

Course Information

Course Number:	INTA 747
Course Title:	European Politics and Institutions
Time:	Mondays and Wednesdays, from 6:30 – 9:10 EDT
Location:	Classroom TBD
Credit Hours:	3

Instructor Details

Instructor:	Brian Johnson
E-Mail:	bricjohn@tamu.edu
Office Hours:	Available in-person or video by appointment

This course is offered as an NTFO course, both face-to-face to students at the Washington, DC teaching site and through electronic to group delivery to students in College Station synchronously via Zoom. Students participating online may utilize the chat box only with the express approval of the professor, and verbal participation during class sessions is required. The course requirements for students in both locations are the same.

Course Description

Analyzes politics, institutions, security dynamics of Europe; focuses on history, evolution, and current state of European supranational entities.

Course Learning Outcomes

At the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Critically evaluate and analyze the historical, institutional, and geopolitical dynamics that have shaped modern Europe.
- Demonstrate a comprehensive understanding of the complexities of the EU and NATO and their institutions, the challenges they face, and the implications for European and global politics and security.
- Identify contemporary issues defining the idiosyncratic functioning of Europe as place and Europe as institution.

Textbook and/or Resource Materials

- Cole, Alistair. *French Politics and Society* (3rd edition). Taylor and Francis, 2017.
- De Leonardis, Massimo (ed.). *NATO in the Post-Cold War Era: Continuity and Transformation* (1st edition). Palgrave Macmillan, 2023.
- Jones, Bill. *British Politics: The Basics* (2nd edition). Routledge, 2020.
- Langenbacher, Eric. *The German Polity* (12th edition). Rowman & Littlefield, 2021.

- Jones, Erik, Anand Menon, and Stephen Weatherill (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union* (1st edition). Oxford University Press, 2012.

Recommended

- Judt, Tony. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. Penguin, 2006. Read at your own pace to familiarize yourself with key events in Europe's post-1945 history.
- Jones, Erik and Gianfranco Pasquino (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Italian Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

These and all other assigned readings are accessible will be available on the TAMU Libraries website and/or on the internet. If students have a long-term interest in Europe, whether academically or professionally, these are good resources to purchase in hard copy as well.

Students also should keep up with current developments and engage in wider reading regarding the topics we will cover.

Coursework and Grading

Grades are based on in-class participation (15%), two analytic projects (50% comprised of two 25% projects each), and CHOICE of a final in-class essay exam or research paper.

The following scale will be used for calculating final grades for this course: 90-100 A; 80-89 B; 70-79 C; 60-69 D; and 0-59 F.

- **In-class participation (15% -- 5% for leading in-class discussions and 10% for engaged participation in discussion)**

The bulk of our time together in the classroom will be in discussion. Each student should be prepared to discuss the reading, either by briefing their responses to the pre-class writing assignments, critiquing a point from the reading you did not agree with, or drawing attention to an element of the reading that has been refuted or reinforced by recent events.

Students will also be asked to work on in-class assignments throughout the semester. Class participation will be evaluated according to Department and University rubrics. If you have done the reading and are ready to discuss, that is clearly obvious to me, your colleagues, and yourself. If you have done the reading but are not ready to discuss, there will be other opportunities to participate but you will have limited the discussion. If you have not done the reading and are not ready to discuss, that is also clearly obvious to me, your colleagues, and yourself.

- **Analytic Projects (50% -- 25% each)**

Over the course of the semester, each student will 1) deliver an in-class presentation on a European country or institution of their choice and 2) produce an analytic paper covering some aspect of the course up to that point of no less than 1250 words and no more than 1500 words (exclusive of notes and citations).

Students will submit their preferred presentation topic and briefing date no later than the beginning of class on June 5th; they will be notified shortly thereafter of the presentation schedule for the Summer term.

Analytic paper topics should be discussed in-person or via email with course instructor by the beginning of class on June 17th. Papers will be due by the beginning of class on July 8th. There will not be any presentations that week.

- **FINAL CHOICE A: Final Exam (35%)**

The first choice for the final grade of the semester will be a final exam in the form of a hand-written essay that covers the course material and will be given whenever the University schedules the final exam.

- **FINAL CHOICE B: Research Paper or Briefing Package (35%)**

The second choice for the final grade of the semester will be to select one of the following: 1) a research paper on a topic of the student's choice, as discussed with the instructor ahead of time; 2) an in-class presentation on a topic of the student's choice, as discussed with the instructor ahead of time; or, 3) a mock briefing package consisting of a scener setter memo, background paper, and talking points to prepare a US official for their meeting with a European counterpart.

Students must clear their topics with the instructor before proceeding and have a clear topic question and/or US-European policy issue to analyze. The research paper and briefing package will be no less than 1500 words and no more than 2500 words.

Students selecting this option will turn in their papers whenever the University schedules the final exam. They will not sit for a final exam.

Late Work Policy

Analytic papers will be considered late after 6:30 pm EDT on the day of the class meeting. There will be a penalty of one letter grade per day following the due date.

Work submitted by a student as makeup work for an excused absence is not considered late work and is exempted from the late work policy (Student Rule 7).

Course Schedule

Please note that all readings are subject to change. Any changes will be communicated to you as soon as possible.

Week 1 | Course Introduction and Defining Europe

- Abbasi, Nadia M. "An Evolving European Identity." *Strategic Studies*, vol. 25, no. 4 (2005), pp. 29-65.

- Delanty, Gerard. "Models of European Identity: Reconciling Universalism and Particularism." *Perspectives on European Politics & Society*, vol. 3, no. 3 (2008), pp. 345-359.
- Dorpalen, Andreas. "The European Polity: Biography of an Idea." *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 10, no. 4 (1948), pp. 712-733.
- Guibernau, Montserrat. "Prospects for a European Identity." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, vol. 24, no. 1/2 (2011), pp. 31-43.
- Pocock, J.G.A. "What Do We Mean By Europe?" *The Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 1 (1997), pp. 12-29.

Week 2.1 | How Europe "Works": Cooperation and Catastrophe Everywhere All At Once

- Cahnman, Werner J. "Frontiers Between East and West in Europe." *Geographical Review*, vol. 39, no. 4 (October 1949), pp. 605-624.
- Elrod, Richard B. "The Concert of Europe: A Fresh Look at the International System." *World Politics*, vol. 28, no. 2 (1976), pp. 159-174.
- Leonhard, Jörn. "The Rise of the Modern Leviathan: State Functions and State Features," in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Stefan Berger, ed.), pp. 137-148.
- Neill, Edmund. "Political Ideologies: Liberalism, Conservatism, and Socialism." in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Stefan Berger, ed.), pp. 209-223.
- Schulz, Matthias. "The Construction of a Culture of Peace in Post-Napoleonic Europe: Peace Through Equilibrium, Law and New Forms of Communicative Interaction." *Journal of Modern European History*, vol. 13, no 4 (2015), pp. 464-474.

Recommended

- Amado, Luis. "Europe's Geopolitical Fault Lines." *Horizons. Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development*, no. 4 (2015), pp. 284-293.

Week 2.2 | The Long "Peace": Waterloo to World War One

Preferred presentation topic and dates due by the beginning of class

- Barczewski, Stephanie and John Eglin, Stephen Heathorn, Michael Silvestri, Michelle Tusan. *Britain Since 1688* (2014), chapter 7.
- Kissinger, Henry. "The White Revolutionary: Reflections on Bismarck." *Daedalus*, vol. 97, no. 3 (1968), pp. 888-924.
- Lascurettes, Kyle. "The Concert of Europe and Great-Power Governance Today: What Can the Order of 19th-Century Europe Teach Policymakers About International Order in the 21st Century?" RAND Corporation (2017).
- Pitts, Jennifer. "Republicanism, Liberalism, and Empire in Postrevolutionary France," in *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Sankar Muthu, ed.), pp. 261-291.

Recommended

- Frevert, Ute. "War," in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Stefan Berger, ed.), pp. 417-431.
- Kann, Robert A. "Metternich: A Reappraisal of His Impact on International Relations." *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 32, no. 4 (1960), pp. 333-339.

- Mombauer, Annika. "Guilt or Responsibility? The Hundred-Year Debate on the Origins of World War I." *Central European History*, vol. 48, no. 4 (2015), pp. 541-564.

Week 3.1 | "An Armistice for 20 Years": Europe Between World Wars

- Grun, George A. "Locarno. Idea and Reality." *International Affairs*, vol. 31, no. 4 (1955), pp. 477-485.
- Hernshaw, FJC. "Vienna and Versailles, 1815 and 1919." *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1919), pp. 90-94.
- Wheeler-Bennett, John W. "Twenty Years of Russo-German Relations: 1919-1939." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 25, no. 1 (1946), pp. 23-43.
- Snyder, Timothy. *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, pp. 1-20.

Week 3.2 | Europe Between Two Superpowers

- Bowker, Mike and Phil Williams. "Helsinki and West European Security." *International Affairs*, vol. 61, no. 4 (1985), pp. 607-618.
- Dietl, Ralph. "Suez 1956: A European Intervention?" *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2008), pp. 259-278.
- Willenz, Eric. "Why Europe Needs the Welfare State." *Foreign Policy*, no. 63 (1986), pp. 88-107.
- Young, John W. "The Foreign Office, the French and the Post-War Division of Germany 1945-46." *Review of International Studies*, vol. 12 no. 3 (1986), pp. 223-234.

Recommended

- Fontaine, Andre. "The Real Divisions of Europe." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 49, no. 2 (1971), pp. 302-314.
- Hannikainen, Lauri. "The Declaration of Principles Guiding Relations Between States of the European Security Conference from the Viewpoint of International Law." *Instant Research on Peace and Violence*, vol. 6, no. 3 (1976), pp. 93-101.
- Kissinger, Henry. "For An Atlantic Confederacy." *The Reporter*, vol. 24, no. 3 (1961), pp. 16-20.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. *A Constructed Peace: The Making of a European Settlement, 1945-1963*. Princeton University Press, 1999.

Week 4 | 1989 – 2014: Europe Between the End and Restart of History

Analytic paper proposal due by the beginning of class

- Hastings, Derek. *Nationalism in Modern Europe: Politics, Identity, and Belonging Since the French Revolution* (2023), chapter 9.
- Kupchan, Charles A. and Clifford A. Kupchan. "Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe." *International Security*, vol. 16, no. 1 (1991), pp. 114-161.
- Moravcsik, Andrew and Milada Anna Vachudova. "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement." *Perspectives*, no. 19 (2002/2003), pp. 21-31.
- Steinke, Ralph R. "A Look Back at NATO's 1999 Kosovo Campaign: A Questionably 'Legal' But Justifiable Exception?" *Connections*, vol. 14, no. 4 (2015), pp. 43-56.

Recommended

- Kaplan, Robert. "Europe's New Medieval Map." *The Wall Street Journal*, 15 January 2016.
- Weller, Marc. "The Rambouillet Conference on Kosovo." *International Affairs*, vol. 75, no. 2, pp. 211-251 (pp. 211-218 in particular).
- Zelikow, Philip and Condoleezza Rice. *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft*. Harvard University Press, 1995.

Week 5.1 | NATO

- De Leonardis, Massimo (ed.). *NATO in the Post-Cold War Era: Continuity and Transformation* (1st edition). Palgrave Macmillan, 2023, chapter 2.

Recommended

- Sarotte, Mary Elise. "Perpetuating US Preeminence: The 1990 Deals to 'Bribe the Soviets Out' and Move NATO In." *International Security*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2010), pp. 110-137.

Week 5.2 | The European Union

- Bunse, Simone and Kalypso Nicolaidis. "Large Versus Small States: Anti-Hegemony and The Politics of Shared Leadership," in Jones, Erik, Anand Menon, and Stephen Weatherill (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union* (1st edition), pp. 249-266.
- Macron, Emmanuel. "Europe—It Can Die." Speech at the Sorbonne, 26 April 2024.

Recommended

- Bergmann, Max and Otto Svendsen. "The Transatlantic Strategic Landscape." *Transforming European Defense: A New Focus on Integration*, Center for Strategic and International Studies (2023), pp. 7-21.
- Petzina, Dietmar, Wolfgang F. Stolper, and Michael Hudson. "The Origin of the European Coal and Steel Community: Economic Forces and Political Interests." *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft / Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*, vol. 137, no. 3 (1981), pp. 450-468.

Week 6.1 | Germany After 1945

Analytic papers due by the beginning of class

- Adenauer, Konrad. "Germany and Europe." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 31, no. 3 (1953), pp. 361-366.
- Bagger, Thomas. "The World According to Germany: Reassessing 1989." *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 4 (2018), pp. 53-63.
- Banchoff, Thomas. "Historical Memory and German Foreign Policy: The Cases of Adenauer and Brandt." *German Politics & Society*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1996), pp. 36-53.
- Langenbacher, Eric. *The German Polity* (12th edition), chapter 11.

Recommended:

- Craig, Gordon A. "Did Ostpolitik Work?" *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 73, no. 1 (1994), pp. 162-168.
- Dullien, Sebastian and Ulrike Guerot. "The Long Shadow of Ordoliberalism: Germany's Approach to the Euro Crisis." European Council on Foreign Relations, February 2012.

- Kundnani, Hans. *The Paradox of German Power*. Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Langenbacher, Eric. "Introduction: A Zeitenwende Indeed." *German Politics & Society*, vol. 40, no. 1 (2022), pp. 1-26.
- Packer, George. "The Quiet German: The Astonishing Rise of Angela Merkel, The Most Powerful Woman in the World." *The New Yorker* (Nov. 2014).
- Sheehan, James J. "National History and National Identity in the New Germany." *German Studies Review*, vol. 15 (1992), pp. 163-174.

Week 6.2 | France After 1945

- Cole, Alistair. *French Politics and Society* (3rd edition, 2017), chapter 14.
- Fisher, Denise. *France in the South Pacific: Power and Politics* (2013), chapter 7.
- Hoffmann, Stanley. "De Gaulle, Europe, and the Atlantic Alliance." *International Organization*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1964), pp. 1-28.
- Schuman, Robert. "France and Europe." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 31, no. 3 (1953), pp. 349-360.

Recommended

- Berger, Suzanne. "The French Revolution in Contemporary French Politics." *French Politics and Society*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1990), pp. 53-64.
- Heisbourg, Francois. "France: The Making of National Security Policy." *The Making of National Security Policy: Security Challenges of the 21st Century Conference Proceedings* (2011), pp. 57-66.
- Marker, Emily. *Black France, White Europe: Youth, Race, and Belonging in the Postwar Era* (2022), pp. 216-228.

Week 07 | Great Britain After 1945

- Barczewski, Stephanie and John Eglin, Stephen Heathorn, Michael Silvestri, Michelle Tusan. *Britain Since 1688* (2014), chapters 12 and 13.
- Jones, Bill. *British Politics: The Basics* (2020), chapter 23.
- Shapiro, Jeremy and Nick Witney. "Beyond Global Britain: A Realistic Foreign Policy for the UK." European Council on Foreign Relations (December 2021).

Recommended

- Rodriguez, Abelardo. "Imperial Nostalgia and Bitter Reality." *Journal of Strategic Study*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2020), pp. 19-47.
- Winchester, Simon. *Outposts: Journeys to the Surviving Relics of the British Empire*. HarperCollins Publishers, 1985.

Week 8 | Europe's Eastern Edge(s)

- Ash, Timothy Garton. "Mitteleuropa?" *Daedalus*, vol. 119, no. 1 (1990), pp. 1-21.
- Kundera, Milan. "The Tragedy of Central Europe." *New York Review of Books*, vol. 31, no. 7 (1984), pp. 38.

- Rotaru, Vasile. "Mimicking' the West? Russia's Legitimization Discourse from Georgia War to the Annexation of Crimea." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 52, no. 4 (2019), pp. 311-321.
- Sarotte, Mary Elise. "A Broken Promise? What the West Really Told Moscow About NATO Expansion." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 93, no. 5 (2014), pp. 90-97.

Recommended

- Stent, Angela. *Russia and Germany Reborn: Unification, the Soviet Collapse, and the New Europe*, 1999.

Week 9 | Europe and Ukraine: Detaching Kyiv from Moscow's Orbit

- Macron, Emmanuel. "Closing speech by the President of the French Republic." GLOBESEC 2023 Forum, 31 May 2023.
- Scholz, Olaf. "Policy Statement by Olaf Scholz, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and Member of the German Bundestag, 27 February 2022 in Berlin."
- Ciaramella, Eric. "Envisioning a Long-Term Security Arrangement for Ukraine," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 8 June 2023.

Week 10 | European Futures

- Isiksel, Turkuler. "Square Peg, Round Hole: Why the EU Can't Fix Identity Politics," in Martill, Benjamin and Uta Staiger, *Brexit and Beyond: Rethinking the Futures of Europe* (UCL Press, 2018), pp. 239-250.
- Polyakova, Alina and Benjamin Haddad. "Europe Alone: What Comes After the Transatlantic Alliance." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 98, no. 4 (2019), pp. 109-120.
- Sondel-Cedarmas, Joanna and Francesco Berti (eds.). *The Right-Wing Critique of Europe: Nationalist, Sovereignist and Right-Wing Populist Attitudes to the EU* (2022), pp. 11-31.

Recommended

- Franke, Ulrike. "The Young and the Restful: Why Young Germans Have No Vision for Europe." European Council on Foreign Relations (2018).

University Policies

Attendance Policy

The university views class attendance and participation as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments.

Please refer to [Student Rule 7](#) in its entirety for information about excused absences, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Makeup Work Policy

Students will be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student's grade, for the reasons stated in Student Rule 7, or other reason deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Please refer to [Student Rule 7](#) in its entirety for information about makeup work, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Absences related to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 may necessitate a period of more than 30 days for make-up work, and the timeframe for make-up work should be agreed upon by the student and instructor" ([Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.1](#)).

"The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence" ([Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.2](#)).

Students who request an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code. (See [Student Rule 24](#).)

Academic Integrity Statement and Policy

"An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal, or tolerate those who do."

"Texas A&M University students are responsible for authenticating all work submitted to an instructor. If asked, students must be able to produce proof that the item submitted is indeed the work of that student. Students must keep appropriate records at all times. The inability to authenticate one's work, should the instructor request it, may be sufficient grounds to initiate an academic misconduct case" ([Section 20.1.2.3, Student Rule 20](#)).

Texas A&M at College Station

You can learn more about the Aggie Honor System Office Rules and Procedures, academic integrity, and your rights and responsibilities at aggiehonor.tamu.edu.

Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy

Texas A&M University is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. If you experience barriers to your education due to a disability or think you may have a disability, please contact the Disability Resources office on your campus (resources listed below) Disabilities may include, but are not limited to attentional, learning, mental health, sensory, physical, or chronic health conditions. All students are encouraged to discuss their disability related needs with Disability Resources and their instructors as soon as possible.

Texas A&M at College Station

Disability Resources is located in the Student Services Building or at (979) 845-1637 or visit disability.tamu.edu.

Title IX and Statement on Limits to Confidentiality

Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all. University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking.

With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the employee experiences, observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see [University Rule 08.01.01.M1](#)):

- The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.
- The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University.

Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention – including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, a person who is subjected to the alleged conduct will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University’s goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

Texas A&M at College Station

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with [Counseling and Psychological Services \(CAPS\)](#).

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University’s [Title IX webpage](#).

Statement on Mental Health and Wellness

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student’s academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in healthy self-care by utilizing available resources and services on your campus

Texas A&M College Station

Students who need someone to talk to can contact Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) or call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the National Suicide Prevention Hotline (800-273-8255) or at [suicidepreventionlifeline.org](#).

Campus-Specific Policies

Statement on the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA)

FERPA is a federal law designed to protect the privacy of educational records by limiting access to these records, to establish the right of students to inspect and review their educational records and to provide guidelines for the correction of inaccurate and misleading data through informal and formal hearings. Currently enrolled students wishing to withhold any or all directory information items may do so by going to howdy.tamu.edu and clicking on the "Directory Hold Information" link in the Student Records channel on the MyRecord tab. The complete [FERPA Notice to Students](#) and the student records policy is available on the Office of the Registrar webpage.

Items that can never be identified as public information are a student's social security number, citizenship, gender, grades, GPR or class schedule. All efforts will be made in this class to protect your privacy and to ensure confidential treatment of information associated with or generated by your participation in the class.

Directory items include name, UIN, local address, permanent address, email address, local telephone number, permanent telephone number, dates of attendance, program of study (college, major, campus), classification, previous institutions attended, degrees honors and awards received, participation in officially recognized activities and sports, medical residence location and medical residence specialization.