

European-American Relations in the 21st Century

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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 the 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. Recently, 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 European Union.

Grading policy

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

MIDTERM PAPERS ARE DUE IN WEEK 8

FINAL PAPERS ARE DUE IN WEEK 12

Grading scale

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 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.

Week 1

UPCES Orientation Lecture Series

Lectures and site visits on subjects of history, culture, politics, and the economies of the Czech Republic and Central Europe in order to establish a common interdisciplinary background and vocabulary for all courses.

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 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 the 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

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. The 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

Week 5

Topic VII - Doctrine of Enlargement

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. 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

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 Essential 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
Talbot, 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 Choise 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?

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 Humbolt 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, 1998

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

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 Iraqi War. 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

Bolton, John R.: Courting Danger: What's Wrong With the International Criminal Court, *National
Interest*, No. 54, 1999

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

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? The Future of Iraq: Loosing the peace? Whither Iran? The Ultimate Sponsors:
Saudi Arabia. Middle East: Modernization or Democratization?

Topic XVIII - The Future Challenges: Euro-Asia

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? Japan: The end of
schizophrenia? Korean peninsula: Going nuclear? India: A future U.S. ally?

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

1. Is preventive war justifiable? If so, on what grounds?
2. Is a UN Security Council Resolution the *sine qua non* for the use of force against another country?
3. Is proliferation stoppable? What would it take to stop it?

Week 11

Topic XIX – The Cooperative Scenario: Working Together for a Global Society

What we have in common: core values and threats. Bridging the transatlantic power gap
USA – EU: A new transatlantic bargain? Economic interdependence: Towards a real free trade.
The evolution of international law. Bridging the gap: The North and the South

Topic XX – The Nightmare Scenario: Fighting by Proxy for a Global Chaos

Where we differ: countering threats and promoting values. Unilateralism: Divide and empire?
Dark side of a multipolar world: Building fortresses. Reality checks: Intentions and capabilities.
Drifting apart: Demography as destiny. Taking sides: the role of third powers

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
Riotta, Gianni (2000): The Coming Identity War. Foreign Policy. September/October.
Vondra, Alexandr; Painter, Sally: No Time to Go I tAlone. The Washington Post, Nov. 18, 2002
Zakaria, Fareed: The Future of Freedom. Illiberal Democracy Home and Abroad. New York: Norton, 2003

Week 12

FINAL PAPERS ARE DUE

Week 13

Summary of the course