

HS: 15233 “The house next door”: EU foreign policy and the European neighbourhood

Tuesday 10.00-12.00 AM

Ihnestr. 56 – Seminar room

While the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) encompasses formerly separate regional policies under a single policy framework, the economic and political challenges of the neighbourhood’s three sub-regions (Mediterranean, Eastern Europe and Caucasus) remain very different. This seminar will examine the major political and economic issues that affect the EU’s relations with its neighbours to the East and South. While the course deals principally with European foreign policy the aim is to identify the core interests of actors inside and outside the EU and to assess how these interact in the institutional settings created to manage relations in the neighbourhood.

The course will first focus on European foreign policy decision-making in order to understand how EU member state and institutional preferences are aggregated in shaping the ENP. We will then deal with the major economic and political challenges faced by the ENP in order to evaluate the policy responses of the EU and neighbouring countries. Students will undertake case studies to evaluate the impacts of the ENP in individual countries.

Requirements for credits*:

Apart from regular and active participation in the course, students wishing to get a credit should complete the following assessment items:

Item	Weight
Presentation of one seminar topic (max. 30 min, handout one week before) (*)	30%
Essay or working paper (either in English or German, max. 10 pgs)	70%

* Required for participation credits

This seminar will be taught in English.

Course Outline

16.10.	Introduction and Course Overview
23.10.	The ENP Framework – Providing the Right Incentives? (Furness)
30.10.	EU Foreign Economic Policy Making: Interplay between EU Institutions? (Gándara)
06.11.	The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Bilateralism or Multilateralism? (AG1)
13.11.	Eastern Europe: One Size Fits All? (AG2)
20.11.	The Caucasus: Stretching the Neighbourhood Concept? (AG3)
27.11.	ENP Policy Issues 1: Democracy Promotion and Political Reform in the MENA (AG4)
04.12.	ENP Policy Issues 2: Hard security – Conflict or cooperation in the MENA? (AG 5)
11.12.	ENP Policy Issues 3: Trade and Labour – Substitutes or Complements? (AG6)
18.12.	ENP Policy Issues 4: Illegal migration – soft security or human rights? (AG7)
	Christmas Break (ho, ho, ho)
08.01.	ENP Policy Issues 5: Energy Policy in the South – Fostering Regional Integration? (AG8)
15.01.	ENP Policy Issues 6: Energy Policy in the East – Playing with the Bear? (AG9)
22.01.	Political and Economic Reform: Case Study I: Eastern European Country (AG10)
29.01.	Political and Economic Reform: Case Study I: MEDA country (AG11)
05.02	Political and Economic Reform: Case Study II: Caucasus country (AG12)
12.02	Course summary, evaluation

Seminar Outline and Readings

Course Readings

There are two or three *core readings* each week. These are the bare minimum for participation in discussion – presenters will need to go beyond these readings, using also the *complementary readings*. Naturally, you can also use readings from other sources.

Section A: Introduction

16.10. (Session 1) - Introduction and Course Overview (MF, PG, Prof. Bolle)

Core Readings

- **Smith**, Karen E. (2005). The Outsiders: The European Neighbourhood Policy. *International Affairs* 81:4, pp. 757 – 773.
- **Dannreuther**, Roland (2006). Developing the Alternative to Enlargement: The European Neighbourhood Policy *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11, pp. 183 – 201.
- **Lippert**, Barbara et al (2007). The Neighbourhood Policy of the European Union. *Intereconomics* (42:4), pp 180-187.

23.10. (Session 2) - The ENP Framework – Providing the Right Incentives? (Furness)

Core Readings

- **Lavanex**, Sandra and Frank Schimmelfennig (2006). Relations with the Wider Europe *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45 Special Edition, pp. 143 – 162.
- **Kelley**, Judith (2006). New Wine in Old Wineskins: Promoting Political Reform through the New Neighborhood Policy *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44:1, pp. 29 – 55.

Complementary Readings

- **Commission of the European Communities** (2004). European Neighbourhood Policy Strategy Paper COM (2004) 373 final.
- **Emerson**, Michael (2004). European Neighbourhood Policy: Strategy or Placebo? CEPS Working Document no. 215

30.10. (Session 3) – EU Foreign Economic Policy Making: Interplay between EU Institutions? (Gándara)

Core Readings:

- **Hix**, Simon (2004). The Political System of the European Union, 2nd Ed, Chapter 12, Foreign Policies. London: Palgrave.
- **Baldwin**, Matthew (2006). EU trade politics – heaven or hell? *Journal of European Public Policy* (13:6), pp. 926–942.

Complementary Readings

- **Thomson**, Robert and **Hosli**, Madeleine (2006). Who Has Power in the EU? The Commission, Council and Parliament in Legislative Decision-making. *Journal of Common Market Studies* (44:2), pp. 391–417.
- **Holmes**, Peter (2006). Trade and ‘domestic’ policies: the European mix. *Journal of European Public Policy* (13:6), pp. 815–831.
- **Woolcock**, Stephen (2000). European Trade Policy. In: Wallace, Helen and William: *Policy Making in the European Union*, 4th Ed, Chapter 14. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Section B: The Neighbourhood’s Sub-Regions

06.11. (Session 4) - The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Bilateralism or Multilateralism? (AG1)

Core Readings

- **Furness**, Mark and Thilo Bodenstein (2007). The Edges of External Governance: Europe and its Mediterranean Neighbours. Paper presented at UACES 37th Annual Conference, Portsmouth 3 – 5 September 2007.
- **Del Sarto**, Rafaella and Tobias Schumacher (2005). From EMP to ENP: What’s at Stake with the European Neighbourhood Policy towards the Southern Mediterranean? *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10:1, pp. 17 – 38.

Complementary Readings

- **Commission of the European Communities** (1995). Barcelona Declaration (Summary Compiled by MF)
- **Commission of the European Communities** (2005). Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: Tenth Anniversary of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. EuroMed Report no. 89, April 2005.
- **Johansson-Nogués**, Elisabeth (2004). A Ring of Friends? The Implications of the ENP for the Mediterranean. *Mediterranean Politics* 9:2, pp. 240 – 247.
- **Solingen**, Etel (2003). The Triple Logic of the European–Mediterranean Partnership: Hindsight and Foresight. *International Politics, Vol.* 40, pp.179–194

13.11. (Session 5) – Eastern Europe: One Size Fits All? (AG2)

Core Readings:

- **Karaganov** et al (2006) Russia - EU Relations: The Present Situation and Prospects, CEPS Working Documents N° 225/July 2005, Brussels.
- **Kempe**, Iris (2007). Identifying an Agenda for a New Eastern Policy – Evaluating the European Neighbourhood Policy beyond the ENP Approach. *Intereconomics* (42:4), pp 187-190.

Complementary Readings

- **European Commission** (2006) European Neighbourhood Policy: Economic Review of ENP countries, Sections on Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and Moldova. DG for Economic and Financial Affairs Occasional Papers N°25.

- **CEPS** (2006) The Prospects of Deep Free Trade between the EU and Ukraine. Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels.

20.11. (Session 6) – The Caucasus: Stretching the Neighbourhood Concept? (AG3)

Core Readings

- **Lynch, Dove** (2003) ‘A regional insecurity dynamic,’ in: The South Caucasus: A challenge for the EU. Chaillot Paper Series, N°65, pp.9-22, CEPS, Brussels.
- **Nuriyev, Elkhan** (2007). EU Policy in the South Caucasus: A view from Azerbaijan. CEPS Working Document No. 272/July 2007. Brussels.

Complementary Readings

- **CEPS** (2006). A Synergy for Black Sea Regional Cooperation: Guidelines for an EU Initiative. *CEPS Policy Brief No. 105*. June 2005, Brussels.
- **Commission of the European Communities** (2006) European Neighbourhood Policy: Economic Review of ENP countries (sections for Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia). DG for Economic and Financial Affairs Occasional Papers No. 25.
- **Dominese, Giorgio** (2005) Europe and Security in the Caucasus *Transition Studies Review* 12:1, pp. 101 – 118.
- **Emerson, Michael** (2005) The Black Sea as Epicentre of the Aftershocks of the EU’s Earthquake *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 02-2005, pp. 17 – 37.

27.11. (Session 7) ENP Policy Issues 1: Democracy Promotion and Political Reform in the MENA (AG4)

Core Readings

- **Baracani, E.** (2005) From the ENP to the ENP: New European pressure for democratisation? *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 1:2, pp. 54-66.
- **Emerson, Michael et al** (2005) The Reluctant Debutante: The European Union as Promoter of Democracy in its Neighbourhood. CEPS Working Document No. 223/July 2005, Brussels.

Complementary Readings

- **Gillespie, Richard and Richard Youngs** (2003) Democracy and the EMP: European and Arab Perspectives. EuroMeSCo Brief 6
- **Aliboni, Roberto** (2004) Promoting Democracy in the EMP: Which Political Strategy? EuroMeSCo Working Group Report.
- **Volpi, Frédéric** (2004) Pseudo-Democracy in the Muslim World *Third World Quarterly* 25:6, pp. 1061 – 1078.

04.12. (Session 8) - ENP Policy Issues 2: Hard security – Conflict or cooperation in the MENA? (AG 5)

Core Readings:

- **Heller, Mark A.** (2003) ‘Prospects for Creating a Regional Security Structure in the Middle East’ *Journal of Strategic Studies* 26:3, pp. 125 – 136.

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- **Attina**, Fulvio (2004) The Building of Regional Security Partnership and the Security Culture Divide in the Mediterranean Region. University of California (Berkeley) Institute of European Studies paper.
- **Soltan**, Gamal (2004) Southern Mediterranean Perceptions and Proposals for Mediterranean Security. EuroMeSCo Brief 8.

Complementary Readings

- **Balfour**, Rosa (2005). Rethinking the Euro-Mediterranean Political and Security Dialogue. ISS Occasional Papers N° 52.
- **Biscop**, Sven (2006) The EU, the OSCE and the European security architecture: network or labyrinth? *Asia Europe Journal* 4:1
- **Landau**, Emily B. and Fouad Ammor (2006) Regional Security Dialogue and Cooperation in the South: Exploring the Neglected Dimension of Barcelona. EuroMeSCo Paper 48.

11.12. (Session 9) - ENP Policy Issues 3: Trade and Labour – Substitutes or Complements? (AG6)

Core Readings

- **Kuiper** M. & **Dell'Aquila** C., (2003). Which Road to Liberalization? A first Assessment of the Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreements. Working Paper N°2. ENARPRI, Brussels.
- **Ivan Martin** (2004). The Social Impact of Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Areas: A First Approach with Special Reference to the Case of Morocco' *Mediterranean Politics* 9:3.
- **Dodini**, Michaela & **Krause**, Gerhard (2005). Ten Years of the Barcelona Process: Economic and Social Development since 1995. *EUROPEAN ECONOMY OCCASIONAL PAPERS*. No.17. April 2005. Brussels.

Complementary Readings

- **Gándara**, Pablo & **Büge**, Max (2006). The EU's Trade Policy towards the Mediterranean: Coherence or Chaos? *Go-EuroMed Working Paper* (0602). Berlin.
- **Petros Siousiouras** (2003) 'The Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Zone: Prospects and Possibilities' *Mediterranean Quarterly* (14:3)
- **Tobias Schumacher** (2004) 'Survival of the Fittest: The First Five Years of Euro-Mediterranean Economic Relations' *EUI Working Paper RSCAS*, No. 2004/13
- **European Commission** (2006). Services and Investment Liberalization in the Euro-Mediterranean Region.

18.12. (Session 10) - ENP Policy Issues 4: Migration – soft security or human rights? (AG7)

Core Readings

- **Black**, Richard (2003) Breaking the Convention: Researching the "Illegal" Migration of Refugees to Europe *Antipode* 35:1, pp. 34 – 54
- **Lutterbeck**, Derek (2006) Policing Migration in the Mediterranean *Mediterranean Politics* 11:1, pp. 59 – 82

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- **Carrera**, Sergio (2007). The EU Border Management Strategy: FRONTEX and the Challenges of Irregular Immigration in the Canary Islands. *CEPS Working Document No. 261/March 2007*. Brussels.
- **Lavenex**, Sandra (2006) Shifting Up and Out: The Foreign Policy of European Immigration Control *West European Politics* 29:2, pp. 329 – 350.

Complementary Readings

- **Fargues**, Philippe (2005). Mediterranean Migration 2005 Report. *CARIM at EUI*, pp. 5-33.
- **Bertozi**, Stefano (2007). Legal Migration: Time for Europe to Play its Hand. CEPS Working Document No. 257/February 2007. Brussels.
- **Laipson**, Ellen (2002) The Middle East's Demographic Transition: What Does it Mean? *Journal of International Affairs* 56:1, pp. 175 – 188.
- **Magliveras**, Konstantinos D. (2004) Protecting the Rights of Migrant Workers in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership *Mediterranean Politics* 9:3, pp.

08.01. (Session 11) - ENP Policy Issues 5: Energy Policy in the South – Fostering Regional Integration? (AG8)

Core Readings

- **Gándara**, Pablo (2007). The Role of Energy for Regional Integration in the EMP: Strengthening Institutions. *GO-EuroMed Working Paper 09/07*. Berlin
- **OME** (2003). MEDSUPPLY: Development of Energy Supplies to Europe from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries. *Final Report Synergy Programme*.

Complementary Readings

- **EC** (2004). Establishment of Rome Euro-Mediterranean Energy Platform, Brussels.
- **Kagiannas**, Argyris et al (2003). Energy policy assessment of the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation. *Energy Conversion and Management* (Nr. 44), pp. 2665–2686.

15.01. (Session 12) - ENP Policy Issues 6: Energy Policy in the East – Playing with the Bear? (AG9)

Core Readings:

- **Smith**, Keith C. (2006). Security Implications of Russian Energy Policies', CEPS Policy Briefs.
- **Bordachev**, Timofei (2006). Russia and the European Union after 2007. In: *The Elephant and the Bear Try Again: Options for a New Agreement between the EU and Russia*. CEPS, Brussels.

Complementary Readings

- **Economist** Intelligence Unit (2007). EU/Russia economy: Unbundling power, excluding Gazprom?. ViewsWire: September 20th 2007.
- **Geden, Oliver** et al (2006). Perspectives for the European Union's External Energy Policy. Discourse, Ideas and Interests in Germany, the UK, Poland and France. *SWP Working Paper FG 1*, December 2006, Berlin.
- **Götz**, Roland (2006). Russian Gas and Alternatives for Europe. *SWP Working Paper FG 5 2006*, June 2006, Berlin.

22.01. (Session 13) - Political and Economic Reform: Case Study I: Eastern European Country (AG10)

Core Readings:

To be filled in by students before Christmas!

29.01. (Session 14) - Political and Economic Reform: Case Study I: MEDA country (AG11)

Core Readings:

To be filled in by students before Christmas!

05.02. (Session 15) - Political and Economic Reform: Case Study II: Caucasus country (AG12)

Core Readings:

To be filled in by students before Christmas!

12.02. (Session 16) - Course summary, evaluation