

European-American Relations in the 21st Century

Lecturer: Michael Žantovský

Contact: michael.zantovsky@cerge-ei.cz

Course Description:

This course explores the history and the current state of political, economic and cultural relations between the United States and Europe. Ever since the end of World War II, the cooperative relationship between these two parts of the world, often described as „the West,“ has been a bedrock of international stability, security and prosperity. After the end of the Cold War, this relationship has undergone changes, along with the whole system of international relations. For some time, on both sides of the Atlantic, the talk has been about a crisis of the Euro-American relationship. We will examine the validity of these claims, the causes of the current problems and possible ways of overcoming them. Throughout, we will emphasize the overwhelming nature of common values and interests on both sides of the ocean as well as the risks stemming from a potential rift for both Europe and America. We will examine the compatibility of current European and U.S. policies with respect to third countries or regions, such as Russia, China and the Middle East. We will also analyze the specific role played in this relationship by countries of Central and Eastern Europe as relative newcomers to democracy, to the Atlantic Alliance and to the European Union. We will discuss the legacy of the Trump era and the impacts of new cultural trends, the climate change, newly assertive Russia, ascending China and the pandemics of COVID-19 on the relationship. Most topically, we will discuss the repercussions of the current global crisis in international relations on the Euro-American relationship, and the potential role the two partners can play in addressing and resolving the issues.

Course Objectives/Learning Outcomes:

Upon Completion of this Course, students will be able to:

- understand how history and common roots shaped the relationship between Europe and the U.S.;
- interpret current events in the political relations between the U.S. and Europe in terms of long-term trends and hypothesize about the changing role the relationship and its two partners can play in decades to come;
- write a simple policy recommendation on a dynamically evolving international situation

Course Requirements:

Class Participation

- Attendance and active class participation

Assignment 1

- Power Point presentation: 15 min

Assignment 2

- Mid-term paper: short structured memo 2-3 pages
- **MIDTERM PAPERS ARE DUE IN WEEK 8**

Assignment 3

- Final paper: 8-10 pages
- **FINAL PAPERS ARE DUE IN WEEK 12**

Grading Policy:

- Class participation/attendance: 20%
- Presentation: 20%
- Mid-term paper: 25 %
- Final paper: 35%

Mandatory Completion Policy

Note that all mandatory assignments and exams must be completed to the best of your ability in order for your final grade to be issued. Failure to complete a mandatory assignment or exam may result in a failing grade.

| Letter Grade | Percentage | Description |
|--------------|------------|--|
| A | 93-100 | Outstanding work |
| A- | 90-92 | |
| B+ | 87-89 | Good work |
| B | 83-86 | |
| B- | 80-82 | |
| C+ | 77-79 | Acceptable Work |
| C | 73-76 | |
| C- | 70-72 | |
| D+ | 67-69 | Work that is significantly below average |
| D | 63-66 | |
| D- | 60-62 | |
| F | 0-59 | Work that does not meet the minimum standards for passing the course |

UPCES Academic Integrity Policy

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty are not tolerated. The use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) for the development of knowledge and learning is encouraged at many stages of the learning process. While we value technology for educational purposes, we also value originality and the retainment of knowledge, and thus using AI for assignments and examinations, even if rephrased, is strictly prohibited and considered an academic integrity violation, unless the instructor explicitly allows for it in the context of evaluated work

UPCES Non-Discrimination/Harassment Policy

The UPCES program in Prague promotes a diverse learning environment where the dignity, worth, and differences of each individual are valued and respected. Discrimination and harassment, whether based on a person's race, gender, sexual orientation, color, religion, national origin, age, disability, or other legally protected characteristic, are repugnant and completely inconsistent with our objectives. Retaliation against individuals for raising good faith claims of harassment and/or discrimination is prohibited.

UPCES Diversity Policy

UPCES fully embraces diversity and strives to create a safe and welcoming environment for students from all backgrounds. Prague is a wonderfully diverse community and UPCES is no different. All students should feel at home while studying abroad and UPCES will do its utmost to make sure that becomes a reality. Although unique challenges may arise, we believe that students from all walks of life will encounter wonderful opportunities for enrichment as they explore a new culture while studying abroad.

Weekly Schedule:

Week 1

Orientation Week

UPCES Orientation and Lecture Series

Week 2

Topic I – The Old World: Origins of the European and Western Civilization

Mythical beginnings: Antiquity and the barbarians. The roots: Greece, Rome and Jerusalem. The beginnings of modernity: Renaissance and Reformation. The Peace of Westphalia, the emergence of the nation state and the balance of power system. Heaven on Earth: The origins of a secular faith. The totalitarian century: Lenin, Stalin, Hitler

Topic II – The New World and Beyond: Challenges of a New World Order

The American Revolution and its reflections in Europe. The lingering curse of slavery and the imperfect cure of capitalism. American exceptionalism. The emerging superpower in the system of balancing power. The hinge: Theodore Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson. Wilson in Europe: The Versailles Treaty, the League of Nations and the failure of collective security. Jefferson, Hamilton, Jackson, Wilson and American foreign policy.

Readings

- Johnson, Paul: *Modern Times: The World from the Twenties to the Nineties*. New York: HarperCollins, 2001.
- Davis, Norman: *Europe. A History*. London: Random House, 1992 (Introduction) Kissinger, H.: *Diplomacy*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994, pp. 29-55 (Chapter II.) Tocqueville, Alexis de: *Democracy in America*. New York: Knopf, 1994 (Introduction) Mead, Walter Russell: *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World*. New York: Routledge, 2002
- Oakes, James: *Capitalism and Slavery and the Civil War*, Cambridge University Press online: 28 April 2016

Week 3

Topic III - Allies in War: The Origins of the Atlantic Alliance

Introduction: Toynbee's concept of challenge and response. The moment of infamy: A road to Munich and the politics of appeasement. The moment of hope: Lend-Lease Act and Anglo-America. The turning moment: Pearl Harbor. The moment of confidence: Yalta. The moment of victory: Potsdam and San Francisco

Topic IV- Partners in Deterrence: Victory in the Cold War

The Iron Curtain and the Marshall Plan. Containment: the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia and the foundation of NATO. Budapest, Prague and the end of the illusion. Nixon and the Vietnam trauma: Détente and Helsinki. Transatlantic disputes: From Suez to Pershings. Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan: A new offensive

Readings

- Toynbee, Arnold J.: A Turning Point in History. Foreign Affairs, January 1939 (in: The American Encounter. Ed. J.Hoge Jr. and F. Zakaria, Basic Books, 1997, pp. 113–125)
- Benda, Julien: Pacifism and Democracy. Foreign Affairs, July 1941 (in: The American Encounter, pp. 126-133)
- Kennan, George F. („X“): The Sources of Soviet Conduct. Foreign Affairs, July 1947 (in: The American Encounter, pp. 155-169)
- Churchill, Winston: Sinews of Peace Address. Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1946 (www.hpol.org/churchill)
- Kunz, Diane B.: The Marshall Plan Reconsidered: A Complex of Motives. Foreign Affairs, May/June 1997
- The North Atlantic Treaty. Washington D.C., 4 April 1949
- Kundera, Milan: “The Tragedy of Central Europe,” The New York Review of Books, April 26, 1984
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew: The Cold War and Its Aftermath. Foreign Affairs, Fall 1992 Havel, Vaclav: Anatomy of a Reticence. Prague, 1985 (in: Selected Writings. 1965–1990. Vintage Books, 1992, pp. 291-323)

Week 4

Topic V - The Emergence of the Other Europe

Solidarity, Charter 77, Gorbachev and the Collapse of the Wall. Velvet revolutions. The reunification of Germany. The dissolution of the Soviet Union. Back to Europe: A quest for the stolen legacy. Ghosts of the past: The reemergence of nationalism and fragmentation

Topic VI - The New World Order and What’s Left of It

The end of history that never was. A new world order: Gulf War and the comeback of the UN. The pitfalls of humanitarian intervention: Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Rwanda. The clash of civilizations? Coming anarchy? Shall we miss the Cold War?

Readings

- Garton Ash, Timothy: The Magic Lantern. The Revolution of 89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin and Prague. New York: Random House, 1990
- Fukuyama, Francis: The End of History (1989), The National Interest, No. 16, Summer 1989, pp.3-18
- Huntington, Samuel P.: The Clash of Civilizations? Foreign Affairs, Summer 1993, pp. 22-49
- Kaplan Robert D.: The Coming Anarchy. New York: Random House, 2000 Mearsheimer, John J.: Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War. The Atlantic Monthly, August 1990, pp. 35-50

- Garton Ash, Timothy: Ten Years After, The New York Review of Books, November 18, 1999
- Havel, Václav: A Call for Sacrifice, Foreign Affairs, March/April 1994

Week 5

Topic VII - Toward Europe Whole and Free

The roads not taken (OSCE, TAFTA). Security first: The pursuit of NATO. NATO Enlargement I.: From Prague 1994 to Madrid 1997. NATO Enlargement II: From Washington 1999 to Prague 2002. NATO Enlargement III 2004 -. EU Enlargement: From Copenhagen 1993 to Copenhagen 2002. NATO and Russia: From the Founding Act to the NRC

Topic VIII - Fighting with Allies: The Balkan Wars

Yugoslavia: Communists as nationalists. Europe: The haste to recognition. USA: No dog in the fight. UN: Reaching the limits (Vance – Owen Plan). The road to Dayton. Rambouillet, Kosovo and the question of legitimacy of intervention

Midterm Paper Assignment: Gaming a Crisis with a Diplomatic Toolbox

Readings

- Kissinger, Henry: A Plan for Europe. Newsweek, June 18, 1990
- Havel, Vaclav: Address to the North Atlantic Council. Brussels, March 21, 1991 Asmus, Ronald D., Kugler, Richard, Larrabee Stephen F.: Building a New NATO. Foreign Affairs, September/October 1993, pp. 28-40
- Holbrooke, Richard: America, A European Power. Foreign Affairs, March/April 1995, pp. 38-51
- Glenny, Misha: The Fall of Yugoslavia. Penguin Books, 1992, pp. 177-184 (Epilog: The Revenger's Tragedy)
- Muravchik, Joshua: The US-European Security Relations: The Lessons of Bosnia, in: Gedmin, J. (ed.): European Integration and American Interests, Washington, D.C.: AEI Press, 1997, pp. 145-149
- Habermas, Juergen: Bestiality and Humanity. A War on the Border Between Law and Humanity. Die Zeit, April 29, 1999 (www.theglobalsite.ac.uk/library)
- Garton Ash, Timothy: Kosovo and Beyond. The New York Review of Books, June 24, 1999
- Ignatieff, Michael: The Virtual Commander. The New Yorker, August 2, 1999, pp. 30–36

Week 6

Topic IX - The Indispensable Country: American Visions of the post-Cold War World

Imperial overstretch or bound to lead? Pax Americana: The unipolar moment. The indispensable: Making the world safe for democracy. The soft power: Can interdependence work? Neo-cons and their benevolent empire. Lonely superpower and pivotal states

Topic X - Toward a Multipolar World: European Visions of the post-Cold War World

Atlantic Europe: Keep America in, Russia out and Germany down. Multilateralism and moral superiority: Europe as a lighthouse. Multipolarity and the new balance of power: Europe as a counterweight. Focused on the U.S.: Liberal imperialism or the end of empire? Habermas and Derrida: A peace through conversation? Power gap: Economic elephant versus military pygmy

Readings

- Krauthammer, Charles: The Unipolar Moment. Foreign Affairs, Vol. 70, No.1, 1990–91, pp. 23-33
- Talbott, Strobe: Democracy and National Interest. Foreign Affairs, November/December 1996, pp. 47-63
- Keohane, Robert: International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work? Foreign Policy, Summer 1998
- Kagan, Robert: The Benevolent Empire. Foreign Policy, Summer 1998
- Rieff, David: A New Age of Liberal Imperialism? World Policy Journal, No.2, Summer 1999
- Huntington, Samuel P: The Lonely Superpower. Foreign Affairs, March/April 1999, pp. 35-49
- Joffe, Josef: How America Does It. Foreign Affairs, September/October 1997, pp. 13–27
- Calleo, David: A Choice of Europes. National Interest, Spring 2001, pp. 4-13
- Havel, Vaclav: The Hope for Europe. Charlemagne Speech, Aachen, Germany, May 15, 1996 (in The New York Review of Books, June 20, 1996)
- Vedrine, Hubert: France in an Age of Globalization. With Dominique Moisi. Brookings, 2001 (Chapter I: "World Today")
- Leonard, Mark: Ascent of Europe. Prospect, March 2005, pp. 22-25

Week 7

Topic XI – What Kind of Europe?

Dreams of Pan-Europe. Europe of Charlemagne: Franco-German engine. Wider Europe: Whole and free. Deeper Europe: A constitutional federation? British response: St. Malo and cooperation in defense. In need of reforms: Rhineland vs. Anglo-Saxon model

Topic XII – How Americans are thinking about Europe

The Anglo-American mission: No country to dominate. The transatlantic bond now: A benefit or burden? Future of EMU: Success or failure? Future of ESDP: More equal or drifting apart?

New Europeans: Durable or conditional partners? EU tomorrow: The emerging rival? Brexit: An anomaly or a sign of things to come?

Readings

- Schuman, Robert: Declaration of 9 May 1950. (www.robert-schumann.org) Garton Ash, Timothy: Europe's Endangered Liberal Order. Foreign Affairs, March/April 1998, pp. 51-65
- Garton Ash, Timothy: European Orchestra. The New York Review of Books, May 17, 2001, pp. 60-67
- Fischer, Joschka: From Confederacy to Federation. Speech at the Humboldt University, Berlin, May 12, 2000
- Feldstein, Martin: EMU and International Conflict. Foreign Affairs, November/December 1997, pp. 60-73
- Mundell, Robert: The Case for the Euro. The Wall Street Journal, March 24-25, 1999
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew: Living With a New Europe. National Interest, Summer 2000, pp. 17-32
- Bergsten, Fred C.: America and Europe: Clash of the Titans? Foreign Affairs, March/April 1999, pp. 20-34
- Thompson, Helen: The European Geopolitical Space and the Long Path to Brexit, Cambridge University Press online: 17 February 2021
- Sikorski, Radek: Europe's Real Test Is Yet To Come, Foreign Affairs, May/June 2023
- Biden, Joseph: Why America Must Lead Again, Rescuing U.S. Foreign Policy After Trump, Foreign Affairs, March/April 2020
- Zantovsky, Michael: Europe in a Stronger West, in: The EU Strategic Autonomy: Central and Eastern European Perspectives, GLOBSEC/Atlantic Council, pp. 13-16 Wisniewski, Jakub: Europe in the Face of a New Cold War Between China and America, in: The EU Strategic Autonomy: Central and Eastern European Perspectives, GLOBSEC/Atlantic Council, pp. 17-21

Week 8

MIDTERM PAPERS ARE DUE

Topic XIII – Challenges of Globalization

Power shift. Order or chaos? Children of the 1960': Multiculturalism, baby boomers and the Third way. The Americanized world. America divided: Still exceptional? A new demography in Europe

Topic XIV – New Threats, New Enemies

Rogue and failed states: An axis of evil? Weapons of mass destruction and their proliferation. Asymmetric threats and striking terror. Occidentalism and the new ideology of hate. Deterrence, prevention and pre-emption. Terrorism and Europe: Root causes and engagement?

Readings

- Matthews, Jessica T.: Power Shift. Foreign Affairs, January/February 1997, pp. 50-66
“Dueling Globalizations. A Debate Between Thomas Friedman and Ignatio Ramonet.”
Foreign Policy, Fall 1999, pp. 110-126
- Fonte, John: Democracy’s Trojan Horse. The National Interest. Summer 2004, pp. 117-127
- Huntington, Samuel: The Erosion of National Interests. Foreign Affairs, September/October 1997, pp. 28-49
- Lipset, Seymour Martin: Still Exceptional Nation? Wilson Quarterly, Winter 2000, pp. 31-45
- Caldwell, Christopher: The Crescent and the Tricolor. The Atlantic Monthly, November 2000
- Lake, Anthony: Confronting Backlash States. Foreign Affairs, March/April 1994, pp. 35-55
- Lewis, Bernard: License to Kill. Usama bin Ladin’s Declaration of Jihad. Foreign Affairs, November/December 1998, pp. 14-19
- Hoffmann, Stanley: On the War. The New York Review of Books, November 1, 2001
Buruma, Ian, Margalit, Avishai: Occidentalism. The New York Review of Books, January 17, 2002

Week 9

Topic XV – Power in the Post-Modern World

The case of Iraq: Is preventive war justifiable? If so, on what grounds? Is a UN Security Council Resolution the sine qua non for the use of force against another country? Of Paradise and Power – Venus and Mars. EU as a post-modern entity. Anti-Americanism in Europe. Anti-Europeanism in America. Clash of the titans or the new division of labor?

Topic XVI – Multilateralism – Train Wrecks in the Making?

Free vs. fair: Euro-American trade disputes. Energy and Environment. Common defense: When and how we will use our force? Universal justice and extraterritorial jurisdiction. Human rights: Double standards? Whose side are you on: Israel and the Palestinians.

Readings:

- Kagan, Robert: Power and Weakness. Policy Review, No.113, 2002 (www.policyreview.org)
- Nye, Joseph: “The new Rome meets the new barbarians”. The Economist. March 21, 2002
- Cooper, Robert: The Post-Modern State and the World Order. Demos, London, 2002 (www.demos.co.uk/catalogue)
- Habermas, Juergen, Derrida, Jacques: February 15, or What Binds Europeans Together. (in: Constellations, Vol.10, No.3, September 2003, Blackwell Publishing)
- Dahrendorf, Ralf, Garton Ash, Timothy: The Europe and the America We Want (Le Monde, July 9, 2003)
- Michnik, Adam: A View from the Left: We, the Traitors (Gazeta Wyborcza, May 29, 2003)
- Revel, Jean-Francois: Without Marx or Jesus. The New American Revolution Has Begun. A Delta Books, 1971 (Chapter 11, pp. 124-147)
- Joffe, Josef: Who’s Afraid of Mr. Big? The National Interest, Summer 2001

- Garton Ash, Timothy: Anti-Europeanism in America. The New York Review of Books, February 13, 2003
- Luers, William H.: Choosing Engagement: Uniting the U.N. with U.S. Interests, Foreign Affairs, September/October 2000
- Deutch, John, Kanter, Arnold and Scowcroft, Brent: Saving NATO's Foundation, Foreign Affairs, November/December 1999
- Mearsheimer, John F.: Bound to Fail, The Rise and Fall of the International Liberal Order International Security, Vol. 43, No. 7, pp. 7-30
- Kissinger, Henry: Leadership: Six Studies in World Strategy, Penguin Press, 2022

Week 10

Topic XVII – The Recent Challenges: Black Sea and the Greater Middle East

Turkey: Can a country be Islamic and European at the same time? Ukraine and Georgia: Europe or left behind? Afghanistan: Losing the War. Iraq: Losing the peace? Middle East: Modernization or Democratization? Israel and the Middle East: Conflict or Reconciliation?

Topic XVIII - The Future Challenges: Euro-Asia

The Reset and the Pivot. Russia: The viable partner or assertive competitor? Central Asia and Southern Caucasus: A new silk road or a great game? China: A growing appetite of the future superpower? Korean peninsula: Going nuclear? India: A future U.S. ally? Proliferation: Is it stoppable? What would it take to stop it?

Readings

- Lewis, Bernard: What Went Wrong? The Atlantic Monthly, January 2002
- Asmus, Ronald D., Pollack, Kenneth M.: The New Transatlantic Project. Policy Review, October 2002 (www.policyreview.org)
- Wolfowitz, Paul: Remembering the Future, National Interest, No. 59, Spring 2000 Colby, Elbridge A., Mitchell, A. Wess: The Age of Great-Power Competition, How the Trump Administration Refashioned American Strategy. Foreign Affairs, January/February 2020.
- Gates, Robert M.: The Dysfunctional Superpower, Can a Divided America Deter China and Russia? Foreign Affairs, September 29, 2023
- Charap, Samuel: An Unwinnable War, Foreign Affairs, May/June 2023
- Leonard, Mark: China Is Ready for a World of Disorder, Foreign Affairs, May/June 2023

Week 11

Topic XIX – The Global Challenges: Climate, Covid, Crisis, Cloud, Culture

Climate change as a global agenda: The Talk and the Walk, Covid as a Transformative Force, The Crisis of Liberal Democracy, Angels and Demons of the AI and the Cloud, The Universal Ideal and the Culture Wars

Readings

- Zakaria, Fareed: The Future of Freedom. Illiberal Democracy Home and Abroad. New York: Norton, 2003
- Krastev, Ivan: Is It Tomorrow Yet? Paradoxes of the Pandemic, Allen Lane, 2020 Global Commission for Post-Pandemic Policy: Our Global Condition, An Assessment After 18 Months of Covid-19, November 2021
- Fukuyama, Francis: Liberalism and its Discontents, American Purpose, October, 2020, Riotta, Gianni: The Coming Identity War. Foreign Policy. September/October, 2020.

Topic XX – The New Cold War: Hanging Together or Hanging Separately

Russia - Iran - North Korea: The new axis of evil? The exit strategy for Ukraine and the Middle East. The hotbeds of tension: East Asia, the Middle East, Sahel, West Balkans. Who are the enemies and who are the allies? What we have in common: core values and threats. Bridging the transatlantic power gap USA – EU: A new transatlantic bargain?

Readings

- Moisi, Dominique: Reinventing the West. Foreign Affairs, November/December 2003
Wallace, William: Europe, the Necessary Partner, Foreign Affairs, May/June 2001
Cimballo, Jeffrey: Saving NATO From Europe. Foreign Affairs, November/December, 2004
- Binnendijk, Hans: Back to Bipolarity? The Washington Quarterly, Autumn 1999, pp. 7–14
- Lavengood, Zachary, Schneider, Jiri: Towards a Global Cooperation for Democracy, Forum 2000 Foundation, 2021
- Kagan, Robert: A Free World, If You Can Keep It, Foreign Affairs, January/February 2023,
- Stoltenberg, Jens: A Stronger NATO for a More Dangerous World, Foreign Affairs, July/August 2023

Week 12

FINAL PAPERS ARE DUE

Week 13

Summary of the course