

IR 369: Post-War European Relations

Fall 2019

Instructor: Timothy Turnbull

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Office Hours: Wednesday 10:30-12:30, or by appointment

Office Location: VKC 354

Course Description

This course will evaluate the central issues concerning European security and transatlantic relations since the end of WWII. We will begin by briefly reviewing the history of European conflict and cooperation from 1815 to 1939. We will then examine European security issues during the Cold War, focusing on great power competition, nascent European integration, and decolonization. Following this, we will look at how the Cold War ended and the changes Europe experienced over the next two decades, from democratic revolutions and ethnic conflict in the periphery, to the expansion of NATO. Next, we will examine the formation of the European Union (EU) and EU foreign policy. Finally, we will overview current issues facing the continent, such as the lingering effects of austerity, increasing migration and demographic change, the rise of populism, Brexit, and democratic backsliding.

Learning Objectives

By participating in this course, you will:

- Be able to analyze and evaluate present issues in European integration and foreign relations, identifying the interests at stake and the motivations and constraints of the actors involved.
- Better understand the structure and role of the EU, and its effects on domestic politics within member states.
- Evaluate the central challenges facing Europe in the 21st century.
- Equip yourself with the analytical tools for understanding processes of societal, institutional, and systemic change.
- Enhance your analytical skills and your ability to think critically.

Assignments and Grading

Grades for this course will be based on:

- **10% Short Response Paper** – approximately 3 pages delving into any subject covered in the first six weeks of the course, **due October 4th**.
- **15% Abstract of Term Paper** – approximately 2 pages outlining your research question and your justification for choosing it, **due November 15th**.
- **20% Introduction and Literature Review of Term Paper** – approximately 5 pages including the argument, basic outline, and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, **due December 2nd**.
- **35% Final Paper** – approximately 12-15 pages submitted in person on **December 18th between 11am to 1pm**.
- **20% Participation**, measured through participation in class and your participation in online discussions on Blackboard.

Late Paper Policy

If you are unable to turn your assigned work in on time, you will be penalized one half grade per day on that assignment. For example, an otherwise A+ (100%) paper would be marked as 95% if it were to be turned in a day late, and 90% if turned in two days late. This penalty will be applied after the paper has been graded.

Absence Policy

Attendance is mandatory. If you must be absent from a class meeting, you must contact me beforehand with your reasoning and/or a relevant doctor's note. Failure to do so will result in a reduction of your participation score by 1 point (10%).

Policy on Electronic Devices

You are allowed to use a laptop computer to take notes only. Any misuse of a computer during class (perusing social media, for example) will result in a 1 point (10%) reduction in your participation score. The use of cellphones is strictly prohibited during class time.

Accommodations

Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. The phone number for DSP is 213-740-0776. If you need assistance with the process, please contact me.

Academic Honesty

Any student violating USC's Academic Dishonesty or Student Conduct policies will earn an F in the course and will be reported to the appropriate administrators for investigation. You are responsible for reviewing the Trojan Integrity Guide:

- <https://sjacs.usc.edu/students/academic-integrity/>

Course Materials:

All readings will be available on Blackboard. You will not need to purchase any books for this class

Course Schedule:

Week 1: Introduction - Europe Pre-WWI

- **Course Introduction - 8/26**
- **Pre-WWI Europe: The Concert System, Free Trade, Empire - 8/28**
 - Elrod, Richard B., “The Concert of Europe: A Fresh Look at an International System,” *World Politics* 28:2 (1976).
 - O’Brien, Patrick K., and Geoffrey Allen Pigman, “Free Trade, British Hegemony and the International Economic Order in the Nineteenth Century,” *Review of International Studies* 18:2 (1992).
- **WWI and the Rise of Fascism - 8/30**
 - Sagan, Scott D., “1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability,” *International Security* 11:2 (1986).
 - Berman, Sheri, “Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic,” *World Politics* 49:3 (1997).
 - Goddard, Stacie, E., “The Rhetoric of Appeasement: Hitler’s Legitimation and British Foreign Policy, 1938-39” *Security Studies* 24:1 (2015).

Week 2: WWII, Reconstruction, and the Beginning of the Cold War

- **No Class - 9/2**
- **WWII - 9/4**
 - Schweller, Randall, “Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing,” *International Security* 29:2 (2004).
 - Reynolds, David, “1940: Fulcrum of the Twentieth Century?” *International Affairs* 66:2 (1990).
- **Post-War: The Marshall Plan and the Division of Europe - 9/6**

- Lefler, Melvyn P., “The United States and the Strategic Dimensions of the Marshall Plan,” *Diplomatic History* 12:3 (1998).
- Cox, Michael, and Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, “The Tragedy of American Diplomacy? Rethinking the Marshall Plan,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 7:1 (2005).

Week 3: European Security and the Cold War I: Great Power Competition

• Beginning of the Cold War 9/9

- Kennan, George, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs* 65:4 (1987).
- John Lewis Gaddis, “The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System,” *International Security* 10:4 (1986).

• NATO, Warsaw Pact, and Alliance Politics 9/11

- Snyder, Glenn H., “The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics,” *World Politics* 36:4 (1984).
- Rothgeb Jr., John M., “Loose vs. Tight: The Effect of Bloc Structure upon Foreign Interactions,” *Journal of Politics* 43:2 (1981).

• Suez, Hungary, and Prague - 9/13

- Boyle, Peter G., “The Hungarian Revolution and the Suez Crisis,” *History* 90:4 (2005).
- Svec, Milan, “The Prague Spring: 20 Years Later,” *Foreign Affairs* 66:5 (1988).

Week 4: European Security and the Cold War II: Integration

• The Beginnings of European Integration - 9/16

- “The European Communities Under Construction,” in Wim van Meurs, Robin de Bruin, Liesbeth van de Grift, Carla Hoetink, Karin van Leeuwen, and Carlos Reijnen, *The Unfinished History of European Integration* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).
- Georges-Henri Soutou, “Was There a European Order in the Twentieth Century? From the Concert of Europe to the End of the Cold War,” *Contemporary European History* 9:3 (2000).

• Political vs Economic Integration - 9/18

- “From Community to Union,” in Wim van Meurs, Robin de Bruin, Liesbeth van de Grift, Carla Hoetink, Karin van Leeuwen, and Carlos Reijnen, *The Unfinished History of European Integration* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).
- Jones, Erik, “The Economic Mythology of European Integration,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48:1 (2010).

• The International Dimensions of Integration - 9/20

- Dolan, Michael B., and James A. Caporaso, “The External Relations of the European Community,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 440 (1978).
- Menon, Anand, “From Independence to Cooperation: France, NATO and European Security,” *International Affairs* 71:1 (1995).

Week 5: European Security and the Cold War III: Decolonization

• The End of the British Empire - 9/23

- Babou, Cheikh Anta, “Decolonization or National Liberation: Debating the End of British Colonial Rule in Africa,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 632 (2010).
- White, Nicholas J., “The Business and the Politics of Decolonization: The British Experience in the Twentieth Century,” *The Economic History Review* 53:3 (2000).

• The End of the French Empire - 9/25

- Smith, Tony, “A Comparative Study of French and British Decolonization,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 20:1 (1978).
- Tonneson, Stein, “The Longest Wars: Indochina 1945-75,” *Journal of Peace Research* 22:1 (1985).

• The End of the Portuguese Empire - 9/27

- Oliveira, Pedro Aires, “Live and Let Live: Britain and Portugal’s Imperial Endgame (1945-75),” *Portuguese Studies* 29:2 (2013).
- Reis, Bruno C., and Pedro Aires Oliveira, “Cutting Heads or Winning Hearts: Late Colonial Portuguese Counterinsurgency and the Wiriyamu Massacre of 1972,” *Civil Wars* 14:1 (2012).

Week 6: End of the Cold War

• How it Ended: Personal, Domestic, Systemic Explanations - 9/30

- Brooks, Stephen and William Wohlforth, “Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas,” *International Security* 25:3 (2000/2001).
- English, Robert, “Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold Wars End: A Reply to Brooks and Wohlforth,” *International Security* 26:4 (2002).

• Color Revolutions - 10/2

- Luers, William H., “Czechoslovakia: Road to Revolution,” *Foreign Affairs* 69:2 (1990).
- Kuzio, Taras, “Nationalism, Identity and Civil Society in Ukraine: Understanding the Orange Revolution,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 43:3 (2010).

• International Order and the Balance of Power - 10/4

- Wallace, William, “Europe after the Cold War: Interstate Order or Post-Sovereign Regional System?” *Review of International Studies* 25:5 (1999).
- Van Evera, Stephen, ”Primed for Peace: Europe After the Cold War,” *International Security* 15:1 (1990).

- **Short Response Paper Due**

Week 7: Post-Cold War Conflict I

- **Bosnia - 10/7**

- Mandelbaum, Michael, “A Perfect Failure: NATO’s War Against Yugoslavia,” *Foreign Affairs* September/October (1999).
- Roberts, Adam, “NATO’s ‘Humanitarian War’ over Kosovo,” *Survival* 41:3 (1999).
- **Online Documentaries:**
 - * – [“Srebrenica - A Cry from the Grave.”](#)
 - * – [“Srebrenica - Never Again?”](#)

- **NATO Expansion - 10/9**

- Press-Barnathan, Galia, “Managing the Hegemon: NATO under Unipolarity,” *Security Studies* 15:2 (2006).
- Waltz, Kenneth, “NATO Expansion: A Realists View,” *Contemporary Security Policy* 21:2 (2000).
- Walt, Stephen, “Why Alliances Endure or Collapse,” *Survival* 39:1 (1997).

- **Iraq - 10/11**

- Pape, Robert A., “Soft Balancing Against the United States,” *International Security* 30:1 (2005).
- Howorth, Jolyon and Anand Menon, “Still not Pushing Back: Why the European Union is not Balancing the United States,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28:3 (2009).

Week 8: Post-Cold War Conflict II

- **Russian Revanchism - 10/14**

- Kotkin, Stephen, “Russia’s Perpetual Geopolitics: Putin Returns to the Historical Pattern,” *Foreign Affairs* 95:3 (May/June 2016)
- Trenin, Dmitri, “Russia’s Sphere of Interest, not Influence,” *The Washington Quarterly* 32:4 (2009).

- **Ukraine - 10/16**

- Treisman, Daniel, “Why Putin Took Crimea: The Gambler in the Kremlin,” *Foreign Affairs* 95:3 (May/June 2016).

- Nitoiu, Cristian, “Still Entrenched in the Conflict/Cooperation Dichotomy? EU-Russia Relations and the Ukraine Crisis, *LSE IDEAS* (2017).

- **No Class - 10/18**

Week 9: A United Europe

- **Maastrich, Amsterdam, Nice, and Lisbon - 10/21**

- Forster, Anthony, “Britain and the Negotiation of the Maastricht Treaty: A Critique of Liberal Intergovernmentalism,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 36:3 (1998).
- Auel, Katrin, and Christine Neuhold. “Multi-arena players in the making? Conceptualizing the role of national parliaments since the Lisbon Treaty” *Journal of European Public Policy* 24:10 (2017).

- **The European Union and the EMU - 10/23**

- Deroose, Servaas, Dermot Hodson and Joost Kuhlmann, “The Legitimation of EMU: Lessons from the Early Years of the Euro,” *Review of International Political Economy* 14:5 (2007).
- Jespersen, Jesper, “The Euro: A Political Failure and an Economic Disaster,” *International Journal of Political Economy* 45:1 (2016).
- Matthijs, Matthias, and Mark Blyth, “When Is It Rational to Learn the Wrong Lessons? Technocratic Authority, Social Learning, and Euro Fragility,” *Perspectives on Politics* 16:1 (2018).

- **European Elections, Technocracy, and a Democratic Deficit? - 10/25**

- de Quant, Sebastian, “Euroscepticism and the European Elections,” *Survival* 61:2 (2019).
- Follesdal, Andreas, and Simon Hix, “Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44:3 (2006).
- Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio, “From a Deficit of Democracy to a Technocratic Order: The Postcrisis Debate on Europe,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 20:1 (2017).

Week 10: EU Foreign Policy

- **Normative Power Europe? - 10/28**

- Manners, Ian, “Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:2 (2002).
- Sjursen, Helene, “[The EU as a ‘Normative’ Power: How Can This Be?](#)” *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:2 (2006).

- **Market Power Europe? - 10/30**

- Damro, Chad, “Market Power Europe,” Paper Prepared for EUSA Biennial Conference (2011).
- Kelstrup, Jesper Dahl, “Market Power Europe—A Constructive Critique,” *International Journal of Public Administration* 38:12 (2015).

• **European Counterterrorism - 11/1**

- Coolsaet, Rik, “EU Counterterrorism Strategy: Value Added or Chimera?” *International Affairs* 86:4 (2010).
- Keohane, Daniel, “The Absent Friend: EU Foreign Policy and CounterTerrorism,” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 46:1 (2008).

Week 11: Current Issues I

• **Austerity - 11/4**

- European Parliament, “The Impact of the Financial Crisis on European Defence,” Directorate B, Policy Department Study (2011).
- Dellepiane-Avellaneda, Sebastian, “The Political Power of Economic Ideas: The Case of ‘Expansionary Fiscal Contractions,’” *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 17:3 (2015).
- Emerson, Michael, (2012), “[Implications of the Eurozone Crisis for EU Foreign Policy: Costs and Opportunities](#),” *CEPS Commentary* (2012).

• **Migration and Securitization - 11/6**

- Huysmans, Jef, “The European Union and the Securitization of Migration,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38:5 (2000).
- Lodge, Juliet, “EU Homeland Security: Citizens or Suspects?” *Journal of European Integration* 26:3 (2004).

• **Populism - 11/8**

- Mudde, Cas, “Europe’s Populist Surge: A Long Time in the Making,” *Foreign Affairs* 95:6 (Nov/Dec 2016).
- Zakaria, Fareed, “Populism on the March: Why the West is in Trouble,” *Foreign Affairs* 95:6 (Nov/Dec 2016).

Week 12: Current Issues II

• **Brexit - 11/11**

- Matthijs, Matthias, “Europe After Brexit: A Less Perfect Union,” *Foreign Affairs* 96:1 (Jan/Feb 2017).
- Sampson, Thomas, “Brexit: The Economics of International Disintegration,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 31:4 (2017).

• **Democratic Backsliding - 11/13**

- Krastev, Ivan, “Eastern Europe’s Illiberal Revolution: The Long Road to Democratic Decline,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/Jun 2018).
- A. Brzel, Tanja, and Julia Langbein, “Coreperiphery disparities in Europe: is there a link between political and economic divergence?” *West European Politics* 42:5 (2019).

- **Climate Change - 11/15**

- Schmidt, John R., “Why Europe Leads on Climate Change,” *Survival* 50:4 (2008).
- Zwolski, Kamil, and Christian Kaunert, “The EU and Climate Security: A Case of Successful Norm Entrepreneurship?” *European Security* 20:1 (2011).

- **Abstract Due**

Week 13: Contemporary Transatlantic Issues

- **Trump and NATO - 11/18**

- Theil, Stefan, “Berlin’s Balancing Act: Merkel Needs Trump – But Also Needs to Keep Her Distance,” *Foreign Affairs* 96:5 (2017).
- Shiffrinson, Joshua, “Time to Consolidate NATO?” *The Washington Quarterly* 40:1 (2017).

- **Iran - 11/20**

- Schwammenthal, Daniel, “Europe, the US and the Iran deal: The Need to Resolve Transatlantic Disagreements,” *European View* 17:2 (2018).
- Vincze, Hajnalka, “Iran, the EU, and the USA: The European Search for (Some Degree of) Autonomy,” Foreign Policy Research Institute, 28 March, 2018.

- **Relations with China - 11/22**

- Smith, Michael, “Beyond the Comfort Zone: Internal Crisis and External Challenge in the European Union’s Response to Rising Powers,” *International Affairs* 89:3 (2013).
- Zimmermann, Hubert, “Realist Power Europe? The EU in the Negotiations about China’s and Russia’s WTO Accession,” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 45:4 (2007).

Week 14: The CSDP

- **The Common Security and Defence Policy - 11/25**

- Witney, Nick, “Where Does CSDP Fit in EU Foreign Policy,” *European Council on Foreign Relations* (2013).
- Menon, Anand, “Power, Institutions and the CSDP: The Promise of Institutionalist Theory,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49:1 (2011).

- Martill, Benjamin, and Monika Sus, “Post-Brexit EU/UK Security Cooperation: NATO, CSDP+, or ‘French connection’?” *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 20:4 (2018).

- **No Class - 11/27**

- **No Class - 11/29**

Week 15: What the Future Holds

- **European Cohesion - 12/2**

- Frieden, Jeffrey, “One Europe, One Vote?: The Political Economy of European Union Representation in International Organizations,” *European Union Politics* 5:2 (2004).
- Jin, Xi and Madeleine O. Hosli, “Pre-and Post-Lisbon: European Union Voting in the United Nations General Assembly,” *West European Politics* 36:6 (2013).

- **Intro and Literature Review Due**

- **The Liberal World Order? - 12/4**

- Calleo, David P., “Europe and America in a New Century,” *Survival* 55:5 (2013).
- Polyakova, Alina, and Benjamin Haddad, “Europe Alone: What Comes After the Transatlantic Alliance,” *Foreign Affairs* 98:4 (Jul/Aug 2019).

- **Review - 12/6**

- **Final Paper Due in Class - December 18th from 11am to 1pm.**