

Sutton

European Integration since 1945: Geopolitics and the Continuing Significance of the Nation-State

Résumé du cours / objectifs

In its methodological approach, this course lies within the disciplines of both Contemporary History and International Relations. The primary focus is on the four major states that have contributed the most to the process of European integration – *la construction européenne* – since the Second World War. France and the Federal Republic of Germany have been to the fore. They form the key couple. The part played by Britain has often been secondary or hesitant, but not always so. At times its role has been of crucial importance. It might be considered anomalous that the United States figures as one of the states under consideration, but its inclusion reflects, first, its crucial role in Western Europe in the immediate post-war period and, secondly, its provision of a security umbrella to the western half of the continent during the long Cold War years and, arguably, still to the European Union today though to a much diminished extent.

If, within European Union, Germany, France and Britain are the primary focus of attention, this is not to say, of course, that all other member states are disregarded. The importance of the other larger member states, led by Italy, is underlined. Furthermore, Poland's special role in the European Union in the second decade of the twenty-first century, by virtue of its being the leading power in east-central Europe, is duly highlighted.

The course is concerned with how national power has been exercised by the larger states in the shaping of present-day Europe – hence the “geopolitics” (in the loose sense of the term) of the course's subtitle. States remain the essential actors in international relations, even today in the case of *la construction européenne*. The European Union has been not so much a putative federal state as a “society of states” – albeit a very highly organized one – in which member states share common values, write common laws, co-operate in diverse ways, and yet continue to prioritize their own interests.

An analysis of how the states under consideration have played off their interests against one another lies at the heart of this course. No doubt, in the second half of the twentieth century, France played the greatest individual role – even greater in general than that of the Federal Republic of Germany – in shaping what eventually became the European Union. Through their cooperation in the era of the European Communities, the two states were often able to exercise a collective hegemony, though not always on an equal footing, with France pulling more weight on most (though not all) matters outside the monetary sphere. Following German unification, the end of the Cold War and the enlargement of the European Union in the 2000s, the conditions for the exercise of such collective hegemony have altered.

Whether Germany and France can eventually agree to take the lead in transforming the European Union, or at least that part of it forming the euro area, into a proper

federal state must remain open to serious question. The euro crisis has been serving as a litmus test; and the signs so far are that it is very difficult for these two states to agree with one another on the reshaping of the Union in the face of grave monetary and economic challenges. Indeed, Germany has sometimes given the appearance of acting as a hegemonic power in dictating to France and other member states the decisions and actions that are deemed necessary on the economic and monetary front. Yet, in keeping with its attachment to federal-type arrangements, Germany still wants to channel much of its power and influence through the European Union's key institutions, particularly the European Commission and the European Parliament.

Whether, in the sphere of foreign policy and security, France, Germany and Britain can learn to cooperate sufficiently so that the European Union becomes a veritable world power, on the same footing as the United States and China, is most uncertain. The modifications made by the Lisbon Treaty to the modus operandi of the European Union still leave member states largely in the driving seat, as was, for instance, demonstrated in 2011 by lack of unity over the Libyan crisis. Recently Britain has half threatened to leave the European Union, to the dismay notably of the United States. How this question of Britain's future in Europe will be handled will depend very much on the play of interests between the European Union's three leading member states, namely Germany, France and Britain itself.

Évaluation

The course will be delivered in English; assessment will be by essay, written in English.

Plan / Séances

Course: 18 teaching hours (October 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22; November 27, 2014)

The course, after a general introduction, is organized into four teaching blocks:

I – Western European integration during the Cold War years

The acceptance of the *Pax Americana* up to the time of the Suez crisis; The creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) and conflicting national interests; The lasting imprint of Charles de Gaulle's design for France and Europe

[4 hours]

II – German unification (1989-90) and the creation of the European Union (1990-92)

The Franco-German partnership under strain and American purposefulness over unification; Monetary union put at the heart of the Maastricht Treaty; The fudge over the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

[4 hours]

III – Post-Yalta and Post-Maastricht Europe

Opening the European Union eastwards, the limits to the EU's future enlargement, and the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), especially in respect of the European 'borderlands'; Creating the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya, and facing up to Russia over Ukraine; The Lisbon

Treaty's limited changes to the CFSP and the ESDP, and the partly related question of Britain's future role in the EU
[4 hours]

IV – The origins of the euro crisis and subsequent agreements on remedial action (2010 to the present)

Maastricht blueprint: adding the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) in the mid-1990s, the flawed qualification process for adopting the euro, ignoring the SGP in the early 2000s, and the crises in the euro area's periphery countries in the present decade; Running a federal monetary union with fiscal policy in national hands; Contrasting German and French approaches to the euro crisis
[4 hours]

Plus an essay workshop
[2 hours]

Bibliographie

Core reading

Soutou, Georges-Henri, *La guerre de cinquante ans. Les relations Est-Ouest, 1943-1990*, Paris: Fayard, 2001

or / and

Gaddis, John Lewis, *The Cold War: A New History*, New York and London: Penguin Press, 2005 [paperback edition, 2007]

Dinan, Desmond, *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to the European Integration*, 4th ed., Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010 [paperback], all the chapters in Part 1 entitled 'History'

Sutton, Michael, *France and the Construction of Europe, 1944-2007: The Geopolitical Imperative*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2007 [paperback edition, 2011]

Marsh, David, *The Euro: The Battle for the New Global Currency*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011 [paperback]

Marsh, David, *Europe's Deadlock: How the Euro Crisis Could Be Solved – and Why It Won't Happen*, New Haven and London, 2013 [paperback]

The student should also be familiar with the architecture of the *Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*. Available either as a single volume in hard copy from the Luxembourg Publications Office of the European Union or online:

in English:

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:FULL:EN:PDF>

in French:

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:FULL:FR:PDF>

During the semester, for the purpose of class discussions, the student should also follow in the daily or weekly press all that relates to the future of the European Union, especially in the context of the euro crisis and related institutional reform. Among English-language papers, the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* are particularly recommended.

Other reading (indicative – non-obligatory)

Bozo, Frédéric, *Mitterrand, la fin de la guerre froide et l'unification allemande. De Yalta à Maastricht*, Paris: Odile Jacob, 2005

Translation: *Mitterrand, the End of the Cold War, and German Unification*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2009

See also *H-Diplo Roundtable Review*, April 26, 2010 (Introduction: Marc Trachtenberg. Reviews: Will Gray, Robert Hutchings, Jacques Lévesque, Philip Zelikow. Author's response: Frédéric Bozo)
<http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/roundtables/PDF/Roundtable-XI-23.pdf>

Dinan, Desmond (ed.), *Origins and Evolution of the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006

Dyson, Kenneth, and Kevin Featherstone, *The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating Economic and Monetary Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999

Garton Ash, Timothy, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent*, New York: Random House, 1993

Translation: *Au nom de l'Europe. L'Allemagne dans un continent divisé*, Paris: Gallimard, 1995

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

Hitchcock, William I., *The Struggle for Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent: 1945 to the Present*, New York: Anchor Books, 2004

Howorth, Jolyon, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007

Kagan, Robert, *Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003

Translation: *La puissance et la faiblesse. Les Etats-Unis et l'Europe dans le nouvel ordre mondial*, Paris: 2003

Kissinger, Henry, *World Order: Reflections on the Character of Nations and the Course of History*, New York: Penguin Press, 2014

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

_____ 'De Gaulle between grain and *grandeur*: the political economy of French EC policy, 1958-1970 (part 1)', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 2(2), 2000, 3-43

_____ 'De Gaulle between grain and *grandeur*: the political economy of French EC policy, 1958-1970 (part 2)', plus responses (S. Hoffmann, J.T.S. Keeler, A.S. Milward, J. Gillingham, J. Vanke, M. Trachtenberg) and a rejoinder, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 2(3), 2000, 4-142

Réau, Élisabeth, *L'idée d'Europe au XXe siècle. Des mythes aux réalités*, Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2001

Soutou, Georges-Henri, *L'alliance incertaine. Les rapports politico-stratégiques franco-allemands*, Paris: Fayard, 1996

_____ 'Three rifts, two reconciliations: Franco-American relations during the Fifth Republic', in David M. Andrews (ed.), *The Atlantic Alliance under Stress: US-European Relations after Iraq*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 102-127

Vaïsse, Maurice, *La puissance ou l'influence ? La France dans le monde depuis 1958*, Paris: Fayard, 2009

Van Overtveldt, Johan, *The End of the Euro: The Uneasy Future of the European Union*, Evanston, Illinois: B2 Books, Agate Publishing, 2011

Young, Hugo, *This Blessed Plot: Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair*, 2nd edn, London: Macmillan, 1999

Zelikow, Philip, and Condoleezza Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft*, 2nd edn, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997

Zorgbibe, Charles, *Histoire de l'Union européenne*, Paris: Fondation Robert Schuman / Albin Michel, 2005