

European Security after the Cold War

Syllabus Spring 2011

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classes: Mondays, 1:30 – 4:20, Richter's House

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Course description: This course will try to put European security into the context of today's world: from collapse of communism and dissolution of Warsaw Pact through the optimism of early 1990's, followed by years of wars in former Yugoslavia, wars on the former Soviet territory, to the stateless threat of terrorism today and the return of Big Powers politics & balance of powers. But study limited to Europe would be pointless; the Old Continent is no longer the prime player on the planet. Therefore a series of related topics and areas will also be discussed: the U.S. military might (especially compared to the European armed forces); situation in adjacent regions (North Africa, Middle East, Russia and Ukraine) and its implication for Europe; and the new types of threats (non-state actors, terrorists).

Grading policy

Class participation/attendance:	30 %
Paper:	20 %
Mid-term:	20 %
Final:	30 %

Schedule of classes

Note on dates & times: I had to change the format of the class from the usual two "normal" lectures a week to one "double" class each week. They will mostly take place on Mondays, but please keep the same time slot free on Wednesdays as well; I travel a lot and we will certainly have to move several of our classes to other dates. Thank you for your understanding. – V.B.

Special note for the semester of Spring 2011: *If you sign up, please be ready for last minute changes. I was appointed by the Government to oversee the nuclear tender, currently the only one in Europe. We have American, French and Russian competitors and I have to travel even more extensively, than before. So expect unexpected. But we will have all the classes.*

Week 1

24 January

Overview of the course

▪ Security: that boring stuff of life and death ▪ European or Western Security? ▪

Instead of introduction

▪ Cold War: the conflict that froze Europe for almost half a century ▪ Overkill, MAD and other terms we prefer to forget ▪

Week 2

31 January

How did we get here I: Europe's War, Part One (1914-1918)

▪ The globalized, secure, peaceful world of 1914 ▪ Sudden war? ▪ Trenches & Massacres of Verdun, Somme, Tannenberg ▪ The stalemate ▪ Ceasefire 1918 ▪

Response to bloodshed: New ideologies (1918-1939)

▪ Old order broken ▪ Empires falling ▪ Democracy and market discredited ▪ New ideas, new saviours: Communism, Fascism, Nazism ▪

Reading from: Fromkin, Europe's Last Summer; Keegan, The First World War.

2 February

(beware, changed date: Wednesday, same time, same place)

How did we get here II: Europe's War, Part Two (1939-1945)

▪ All or nothing ▪ New words: *Blitzkrieg*, *Concentration camp*, *Final Solution* ▪ New names: *Stalingrad*, *Auschwitz* ▪ New dawn: *Hiroshima*, *Nagasaki* ▪ Ceasefire 1945 ▪

Europe is no more in charge: Cold War (1945-1991)

▪ The World War III that never was (a.k.a. The Cold War) ▪ Iron Curtain ▪ U.S.A. vs. U.S.S.R. ▪ Europe's partial unification ▪ The end? 1989-91 ▪

Reading from: Beevor, Stalingrad; Hackett: The Third World War; Judt: Postwar. The topic for short paper will be given on this day.

Week 3

7 February

The early 1990's: the great optimism

▪ Sudden escape from Cold War deadlock ▪ No enemies in sight ▪ Demise of Warsaw Pact, NATO's lack of *raison d'être* ▪ "the peace dividend" ▪

Reading from: Fukuyama: The End of History and the Last Man; Huntington: The Clash of Civilizations.

The short paper will be collected on this day.

Week 4

14 February

The dark side of 1990's: Yugoslavia

▪ Wars no-one wanted to see: Croatia, Bosnia ▪ Sarajevo, Srebrenica ▪

Reading from: MacMillan, Paris 1919; Indictments of Dusko Tadic and Dragan Obrenovic, ICTY.

The topic for mid-term paper will be given on this day.

Week 10

28 March

Institutions vs. Instincts: NATO, EU etc. & the Return of warriors

▪ Warsaw Pact, NATO in 1990's ▪ Growing role of the EU ▪ The other players – OSCE, Council of Europe etc. ▪ Something rarely seen in Europe since Thirty Years War: *Soldateska* ▪ Croatia, Bosnia, Chechnya, Abkhazia, Pridnestrovye, Kosovo, Osetia, Karabagh... ▪ How peace can be restored ("kill 'em or buy 'em") ▪

Reading: Ralph Peters: The new warrior class. Parameters, Summer 1994, pp. 16-26.

Week 11

4 April

Local wars in post-Soviet area: Russian or European problem?

▪ Context of European–Russian–American relations in 1990’s and today ▪ North Caucasus (Chechnya & Co.) ▪

Case study: Russia today (and its “near abroad”)

▪ Russian oil, gas and power ▪ North Caucasus again ▪ Why is Russia the biggest European long-term worry ▪ Ukraine ▪ Belarus ▪

Reading: Talbott, The Russia Hand

The mid-term paper will be collected on this day.

Week 12

11 April

Islam: the religion everybody talks about

▪ Long history forgotten (by Westerners, not by *umma*) ▪ Islamic renewal in 20th century ▪ reinventing Islam in Europe (and in the U.S.) ▪ Russia’s worries: Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Caucasus ▪ Europe’s worries: Bosnia, Kosovo ▪ Turkey at the gates (again) ▪ Where Europe does not matter: Israel – Palestine ▪

Reading: In the name of God. A survey of Islam and the West. The Economist, September 13th, 2003.

Week 13

18 April

Case study: Iraq 2003

▪ The war of 1991 as a defining moment of America’s might and Europe’s secondary importance ▪ What Europe and the U.S. did in 2001-2003 differently, and why ▪ What to expect – and what to hope for ▪ Consequences of victory ▪ Consequences of defeat ▪ Military abilities (and limits) of European countries ▪ Strengths and weaknesses of America ▪ Possible future of transatlantic cooperation ▪

Week 14

25 April

The need for intelligence or What and why went wrong with Iraq

▪ The way we gather, assess and use/abuse intelligence ▪ “The war on terror” in the real world ▪ Lessons of Mogadishu, Tora Bora and Baghdad ▪ Limits of intelligence collection & trading ▪ Limited knowledge of minorities inside (France, UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain – as well as the U.S.) ▪ Deficient knowledge of the enemy outside our borders ▪ Very scarce *humint* ▪

Topics for final will be given on this day.

Week 15

2 May

Case study: Iran

▪ History through their eyes ▪ British and Russian influence in 19th century ▪ “You don’t allow us to have railroads” ▪ Mossadegh ▪ Shah ▪ The Islamic revolution: America’s hurt pride ▪ Domino effect of the 1979 revolution in Iran (Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine) ▪ Today’s stand-off ▪ What to expect this and next year ▪

We will have to find dates in April for two substitute classes:

How is our security policy done

▪ Politicians, generals, public ▪ Outsourcing security, mentally as well as on the battlefield ▪ “Someone else should do something about this” ▪ Military budget is only part of the real spending ▪

How far should we go to make ourselves safe

▪ With or without the Iraq fiasco, the world remains a dangerous place ▪ “one per-cent doctrine”, “democratic mandate”, and international law ▪

Case study: Afghanistan

▪ Three coffins in Kabul 2001 ▪ British disaster in 19th century ▪ Soviet disaster in 20th century ▪ American disaster in the making ▪

Suggested reading:

(there is a reader, available in the library; I will also add more reading during the course of semester)

- Antony Beevor: Stalingrad.
- David Fromkin: Europe’s Last Summer.
- David Fromkin: A Peace to end all Peace.
- Francis Fukuyama: The End of History and the Last Man.
- Gen. Sir John Hackett: The Third World War August 1985.
- Samuel Huntington: The Clash of Civilizations.
- Tony Judt: Postwar.
- John Keegan: The First World War.
- Margaret MacMillan: Paris 1919: six months that changed the world. (Previously published as Peacemakers.)
- Ralph Peters: The new warrior class. *Parameters*, Summer 1994, pp. 16-26.
- Edward W. Said: Orientalism.
- Strobe Talbott: The Russia Hand.
- Indictments of Dusko Tadic and Dragan Obrenovic. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), available at <http://www.un.org/icty/>.