DHP D283m: US-European Relations Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall

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US-European Relations Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall

Dr. Klaus Scharioth, Professor of Practice at the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy
Second Half of Spring Semester 2016
Tuesdays, 05:30 – 08:00 PM
Class location: Crowe Room

Office Hours:
Wednesdays, 02:00 - 05:00 PM
Office location: Mugar 129d (in the Fares Center)
Klaus.Scharioth@tufts.edu
(617) 627-6584

*Office Hours sign-up sheets will be posted weekly on Monday morning outside Mugar 129d.

Course Assistant:
For all other questions regarding the course, please contact
Kai Keller: kai.keller@tufts.edu.

Timeline:
The seminar meets six times between March 15 and April 26. In addition, there will be a required simulation exercise, the date of which is to be determined.

Course description:
The seminar examines U.S.-European relations since a peaceful revolution brought down the Berlin Wall in November 1989. The seminar looks at various common challenges in the period thereafter and how they were dealt with, both from the U.S. and the European perspective: the unification of Germany, the enlargement of NATO, NATO/Russia, Russia/Ukraine, 9/11 and the threat of violent extremism, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria/ISIS, Iran and nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, the dilemma of security vs privacy, as well as TTIP among others. The emphasis is on practical skills rather than theory. Students will practice to write short memos for political leaders and to give very short oral presentations.

Please note that this is a laptop free course.

Instructor:
Klaus Scharioth is Professor of Practice at the Fletcher School and Dean of the Mercator College for International Affairs in Berlin. He was a member of the German Foreign Service for more than 35 years. He witnessed the cases discussed in the seminar in different positions, among them: Director of the Private Office of the NATO Secretary General, Head of the Office of the German Foreign Minister, Political Director of the German Foreign Office, State Secretary as well as German Ambassador to the United States. He is also a Senior Non-Resident Fellow of the Transatlantic Academy in Washington, D.C. and a
Organization:
The course is taught as a seminar. The teaching method will be based primarily on class discussions rather than lectures. Students are required to complete all assigned readings in advance of each seminar session and are expected to take an active part in a substantive discussion of the issues. Attendance is mandatory.

Writing and presentation requirements:
Throughout sessions 2-6, students will be assigned to write two short (3 pages maximum, 1 ½ spaced) political action memos for a US or European leader of their choice. In addition, students will also be responsible for giving two short oral presentations on the topics discussed during those sessions. The two written memos and the two oral presentations shall be on four different topics.

The 3-page political action memos shall consist of three parts:

- Brief description of the situation/problem
- What are the options available?
- What is the recommended action (or non-action) and why?

The political action memos for sessions 2-6 are due in hardcopy to Professor Scharioth (Mugar 129d) by no later than 4pm on the Monday before the class on the selected topic.

The two oral presentations shall be - in consultation with the TA – one short introduction (Type A Presentation) of the situation/problem discussed that particular day and one short oral advice (Type B Presentation) intended for a US or European leader along the same lines as described above for political action memos. The Type A: Introduction shall be between 90 seconds and two minutes in length and will be given at the beginning of the discussion on the selected topic. The Type B: Oral Advice shall not exceed three minutes and will be given at the conclusion of the discussion on the topic.

During the simulation exercise, the seminar will be divided into small teams of US or European negotiators, discussing one current or strategic issue at a model US-European meeting. Each US and European team will present to the other side their analysis of the problem and their recommendation for a common US-European position. Both sides will then try to find out if there is common ground and to what extent. The meeting will be concluded with a short joint press conference, where the results are communicated to the public. A single grade will be assigned to each team, to be determined by the quality of the presentation, its persuasiveness, the skill in defending the recommended course of action in the negotiation with the other side and in presenting the result in the joint press conference.
Grading:
Grades will be determined in the following manner:

- Class participation: 20%
- Two written memos for political leaders: 40%
- Two oral presentations: 20%
- Presentation and discussion of a current or strategic issue as a member of a small US or European negotiation team: 20%
- There will be no final exam.

Course structure and readings:

Session 1 - March 15:

1. Introduction
   The Structure of Transatlantic Relations during the Cold War
   Turning Point 1989 – what happened and why

2. The Two-Plus-Four Process and its Consequences for the European Peace Order

Required Readings:

- Kennan, George, (“Mr. X”), The Sources of Soviet Conduct, in Foreign Affairs, July 1947
- Lawson, George, Armbruster, Chris and Cox, Michael, The Global 1989 – Continuity and Change in World Politics, Part II, Chapter 4, Michael Cox, Transatlantic relations in the shadow of the Cold War, pp. 97-111, 2010
- Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany, September 12, 1990
- Zoellick, Robert B., Two Plus Four: The Lessons of German Unification, in National Interest, Fall 2000
- Blackwill, Robert D., German Unification and American Diplomacy, in Aussenpolitik, July 1994

Optional Readings:

- Cox, Michael, Introduction: The transatlantic relationship - The marriage without end, in European Political Science, 10 (1), 2011
Session 2 - March 29:

3. The Transatlantic Debate about European Security and Defense Policy
4. The Opening of NATO for New Members and the NATO/Russia Founding Act
5. Russia/Ukraine: Is Russia Abandoning the Jointly Established European Peace Order?

Required Readings:

- Scharioth, Klaus, *Making ESDP strong will strengthen NATO and the Transatlantic Partnership*, in The EU’s Search for a Strategic Role - ESDP and Its Implications for Transatlantic Relations, Esther Brimmer (ed.), Washington, DC, Center for Transatlantic Relations, pp. 165-174, 2002
- Daalder, Ivo, Michele Flournoy, James Stavridis et al., *Preserving Ukraine’s Independence, Resisting Russian Aggression: What the United States and NATO Must Do*, Atlantic Council, Brookings Institutions and The Chicago Council on...
Global Affairs, February 2015, accessible online at 
http://www.thechicagocouncil.org/publication/preserving-
ukraine%E2%80%99s-independence-resisting-russian-aggression-what-
united-states-and

- Saunders, Paul J., How Russia Sees the Ukraine Crisis, The National Interest 
  October 13, 2014, accessible online at 

- Trenin, Dmitri, Russia’s New Military Doctrine Tells It All, Carnegie Moscow 
  Center, December 29, 2014, accessible online at 
  http://carnegie.ru/2014/12/29/2014-russia-s-new-military-doctrine-
tells-it-all

- Kissinger, Henry, To settle the Ukraine crisis, start at the end, Washington Post, 
  March 5, 2014, accessible online at 
  https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/henry-kissinger-to-settle-
the-ukraine-crisis-start-at-the-end/2014/03/05/46dad868-a496-11e3-
8466-d34c451760b9_story.html

- Pond, Elizabeth, Do not arm Ukraine, The World Today Vol. 71., No. 2 Chatham 
  House, April 2015 access online at 
  https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/do-not-arm-ukraine

- Speck, Ulrich, The West’s Response to the Ukraine Crisis – A Transatlantic 
  Success Story, Transatlantic Academy, April 2016

Optional Readings:

- Hunter, Robert E, The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO’s Companion 
  – or Competitor?, RAND Corporation, 2003, accessible online at 
  http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1463.html

- Brzezinski, Zbigniew, Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power, 
  2013.

- Trenin, Dmitri, Russia Reborn, in Foreign Affairs, November/December 2009, 
  accessible online at https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-
fsu/2009-11-01/russia-reborn

- Kupchan, Charles A., NATO’s Final Frontier - Why Russia Should Join the Atlantic 
  Alliance, in Foreign Affairs, May/June, 2010, accessible online at 
  https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2010-05-01/natos-
final-frontier

- Applebaum, Anne, How He and His Cronies Stole Russia, The NY Review of Books, 
  December 18, 2013, accessible online at 
  http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/12/18/how-he-and-his-
Session 3 – April 5:

6. 9/11 and the Response to the Threat of Violent Extremism
7. Afghanistan

Required Readings:


Optional Readings:

- Rubin, James, *Building a New Atlantic Alliance - Restoring America’s Partnership With Europe*, in *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2008
Session 4 - April 12:

8. The Iraq War
9. Syria and the Challenge of ISIS/ISIL

**Required Readings:**

- Albright, Madeleine, *Bridges, Bombs or Bluster*, *Foreign Affairs*, Sep/Oct 2003

**Optional Readings:**

- Walt, Stephen, *ISIS as Revolutionary State*, Foreign Policy, November/December 2015
- Byman, Daniel, *ISIS Goes Global*, Foreign Policy, March/April 2016
- [See Reading List for Simulation ‘How to deal with Syria?’](#)

**Simulation Exercise – April 15, 3pm (Murrow Room):**

Setup: US-European Meeting

Group A: How to Deal with China?

- Saunders, Phillip, *China’s Rising Power, the U.S. Rebalance to Asia, and Implications for U.S.-China relations*, Issues & Studies, no. 3, September 2014

Group B: How to Deal with Failed States and Mass Migration?

- Banulescu-Bogdan, Natalia and Fratzke, Susan, *Europe’s Migration Crisis in Context: Why Now and What Next?*, Migration Policy Institute, September 2015
- Pollack, Kenneth, *U.S. Policy toward a turbulent Middle East*, Testimony before the US Senate Committee on Armed Services about U.S. Policy toward the Middle East, Brookings Institution, March 2015
- Batt, Judy, *Failing States and the EU’s security agenda*, EU Institute for Security Studies, November 2004
- Rotberg, Robert, *Failed States in a World of Terror*, Foreign Affairs, July/August 2002
Group C: How to Deal with Syria?

- *See Reading List for Session 4*
- Olidort, Jacob, *Theology in Foreign Policy*, Foreign Affairs Snapshot, March 2016

**Session 5 - April 19:**

10. Iran
11. Nuclear Proliferation and Disarmament in General
12. Cyber and the Dilemma of Security vs. Privacy

**Required Readings:**

- *Parameters for a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action Regarding the Islamic Republic of Iran’s Nuclear Program*, Department of State, April 2, 2015, accessible at www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2015/04/240170.htm
- *Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action*, Department of State, Vienna, July 14, 2015
- Nunn, Sam, *Memorandum for NATO Group of Experts*, Nuclear Threat Initiative,
February 22, 2010

- Audio: Ralph Langner, “Cyber Warfare: Preparing for the Inevitable.” Accessible at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v1EcziU_AtY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v1EcziU_AtY)

**Optional Readings:**

- Harnisch, Sebastian, *The Lessons of the EU’s Iran Diplomacy*, *IP Global*, Fall 2007
- Parent, Joseph and MacDonald, Paul, *The Wisdom of Retrenchment - America*
Must Cut Back to Move Forward, in Foreign Affairs, November/December 2011

- The Economist, Nuclear disarmament – Move the base camp, June 16, 2011
- Ruddy, Thomas, Regimes Governing the Re-Use of Personal Data in the US and the EU: A Primer on Mass Surveillance and Trade, December 2013

Session 6 - April 26:
13. Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)
14. The Future of the Transatlantic Relationship

Required Readings:

- Directives for the negotiation on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership between the EU and the USA, Brussels, October 9, 2014
- American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, At Issue Interview: Dr. Klaus Scharioth, March 4, 2013
- Sparding, Peter, Germany’s Pivotal Role on the Way to TTIP, German Marshall Fund, November 2014, accessible online at http://www.gmfus.org/archives/Germanys‐pivotal‐role‐on‐the‐way‐to‐TTIP/
- Janes, Jackson and Krueger, Tilman, Boring Hard Boards: Negotiating the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, AICGS, Johns Hopkins University, 2013

Optional Readings:

- Trigkas, Vasilis, “The Strategic Implications of TAFTA|TTIP: Will it Engage or Contain China?” December 2013
- Barker, Tyson, For Transatlantic Trade, This Time Is Different, in Foreign Affairs, February 26, 2013
- European Council on Foreign Relations, European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2016, p. 117. Accessible at

- Vom Endt, Mona, “Is TAFTA|TTIP a Race to the Bottom in regulatory Standards? The Case of Hormone-Treated Beef,” December 2013