

IR 369: Post-War European Relations

Dr. Timothy Turnbull

Fall 2020

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Class Hours: M/W/F 1:00-1:50
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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:

- Participation: 15%
- Midterm Exam (October 9th): 25%
- Paper (Due November 13th): 25%
- Final Exam (TBD) 35%

Online Course Logistics

Given the current COVID-19 pandemic, USC has made it clear that classes are to be taught online through Zoom during the Fall 2020 semester. In order to comply with these instructions while accommodating those who may not be able to easily attend courses online due to geographical distance (i.e. time-zones) or illness, I will be recording all lectures and posting them to Blackboard. While I encourage attending the live lecture, if this is not possible, you will still be able to follow along asynchronously.

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 - 8/17**
- **Pre-WWI Europe: The Concert System, Free Trade, Empire - 8/19**
 - 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 - 8/21**
 - 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

- **WWII - 8/24**
 - 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 - 8/26**
 - 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).
- **Beginning of the Cold War 8/28**
 - 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).

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

- **NATO, Warsaw Pact, and Alliance Politics 8/31**
 - 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 - 9/2**
 - 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).
- **Realpolitik, Diplomacy, and Détente - 9/5**
 - Morgenthau, Hans J., *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 5th ed., (New York: Albert A. Knopf, 1978), 4-15.
 - White, Brian, “The Concept of Detente,” *Review of International Studies* 7:3 (1981).

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

- **Labor Day - No Class - 9/7**
- **The Beginnings of European Integration - 9/9**
 - “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, Economic, and International Integration - 9/11**
 - “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).
 - 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 - 9/14

- 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 - 9/16

- 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 - 9/18

- 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 - 9/21

- 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 - 9/23

- 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 - 9/25

- 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).

Week 7: Post-Cold War Conflict I

- **Bosnia - 9/28**

- 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 - 9/30**

- 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 - 10/2**

- 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 - 10/5**

- 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 - 10/7**

- 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).

- **Midterm - 10/9**

Week 9: A United Europe

- **Maastrich, Amsterdam, Nice, and Lisbon - 10/12**

- 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 - 10/14**

- 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? - 10/16**

- Vesnic-Alujevic, Lucia, and Rodrigo Castro Nacarino, “The EU and its Democratic Deficit: Problems and (Possible) Solutions,” *European View* 11:1 (2012).
- Moravcsik, Andrew, “In Defense of the ‘Democratic Deficit:’ Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:4 (2002).

Week 10: Current Issues I

- **Austerity - 10/19**

- 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 - 10/21**

- 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 - 10/23**

- 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 11: Current Issues II

- **Brexit - 10/26**

- 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 And European Disintegration? - 10/28**

- Krastev, Ivan, “Eastern Europe’s Illiberal Revolution: The Long Road to Democratic Decline,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 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 - 10/30**

- 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).

Week 12: Contemporary International Issues

- **Trump and NATO - 11/2**

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

- **The US-EU Trade War - 11/4**

- Bown, Chad P., and Melina Kolb, “Trump’s Trade War Timeline: An Up-to-Date Guide,” Peterson Institute for International Economics - Updated October 11, 2019.
- Blinder, Alan S, “The Free-Trade Paradox: The Bad Politics of a Good Idea,” *Foreign Affairs* 98:1 (2019)

- **Relations with China - 11/6**

- 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 13: What the Future Holds

- **European Cohesion - 11/9**

- 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).

- **The Liberal World Order? - 11/11**

- 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 - 11/13**

- **Final Exam - TBD**