in Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) *The Political System of the European Union*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 23-48.

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Quinn, Ben (2016) TTIP deal poses 'real and serious risk' to NHS, says leading QC, The Guardian.

Rodrik, Dani (2011) The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy, New York: WW Norton & Co. Chs 10-11.

Scarpetta, Vincenzo (2016) "There's no basis for claims that the NHS is under threat from TTIP" , Open Europe.

Schimmelfennig, Frank (2016) 'Chapter 9. Europe' , In: Börzel, Tanja A. and Risse, Thomas (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism, 178-201.

Skupnik, Christoph (2014) EU enlargement and the race to the bottom of welfare states, Journal of Migration 15(3),

Vanhoonacker, Sophie (2011) The Institutional Framework, in Hill, C. and Smith, M. 'International Relations and the European Union, Oxford: OUP, 75-100.

Van Schaik, Louise and Schunz, S. (2012) Explaining EU activism and impact in Global climate politics: is the Union a norm- or interested driven actor?, Journal of Common Market Studies 50(1), 169-186.

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Recommended bibliography:

ALESINA, Alberto and GIAVAZZI, Francesco. The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline?. Cambridge: MIT Press.

HILL, Christopher and SMITH, Michael. 2011. International Relations and the European Union. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

HITCHCOCK, William. 2003. The Struggle for Europe: the Turbulent History of a Divided Continent 1945-2000. New York: Doubleday.

HIX, Simon. 2011. The Political System of the European Union. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

JUDT, Tony. 2005. Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945. Heinemann.

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- MAZOWER, Mark. 1999. Dark Continent: Europe' s Twentieth Century. Knopf.
- NUGENT, Neill. 2010. The Government and Politics of the European Union. Palgrave.
- NUTTALL, Simon .2000. European Foreign Policy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- SMITH, Karen E. 2008. European Union foreign policy in a changing world. Cambridge: Polity.

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