#### INR4931/EUS4930

# **European Security and the Transatlantic Relationship**

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Office Hours: Anderson 03 Monday and Wednesday 11:40-1:00

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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. 19. Due Sept. 26.

Second essay: Hand out Oct 20. Due Oct 27.

# Third essay: Hand out Dec. 1. Due Dec. 8.

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	В
80-83	B-
77-79	C+
74-76	C
70-73	C-
67-69	D+
64-66	D
60-63	D-
59 -	E

See the UF Catalog's "Grades and Grading Policies for information on how UF assigns grade points.

*Note: A minimum grade of C is required to earn General Education credit.* 

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.

The class will not be recorded and you will not be able to access the lectures outside of normal class hours. There is no on-line option, this is an in person course.

This course complies with all UF academic policies. For information on those polices and for resources for students, please see <a href="mailto:thick.">this link.</a>" (The direct link is <a href="https://syllabus.ufl.edu/syllabus.policy/uf-syllabus.policy-links/">https://syllabus.ufl.edu/syllabus.policy-links/</a>.)

### **Course Outline**

- 1. From Bismarck to Wilhelm: the collapse of the old security order (August 22-29)
  - 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 (Sept 3-Sept 10)
  - 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. 12-17)
  - 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 19 DUE SEPTEMBER 265

4. The US In WWII: Cementing the Centrality of the US in European Security (Sept. 19-22)

### **READING:**

- Europe Contested, Chapters 6 and 7
- 5. The aftermath of WWII: European security as a driver of European integration (Sept. 24-26)
  - 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. 3)

- 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. 6-10)

- 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. 13-15)

- 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. 20-24)

- 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 27

10. Evolution of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy 2010-2021 (Oct. 27-31)

### 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 (Nov.3-7)
  - 1. What challenges does Russia pose to European security?
  - 2. How does the Russian invasion of Ukraine change the transatlantic relationship?

### **READING:**

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

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# 12. Energy Security and Cyber Security (Nov.10-12)

- 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:**

- <a href="https://carnegieeurope.eu/2021/12/14/european-democracy-and-counter-disinformation-toward-new-paradigm-pub-85931">https://carnegieeurope.eu/2021/12/14/european-democracy-and-counter-disinformation-toward-new-paradigm-pub-85931</a>
- <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/europes-energy-security-problem-leaves-it-in-the-cold/https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/europes-energy-security-problem-leaves-it-in-the-cold/">https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/europes-energy-security-problem-leaves-it-in-the-cold/</a>
- <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/climate/eu-burning-wood-electricity.htmlhttps://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/climate/eu-burning-wood-electricity.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/climate/eu-burning-wood-electricity.html</a>
- https://www.forbes.com/sites/michaellynch/2022/08/31/germanys-energy-crisis-dispelsseveralmyths/?sh=e8dc97a25e94https://www.forbes.com/sites/michaellynch/2022/08/31/german ys-energy-crisis-dispels-several-myths/?sh=e8dc97a25e94

# 13. EU Counterterrorism policy (Nov. 14-17

- 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:**

• <a href="https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/priorities-2019-2024/promoting-our-european-way-life/european-security-union">https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/priorities-2019-2024/promoting-our-european-way-life/european-security-union</a> en

• <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/europe-germany-france-britain-isis/495467/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/europe-germany-france-britain-isis/495467/</a>

- 14. Security input challenges and Strategy (Nov 19-21)
  - 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/statisticsexplained/index.php?title=Being\_young\_in\_Europe\_today\_demographic trends#Europe.E2.80.99s demographic challenge
- A Strategic Compass for European Security and Defence.
- NATO 2022 Strategic Concept.

#### THIRD ESSAY HANDED OUT DEC.1 DUE DEC.8.

15. Possible futures: Strategic independence or renewed interdependence between the EU and the US? (Dec.1-3).

### READING:

- https://www.ifri.org/en/publications/publications-ifri/articles-ifri/frances-strategic-engagement-indo-pacific-makes-0
- $\bullet \quad https://carnegieeurope.eu/2021/03/08/eu-s-strategic-autonomy-trap-pub-83955$
- "The Time for EU's Common Foreign Policy is Now," GLOBSEC Strategic Brief, March 2021.