

INR4931/EUS4930

## **European Security and the Transatlantic Relationship**

Prof. Zachary Selden

Office Hours: Anderson 03 Monday and Wednesday 11:30-1:00

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### **Course Summary**

This course explores the past, present, and potential futures of European security. It will focus in large part on the development of the European Union as a security actor in Europe. However, it is impossible to separate this discussion from the transatlantic security relationship, which has played decisive roles in the development of European security structures over the past one hundred years. For this reason, we will also focus on the transatlantic relationship, as well as the developing relationship between the EU and NATO under changing security conditions.

The course will begin with an overview of the issues that led to the outbreak of WWI and the beginnings of the transatlantic security relationship. It will explore the aftermath of WWII and how security issues factored into the earliest discussions of what becomes the European Union. It will then explore how the transatlantic security relationship was institutionalized in the form of NATO as well as other structures. At the same time, the course will consider how and why the EU took on an increasingly significant role as a security provider following the end of the Cold War.

The second part of the course will focus on the current challenges to European security and the ways in which the EU and NATO have attempted to manage them. These include: the relationship with Russia, energy security, terrorism, and cyber-security. We will also consider security “inputs” such as financial resources, military capabilities, and the attempts to boost capabilities through NATO and EU initiatives.

The third part will ask students to consider potential future directions for European security and the transatlantic relationship. Will the EU become a truly independent security actor in the global environment? Will common concerns about Russia forge a closer security relationship between Europe and the US? Will increased geopolitical competition between the US and the People's Republic of China create tensions or broad agreement in the US-EU relationship?

## Required Reading

In addition to a selection of articles, sections of the following books will be used:

- David Galbreath, Jocelyn Mawdsley, and Laura Chappell (eds), *Contemporary European Security* (Routledge, 2019). **Available on-line through Smathers Library.**
- Gary Mead, *The Doughboys: America and the First World War* (Overlook Books, 2000)
- Keith Lowe, *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II* (Picador, 2012)
- Timothy Andrews Sayle, *Enduring Alliance: A History of NATO and the Postwar Global Order* (Cornell University Press, 2019) **Available on-line through Smathers Library**
- Harold James, *Europe Contested: from the Kaiser to Brexit* (Taylor & Francis Group, 2019) **Available on-line through Smathers Library.**

I reserve the right to alter the readings with some prior notice.

## Assignments and Grading

The final grade will be calculated based on three papers and class participation. Participation is defined as actively engaging in class discussions and raising questions, not simply attendance.

Each paper will be approximately 4-5 pages or about 1000 words. The first essay will be worth 25%, the second 30% and the final essay 35%. Participation will constitute the remaining 10% of the final grade.

**First essay: Hand out Sept. 18. Due Sept. 25.**

**Second essay: Hand out Oct 20. Due Oct 25.**

### **Third essay: Hand out Dec. 4. Due Dec. 12.**

For each assignment/exam, you will receive a numerical score, not a letter grade. Your final cumulative score will be translated into a letter grade according to the following schedule:

93.5+	A
90-93	A-
87-89	B+
84-86	B
80-83	B-
77-79	C+
74-76	C
70-73	C-
67-69	D+
64-66	D
60-63	D-
59 -	E

Information on UF's grading policies is posted at <http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationgrades.html>

Other policies: Individual extra-credit work is not allowed.

Deadline extensions may be granted under special circumstances, but you must request them prior to the deadline. Retroactive extensions will not be granted under any circumstances.

### **Students Requiring Accommodations**

Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the [Disability Resource Center \(Links to an external site.\)](#). It is important for students to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs, as early as possible in the semester.

## **Course Evaluation**

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing [online evaluations \(Links to an external site.\)](#). Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students on the [Gator Evals page \(Links to an external site.\)](#).

## **University Honesty Policy**

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.” [The Honor Code \(Links to an external site.\)](#) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.

## **Software Use**

All faculty, staff, and students of the University are required and expected to obey the laws and legal agreements governing software use. Failure to do so can lead to monetary damages and/or criminal penalties for the individual violator. Because such violations are also against University policies and rules, disciplinary action will be taken as appropriate. We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to uphold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honesty and integrity.

## **Student Privacy**

There are federal laws protecting your privacy with regards to grades earned in courses and on individual assignments. For more information, please see the [Notification to Students of FERPA Rights \(Links to an external site.\)](#).

## **Campus Resources:**

### **Health and Wellness**

### **U Matter, We Care:**

If you or a friend is in distress, please contact [umatter@ufl.edu](mailto:umatter@ufl.edu) or 352 392-1575 so that a team member can reach out to the student.

**Counseling and Wellness Center:** [counseling.ufl.edu/cwc](http://counseling.ufl.edu/cwc) (Links to an external site.), and 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

## **Sexual Assault Recovery Services (SARS)**

Student Health Care Center, 392-1161.

**University Police Department** at 392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies), or [police.ufl.edu](http://police.ufl.edu) ([Links to an external site.](#)).

## **Academic Resources**

**E-learning technical support** ([Links to an external site.](#)), 352-392-4357 (select option 2) or e-mail to [Learning-support@ufl.edu](mailto:Learning-support@ufl.edu).

**Career Resource Center** ([Links to an external site.](#)), Reitz Union, 392-1601. Career assistance and counseling.

**Library Support** ([Links to an external site.](#)), Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.

**Teaching Center** ([Links to an external site.](#)), Broward Hall, 392-2010 or 392-6420. General study skills and tutoring.

**Writing Studio** ([Links to an external site.](#)), 302 Tigert Hall, 846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers.

**Student Complaints Campus** ([Links to an external site.](#))

**On-Line Students Complaints** ([Links to an external site.](#))

The class will not be recorded and you will not be able to access the lectures outside of normal class hours. Nevertheless, the University of Florida mandates the following language to be

included on every syllabus: Students who participate with their camera engaged or utilize a profile image are agreeing to have their video or image recorded. If you are unwilling to consent to have your profile or video image recorded, be sure to keep your camera off and do not use a profile image. Likewise, students who un-mute during class and participate orally are agreeing to have their voices recorded. If you are not willing to consent to have your voice recorded during class, you will need to keep your mute button activated and communicate exclusively using the "chat" feature, which allows students to type questions and comments live. The chat will not be recorded or shared. As in all courses, unauthorized recording and unauthorized sharing of recorded materials is prohibited.

## Course Outline

1. **From Bismarck to Wilhelm: the collapse of the old security order (August 23-28)**
  1. What caused the relative stability of Europe in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to end in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century?
  2. How did alliance structures, military doctrine and domestic political instability drive Europe into WWI?

### READING:

- William Mulligan and Jack Levy, "Rethinking Power Politics in an Interdependent World, 1871-1914," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 49:4 (Spring 2019), 611-640.
  
- Scott Sagan, "1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense and Instability," *International Security*, 11:2 (Fall 1986), 151-175.

2. **WWI and the start of the transatlantic security relationship (August 30-Sept 6)**
  1. What were the immediate effects of WWI on the relative power of European states?
  2. How was American participation in the war perceived by the allies and how did it change the balance of power?

### READING:

- Gary Mead, *The Doughboys: America and the First World War* (Overlook Books, 2000). Chapters 1-3.

- Lawrence Freedman, “The Rise and Fall of Great Power Wars,” *International Affairs*, 95:1 (2019), 101-117.

**3. The Interwar Years: The illusion of peace (Sept. 8-13)**

1. What lessons did different European states derive from WWI?
2. How did different understandings of the causes of war and peace lead to further instability?

READING:

- Harold James, *Europe Contested*, Chapters 4 and 5. **Available on-line through Smathers Library**

**FIRST ESSAY HANDED OUT SEPTEMBER 18 DUE SEPTEMBER 25**

**NO CLASS SEPTEMBER 25**

**4. The US In WWII: Cementing the Centrality of the US in European Security (Sept. 15-18)**

READING:

- *Europe Contested*, Chapters 6 and 7

**5. The aftermath of WWII: European security as a driver of European integration (Sept. 20-25)**

1. What plans were created to unite Europe under a common security framework?
2. How did the EU’s architects build security into European integration?

READING:

- Keith Lowe, *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of WWII* (Picador, 2012). Chapters 1,2,7 and 23

**6. The Origins of NATO (Sept. 29-Oct. 4)**

1. How did the early post-war situation create demand for continued American involvement in European security?
2. What structures were created and how did they link US-European security?

READING:

- Timothy Andrews Sayle, *Enduring Alliance: A History of NATO and the Post-War Global Order* (Cornell University Press, 2019). Chapter 1-2. **Available on-line through Smathers Library**

**7. The Cold War: Europe on the frontline (Oct. 9-13)**

1. How did the flashpoints in the Cold War forge European security behavior?
2. How did nuclear weapons affect European security?

READING:

- *Enduring Alliance*, Chapters 4 and 5.

**8. Reunification of Germany and European Security (Oct. 16-18)**

1. What were the parameters of the debate about German reunification?
2. How did different ideas about how to integrate the former Warsaw Pact countries affect European security structures?

READING:

- Kristina Spohr, "Germany, America and the shaping of post-Cold War Europe," *Cold War History*, 15:2, 221-243.

- *Enduring Alliance*, Chapters 9 and 10.

**9. Evolution of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy 1990-2010 (Oct. 20-23)**

1. Why did the EU begin to construct security institutions after the end of the Cold War?



2. How have those institutions evolved and what is their impact on the transatlantic relationship?

READING:

- *Contemporary European Security*, edited by David J. Galbreath, et al., Taylor & Francis Group, 2019. Chapters 1 and 6. **Available on-line through Smathers Library**

***SECOND ESSAY HANDED OUT OCTOBER 20 DUE OCTOBER 25***

**10. Evolution of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy 2010-2021 (Oct. 25-27)**

READING:

- Annegret Bendiek, "A Paradigm Shift in the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy," SWP Research Paper, October 2017.
- Alice Billon-Galland, "Are PESCO Projects fit for Purpose?" European Defence Policy Brief, February 2019.
- Megan Ferrando, "Is the European Peace Facility really about Peace?" Centre for European Reform, December 2021.

**11. The EU, the US and Russia (Oct. 30-Nov.3)**

1. What challenges does Russia pose to European security?
2. How does the Russian invasion of Ukraine change the transatlantic relationship?

READING:

- <https://warontherocks.com/2022/12/natos-nordic-enlargement-contingency-planning-and-learning-lessons/>
- <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2022/11/29/paradigm-shift-eu-russia-relations-after-war-in-ukraine-pub-88476>
- 
- Natalia Bugayova, "How we got here: The Kremlin's worldview," Institute for the Study of War, March 2019.
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- <https://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/88670>
- <https://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/88588>

## 12. Energy Security and Cyber Security (Nov.6-8)

1. What steps has the EU taken to ensure energy security?
2. What challenges do cyber security and information operations pose to European security?
3. How has the EU addressed these challenges and what is being done to create new “rules of the road” in cyberspace?

### READING:

- <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2021/12/14/european-democracy-and-counter-disinformation-toward-new-paradigm-pub-85931>
- <https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/europes-energy-security-problem-leaves-it-in-the-cold/>
- <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/climate/eu-burning-wood-electricity.html>
- <https://www.forbes.com/sites/michaelylynch/2022/08/31/germanys-energy-crisis-dispels-several-myths/?sh=e8dc97a25e94>
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## 13. EU Counterterrorism policy (Nov. 13-15)

1. What is the historical experience of Europe with terrorism and how does that affect current policies?
2. What is the EU doing to combat terrorism and how do those activities work with the national concerns of member states?

### READING:

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- [https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/priorities-2019-2024/promoting-our-european-way-life/european-security-union\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/priorities-2019-2024/promoting-our-european-way-life/european-security-union_en)
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- <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/europe-germany-france-britain-isis/495467/>

#### 14. Security input challenges and Strategy (Nov 17-20)

1. How do demographic shifts in Europe affect the ability of EU member states to act as security providers in Europe and beyond?
2. What measures are being taken by the EU and member states to pool resources and get more “bang for the Euro?”
3. How do the EU's Strategic Compass and NATO's Strategic Concept compare with each other?

#### READING:

- [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Being\\_young\\_in\\_Europe\\_today\\_-\\_demographic\\_trends#Europe.E2.80.99s\\_demographic\\_challenge](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Being_young_in_Europe_today_-_demographic_trends#Europe.E2.80.99s_demographic_challenge)
- 
- A Strategic Compass for European Security and Defence.
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- NATO 2022 Strategic Concept.

#### **THIRD ESSAY HANDED OUT DEC.4 DUE DEC.12.**

#### 15. Possible futures: Strategic independence or renewed interdependence between the EU and the US? (Nov. 27-Dec.1).

#### READING:

- <https://www.ifri.org/en/publications/publications-ifri/articles-ifri/frances-strategic-engagement-indo-pacific-makes-0>
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- <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2021/03/08/eu-s-strategic-autonomy-trap-pub-83955>
- 
- “The Time for EU’s Common Foreign Policy is Now,” GLOBSEC Strategic Brief, March 2021.

