

Module 4: European Foreign Policies

Coordinating lecturer: dr. Ieva Giedraityte (Vilnius University)

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the lecturer will be available for consultations 15min. before each class (from 15.00 CET on Mondays)

Zoom link: <https://zoom.us/j/91370468757?pwd=a1l6VkF2bUF4QWlzb21hQVQ5ZmZBUT09>

Passcode: 842657

Description of the Course

The purpose of this course is to provide in-depth knowledge of the complex architecture of European foreign policies (including both the EU, its members, and other European states) and the consequences this architecture has on the continent's role in global affairs. The course examines and assesses the internal dynamics of the EU's foreign policymaking, its relations with the foreign policies of its member states, and the European relations with neighbors and the rest of the world.

The subject of the course includes the EU's and member-state foreign policies, focusing on their complex inter-relationships. The first part of the course is dedicated to theoretical approaches describing European foreign policy, discussions on who shapes and implements European foreign policies, and the relations between the foreign policies of the EU and its member states.

The second part of the course focuses on the EU's external action areas/instruments, covering trade, development cooperation, common security and defense policy. While this part mostly focuses on the EU-level policies and tools, during each class, the students discuss how different European countries see these policies and how they hamper or multiply their effectiveness with their own efforts.

The third part of the course focuses on the relationships between Europe and the "others" - its neighbors, the two biggest contesting powers China and Russia, and the Global South in general. In this part of the course, students are presented not only with the European position and tensions in it but also the perspective of "the others."

After finishing this course, participants:

- A. Will be able to analyze European (EU's, EU member states, and other European countries) foreign policies from different theoretical perspectives;
- B. Will understand the tensions and synergies between the EU's foreign action and the foreign policies of its member states;
- C. Will understand the principles and instruments of the EU's foreign action;
- D. Will understand how global European actorness is perceived by other actors/states;
- E. Will be able to participate in the debates about European foreign policies and formulate policy proposals.

Evaluation:

100% policy brief (up to 5000 words with references): Working in couples, students will need to prepare a policy brief on the topic of their choice. The policy paper should be **directed to a specific actor** (e.g., government, European Commission, non-governmental association) and should address **a problem related to any of the topics** covered in this course (see topic description below). The brief needs to discuss alternative solutions for the problem, argue for one and propose recommendations based on this solution.

Process of the preparation:

A) **Choosing a topic** and defining why it is a problem, to whom, and who can do something about it?

a) Students will need to record a short video (up to 5 minutes) presenting a) a problem and its relevance b) whom/what is it relevant and c) who can solve it? Video should be recorded in Flip: <https://flip.com/a236d3b1>

b) Students will need to present a brief written two-page reply to the above mentioned questions. A two-pager should be uploaded in the moodle system

Deadline: 5th of May.

B) **Discussing alternatives** and arguing for one specific solution

a) Students will need to record a short video (up to 10 minutes) presenting alternative ways to solve the chosen problem, compare them and decide which of these alternatives is the best. Video should be recorded in Flip: <https://flip.com/e1e774a4>

b) Students will need to present a written up to three-page overview of different alternatives and argue which of these is the best.

Deadline: 2nd of June

C) **Preparing the final brief.** The deadline will be agreed during the course (*end of June, early July*)

Grade distribution: 30% - the preparation process (two videos + two briefs), 70% the final policy brief.

Schedule of the course

Mondays 15.15 - 16.45 CET (with the exception of two Tuesdays, see the timeline below). The lecturer will be available online each Monday on 15 CET for consultations.

1	Course presentation	Pre-recorded topic
2	Policy brief preparation and requirements	Pre-recorded topic
A. Is Europe an actor in global politics?		
3	Who/what shapes and implements the “European foreign policies”?	2024 04 08
4	The European external action from different theoretical perspectives: what makes an actor an actor?)	2024 04 15
5	EU Member States' foreign policies and the EU: challenges of collective action.	2024 04 22
B. How do we implement external action together?		
6	European Political Coordination and Common Security and Foreign policy. <i>Dr. Lucas J. Ruiz Díaz (University of Granada)</i>	2024 04 29
7	TUESDAY: Joint European defense: (im)possible in the making?	2024 04 30
1st output for policy brief: your problem: 2024 05 05		
8	Force for good” or “normative empire”: European development cooperation and democracy promotion policies. <i>Dr. Teresa Fajardo (University of Granada)</i>	2024 05 06
9	EU's trade policy: is it even a foreign policy instrument? <i>Justinas Mickus (Vilnius University)</i>	2024 05 13
C. Europe and its (significant) others		
10	Europe and its neighbors. <i>Dr. Victoria Reinhardt (Leipzig University)</i>	2024 05 20
11	EU neighborhood vs. other neighborhoods. <i>Dr. Victoria Reinhardt (Leipzig University)</i>	2024 05 27
2nd output for policy brief: potential solutions: 2024 06 02		
12	Europe and China: strategic partner or enemy? <i>Ksenia Radchenkova (Graz University)</i>	2024 06 03
13	Europe and Russia: contestation for the region and world? <i>Ksenia Radchenkova (Graz University)</i>	2024 06 10

1 4	TUESDAY: The West, Europe, and the Global South - what kind of global order?	2024 06 11
Delivery of the policy brief: date TBD		

Topics covered

Intro: practical requirements

1. **Presentation of course requirements (Pre-recorded class)**

- Main questions guiding this course
- Discussion on the main issues of the course.
- Presentation of formal requirements

2. **Making policy recommendations (Pre - recorded class)**

- Policy briefs and policy papers - differences from academic research papers
- Tips for writing a policy paper
- Explanation of the final task: requirements and expectations

A. Is Europe an actor in global politics?

This part introduces students to theoretical debates and methodological tools necessary to conceptualize and analyze European actorness in global affairs.

3. **Who/what shapes and implements the “European external policies”? (2024 04 08)**

This class discusses whom/what do we talk about when we talk about “European foreign policies” - who are the actors we should take into consideration and how they act.

- European states - still the main actor?
- Non-state actors: business & civil society
- EU as an expression of joint priorities: policies, processes and principles

Readings:

- ❖ Listen to the podcast: <https://open.spotify.com/episode/0YllqJv9SOdMDmFPZEUPz5>

4. **The European external action from different theoretical perspectives: what makes an actor an actor? (2024 04 15)**

This class covers the concept of “actorness” and presents how different theories approach to Europe/EU as an actor

- Actorness - how do we define who is an actor in IR?
- Realism, liberalism and constructivism and Europe as an actor
- Decolonial critiques to Europe as normative actor

Readings:

❖ Keukeleire, Stephan; Lecocq, Sharon (2018) Operationalising the decentring agenda: Analysing European foreign policy in a non-European and post-western world, [Cooperation and Conflict](https://www.jstor.org/stable/48512975), Vol. 53, No. 2, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48512975>

❖ To choose one:

a) Manners, Ian (2002) „Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?“ *JCMS* 2002 Volume 40. Number 2. pp. 235–58, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-5965.00353>

b) Adrian Hyde-Price (2006) „‘Normative’ power Europe: a realist critique“, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 13, 2006; <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13501760500451634>

5. EU Member States' foreign policies and the EU: challenges of collective action. (2024 04 22)

This class introduces students to the concept of unified European foreign policy and discusses the divergences between different FP priorities and goals.

- Challenges to collective action
- European foreign policies vs. EU foreign policy
- The concept of “Europeanization” - does it exist?

Readings:

❖ Patrick Müller, Karolina Pomorska & Ben Tonra (2021) “The Domestic Challenge to EU Foreign Policy-Making: From Europeanisation to de-Europeanisation?”, *Journal of European Integration*, 43:5, 519-534, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/07036337.2021.1927015>

❖ Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (2021) Re-bordering Europe? Collective action barriers to ‘Fortress Europe’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 28:3, 447-467 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13501763.2021.1881585>

B.How do we implement external action together?

This part of the course focuses on shared pan-European level tools which European countries can use to achieve joint goals.

6. European Political Coordination and Common Security and Foreign policy (04 29) dr. Lucas J. Ruiz Díaz (University of Granada)

This class starts with a brief overview of the European attempts to coordinate foreign policies after WWII and concludes with a discussion of key organizations for European political and security coordination.

- History of security coordination in the European continent.
- Presence and road ahead
- Is the EU a geopolitical actor?

Readings

❖ Howorth Jolyon (2019) Differentiation in security and defence policy, *Comparative European Politics*, Vol 17, pp. 261-277, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41295-019-00161-w>

❖ Fiott Daniel (2024) From Liberalisation to Industrial Policy: Towards a Geoeconomic Turn in the European Defence Market? *JCMS*, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/jcms.13600>

❖ Tocci, Natalie (2017) From the European Security Strategy to the EU Global Strategy: explaining the journey, *International Politics*, 54:487–502 ; https://link.springer.com/epdf/10.1057/s41311-017-0045-9?author_access_token=gbhoAU9c-s3oNW26NclFMFxoT48VBPO10Uv7D6sAgHtzzXwljt14pivJJ_g4coQsSfUFuP5Lu98r3NgAqQHvsbrinKImZ_5OVARs6aM7UBflu_5AoJc3QsVuydOkvH1_qv1yIRG4Zr6adBqowRHyw==

7. Joint European defense: (im)possible in the making? (2024 04 30)

- a. How do different European countries (for example, EU member states and Britain) see the need for shared defense?
- b. Why the topic is challenging (questions of sovereignty, different security cultures, perception of the US role in the region, other.)
- c. Way forward?

Confirmed participants: Dr. Lucas J. Ruiz Díaz, prof. dr. Margarita Seselgyte

Readings will be given a week before the class

8. Force for good” or “normative empire”: European development cooperation and democracy promotion policies (2024 05 06) dr. Teresa Fajardo (University of Granada)

This class briefly presents development cooperation as a tool for soft power and discusses European approaches, the tools they employ, and criticism of the European role in development.

- History of the European approach to development cooperation
- EU as an actor in global development: value-based community? Criticism of those values.
- Effective actor in development? Cases of democratization in the Mediterranean and European climate diplomacy

Readings will be given a week before the class

9. EU’s trade policy: is it even a foreign policy instrument? (2024 05 13) Justinas Mickus

This class discusses trade as a foreign policy tool and presents the concept of “market power Europe.”

- History of trade integration in Europe and how trade has been used to advance political goals
- Sanctions, their use, and their effectiveness
- Market power Europe and its limits

Readings will be given a week before the class

C. Europe and its (significant) others

This part of the course focuses on European relations with its “significant others.” It captures both the visions of others formulated inside of Europe and visions of Europe held by the others.

10. Europe and its neighbors (2024 05 20) Dr. Victoria Reinhardt (Leipzig University)

This class presents the history of ideas and political concepts for the relation of the EU member states (and EU as a political entity) with the neighboring states and explains the dynamics and the tensions related to the expansion of the EU in the East and in the South

- The political imagery of Europe: a history of ideas and political concepts
- Policies towards the East

- Policies towards the South
- Expansion vs Integration

Readings:

- ❖ Clark, Julian & Jones, Alun, The Spatialities of Europeanisation, in: Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Jul., 2008, New Series, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30131220>
- ❖ Vobruba, Georg, Expansion without Enlargement. Europe's Dynamism and the EU's Neighborhood Policy, in: Eurozine: <https://dgo-online.org/site/assets/files/4063/2007-09-28-vobruba-en.pdf>

11. EU neighbourhood vs. other neighbourhoods (2024 05 27) Dr. Victoria Reinhardt (Leipzig University)

This class analyses the Neighborhood Policy of the EU in a larger context. It compares the EU approaches in its relations with the neighbors with the approaches of several regional powers, such as the Russian Federation, Turkey, Iran. This comparative analysis is based on theory debates concerning the construction of space and recent research findings in this field.

- The One World of the International System and the Many Worlds of Regionalism
- Contested Neighborhoods

Readings:

- ❖ Hurrell, Andrew: One World? Many worlds? The place of regions in the study of international society, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Vol. 83, Ja. 2007, S. 127-146. <https://academic.oup.com/ia/article/83/1/127/2435051>
- ❖ Ademmer, Esther / Delcour, Laura (Vollzug, Katarina, Beyond Geopolitics: exploring the Impact of the EU and Russia in the "contested neighbourhood", Eurasian Geography and Economics, 57:1, 1-18.

12. Europe and China: strategic partner or enemy? (2024 06 03) Ksenia Radchenkova (Graz University)

This class will cover European relationships with China and the Chinese approach to Europe and the EU in the 21st Century.

- Brief outlook of the history of diplomatic relations between EU and China since 1980s
- Current geopolitical strategy of the EU towards China(tripartite)
- BRI
- Results of the China-EU summit 2022 + visit to Beijing (main obstacle - Russia's military aggression against Ukraine)
- Member-states as economic partners, EU – as political opponent
- Member-states perspectives - Balkan perspective - Chinese perspective

Readings will be given a week before the class

13. Europe and Russia: contestation for the region and world? (2024 06 10) Ksenia

Radchenkova (Graz University)

This class will cover European relationships with Russia and the Russian approach to Europe and the EU in the 21st Century.

- Brief outlook of the history of diplomatic relations between EU and USSR/Russia since 1980s
- Stages of the war in Ukraine since 2014
- Sanctions
- Economic Ties / energy security
- NATO/ European defense strategy
- Member-states perspectives
- Balkan perspective
- Russian perspective

Readings will be given a week before the class

14. The West, Europe, and the Global South - what kind of global order? (2024 06 11)

This class will wrap up the course by discussing Europe's place in the world and its relationship with Global South countries.

- Why do Global South countries contest the liberal international order?
- What proposals do they have for global governance?
- Wrapping up: Europe and the World in the 21st Century

Readings will be given a week before the class