Class code  EURO-UA 9157-001 (7876)

Instructor Details  Vaclav Bartuska
vaclav_bartuska@mzv.cz
office hours after previous e-mail agreement, at NYU Prague

Class Details  European Security after the Cold War
Mondays, 13:30 – 16:20
Location to be confirmed.

Prerequisites  None

Class Description  This course will try to put European security into the context of today's world: from the collapse of communism and dissolution of the Warsaw Pact through the years of wars in former Yugoslavia, the wars on the former Soviet territory, to the seemingly powerless superpower of today and new actors, both state and non-state ones. 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: U.S. military might (especially compared to the European armed forces); the situation in adjacent regions (North Africa, Middle East, Russia and Ukraine) and its implication for Europe. Lectures with discussions.

Desired Outcomes  I can't teach you students anything. But hopefully I can provoke you to think about boring stuff – security, after all, is the boring stuff of life and death. So, in short: Question authority. And question the news you are getting.

Assessment Components  Midterm paper (1.000 words max.): 35 %
Final paper (2.000 words max.): 40 %

Assessment Expectations  Grade A: Excellent work. Quite rare, to be honest.
Grade B: Very good work.
Grade C: Satisfactory work.
Grade D: Gave one "D" in 24 semesters.
Grade F: Never happened, so far. You would have to strive real hard to get an "F".

Grade conversion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Conversion</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A=94-100</td>
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<td>A-90-93</td>
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<td>B+=87-89</td>
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<td>B=84-86</td>
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<td>B-=80-83</td>
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<td>C+=77-79</td>
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<td>C-=70-73</td>
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<td>D+=67-69</td>
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<td>D=65-66</td>
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<td>F=below 65</td>
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My standards seem to be a bit tougher than the NYU ones. I do not think that „excellent“ should mean „average“, in any language.

Here is the official NYU statement:

NYU Prague aims to have grading standards and results similar to those that prevail at Washington Square. At the College of Arts and Sciences, roughly 39% of all final grades are in the B+ to B- range, and 50% in the A/A- range.

We have therefore adopted the following grading guideline: in any non-Stern course, class teachers should try to ensure that no more than 50% of the class receives an A or A-.

A guideline is not a curve. A guideline is just that—it gives an ideal benchmark for the distribution of grades towards which we work.

Each unexcused absences will result in your final grade being reduced by 3%. Absences only for medical reasons will be excused. To obtain an excused absence, you are obliged to supply either a doctor’s note or corroboration of your illness by a member of the housing staff (either an RA or a Building Manager). Absences due to travel will not be excused.

Don’t do it. I go to great trouble to teach this course and the simplest thing you can do is to deliver papers on time. If late, I reserve the right to grade the paper as „F“.

(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.
- Samuel Huntington: The Clash of Civilizations.
- Tony Judt: Postwar.
- Margaret MacMillan: Paris 1919: six months that changed the world. (Previously published as Peacemakers.)
- Strobe Talbott: The Russia Hand.

Just a general rule: do not trust everything you find on the net.
Session 1

Overview of 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 words we prefer to forget

Session 2

September 6

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

Session 3

September 9

How did we get here II: Europe’s War, Part Two (1939-1945)
- All or nothing • New words: Blitzkrieg, Panzer, Final Solution • New names: Stalingrad, Auschwitz • 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.

Session 4

September 16

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

Session 5

Am scheduled to be abroad on September 23, will find other date

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.

Session 6

Am scheduled to be abroad on September 30, will find

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, Pridnestyevye, Kosovo, Osetia, Karabagh... • How peace can be restored (“kill ’em or buy ’em”)

Reading: Ralph Peters: The new warrior class

The mid-term paper will be collected on this day.
Local wars in post-Soviet area: Russian or European problem?

- Context of European–Russian–American relations in 1990’s and today
- North Caucasus (Chechnya, Ingushetia et.al.)

**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*

Islam: the religion everybody talks about

- The long history forgotten
- 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)

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

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

The need for 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

*Topic for final paper will be given on this day*

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

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

Can Europe remain America’s key partner?

- Libya and its lesson • NATO after Afghanistan and Iraq
November 25

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<th>Session 14</th>
<th>December 2</th>
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<td><strong>Final lecture</strong> – topic to be decided with regard to students’ interest</td>
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<th>Session 15</th>
<th>December 9</th>
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<td><strong>Final papers due</strong>, no lecture</td>
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<th>Classroom Etiquette</th>
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<th>Required Co-curricular Activities</th>
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| Suggested Co-curricular Activities |