

Europe in the Global Context

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Office hours immediately before and after class, and by arrangement via e-mail

Course description:

The overriding goal of this course is to reach an understanding of the key strategic issues facing Europe in today's global context. We will track how Europe has reached the present critical juncture in its history and consider where it is headed, including the options available to European policy-makers amid the on-going crisis in the EU. To this end, we will examine the key events of the 19th and 20th centuries that led to the foundation of the EU and have shaped contemporary Europe. At the same time, we will consider Europe's relations with the US as today's sole superpower, the challenges posed by the resurgence of China and Russia and Europe's role as a major player in the resource-rich Eurasian continent, where a new round of great power competition is unfolding.

The course is interdisciplinary: it draws on political economy, history, international relations and geopolitics. It aims to raise questions and stimulate discussion rather than provide clear-cut answers.

Grading policy

Class participation:	20%
Mid-term paper:	35%
Final paper:	45%

MIDTERM PAPERS ARE DUE IN WEEK 7
FINAL PAPERS ARE DUE IN WEEK 13

TOPICS AND READING LIST

Week 1 -- UPCES Orientation Lecture Series

Week 2

Topic I – Introduction

Setting out the aims and methodology of the course. An introduction to the theory of geopolitics: Mackinder (and others): The struggle for control of the East European "Heartland" and Eurasian "World-Island". The current crisis of the European Union.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Sempa, Francis P., "Mackinder's World", *American Diplomacy*, Winter 2000

(http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/AD_Issues/sempa_mackinder.html).

Jacques, Martin, *When China Rules the World: the Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World*, London: Allen Lane, 2009, pp. 1-16.

Recommended (source) reading

Mackinder, Halford, *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1919.

Mackinder, Halford, "The Geographical Pivot of History", *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4, April 1904, pp. 421-444.

Brzezinski, Z., *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives*, New York: Basic Books, 1997, pp. 29-39.

Topic II – Balance of Power in Europe in the 19th Century

The defeat of Napoleon and the establishment of the Concert of Europe (1815-1914). The concept of the balance of power: its strengths and weaknesses. The unraveling of the Concert in the run-up to World War I and the emergence of the US as a global player.

Required reading (included in the reader)

"Events leading to the formation of the Concert of Europe (1815 – 1914)";

Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy*, New York: Simon & Shuster, 1994, Ch. 4, pp. 78-102.

Recommended (additional) reading

Kennedy, Paul, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, London: Fontana Press, 1989, pp. 183-228.

Soutou, Georges-Henri, "Was There a European Order in the Twentieth Century? From the Concert of Europe to the end of the Cold War", *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 9, No. 3, November 2000, pp. 329-353.

Week 3

Topic III – The Unification of Germany

The drivers of German unification: the struggle with Napoleonic France. The Prussian-Austrian conflict: why Prussia gained the upper hand; assessing Bismarck's role and actions.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy*, New York: Simon & Shuster, 1994, Ch. 5, pp. 103-136.

Kissinger, Henry, "Otto von Bismarck, Master Statesman", *New York Review of Books*, March 2011.

Recommended (additional) reading

Taylor, A.J.P., *The Course of German History*, London: Routledge, 1996, Chs. 4-8.

Sheehan, James, *German History, 1780-1866*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, pp. 393-410; for a discussion of the "German Question", see pp. 672-691 and pp. 854-869.

Topic IV – The Unification of Italy; the Austro-Hungarian Empire

The unification of Italy: further destabilization in Europe. The Austrian Empire/the Austro-Hungarian Empire: a modern multi-ethnic integration model. The disintegration of the Empire: self-determination, fragmentation and the further advance of the nation-state.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Darby, Graham, *The Unification of Italy*, Longman History in Depth, London: Longman, 2001, pp. 69-80.

Recommended (additional) reading

Taylor, A.J.P., *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918*, London: Penguin Books, 1990.

Sked, Alan, *The Decline And Fall of the Habsburg Empire 1815-1918*, London: Longman, 1989.

Cornwall, Mark, “*The Dissolution of Austria-Hungary*”, Ch. 7 in *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990, pp. 117-141.

Ingrao, Charles, *Ten Untaught Lessons about Central Europe: An Historical Perspective*, Habsburg Occasional Papers, No. 1, 1996

(<http://www.h-net.org/~habsweb/occasionalpapers/untaughtlessons.html#lesson one>).

Week 4

Topic V – Russia in the 19th Century: Its Emergence as a Major European Player

Russia’s role in defeating Napoleon and in the Concert of Europe. Reforms under Tsar Alexander II; Tsar Nicholas II and the Bolshevik revolution. The foundation of the USSR.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. and Steinberg, Mark D., *A History of Russia*, 5th ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, Chapter 25, “The Reign in Alexander I” pp. 300-318 (Note: subsequent editions of this work have a different pagination)

Recommended (additional) reading

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. and Steinberg, Mark D., *A History of Russia*, 7th ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 2005

Hosking, Geoffrey, *Russia and the Russians: a History from Rus to the Russian Federation*, London: Penguin Press, 2001, Chs. 7-10.

Darby, Graham, *The Russian Revolution: Tsarism to Bolshevism, 1861-1924*, Longman History in Depth, London: Longman, 1998.

Topic VI – China in the 19th Century: Its ‘Century of Humiliation’

The Qing Dynasty. The Opium Wars. The First Sino-Japanese war (1894-95); China’s further humiliation at the hands of Japan as the rising regional power. The Chinese revolution of 1911 and the early years of the Republic.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Jacques, Martin, *When China Rules the World: the Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World*, London: Allen Lane, 2009, pp. 70-99; on Japan, see pp. 46-69.

“Is Western supremacy but a blip as China rises to the global summit? A debate between Martin Jacques and Will Hutton”, *The Guardian*, 23 June 2009.
Little, Reginald, “Western Nonsense and the Rise of China”, April 2015.

Recommended (additional) reading

Wasserstrom, N. Jeffrey, *China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
Kissinger, Henry, *On China*, London: Allen Lane, 2011.
Spence, Jonathan D., *The Search for Modern China*, New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990, pp. 139-164 and pp. 216-244.
Fenby, Jonathan, *The History of Modern China: the Fall and Rise of a Great Power, 1850-2009*, London & New York: Penguin Books, 2009.

Week 5

Topic VII – The World Wars and their Consequences

The Concert of Europe breaks down. The conduct and outcome of World War I. The emergence of new multi-ethnic states: Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia. The Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. The causes and conduct of World War II. The final resolution of the tensions created by German unification. The post-War settlement: paving the way for the EU and NATO.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Winter, J.M., *The Experience of World War I*, 2nd ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 7, pp. 10-18 and pp. 29-38.
“The End of World War II and the Dawn of the Nuclear Age”, Chapters 1 in Wayne C. McWilliams and Harry Pietrowski, *The World Since 1945*, Boulder; Lynne Rienner, 2001.

Recommended (additional) reading

Weinberg, Gerhard L., *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy*, New York: Simon & Shuster, 1994, Chs. 7-15.
Kennedy, Paul, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, London: Fontana Press, 1989, pp. 355-444.
Taylor, A.J.P., *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe 1914-1918*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954.
Taylor, A.J.P., *The Course of German History*, London: Routledge, 1996, Chs. 10-12.
Zayaz, Alfred M. de., *Nemesis at Potsdam: the Anglo-Americans and the Expulsion of Germans. Background, Execution, Consequences*, London: Routledge, 1979.

Topic VIII – The Cold War: The Soviet Occupation of Central and Eastern Europe

The East-West confrontation: the Cold War and the Berlin Wall. How Stalin engineered control over Central and Eastern Europe.

Required reading (included in the reader)

“The Cold War Institutionalized”, Chapters 2 in Wayne C. McWilliams and Harry Pietrowski, *The World Since 1945*, Boulder; Lynne Rienner, 2001.

Recommended (additional) reading

Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy*, New York: Simon & Shuster, 1994, Ch. 16, pp. 394-422; Chapter 17, pp. 423-445.

Brown, Archie, *The Rise and Fall of Communism*, London: Bodley Head, 2009, pp. 148-178.

Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy*, New York: Simon & Shuster, 1994, Chs. 18, 20, 29 and 30.

Brzezinski, Z., "The Cold War and Its Aftermath", *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1992.

Gleason, Abbott, *Totalitarianism: the Inner History of the Cold War*, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Brown, J. F., *The Grooves of Change: Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Century*, London: Duke University Press, 2001, Ch. 3.

Week 6

Topic IX – The Economics of Communism

Soviet-style industrialization and central planning. Why communism did not and could not work: the value-subtracting economy. Comecon: the communist integration model.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Aslund, Anders, *Building Capitalism: the Transformation of the Former Soviet Bloc*, New York & Cambridge (England): Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 20-52.

Recommended (additional) reading

Nove, Alec, *An Economic History of the USSR, 1917-1991*, 3rd ed., London: Penguin Books, 1993.

Topic X – The Re-emerging Eurasian Giant: China, 1945-89: From Communist Victory to Market Reforms

The establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. The Sino-Soviet split.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Wasserstrom, N. Jeffrey, *China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 36-71.

Recommended (additional) reading

Spence, Jonathan D., *The Search for Modern China*, New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990. Chs. 21-25.

Kissinger, Henry, *On China*, London: Allen Lane, 2011.

Fenby, Jonathan, *The History of Modern China: the Fall and Rise of a Great Power, 1850-2009*, London, New York: Penguin Books, 2009, Pts. 4-5.

Taylor, Jay, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China*, Cambridge (Mass.) & London: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Hutton, Will, *The Writing on the Wall: China and the West in the 21st Century*, London: Little, Brown, 2007, Chs. 4-6.

Week 7

Topic XI – The European Union

From modest beginnings to monetary union; widening and deepening over a half a century. The Union's key institutions and main operational principles.

Required reading

Official EU link: http://europa.eu/abc/history/index_en.htm.

Recommended (additional) reading

Siebelink, Hanneke, *The 50 Days that Changed Europe*, Luster, 2011.

Kunz, Diane, "The Marshall Plan Reconsidered: a Complex of Motives", *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 1997.

Topic XII – The Failure of East European Integration under Communism

Khrushchev's de-Stalinization, Gorbachev's perestroika and Reagan's realpolitik; the collapse of the USSR. Anti-communist uprisings in Eastern Europe. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the demise of the Soviet bloc.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Brown, Archie, *The Rise and Fall of Communism*, London: Bodley Head, 2009, pp. 221-255.

Recommended (additional) reading

Brown, Archie, *The Rise and Fall of Communism*, London: Bodley Head, 2009.

Aslund, Anders, *Building Capitalism: the Transformation of the Former Soviet Bloc*, New York & Cambridge (England): Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Braithwaite, Rodric, *Across the Moscow River; the World Turned Upside Down*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002.

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. and Steinberg, Mark D., *A History of Russia*, 7th ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, Ch. 42.

Garton Ash, Timothy, *The Magic Lantern. The Revolution of 89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin and Prague*, London: Random House, 1990.

Zelikow, Philip and Rice, Condoleezza, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft*, Cambridge (Mass.) & London: Harvard University Press, 1997.

MIDTERM PAPERS ARE DUE

Week 8

Topic XIII – EU/NATO Enlargement into Eastern Europe: The New Cold War

The EU as the anchor for political and economic transition. The US/NATO as the regional guarantor of stability. NATO-Russia relations.

Required reading

Kramer, Mark, "The Myth of a No-NATO-Enlargement Pledge to Russia", *The Washington Quarterly*, April 2009, pp. 39-61.

Full text of President Putin's speech in Munich, February 2007.

Recommended (additional) reading

Spinant, Daniela, "Nato Enlargements: Towards a Pan-European Security System?", Report submitted to NATO Office of Information and Press, 30 June 2000

(<http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/98-00/spinant.pdf>).

Goldgeiger, J. M., *The Future of NATO*, Council on Foreign Relations, Special Report No. 51, New York, February 2010.

Topic XIV – Russia: From Yeltsin to Putin 2.0

The Yeltsin years (1990s): the rush to establish democracy and the market; the financial crisis of 1998 and post-crisis recovery. The Putin era (from 2000 to the present day).

Required reading (included in the reader)

As above: Kramer, Mark, "The Myth of a No-NATO-Enlargement Pledge to Russia", *The Washington Quarterly*, April 2009, pp. 39-61.

Full text of President Putin's speech in Munich, February 2007.

Recommended (additional) reading

Brown, Archie, *The Rise and Fall of Communism*, London: Bodley Head, 2009, pp. 549-584.

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. and Steinberg, Mark D., *A History of Russia*, 7th ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, Ch. 43.

Gaidar, Egor, "Lessons of the Russian crisis for the transition economies"

(<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/1999/06/pdf/gaidar.pdf>).

Week 9

Topic XV – Russia and the EU Today

The structurally divergent but complementary economies of the EU and Russia. The foreign policy of Putin's Russia; The US-oriented foreign policy of new EU members from Eastern Europe. Prospects for improved relations.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Sakwa, Richard, *Putin: Russia's Choice*, 2nd ed., London & New York: Routledge, 2008, Ch. 10, pp. 267-298.

Recommended (additional) reading

Aslund, Anders, *Building Capitalism: the Transformation of the Former Soviet Bloc*, New York & Cambridge (England): Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Tsygankov, Andrei: *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013

Kanet, Roger E., ed., *Russia's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Topic XVI – China's Internal Transformation, 1989 – Present

How China functions today: towards capitalism under the banner of communism. The sources of its continued rapid growth; economic and political risks; the prospects for democracy.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Michael F. Martin, *Understanding China's Political System*, Congressional Research Service, April 2013, <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41007.pdf>

Recommended (additional) reading

McGregor, Richard, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*, London: Penguin Books, 2011.

Leonard, Mark, *What Does China Think?*, New York: Public Affairs, 2008.

Wasserstrom, N. Jeffrey, *China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Week 10 --- SEMESTER BREAK

Week 11

Topic XVII – China in the Global Context: The Enduring ‘Civilization State’

China's “peaceful rise” and the changing balance of global power. China's role in supporting the global economy. The impact of China's resurgence on the globe and specifically on the European Union.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Jacques, Martin, *When China Rules the World: the Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World*, London: Allen Lane, 2009, Ch. 6 pp. 149-193.

Recommended (additional) reading

Subramanian, Arvind, *Eclipse: Living in the Shadow of China's Economic Dominance*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, Washington 2011.

Friedberg, Aaron, L. *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, New York: W. W. Norton, 2011.

Hutton, Will, *The Writing on the Wall: China and the West in the 21st Century*, London: Little, Brown, 2007.

Halper, Stefan, *The Beijing Consensus*, New York: Basic Books, 2010.

Dodson, Bill, *China Inside Out: 10 Irreversible Trends Reshaping China and its Relationship with the World*, Singapore: Wiley & Sons, 2011.

Topic XVIII – The Rise of New Global Players and Its Impact on Europe

Looking beyond China: The BRICs and N-11. The geopolitical power of the BRICs. “Beijing Consensus” and the “World without the West”; how Europe is likely to cope/adjust.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Flynt Leverett and Hillary Mann Leverett, “China looks West: What is at Stake in Beijing's New Silk Road Project”, January 2015

Alfred W. McCoy, “The Geopolitics of America’s Global Decline: Washington vs. China in the 21st Century”, Tomgram, June 2015.

Recommended (additional) reading

O’Neill, Jim, *The Growth Map: Economic Opportunity in the BRICs and Beyond*, London: Penguin Books, 2011.

The BRICs Ten Years On: Halfway Through the Great Transformation, Goldman Sachs Global Economics, Commodities and Strategy Research, Paper No. 208, December 2011.

BRICS and Beyond, report by Goldman Sachs Global Economics Group, 2007

(<http://www2.goldmansachs.com/ideas/brics/book/BRIC-Full.pdf>).

O’Neill, Jim, *The BRIC Road to Growth*, London: London Publishing Partnership, 2013.

Subramanian, Arvind, *Eclipse: Living in the Shadow of China’s Economic Dominance*,

Peterson Institute for International Economics, Washington 2011.

Week 12

Topic XIX – Resource Constraints and the Significance of Eurasia

Trends in global population growth. Resource constraints and Eurasian resources. Russia’s role in Eurasia and its proposals for the reintegration of the former Soviet space; Russia-US rivalry in Central Asia.

Required reading (included in the reader)

Grantham, Jeremy, “Time to Wake Up: Days of Abundant Resources and Falling Prices are Over Forever”, *GMO Quarterly Letter*, April 2011.

Recommended (additional) reading

Paltsev, Sergei, “Russia’s Natural Gas Export Potential up to 2050”, MIT report, July 2011; <http://web.mit.edu/ceepr/www/publications/workingpapers/2011-012.pdf>

Mankoff, Jeffrey, *Eurasian Energy Security*, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, Council Special Report No. 43, February 2009.

Makni, M. A., *The New Great Game: Oil and Gas Politics in Central Eurasia*, London & New York: Raider Publishing International, 2008.

Mullerson, Rein, *Central Asia: A Chessboard and Player in the New Great Game*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Fels, Enrico, *Assessing Eurasia's Powerhouse. An Inquiry into the Nature of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation*, Bochum: Winkler Verlag, 2009.

Topic XX – Eurasia and the New Global System

Economics – the main driver shaping the new global system. “Central Eurasia” as an integral part of the global system. Russia’s vision of a “Eurasian Union”.

Required reading (included in the reader)

President Vladimir Putin’s proposals for a “Eurasian Union”, *Izvestia*, 4 October 2011.

Week 13

Topic XXI – The Eurozone Crisis and Europe’s Evolution Beyond That Crisis

The structural flaws of the Eurozone and how they will likely be dealt with.
“Pan-European integration” as a response to the new global environment?

Required reading (included in the reader)

Soros, George, “The Tragedy of the European Union and How to Resolve It”, *The New York Review of Books*, 7 September 2012;
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2012/sep/27/tragedy-european-union-and-how-resolve-it/>

Recommended (additional) reading

Soros, George, *The Tragedy of the European Union: Disintegration or Revival?*, New York: Public Affairs, 2014.

Conquest, Richard, “German Economic Policy and the Euro 1999-2010”, The Bruges Group 2011 <http://www.brugesgroup.com/germaneconomicpolicyandtheeuro.pdf>

Willem Buitter and Ebrahim Rahbari, “The Future of the Euro Area: Fiscal Union, Break-up or Blundering towards a ‘You Break it You Own it Europe’”, Citigroup Global Markets, September 2011; <http://www.willembuitter.com/3scenarios.pdf>

Topic XXII - Summary of the course

FINAL PAPERS DUE

Week 14

Class discussion of questions such as the following:

- Do geopolitical and balance of power theories stand up to scrutiny?
- What are the ramifications of the (re-)emergence of China?
- What are the implications for Europe and Central Europe in particular?
- For the United States?
- And for US relations with Europe?
- How will the EU overcome its present crisis?

Vlad Sobell, 24 January 2017