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FEUC FACULDADE DE ECONOMIA
UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA

**FIRST DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
EUROPE IN THE WORLD
2021/2022**

Lecturer: Maria Raquel Freire [rfreire@fe.uc.pt]

Office hours: Thursday 5pm or to be arranged by email

This course is part of the lecturing activities promoted in the framework of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence.

(1) Learning goals

The curricular unit seeks to map and discuss the main conceptual, as well as political, economic, social and security components of regional spaces broadly conceived. It seeks to combine an analytical dimension with a strong critical component. By way of conceptualising Europe in relation to broader world politics students may understand their specific dynamics, in addition to their connection with the international system. In this way, this course should allow students to analyse critically the main security, economic and political practices and tendencies in Europe, particularly in relation to the European Union (EU), the foreign policies of the main European powers (e.g. Germany), the strategic positioning of Europe's smaller states and other European organisations (e.g. OSCE). The seminar-based format of the course presupposes active participation by the students. Lectures should be interactive, and provide for conceptual discussion, critical analysis and debate of key issues.

(2) Assessment:

Written essay – 40%

In-class presentation – 30%

The essay and in-class presentation follow the topics previously defined. Each group should make a presentation of 20 minutes, followed by discussion. The essay should be submitted the week after the presentation, through the platform. Maximum number of words for the essay – 2500 words. The essay should develop a well-informed, well-systematised and convincing argument to the exercise proposed. It should include at least 8 references from books, book chapters and/or scientific articles. Please be careful regarding plagiarism issues.

Written test – 30% – April 28

(3) Syllabus:

1. Conceptual framework: Regional spaces and Europe's position within global dynamics
2. European Union Foreign Policies
3. Other European organisations and their roles
4. The foreign policies of key European powers
5. Strategic positioning of Europe's smaller powers
6. The impact of transatlantic relations in Europe
7. Conclusion. Europe as a regional space/s



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PLANNING

1. Conceptual framework: Regional spaces and Europe's position within global dynamics
2. European Union Foreign Policies
3. Other European organisations and their roles
4. The foreign policies of key European powers
5. Strategic positioning of Europe's smaller powers
6. The impact of transatlantic relations in Europe
7. Other dynamics within the European space

Lecture 1

17 February: Syllabus, readings and assessment.

Introduction: trends in the international order.

Readings:

Ahrens, Bettina & Thomas Diez. 2015. Solidarisation and its limits: the EU and the transformation of international society, *Global Discourse*, 5:3, 341-355.

Bull, Hedley. 1977. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Casier, Tom. 2021. Stumbling from incident to incident: the systemic crisis of the post-Cold War order, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, DOI:10.1080/09557571.2020.1869182.

Haukkala, Hiski. 2020. Nonpolar Europe? Examining the causes and drivers behind the decline of ordering agents in Europe, *International Politics*, DOI:https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-020-00257-1.

Tocci, Nathalie. 2020. Resilience and the role of the European Union in the world, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 41:2, 176-194.

Lecture 2

24 February: 1. Conceptual framework: Regional spaces and Europe's position within global dynamics. Regions and powers. Non-European readings of regionalism.

Readings:

Acharya, Amitav. 2012. Comparative Regionalism: A Field Whose Time has Come?, *The International Spectator*, 47:1, 3-15.

Allison-Reumann, Laura. 2020. EU Narratives of Regionalism Promotion to ASEAN: A Modest Turn?, *Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS)*, 58:4, 872-889.

Barbieri, Giovanni. 2019. Regionalism, globalism and complexity: a stimulus towards global IR?, *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, 4:6, 424-441.

Börzel, Tanja A. & Thomas Risse. 2019. Grand theories of integration and the challenges of comparative regionalism, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:8, 1231-1252.



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- Buzan, Barry. 2008. *Regions and powers: the structure of international security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grimmel, Andreas; Li, Yuan. 2018. The belt and road initiative: A hybrid model of regionalism, Working Papers on East Asian Studies, No. 122/2018, University of Duisburg-Essen, Institute of East Asian Studies (IN-EAST), Duisburg.
- Kaczmarek, Marcin. 2017. Non-western visions of regionalism: China's New Silk Road and Russia's Eurasian Economic Union, *International Affairs*, 93:6, 1357-1376.**
- Kleinschmidt, Jochen. 2017. Differentiation theory and the ontologies of regionalism in Latin America, *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 60:1, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-73292017001018>.
- Lenz, Tobias, 2013. EU normative power and regionalism: Ideational diffusion and its limits, *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48:2, 211-228.
- Mattheis, Frank. 2017. Repositioning Europe in the study of regions: comparative regionalism, interregionalism and decentred regionalism, *Journal of European Integration*, 39:4, 477-482.

Topic for presentation/discussion

Non-western regionalism has emerged as an alternative approach to reading the international order, decentering it from Eurocentric-based approaches. Make a comment about what this implies and provide a concrete example.

Lecture 3

3 March: 3. Other European organisations and their roles. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Role, place, challenges and opportunities. The transatlantic context. The troubled relation with Russia.

Readings:

- Græger, Nina. 2016. European security as practice: EU–NATO communities of practice in the making?, *European Security*, 25:4, 478-501.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2018. Strategic autonomy and EU-NATO cooperation: threat or opportunity for transatlantic defence relations?, *Journal of European Integration*, 40:5, 523-537.
- Lanoszka, Alexander. 2020. Thank goodness for NATO enlargement, *International Politics*, 57, 451-470.**
- Marten, Kimberly. 2020. NATO enlargement: evaluating its consequences in Russia, *International Politics*, 57, 401-426.
- Sushentsov, Andrey A. & Wohlforth, William C. 2020. The tragedy of US–Russian relations: NATO centrality and the revisionists' spiral, *International Politics*, 57, 427-450.**



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Topic for presentation/discussion

Comment on the role of NATO in the provision of European security, discussing the new strategic concept in the making, and also how NATO has been contested by Russia. To your understanding what does this mean regarding cohesion in the Europe-wide-region?

[Marianna](#), [Sabrina](#), [Daniela](#), [Andrea](#), [Justus](#)

Lecture 4

10 March: 2. European Union Foreign Policies. Conceptualizing foreign policy. Theoretical readings on foreign policy. Decision-shaping and making and consequentiality. The EU: what kind of actor? The internal-external nexus in foreign policy and what this means for the EU as a foreign policy actor. The EU as a foreign policy actor: challenges and opportunities.

Readings:

Barbé, Esther & Pol Morillas. 2019. The EU global strategy: the dynamics of a more politicized and politically integrated foreign policy, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 32:6, 753-770.

Cottey, Andrew. 2020. A strategic Europe, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 58:2, 276-291.

Juncos, Ana E. 2017. Resilience as the new EU foreign policy paradigm: a pragmatist turn?, *European Security*, 26:1, 1-18.

Müller, Patrick. 2016. EU foreign policy: no major breakthrough despite multiple crises, *Journal of European Integration*, 38:3, 359-374.

Orenstein, Mitchell A. & R. Daniel Kelemen. 2017. Trojan Horses in EU Foreign Policy, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55:1, 87-102.

Söderbaum, Fredrik; Patrik Stålgren & Luk Van Langenhove. 2005. The EU as a Global Actor and the Dynamics of Interregionalism: a Comparative Analysis, *European Integration*, 27:3, 365-380.

White, Brian. 2018. Foreign policy analysis and European foreign policy. In *Rethinking European Union Foreign Policy*, edited by Ben Tonra and Thomas Christiansen. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Topic for presentation/discussion

‘The EU has been Europe-focused and not world-focused’.

Comment the quote using the regionalism approaches’ debates suggested by the readings.

[Erkut](#), [Aleyna](#), [Filip](#), [Deividas](#)

Lecture 5

17 March: 3. Other European organisations and their roles. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Role, place, challenges and opportunities. Security-building from Vancouver to Vladivostok? Preventive diplomacy and crisis management: where do we sit?



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Readings:

- Freire, Maria Raquel. 2018. Conflict and Security in the Former Soviet Union: The Role of the OSCE [2003]. Revivals Series. London: Routledge.
- Kropatcheva, Elena. 2012. Russia and the role of the OSCE in European security: a 'Forum' for dialog or a 'Battlefield' of interests?, *European Security*, 21:3, 370-394.**
- Mosser, Michael W. 2015. Embracing "embedded security": the OSCE's understated but significant role in the European security architecture, *European Security*, 24:4, 579-599.**
- Zellner, Wolfgang. 2005. Russia and the OSCE: From High Hopes to Disillusionment, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 18:3, 389-402.

Topic for presentation/discussion

The OSCE is considered a relevant actor in European security, with a long historical background of building bridges. Comment on the role of the OSCE in the provision of European security, discussing current challenges and what you understand as ways forward for the Organization. Discuss also the role of the USA and Russia within the OSCE. Does the OSCE contribute to cohesion in the Europe-wide-region?

[Kristina, Jana, Maria, Victoria, Celia](#)

Lecture 6

18 March: Tutorial session on International Organizations in Europe.

24 March: Break – Pausa Letiva

Lecture 7

31 March: 4. The foreign policies of key European powers. France.

Readings:

- Darnis, Jean Pierre. 2017. Macron's Foreign Policy: Not a Zero Sum Game. IAI Commentaries 17|02.
- Gulmez, Didem Buhari & Seckin Baris Gulmez. 2020. Towards an autonomous European defense? A comparative analysis of French, Polish and German perspectives in the post-Brexit era, *Global Affairs*, 6:2, 185-202.**
- Irondele, Bastien. 2008. European Foreign Policy: the End of French Europe?, *European Integration*, 30:1, 153-168.**
- Krüger, Laura-Theresa & Bernhard Stahl. 2018. The French foreign policy U-turn in the Arab Spring – the case of Tunisia, *Mediterranean Politics*, 23:2, 197-222.



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Topic for presentation/discussion

France is considered a leading power of the EU27. Do you agree? Please make an analysis of the main contributions France might provide to the European project, developing concrete examples showing this leading role, a mixed assessment of this or disagreement with this potential leading role.

[Hanna, Ludwig, Cosimo, Mizgin](#)

Lecture 8

1 April: Tutorial session on main challenges to European security

Lecture 9

7 April: 4. The foreign policies of key European powers. Germany.

Readings:

Aggestam, Lisbeth & Adrian Hyde-Price. 2020. Learning to Lead? Germany and the Leadership Paradox in EU Foreign Policy, *German Politics*, 29:1, 8-24.

Gaskarth, Jamie & Kai Oppermann. 2021. Clashing Traditions: German Foreign Policy in a New Era, *International Studies Perspectives*, 22, 84-105.

Oppermann, Kai. 2019. Between a Rock and a Hard Place? Navigating Domestic and International Expectations on German Foreign Policy, *German Politics*, 28:3, 482-498.

Schild, Joachim. 2020. The myth of German hegemony in the euro area revisited, *West European Politics*, 43:5, 1072-1094.

Topic for presentation/discussion

Germany is considered a leading power of the EU27. Do you agree? Please make an analysis of the main contributions Germany might provide to the European project, developing concrete examples showing this leading role, a mixed assessment of this or disagreement with this potential leading role.

[Pedro, Sophia, Oanh, Antonia, Mariana, Diogo](#)

14 April: Easter break

Lecture 10

21 April: 4. The foreign policies of key European powers. Russia.

Readings:

Casier, Tom. 2020. Not on speaking terms, but business as usual: the ambiguous coexistence of conflict and cooperation in EU–Russia relations, *East European Politics*, 36:4, 529-543.

Crilly, Rhys & Precious N. Chatterje-Doody. 2020. From Russia with Lols: Humour, RT, and the Legitimation of Russian Foreign Policy, *Global Society*, DOI:10.1080/13600826.2020.1839387.





Freire, Maria Raquel. 2020. EU and Russia competing projects in the neighbourhood: an ontological security approach, *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 63, 1, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/0034-7329202000113>.

Gunitsky, Seva & Andrei P. Tsygankov. 2018. The Wilsonian Bias in the Study of Russian Foreign Policy, *Problems of Post-Communism*, 65:6, 385-393.

White, Stephen, and Valentina Feklyunina. 2014. *Identities and Foreign Policies in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus: The Other Europes*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Topic for presentation/discussion

‘(...) resilience as a concept started being applied not only to the EU’s surrounding regions and to the EU itself, but also to the multilateral system as a whole. This is so because the EU itself can be viewed as the most radical form of multilateralism worldwide: a system that not being – nor becoming – a nation state, can only survive and thrive if embedded within a broader international system that is multilateral and rules-based in nature.’ (Tocci)

Do you agree? Comment this quote discussing its implications for EU-Russia relations and their visions on Europe as a region.

[Sophia Lia](#), [Tarik](#), [Ece](#), [Gijs](#), [Vincent](#)

Lecture 11

28 April: Written test.

Lecture 12

29 April: Tutorial session on major powers in Europe.

Lecture 13

5 May: 5. Strategic positioning of Europe’s smaller powers. Small states in the European context. The case of Portugal.

Readings:

Cravo, Teresa de Almeida. 2012. Consolidating Partnerships: History and Geopolitics in Portugal’s Twenty-First Century Foreign Policy. In *Portugal in the Twenty-First Century. Politics, Society, and Economics*, edited by Sebastian Royo. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

Crombois, Jean. 2020. Lilliput Effect Revisited: Small States and EU Foreign Policy, *European View*, 19:1, 80-87.

Csehi, Robert I. & Petr Kaniok. 2021. Does Politicization Matter? Small States in East-Central Europe and the Brexit Negotiations, *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, 35:1, 136-155.

Grøn, Caroline Howard & Anders Wivel. 2011. Maximizing Influence in the European Union after the Lisbon Treaty: From Small State Policy to Smart State Strategy, *Journal of European Integration*, 33:5, 523-539.

Nasra, Skander. 2011. Governance in EU foreign policy: exploring small state influence, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18:2, 164-180.





Teixeira, Nuno Severiano. 2012. Introduction: Portugal and European Integration, 1974-2010. In The Europeanization of Portuguese Democracy, edited by N.S. Teixeira and A. Costa Pinto. New York: Columbia University Press.

Thorhallsson, Baldur & Anders Wivel (2006) Small States in the European Union: What Do We Know and What Would We Like to Know?, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 19:4, 651-668.

Topic for presentation/discussion

How do you see small states influencing politics? And what are the main constraints to their potential influence? Please explain and provide a concrete example from a European small state.

[Saelia, Noelia, Alvaro, Marta, Andrea](#)

Lecture 14

12 May: 6. The impact of transatlantic relations in Europe. United States' relations with the EU, with Russia and with the European Neighborhood Policy. What transatlantic partnership? Friends or foes? The relevance of transatlantic relations in the global context.

Readings:

Lagadec, Erwan. 2013. *Transatlantic Relations in the 21st Century: Europe, America and the Rise of the Rest*. London: Routledge.

Peterson, John. 2018. Structure, agency and transatlantic relations in the Trump era, *Journal of European Integration*, 40:5, 637-652.

Pothier, Fabrice. 2020. Joe Biden's Post-transatlantic Moment, *Survival*, 62:6, 95-102.

Riddervold, Marianne & Akasemi Newsome. 2018. Transatlantic relations in times of uncertainty: crises and EU-US relations, *Journal of European Integration*, 40:5, 505-521.

Smith, Mike. 2018. The EU, the US and the crisis of contemporary multilateralism, *Journal of European Integration*, 40:5, 539-553.

Topic for presentation/discussion

Transatlantic relations are much referring to USA relations with its European partners in the EU and NATO, as well as other European allies. Do you think transatlantic cooperation contributes to enhancing the role of Europe as a region in the world, or instead hinders European potential?

[Martina, Francisco, Cristina](#)

Lecture 15

19 May: Conclusion. Europe as a regional space /regional spaces.