

IR 420 International Relations in the New Europe**Fall 2002****Thomas U. Berger**

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Europe has entered a new era. After undergoing the most devastating and dangerous conflicts in history, the nations of Europe are experiencing today an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity. The deadly tensions of the Cold war have ebbed away. Military confrontation between the great powers seems almost unthinkable. Spurred on by the creation of a common currency, European economies have embarked on an ambitious program of reform and restructuring. Even the bloody ethnic conflicts of the Balkans appear to have subsided. At the dawn of the 21st century the nations of Europe appear ready to put the past behind them and unite in creating a new political entity - the European Union - that will transcend the old nation state.

Yet, shadows remain. Residual fears vis-a-vis Germany and Russia linger on. Ethnic hatreds and nationalist passions could reignite in the Balkans and other parts of Southern and Eastern Europe. New dilemmas have emerged in the form of mass migration and environmental degradation. At the same time, the institutions of the European Union are under extreme stress as they face the twin challenges of deepening the integration process while expanding to take in new members. Moreover, increasingly Europe finds itself at odds with the United States over a broad range of issues, including global warming, the Middle East, the International Criminal Court, and international trade.

Will Europe be able to master these assorted dilemmas and challenges? Will the grand project of European Integration succeed in creating a new, more peaceful and humane regional order? Or will Europe succumb to these pressures and witness renewed instability and turmoil? If the European project succeeds, how will the United States relate to this new colossus, which, though it shares many of the ideals and values held dear by Americans, does not always hold identical views on world affairs? Alternatively, if the European nations fail to create a more perfect union of their own, how will the United States cope with potential instability in what remains the richest and one of the most technologically advanced regions in the world?

This course will proceed to address these questions in three stages. First, it will briefly review some of the major theoretical perspectives in International Relations in order to provide students with a conceptual "tool kit" for dealing with concrete empirical issues. Next, the course will provide a brief, theoretically informed overview of the development of international relations in the old Europe prior to the end of the Cold War. In this section we will look in some detail at the foreign policies of the major actors in European affairs - Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States. The rest of the course will be spent examining in detail selected central issues in contemporary European affairs, including the evolution of the European Union, the redefinition of NATO, the role of the reunified Germany, the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and struggle to deal with mass migration.

Required Texts:

David P. Calleo, Rethinking Europe's Future (Princeton, NJ: Princeton university Press, 2001)

Michael Mandelbaum, ed. New European Diasporas(Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations, 2000)

Michael Mandelbaum, ed. The New Russian Foreign Policy (Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations,2000)

Ian Manners and Richard G. Whitman, The Foreign Policies of European Union Member States(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)

John McCormick, The European Union: Politics and Policies, 2nd edition (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999)

Kathleen McNamara, The Currency of Ideas (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998)

David Yost, NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles In International Security (Washington, DC: United State Institute of Peace Press, 1998)

Course Requirements:

1) Two short (50 minute tests) based on the required readings - 50% identify key terms, 50% short answer. A review sheet will be passed out one week prior to the examinations in order to help the students prepare. In addition students are expected to write a 12-15 page analytical paper on a topic of their own choosing. **The term paper is due on the last day of class.** Grade is based 50% on the term paper, 50% on the tests, modified by the quality of participation in the discussion sections.

Students are urged to make an early appointment to discuss term paper. A brief written summary of the progress made on the term paper, including a tentative bibliography, is to be submitted by the by the beginning of the ninth week by e-mail. I am willing to look over drafts of the term paper up to one week before they are due and give general comments. **The Term paper is due by the last day of classes.** The term paper should be double spaced, 12 pt type, with the standard margins and number of lines per page.

Week I - Course Introduction and Review of International Relations Theory

Readings:

Hans Morgenthau, "The Realist Theory of Politics," in John A. Vasquez, Classics of International Relations, 3rd, edition, (New York: Prentice Hall, 1996), pp.25-28 (3 pages)

From Robert Art and Robert Jervis, eds., International Politics, 3rd edition, New York Harper Collins, 1992 Pgs. 1-6, 51-67, 90-101, 170-185, 253-265, 505-525 (80 pages)

From Jeffrey A. Frieden and David A. Lake, eds., International Political Economy 3rd edition, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), pp.319-352, 506-531 (58 pages)

John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of Institutionalism," International Security 19:3 (Winter 1994/95), pp.5-50 (45)

Total:

Recommended:

Ben Rosamond, Theories of European Integration (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000) (Required for Graduate Students)

Week II - The History of International Relations in Europe - Before 1945 2/1 and 2/3

David Calleo, Rethinking Europe's Future, chapters 1 to 5, pp.1-86

Week III - The History of IR in Europe - The Cold War 1945-1991

Calleo, Rethinking Europe, chapters 6-10 (98 pages)

Bill Wohlforth, "Realism and the End of the Cold War," International Security 19:3 (Winter 1994/95), pp.91-129 (38)

Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Ideas do not float freely: Transnational Structures, Domestic Structures and the End of the Cold war," in Richard Ned Lebow and Thomas Risse-Kappen, eds., International relations Theory and the End of the Cold War (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp.187-211 (24)

Week IV - The Foreign Policies of the Great Powers in Europe

Ian Manners, The Foreign Policies of European Union Member States, chapters 2-8 (141)

Recommended:

Jeffrey J. Anderson and John B. Goodman, "Mars or Minerva: A United Germany in a Post-Cold War Europe," in Robert O. Keohane, Joseph Nye and Stanley Hoffman, eds., After the Cold War: International Institutions and State Strategies in Europe, 1989-1991, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993)

Thomas Banchoff, The German Problem Transformed (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1999)

Simon Bulmer, Charlie Jeffrey and William E. Paterson, Germany's European Diplomacy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)

John Duffield, World Power Foresaken" Political Culture, International Institutions and German Security Policy after Unification (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998)

Philip Gordon, A Certain Idea of France (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993)

Peter Katzenstein, ed., Tamed Power: Germany in Europe (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997)

Stephen Kocs, Autonomy or Power? The Franco-German Relationship and Europe's Strategic Choices, 1955-1995 (New York: Praeger, 1995)

Andrei S. Markovits and Simon Reich, The German Predicament: Memory and Power in the New Europe (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997)

John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future," *International Security*, Vol.15, No.1 (Summer 1990)

Sophie Meunier, "The French Exception," *Foreign Affairs* &9:4 (July/August 2000), pp. 104-116 (12)

Max Otte and Jürgen Greve, A Rising Middle Power? German Foreign Policy in Transition, 1989-1999 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000)

Douglas Webber, New Europe, New German, Old Foreign Policy?: German Foreign Policy since Reunification (London: Frank Cass, 2001)

Hugo Young, This Blessed Plot: Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair (Overlook Press, 1999)

Week V - Russia - in or out of the New Europe?

Michael Mandelbaum, The New Russian Foreign Policy pp.1-194

Anatol Lieven, "The Secret Policeman's Ball: the United States, Russia and the international order after 11 September," *International Affairs* 2 (2002), pp.245-259 (14)

Jon B. Wolfsthal and Tom Z. Collina, "Nuclear Terrorism and warhead Control in Russia," *Survival* 44:2 (summer 2002), pp.71-83 (12)

Recommended:

Angela E. Stent, Russia and Germany Reborn: Unification, The Soviet Collapse and the New Europe (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999)

Michael McFaul, "A Precarious Peace: Domestic Politics in the Making of Russian Foreign Policy," International Security (Winter 1997/98), pp.5-35 (30)

Ilya Prizel, National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland, Russia and Ukraine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Strobe Talbot, The Russia Hand: A Memoir of presidential Diplomacy (New York: Random House, 2002)

Martha B. Ollcot, et.al., Getting it Wrong: Regional Cooperation and the Commonwealth of Independent States (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000)

Week VI - The United States and the New Europe

Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness: Why the United States and Europe see the World Differently," Policy Review No.114 (June/July 2002),

Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," International Security 21:3 (Winter 1996/97), pp.5-51 (46)

Joseph Nye, "The U.S. and Europe: Continental Drift?" International Affairs 76:1 (January 2000), pp.51-61 (10)

Charles Kupchan, "In defense of European Defense: An American Perspective," Survival 42:2 (Summer 2000), pp.16-32 (16)

Stephen Walt, "Ties that Fray," National Interest (Winter 1998/99), pp.3-14 (11)

David S. Yost, "Transatlantic relations and Peace in Europe," International Affairs 2 (2002), pp.277-300 (23)

Miranda Schreurs, "The Climate Change Divide: The EU, the US, and the Future of the Kyoto Protocol" (Unpublished manuscript, 2002, 15 pages)

Martin Feldstein, "EMU and International Conflict," Foreign Affairs 76:6 (November/December, 1997), pp.60-73 (13)

Total:

Recommended:

Miles Kahler and Werner Link, Europe and America: A Return to History (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1996)

Max Kaase and Andrew Kohut, Estranged Friends: The Transatlantic Consequences of Societal Change (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1996), especially Part II

Midterm Multiple Choice - identify in three sentences or less people, events and institutions Part II: Short Questions - select and discuss in a paragraph of more than three sentences 2 topics.

Week VI - European Union I - Origins and Institutional Structures

McCormick, The European Union, pp.26-192 (166)

Calleo, Rethinking Europe's Future, chapters 11 and 12, 185-249 (64)

Recommended:

Thomas Banchoff and Mitchell P. Smith, eds., Legitimacy and the European Union: The Contested Polity (London and New York: Routledge, 1999)

James A. Caporaso, The European Union: Dilemmas of Regional Integration (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 2000)

Alan Milward, The European Rescue of the Nation State (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), especially chapter 2 (21 pages)

Neil Nugent, The Government and Politics of the European Union third edition (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994)

Week VII - European Union III - Economic Integration

McCormick, The European Union pp.213-228 (15)

Kathleen McNamara, The Currency of Ideas, chapters 2, 3, 6 and 7 (115)

Kenneth Dyson, "EMU or Europeanization: Convergence, Diversity or Contingency," Journal of Common Market Studies 38:4 (November 2000), pp.645-666 (21)

Jean-Claude Trichet, "The Euro after Two Years," Journal of Common Market Studies 39:1 (March 2001), pp.1-13 (13)

Giorgio La Malfa, "The Orphaned Euro," plus response by Calleo, Survival 44:1 (Spring 2002), pp.81-96 (15)

Recommended:

Andrew Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1998)

Andrew Moravcsik and Kalypsio Nicolaidis, "Explaining the Treaty of Amsterdam: Interest, Influence, Institutions," Journal of Common Market Studies 37:1 (March 1999), pp.59-86 (17)

Brian T. Hanson, "What Happened to Fortress Europe?: External Trade Policy Liberalization in the European Union," International Organization 52:1 (Winter 1998), pp.55-85 (30)

Geoffrey Garret and Barry Weingast, "Ideas, Interests and Institutions: Constructing the European Union's Common Market" in Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Koehane, eds. Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 173-206 (33)

Week VIII - European Union III - The Dilemmas of Expansion

James Sperling, ed., Europe in Change: Two Tiers or Two Speeds (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 (77 pages)

David Calleo, Rethinking Europe's Future Chapter 13, pp.250-298 (48)

Neil Nugent, "Enlargement and the Cyprus Problem," Journal of Common Market Studies 38:1 (March 2000), pp.131-150 (19)

Barry Buzan and Thomas Diez, "The European Union and Turkey," Survival 41:3 (August 1999), pp.41-57 (36)

Week IX - The Reform of NATO

David Yost, NATO Transformed: The Alliances New Roles in International Security, pp. 1-131

Stuart Croft, "Guaranteeing Europe' Security? Enlarging NATO again" International Affairs 78:1 (2002) 97-114 (17)

Dan Reiter, "Why NATO Enlargement does not spread Democracy," International Security 25:4 (Spring 2001), pp.41-67 (26)

Ronald R. Krebs, "Perverse Institutionalism: NATO and the Greco-Turkish Conflict," International Organization 53:2 (Spring 1999), pp.343-373 (30)

Recommended:

James M. Goldgeier, Not Whether but When: The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 1999)

Philip Gordon, ed., NATO's Transformation: The Changing Shape of the Atlantic Alliance (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997)

Michael Mandelbaum, The Dawn of Peace (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1996)

James Sperling, ed., Europe in Change: Two Tiers or Two Speeds? (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999)

Week X -Ethnic Conflict and International Interventions

Michael Mandelbaum, ed. New European Diasporas - Whole Book

Recommended:

Robert D. Kaplan, The Coming Anarchy (New York: Vintage Books, 2001)

Chaim D. Kaufman, "When All Else Fails: Population Transfer and Partitions in th 20th Century," International Security 23:2 (Fall 1998)

Charles King and Neil J. Melvin, "Diaspora Politics, Ethnic Linkages, Foreign policy and Security in Eurasia," International Security 24:3 (Winter 1999/2000)

Charles Kupchan, ed., Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1995)

John Mueller, "The Banality of 'Ethnic War,'" International Security 25:1 (Summer 2000)

Week XI - The Former Yugoslavia

Yost, NATO Transformed, pp.189-267 (78)

Ivo Daalder and Michael O'Hanlon, Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institutions, 1999) chapters 1 and conclusion (whole book is recommended) (63 pages)

Ted Galen Carpenter, ed. NATO's Empty Victory (Washington, DC: the CATO Institute, 2000), chapters 1,2,3,6, 9, 10 and 13 (69)

Recommended:

Ted Galen Carpenter, Beyond NATO Staying out of Europe's Wars (Washington, DC: The Cato Institute, 1994), chapter 123-149 (26)

Misha Glenny, The Balkans: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers, 1804-1999 (New York: The Penguin Group, 1999)

Susan L. Woodward, Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War (Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 1995)

Week XII - The Challenge of Immigration

Ole Weaver, Barry Buzan, Marten Kelstrup and Pierre Lemaitre, Identity, Migration and the New Security agenda in Europe (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), pp. 1-14, 148-166 (32)

Sarah Collinson, Europe and International Migration revised edition (New York: Pinter Publishers, 1994), pp.1-8, 25-63, 81-156 (116)

Yasemin Soysal, "Changing Citizenship in Europe: remarks on Postnational Citizenship and the Nation State," David Cressnari and Mary Fullbrook, Citizenship, Nationality and Migration in Europe (London: Routledge, 1996), pp,17-30 (14)

Theodora Kostakapoulis, "The 'Protective Union:' Change and Continuity in Migration Politics and Policy in Post-Amsterdam Europe," Journal of Common Market Studies 38:3 (September 2000), pp.497-518 (21)

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Recommended:

Wayne Cornelius, et.al., Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), especially chapter 1.

Myron Weiner, "Security, Stability and International Migration," International Security 17:3 (Winter 1992/93), pp.91-126

Week XIII Course Conclusions

No readings (get your papers in on the last day of class)

Relevant Journals:

The following are some of the Journals in the library that may have scholarly articles relevant to term paper topics you may choose.

Aussenpolitik

British Journal of Political Science

Current History (lots of short articles reviewing recent events)

Europa Archiv

Foreign Affairs

French Politics and Society

German Politics

German Politics and Society
Governments and Oppositions

International Organization (focuses heavily on political economy issues)

International Security (as the title suggests, an excellent source for security matters)

Journal of Common Market Studies (an especially useful source on the EU)

Journal Of European Public Policy

Survival (A leading British security journal)

The Washington Quarterly

In addition you may want to look at the British weekly, The Economist which can usually be counted on to have at least one general interest article on European politics, as well as at the British daily, The Financial Times, which is an excellent source on European politics in general.

Some useful Websites

www.aicgs.org (With links to German press and media sites - see in particular Deutsche Welle - which includes reportage in English on current German affairs)

www.europa.org - (the official website of the European Union)

<http://www.guardian.co.uk> - leading liberal journal in Britain

<http://www.europanet.org> – very useful social science cite with lots of links

www.ft.com (The Financial Times - Britain's Wall Street Journal, but better. Unfortunately has restricted access to much of its commentary and analysis)

www.lemonde.fr (French - leading Center Left Newspaper in France. Excellent on French affairs)

www.pitt.edu/~wwwes/ (an excellent academic resource site specializing in european affairs)

www.spiegel.de - (Germany's leading weekly magazine)

www.sdz.de - (a leading German newspaper. Slightly Center-left with a Bavarian twist)