

Peace and Conflict Studies Program  
University of California, Berkeley  
**PACS 119–002**  
**“The European Union and International Stability”**  
Fall 2015  
Monday 3-6PM  
123 WHEELER

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Office hours: Thursday 2:30AM–4:30PM

### **Learning objectives and overview of the course**

This course focuses on the origins and development of the European Union and on its role in ensuring regional and international stability. The course is structured in two parts. First, we explore the history of European integration and the motivations driving the establishment of the European polity as a tool to overcome past conflicts between European states. In so doing, we also examine the functioning of the EU multi-level governance structure—which entails a complex system of negotiations between different levels of government (i.e., supranational, national, regional, and local) in various arenas—and look at the perception of the EU from within and beyond the EU itself.

In the second part of the course, we explore the foreign policy of the EU, and the nature and the driving values of the European model of global governance—known as ‘civilian’ and ‘normative’ power—based on economic instruments, dialogue and diplomacy. The course examines in depth the three foreign policy relations that aim at achieving stability in three different arenas: enlargement in the core area of Europe; stabilization in the Southern and Eastern neighborhood through the promotion of sustainable democracy accompanied by inclusive economic development; and engagement in the rest of the world through crisis management and peacebuilding.

The course reader is available at “Copy Central”, 2579 Bancroft Way, and readings are also available on bCourses.

### **Requirements**

Attendance is mandatory. The grade will be computed according to the following components:

- Participation (10 points). Classes will be a combination of lectures, presentations, and class exercises and discussions. Preparation and participation in class exercises

and discussion will be evaluated for this component of the grade. For class exercises, assignments will be given in advance.

- Pop quiz (10 points). This multiple-choice quiz will test your knowledge of the history of European integration and of its institutions. It will be administered anytime after week 3 (included).
- Presentation (30 points). Students will be divided in small (approximately 3 people) groups. Each group will research one or more specific issues in one of the three arenas of the EU foreign policy. While in the lectures and readings we will examine the guiding principles of the EU external actions, the presentation will elaborate on how these principles are put into practice. The specific topic(s) and individual engagements will be discussed in consultation with me. The grade for the presentation will be computed according to the following formula: quality and consistency of the entire presentation (all group members get the same grade on this component, 10 points), content of individual portion (10 points), and clarity of individual portion (10 points).
- EU Model (30 points) We will simulate a session of a working group of the EU Parliament. Each student will represent a country (countries will be assigned once the course enrollment is final) and the goal is to arrive to a common proposal for the EU Commission. Each student will have to submit a position paper one week before the simulation (November 23rd) and then negotiate in the group setting (November 30th). The position paper and negotiation should be based on the country's actual preferences, but can make original suggestions. The grade for the simulation will be 15 points for the position paper and 15 points for the in-class negotiation. The issue of discussion will be *immigration*. Further details will be provided during the semester.
- Final paper (20 points) The final paper is on a topic of your choice. You can choose among these options: (a) evaluation of the impact of a given policy or action in one of more states (perspective members, neighbors, bi/multi-lateral partners) or organizations (UN, WTO...); (b) critical discussion of what you would have done differently in a given sector/policy/situation. The paper is due on Monday, December 14th, by 5PM.

## Policies

As members of the campus community at UC Berkeley, you are expected to demonstrate integrity in all of academic endeavors and will be evaluated on your own merits. Any test, paper or report submitted by you and that bears your name is presumed to be your own original work. In all of your assignments, including your homework or drafts of papers, you may use words or ideas written by other individuals in publications, web sites, or other sources, but only with proper attribution—that is by fully identifying the original source and extent of your use, usually in the form of a footnote or parenthesis. As a general rule, if you are citing from a published source or from a web site and the quotation is short (up to a sentence or two) place it in quotation marks; if you employ a longer passage from a publication or web site, please indent it and use single spacing. In both cases, be sure to cite the original source in a footnote or in parentheses.

Students with disabilities should contact me after class or during office hours so that they can be accommodated. They will be asked to provide a “letter of accommodation” from the University’s Disabled Students’ Program.

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## Week 1. Introduction, the idea of Europe

Overview of the course. History of European integration.

- John McCormick *Understanding the European Union* “2: The idea of Europe”
- Jones, Menon, Weatherill Eds *The European Union Handbook* “Chapter 13: The Founding Fathers” Oxford University Press (2012)

Recommended

- Kant (1796) *Project for a Perpetual Peace*
- Altiero Spinelli *The Ventotene Manifesto*
- Robert Schuman, *Declaration 9 May 1950*.
- Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Lasting Peace through the Federation of Europe and The State of War*
- Garrett Wallace Brown, “The European Union and Kants idea of cosmopolitan right: Why the EU is not cosmopolitan,” *European Journal of International Relations* September 2014 20: 671-693

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## Week 2. No class

Labor day

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## Week 3. History of European integration.

History of European integration.

- John McCormick *Understanding the European Union* “Ch. 3: The evolution of the EU”

Recommended

- Jones, Menon, and Weatherill Eds (2012) *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union* “Part II: Treaties” (pagg.99-178)

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## Week 4. History and theories of European integration. What is the EU?

History of European integration. Theories explaining the integration process.

- John McCormick *Understanding the European Union* “Chapter 1: What is the European Union, ”
- Jones, Menon, and Weatherill Eds (2012) *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union* “Chapter 1: Realist, intergovernmentalist, and institutionalist approaches. Ch.2 Neofunctionalist and Supranational governance, Ch.3: Constructivist perspectives”

*Class exercise:* Pick one of the theories on European integration, and discuss how it explains recent and future developments on specific policy (TBD).

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## Week 5. How does the EU work? Institutions, Policy-Making, and the Democratic Deficit

- Simon Hix and Bjorn Hoyland *The Political System of the European Union* “Chapter 1: Explaining the EU Political System.” Palgrave Macmillan, 3rd edition. (pag. 1-16)
- Andreas Staab *The European Union explained*. “Part two: Institutions” (pag. 41-66 and 75-80)
- John McCormick *Understanding the European Union* “The policy cycle” (pag. 104-114)
- Follesdal and Hix (2006) *Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik*, JCMS 2006 Volume 44. Number 3.(required: pp. 533-541; suggested: pp. 542-557)

### Recommended

- Jürgen Habermas *Democracy, Solidarity And The European Crisis*. Lecture delivered on 26 April 2013 in Leuven. (suggested for class debate)
- Vivien Schmidt “Chapter 46: Democracy and legitimacy in the European Union”, in Jones, Menon, and Weatherill Eds (2012) *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*

*Class exercise:* we will pick one EU policy and see how it is put into practice.

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## Week 6. How is the EU Seen?

- Kufer, *Images of Europe—the meaning and perception of Europe by citizens of EU member states*. In Fuchs, Magni-Berton, Roger “Euro-scepticism. Images of Europe among mass publics and political elites”, Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2009
- Brantner, *The EU through the eyes of the United Nations. The quest for unity*. In Lucarelli and Fioramonti “External perceptions of the EU as a global actor”, Routledge, 2009

### Recommended

- Sperling, *American perceptions of the EU*. In Lucarelli and Fioramonti “External perceptions of the EU as a global actor”

*Class exercise:* Analyze the Eurobarometer data for your country on popular perception of the European Union at different points in time.

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## Week 7. The values and nature of the EU external policies

- Ian Manners *Normative power Europe. A contradiction in terms?* JCMS 2002
- Manners *The normative power of the European Union in a globalized world*. In Zaki Laidi “EU foreign policy and in a globalized world”, Routledge, 2008

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### Week 8. EU Foreign policy: Enlargement

- Andreas Staab *The European Union explained*. “Chapter 2: Enlargement”
- Rosa Balfour *Principles of Democracy and human rights. A review of the EU’s strategies towards its neighbours*. In Lucarelli and Manners “Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy” (pp. 114-121), Routledge, 2006
- Milada Anna Vachudova (2013) *EU Leverage and National Interests in the Balkans: The Puzzles of Enlargement Ten Years On*, Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol 52 Issue 1

#### Recommended

- Moravcsik and Vachudova, *National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement*, Perspectives, No. 19 (Winter 2002/2003), pp. 21-31
- Christian Lequesne “Chapter 19: Old versus new”, in Jones, Menon, and Weatherill Eds (2012) *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*

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### Week 9. Enlargement presentations

Two groups, one on Western Europe enlargement, one on Eastern Europe enlargement

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### Week 10. EU Foreign policy: Neighborhood Policy

- Rosa Balfour *Principles of Democracy and human rights. A review of the EU’s strategies towards its neighbours*. In Lucarelli and Manners “Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy” (pag. 121-129)
- Raquel-Freire. *Challenges and opportunities at the EU vicinity. Assessing policies and practices*. In Cierco, “The EU neighborhood, challenges and opportunities”, Ashgate, 2013
- Richard Gillespie *The EU neighborhood policy and the challenge of the Mediterranean Southern Rim*. In Telò and Ponjaert “The EU’s foreign policy. What kind of power and diplomatic action?”
- Tanja A. Brzel, Vera van Hüllen (2014) *One voice, one message, but conflicting goals: cohesiveness and consistency in the European Neighbourhood Policy*, Journal of European Public Policy, 21:7, 1033-1049

#### Recommended

- Romano Prodi, *A wider Europe - A proximity policy as the key to stability*. Speech delivered at Sixth ECSA-World Conference. Jean Monnet Project. Brussels, 5-6 December 2002.
- Frank Schimmelfennig and Hanno Scholtz, *EU Democracy Promotion in the European Neighbourhood Political Conditionality, Economic Development and Transnational Exchange*, *European Union Politics* 2008 9: 187

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### **Week 11. ENP presentations**

Two groups, one Southern neighbors, one on Eastern neighbors.

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### **Week 12. EU Foreign policy: Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation**

- Bonaglia, Goldstein, Petito *Values in EU development cooperation policy*. In Lucarelli and Manners “Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy”, Routledge Advances in European Politics, 2006
- Kirchner, *EU contribution to and cooperation with multilateral organizations*. In Blavukos and Bourantonis “The EU presence in International Organizations”, Routledge, 2010
- Ojanen, *The EU as a security actor. In and with the UN and NATO* In Blavukos and Bourantonis “The EU presence in International Organizations”, Routledge, 2010
- Nicolas Burmester and Michael Jankowski, *Reassessing the European Union in the United Nations General Assembly*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 21, Iss. 10, 2014

Recommended

- David Allen “Chapter 45: The Common Foreign and Security Policy”, in Jones, Menon, and Weatherill Eds (2012) *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*
- Daniela Sicurelli, *the European Union’s African Politics. Norms, interests and impact*. “Chapter 2: Conflict management”, Ashgate, 2010

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### **Week 13. EU foreign policy presentations**

Two groups, one on crisis response, one on peace-building.

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### **Week 14. EU model on immigration**

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### **Week 15. RRR week**

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Additional resources:

- *[http : //europa.eu/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/index_en.htm)*
- *[http : //ec.europa.eu/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/index_en.htm)*
- *[http : //www.iss.europa.eu/](http://www.iss.europa.eu/)*