

## **EUSI TSUDA Intensive Lectures**

### **“The External Relations of the EU in Historical Perspective”**

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#### **Course Description**

At the end of World War II Europe lost its predominant role in international relations, and two extra-European (super)powers came to forge the new world order: the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Moreover, within two years the superpowers unleashed their intrinsic conflict: the Cold War began, Europe was split in two and lost much of its autonomy. The bipolar structure of international relations further narrowed Europeans' room for manoeuvre. In Western Europe, the process of integration culminating with the creation of the European Union can be seen – though it is not at all the only viewpoint – as West European states' means to face international challenges and to restore their power, which in the new world could no more be conceived of in terms of single nation-states. As it is self-evident, this process is still going on, and the question whether the EU is able to play an international role is very hot in the current debate among scholars, politicians, and citizens all over the world.

This course will examine the external dimension of the EU and its international role from the end of World War II to the present time. It will not only provide a thorough account of the topic, but it will also present students with the latest historical studies and historiographical debate.

The topic will be addressed against the backdrop of both the international context and EU institutional development towards political unity. On the one side, the origins, development and end of the Cold War determined the frontier of constraints/opportunities to EC/EU's international role. On the other side, the complex and ever-changing machinery of the EC/EU has its relevant role in explaining if and how the EU has played an international role.

The framework of the lectures will be broadly chronological. Following two introductory lectures on basic concepts, and of post-WW II years, the course will be divided into three parts: I) the Communities period (1950s-1960s); II) the EC/EPC period (1970s-1980s); c) the EU period from the end of Cold War to the present.

#### **Course Method**

The course will combine formal lectures with some seminar sessions (one seminar session per day). The lectures will provide a broad analysis of the international context and of the institutional development of the EC/EU, while the seminar sessions will enable the students to focus on case studies of EC/EU's external relations. Students will engage in full class discussion and small group work. Students will therefore be asked to prepare for seminar sessions (assigned readings) and participate in the discussions.

The last lecture of the course will be divided in two sessions: the first will provide updated information on the Lisbon Treaty and its implications for EU's foreign policy; the second will be devoted to general debate on the topics of the course.

#### **Objectives**

The objectives of this course are to provide students with basic knowledge of EC/EU's external relations, to promote critical, analytical thinking about the role of the EC/EU in the world, past and present, and to

encourage students to develop their own interpretation of the evolution and significance of the EU as an international actor.

**Grade assessment:**

The final mark will be determined by written exam. Students will be expected to answer two questions out of four.

**Prerequisites**

A prior knowledge of European integration history will be an advantage. Students unfamiliar with the subject should do some preliminary reading, such as: Derek Urwin, *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945*, Longman, London 1995.

**Required Readings (for seminar sessions): books' chapters, essays, articles, and online sources**

Deighton A. and Bossuat G. (Eds.). *The EC/EU : a world security actor ?*, Paris, Soleb 2007. Therein:

Wong R., "Foreign Common EU Policies on China", pp. 70-91.

Romano A., "Western Europe's self-assertion towards the superpowers: the CSCE chance and its aftermaths", pp. 152-169.

Dearden S., "The Evolution of European Union Development Policy", pp.172-187.

Cebeci M., "The EU's Security Impact on Turkey: Democratization and Desecuritization", pp. 244-262.

Harst, van der J. (ed.). *Beyond the customs union: the European Community's quest for deepening, widening and completion, 1969-1975*, Bruxelles, Bruylant 2007. Therein:

Romano A., "The Nine and the Conference of Helsinki: a challenging game with the Soviets", p. 83-104.

Guirao F., "The European Community's role in promoting democracy in Franco's Spain, 1970-1975", pp. 163-193.

Hiepel C., "Kissinger's Year of Europe - A challenge for the EC and the Franco-German relationship", pp. 277-296.

Megens I., "The December 1973 declaration on European identity as the result of team spirit among European diplomats", pp. 317-340.

Urwin D., *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945*, Longman, London 1995, Chapters 6 and 7.

Ferdinand L., “A Strategy that Failed - Great Britain, Commonwealth Africa and EEC Association Policy, 1957-1963” in M. Rasmussen and A.-C. Knudsen, *The Road to a United Europe*, Peter Lang, Brussels, 2009, pp. 101-118.

Coppolaro L., “Between regionalism and multilateralism: the EEC in the GATT negotiations of the Kennedy Round (1964-1967)” in G. Bossuat (ed.), *L’Europe et la mondialisation*, Soleb, Paris, 2007, pp. 64-83.

Yamamoto T., “Détente or Integration?: EC Response to Soviet Policy Change towards the Common Market, 1970-1975”, *Cold War History*, Vol. 7 Issue 1, 2007, pp. 75-94.

Allen D., “The Euro-Arab Dialogue”, in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4, 1977, pp. 323-342.

Kagan R., “Power and Weakness. Why the United States and Europe see the world differently”, *Policy Review*, June/July 2002.

Kupchan C. A., “The Rise of Europe, America’s Changing Internationalism, and the End of U.S. Primacy,” *Political Science Quarterly* 118:2 (2003), pp. 205-31.

Jones E. “Debating the Transatlantic Relationship. Rhetoric and Reality”, *International Affairs*, 4, 2004.

EU Security Strategy, December 2003. Available at [www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf)

EU-EEAS, “Shaping our common future” - Action Plan 2001. Available at [http://eeas.europa.eu/japan/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/japan/index_en.htm)

Aliboni R. et al., “Union for the Mediterranean Building on the Barcelona acquis”, ISS Report n°1, May 2008. Available at: [http://www.iss.europa.eu/nc/actualites/actualite/article/union-for-the-mediterraneanbrbuilding-on-the-barcelona-iacquisi/The%20Union%20for%20the%20Mediterranean/?tx\\_ttnews\[chkAvecPDF\]=pdf&tx\\_ttnews\[cboAuteurs\]=ALL&tx\\_ttnews\[chkArea\]\[0\]=allarea&tx\\_ttnews\[chkType\]\[0\]=alltype&tx\\_ttnews\[cboMois\]=9&tx\\_ttnews\[cboAn\]=1990&cHash=aa6891230c](http://www.iss.europa.eu/nc/actualites/actualite/article/union-for-the-mediterraneanbrbuilding-on-the-barcelona-iacquisi/The%20Union%20for%20the%20Mediterranean/?tx_ttnews[chkAvecPDF]=pdf&tx_ttnews[cboAuteurs]=ALL&tx_ttnews[chkArea][0]=allarea&tx_ttnews[chkType][0]=alltype&tx_ttnews[cboMois]=9&tx_ttnews[cboAn]=1990&cHash=aa6891230c)

Casarini, N. “The evolution of the EU-China relationship: from constructive engagement to strategic partnership”, ISS Occasional Paper - n°64, October 2006. Available at [http://www.iss.europa.eu/nc/actualites/actualite/article/the-evolution-of-the-eu-china-relationship-from-constructive-engagement-to-strategic-partnership/China/?tx\\_ttnews\[chkAvecPDF\]=pdf&tx\\_ttnews\[cboAuteurs\]=ALL&tx\\_ttnews\[chkArea\]\[0\]=9&tx\\_ttnews\[chkType\]\[0\]=21&tx\\_ttnews\[chkType\]\[1\]=22&tx\\_ttnews\[chkType\]\[2\]=35&tx\\_ttnews\[cboMois\]=9&tx\\_ttnews\[cboAn\]=2000&cHash=ae4149dff](http://www.iss.europa.eu/nc/actualites/actualite/article/the-evolution-of-the-eu-china-relationship-from-constructive-engagement-to-strategic-partnership/China/?tx_ttnews[chkAvecPDF]=pdf&tx_ttnews[cboAuteurs]=ALL&tx_ttnews[chkArea][0]=9&tx_ttnews[chkType][0]=21&tx_ttnews[chkType][1]=22&tx_ttnews[chkType][2]=35&tx_ttnews[cboMois]=9&tx_ttnews[cboAn]=2000&cHash=ae4149dff)

Hiski Haukkala H., Gomart T, Marin A., “EU-Russian security dimensions”, ISS Occasional Paper - n°46, July 2003. Available at: <http://www.iss.europa.eu/nc/actualites/actualite/browse/1/article/eu->

[russian-security-dimensions/Russia%20and%20EU/?tx\\_ttnews\[chkAvecPDF\]=pdf&tx\\_ttnews\[cboAuteurs\]=ALL&tx\\_ttnews\[chkArea\]\[0\]=allarea&tx\\_ttnews\[chkType\]\[0\]=21&tx\\_ttnews\[chkType\]\[1\]=22&tx\\_ttnews\[chkType\]\[2\]=35&tx\\_ttnews\[cboMois\]=9&tx\\_ttnews\[cboAn\]=2000&cHash=9d1ff6aedd](http://russian-security-dimensions/Russia%20and%20EU/?tx_ttnews[chkAvecPDF]=pdf&tx_ttnews[cboAuteurs]=ALL&tx_ttnews[chkArea][0]=allarea&tx_ttnews[chkType][0]=21&tx_ttnews[chkType][1]=22&tx_ttnews[chkType][2]=35&tx_ttnews[cboMois]=9&tx_ttnews[cboAn]=2000&cHash=9d1ff6aedd)

**Suggested Readings (for students interested in specific issues and/or wishing to acquire further knowledge).**

Bozo F. et al. (eds.), *Europe and the End of the Cold War*, Routledge, London 2008:

Ch. 12: “A naturally supportive environment? The European institutions and German unification” by N. Piers Ludlow, pp. 161-174.

Ch. 17: “Eastern Europe and the early prospects for EC/EU and NATO membership” by Vojtech Mastny, pp. 235-245.

Ch. 19: “The EU, NATO and the origins of CFSP and ESDP: old thinkings, false starts and new imperatives” by Joylon Howorth, pp- 259-270.

Loth W. (ed.), *Experiencing Europe: 50 Years of European Construction 1957-2007*, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2009:

Ch. 6: Europe as an International Actor

“Origins and Development of the External Personality of the European Community” by Gerard Bossuat, pp. 217-254.

“Foreign and Security Policy after the End of the Cold War” by Anne Deighton, pp. 255-268.

Ch. 7: The Experience of Enlargements

“The Enlargement of the European Community, 1950-95” by Johnny Laursen, pp. 269-304.

“Eastern Enlargement in Perspective: A Comparative View on EC/EU Enlargements”, by Anne Faber, pp. 305-325.

“Central Europe in the 'Fifth' Enlargement of the European Union”, by Antoine Mares, pp. 326-346.

Smith, Karen, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, Polity, Cambridge 2008:

Ch. 1: Introduction, pp. 1-24

Ch. 2: The Evolution of the EU as an International Actor, pp. 25-53

Ch. 3: The EU's Foreign Policy Instruments, pp. 54-75

Ch. 9: Conclusion, pp. 230-240.

Jopp M. (ed.), “The implications of the Yugoslav crisis for Western Europe's foreign relations”, Institut for Security Studies - EUISS, Chaillot Paper, October 1994.

Moeckli D., “Speaking with one voice? The evolution of a European foreign policy” in A. Deighton and G. Bossuat (eds.), *The EC/EU: A World Security Actor?*, Soleb, Paris, 2007, pp. 132-151.

Mourlon-Druol E., “Filling the EEC leadership vacuum? The creation of the European Council in 1974”, *Cold War History*, Vol. 10 Issue 3, 2010, pp. 315-339.

De Búrca G., “The EU constitution: in search of Europe's international identity”, *Europa Law*, Groningen 2005. Available at [www.law.kuleuven.be/ccle/pdf/wvg4.pdf](http://www.law.kuleuven.be/ccle/pdf/wvg4.pdf)

Wessels W. and Bopp F., “The Institutional Architecture of CFSP after the Lisbon Treaty Constitutional breakthrough or challenges ahead?”, CEPS Challenge Papers, Issue 10, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Brussels, June 2008. Available at: <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=&lng=en&id=57235>

Dagand S., “The impact of the Lisbon Treaty on CFSP and ESDP”, *ISIS Europe – European Security Review* no. 37, March 2008. Available at: [www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2008\\_artrel\\_150\\_esr37tol-mar08.pdf](http://www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2008_artrel_150_esr37tol-mar08.pdf)

Duke S., “The Lisbon Treaty and External Relations”, *EIPASCOPE* 2008/1. Available at [www.eipa.eu/en/eipascope/downloadarticle/&tid=1734](http://www.eipa.eu/en/eipascope/downloadarticle/&tid=1734)

## Schedule of Lectures

### **1<sup>st</sup> Lecture: Introduction to the course. Definition of basic concepts. Organisation of working groups**

- Supranational institutions and intergovernmental mechanisms within the European integration
- External dimension of the EC/EU
- External relations of the EC/EU
- EU common foreign policy

#### Suggested Readings:

Loth, Wilfried (ed.), *Experiencing Europe: 50 Years of European Construction 1957-2007*, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2009:

Ch. 6: Europe as an International Actor

“Origins and Development of the External Personality of the European Community” by Gerard Bossuat, pp. 217-254.

“Foreign and Security Policy after the End of the Cold War” by Anne Deighton, pp. 255-268.

### **2<sup>nd</sup> Lecture: The 1940s. Which Europe to re-build?**

- Europe at the end of World War II
- Cold War and Western European Integration: the Marshall Plan and the OEEC
- Western European Union (WEU) and NATO
- The Council of Europe

Suggested Readings: Urwin, Chapters 2 and 3.

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### **3<sup>rd</sup> Lecture: The 1950s. The supranational integration process begins.**

- The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) – international rationales at its origins
- The ECSC external dimension: GATT negotiations and South America
- The (failed) European Defence Community
- The (failed) European Political Community

Suggested Readings: Urwin, Chapters 4 and 5.

#### **4<sup>th</sup> Lecture/SEMINAR: The creation of the European Economic Community and its international effects**

- The Common Market: Common External Tariff and Common Agricultural Policy
- Those who did not join in: EFTA
- The EEC African dimension: the Yaoundé Agreement (1963)
- Negotiating within the capitalistic world: the EEC and the GATT Kennedy round (1964-1967)

Assigned Readings: Urwin, Ch. 6 and 7.

Leikam Ferdinand, "A Strategy that Failed - Great Britain, Commonwealth Africa and EEC Association Policy, 1957-1963" in M. Rasmussen and A.-C. Knudsen, *The Road to a United Europe*, Peter Lang, Brussels, 2009, pp. 101-118.

Lucia Coppolaro, "Between regionalism and multilateralism: the EEC in the GATT negotiations of the Kennedy Round (1964-1967)" in G. Bossuat (ed.), *L'Europe et la mondialisation*, Soleb, Paris, 2007, pp. 64-83.

#### **5<sup>th</sup> Lecture: The 1960s. Attempts towards a Political Europe**

- De Gaulle's vision of Europe in the world
- The Fouchet Plans
- British (failed) candidatures
- The Hague Summit to re-launch the integration process: Enlargement, deepening, completion

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#### **6<sup>th</sup> Lecture: Intergovernmental innovations: The European Political Cooperation and the European Council**

- The creation of the EPC
- The Luxembourg Report
- The Paris Summit
- The Copenhagen Report
- The creation of the European Council

Suggested Readings:

Moeckli D., "Speaking with one voice? The evolution of a European foreign policy" in A. Deighton and G. Bossuat (eds.), *The EC/EU: A World Security Actor?*, Soleb, Paris, 2007, pp. 132-151.

Mourlon-Druol E., "Filling the EEC leadership vacuum? The creation of the European Council in 1974", *Cold War History*, Vol. 10 Issue 3, 2010, pp. 315-339.

### **7<sup>th</sup> Lecture/SEMINAR: The 1970s. Western Europe's self-assertion towards the superpowers**

- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)
- Transatlantic rift: the "Year of Europe" initiative
- Autonomous and different: the Declaration on European identity

#### Assigned Readings:

Romano A., "The Nine and the Conference of Helsinki: a challenging game with the Soviets", in J. Van der Harst (ed.), *Beyond the customs union: the European Community's quest for deepening, widening and completion, 1969-1975*, Bruxelles, Bruylant 2007, pp. 83-104.

Romano A., "Western Europe's self-assertion towards the superpowers: the CSCE chance and its aftermaths", in A. Deighton and G. Bossuat (Eds.), *The EC/EU : a world security actor ?*, Paris, Soleb 2007, pp. 152-169.

Yamamoto T., "Détente or Integration?: EC Response to Soviet Policy Change towards the Common Market, 1970-1975", *Cold War History*, Vol. 7 Issue 1, 2007, pp. 75-94.

Hiepel C., "Kissinger's Year of Europe - A challenge for the EC and the Franco-German relationship", in J. Van der Harst (ed.), *Beyond the customs union: the European Community's quest for deepening, widening and completion, 1969-1975*, Bruxelles, Bruylant 2007, pp. 277-296.

Megens I., "The December 1973 declaration on European identity as the result of team spirit among European diplomats", in J. Van der Harst (ed.), *Beyond the customs union: the European Community's quest for deepening, widening and completion, 1969-1975*, Bruxelles, Bruylant 2007, pp. 317-340.

### **8<sup>th</sup> Lecture: The EC and the Communist states**

- The EC and the COMECON
- The 1974 initiative towards Communist countries
- The EC and China
- The EC and the Soviet bloc countries: Beyond non-recognition

## **9<sup>th</sup> Lecture/SEMINAR: Looking Southward**

- Southern Europe: democratisation and membership
- The Euro-Arab Dialogue
- The EC Global Development Policy
- EC and Turkey

### Assigned Readings:

Guirao F., "The European Community's role in promoting democracy in Franco's Spain, 1970-1975", in J. Van der Harst (ed.), *Beyond the customs union: the European Community's quest for deepening, widening and completion, 1969-1975*, Bruxelles, Bruylant 2007, pp. 163-193.

Allen D. "The Euro-Arab Dialogue", in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4, 1977, pp. 323-342.

Dearden S., "The Evolution of European Union Development Policy", in A. Deighton and G. Bossuat (Eds.), *The EC/EU : a world security actor ?*, Paris, Soleb 2007, pp.172-187.

Cebeci M., "The EU's Security Impact on Turkey: Democratization and Desecuritization", in A. Deighton and G. Bossuat (Eds.), *The EC/EU : a world security actor ?*, Paris, Soleb 2007, pp. 244-262.

## **10<sup>th</sup> Lecture: The 1980s. Asserting the European voice**

- Afghanistan
- Middle East
- Poland
- CSCE Madrid
- The Falkland/Malvinas war
- Up-dating the Rome Treaties: the Single European Act and its international implications

## **11<sup>th</sup> Lecture: The 1990s. The collapse of the Soviet bloc and the Road to the EU**

- The end of the Cold War and EC membership
  - o the reunification of Germany
  - o enlargement to Austria, Finland and Sweden
  - o setting the path for the Eastern European countries.

Suggested Readings:

Bozo F. et al. (eds.), *Europe and the End of the Cold War*, Routledge, London 2008:

Ch. 12: “A naturally supportive environment? The European institutions and German unification” by N. Piers Ludlow, pp. 161-174.

Ch. 17: “Eastern Europe and the early prospects for EC/EU and NATO membership” by Vojtech Mastny, pp. 235-245.

Ch. 19: “The EU, NATO and the origins of CFSP and ESDP: old thinkings, false starts and new imperatives” by Joylon Howorth, pp- 259-270.

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**12<sup>th</sup> Lecture: The creation of the EU. The Maastricht Treaty and foreign policy**

- EU structure
- Foreign policy objectives
- Foreign policy instruments
- A EU false start? Powerless vis-à-vis the crisis in ex-Yugoslavia

Suggested Readings:

Smith, Karen, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, Polity, Cambridge 2008:

Ch. 1: Introduction, pp. 1-24

Ch. 2: The Evolution of the EU as an International Actor, pp. 25-53

Ch. 3: The EU’s Foreign Policy Instruments, pp. 54-75

Ch. 9: Conclusion, pp. 230-240.

Jopp M. (ed.), “The implications of the Yugoslav crisis for Western Europe's foreign relations”, Institut for Security Studies - EUISS, Chaillot Paper, October 1994.

**13<sup>th</sup> Lecture/SEMINAR: EU’s external relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century**

- EU-US: lights and shadows of the oldest partnership
- EU Security strategy (2003)
- “The Union for the Mediterranean”
- EU-Russia: Common spaces, Partnership and Cooperation
- EU-China: Partnership, Cooperation, and Human Rights
- EU-Japan: “Shaping our common future” (Action Plan 2001)

## Assigned Readings:

Robert Kagan, *Power and Weakness. Why the United States and Europe see the world differently*, "Policy Review", June/July 2002.

Charles A. Kupchan, "The Rise of Europe, America's Changing Internationalism, and the End of U.S. Primacy," *Political Science Quarterly* 118:2 (2003), pp. 205-31.

Erik Jones, "Debating the Transatlantic Relationship. Rhetoric and Reality", *International Affairs*, 4, 2004.

The EU Security Strategy, December 2003.

Aliboni R. et al., "Union for the Mediterranean Building on the Barcelona acquis", ISS Report n°1, May 2008.

Hiski Haukkala H., Gomart T, Marin A., "EU-Russian security dimensions", ISS Occasional Paper - n°46, July 2003.

Wong R., "Foreign Common EU Policies on China", in A. Deighton and G. Bossuat (Eds.), *The EC/EU : a world security actor ?*, Paris, Soleb 2007, pp. 70-91.

Casarini N., "The evolution of the EU-China relationship: from constructive engagement to strategic partnership", ISS Occasional Paper - n°64, October 2006.

EU-EEAS, "Shaping our common future" - Action Plan 2001.

## 14<sup>th</sup> Lecture and general debate

### Lecture: Overstretched? The EU-27 and the Lisbon Treaty

- The last and broadest enlargement of the EU
- Institutional reform: the (rejected) Constitution, the Lisbon Treaty and the new tools for the EU foreign policy

## Suggested Readings:

Loth, Wilfried (ed.), *Experiencing Europe: 50 Years of European Construction 1957-2007*, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2009:

Ch. 7: The Experience of Enlargements:

"The Enlargement of the European Community, 1950-95" by Johnny Laursen, pp. 269-304.

"Eastern Enlargement in Perspective: A Comparative View on EC/EU Enlargements", by Anne Faber, pp. 305-325.

"Central Europe in the 'Fifth' Enlargement of the European Union", by Antoine Mares, pp. 326-346.

De Búrca G., “The EU constitution: in search of Europe's international identity”, *Europa Law*, Groningen 2005.

Wessels W. and Bopp F., “The Institutional Architecture of CFSP after the Lisbon Treaty Constitutional breakthrough or challenges ahead?”, CEPS Challenge Papers, Issue 10, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Brussels, June 2008.

Dagand S., “The impact of the Lisbon Treaty on CFSP and ESDP”, ISIS Europe – *European Security Review* no. 37, March 2008.

Duke S., “The Lisbon Treaty and External Relations”, *EIPASCOPE* 2008/1.