



International Relations in Europe

EUI, Fall 2012

Time of Class Meetings: Thursday 17:00-19:30

Location: Seminar Room 4 (Badia Fiesolana)

Please register with Maureen Lechleitner (maureen.lechleitner@eui.eu)

Professor Ulrich Krotz
Department of Social and Political Sciences
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
European University Institute
ulrich.krotz@eui.eu

Purpose: This seminar reviews the central political and theoretical issues in contemporary European international affairs. The course locates the study of international politics in Europe within the general study of international relations, international security, and political science. The readings of the weekly topics are organized around the main intellectual debates in thinking about international relations in Europe today. The seminar syllabus combines a number of particularly influential “classic” pieces on European international affairs with some of the most interesting theoretically informed recent statements and a number of the most pertinent original documents and texts. The seminar begins with scrutinizing the most important classic and recent statements in the history, theory, and politics of European post-World War II affairs. Subsequently it considers Europe in the North Atlantic world, transatlantic relations, and questions related to the future of the West; various issues of European actorhood and strategy; and the rise of a European foreign, security, and defense policy. It concludes by reflecting upon matters of European identity, the state of European affairs today, and the possible roles that Europe may or may not play in the twenty-first century world politics to come.

Thumbnail: Reviews central issues in European international affairs and security from a variety of theoretical and analytic perspectives. Substantive issues considered include the politics of European integration; the state of the European project today; “Europeanization,” Europe as part of the North Atlantic world and transatlantic relations; European foreign and security policy; issues of European identity; and Europe in the world to come.

Requirements: 1. Students are expected to come to class fully prepared and to have thoroughly completed the assigned readings before each week’s meeting, and actively to participate in class discussions. Regular seminar attendance goes without saying. Required readings will be discussed in class. The “Recommended Supplementary Readings” will not be discussed in class. They function as a guide for students who want to learn more about a given topic, or who wish to undertake independent research on the issue at hand. When appropriate, the course provider or a participant will present to the seminar a brief summary of work listed under “Recommended Supplementary Readings.”

2. Course participants are asked to write three or more literature critiques of around five pages each (say around 2000 words or so). These “reaction papers” will introduce key readings and will be discussed in class together with the readings themselves. The authors of these reviews need to send them via e-mail attachment to the other course participants no later than 24 hours before the seminar meetings. Authors will very briefly present their critique papers in seminar, followed by questions and discussion.

Other requirements to be specified according to students' interests and course enrollment.

Prerequisites: No formal prerequisites. However, the course design presumes that participants have a solid background in international relations, and European history and politics, or are willing to make up deficits through independent reading as the course proceeds.

Course Outline

0. Introduction and Overview, Course Goals, Course Organization, Discussion of Syllabus
1. Political Positions and Theoretical Formulations: Classic Statements and Basic Orientations
2. European Politics and Social Science Theorizing
3. Debating the Sources and Prospects of the European Project
4. Europeanization!?
5. Europe in the North Atlantic World, Transatlantic Relations, NATO
6. Transatlantic Relations and the Future of the West
7. Europe in the World: Actorhood, What Kind of Actor, Strategy
8. Europe in the World: Rise of European Foreign, Security, and Defense Policy
9. European Identity: Who Are We? (And What Do We Want?)
10. Crisis-Ridden Europe in the World to Come

Recommended for Purchase

Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, eds., *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003).
Very useful, well done selection of key statements.

Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).
Very useful overall overview of theorizing on European politics.

Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union* 7th Edition (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
Well done overview of history, institutional frame, and major policy domains of European integration and EU politics. Very useful to brush up or fill gaps in these areas in case you feel there might be some.

Feel encouraged to purchase further books, such as Jones, *Rise and Laqueur, Fall*.

Week 1**Political Positions and Theoretical Formulations: Classic Statements and Basic Orientations**a. Classic Statements in Politics and History

Winston Churchill, *The Tragedy of Europe* (pp. 7-11);
 Robert Schuman, *The Schuman Declaration* (pp. 13-14);
 Preambles to the Treaties Establishing the European Communities (Treaties of Paris and Rome) (pp. 15-17);
 Jean Monnet, *A Ferment of Change* (pp. 19-26);
 Charles de Gaulle, *A Concert of European States* (pp. 27-44);
 Preamble to the Single European Act (pp. 45-47);
 Margaret Thatcher, *A Family of Nations* (pp. 49-54);
 Preamble to the Treaty on European Union (The Maastricht Treaty) (pp. 65-66);
 Preamble to the Treaty of Nice Amending the Treaty on European Union (The Nice Treaty) (pp. 67-68).

Read the reprints (some excerpted) of the above in Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, eds., *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003), Part I (“Visions of a United Europe”).

b. Classic Statements in Theory

Ernst B. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Economic, and Social Forces, 1950-1957*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958).
 Read excerpts as reprinted in Nelsen/Stubb (pp. 145-149).

Stanley Hoffmann, “Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe,” *Daedalus*, Vol. 95, No. 3 (Summer 1966), pp. 862-915.
 Read excerpts reprinted in Nelsen/Stubb (pp. 163-177); however, feel encouraged to spend some time with the full 1966 article (available as PDF).

c. Theory, Integration, Social Science: Theoretical Roots of Contemporary Thought

Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), Preface, chapter 1 (“Introduction”), chapter 2 (“Federalism, Functionalism and Transactionalism”), chapter 3 (“Neofunctionalism”) and chapter 4 (“Backlash, Critique and Contemplation”). Read chapter 1 especially carefully. You might speed up your reading pace in the sections on Federalism (pp. 23-31) and Functionalism (pp. 31-42) as well as in the section Alternative Critiques (pp. 81-85).

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Useful for Historical, Political, and Institutional Background

Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union* 7th Edition (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
 Well done overview of history, institutional frame, and major policy domains of European integration and EU politics. Very useful to brush up or fill gaps in these areas in case you feel there might be some.

Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration* 4th Edition (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010).

Ditto. Gives a readable overview of the history and politics of European integration as well as the various Brussels institutions, their roles, and how they intertwine with one another.

John Pinder, *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction* (latest edition) (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Ditto. Shorter (Although not quite "very short," as the series title has it.)

Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán, eds., *European Union Politics* Third Edition (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Ditto. Good overview of history, theorizing, institutions, and policy areas.

Hajo Holborn, *The Political Collapse of Europe* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1960 [1951]).

Classic study in European international political history; informed by traditional realist thought.

A. W. DePorte, *Europe between the Superpowers: The Enduring Balance*, Second Edition (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986).

Cold War classic. In some ways a link between Holborn, *Collapse* on the one hand, and post-Cold War overviews on the other.

Marc Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945-1963* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Peter J. Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

Theoretical Overviews and Evolution of Research Practices

Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

Mark A. Pollack, "Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 8, pp. 357-398.

Hans-Jürgen Bieling and Marika Lerch, eds., *Theorien der Europäischen Integration* 2nd Edition (Berlin: VS Verlag).

Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, eds. *European Integration Theory* 2nd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

John T.S. Keeler, "Mapping EU Studies: The Evolution from Boutique to Boom Field 1960-2001," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (2005), pp. 551-582.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "European Union?" *West European Politics*, Vol. 31, Nos. 1-2 (January-March 2008), pp. 108-129.

Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young, eds., *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 6th Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Useful in particular for its comprehensive coverage of the specific political issue areas of European Union politics.

Week 2**European Politics and Social Science Theorizing**

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

Read introduction chapter (pp. 1-17) of book or its reprint in Nelsen/Stubb (there pp. 239-253).

Jeffrey T. Checkel, "Social Construction and European Integration," in Thomas Christiansen, Knud Erik Jørgensen and Antje Wiener, eds., *The Social Construction of Europe* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2001). Reprinted in Nelsen/Stubb (there pp. 351-360).

Ulrich Krotz and Joachim Schild, *Shaping Europe: France, Germany, and Embedded Bilateralism from the Elysée Treaty to Twenty-First Century Politics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), Introduction.

William Phelan, "What is *Sui Generis* about the European Union? Costly International Cooperation in a Self-Contained Regime," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (September 2012).

Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), **skim** chapter 5 ("Theorizing the 'New Europe'") and chapter 6 ("Intergovernmental Europe"); **read** chapter 7 ("Europe and the World: Contemporary International Theory and European Integration") and chapter 8 ("Integration Theory and Social Science").

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Functionalism, Neofunctionalism, and Supranational Governance

David Mitrany, *A Working Peace System* (Quadrangle Books, 1966). Reprinted in excerpts in Nelsen/Stubb, eds. (there pp. 99-119).

Leon Scheingold, *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1963). Reprinted in excerpts as "Political Integration: Definitions and Hypotheses" in Nelsen/Stubb (there pp. 151-162).

Anne-Marie Burley and Walter Mattli, "Europe before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration," *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 41-76.

Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet, eds., *European Integration and Supranational Governance* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Alec Stone Sweet and Wayne Sandholtz, "Integration, Supranational Governance, and the Institutionalization of the European Polity," in Sandholtz and Stone Sweet, eds., *European Integration and Supranational Governance* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 1-26 (reprinted in Nelsen/Stubb, there pp.215-238).

Alec Stone Sweet, Wayne Sandholtz and Neil Fligstein, *The Institutionalization of Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), especially chapters 1 and 11.

Alec Stone Sweet, *The Judicial Construction of Europe* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Realism(s) and Regional Integration

Stanley Hoffmann, "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe," *Daedalus*, Vol. 95, No. 3, pp. 862-915.

Joseph Grieco, "The Maastricht Treaty, Economic and Monetary Union, and the Neorealist Research Programme," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 21, Vol. 1 (January 1995), pp. 21-40.

Joseph Grieco, "State Interests and Institutional Rule Trajectories: A Neorealist Interpretation of the Maastricht Treaty and European Economic and Monetary Union," *Security Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Spring 1996), pp. 176-222.

Michael Loriaux, "Realism and Reconciliation: France, Germany, and the European Union," in Ethan B. Kapstein and Michael Mastanduno (eds) *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies after the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 354-384.

Leslie F. Goldstein, "State Resistance to Authority in Federal Unions: The Early United States (1790-1860) and the European Community (1958-1994)," *Studies in American Political Development*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 149ff.
Full length as Leslie F. Goldstein, *Constituting Federal Sovereignty* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Seth G. Jones, *The Rise of European Security Cooperation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Sebastian Rosato, *Europe United: Power Politics and the Making of the European Community* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).

Examples of Liberalism and Liberal Intergovernmentalism

Robert O. Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann, eds., *The New European Community: Decisionmaking and Institutional Change* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1991).

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

Walter Mattli, *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Types of Historical Institutionalism

Paul Pierson, "The Path to the European integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (April 1996), pp. 123-163.
Revised and updated as Paul Pierson, "The Path to European Integration: A Historical-Institutionalist Analysis," in Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet, eds., *European Integration and Supranational Governance* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 27-58.

Michael E. Smith, *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Ulrich Krotz, "Regularized Intergovernmentalism: France-Germany and Beyond (1963-2009)," *Foreign Policy Analysis* Vol. 6, No. 2 (2010), pp. 147-185.

Constructivist Examples

Craig Parsons, *A Certain Idea of Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), especially Introduction (pp.1-33) and Conclusion (pp. 231-242).

Frank Schimmelfennig, *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Especially Introduction (pp. 1-16), Conclusion of Part I ("The Rationalist Puzzle of Eastern Enlargement," pp. 63-66), Conclusion of Part II ("The Sociological Solution to the Enlargement Puzzle," pp. 152-154), chapter 11 ("The Decision to Enlarge the EU," pp. 265-278), Overall Conclusion ("Solving the Double Puzzle of Eastern Enlargement," pp. 279-280), Concluding Remarks ("Strategic Action in International Community," pp. 281-287). Skim or read additional chapters depending on your particular interests.

Jeffrey T. Checkel, "Social Constructivisms in Global and European Politics: A Review Essay," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2004), pp. 229-244.

Multi-Level Governance

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001). Reprinted in excerpts as "Multi-Level Governane in the European Union," in Nelsen/Stupp (there pp. 281-311).

Markus Jachtenfuchs, "The Governance Approach to European Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2001), pp. 245-264. Reprinted in Nelsen/Stubb (there pp. 335-349).

Beate Kohler-Koch and Berthold Rittberger, "The 'Governance Turn' in EU Studies," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (2006), pp. 27-49.

Fabrice Larat and Beate Kohler-Koch, eds., *European Multi-Level Governance: Contrasting Images in National Research*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Nature of Europe and N of 1 Issue

Donald Puchala, "Of Blind Men, Elephants, and International Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (March 1972), pp. 267-284.

Stefano Bartolini, *Restructuring Europe: Centre Formation, System Building, and Political Structuring between the Nation State and the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

James A. Caporaso, Gary Marks, Andrew Moravcsik, and Mark A. Pollack, "Does the European Union Represent an N of 1?" *ECSA Review*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1997), pp. 1-5. Available at <http://www.eustudies.org/N1debate.htm>.

William Phelan, "What is *Sui Generis* about the European Union? Costly International Cooperation in a Self-Contained Regime," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (September 2012).

Week 3**Debating the Sources and Prospects of the European Project**

Sebastian Rosato, *Europe United: Power Politics and the Making of the European Community* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), skim chapter 1 ("Introduction") and chapter 2 ("Explaining International Cooperation").

Sebastian Rosato, "Europe's Troubles: Power Politics and the State of the European Project," *International Security*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Spring 2011), pp. 45-86.

Ulrich Krotz and Richard Maher, David M. McCourt and Andrew Glencross, Norrin M. Ripsman, Mark S. Sheetz and Jean-Yves Haine, and Sebastian Rosato, "Debating the Sources and Prospects of European Integration," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Summer 2012), pp. 178-199.

"Project Europe 2030: Challenges and Opportunities." A Report to the European Council by the Reflection Group on the Future of the EU 2030 (46 pp, May 2010).

Week 4**Europeanization!?**

Favell, Adrian, Ettore Recchi, Theresa Kuhn, Janne Solgaard Jensen, and Juliane Klein, "The Europeanisation of Everyday Life: Cross-Border Practices and Transnational Identifications Among EU and Third-Country Citizens. State of the Art Report." EUCROSS Working Paper #1 (54 pp, October 2011).

Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Introduction: Conceptualizing the Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe," in Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds., *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), chapter 1 (pp. 1-28).

Adrienne Héritier, "Europeanization East and West," in Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds., *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 199-209.

Ulrich Krotz, "Parapublic Underpinnings of International Relations: The Franco-German Construction of Europeanization of a Particular Kind," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (September 2007), pp. 385-417.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Johan P. Olsen, "The Many Faces of Europeanization," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 5 (2002), pp. 921-952. (Skim for Background.)

Jeffrey J. Anderson, "Europeanization and the Transformation of the Democratic Polity," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 5 (2002), pp. 793-822.

Lars-Erik Cederman, "Nationalism and Bounded Integration: What it Would Take to Construct a European Demos," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2001), pp. 139-174.

- Maria Green Cowles, James Caporaso and Thomas Risse, eds., *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).
- Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli, eds., *The Politics of Europeanization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse "Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe," in Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli, eds., *The Politics of Europeanization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 57-80.
- Juan Díez Medrano, *Framing Europe: Attitudes to European Integration in Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).
- Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds., *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).
- Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Week 5

Europe in the North Atlantic World, Transatlantic Relations, NATO

- Karl W. Deutsch et al., *Political Community in the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).
Read the excerpts reprinted in Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, eds., *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003), pp. 121-143.
- The North Atlantic Treaty, Washington, DC, 4 April 1949;
Available at <http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/treaty.htm>
- John F. Kennedy, Speech at Rathaus Schöneberg in Berlin (West), 26 June 1963
Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3022166.stm> and elsewhere.
- Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness: Why the United States and Europe See the World Differently," *Policy Review*, No. 113 (June-July 2002), pp. 3-28.
- Robert Kagan, "A Comment on Context," *Policy Review*, No. 172 (March-April 2012).
If you wish, also have a peek at some of the other essays on the symposium on "Power and Weakness" ten years after in this special issue of *Policy Review*. The issue is accessible on the Hoover Institution's web pages.
- Mark Webber, James Sperling, and Martin A. Smith, *NATO's Post-Cold War Trajectory: Decline or Regeneration?* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. tba.
- Burns, R. Nicholas, Damon M. Wilson, and Jeff Lightfoot, *Anchoring the Alliance*. Washington, D.C.: Atlantic Council, May 2012 (12 pp.). (ISBN: 978-1-61977-014-0)

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Karl W. Deutsch et al., *Political Community in the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

Emanuel Adler, "Seeds of Peaceful Change: The OSCE's Security Community-Building Model," in Emanuel Adler and Michael N. Barnett, eds., *Security Communities* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 119-160.

Emanuel Adler and Michael N. Barnett, eds., *Security Communities* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

John Gerard Ruggie, "NATO and the Transatlantic Security Community," in John Gerard Ruggie, ed. *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 229-239.

Steve Weber, "Shaping the Postwar Balance of Power: Multilateralism in NATO," in John Gerard Ruggie, ed. *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 233-292.

Steve Weber, "Does NATO have a Future?," in Beverly Crawford, ed. *The Future of European Security* (Berkeley: International and Area Studies Center for German and European Studies University of California at Berkeley, 1992).

Peter J. Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

Ulrich Krotz and James Sperling, "The European Security Order between American Hegemony and French Independence," *European Security*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (September 2011), pp. 305-335.

Henry Kissinger, *The Troubled Partnership: A Re-Appraisal of the Atlantic Alliance* (New York: Doubleday, 1966).

Geir Lundestad, *The United States and Western Europe since 1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Marc Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945-1963* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Andreas W. Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Manfred Wörner, "The Atlantic Alliance in the New Era," *NATO Review*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (February 1991), pp. 3-8. Available at <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/1991/9101-01.htm>

George Robertson, "This Ain't Your Daddy's NATO." NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson's Speech at a Conference on the Marshall Legacy: The Role of Transatlantic Community in Building Peace and Security. Hosted by the George C. Marshall Foundation, The Center for Transatlantic Relations at Johns Hopkins SAIS, and The Royal Norwegian Embassy on the Occasion of Lord Robertson's Farewell Visit to the United States, Washington, DC (November 12, 2003). Available at <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/sp2003.htm>

Week 6**Transatlantic Relations and the Future of the West**

Sophie Meunier, "Do Transatlantic Relations Still Matter?" *Perspectives on Europe*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Spring 2010), pp. 15-17.

G. John Ikenberry, "Explaining Crisis and Change in Transatlantic Relations," in Jeffrey J. Anderson, G. John Ikenberry, and Thomas Risse, eds., *The End of the West? Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 1-27.

Thomas Risse, "The End of the West? Conclusions," in Jeffrey J. Anderson, G. John Ikenberry, and Thomas Risse, eds., *The End of the West? Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 263-290.

Caroline Fehl, *Living with a Reluctant Hegemon: Explaining European Responses to U.S. Unilateralism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. tba.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Peter Baldwin, *The Narcissism of Minor Differences: How America and Europe are Alike* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Jeffrey J. Anderson, G. John Ikenberry, and Thomas Risse, eds., *The End of the West? Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Ulrich Krotz, "The (Beginning of the) End of the Political Unity of the West? Four Scenarios of North Atlantic Futures," Transatlantic Programme Series, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute (September 2008), *EUI Working Papers, RSCAS 2008/31*.

David M. Andrews, ed., *The Atlantic Alliance under Stress: US-European Relations after Iraq* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Laurent Cohen-Tanugi, *An Alliance at Risk*, George A. Holoch, Jr., trans. (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

Michael Cox, "Beyond the West: Terrors in Transatlantia," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2005), pp. 203-233.

Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, "Realism, Structural Liberalism, and the Western Order," in Ethan B. Kapstein and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies after the Cold War* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 103-137.

Philip H. Gordon and Jeremy Shapiro, *Allies at War: America, Europe, and the Crisis over Iraq* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004).

Robert O. Keohane, "Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2002), pp. 743-765.

Charles A. Kupchan, "The End of the West," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 290, No. 4 (November 2002), pp. 42-44. Available at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/2002/11/kupchan.htm>.

- Jacinta O'Hagan, *Conceptualizing the West in International Relations: From Spengler to Said* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
- Stanley Hoffmann, "Why Don't They Like Us?," *The American Prospect*, Vol. 12, No. 20, (November 19, 2001), pp. 18-21.
- Timothy Garton Ash, "Anti-Europeanism in America," *Hoover Digest* 2003, No. 2 (Spring)
Available at <http://www-hoover.stanford.edu/publications/digest/past_issues.html> (Hoover Digest Home <<http://www.hooverdigest.org/>>. Reprinted as "The New Anti-Europeanism in America," in Tod Lindberg, *Beyond Paradise and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 121-133.
- David Haglund, G., "Trouble in Pax Americana? The United States, Europe, and the Future of Multilateralism," in Rosemary Foot, S. Neil MacFarlane and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *U.S. Hegemony and International Organizations: The United States and Multilateral Institutions* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 215-238.
- Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004).
- Peter J. Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).
- Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane, eds., *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).
- Peter Katzenstein and Robert Keohane, "Anti-Americanisms," *Policy Review*, No. 139 (September/October 2006), pp. 25-37.
- "The (Beginning of the) End of the Political Unity of the West? Four Scenarios of North Atlantic Futures," Transatlantic Programme Series, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute (September 2008), *EUI Working Papers, RSCAS 2008/31*. Available on the EUI web pages.
- Charles A. Kupchan, *The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Knopf, 2002).
- Tod Lindberg, ed., *Beyond Paradise and Power: Europe, America, and the Future of a Troubled Partnership* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
- Geir Lundestad, *The United States and Western Europe since 1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Chris Patten, *Cousins and Strangers* (New York: Holt, 2006).
- Elizabeth Pond, *Friendly Fire: The Near-Death of the Transatlantic Alliance* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2003).
- Joseph P. Quinlan, *Drifting Apart or Growing Together? The Primacy of the Transatlantic Economy* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2003).
- Stephen M. Walt, "The Ties That Fray," *The National Interest*, No. 54 (Winter 1999), pp. 3-11.
- Stephen M. Walt, "The Imbalance of Power: On the Prospects for Effective American-European Relations," *Harvard Magazine* (March-April 2004), pp. 32-35.
Available as PDF reprint text at <http://www.comw.org/pda/swalt.pdf>

Available as PDF as in Journal print version at <http://www.harvard-magazine.com/lib/04ma/pdf/0304-32.pdf> or as text at <http://www.harvard-magazine.com/online/030406.html>

William Wallace, "Europe, the Necessary Partner," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 3 (2001), pp. 16-35.

Andrew Moravcsik, "Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 4 (July-August 2003), pp. 74-89.

Week 7

Europe in the World: Actorhood, Kind of Actor, Strategy

Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union* 7th Edition (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 371-400.

"A Secure Europe in a Better World," European Security Strategy, Brussels, 12 December 2003 (14 pp.).

Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 40, No. 2 (2002), pp. 235-258.

Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2006), pp. 182-199.

Adrian Hyde-Price "Normative" Power Europe: A Realist Critique" *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2006), pp. 217-234.

Ulrich Krotz, "Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe Won't Emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage Soon," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (May 2009), pp. 555-578.

Pascal Vennesson, "Competing Visions for the European Union Grand Strategy," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 15 (January-February 2010), pp. 57-75.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Do have a look at a few very recent statements on European foreign, security, and defense, as well as Europe's role in the world on the web (especially from the European Commission, the European Councils, and the Council of Ministers, general council of foreign affairs. Do bring along as PDFs or hard copies or both the most interesting documents and think of explanations for the position(s) they expound.

Marise Cremona, "The Union as a Global Actor: Roles, Models, and Identity," *Common Market Law Review*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (April/May 2004), pp. 553-573.

Jeffrey L. Cimbalo, "Saving NATO from Europe," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 6 (November/December 2004), pp. 111-120.

European Commission, Directorate-General for Press and Communication, *A World Player: The European Union's External Relations* (Brussels: European Communities, July 2004).

Kalypso Nicolaidis, "The Power of the Superpowerless," in Tod Lindberg, ed., *Beyond Paradise and Power: Europe, America, and the Future of a Troubled Partnership* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 93-120.

Commission of the European Communities, "Communication from the Commission to the European Council of June 2006: Europe in the World – Some Practical Proposals for Greater Coherence, Effectiveness and Visibility," Brussels June 8, 2006, COM(2006) 278 final (10pp.).

Ian Manners, "The Normative Ethics of the European Union," *International Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 1 (January 2008), pp. 45-60.

Emmanuel Adler, "Europe as a Civilizational Community of Practice," in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *Civilizations in World Politics: Plural and Pluralist Perspectives* (New York: Routledge), pp. 67-90.

Week 8

Europe in the World: Rise of European Foreign, Security, and Defense Policy

Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union* 7th Edition (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 371-400. (Skim again.)

Seth G. Jones, *The Rise of European Security Cooperation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), **read** Chapters 1 ("Introduction"), 2 ("Power and Security Cooperation"), and 7 ("The Tragedy of US-European Relations"); **further read and or skim** a good deal of Chapters 3-6 on security institutions, economic sanctions, arms production, and military forces, respectively.

Ulrich Krotz and Richard Maher, "International Relations Theory and the Rise of European Foreign and Security Policy," *World Politics*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (July 2011), pp. 548-579.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Christopher J. Hill and Karen E. Smith, eds., *European Foreign Policy: Key Documents* (London: Routledge, 2000).

Michael E. Smith, *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Eurobarometer 59, "Public Opinion in the European Union," July 2003, Public Opinion Trends in March 2003, pp. 1-4, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb59/eb59_en.htm

Eurobarometer 64, "Public Opinion in the European Union," June 2006, pp.103-107, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb64/eb64_en.htm

Jolyon Howorth, "From Security to Defence: the Evolution of the CFSP," in Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, eds., *International Relations and the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 179-204.

Seth G. Jones, *The Rise of European Security Cooperation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Hannah Ojanen, "The EU and NATO: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 57-76.

Barry R. Posen, "European Union Security and Defense Policy: Response to Unipolarity?" *Security Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2006), pp. 149-186.

Marise Cremona, ed. *Developments in EU External Relations Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Maris Cremona and Bruno de Witte, eds., *EU Foreign Relations Law: Constitutional Fundamentals* (Portland, Ore.: Hart Publishing, 2008).

Karen E. Smith, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World 2nd Edition* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008).

Week 9

European Identity: Who Are We? (And What Do We Want?)

Favell, Adrian, Ettore Recchi, Theresa Kuhn, Janne Solgaard Jensen, and Juliane Klein, "The Europeanisation of Everyday Life: Cross-Border Practices and Transnational Identifications Among EU and Third-Country Citizens. State of the Art Report." EUCROSS Working Paper #1 (54 pp, Octoberber 2011). (Skim again.)

Stanley Hoffmann, "Europe's Identity Crisis Revisited," in Stanley Hoffmann, ed., *The European Sisyphus: Essays on Europe, 1964-1994* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 51-67. Originally published under the same title in *Daedalus*, Vol. 123, No. 2 (Spring 1994; issue entitled "Europe Through a Glass Darkly"), pp. 1-23. Read either.

Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter Katzenstein, "The Politicization of European Identities," in Jeffrey Checkel and Peter Katzenstein, eds., *European Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-25.

Harmut Kaelble, "Identification with Europe and Politicization of the EU since the 1980s," in Jeffrey Checkel and Peter Katzenstein, eds., *European Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 193-212.

Peter J. Katzenstein and Jeffrey Checkel, "Conclusion: European Identity in Context," in Jeffrey Checkel and Peter Katzenstein, eds., *European Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 213-227.

Peter Sloterdijk, "Eurotaoism," in J. Peter Burgess, ed. *Cultural Politics and Political Culture in Postmodern Europe* (Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 277-290. Make it through pp. 277-281 without losing grasp of these pages' gist; read carefully pp. 282-289.

David D. Laitin, "The Cultural Identities of a European State," *Politics & Society*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (1997), pp. 277-302.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Stanley Hoffmann, "Europe's Identity Crisis: Between America and the Past," *Daedalus*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (Fall 1964), pp. 1244-1297. Reprinted as chapter 1 (pp. 9-50) in Stanley Hoffmann, *The European Sisyphus: Essays on Europe, 1964-1994* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995).

Luigi Barzini, *The Europeans* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), especially Prologue (pp. 11-18) and chapter 1 ("The Elusive Europeans," pp. 19-31).

Peter Sloterdijk, *Falls Europa Erwacht: Gedanken zum Programm einer Weltmacht am Ende des Zeitalters ihrer politischen Absence* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1994).

Helen Wallace, "Whose Europe Is It Anyway? The 1998 Stein Rokkan Lecture," *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (1999), pp. 287-306.

Peter A. Hall, "The State of European Studies," *European Studies Newsletter*, Vol. 24, No. 5-6 (June 1995), pp. 6-16.

Jacques Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence: 500 Years of Western Cultural Life -- 1500 to the Present* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000).

Glynn Morgan, "Hayek, Habermas, and Europe," *Critical Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1-2 (Spring 2003).

William Wallace, "Venus Observed: Post-Modern Europe in an American-Led International Order," *European Studies Newsletter*, Vol. 33, Nr. 5/6 (June 2004), pp. 1-6.
Available at <http://www.europamet.org/newsletters/200406/>

Jack Citrin and John Sides, "Can Europe Exist without Europeans? Problems of Identity in a Multinational Community," in Margaret G. Hermann, ed., *Advances in Political Psychology*, Volume 1, (Amsterdam et al.: Elsevier, 2004), pp. 41-70.

Thomas Risse, *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010).

Week 10

Crisis-Ridden Europe in the World to Come

National Intelligence Council (NIC), Washington, D.C., "Global Trends 2025: A World Transformed," (NIC 2008-003) (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, November 2008), read pp. iv-v, "Executive Summary" (pp. vi-xiii), "Introduction: A Transformed World" (pp. 1-5), and as much as you please or interests you from the rest of the document.

"Project Europe 2030: Challenges and Opportunities." A Report to the European Council by the Reflection Group on the Future of the EU 2030 (46 pp, May 2010). (Skim again.)

Mark Leonard, *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century* First Edition or Annotated Edition (New York: Public Affairs, 2005 (Annotated Ed., 2006)), Introduction ("The Power of Weakness and the Weakness of Power: Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century"), and as much else as you wish.

Andrew Moravcsik, "Europe, the Second Superpower," *Current History*, Volume 109, Issue 725 (March 2010): 91-98.

Niall Ferguson, "Empire: Europe between Brussels and Byzantium," in Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), pp. 227-257.

Walter Laqueur, *After the Fall: The End of the European Dream and the Decline of a Continent* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2012), pp 1-83, 143-201, 259-295
(pp. numbers might be adjusted depending on enrollment and students' interest).

Andrew Moravcsik, "Europe After the Crisis: How to Sustain a Common Currency," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 3 (May/June 2012), pp. 54-68.

"The European Union at 100" *The Economist*, March 15, 2007
Available at http://www.economist.com/surveys/displaystory.cfm?story_id=8808182

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Alberto Alesina, and Francesco Giavazzi, *The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006).

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Reshaping the World Order," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 2 (March/April 2009), pp. 49-63.

Daniel Deudney, and G. John Ikenberry, "Realism, Structural Liberalism, and the Western Order," in Ethan B. Kapstein and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies after the Cold War* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999) pp. 103-137.

Stanley Hoffmann, "Review: Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century by Mark Leonard," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 3 (2005), p. 141.

Walter Laqueur, *The Last Days of Europe: Epitaph for an Old Continent* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books/St. Martin's Press, 2007).

Christopher Layne, "The Waning of U.S. Hegemony—Myth or Reality?" *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Summer 2009), pp. 147-172.

Mark Leonard, *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005).

Valerio Volpi, *Why Europe Will Not Run the 21st Century: Reflections on the Need for a New European Federation* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011).

Andrew Moravcsik, "Europe: The Quiet Superpower," *French Politics*, Vol. 7, No.3-4 (2009), pp. 403-422.

T. R. Reid, *The United States of Europe: The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004).

Alexander Wendt, "Why a World State Is Inevitable," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2003), pp. 491-542.

RECOMMENDED SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Donald J. Puchala, *Theory and History in International Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Max Weber, *Politik als Beruf* [Politics as a Vocation] (see best English translation).

Max Weber, *Wissenschaft als Beruf* [Science as a Vocation] (see best English translation).