

Department of Social and Political Sciences
Winter Trimester 2019

1. Military Power in International Relations
(6 ECTS credits, MA, module-no. 1546)

Lecturers: Prof. Dr. Carlo Antonio Masala, Dr. Susanne Fischer

Time: On Thursdays, 11:30 – 13:00, start date: 9 January 2019, in building 33, room no. 1331

Content:

This lecture explores the foundations, application, evolution, and limits of military power. We will read contemporary readings. The course will cover topics such as the relation between military power and politics, technology, coercion, and ethics, as well as the sources of military effectiveness, the problems of civil-military relations, and contemporary topics such as the revolution in military affairs and the problems with military occupations.

Requirements:

The course will consist in a series of lecture sessions with pre-assigned readings. Students are expected to do all the readings prior to each session, as well as attend and participate in all sessions. The weekly sessions will focus on (i) laying out the main arguments of the assigned readings and (ii) critically discussing them. I will open up the session with a short (20-minute) lecture on the topic followed by critically discussing it.

Course Schedule:

09. 1. 2019: Introductory Remarks

---Begin reading---

16.1.2019: Power and Military Force

- David Baldwin, "Power and International Relations," in *The Handbook of International Relations*, eds. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Press, 2002), pp. 177–191.
- Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, "Power in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (2005), pp. 39-75.

30. 1.2019: The Essence of Military Power

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, book I.

6.2.2019: Military Power and Politics

- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), chapter 2.
- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1984): 108-146.

13.2.2019: Military Power and Coercion

- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), chapters 1-3.

20.2.2019: Military Power and Technology

- Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), chapters 1-4;
- Eliot A. Cohen, "A Revolution in Warfare," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (1996): 37-54.

27.2.2019: Military Effectiveness

- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), chapters 1-7.

13.03.2019: **The Utility of Military Power**

- Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2005).

20.03.2019: **The Ethics of Military Power**

- Michael Walzer, *Just And Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument With Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), Selections TBC.
- Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Interests vs. Values? Misunderstanding Obama's Libya Strategy," *New York Review of Books* blog, March 30, 2011.

2. „European and African Security – the Dynamics of Transregional Security Challenges. Problems and Perspectives of a Difficult Partnership“ (6 ECTS credits, MA, module-no. 1549)

Content:

This seminar is designed to examine, analyze, discuss and understand the nature and magnitude of transregional security trends and developments affecting African and European security. To get a better understanding on the different effects and implications of transregional security trends will be a key effort of the seminar.

The seminar is designed to better understand the transregional nature and dynamics of security challenges and threats for Europe and Africa emanating from Africa and to develop appropriate responses to regional and trans-regional security challenges. The effects of state fragility, transnational terrorism, illicit trafficking, illegal migration, civil war and regional conflicts, demographic developments and climate change have been acutely felt along Europe's southern flank and its southern neighborhood, but threaten the political, economic, and social stability of both continents. They have implications and destabilizing effects for Europe's security as well. The African-European Partnership and a transregional perspective on the security challenges is of utmost importance to better understand and address the root causes of those transregional challenges. A comprehensive and networked approach with African partners and the African Union is therefore required to sustainably solve the negative implications for African but as well European security. Multilateral and whole-of- government approaches are essential to addressing these multi-faceted problems. Strengthening Security partnerships, African ownership, Crisis prevention and crisis response capabilities in the partner countries and support for the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) are important factors for stabilization.

This seminar will analyze and discuss how to approach transregional security challenges in the southern neighborhood. Such responses must necessarily address issues at the source in the region and discuss comprehensively security policies within Africa and Europe which can no longer be addressed separately. An integrated European-African approach is therefore needed.

How could and should such an analytical and political relevant approach look like? Are the current approaches sufficient and efficient, manageable, doable and sustainable? How much of the security threats perception is shared by the African and the European partners, where do perceptions differ, and why do they differ? What needs to be done to find a shared perception and a shared responsibility for workable solutions?

The seminar objectives are:

- ❖ To analyze the nature and magnitude of transregional security trends and developments affecting African, European and American security
- ❖ To review and assess challenges for Africa, and Europe that might occur from transregional challenges using current theoretical approaches and discussing their strengths and weaknesses
- ❖ To review and assess the vulnerabilities and challenges for Europe and Africa and how they can effectively addressed through the use of a range of policy tools and networks.
- ❖ To understand the limits and opportunities of a comprehensive and networked approach

18.01.2019: Introduction

- European Union Global Strategy
<https://bit.ly/2FCsYD>
- The Joint Strategy Africa-EU Strategy
<https://bit.ly/2mAldDZ>
- Lecha, Eduard / Tocci, Nathalie: Implications of the EU Global Strategy for the Middle East and North Africa. 2016
<https://bit.ly/2PdnnDL>
- Arab futures: Three scenarios for 2025 (ISS Report) 2015
<https://bit.ly/2rjvDsw>
- African futures: Horizon 2015 (ISS Report) 2017
<https://bit.ly/2yTEXJv>

01.02.2019: Theory 1

Comprehensive security

- Richard Ullman: Redefining Security. In: International Security, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1983, pp. 129-153
<https://bit.ly/2U8KkM2>
- Stone, Marianne: Security According to Buzan: A Comprehensive Security Analysis. 2009
<https://bit.ly/2DWPBAN>
- Drent, Margriet: The EU's Comprehensive Approach to Security: A Culture of Coordination? 2011
<https://bit.ly/2Eeu3k6>

Human security

- Tadjbakhsh, Shahrbanou / Anuradha, M. Chenoy: Human Security: Concept and Implications. In: Routledge 2007. Part 1, pp. 9-71 (Sig. JZ 5588. T353)
- Paris, Roland: Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air? In: International Security, Vol. 26, Issue 2, 2001, pp. 87-102
<https://bit.ly/2Rxsnp0>
- Christou, George: The European Union's Human Security Discourse: Where are we now? In: European Security, Vol. 23, Issue 3, 2014, pp. 364-381
<https://bit.ly/2rkjQKu>

Regional security

- Buzan, Barry / Weaver, Ole: Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security. Chapter 3, pp. 40-82
- Ochiai, Takehiko: Regional Security in Africa. 2006
<https://bit.ly/2EeBJmq>
- Santini, Ruth Hanau: A New Regional Cold War in the Middle East and North Africa: Regional Security Complex Theory Revisited. In: The International Spectator, Vol. 52, Issue 4, 2017, pp. 93-111
<https://bit.ly/2EaWI9E>

08.02.2019: Theory 2

Security-development-nexus

- World Bank: World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security and Development.
<https://bit.ly/2j1CeE9>
- Neethling, Theo: The Security-Development Nexus and the Imperative of Peacebuilding with Special Reference to the African Context. 2005
<https://bit.ly/2DV648u>
- Stern, Maria / Oejendal, Joakim: Mapping the Security–Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence? In: Security Dialogue, Vol. 41, Issue 1, 2010
<https://bit.ly/2EaXpQi>
- Gaenzle, Stefan: Does the EU cope with the 'Security-Development Nexus'? The European Community's Instrument for Stability. 2010
<https://bit.ly/2BNu5wZ>

Transformation and resilience

- Bendiek, Annegret: A Paradigm Shift in the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy: From Transformation to Resilience. SWP Research Paper RP 11, 2017
<https://bit.ly/2y1RI2N>
- Roloff, Ralf: Beyond Integration – EU's Regional and Neighbourhood Policy. In: Berzins, Janis / Gareis, Sven (eds.): Europe and the Global Shift of Powers. Opladen/New York 2018
- Helly, Damien / Venturi, Bernardo: A New EU Strategic Approach to Global Development, Resilience and Sustainability. 2016
<https://bit.ly/2U93mBY>

Inter-regional cooperation

- Roloff, Ralf: Interregionalism in the theoretical perspective: State of the Art. In: Haenggi, Heiner / Roloff, Ralf / Rueland, Juergen (eds.): Interregionalism and International Relations. New York 2004, pp. 17-30
- Hills, Alice: Managing the Interface: Regional Security and Substate Politics in Africa. 2008
<https://bit.ly/2zDWyDQ>
- Hajj, Rana El et al.: Enhancing regional cooperation in the Middle East and North Africa through the Water-Energy-Food Security Nexus. 2017
<https://bit.ly/2rkooR4>

22.02.2019: Migration

- Flahaux, Marie-Laurence / De Haas, Hein: African migration: trends, patterns, drivers. In: Comparative Migration Studies, Vol. 4, Issue 1, 2016
<https://bit.ly/2ru4YJL>
- Frątczak, Ewa Zofia: The Demographic Crisis and Global Migration – selected issues. In: Papers on Global Change, Nr. 23, pp. 71-87, 2016
<https://bit.ly/2G1ifU9>
- Collett, Elizabeth / Le Coz, Camille: After the Storm: Learning from the EU Response to the Migration Crisis, 2018
<https://bit.ly/2G1y2IF>
- Wodon, Quentin et al.: Climate Change, Migration and Adaption in the MENA Region. 2014
<https://bit.ly/2Rvnn42>
- Toaldo, Mattia: Don't Close Borders, Manage Them: How to Improve EU Policy on Migration Through Libya. 2017
<https://bit.ly/2PkVMka>
- Angenendt, Steffen / Kipp, David: "Better Migration Management": A Good Approach to Cooperating with Countries of Origin and Transit? 2017
<https://bit.ly/2EeCc88>
- Report from the Commission: Fifth Progress Report on the Partnership Framework with third countries under the European Agenda on Migration. 2017
<https://bit.ly/2Pn5u5w>

01.03.2019: Terror

- Pauwels, Annelies: Prevention Terrorism in the South. ISS Brief Issue 6. 2017
<https://bit.ly/2PjVkcB>
- EU Policy Department: Counter-Terrorism Cooperation with the Southern Neighbourhood. 2017
<https://bit.ly/2m2Pd8I>
- Farasin, Fadi et al.: What is Causing Radicalism in the MENA? 2017.
<https://bit.ly/2KUpfkx>
- De Kerchove, Gilles: EU-Tunisia Cooperation on Security and Counter-Terrorism. 2017
<https://bit.ly/2Qj27IK>
- Bassou, Abdelhak / Guennoun, Ihssane: Al Qaeda vs. Daech in the Sahel: What to Expect? 2017
<https://bit.ly/2BQwgzG>
- Olsen, Gorm Rye: The EU and Military Conflict Management in Africa: For the Good of Africa or Europe? In: International Peacekeeping, Vol. 16, Issue 2, pp. 245-260, 2009.
<https://bit.ly/2QhzQvT>

08.03.2019: **Climate change**

- Brown, Oli et al.: Climate Change as the 'New' Security Threat: Implications for Africa. In: International Affairs, Vol. 83, Issue 6, pp. 1141-1154, 2007
<https://bit.ly/2ETZ0Lu>
- Husain, Arif et al.: At the Root of Exodus: Food Security, Conflict and International Migration. 2017
<https://bit.ly/2FYVEHJ>
- Sonnsjoe, Hannes / Bremberg, Niklas: Climate Change in an EU Security Context: The Role of the European External Action Service. 2016
<https://bit.ly/2rnLdU6>
- Larbi, Hedi: Climate Change: Middle East Faces Looming Challenges. In: Development Horizons, 2010
<https://bit.ly/2Qdi4JT>
- Fetzek, Shiloh / Van Schaik, Louise: Europe's Responsibility to Prepare: Managing Climate Security Risks in a Changing World. 2018
<https://bit.ly/2BTeo7D>
- Barnett, Jon / Adger, Neil: Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict. In: Political Geography, Vol. 26, pp. 639-655, 2007
<https://bit.ly/2Efe59y>
- Peters, Katie / Vivekananda Janani: Topic Guide: Conflict, Climate and Environment. 2014
<https://bit.ly/2PhSnCM>

15.03.2019: **State failure**

- Fund For Peace: Fragile States Index 2018
<https://bit.ly/2Qzs3ss>
- EU Policy Department: EU Development in Fragile States: Challenges and Opportunities, 2013
<https://bit.ly/1fHtTgy>
- Castillejo, Clare: Fragile States: An Urgent Challenge for EU Foreign Policy, 2015
<https://bit.ly/2QE10vW>
- Magen, Amichai: The Crisis of Governance in the Middle East: Implications for Democracy, Development & Security, 2013
<https://bit.ly/2BRhSYb>
- Tonra, Ben: Resilience and EU Foreign Policy: the Promise of Justice. 2018
<https://bit.ly/2RGgiOR>
- Dessi, Andrea: Crisis and Breakdown: How Can the EU Foster Resilience in the Middle East and North Africa?, 2017
<https://bit.ly/2KVQ3km>
- Fawcett, Louise: States and Sovereignty in the Middle East: Myths and Realities. In: International Affairs, Vol. 93, Issue 4, pp.789-807, 2017
<https://bit.ly/2UeigHr>
- Juncos, Ana: Resilience as the New EU Foreign Policy Paradigm: A Pragmatist Turn? In: European Security, Vol. 26, Issue 1, pp. 1-18, 2017
<https://bit.ly/2Sv7mep>

22.03.2019: **Conclusion**

- McKee, Musa et al.: Demographic and Economic Material Factors in the MENA Region, 2017
<https://bit.ly/2PkbFRn>

Requirements:

Participants are required to prepare the assigned readings for class, deliver an oral presentation to the seminar and provide two essays (each 2500 words).

Oral presentation is a 10-15 minutes introduction to the topic of the session based on the assigned literature providing the key questions, problems and issues, as well as main theoretical approaches and their differences.

Essay 1 is a paper discussing a theoretical and / or conceptual question with relevance to the current academic / theoretical debates that will be addressed during class

Date for delivery: 22 February 2019

Essay 2 is a policy paper based on relevant literature from IR with a focus on empirical analysis and

policy papers published by think tanks
Date for delivery: 5 April 2019

Selected Readings:

Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. New York: Crown, 2012. Print.

Patricia Bauer, *The European Mediterranean Policy after the Arab Spring: Beyond Values and Interests*, *Middle East Critique*, Vol. 24, Iss. 1, 2015.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19436149.2014.998922>

Heinrich Böll Stiftung, *Europa und die neue Weltordnung. Analysen und Positione zur europäischen Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, Berlin 2016.

Börzel, Tanja A. et al., *Responses to the 'Arabellions': The EU in Comparative Perspective - Introduction*, *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 37, Iss. 1, 2015.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19436149.2014.998922>

Börzel, Tanja A. et al., *The EU, External Actors, and the Arabellions: Much Ado About (Almost) Nothing*, *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 37, Iss. 1, 2015.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/07036337.2014.975993>

Buzan, Barry, and Ole Wæver. *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003. Print.

Heather A. Conley / Ruslan Stefanov (ed) *The Kremlin Play Book*, CSIS, October 2016, Washington D.C. 2016.

Sabine Fischer / Margarete Klein (Hg), *Denkbare Überraschungen – Elf Entwicklungen, die Rußlands Außenpolitik nehmen könnte*, SWP-Studie, Juli 2016, Berlin.

Hiski Haukkala / Nicu Popescu (ed) *Russian futures: Horizon 2025*, ISSUE Report No 26 – March 2016, EUISS, Paris 2016.

Carlo Masala, *Weltunordnung. Die globalen Krisen und das Versagen des Westens*, München 2016.

World Bank. *World Development Report 2011 : Conflict, Security, and Development*. 2011. Web.

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/4389>

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3. International Relations and Domestic Politics (6 ECTS credits, BA, module-no. 1416)

Lecturers: Prof. Dr. Carlo Antonio Masala, Dr. Susanne Fischer

Time: On Tuesdays, 18:30 – 20:00, start date: 8 January 2019, in building 33, room no. 1201

Content:

This is a research seminar in international relations that is intended to provide advanced undergraduate students with the opportunity to read and discuss a range of scholarly literature.

Throughout the semester, we will seek to understand how domestic politics and international politics interact. While accepting that power and the structure of the international system are important in determining international events, we will ask how the political, economic, and social structures of states and how the political, economic, and social conditions within states affect foreign policy and international relations. In the end, we will have a better understanding of when, why, and how the internal politics of states influence international political and economic relations. You should leave this course with a stronger appreciation for the multiple pressures that influence the decisions of state leaders in developing foreign policy.

Course Schedule:

08.01.2019: Introduction: System vs. National Level Approaches

- Waltz, Kenneth. 1959. *Man, the State and War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

29.01.2019: Democratic Peace

- Russett, Bruce and John Oneal. 2001. *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

30.01.2019: Domestic Political Conditions and International Aggression

- Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor. 1999. *Elections and War: The Electoral Incentive in the Democratic Politics of War and Peace*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

05.02.2019: Domestic Upheaval and International Relations

- Walt, Stephen M. 1992. *Revolution and War*. *World Politics* 44: 321-368.

12.02.2019: Domestic Politics and International Bargaining

- Mastanduno, Michael. 1994. *The United States Political System and International Leadership: A 'Decidedly Inferior' Form of Government?* Reprinted in: *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, G. John Ikenberry, ed. 2002. New York: Longman, 238-258.
- Putnam, Robert. 1988. *Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games*. *International Organization* 42: 427-460.

19.02.2019: International Trade and Domestic Politics

- Milner, Helen. 1988. *Trading Places: Industries for Free Trade*. *World Politics* 40: 350-376.

26.02.2019: Domestic Politics and Foreign Economic Policy

- Frieden, Jeffrey A. 1991. *Debt, Development, and Democracy: Modern Political Economy and Latin America, 1965-1985*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

19.03.2019: Domestic Politics and Foreign Economic Policy

- Simmons, Beth A. 1994. *Who Adjusts? Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policy During the Interwar Years*. Princeton: Princeton University Press Relations.