

PO/HS300 – SECURITY IN EUROPE: ACTORS AND CHALLENGES IES Abroad Berlin

DESCRIPTION:

This course examines the security challenges Europe is facing in the 21st century and its historical backdrop in the 20th century. Many of the actors are the same, but their roles, constellations, and challenges are changing: Germany and France, (former arch foes, now united in the European Union), Great Britain (leaving the European Union), the United States, and of course Russia. The course starts with the security constellation at the end of World War I, when Europe lost its world dominance, and when the political map of the continent was redrawn. World War II left Europe even more devastated: It resulted in a divided Europe and a Cold War with its front running through Germany and Berlin. This course shows the continuous impact of these historic constellations on today's political situation. This course aims to explain how the European integration process started as an endeavor of Western European countries, supported by the US, to contain the security threat continuously perceived to be posed by Germany. At the same time, students will understand the changing role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which was founded to contain communism and the Eastern Bloc after WWII, but which started to incorporate Eastern European member states after the fall of the Berlin Wall and throughout the 1990s. Finally, we will analyze the security challenges Europe is facing in the 21st century with a particular focus on the role of Russia regarding these challenges. The course will combine the critical discussion of assigned readings, group work, excursions and a film analysis. Students will develop an understanding of the complex security constellation of and within Europe, most notably the structure of the European Union and the role of NATO, of recent security challenges such as the war in Ukraine, and of the relevance of transatlantic relations for security in Europe.

CREDITS: 3

CONTACT HOURS: 45

INSTRUCTOR: Prof. Dr. Eckart D. Stratenschulte

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION: English

PREREQUISITES: None

ADDITIONAL COST: None

METHOD OF PRESENTATION:

Lecture, discussion, student presentations, course-related trips, film analysis. Moodle will be used.

REQUIRED WORK AND FORM OF ASSESSMENT:

- Course participation- 10 %
- Class Presentations 15 %
- Midterm Exam 20 %
- Essay 25 %
- Final Exam 30 %

COURSE PARTICIPATION

Students must complete the assigned readings, participate in class discussions, and attend all field trips. In order to prepare in advance for the seminars, the students should keep in mind the following: Make notes of the assigned readings, summarize the main ideas of each reading, and bring questions to class on the topic. The grading rubric for participation is available in the IES Berlin Academics Manual on Moodle.

Class Presentations



Each student will give one 10-minute oral class presentation of one of the suggested topics throughout the semester; a list of topics and dates for the in-class presentation will be distributed in the beginning of the course. Some topics will be related to the destination of the Metro field trip and <u>Metro students can use the presentation as their required travel assignment.</u> The presentations will take place throughout the semester and will be a valuable part of the course and the learning experience of the students. The presentation should be non-scripted. PowerPoint or other presentation systems (like Prezi) might be used but don't have to.

Midterm Exam

The midterm exam (4-5 essay questions) has the dual purpose of testing students' knowledge of facts and evaluating their ability to critically analyze and contextualize historical events and political trends. It will focus on material covered in the first half of the course. Answers should not be longer than 120 words per question.

Essay

Students will write two short essays, which are due in weeks 5 and 9. Each paper should be 1250-1750 words long and must develop a coherent argument with the support of textual sources to be cited according to MLA or Chicago standards. Students will be required to schedule a time to discuss their topic with the instructor before writing each paper.

Final Exam

The final exam (7-8 essay questions) is mostly non-cumulative and focuses on material covered in the second half of the semester. Students should, however, also be able to integrate ideas discussed in the first half of the semester in their answers on the final. Answers should not be longer than 120 words per question.

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

By the end of the course students will be able to:

- Describe the main developments in the field of European security in the 20th and 21st century,
- Discuss the relevance of institutions such as NATO and the EU for security in Europe,
- Analyze the current security relations between Europe, the United States of America, and Russia,
- Evaluate the role of Germany and Berlin during the Cold War,
- Demonstrate key skills of analyzing films and historic speeches and linking them to historic and current events.

ATTENDANCE POLICY:

Attendance and punctuality in all courses and field studies are mandatory. Absences can only be excused for valid reasons. Unexcused absences can affect students' grades. Students who miss 25% or more of all class sessions will fail the course. Missed exams cannot be taken at another time except in case of documented illness. Late submission of term papers and other work will result in grade reduction unless an extension due to illness or an emergency is approved. Please consult the IES Berlin Academics Manual on Moodle for additional details.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:

Students are expected to abide by the IES Abroad Academic Integrity Code. Assigned papers need to be properly and amply footnoted where appropriate, with all sources attributed, including images. Suspicious papers may be checked with plagiarism-detecting software.

CONTENT:

Session	TOPICS	ASSIGNMENTS & READING



Week 1	 Session 1-2 Introduction: The unstable peace: 1918 End of World War I Redrawing of the European map Versailles Treaty and its consequences Trianon Treaty Wilson's 14 points The Russian Revolution 	 Round-table discussion: "What do we (want to) know?" <u>Readings:</u> Kershaw (2015), Ian: To Hell and Back, London, pp. 1-43 Taylor, Alan J. P. (2001). The origins of the Second World War. Penguin UK, pp. 1-34 (see course material) The Treaty of Versailles, Art. 1 – 27 (see course material) President Wilson's Fourteen Points (see course material) Carr, E.H. (1953): From October to Brest-Litovsk, in: The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923, London: Palgrave, pp. 2, E8 (see course material)
Week 2	 Session 3-4 The division of Europe, the Cold War and its consequences for Germany Allied conferences: From Teheran and London via Yalta to Potsdam The Iron Curtain Division of Germany Founding of NATO and Warsaw Pact Mutual assured destruction as life guarantee 	 3-58 (see course material) <u>Readings:</u> Potsdam Agreement (1945) (see course material) 8 pages Winston Churchill Speech on Iron Curtain (Fulton 1946, see course material) 8 pages Miller, James E. (1987). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization. United States Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs. Read: pp. 1-7. Buzan, Barry, & Hansen, Lene (2007). The Cold War and Nuclear Deterrence. Sage Publications. Read: pp. 1-17 (see course material)
Week 3	 Session 5-6 Conflict, Containment, Change: Berlin as Hotspot of European History Berlin Crisis 1958 – 1961 Building of the wall "Ich bin ein Berliner" – Kennedy in Berlin 	 <u>Readings:</u> Tusa, Ann & John (1988): The Berlin Blockade, London, pp. 1 – 39 Kissinger, Henry A. (1994): Diplomacy, New York, pp. 568 – 593 Kennan, George [alias X] (1947): The Sources of Soviet Conduct, 10 pages (see course material) <u>Watch before class:</u> Film: One-Two-Three (1961) by Billy Wilders <u>Film and Analysis:</u>



	 The Wind of Change and the Fall of the Berlin Wall: 1989 – 1991 Democratic Revolution in Poland Fall of the Berlin Wall 	Kennedy in Berlin <u>Film:</u> The Fall of the wall (provided by instructor) <u>Talk</u> to an eyewitness of November 1989
Week 4	 Session 7-8 Failure and Success: European Integration Churchill's Speech in Zurich 1946 European Community on Coal and Steel The Rome Treaties Enlargement of the EU EU Global Strategy The EU's Threat Analysis and "Strategic Compass" 	 Listen before class to the Audio Document: Speech of Winston Churchill at Zurich University on September 19, 1946 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5k5KuXTL8hc and answer questions given to you in week 3 Readings: Treaty constituting the European Community on Coal and Steel, Preamble (see course material) 2 pages Judt, Tony: Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945, New York 2005.pp 63 – 99, and pp. 241 – 277 Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy, 2016 (see course material) European External Action Service: Threat Analysis (to be published in Mid 2021) European Commission (2020): Questions and answers: Threat analysis – background for the Strategic Compass (3 pages)
Week 5	 Session 9-10 Cementing and Redrawing the Security Structures in Europe: Détente Policy and the Dissolution of the Soviet Bloc Concept of détente CSCE Final Act (Helsinki 1975) and its Impact on the Citizens' Rights Movement in Eastern Europe German-German relations: two countries, one nation The Importance of Willy Brandt for Détente Policy 	 <u>Readings:</u> Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Final Act, Helsinki 1975, (see course material), 59 pages Kissinger, Henry A. (1994): Diplomacy, New York, pp. 733 – 761 Ash, Timothy Garton (1993): In Europe's Name. Germany and the Divided Continent, New York, pp. 126 – 215 Gorbachev, Mikhail (1996): Memoirs: Ch. 23 Overcoming Divisions in Europe pp. 496 – 516 Ch. 24 German Unification pp. 516 – 535 Judt, Tony: Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945, New York 2005.pp. 585 – 633



Week 6	 Dissolution of the Soviet Union Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Midterms 	 Charter of the Commonwealth of Independent States (with declaration and decisions). Adopted at Minsk on 22 January 1993 – Translated into English from Russian (see course material) 24 pages Deadline for essay 1 Written Exam (90 minutes in-class)
week o	Midternis	<u>Written Exam (90 minutes in-class)</u>
Week 7	Session 11-12 Field Trip	 <u>Study trip:</u> Visit to the Forum Willy Brandt Berlin* <u>Study trip</u>: Visit to the Allied Museum*
Week 8	Session 13-14	Readings:
	Russia's role in Europe EU-Russia relations 1991 – 2018 	 Brzezínski, Zbigniew (1997): The Grand Chessboard, New York, pp. 87 – 122 and 194 - 215
	Russia's Security Strategy	 Russian National Security Strategy, December 2015 (see course material), 29 pages
	 Collective Security Treaty Organization Eurasian Economic Union 	 Smith, Karen E. (2015): European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World, fully revised and expanded 3rd edition, Cambridge, pp. 202 – 210
	 Russia's influence in the Western Balkans 	 Hiro, Dilip (2010): After Empire. The Birth of a Multipolar World, New York, pp. 87 - 116
	 Russia's war against Ukraine 	 Lewis, David (2020): Russia's New Authoritarianism, pp 100 – 116 (Defining the enemy)
Week 9	Session 15-16	Readings:
	From Truman and Stalin to Biden and Putin: The transatlantic partnership and the US-Russia relations	 Baldwin, David: The Concept of Security, in: Review of International Studies 23.1997, 1, pp. 5 – 26 (see course material)
	The United States' role in the process of European integration	 Walt, Stephen M.: Alliance Formation and the Balance of the World Power, In: International Security, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Spring 1985), pp. 3- 43 (see course material)
	American troops in Europe	• Warren, Patrick T. (2015): Alliance History and the
	• The US' nuclear guarantee	Future NATO: What the Last 500 Years of Alliance Behavior Tells Us about NATO's Path Forward. Foreign
	NATO-Russia Cooperation	Policy at Brookings, 21st Century Defense Initiative, pp. 37-56.
	The INF disputeThe New START Treaty	 McFaul, Michael: From Cold War to Hot Peace, Boston/New York 2018, pp. (chapter 24 see course material)



		 The United States Government: The New Start Treaty, pdf from website, 2021
Week 10	 Session 17-18 Giant, Partner, Challenge: China as Global Actor China's Importance for the European Economy The Belt and Road Initiative China's Influence on European Politics US-China Relations 	 <u>Readings:</u> Updated information by the European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/china/ Hass, Ryan (2021): China is not Ten Feet Tall, in: Foreign Affairs 3/4-2021, 6 pages (see course material) Medeiros, Evan: How to Craft a Durable China Strategy, in: Foreign Affairs 3/4-2021, 16 pages (see course material) European Commission (2016): Elements for a new strategy on China, 19 pages (see course material)
Week 11	 Session 19-20 Now what? European Perspectives on Security NATO – The changing alliance EU concept for a Defence Union (2017) Berlin-Plus: Cooperation between NATO and EU The meaning of Brexit for Europe's security 	 <u>Readings:</u> European Commission (2017): Reflection Paper on the Future of European Defence, Brussels (see course material), 16 pages European Union (2003): Background Information: EU- NATO: The Framework for Permanent Relations and Berlin Plus (see course material), 3 pages NATO (2020): NATO 2030. United for a New Era. Analysis and Recommendations of the Reflextion Group Appointed by the Secretary General, 67 pages
Week 12	Session 21-22 Final Discussion &Wrap-up Individual Consultations	Deadline for essay 2
Week 13	Midterms	Written Exam (90 minutes in-class)

COURSE RELATED TRIPS MAY INCLUDE:

- Allied Museum (Role of the Allied Powers after WW II, special situation in Berlin, responsibility of the 4 allies for Germany as a whole till 1990)
- Forum Willy Brandt Berlin (détente policy "Ostpolitik", final acceptance of the Polish western border, reconciliation between Germany and its Eastern neighbours)
- German Marshall Fund (think tank, expert talk with experts for trans-atlantic relations)



*Please note that field trips can be changed due to unforeseen circumstances.

REQUIRED READINGS:

- Ash, Timothy Garton (1993): In Europe's Name. Germany and the Divided Continent, New York, pp. 126 215
- Baldwin, David: The Concept of Security, in: Review of International Studies 23.1997, 1, pp. 5 26Brzezínski, Zbigniew (1997): The Grand Chessboard, New York, pp. 87 122 and 194 215
- Buzan, Barry, & Hansen, Lene (2007). The Cold War and Nuclear Deterrence. Sage Publications. Read: pp. 1-17
- Carr, E.H. (1953): From October to Brest-Litovsk, in: The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923, London: Palgrave, pp. 3-58
- Charter of the Commonwealth of Independent States (with declaration and decisions). Adopted at Minsk on 22 January 1993 Translated into English from Russian (see course material)
- Churchill, Winston: Speech on Iron Curtain (Fulton 1946). URL: <u>https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php</u> /President_Wilson%27s_Fourteen_Points
- Civan, C., Ergüden, E., & Öner, E. (2016). Commonwealth of Independent States
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Final Act, Helsinki 1975, <u>http://www.osce.org/helsinki-final-act?download=true</u> (see also course material)
- European Commission (2020): Questions and answers: Threat analysis background for the Strategic Compass (3 pages)
- European Union (2003): Background Information: EU-NATO: The Framework for Permanent Relations and Berlin Plus (see course material)
- European Commission (2016): Elements for a new strategy on China, 19 pages (see course material)
- Gorbachev, Mikhail (1996): Memoirs, pp. 496 516 and pp. 516 535
- Hass, Ryan (2021): China is not Ten Feet Tall, in: Foreign Affairs 3/4-2021, 6 pages (see course material)
- Hiro, Dilip (2010): After Empire. The Birth of a Multipolar World, New York, pp. 87 116
- Judt, Tony: Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945, New York 2005.pp 63 99, and pp. 241 277, and pp. 585 – 633
- Kennan, George [alias X] (1947): The Sources of Soviet Conduct, 10 pages (see course material)
- Kershaw (2015), Ian: To Hell and Back, London, pp. 1-43
- Kissinger, Henry A. (1994): Diplomacy, New York, pp. 568 593 and pp. 733 761
- Lewis, David (2020): Russia's New Authoritarianism, pp 100 116 (Defining the enemy)
- Medeiros, Evan: How to Craft a Durable China Strategy, in: Foreign Affairs 3/4-2021, 16 pages (see course material)
- Miller, James E. (1987). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization. United States Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs. Read: pp. 1-7.
- NATO (2020): NATO 2030. United for a New Era. Analysis and Recommendations of the Reflextion Group Appointed by the Secretary General, 67 pages
- Potsdam Agreement (1945): <u>http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decade17.asp</u>
- President Wilson's Fourteen Points: <u>http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp</u>
- Rome Treaty, Preamble:http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legalcontent/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:11957E&from=EN
- Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy, 2016:

https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/sites/globalstrategy/files/pages/files/eugs_review_web_13.pdf(see also course material)

Russian National Security Strategy, December 2015 (see course material)



- Smith, Karen E. (2015): European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World, fully revised and expanded 3rd edition, Cambridge, pp. 202 - 210
- Taylor, Alan J. P. (2001). The origins of the second world war. Penguin UK, pp. 1-34 •
- The Treaty of Versailles (1919), Art. 1 27, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-• ust000002-0043.pdf
- Treaty constituting the European Community on Coal and Steel, Preamble: • https://www.consilium.europa.eu/ uedocs/cmsUpload/Treaty%20constituting%20the%20European%20Coal%20and%20Steel%20Community .pdf Tusa, Ann & John (1988): The Berlin Blockade, London, pp. 1 – 39
- Walt, Stephen M.: Alliance Formation and the Balance of the World Power, In: International Security, Vol • 9, No. 4 (Spring 1985), pp. 3-43
- Warren, Patrick T. (2015). Alliance History and the Future NATO: What the Last 500 Years of Alliance • Behavior Tells Us about NATO's Path Forward. Foreign Policy at Brookings, 21st Century Defense Initiative, pp. 37-56

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

Additional recommended readings will be posted on Moodle. •

FILMOGRAPHY

- "One, Two Three", 1961, Billy Wilders •
- "The Death of Yugoslavia", BBC, URL: http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/death-of-yugoslavia/ •