

**Ben-Gurion University of the Negev
Department of Politics and Government /
The Simone Veil Research Centre for the Study of
European Politics and Society /
BGU International**

**The European Union's Foreign Policy and the
Middle East**

Course Nr: 187-ZZZ-ZZ

4 Credits (IL) / 6 ECTS (EU)

Start Date: October 20, 2021; Finish Date: June 22, 2022

Wednesday: 16:00-17:30 Greece/Israel (GMT+3) / 15:00-16:30 Germany (GMT+2)
[BGU: Building No. 72, Room 214; Online: Zoom]

Prof. Sharon Pardo

****This course is financially supported in part by BGU International but it has no influence over the course programme****

Office hours: Wednesday – 15:00-15:45 Greece/Israel (GMT+3) / 14:00-14:45 Germany (GMT+2) and by appointment [BGU: Building No. 72, Room 659; Online: Zoom]

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Course Objectives

The study of the European Union's (EU) relations with the Middle East is of a particular interest mainly because it reflects what has been faced by the EU in gradually establishing the Union's position in external relations and its foreign policy mechanism.

The Middle East was on the agenda of the first meeting of the European Political Cooperation (EPC) and has remained there ever since. The Union's behaviour vis-à-vis the conflicts in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean reflects to a large degree the conditions under which the EU developed its actorness. In light of this, the course serves as an analysis of the EU as an international actor, as well as an analysis, of the Union's relations to the Middle East.

The course analyses the relationships between the EU, the Middle East from the early 1950s to the present day in three parts: the first part of the course discusses the EU as an international actor in the Middle East. The second part of the course analyses the

developments in the European-Middle Eastern relations between 1950 and 1991. This part of the course focuses on relations between 1950 and 1969, EC/EU-Middle East relations between 1969 and 1991. The course then deals with the EU-Middle East/Mediterranean relations between 1991 and present day. The third part of the course reflects on some of the most central issues and challenges facing the EU and the Middle East today.

Requirements

- 1) Oral presentation and podcast: 10%
- 2) Research paper: 90% (40% for students participating in the concluding debate; the paper is due on August 31, 2022, 12:00PM).

CLASS PARTICIPATION REQUIREMENTS: Readings have to be done prior to class in order to be able to participate in discussions and arguments. Students should listen to their fellows' arguments and discussions and be able to engage with them in constructive discussions. Attendance in class is mandatory and crucial for doing well in this course.

ORAL PRESENTATION: Starting from November 10, 2022, students are required to make a presentation (about 20 minutes) on a theme of their choice, relevant to the course topics (to be approved by and co-ordinated with the course instructor). Following the in-class comments and discussions students are required to record these presentations in a podcast format to be uploaded to the course's Moodle website.

MENT.IO DISCUSSIONS: Ment.io provides an AI-discussion platform for engaging students in hybrid classrooms. A modern look discussion board, providing valuable structure and encourages a meaningful, more collaborative discussion. Designed to inspire participation, Ment.io is a simple-to-use, transparent learning platform that transforms hybrid classrooms – adding depth to learning and giving every student an equal chance to excel. Students are required to participate in all Ment.io discussions.

RESEARCH PAPER: The research paper (3,000 words; on a theme to be approved by and co-ordinated with the course instructor) is due on August 31, 2022, 12:00PM.

Grading

BGU's grading scale is 1–100, with 100 being the highest.

Academic Integrity

Any detection of plagiarism or cheating on assignments and/or exams will result in a grade of '0' for that assignment or exam.

“A student commits plagiarism when he or she:

- submits the work of another person as original work;
- gives inadequate attribution to an author or creator whose work is incorporated into the student's work, including failing to indicate clearly (through accepted practices within the discipline, such as footnotes, internal references and the crediting of all verbatim passages through indentations of longer passages or the use of quotation marks) the inclusion of another individual's work;
- paraphrases material from a source without sufficient acknowledgement as described above

Students who are in doubt as to what constitutes plagiarism in a particular instance should consult the course instructor.

Our course is committed to promoting, providing and protecting a positive, supportive and safe learning environment for all its students. Students are expected to observe the same standards of scholarly integrity as their academic and professional counterparts. Students who are found to have engaged in unethical academic behaviour are subject to penalty by Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

Relevant Textbooks

Teti, A., Abbott, P., Talbot, V., Maggiolini, P., *Democratisation against Democracy: How EU Foreign Policy Fails the Middle East* (Palgrave-Macmillan: Houndmills, 2010).

Persson, A., *EU Diplomacy and the Israeli–Arab Conflict, 1967–2019* (Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh, 2020).

Müller, P., *EU Foreign Policymaking and the Middle east Conflict: The Europeanization of National Foreign Policy* (Routledge: London and New York, 2012).

Peters, J., (ed.) *The European Union and the Arab Spring: Promoting Democracy and Human Rights in the Middle East* (Lexington Books: Lanham, MD, 2012).

Musu, C., *European Union Policy towards the Arab-Israeli Peace Process. The Quicksands of Politics* (Palgrave-Macmillan: Houndmills, 2010).

Dosenrode, S., and Stubkjær, A., *The European Union and the Middle East* (Sheffield Academic Press: Sheffield, 2002).

Ifestos, P., *European Political Cooperation: Towards a Framework of Supranational Diplomacy?* (Avebury: Aldershot, 1987).

Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984).

Week-by-Week Course Outline

Fall Semester

Week 1: Personal Observations from Europe and the Middle East

Wednesday, October 20, 2021: The European Union and the Middle East – What do they mean to me? Personal observations from Europe and the Middle East.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Adler, E., and Crawford, B. (2006), 'Normative Power: The European Practice Region-Building and the Case of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership', in E. Adler *et al.* (eds.), *The Convergence of Civilizations. Constructing a Mediterranean Region* (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 2006): 3-47.

Week 2: Introduction – The Mediterranean Reality

Wednesday, October 27, 2021: Discussion of the course outline; General introduction; Mapping the 'Liquid Continent' (I): the Concept of the region, the Mediterranean Sea, the holistic Mediterranean, Fernand Braudel's Mediterranean.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Fenech, D. (1993) 'East-West to North-South in the Mediterranean', *GeoJournal* 31(2): 129-40.
- 2) Calleya, S.C., *Navigating Regional Dynamics in the Post-Cold War World. Patterns of Relations in the Mediterranean Area* (Dartmouth: Aldershot, 1997), Chapter 4.

Week 3:

Wednesday, November 3, 2021: The 'Liquid Continent' (II): Dominic Fenech on the Mediterranean regionality, the evolving Mediterranean, the Mediterranean as a complex regional network.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Fenech, D. (1991), 'Mediterranean Rationality', in S. Fiorini, and V. Malila-Milanes (eds.), *Malta. A Case Study in International Cross-Currents* (University of Malta: Malta, 1991): 267-77.

Week 4:

Wednesday, November 10, 2021: Film: *The Battle of Algiers*, 1966, 121 minutes. The film reconstructs the events that occurred in French Algeria between the years 1954 and 1957.

Director :Gillo Pontecorvo

Writers: Gillo Pontecorvo and Franco Solinas

Stars: Brahim Hadjadj, Jean Martin and Yacef Saadi

The film is available on YouTube:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uHWZkiBuKGY&t=2976s>

Week 5: Europe and the Middle East 1956-1969

Wednesday, November 17, 2021: The Suez Crisis; The Middle East after 1956 – a dimensional approach; the regional dimension; EC6 and the Middle East (I): France, Germany.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Ifestos, P., *European Political Cooperation: Towards a Framework of Supranational Diplomacy?* (Avebury: Aldershot, 1987), Part VI, Introduction (371-372), Chapter 19.
- 2) Imperiali, C., and Agate, P., 'France', in Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984), pp. 1-17.
- 3) Steinbach, U., 'Germany', in Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984), pp.91-106

(Recommended)

- 1) Bar-On, M., (2006), 'Three Days in Sèvres, October 1956', *History Workshop Journal* 62(1):172-86.
- 2) Safran, N. (1992), 'Dimensions of the Middle East Problem: Before and After the Gulf War', in R. Macridis (ed.), *Foreign Policy in World Politics* (Prentice Hall: Englewood Cliffs, NJ): 357-405.
- 3) Kolodziej, E.A., (1971), 'French Mediterranean Policy: The Politics of Weakness', *International Affairs* 47(3): 505.

Week 6:

Wednesday, November 24, 2021: EC6 and the Middle East (II): The Netherlands, Belgium, Italy; Cooperation with the Middle East.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Jawad, H.A., *Euro-Arab Relations. A Study in Collective Diplomacy* (Ithaca Press, Reading: 1992), Chapters 1-2.
- 2) Soetendorp, R. B., 'The Netherlands', in Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984), pp. 37-46.
- 3) Silvestri, S., 'Italy', in Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984), pp. 31-37.

(Recommended)

1. De Raeymaeker, O., 'Belgium', in Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984), pp. 60-79.

Week 7:

Wednesday, December 1, 2021: GUEST SPEAKER – To be announced

Week 8: Study Trip

Wednesday, December 8, 2021: NO CLASS (additional hours during an academic study trip on December 9, 2021).

Thursday, December 9, 2021: Study trip – 1). The Office of the European Union Representative (West Bank and Gaza Strip, UNRWA), 5 George Adam Smith,

Jerusalem. We will do our utmost that the lectures/meetings will also be available live on Zoom.

2) "Europe in Jerusalem." This part of the study trip will not be available on Zoom.

Week 9: Europe and the Middle East 1969-1991 (I)

Wednesday, December 15, 2021: Crisis follows a crisis; Conflicts and hopes for peace; The EPC and the ME 1969-1973; The 1971 Schuman Secret Report; The 1973 Enlargement: Denmark, Ireland, Britain; Member State's Positions at the Outbreak of the October 1973 War; Economic Relations between the EEC and the ME before the events of 1973-1974.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Musu, C., *European Union Policy towards the Arab-Israeli Peace Process. The Quicksands of Politics* (Palgrave-Macmillan: Houndmills, 2010), Chapter 2.
- 2) Ifestos, P., *European Political Cooperation: Towards a Framework of Supranational Diplomacy?* (Avebury: Aldershot, 1987), Chapters 6-7.

(Recommended)

- 1) Edwards, G., 'Britain', in Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984), pp. 47-59.
- 2) Keating, P., 'Ireland', in Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984), pp. 18-30.
- 3) Thune, C., 'Denmark', in Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984), pp. 80-90.

Week 10: Europe and the Middle East 1969-1991 (II)

Wednesday, December 22, 2021: The Global Mediterranean Policy (GMP); Francois Duchêne's concept of Europe as a civilian power; Political considerations; Strategic considerations; From the 1973 War to the Venice Declaration; The Arab Oil Embargo; Member States Reactions to the Oil Embargo.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Duchêne, F., (1972), 'Europe's Role in World Peace', in R. Mayne (ed.), *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead* (Fontana/Collins Chatham House: London): 32-47.

- 2) Müller, P., *EU Foreign Policymaking and the Middle East Conflict: The Europeanization of National Foreign Policy* (Routledge: London and New York, 2012), pp. 27-40.

(Recommended)

- 1) Henig, S., 'Mediterranean Policy in the Context of the External Relations of the European Community 1958-73', in A. Shlaim, and G.N. Yannopoulos (eds.), *The EEC and the Mediterranean Countries* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1976), pp. 305-24.
- 2) Maull, H., 'The Strategy of Avoidance: Europe's Middle East Policies After the October War', in J.C. Hurewitz (ed.), *Oil, the Arab-Israeli Dispute, and the Industrial World: Horizons of Crisis* (Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado, 1976), pp.110-37.

Week 11:

Wednesday, December 29, 2021: The Arab Oil Embargo and the Community Reaction; The Copenhagen Summit Meeting of December 1973; The EC, EPC and the Middle East Peace Process Until 1980; The June 1977 London Statement; The Euro-Arab Dialogue Until 1980 (I).

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Ifestos, P., *European Political Cooperation: Towards a Framework of Supranational Diplomacy?* (Avebury: Aldershot, 1987), Chapter 20.
- 2) Greilsammer, I., and Weiler, J., 'European Political Cooperation and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: An Israeli Perspective', in Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984), pp. 121-60.
- 3) Khader, B., 'Europe and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: An Arab Perspective', in Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984), pp. 161-86.

(Recommended)

- 1) Hager, W., (1973), 'The Community and the Mediterranean', in K. Kohnstamm, and W. Hager (eds.), *A Nation Writ Large? Foreign Policy Problems before the European Community* (John Wiley & Sons: New York and Toronto, 1984), pp. 195-221.
- 2) Itayim, F., (1974), 'Arab Oil: The Political Dimension', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 3(2): 84.

Week 12:

Wednesday, January 5, 2022: The Euro-Arab Dialogue Until 1980 (II); The 1979 Camp David Agreement; Towards the Venice Declaration.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Jawad, H.A., *Euro-Arab Relations. A Study in Collective Diplomacy* (Ithaca Press: Reading, 1992), Chapters 3-4.
- 2) Pardo, S., and Peters, J., *Uneasy Neighbors: Israel and the European Union* (Lexington Books: Lanham, MD, 2010), Chapter 1.

(Recommended)

- 1) Tsakaloyannis, P., 'Greece', in Allen, D., and Pijpers A., (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab Israeli Conflicts* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: The Hague, 1984), pp. 107-20.
- 2) Moisi, D., (1982), 'Europe and the Middle East', in S.L. Spiegel (ed.), *The Middle East and the Western Alliance* (George Allen and Unwin: London, 1982), pp. 18-32.

Week 13: Europe and the Middle East on Campus (I)

Wednesday, January 12, 2022: Interviewing students and faculty on campus and discussing with them their perceptions and misperceptions towards the European Union and the Middle East.

*****Semester Break: January 16, 2021 – February 26, 2021*****

Spring Semester

Week 14: Europe and the Middle East on Campus (II)

Wednesday, March 2, 2022: Presentation of findings and analysis.

Week 15: International Women's Day Panel

Wednesday, March 9, 2022: International Women's Day Panel.

Week 16: Venice and its Aftermath; The EU and the Middle East 1991-2003

Wednesday, March 23, 2022: The Venice Declaration (I+II); Responses to the Venice Declaration; The Reagan Plan and the Fez Plan; The Euro-Arab Dialogue 1980-1989; The EC-Gulf Dialogue.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Krasner, S. D., 'The Middle East and the End of the Cold War', in *The Middle East in Global Change: The Politics and Economics of Interdependence Versus Fragmentation*, edited by Laura Guazzone (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1997), pp. 201-15.
- 2) Regelberger, E., and Wessels, W., 'European Concepts for the Mediterranean Region', in L. Giacomo (ed.), *The Mediterranean Region* (Croom Helm: London, 1984), pp. 239-66.

Week 17:

Wednesday, March 30, 2022: The EU and the Middle East 1989-1995; Changes in the Soviet Union; The Renovated Mediterranean Policy (RMP); From Madrid to Barcelona; The Madrid Conference.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Musu, C., *European Union Policy towards the Arab-Israeli Peace Process. The Quicksands of Politics* (Palgrave-Macmillan: Houndmills, 2010), Chapter 3.
- 2) Pardo, S., and Peters, J., *Uneasy Neighbors: Israel and the European Union* (Lexington Books: Lanham, MD, 2010), Chapter 2.

(Recommended)

- 1) Pierros, F., Meunier, J., and Abrams, S., *Bridges and Barriers. The European Union's Mediterranean Policy 1961-1998* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1999), Chapters 4-5 and Conclusions.

Week 18:

Wednesday, April 6, 2022: GUEST SPEAKER – To be announced

Week 19: From Barcelona to the European Neighbourhood Policy

Wednesday, April 27, 2022: The Barcelona Process (BP) / the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP); The EU and the Middle East Peace Process after (and before) Barcelona; The EU and the Future of Jerusalem; Palestinian Statehood.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Bicchi, I., *European Foreign Policy Making toward the Mediterranean* (Palgrave Macmillan: Houndmills, 2007), Chapter 5.
- 2) Barbé, E., (1996), 'The Barcelona Conference: Launching Pad of a Process', *Mediterranean Politics* 1 (1): 25-42.

(Recommended)

- 1) Calleya, S., *Evaluating Euro-Mediterranean Relations* (Routledge: Oxon, 2005).
- 2) Miller, R., and Mishrif, A., (2005) 'The Barcelona Process and Euro-Arab Economic Relations 1995-2005', *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 9(2): 94.
- 3) Peters. J. (2006), 'Practices and Their Failure: Arab-Israeli Relations and the Barcelona Process' in E. Adler et al (eds.), *The Convergence of Civilizations. Constructing a Mediterranean Region* (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 2006): 212-35.

Week 20:

Wednesday, May 11, 2022: Film: *Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, 1974, 94 minutes.

The film tells the story of Ali, a Moroccan guest worker in Germany.

Director: Rainer Werner Fassbinder

Writers: Rainer Werner Fassbinder

Stars: Brigitte Mira, El Hedi ben Salem and Barbara Valentin

The film is available on YouTube:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9KZGZGtGi3o&t=1071s>

Week 21: Study Trip

Wednesday, May 18, 2022: NO CLASS (additional hours during an academic study trip on May 19, 2022).

Thursday, May 19, 2022: Study trip – 1). Delegation of the European Union to Israel, 5-7 Shoahm Street, Ramat Gan. We will do our utmost that the lectures/meetings will also be available live on Zoom.

2) "Europe in Tel Aviv." This part of the study trip will not be available on Zoom.

Week 22:

Wednesday, May 25, 2022: The EU and the Separation Wall; Israeli settlements and the EU; The EU and the al-Aqsa Intifada; The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP); The Union for the Mediterranean (UfM).

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Musu, C., *European Union Policy towards the Arab-Israeli Peace Process. The Quicksands of Politics* (Palgrave-Macmillan: Houndmills, 2010), Chapters 5, 7, 8.
- 2) Pardo, S., and Peters, J., *Uneasy Neighbors: Israel and the European Union* (Lexington Books: Lanham, MD, 2010), Conclusion.

(Recommended)

- 1) Bechev, D., and Nocolaidis, K., (2008), 'The Union for the Mediterranean: A Genuine Breakthrough or More of the Same?' *International Spectator* 43 (3): 13-20.
- 2) Müller, P., *EU Foreign Policymaking and the Middle east Conflict: The Europeanization of National Foreign Policy* (Routledge: London and New York, 2012), pp. 56-68.
- 3) Del Sarto, A.R., and Schumacher, T., (2005), 'From EMP to ENP: What's at Stake with the European Neighbourhood Policy towards the Southern Mediterranean', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10 (1): 17-38.

Week 23: The EU and the Arab Spring

Wednesday, June 1, 2022: Film: The Invasion of Lampedusa, 2011, 60 minutes .
The film charts how the crisis of Lampedusa in the age of the Arab Spring is changing the face of immigration in Europe.

Director: Olly Lambert

Producer: Lottie Gammon

Editor: David Hill

The film is available on YouTube:

<http://www.ollylambert.com/lampedusa>

Week 24:

Wednesday, June 8, 2022: The EU and the Arab Spring and the "New" European Neighbourhood Policy.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Read through: Peters, J., (ed.) *The European Union and the Arab Spring: Promoting Democracy and Human Rights in the Middle East* (Lexington Books: Lanham, MD, 2012).

(Recommended)

- 1) European Commission, *A Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean*, COM (2011) 200 final, 8/3/2011, available at <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2011:0200:FIN:en:PDF>>
- 2) European Commission, *Delivering on a New European Neighbourhood Policy*, JOIN (2012) 14 final, 15/5/2012, available at <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52012JC0014&from=EN>>

Week 25: Case Study 1: European Union-Palestinians Relations

Wednesday, June 8, 2022: GUEST SPEAKER – To be announced

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Read through: Bouris, D., *The European Union and Occupied Palestinian Territories: State-Building without a State* (Routledge: Abingdon, 2014).

Week 26: Case Study 2: European Union-Israeli Relations

Wednesday, June 22, 2022: Uneasy Neighbours: Israel and the European Union.

READINGS:

(Required)

- 1) Pardo, S., and Zemer, L., (2021), 'The Image of European Union Law in Bilateral Relations' *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 54 (1): 147-206. Read pages 182-197 only.