

**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.

**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 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. 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 complement 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 takes place in the first half of the course and a final exam at the end of it.

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**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%).

**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:*

<b>Absences</b>	<b>Penalization</b>
<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? (8 January)**

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.*

*Additional readings: Zielonka, Jan (2006) ‘Introduction: the neomedieval paradigm’; Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-22. Available online.*

<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/0199292213.001.0001/acprof-9780199292219-chapter-1>

*Dinan, Desmond (2014) ‘9. The Limits of European Union’, in Europe Recast, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 305-352.*

*Liebert, Ulrike (2016) ‘6. Can There Be A Common European Identity? - The Emergence of a European Identity, in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*White, Jonathan (2016) ‘6. Can There Be A Common European Identity? - A Common European Identity is an Illusion, in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

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#### **Lesson 2: Comparing the EU and the US: so close, and yet, so different? (10 January)**

How similar or how different are the European Union and the United States. What needs the EU to be like the U.S.? This lecture compares European and American polities, societies and economies. It is based on Alberto Alesina and Francesco Giavazzi’s book ‘The Future of Europe’, which takes a fairly representative (and transgressive) U.S. view of Europe.

*Required reading: Additional readings: Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) Chapter 3. Americans at Work, Europeans on Holiday; in Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco, The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline?, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 43-56.*

*Additional readings: Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) Chapter 1: Europe and the United States: Two Different Social Models; in Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco, The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline?, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 15-30.*

*Colomer, Josep Maria (2009) On Building the American and the European Empires, LSE ‘Europe in Question’ Discussion Paper Series No. 06/2009.*

*Zielonka, Jan (2011) “America and Europe: two contrasting or parallel empires?”, Journal of Political Power 4(3), 337-354.*

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### Lesson 3: The EU institutions in historical perspective: institutional path dependency or inter-state bargaining? (15 January)

This lesson reviews the complex institutional apparatus of the European Union. This is the most institutional policy-making class that we have in the course. It takes a special emphasis on the external action machinery. The second part of the lecture overviews how the EU has arrived to the point where is now. Questioning ‘how’ is 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]*

*Additional readings: Vanhoonaeker, Sophie (2011) The Institutional Framework, in Hill, C. and Smith, M. ‘International Relations and the European Union, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 75-100.*

*Edwards, Geoffrey (2011) “The Pattern of the EU’s Global Activity”, in Hill, Christopher and Smith, Michael (eds.) International Relations and the European Union, Oxford University Press: 44-71.*

*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>*

*Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) The Political System of the European Union, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. [Chapter 2. Executive Politics; Chapter 3: Legislative Politics].*

*McCormick, John (2016) ‘1. The European Union: Success or Failure? - Why Europe Works, in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*Zielonka, Jan (2016) ‘1. The European Union: Success or Failure? - The Rise and Fall of the EU, in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

### Lesson 4: The EU external apparatus: adding value to the member states? (17 January)

To what extent the EU has been necessary. This session is a continuation from the last lecture, but it focuses on the political and economic driving forces that have influenced in the process of European integration. It reflects on to what extent the EU has added value to the member states, reviewing some of the key works in the literature.

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

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

*Pierson, Paul (1994) The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Perspective, Program for the Study of Germany and Europe, Working Paper No. 5.2.*

*Dinan, Desmond (2016) '2. The Political Efficiency of the EU - The EU as Efficient Polity', in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*Persson, Mats (2016) '2. The Political Efficiency of the EU - The EU: Quick to Regulate, Slow to Adapt, in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*Beach, Derek (2016) '3. More Powers for Brussels or Renationalization? - A Stronger, More Supranational Union', in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*Puetter Uwe (2016) '3. More Powers for Brussels or Renationalization? - The New Intergovernmentalism – The Next Phase in European Integration', in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

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### **Lesson 5: The political economy of integration: What does the EU do in foreign policy? Should it? (22 January)**

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.*

*Additional readings: Alesina, Alberto (2003) The size of countries: Does it matter? Journal of the European Economic Association 1 (2-3): 301-316.*

*Spolaore, Enrico (2014) The Political Economy of European Integration; in Harald Badinger and Volker Nitsch, Handbook of the Economics of European Integration, Routledge.*

*Alesina, Alberto and Spolaore, Enrico (2003) The Size of Nations, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.*

*Colomer, Josep Maria (2009) On Building the American and the European Empires, LEQS Paper No. 06/2009.*

### **Lesson 6: The European Monetary Union: bad politics, bad economics, or both? (24 January)**

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After the economic crisis of 2008, many voices claimed the failure of the euro project. To what extent did the common currency boosted the crisis in the euro area? Could have been prevented? This lecture attempts to describe the political and economic pros and cons of having a common currency and offsetting the different choices that the member states had in adopting a monetary union.

*Required reading: Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) Chapter 10. Economic and Monetary Union, in The Political System of the European Union, Palgrave, 245-272.*

*Additional readings: Schelkle, Waltraud (2013) Monetary integration in crisis: how well do existing theories explain the predicament of EMU?, European Review of Labour and Research 19: 37-48.*

*DeGrauwe, Paul (2006) What Have we Learnt about Monetary Integration since the Maastricht Treaty?, Journal of Common Market Studies 44(4): 711-730.*

*Scharpf, Fritz W. (2011) Monetary Union, Fiscal Crisis and the Preemption of Democracy, LEQS Annual Lecture Paper No. 36/2011*

*Gabel, Matthew (2009) Divided Opinion, Common Currency: The Political Economy of Public Support for EMU, in Jeffry Frieden (eds.) International Political Economy, 297-313.*

*Enderlein, Henrik (2016) '8. The Uncertain Future of the Euro - Why the Euro is a Functional Necessity in the Process of European Integration', in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.). Key controversies in European integration. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*Nölke, Andreas (2016) '8. The Uncertain Future of the Euro - For a Plurality of Economic and Social Models! Against the Uniform Euro State!', in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.). Key controversies in European integration. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*Sadeh, Tal (2016) '9. The Euro: Economic Success or Disaster? - Exit or Differentiated Monetary Integration – Saving the Euro by Making It More Flexible', in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.). Key controversies in European integration. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*Schelkle, Waltraud (2016) '9. The Euro: Economic Success or Disaster? - Unity in Diversity: The Unfulfilled Promise of the Euro', in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.). Key controversies in European integration. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

### **Lesson 7: And now the UK: a threat or an opportunity for EU (dis)integration? (29 January)**

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.

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*Required readings: Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) 'Chapter 16: Should It Stay or Should It Go', in Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 251-264.*

*Additional readings: Blair, Tony (2018) 'What we know so far', published at The Independent.*

*Curtice, John (2017) 'Why Leave Won the UK's EU Referendum', Journal of Common Market Studies 55, 19-37.*

*Costa-Font, Joan (2017) The National Health Service at a Critical Moment: when Brexit means Hectic, Journal of Social Policy 46 (4): 783-795.*

*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*

*Sked, Alan (2016) '15. New German Hegemony: Does It Exist, And Is It Dangerous? - The Case for Brexit: Why Britain should leave the EU', in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*Rhodes, Martin (2016) '15. New German Hegemony: Does It Exist, And Is It Dangerous? - Brexit – a Disaster for Britain and for the European Union', in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

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### **Lesson 8: Globalization and Welfare State: Is there an European Welfare State (31 January)**

It seems the American and European conceptions of welfare are different, but still there is to know if there is a European welfare state. The first part of the class tackles this question and digs into the variety of the provision of public goods across Europe. The second part of the class raises a recent question in the public debate. One of the common arguments in Europe against globalization and especially against trade agreements has been that they damage the welfare state. 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. 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. To what extent this political struggle is also sound economics?

*Required readings: Esping Andersen, Gosta (2003) Chapter 5: Comparative Welfare Regimes Re-Examined, in Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies, available online.*

*Additional readings: Kammer, Andreas, Niehues, Judith, and Peichl, Andreas (2012) Welfare regimes and welfare state outcomes in Europe, Journal of European Social Policy 22(5): 455-471.*

*Alber, Jens (2010) What the European and American welfare states have in common and where they differ: facts and fiction in comparisons of the European Social Model and the United States, Social Science Research Center Berlin, Germany.*

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*Lindstrom, Nicole (2008) Service Liberalization in the Enlarged EU: A Race to the Bottom or the Emergence of Transnational Political Conflict?, GARNET Working Paper No: 56/08*

*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>*

*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 9: Mid-term exam (5 February)

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 10: Capitalism, democracy and the European Union: and then there were two (7 February)

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 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: Bellamy, Richard (2016) 4. How Democratic Is The EU? The Inevitability of a Democratic Deficit, in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*Lord, Christopher (2016) 4. How Democratic Is The EU? A Democratic Achievement, not just a Democratic Deficit, in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*Iversen, Torben (2006) Capitalism and Democracy, In Barry R. Weingast and Donald A. Wittman (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy, Oxford: OUP, 601-623*



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*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 11: Overcoming the unanimity rule: how can the European Commission escape from the institutional blockade? (12 February)**

Although being an extremely complex entangled web of different institutions and states interests, the EU still works. Surprisingly, sometimes it does things in the world. How? This lesson begins the second block of the course with an overview the external action. 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. It also shows how the external influence depends partially on the capacity to achieve a 'EU voice'.

*Required reading: Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) Chapter 12. Foreign Policies, in Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) The Political System of the European Union, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 303-330.*

*Additional readings: da Conceição-Heldt, Eugénia and Meunier, Sophie (2014) Speaking with a single voice: internal cohesiveness and external effectiveness of the EU in global governance, Journal of European Public Policy, 21(7): 961-979.*

*Dinan, Desmond (2010) 'Internal and External Security' in Ever Closer Union: an introduction to European integration, Palgrave Macmillan, 4th edition.*

*Jupille, J. and Caporaso, J.A. (1998) 'States, Agency and Rules: The European Union in Global Environmental Politics' in Rhodes, C. (ed.) The European Union in the World Community (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.): 213-230.*

*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.*

*Bretherton, C. and Vogler, J. (2006) The EU as a Global Actor, London and New York: Routledge.*

*Gehring, Thomas, Oberthür, Sebastian and Mühleck, Marc (2013) 'European Union Actorness in International Institutions: Why the EU is Recognized as an Actor in Some International Institutions, but Not in Others', Journal of Common Market Studies 51(5): 849-865*

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

### **Lesson 12: The Common Agricultural Policy: a history of successful collective action? (14 February)**

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When thinking of the European integration, the European external action, the European development policy, the European trade politics, the European budget ... at some point it appears the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). It is one of the EU's biggest creations, it occupies most of the EU budget and it is also one of the most controversial and untouched policies.

*Required reading: Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) 'Chapter 11: The Big Waste? The Common Agricultural Policy', in Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 175-190.*

*Additional readings: Dinan, Desmond (2010) '12. Agriculture and Cohesion' in Ever Closer Union: an introduction to European integration, Palgrave Macmillan, 4th edition.*

*Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) 'Budgetary Policy', in Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) The Political System of the European Union, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*European Parliament (2016) Research for Agri Committee – The Interactions between the EU's external action and the Common Agricultural Policy,*

### **Lesson 13: Winners and losers from trade policy: an imbalanced game? (19 February)**

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: Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) 'Chapter 7: Lobbying in the EU: How much power for the EU businesses?', in Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 115-127.*

*Additional readings: 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.*

*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.*

*Klüver, Heike (2013) Lobbying in the European Union: interest groups, lobbying coalitions, and policy change, Oxford : Oxford University Press, [recurs electrònic](#).*

*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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*Lake, David (2006) International Political Economy: A Maturing Interdiscipline, In Barry R. Weingast and Donald A. Wittman (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy, Oxford: OUP, 757-777.*

*Barroso, Duraó (2013) Statement by President Barroso on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, Brussels, 13 February 2013.*

*Krasner, Stephen (1976) State Power and the Structure of International Trade, World Politics 28(3): 317-347.*

### **Lesson 14: Development politics: European aid to whom and with what intentions? (19 February)**

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?

*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.*

*Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) 'Chapter 12: Does the EU Act as a Normative Power?', in Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 191-204.*

*Koch, Svea (2015) A Typology of Political Conditionality Beyond Aid: Conceptual Horizons Based on Lessons from the European Union, World Development 75, 97-108.*  
 - See special issue: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/0305750X/75/supp/C>

### **Lesson 15: Climate politics: a self-interested power or a value-promoter? (26 February)**

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 is 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.

*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: Falkner, Robert (2006) The European Union as a 'Green Normative Power'? EU Leadership in International Biotechnology Regulation, Center for European Studies Working Paper Series #140.*

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

*Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) 'Chapter 12: Does the EU Act as a Normative Power?', in Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 191-204.*

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

*Dinan, Desmond (2010) '15. The Environment, Energy, and Climate Change' in Ever Closer Union: an introduction to European integration, Palgrave Macmillan, 4th edition.*

*Vogler, John (2011) "The Challenge of the Environment, Energy, and Climate Change", in Hill, Christopher and Smith, Michael (eds.) International Relations and the European Union, Oxford University Press: 349-379.*

*Frankel, Jeffrey A. (2008) 'Ch. 29. Globalization and the Environment', in Frieden, J., Lake, D. and Broz, L. (eds.) International Political Economy – Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth, York: Norton, 507-535.*

### **Lesson 16: Go West: who are the next countries that can join the EU? (28 February)**

This lecture reviews historically the process of Enlargement, particularly towards Central and Eastern Europe. It analyzes the process of transition to democracy in socialist economies, which resulted especially complicated and faced important political economy challenges. It also inquires on the prospects of further Enlargements.

*Required reading: Kelemen, R. Daniel, Menon, Anand and Slapin, Jonathan (2014) The European Union: wider and deeper?, Journal of European Public Policy 21(5): 643-646.*

*Hobolt, Sara B. (2014) Ever closer or ever wider? Public attitudes towards further enlargement and integration in the European Union, Journal of European Public Policy 21(5): 664-680.*

*Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) 'Chapter 13: Is the EU Enlargement a Success Story or Has it Gone Too Far?', in Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 205-218.*

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

### **Lesson 17: Simulation: the EU joint decision trap (5 March)**

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 around lesson 10.*

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

### **Lesson 18: Russia: a friend or a foe? (7 March)**

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: Krastev, Ivan and Leonard, Mark (2014) The New European Disorder, European Council of Foreign Relations.*

*Leonard, Mark and Popescu, Nicu (2007) A Power Audit of EU-Russia Relations, ECFR Policy Paper.*

*Dinan, Desmond (2010) '15. The Environment, Energy, and Climate Change' in Ever Closer Union: an introduction to European integration, Palgrave Macmillan, 4th edition.*

*Vogler, John (2011) "The Challenge of the Environment, Energy, and Climate Change", in Hill, Christopher and Smith, Michael (eds.) International Relations and the European Union, Oxford University Press: 349-379.*

*Pavel, Baev et al. (2011) Pipelines, Politics and Power: The Future of EU-Russia Energy relations, London: Centre for European Reform.*

*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 19: The EU and the United States: keeping the Westworld together. (12 March)**

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.

*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.*

*Additional readings: Smith, Michael and Steffenson, Rebecca (2011) The EU and the United States, in Hill, C. and Smith, M. 'International Relations and the European Union, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 404-431.*

*Menon, Anand (2016) '14. Towards A Common European Army? - Still Flattering to Deceive: The Common Security and Defence Policy Defence!', in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

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*Ojanen, Hanna (2016) '14. Towards A Common European Army? - Defence Integration in the EU: From Vision to Business-as-Usual', in Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) Key controversies in European integration, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.*

*Dinan, Desmond (2010) '18. EU-US Relations' in Ever Closer Union: an introduction to European integration, Palgrave Macmillan, 4th edition.*

### Lesson 20: Once brothers. Donald Trump and the EU (14 March)

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*

### Lesson 21: Conclusion (19 March)

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 and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) Chapter 3. Americans at Work, Europeans on Holiday; in Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco, *The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline?*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 43-56.

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

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, read at least until 1992].

Esping Andersen, Gosta (2003) Chapter 5: Comparative Welfare Regimes Re- Examined, in *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*.

Kelemen, R. Daniel, Menon, Anand and Slapin, Jonathan (2014) The European Union: wider and deeper?, *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(5): 643-646.

Krastev, Ivan and Leonard, Mark (2014) *The New European Disorder*, European Council of Foreign Relations.

Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) Chapter 10. Economic and Monetary Union, in *The Political System of the European Union*, Palgrave, 245-272.

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- Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) Chapter 12. Foreign Policies, in Hix, Simon and Hoyland, Bjorn (2011) *The Political System of the European Union*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 303-330.
- Majone, Giandomenico (1997) *The Regulatory State and its Legitimacy Problems*, *West European Politics* 22(1), 1-24.
- Rodrik, Dani (2011) *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*, New York: WW Norton & Co. Chs 10-11.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank (2016) 'Chapter 9. Europe', In: Börzel, Tanja A. and Risse, Thomas (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, 178-201.
- 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.
- 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.
- Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) 'Chapter 7: Lobbying in the EU: How much power for the EU businesses?', in *Key controversies in European integration*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 115-127.
- Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) 'Chapter 11: The Big Waste? The Common Agricultural Policy', in *Key controversies in European integration*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 175-190.
- Zimmermann, H., & Dur, A. (eds.) 'Chapter 16: Should It Stay or Should It Go', in *Key controversies in European integration*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 251-264.

### 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.
- 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.
- ZIMMERMAN, Hubert and DÜR, Andreas. 2016. *Key Controversies in European Integration*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

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