COURSE OBJECTIVES:

The destruction of the Berlin Wall in fall 1989 symbolized the collapse of the communist political systems that had dominated East-Central Europe and Eurasia for decades and the end of both the Cold War and the bipolar security system that had characterized Europe for the prior four decades. This change was expected to eliminate the security issues that had divided Europe and usher in a “new world order,” in the words of U.S. President George H.W. Bush. As we will see, that “new world order” was short lived. The overall purpose of the course will be to provide students with a comprehensive overview of the central issues concerning European security since World War II, with emphasis on the period since the end of the cold war and the factors that have led to new security concerns.

The course will begin with a general overview of the Cold War security system in place for more than four decades in Europe and the North Atlantic area more broadly. It will then deal with the end of the cold war and the collapse of the former Soviet Union before focusing on the efforts, since the end of the Cold War, to create a new Europe-wide security system. It will examine the new challenges to security represented by the collapse of the bipolar international system, by ethnonationalism, terrorism, drug trafficking, illegal immigration, etc. It will also treat issues of regional security in East-Central Europe and the Balkans, with emphasis on NATO and European Union enlargement and the establishment within the European Union of a common Defense and Foreign Policy. It will also treat the impact of U.S. unilateralism and the attempts to achieve global hegemony on European security, the revival of Russia as a major power and its increasing assertiveness in its relations with neighboring states, as well as the implications of this development for security in Europe. Finally, it will discuss the divisions among the Western community that challenge the long-term viability of existing security institutions such as NATO and the decline of both Europe and the United States relative to a number of emerging new powers and its relevance for European security.

SEMESTER ASSIGNMENTS

A. Reading Assignments:

Since the course will be conducted in a manner to encourage student involvement, students will be expected to have read the reading assignments prior to class sessions and to discuss the central points in discussion in class. Class participation, which presumes on-time attendance in class, will count as twenty-five percent of the course grade.

B. Written Projects:

Students will each select a current [not historical] foreign policy/security issue concerning a single country, a group of countries, or Europe more broadly about which they will become especially knowledgeable. The papers are to be primarily analytical, not merely descriptive. Potential topics might include:
the emerging security policy of an individual country, or group of countries, and the factors that explain it;
the relevance of the Russian Federation for the long-term security of Europe;
the pros and cons in the security arena of the continued expansion of the European Union to include, for example, Turkey, Ukraine, etc.
the changing role of the United States in European security;
the importance of the divisions within NATO for the future of European security;
the likely long-term success of the collaborative relationship between Europe and the United States in responding to international terrorist threats;
the response of European states to the unilateral and hegemonic aspects of U.S. foreign policy;
the revival of nationalistic sentiments in Europe and their impact on future European security;
the prospects for an effective Common Defense and Foreign Policy for the European Union;
the implications for NATO and U.S.-European relations of the emergence of a successful EU foreign and defense capacity;
the demographic challenges to Europe’s future;
EU and Russian competition for influence in their overlapping neighborhoods;
Europe, the United States and the Russian Federation;

etc.

During the course of the semester students will write a major research paper worth forty percent of the course grade and due in class on 24 April 2014 (late papers will be downgraded by half a letter grade per day late). Papers should be about fifteen typewritten pages in length (double-spaced) [twenty to twenty-five pages for those receiving graduate or honors credit for the course] and must be based, in part, on primary sources [defined here as documents, speeches, articles, analyses written by analysts or political figures from the region], not merely on secondary analyses. (The course will serve as a writing intensive course.)

Papers must be submitted in standard research paper format--i.e. title page, notes either at the bottom of the page or at the end of the paper, and a bibliography. Use the format given below for both notes and bibliography. It is assumed that due attention will be given to such concerns as spelling, grammar, appropriate word selection and neatness! Although primary consideration in evaluating the paper will be placed on content, logic of the argumentation, and evidence, stylistic concerns (i.e. spelling, grammar, syntax, etc.) will also be taken into account.

Most importantly, papers are not to be mere chronicles of historical developments. Rather, they are to present and support an analytically-based argument or explanation concerning the problem that has been selected as the focus of research.

As part of the paper project, students will be required submit a 1-2 page proposal concerning the paper in class on 25 February 2014. The proposal should identify the topic, outline the key issues to be dealt with, indicate how those issues relate to central concerns of theoretical importance, and indicate the most relevant source materials already consulted for the project.

As an integral part of the paper project students students will submit on 3 April 2014 a five-page, typewritten and double-spaced, précis/outline of the general argument of their projects This written paper should do the following: 1) state clearly the issue to be examined and indicate why it is important and why you have selected it as topic of research; 2) give a brief summary of the existing literature dealing with the topic and indicate the general conclusions reached in that literature, including both the areas of agreement and disagreement; and 3) indicate the basic argument of the paper, but need not provide the detailed evidence that will be employed in the final paper to support the argument. [Students will provide the instructor and other participants of the course with drafts of the presentation, preferably electronically, by noon the day before class.] This paper will be graded as a part of the entire research paper project.
Those enrolled in the course for graduate credit will be expected to submit a final paper of 25-30 pages that draws, as fully as possible, on primary source materials and relate the materials covered explicitly to one or other of the various theoretical perspectives employed in international relations theory.

**Back up your work** on an external drive (e.g. USB Key, Hard Disk), portable device (e.g. smart phone, PMP) and/or online service (e.g. myUMbackup [http://www6.miami.edu/myumbackup/], Mozy, intronis, idrive, amazon simple storage service, backblaze, backja ck [macs only]). There can be no excuse for loss of data due to computer malfunction, theft etc. Please be proactive and backup your computer files.

**C. Examinations**

There will be one mid-term written examination on 6 March 2014. The examination will cover all material dealt with in the course to that point. This exam will comprise fifteen percent of the course grade.

There will also be a final written examination scheduled during the regular final exam period, 2:00-4:30 pm, 6 May. Additional information will be provided about the examination, which will comprise twenty percent of the course grade. All students will take the examinations at the regularly scheduled time.

**D. Grading:**

**Twenty-five percent** of the grade for the course will be determined by a combination of class attendance and class participation. **Forty percent** of the grade for the course will be based on the major research paper, including the one-page statement [5 percent], the five-page précis [20 percent], and the final paper [75 percent]. All papers are due on the dates listed and will be downgraded, if late. An additional **thirty-five percent** of the grade will be determined by a mid-term examination [15 percent] and a final examination [20 percent].

Note that, in line with the University of Miami’s honor code, students will be required to include a signed statement on each major written assignment swearing/affirming that the work that they are presenting is completely their own. Clear evidence of cheating will result in the grade of “0” for the assignment.

**E. Required Reading:**

Copies of the books listed below are available for purchase at the University of Miami Bookstore. Should the Bookstore run out of copies of the texts and other local bookstores not have them available, I strongly recommend that you immediately order them on-line. Moreover, you can save substantially by ordering used books. Barnes and Noble [www.bn.com] and Amazon [www.amazon.com], for example, usually deliver materials within a week of ordering [for orders valued at more than $25.00 neither Barnes and Noble nor Amazon charges a delivery fee]. Another location that usually provides information about lower prices for books is Textbookland [http://www.textbookland.com/]. It will probably be easiest to find books on the Texbookland website using the ISBN number, which I have included below for each book.

Note that students will submit in class on the first day of every new topic/reading assignment a one- or two-page paper [double-spaced] responding to the readings. The paper may summarize the key issues dealt with in the readings, react to important points covered in the readings, etc. Together with class attendance and participation the weekly papers will comprise twenty five percent of the course grade.

**Books Available for Purchase and on Reserve at Richter Library:**


**Book available in electronic version via Richter Library Catalogue and also on Reserve in Richter Library**
[http://catalog.library.miami.edu/record=b4841926~S11](http://catalog.library.miami.edu/record=b4841926~S11)


**Readings Available electronically on Blackboard**


Graeme P. Herd and Tuomas Forsberg, “Constructive Transatlantic Strategic Dissonance: Making a Virtue out of Vice?” *International Politics*, no. 3 (2008), pp. 364-381.


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1 All reading materials for INS 593/POL 391 are available on Reserve in Richter Library. The books are available only on three-hour reserve in the library itself. All articles and chapters are available on electronic reserve via Blackboard.


F. Course Rules and Honor Code:

1. Academic honesty: All work for this course must be the student’s own. Please refer to the Student Handbook for the University of Miami Undergraduate Honor Code. That Code binds all students. By enrolling in this course you pledge to abide by the ethical academic standards listed in the above document. Anyone guilty of academic dishonesty will fail the course. One of the most common sources of problems arises in the failure to indicate sources used in completing requirements. Students are guilty of plagiarism, intentional or not, if they copy material from books, magazines, or other sources without identifying and acknowledging them. Students guilty of, or assisting others in, either cheating or plagiarism on an assignment, quiz, or examination may receive a grade of F for the course involved and may be referred to the University Honor Code. In short, all ideas that are not your own or are not part of “common wisdom” should be footnoted. A general rule is that, if the information cannot be found in three or more commonly available sources, it should be referenced. All direct quotations must be placed in quotation marks. These guidelines will be enforced. If you are unsure whether or not to footnote, err on the side of caution and footnote. For additional information on this and related matters see the guidelines on writing that follow the syllabus timetable.

2. Arrive in class and be seated BEFORE 2:00 o’clock!

3. In the classroom please turn off cell-phones and beepers and remove your hats.

4. Only in the most serious of circumstances [serious personal illness, family emergency, travel for unavoidable university business] will the primary instructor grant permission – which must be obtained in advance – to delay the due date for an assignment. This is especially true of examinations.

5. Students may request the instructor to reassess exam questions that they believe have been inaccurately evaluated. Requests for re-evaluation must be submitted to the instructor in writing [including via e-mail] within a week after the examinations are returned to students. The written statement must suggest and defend the grade that the student believes he/she deserves. The instructor reserves the right to reassess the entire examination, not merely a single question, in such a situation.
6. The professor is interested in helping you master the course materials. You questions and comments in class are strongly encouraged in class. Also, you are encouraged to take advantage of office hours to raise questions about materials covered in the course or about other matters. Also, e-mail is a wonderful way to pose questions and share materials; please be sure that you provide your current e-mail address.

7. Copies of the syllabus and on occasion other materials related to the course will be available on the course site on Blackboard.

G. Course Outline and Required Readings:

14 Jan.  Introduction to the Course

16, 21 Jan.  1. The Origins and Development of the Cold War Alliance System  [189/2]
Roger E. Kanet, "The Superpower Quest for Empire: The Cold War and Soviet Support for ‘Wars of National Liberation’,” Cold War History, vol. 6, no. 3 (2006), pp. 331-352. [electronic reserve],
Aybet, pp. 1-68
Yost, pp. ix-xxiii, 1-26

23, 28 Jan.  2. NATO, European Security and the Process of European Integration [100/2]
Howorth, pp. ix-xix, 1-32
Aybet, pp., 69-130

30 Jan,  4 Febr.  3. The Crisis of Communism and the End of the Cold War  [146/2]
Howorth, pp. 33-60
Aybet, pp. 131-163
Yost, pp. ix-xxiii, 1-90

6, 11 Febr.  4. Reinventing NATO and the New Security Environment  [205/2]
Howorth, pp. 61-91
Aybet, pp. 163-204
Yost, pp. 91-268

13, 18 Febr.  5. The Balkan Wars and European Security [90/2]

20, 25 Febr.  6. NATO, EU Expansion and European Security  [166/2]
Howorth, pp. 92-134
Lansford-Tashev, pp. xi-xxvi, 3-56
25 February  Paper proposal due in class

27 Febr.  7.  NATO, the United States and Old Europe  [90/2]
Mar. 4  Howorth, pp. 135-77
Lansford-Tashev, pp. 78-126

6 March  Mid-term examination

8-16 March  Spring Recess

Lansford and Tashev, pp. 57-78
Roger E. Kanet, *The Return of Imperial Russia: Russia and Its Neighbors.* ACDIS
Occasional Paper. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,
Program in Arms Control and Disarmament, 2008, pp. 1-19. [electronic reserve]
Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series, Miami European Union Center of
Excellence, Vol. 9 No. 2 (January 2009), 18pp. Available at
www.miami.edu/eucenter [electronic reserve]
Bertil Nygren, “Normative and Ideological Frictions Between Russia and Europe,” in
Roger E. Kanet, ed., *A Resurgent Russia and the West: The European Union, NATO
and Beyond.* Dordrect, The Netherlands: Republic of Letters Press, 2009, pp. 113-
34. [electronic reserve]
Ingmar Oldberg, “Russia’s Great Power Ambitions and Policy under Putin,” in Roger E.
Kanet, ed., *Russia: Re-Emerging Great Power.* Houndmills, UK: Palgrave
Vladimir Rukavishnikov, “Choices for Russia: Preserving Inherited Geopolitics
Through Emergent Global and European Realities,” in Roger E. Kanet, ed., *Russia:
[electronic reserve]

25, 27 Mar.  9.  NATO, the United States and New Europe  [153/2]
1 April  Lansford-Tashev, pp. 127-280

3 April  Second paper due in Class

3, 8 April  10. U.S. Unilateralism and The Transatlantic Relationship [152/2]
Trine Flockhart, “The European Union,” in Edward A. Kolodziej and Roger E. Kanet,
eds., *From Superpower to Besieged Global Power: Implications for American
Foreign Policy and Global Power.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008,
pp. 137-54. [electronic reserve]
Gülnur Aybet, “Turkey between the Transatlantic Partnership,” in Roger E. Kanet, ed.,
*The United States and Europe in a Changing World.* Dordrecht, The Netherlands,
2009, pp. 141-63. [electronic reserve]
Howorth, pp. 178-241
*The New Security Environment: Impact on Russia, Central and Eastern Europe.*
Edward A. Kolodziej, “American Power and Global Order,” in Edward A. Kolodziej and
Roger E. Kanet, eds., *From Superpower to Besieged Global Power: Implications for
American Foreign Policy and Global Power.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia
Press, 2008, pp. 3-30. [electronic reserve]

10, 15 April  11.  NATO and the Reality of U.S. Exceptionalism  [52/1]
Edward A. Kolodziej, “From Superpower to Besieged Global Power,” in Edward A.
Kolodziej and Roger E. Kanet, eds., *From Superpower to Besieged Global Power:*
*Implications for American Foreign Policy and Global Power.* Athens, GA:
University of Georgia Press, 2008, pp. 299-337. [electronic reserve]
Roger E. Kanet, “A New U.S. Approach to Europe?: The Transatlantic Relationship

17, 22 April 12. The Future of the West, I [165/2]
Aybet and Moore, pp. 1-130
Graeme P. Herd and Tuomas Forsberg, “Constructive Transatlantic Strategic
Dissonance: Making a Virtue out of Vice?” *International Politics,* no. 3 (2008), pp.
364-381. [electronic reserve]
Christopher Layne, “It’s Over, Over There: The Coming Crack-up in Transatlantic
Relations,” *International Politics,* no. 3 (2008), 325-347.

24 April 13. The Future of the West, II? [227/2]
Aybet and Moore, pp. 131-252
Howorth, pp. 242-56
Walter Laqueur, *The Last Days of Europe: Epitaph for an Old Continent.* New York:
Jacoby Tamar, “Germany's Immigration Dilemma: How Can Germany Attract the
Workers It Needs?” *Foreign Affairs,* vol. 90, no. 2 (2011), pp. 8-14

24 April Final Research paper due [hard copy in class; digital copy by e-mail]
in class

26-29 April Reading Days

Tuesday, 6 May 2014
2:00-4:30 pm Final Examination

H. Guidelines for Research Paper

The research paper should deal with some important recent/current political/security issue or case
concerning the foreign or security policy of one or more countries or a related topic. Regardless of the
topic selected, the student should deal with it analytically, not merely descriptively. This means that the
paper should address a specific question and develop and support an argument. It should draw upon
the relevant theoretical literature.

1. Format of the Paper

The paper should stay within the page limits listed above [12-point type with standard margins]; it should
be formatted in standard research paper form -- i.e. including reference notes (either at the bottom of the
page or at the end of the paper or employ "scientific notation" and a bibliography. The format listed below
should be used for both notes and bibliography.

2. Essay/Paper Style Sheet

Writing clear and concise English is a skill that will benefit you throughout life. I do take good writing
seriously and enjoy reading papers written in clear, correct English. It is a joy to read clear sentences that
have both subjects and verbs, that do not sprinkle commas around at random, and that realize that English
language plural nouns do not use apostrophes. The short amount of time that you take editing your paper
will catch most of the mistakes that drive teachers crazy.
Students who have difficulties with rhetoric are encouraged to purchase William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White, *The Elements of Style*. New York: Macmillan, 1999. 4th edn. To ensure that you understand when and how to provide references for materials used you should consult Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources: A Guide for Students*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2002 or a similar source. These two guides should prove to be useful throughout your entire career as a student, as well as later in life.

Please note that this style document is briefly and generically written. It neither covers all situations, nor is it intended for just one type of writing assignment. Specifically pay attention to the citation guidelines, for all parts may not apply to a particular assignment.

If you want to avoid some common problems, read the following rules carefully:

1) **Never use contractions.** If you are going to use ‘don’t’ and ‘can’t,’ you may as well write ‘gonna’ and ‘coulda.’ Contractions are markers of casual speech in written form. Use the forms ‘do not’ and ‘cannot’ instead.

2) **Make certain that all sentences have both a subject and a verb.** Sentence fragments are sentences that are missing either a subject or a verb. "A man who had traveled all over the country and lived in many states" is not a sentence, since it has no verb. The man is not doing anything, since there is no verb in this sentence. Careful editing will pick up mistakes like this one.

3) **Pronouns need antecedents.** Never start a paragraph with a sentence like, "They created a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Commons." The reader has no idea who 'they' are. If you use a definite pronoun (he, she, it or they) or indefinite pronouns (this, that, these or those), be certain that these pronouns refer back to some concrete noun.

4) **Introductory participial phrases modify the subject of the main clause of the sentence.** "Waiting for the train to arrive, it became clear that I was going to be late" is incorrect. In this case the participle “waiting” modifies the subject “it” grammatically. In fact, it is meant to modify an implied “I.” The sentence must be restructured.

5) **Word processors have spell check for a reason.** Every word processing program has some sort of spell checking system. USE IT. You might also consider using the grammar check function that many word processing programs now contain. Remember to proofread your final copy, because spell check cannot pick up mistakes like 'tot he' instead of 'to the,' or “two” rather than “to” or “too.” Grammar check may have even a greater risk of error. Therefore, be careful, as you use these tools.

6) **Use the right form of the word.** The English language is filled with dozens of spelling land mines, words that sound the same but are spelled in three or four different ways. These homonyms still cause people problems. The worst offenders that teachers find are:

   there  - an adverb denoting place  
   their  - a possessive adjective for the pronoun ‘they’  
   they’re  - a contraction for ‘they are,’ which you should not use anyway  
   its  - a possessive adjective for the pronoun 'it'  
   it's  - a contraction for 'it is,' which you should not use anyway Note: its' is not a word in the English language.

7) **Punctuation is not for decoration.** Commas are not thrown into sentences at random. The English language has rules for the use of commas. Learn these rules and follow them. The same holds true for semi-colons, colons and other forms of punctuation. Any large dictionary and most pocket dictionaries have brief reference sections on the proper use of punctuation.

8) **Have someone else read your paper.** When you have spent thirty hours working on a paper, the last thing you want to do is look at it one last time to see if everything is spelled correctly. Also, it is hard to
identify errors if you have become too involved in the paper. Have someone else look at your paper to pick out any mistakes you may have missed. Failing this, try reading the paper aloud. You can often hear and spot grammar and spelling errors in this fashion.

8) **Consistently cite your sources.** You must properly cite your source if you use an idea or quote from another's work. For citing sources (footnotes or endnotes) in research papers, I prefer that you use the following style:

### a. Bibliography:

All entries should be listed in alphabetical order, last name first, using the following format:

1) **Periodical article:**

   Some journals do not employ volume numbers, others do not employ consecutive pagination within an entire volume. This format can be adjusted to the former by excluding the volume number, and presents no problem for the latter situation.

2) **Article in an edited book:**

3) **Authored book:**

4) **Edited book:**

5) **Newspaper article:**

6) **Miscellaneous publication:**
   Some items do not fit easily into any of the categories listed above. You should adapt the format to fit the item. For example, pamphlets can usually be treated as books.

7) **Translated material:**
   For translated materials, full publication information should be provided for both the original and the translation source: e.g., *Pravda*, date, p. ?; translated in *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, vol. ?, no. ?, date, p. ?.

8) **Internet material:**
   These materials should be treated as publications. Full information concerning the source should be given, so that the reader will be in a position to find it. In the case of "reprinted" materials, both the original and the internet source should be given: e.g., “Yeltsin Administration Upbeat On Outgoing Year,” Moscow, 30 December 1997, *Interfax*; available on *Johnson's Russia List* #1453, 30 December 1997 <davidjohnson@erols.com>. “Russia, China Sign Nuclear Deal,” *RFE/RL Newsline*, Vol. 1, No. 187, Part I, 30 December 1997 <http://www.rferl.org/newsl ine>. Since you cannot cite pages for internet sources, you should be especially careful to provide proper link information and dates when accessed.

9) **Unpublished material:**
   Specific information should be provided about the source of unpublished material, such as interviews, letters, and other documents. The name of the interviewee, the date and place of the interview should be
provided. Letters and other documents should be treated in similar fashion. In all cases information concerning the current location of the material should be provided.