

COURSE SYLLABUS
European Foreign Policy & Security Issues
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 385
Fall 2010

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Professor Mai'a K. Davis Cross
mkcross@usc.edu

Class time: M & W 2-3:20pm
Class location: SOS B44

Office location: VKC 343
Office hours: M & W 3:30-4:30pm

TA: Nicolas De Zamaroczy

dezamaro@usc.edu

TA office hours: M 3:30-4:30 pm, Th 11am-12pm, and by appointment

TA office hours location: LiteraTea Courtyard behind Doheny Library

Course Description

Given the significant role of the European Union in bringing together the policies of most European countries (there are now 27 member states), this course will examine the issue of European foreign policy through the lens of EU integration. To what extent have EU member states constructed a coherent foreign and security policy? Is the European Union as a whole becoming a credible security actor with the ability not only to defend its common borders, but also to contribute to global security? These are questions that go back to the very founding purpose of this ambitious experiment more than fifty years ago, when forward-looking European leaders sought to end the possibility of another war by pooling the production of key military resources. Since then, despite the predominance of European economic, trade, and monetary issues and their global impact, the European Union has always been, explicitly or not, about security integration. There is much debate about whether the EU can even achieve this goal, especially in light of the recent financial crisis, declining defense budgets, division over the Iraq war, disagreement on the recognition of Kosovo, and so on. Nonetheless, a strong common foreign and security policy is the policy area that has garnered consistently high levels of support from European citizens. And with the December 2009 implementation of the Lisbon Treaty (which very closely resembles the “failed” Constitutional Treaty of 2005), the EU has more tools than ever before to strengthen its foreign policy dimension, including a European president, diplomatic service, and foreign minister. Some scholars have already labeled Europe a second superpower.

Naturally, such developments have a strong bearing on the EU’s relationship with the rest of the world, especially the United States. This course will grapple with the core controversies surrounding the rise of Europe as a major player in the international system, with special attention to the transatlantic relationship. As background to this, we will begin with an overview of the development of EU foreign and security policy, and how

its institutions work today. Given that there are 27 voices to be heard around the table, how are decisions about common approaches made? Which policy areas are governed at the supranational level and which require unanimous approval from the member states? What happens when member states are at an impasse, and how do EU institutions ensure democratic accountability? Once we have laid the foundations for how EU foreign policy works and what it has achieved thus far, we will examine several case studies of specific civilian missions and military operations that have been conducted under the EU flag. Throughout the semester, we will also look more broadly at non-security aspects of European foreign policy.

Course Goals

By the end of the course, students should have...

- an understanding of the evolution and operation of European foreign and security policy, and the key debates that surround it.
- an ability to explain and evaluate European civilian and military operations.
- a solid comprehension of the relationship between the US and EU as well as the issues that might improve or harm this alliance in the future.
- an ability to argue for or against the idea that the EU is or will become a superpower on a variety of dimensions.
- a completed research project that focuses on a policy area of specific interest to each student.

Logistics of the Course

Requirements:

- **Readings:** Students are expected to do all of the readings prior to the relevant class meeting.
- **Participation:** Class discussion, attendance, presentations, and in-class group exercises
- **Mid-term exam:** IDs & Essays
- **10-12 page paper:** This paper is to involve empirical research on an element of European foreign and security policy.
- **Final exam:** IDs & Essays

All of the above is required. Extensions for exams and papers will not be granted unless student is suffering from a serious illness. If you miss a test or deadline without advance permission you will receive a 0. Blaming lateness on the internet or your computer is unacceptable.

Course Information

Required Books: Available at the USC bookstore or on reserve at Leavey library. Please make sure you are reading the latest edition otherwise your information could be outdated.

- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*, Lynne Rienner, 2010. (fourth edition)

- John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union*, Palgrave, 2008. (fourth edition)
- Brent F. Nelson, *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, Lynne Rienner, 2003.
- Jolyon Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, Palgrave, 2007.
- Howorth and Keeler (eds.), *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO, and the Quest for European Autonomy*, Palgrave, 2004.

Grades*:

- Class participation: 10%
- Group presentations: 15%
- Mid-term exam: 20%
- Research paper: 30%
- Final exam: 25%

**Note:* This breakdown is a rough guideline. If a student shows particular negligence in one area the overall grade will suffer, or if a student shines in one particular area, this can help the overall grade. Several instances of turning in assignments late or having unexcused absences will make any type of A impossible, no matter how good the other work is.

Grading: An A grade is for excellent work that demonstrates preparedness, thoughtfulness, and the ability to take a stand on an issue. A B grade is good work, but work that does not evoke much. A C grade contains some significant flaws, and a D grade has very significant flaws that are concerning. Work that is incomplete, negligent, or not done at all will receive an F. A half grade will be deducted from assignments for each day late.

Research Papers: Students will be able to pick their own topic for research. A list of possible topics will also be posted on blackboard. See me during office hours or submit a short proposal to make sure your topic is acceptable. Papers (not including notes and bibliography) must be 10-12 pages long. It is better to choose a narrow topic, and research it in-depth than a broad topic that is only superficially covered. Your paper should rely on around eight outside sources, of which at least six should be academic publications. Papers must be in Times New Roman 12-pt font, with 1-inch margins, and include page numbers, footnotes and a bibliography. See further paper guidelines on Blackboard.

Participation: Students are encouraged to participate in class discussion. In addition, each student will prepare a 15-minute group presentation of a case study.

15-minute Group Briefing: Students will sign up for topics, and will prepare a policy-briefing style of presentation. There is some flexibility with topics, and students can consult with the professor if they would like to propose a different topic. Each group will have five students in it, and will have a presentation date

of November 10, 15, or 22. Each student must contribute to the presentation. The presentation requires research beyond the readings. You may use PowerPoint, but be careful not to put too many words on each slide, and do not prepare too many slides. Pictures/graphics (rather than lots of words) are encouraged.

Group exercises: Depending on the size of the class, there may be one or two in-class group exercises in which students will be given class time to prepare presentations to the rest of the class. These will require knowledge of the assigned readings.

Class Etiquette: Absolutely no use of internet, email, texting, or cell phones during class. Violations will be reported, and will impact your grade for the course. If a student is caught surfing the internet during class s/he will not be permitted to use a computer in class for the rest of the semester.

Raise your hand before contributing to class discussion or asking questions. Always make collegial and respectful contributions. This is a professional, not an informal, environment.

Emails to professors should also be treated as professional interactions, not informal text messaging. Be sure that the answer to your question is not on the syllabus or on blackboard before emailing me. Students are encouraged to come to office hours if they have questions about the material covered in the course.

Absence Policy: If you miss class more than two times without a medical excuse or family emergency, your overall grade will drop. Whenever possible, let me know in advance if you cannot come to class. I may grant you an excused absence, which will not impact your grade. You are responsible for knowing the content of each lecture for the mid-term and final exams so it is impossible to skip lectures and still do well in this course. If you are absent on the day of a group exercise, you will receive a 0.

Statement for Students with Disabilities: Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me (or to TA) as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in STU 301 and is open 8:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776.

Statement on Academic Integrity: USC seeks to maintain an optimal learning environment. General principles of academic honesty include the concept of respect for the intellectual property of others, the expectation that individual work will be submitted unless otherwise allowed by an instructor, and the obligations both to protect one's own academic work from misuse by others as well as to avoid using another's work as one's own. All students are expected to understand and abide by these principles. Scampus, the Student Guidebook, contains the Student Conduct Code in Section 11.00, while the recommended sanctions are located in Appendix A:

<http://www.usc.edu/dept/publications/SCAMPUS/gov/>. Students will be referred to the Office of Student Judicial Affairs and Community Standards for further review, should there be any suspicion of academic dishonesty. The Review process can be found at: <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/SJACS/>.

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
<http://www.ena.lu/> – European Navigator, multimedia reference on the history of the EU
<http://www.clingendael.nl/cdsp/publications/discussion-papers/archive.html> - papers on diplomacy and EU foreign policy

Key Journals for Research: European Journal of International Relations, Journal of Common Market Studies, European Journal of Political Research, European Security, Journal of European Public Policy, European Union Politics, Hague Journal of Diplomacy

Class Schedule & Reading Assignments

Part I: The Road to a European Foreign Policy

(August 23) Lecture 1: Introduction

(August 25) Lecture 2: A United States of Europe?

- McCormick, *Understanding the European Union*. Ch. 1, pp. 1-22.
- Sergio Pistone, “Altiero Spinelli and the Strategy for the United States of Europe,” *The European Union*, pp. 91-98
- Winston S. Churchill, “The Tragedy of Europe,” *The European Union*. pp. 7-11.

Recommended:

- Dinan, “Introduction,” p. 1-6.
- David Mitrany, “A Working Peace System,” *The European Union*. pp. 99-119
- Ernst B. Haas, The Uniting of Europe,” *The European Union*, pp. 145-149

(August 30) Lecture 3: From War to Peace, From Peace to Union

- McCormick, “The Evolution of the EU,” *Understanding the European Union*, pp. 45-52 **only**.
- Dinan, “Reconstruction, Reconciliation, and Integration,” pp. 9-22 **only**.
- Dinan, “Uncertain Terrain,” *Ever Closer Union*, pp. 29-34 **only**.
- Robert Schuman, “The Schuman Declaration,” *The European Union*, pp. 13-14
- Jean Monnet, “A Ferment of Change,” *The European Union*, pp. 19-26

Recommended:

- Charles de Gaulle, “A Concert of European States,” *The European Union*, pp. 27-44.

(September 1) Lecture 4: Widening Membership, Deepening Integration

- McCormick, "The Evolution of the EU," *Understanding the European Union*, pp. 53-68 (rest of chapter).
- Dinan, *Ever Closer Union*, read the following selections: pp. 39-41, 45-47, 64-68, 73-80, 103-109, 118-122, 133-138. (sections may begin or end in the middle of the page)
- Margaret Thatcher, "A Family of Nations," *The European Union*, pp. 49-54
- Jacques Delors, "A Necessary Union," *The European Union*, pp. 55-64

Recommended:

- "Iceland starts EU talks while Turkey's bid remains on ice," Euractiv.com, 28 July 2010. (blackboard)
- Thomas Risse, *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*, Chapter 9

September 6 – Labor Day

September 8 – Class Canceled , Professor in Stockholm for a conference

(September 13) Lecture 5: What is Europe Today?

- Dinan, "The Unsettled European Union," *Ever Closer Union*, pp. 141-143, 148-165.
- Thomas Risse, *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*, pp. 1-8 (blackboard).
- Moravcsik, "In Defense of Europe: Now More than Ever, It's Not Smart to Bet on the EU's Demise," *Newsweek*, 30 May 2010. (blackboard)

Recommended:

- McCormick, "The Idea of Europe," *Understanding the European Union*, pp. 27-51.

Part II: How European Foreign Policy is Made

(September 15) Lecture 6: The "Executive Branch"

- Leon N. Lindberg, "Political Integration: Definitions and Hypotheses," *The European Union*, pp. 151-162.
- McCormick, "The European Institutions," *Understanding the European Union*, pp. 69-78.
- "The Commission", *Ever Closer Union*, pp. 171-177, 184-186, 197-200.

(September 20) Lecture 7: The "Intergovernmental Branch"

- McCormick, "The European Institutions," *Understanding the European Union*, pp. 79-82.
- Dinan, "The European Council and the Council of Ministers," *Ever Closer Union*, pp. 205-208, 211-214, 224-227, 230-232.
- McCormick, "The EU and the World," *Understanding the European Union*, pp. 190-202.
- Explore Belgian presidency website: <http://www.eutrio.be/>

(September 22) Lecture 8: The “Legislative Branch”

- McCormick, “The European Institutions,” *Understanding the European Union*, pp. 82-85.
- “The European Parliament,” *Ever Closer Union*, pp. 235-247, 256-258, 263.
- McCormick, “The EU Policy Process,” *Understanding the European Union*, pp. 94-103 ***only***.
- McCormick, “The EU and its Citizens,” *Understanding the European Union*, pp. 119-123, 132-136.

(September 27) Lecture 9: Security, Police, and Intelligence Agencies

- Daniel Keohane, “Europe’s New Defence Agency,” *Centre for European Reform*, Policy Brief, June 2004.
- Vlasta Parkanova, “In Some Ways, the European Defence Agency is Stronger than NATO,” *Europe’s World*, Spring 2009. (blackboard)
- Frank Slijper, “Potentially powerful: The European Defence Agency at five years,” *Commentary, EUObserver*, July 14, 2009. (blackboard)
- Björn Müller-Wille, “The Effect of International Terrorism on EU Intelligence Co-operation,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46(1): 49-73. (blackboard)

(September 29) Lecture 10: Multi-level governance

- Peterson and Bomberg, “Making Sense of EU Decision-Making,” *The European Union*, 313-333.
- McCormick, “The EU Policy Process,” *Understanding the European Union*, pp. 109-114.
- Dinan, “External Security: Foreign and Defense Policy,” *Ever Closer Union*, pp. 554-562.

Recommended:

- Dinan, “External Security: Foreign and Defense Policy,” *Ever Closer Union*, pp. 545-549.
- Hooghe and Marks, “Multi-Level Governance in the European Union,” *The European Union*, 281-311

Part III: The Common Foreign & Security Policy

(October 4) Lecture 11: The Bumpy Road to CFSP

- Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, pp. 1-10 & chapter 2.

(October 6) Lecture 12: Building European Capabilities

- Howorth, “The Instruments of Intervention,” *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, Chapter 4.

(October 11) Lecture 13: Key Challenges to European Security

- Howorth, “Towards a European Strategic Culture?” and “The Major Challenges Ahead,” *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, Chapters 6 & 8

(October 13) Lecture 14: CSDP Missions & Operations

- Howorth, "Back to the Front? The EU's Overseas Missions," *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, chapter 7

(October 18) Mid-Term Exam – based on Lectures 1-13 & required readings

Part IV: The US-Europe Relationship

(October 20) Lecture 15: NATO & Transatlantic Military Cooperation

- Howorth, "Selling it to Uncle Sam...ESDP and Transatlantic Relations," *Security and Defence Policy in the EU*, pp. 135-160.
- Howorth & Keeler, "Introduction," *Defending Europe*, pp. 3-16.

Recommended:

- Howorth, "Selling it to Uncle Sam...ESDP and Transatlantic Relations," *Security and Defence Policy in the EU*, pp. 171-177.

(October 25) Lecture 16 The Capabilities Gap & Transatlantic Security Research

- Frédéric Bozo, "The Effects of Kosovo and the Dangers of Decoupling," *Defending Europe*, Chapter 4
- David Yost, "The U.S.-European Capabilities Gap and the Prospects for ESDP," *Defending Europe*, Chapter 5

(October 27) Lecture 17: The Three Ds & Transatlantic Diplomacy

- Kori Schake, "The United States, ESDP and Constructive Duplication," *Defending Europe*, Chapter 6 (107-131)

(November 1) Lecture 18: 9/11, Terrorism & Transatlantic Intelligence Sharing

- Christian Kaunert, "The External Dimension of Counter-Terrorism Cooperation," *European Internal Security*, Manchester University Press, 2010, pp. 90-106. (to be distributed during Lecture 17)
- John Occhipinti, "Partner or Pushover? EU Relations with the US on Internal Security," in *Shoulder to Shoulder: Forging a Strategic US-EU Partnership*, edited by Daniel Hamilton, pp. 121-138. (blackboard)

Recommended:

- Christian Kaunert, "EU counter-terrorism cooperation and the role of EU institutions," *European Internal Security*, pp. 63-72.

(November 3) Lecture 19: Transatlantic Relationship or Divide?

- Anand Menon, "Why ESDP is Misguided and Dangerous for the Alliance," *Defending Europe*, Chapter 10, pp. 203-217.
- Jeffrey L. Cimbalo, "Saving NATO from Europe," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2004. (blackboard)
- Ronald D. Asmus, et. al, "Nothing to Fear," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2005. (blackboard)

- Andrew Moravcsik, “US-EU Relations: Putting the Bush Years in Perspective,” in *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing Europe’s Role in the World*, edited by Federiga Bindi, Brookings Institute Press, 2010, pp. 203-8. (blackboard)

Recommended:

- Howorth, “Why ESDP is Necessary and Beneficial for the Alliance,” *Defending Europe*, Chapter 11.

Part V: Case Studies

(November 8) Lecture 20: Target Areas for EU Foreign Policy

- Bulut et al., “Building a European Regional Order,” *A Strategy for European Foreign Policy*, pp. 37-49. (blackboard)
- Bulut et. al., “Consistent Universalism,” *A Strategy for European Foreign Policy*, pp. 50-64. (blackboard)
- Sebastian Harnisch, “A Good Non-Proliferation Cop? The EU Faces the Iranian Nuclear Challenge,” *Europe Facing Nuclear Weapons Challenges*, edited by Grégory Boutherein, pp. 141-151. (blackboard)

(November 10) Group Briefings

- Group 1: The EU Military Mission Atalanta, dealing with piracy off the coast of Somalia.
- Group 2: The EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo, helping Kosovo adopt European best practices
- Group 3: EU Police Mission in Afghanistan
- Group 4: The Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq, promoting human rights through training

(November 15) Group Briefings

- Group 5: The EU Monitoring Mission in Georgia, stabilizing and normalizing post-conflict Georgia
- Group 6: EU Military Operation in the Republic of Chad and in the Central African Republic, protecting United Nations resources
- Group 7: EU & China Security Dimension

November 17 – Class Canceled, Professor in Maastricht for a conference

(November 22) Group Briefings

- Group 8: The UK’s role in EU security
- Group 9: France’s role in EU security
- Group 10: Germany’s role in EU security
- Group 11: Italy’s role in EU security

(November 24) Lecture 21: European Foreign Policy beyond Security

- Dinan, "The Environment, Energy, and Climate Change," *Ever Closer Union*, pp. 451-481.
- Dinan, "Beyond the EU's Borders," *Ever Closer Union*, pp. 523-526.

(November 29) Lecture 22: The External Dimension of Internal Policies

- Dinan, "Internal Security: The Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice," pp. 529-544.
- Dinan, "Beyond the EU's Borders," *Ever Closer Union*, pp. 494-504, 512-523.

(December 1) Lecture 23: The EU as a World Player

- ***Research Papers Due***
- Anthony Luzzatto Gardner and Stuart E. Eizenstat, "New Treaty, New Influence? Europe's Chance to Punch Its Weight," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2010. (blackboard)
- Moravcsik, "Europe, the Second Superpower," *Current History*, March 2010. (blackboard)

Friday, December 10, 2-4pm Final Exam

Based on Lectures 14-23, group briefings, required readings, and general knowledge of Lectures 1-13.