

**University of Florida**  
**European Diplomacy: Power and Principles**  
**EUS 3930/INR 4931**  
**Spring 2023**

**COURSE INFORMATION:**

Instructor: Prof. Alexander Panayotov, Ph.D.

Course Location: Keen-Flint Hall 0117

Course Time: Monday, Wednesday, and Friday 1:55-2:45 PM

Office Location: Turlington Hall 3343

Email: [apanayotov@ufl.edu](mailto:apanayotov@ufl.edu)

Office Hours: Monday 11:00 AM-1:00 PM (in person), Friday 11:15 AM-12:15 PM (Zoom), and by appointment

*"History is a guide to navigation in perilous times. History is who we are and why we are the way we are."*

*David McCullough*

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

This is an introductory course in European diplomacy. It has three main objectives: 1) to explore the history of European diplomacy; 2) to highlight the distinctive features of the European diplomatic style; and, 3) to explain this style's analytical value and use it to comprehend complex diplomatic issues both past and present.

The teaching in this course is guided by the following principles: First, European diplomacy is deeply historical. Students need to learn the past to understand the present. Second, the contemporary European diplomacy is unique because of its hybrid nature. It involves both European states and the European Union. Their histories are intertwined and will be studied in tandem. Finally, the study of European diplomacy is analytical. Students will learn both the facts and the methods for analyzing diplomatic problems.

You will learn different styles of analysis and argumentation. Understanding these styles might prove challenging. Because of this, be prepared to discuss them during the class. The class discussion is a deliberative exercise: you are expected to contribute to it because everyone will benefit from a vigorous exchange of ideas. In order to facilitate this exchange, I will call people in class. Please note that class attendance is mandatory.

In addition, please respect your colleagues' views: Diplomacy is a subject open to multiple interpretations and an arena of contentious debates. Don't forget that collegiality and tolerance are virtues not vices.

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVES:**

Students in this course will:

- Explore the foundations of European diplomacy.
- Learn the methodological skills to read, analyze, and understand complex diplomatic problems.
- Refine their writing, editing, and presentation skills.

### **COURSE TEXTS:**

1. Henry Kissinger, "*Diplomacy*" (Simon & Schuster, 1994)
2. Mark Gilbert, "*European Integration: A Political History*" [hereinafter *European Integration*] (Rowman & Littlefield, 2020)
3. Adam Tooze, "*Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World*" [hereinafter "*Crashed*"] (Penguin Books, 2018)
4. Materials on the Canvas web site.

### **EXAMINATIONS AND ACADEMIC HONESTY:**

- I will not be able to change exams' parameters and presentation dates except in the following cases: a medical emergency, which must be properly documented, and a death in the immediate family.
- Absences from class must be properly documented. An absence without proper documentation will be counted as an unexcused one. Two or more unexcused absences will result in lowering of your attendance and participation grade.
- Depending on our progress, there might be changes in the schedule. You will be notified of all changes in advance.
- No extra credit assignments will be offered.
- Please note that UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor in this class. Please note that this is a research-intensive course. Because of this, plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. Students are required to read, understand, and abide by the University of Florida Academic Honesty policy. The policy can be found here: <https://sccr.dso.ufl.edu/process/student-conduct-code/> . All violations of the said policy will be reported in accordance with the process outlined in it.

- The requirements in the syllabus are consistent with the UF grading policy. The policy can be found here: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/UGRD/academic-regulations/grades-grading-policies/>

### **GRADE CONCERNS:**

If a student disagrees with her grade, she must outline her concerns in writing within 48 hours of receiving the grade. I will not accept grade concern statements after the expiration of the 48-hour period. The statement must contain a reasoned claim backed by textual evidence. After evaluating the merit of the claim, I will do one of the following: 1) increase the grade; 2) lower the grade; or, 3) leave the grade unchanged. The student will be notified about my decision within a reasonable time frame and the grade will be adjusted accordingly. Please note that this policy will not be applicable to the final paper and the overall final grade.

### **ATTENDANCE:**

- Please be advised that class attendance is mandatory. I reserve the right to revise your grade one grade step down (e.g. B+ to B) for systemic unexcused absences from class (two or more absences).
- Arrive on time. I reserve the right to lower your attention and participation grade in cases of systematic tardiness. I define systematic tardiness as “three or more late arrivals to class.”
- Do not leave early. If you leave early three or more times, I reserve the right to lower your attention and participation grade.
- Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found at: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/attendance.aspx>

### **INCOMPLETES:**

Incompletes will be granted under exceptional circumstances. A student who wants to receive an incomplete must: (1) inform the professor 10 (ten) days prior to the last day of class and (2) provide a written explanation about the reasons necessitating the incomplete. These reasons must be properly documented. In addition, the student must provide a written plan for finishing the missing work. The student must complete the work during the following semester. Failure to complete the work will result in an E.

### **COURSE EVALUATIONS:**

Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Guidance on how to give feedback in a professional and respectful manner is available at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/> . Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or via <https://ufl.bluera.com/ufl/> . Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results/>.

## ACCOMMODATIONS:

Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the disability Resource Center by visiting [disability.ufl.edu/students/get-started](https://disability.ufl.edu/students/get-started). It is important for students to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs, as early as possible in the semester.

Faculty can expect to receive a student's accommodation letter within the first 3 weeks of classes; however, if a student registers with the DRC later in the semester faculty are still obligated to facilitate accommodations. Neither faculty nor administrators may independently deny a request for accommodation that is approved by the Disability Resource Center.

Students are also advised to explore the opportunities offered by the UF Disability Resource Center. The Center is located at 001 Reid Hall, web page: <https://disability.ufl.edu/#>.

## COUNSELING AND WELLNESS CENTER:

Contact information for the Counseling and Wellness Center: <http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc/Default.aspx>, 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

## CLASS EXPECTATIONS:

In response to COVID-19, the following practices are in place to maintain your learning environment, to enhance the safety of our in-classroom interactions, and to further the health and safety of ourselves, our neighbors, and our loved ones.

If you are not vaccinated, get vaccinated. Vaccines are readily available at no cost and have been demonstrated to be safe and effective against the COVID-19 virus. Visit this link for details on where to get your shot, including options that do not require an appointment: <https://coronavirus.uflhealth.org/vaccinations/vaccine-availability/>. Students who receive the first dose of the vaccine somewhere off-campus and/or outside of Gainesville can still receive their second dose on campus.

You are expected to wear approved face coverings at all times during class and within buildings even if you are vaccinated. Please continue to follow healthy habits, including best practices like frequent hand washing. Following these practices is our responsibility as Gators. Sanitizing supplies are available in the classroom if you wish to wipe down your desks prior to sitting down and at the end of the class. Hand sanitizing stations will be located in every classroom.

**If you sick, stay home and self-quarantine. Please visit the UF Health Screen, Test & Protect website about next steps, retake the questionnaire and schedule your test for no sooner than 24 hours after your symptoms began. Please call your primary care provider if you are ill and need immediate care or the UF Student Health Care Center at 352-392-1161 (or email [covid@shcc.ufl.edu](mailto:covid@shcc.ufl.edu)) to be evaluated for testing and to receive further instructions about returning to campus. UF Health Screen, Test & Protect offers guidance when you are sick, have been exposed to someone who has tested positive or have tested positive yourself. Visit the UF Health Screen, Test & Protect website for more information.**

Course materials will be provided to you with an excused absence, and you will be given a reasonable amount of time to make up work.

If you are withheld from campus by the Department of Health through Screen, Test & Protect you are not permitted to use any on campus facilities. Students attempting to attend campus activities when withheld from campus will be referred to the Dean of Students Office. Continue to regularly visit [coronavirus.UFHealth.org](https://coronavirus.UFHealth.org) and [coronavirus.ufl.edu](https://coronavirus.ufl.edu) for up-to-date information about COVID-19 and vaccination.

### **RECORDINGS:**

Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor.

A “class lecture” is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To “publish” means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

### **RESPONSIBILITIES:**

- Ensure that you have a reliable access to Canvas because it will be used extensively throughout the semester. Note that you will be responsible for printing or viewing the assigned material.
- Read the materials in advance and in the order indicated in the syllabus.
- Turn off your cell phones **before** coming to class.
- Restrict the use of electronic devices to class-related activities, e.g., note-taking or article reading.
- Please do not eat in class. Drinks in closed containers are permitted.
- Please note that I will call people in class. This means that it’s your responsibility to be prepared at all times. I reserve the right to lower your participation grade if you are unprepared.

**GRADE SCALE:**

A	94-100
A-	90-93
B+	87-89
B	84-86
B-	80-83
C+	77-79
C	74-76
C-	70-73
D+	67-69
D	64-66
D-	60-63
E	0-59

**ASSIGNMENTS AND DEADLINES:**

<b>DUE DATE</b>	<b>ASSIGNMENT</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>WEIGHT</b>
	Attendance and participation	Please note that attendance is mandatory. Participation is an essential ingredient for your success in the course. I reserve the right to revise your grade one grade step up (e.g. A- to A) to reward your class participation. I also reserve the right to revise your grade one grade step down (e.g. B+ to B) for systemic unexcused absences from class (two or more absences). I will consider revising the grade one grade step down (e.g. B+ to B) for systemic tardiness (three or more late arrivals). I will not revise grades upwards to reward regular attendance. Do not leave early. If you leave early three or more times, I reserve the right to lower your attention and participation grade.	10%
15-Feb-2023	Analytical Memo	<p>The analytical memo is an impartial analysis of a diplomatic problem. You are not required to take sides or offer policy recommendations. You will have to 1) frame the problem; 2) explain its importance; 3) outline participants' goals; 4) assess their strengths and weaknesses; 5) outline the strategies for achieving their goals; and, 6) analyze the outcome in terms these participants' initial objectives. I will post a list of topics on Canvas and you will have to select one of them.</p> <p>The memo should not exceed four double-spaced pages. The additional requirements for the analytical memo are: 1'' margin all around, Times New Roman font, size 12. All sources must be properly cited in a bibliography, which will not be counted toward the page requirement. I will deduct 20 points for assignments submitted after the deadline and before 11:59 PM on February 17<sup>th</sup>. I will not accept submissions after that and no points will be awarded for this assignment.</p>	30%

<p>20-Mar-2023 - 27-Mar-2023</p>	<p>Mid-term Exam (take-home exam)</p>	<p>The midterm exam will consist of one question and two short answers. The answer to the essay question should not exceed 5 double-spaced pages. The additional requirements for the essay question and the short answers are: 1'' margin all around, Times New Roman font, size 12. Your answers should reflect the assigned readings and the class discussions. The short answers should not exceed seven sentences. The exam will be open-book based on the lectures, assigned reading, and the class discussions. I will deduct 20 points for an answer submitted after the deadline and prior to 11:59 PM on March 29<sup>th</sup>. I will not accept submissions after that and no points will be awarded for this assignment.</p>	
<p>19-Apr-2023 - 26-Apr-2023</p>	<p>Policy Memo to the President (King, Tsar, Great Leader, or Prime-Minister) (take-home assignment)</p>	<p>Assume that you are an advisor to the highest authority in a specific country. You will write a short memorandum that will assess the diplomatic position of your country with respect to a contemporary diplomatic issue related to Europe, e.g., Brexit, Ukrainian crises, monetary diplomacy, etc. I will post a list of acceptable topics and you will select one of them. In this memo, you will have to 1) frame the problem; 2) assess your country's goals and 3) lay out the diplomatic strategies for achieving them. Feel free to use historical analogies, but justify their use. The length of the memo should not exceed five double-spaced pages. The additional requirements for the policy memo are: 1'' margin all around, Times New Roman font, size 12. You may use external sources. All sources must be properly cited in a bibliography, which will not be counted toward the page requirement. I will deduct 20 points for an answer submitted after the deadline and prior to 11:59 PM on April 28<sup>th</sup>. I will not accept submissions after that and no points will be awarded for this assignment.</p>	<p>30%</p>

**SUBMISSIONS:**

All assignments should be submitted via the Canvas course page. Please note that each student is responsible for the timely submission of her assignments. I will not send reminders for overdue assignments.

**IMPORTANT DATES:**

- **February 8<sup>th</sup>:** Analytical memo due
- **March 27<sup>th</sup>:** Midterm due
- **April 26<sup>th</sup>:** Policy memo due



## TOPICS AND READINGS:

### INTRODUCTION

*"This world is a comedy to those that think, a tragedy to those that feel..."*

*Horace Walpole*

Date	Subject	Readings
09-Jan-2023	What is Diplomacy?	1. Paul Sharp, "Diplomacy" [Canvas] 2. George Orwell, "Shooting an Elephant" [Canvas]
11-Jan-2023	Order and Authority in International Politics I	1. Robert Jackson, "Sovereignty in World Politics: A Glance at the Conceptual and Historical Landscape" [Canvas]
13-Jan-2023	Order and Authority in International Politics II	1. Hendrik Spruyt, "The Origins, Development, and Possible Decline of the Modern State" [Canvas]

### THE POWER OF POWER POLITICS

*"Right, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must."*

*Thucydides "History of the Peloponnesian War", 4<sup>th</sup> ct. BC*

Date	Subject	Readings
18-Jan-2023	The Birth of the European State System	1. The Treaty of Westphalia, Art. I (Canvas) 2. <i>Diplomacy</i> 56-77
20-Jan-2023	The Concert of Europe I	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 78-92
23-Jan-2023	The Concert of Europe II	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 92-102
25-Jan-2023	Napoleon III and Bismarck: Opportunities and Convictions	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 103-136
30-Jan-2023	Imperial Frictions	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 137-167

## THE WEAKNESS OF POWER POLITICS

*“In war: resolution. In defeat: defiance. In victory: magnanimity. In peace: goodwill.”*

*Winston Churchill (after the conclusion of the First World War)*

Date	Subject	Readings
01-Feb-2023	European Diplomacy Before the First World War	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 168-200
03-Feb-2023	Europe Goes to War	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 201-217
06-Feb-2023	To End All Wars: The Treaty of Versailles I	1. <i>The Fourteen Points</i> (Canvas) 2. <i>The Treaty of Versailles</i> , Art. 231 (the war guilt clause) (Canvas) 3. <i>Diplomacy</i> 218-229
08-Feb-2023	To End All Wars: The Treaty of Versailles II	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 229-245
10-Feb-2023	It's Hard to be a Winner: The Dilemmas of the Victors	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 246-265
13-Feb-2023	Victors and Vanquished	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 266-287
15-Feb-2023	The Demise of the Versailles System I	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 288-303
17-Feb-2023	The Demise of the Versailles System II	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 303-318
20-Feb-2023	REVIEW SESSION	1. There are no readings for this class

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF POWER POLITICS

*“Revolt and terror pay a price. Order and law have a cost.”*

*Carl Sandburg*

Date	Subject	Readings
22-Feb-2023	Ideas and Interests: The Concept of European Unity	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 394-422 (skim) 2. <i>European Integration</i> 11-32
24-Feb-2023	From the Schuman Plan to the Western European Union, 1950-1955	1. <i>European Integration</i> 33-55 2. <i>The Schuman Declaration</i> (Canvas)
27-Feb-2023	From Messina to Rome, 1955-1958	1. <i>European Integration</i> 57-77
01-Mar-2023	The Western Unity: European Diplomacy in the 1960s I	1. <i>Diplomacy</i> 594-619

03-Mar-2023	The Western Unity: European Diplomacy in the 1960s II	1. <i>European Integration</i> 79-103
06-Mar-2023	Diplomacy in Hard Times: European Diplomacy in the 1970s	1. <i>European Integration</i> 105-127
08-Mar-2023	The Resurrection of European Integration	1. <i>European Integration</i> 129-149
10-Mar-2023	Expansion	1. <i>European Integration</i> 151-175
20-Mar-2023	The Maastricht Compromise	1. <i>European Integration</i> 177-205
22-Mar-2023	Euphoria Before the Storm	1. <i>European Integration</i> 207-235

### THE RETURN OF THE POWER POLITICS?

*History Does Not Repeat Itself, But It Rhymes*

*Attributed to Mark Twain*

Date	Subject	Readings
24-Mar-2023	“Money makes the world go round”: Monetary Diplomacy	1. <i>Crushed</i> 1-22
27-Mar-2023	The Eurozone in Crisis	1. <i>European Integration</i> 237-243 2. <i>Crushed</i> 91-117
29-Mar-2023	A Greek Tragedy	1. <i>European Integration</i> 243-252 2. <i>Crushed</i> 321-345
31-Mar-2023	Mountains of Debt	1. <i>Crushed</i> 346-371
03-Apr-2023	The Diplomacy of Austerity I	1. <i>Crushed</i> 372-395
05-Apr-2023	The Diplomacy of Austerity II	1. <i>Crushed</i> 396-408
07-Apr-2023	The Diplomacy of Austerity III	1. <i>Crushed</i> 408-421
10-Apr-2023	Whatever It Takes... and Probably More...	1. <i>Crushed</i> 422-446
12-Apr-2023	The Refugee Crisis	1. <i>European Integration</i> 252-261
14-Apr-2023	The First Ukrainian Crisis	1. Vladimir Putin’s speech in Munich (2007) [Canvas] 2. <i>Crushed</i> 485-509
17-Apr-2023	A Greek Tragedy ( Once Again)	1. <i>Crushed</i> 510-539
19-Apr-2023	Brexit I	1. <i>Crushed</i> 540-563
21-Apr-2023	Brexit II	1. <i>European Integration</i> 261-273
24-Apr-2023	The Second Ukrainian Crisis: War in Europe and the Return of History	1. <i>The Secret Additional Protocol to Treaty of Nonaggression Between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</i>

		<p><i>(Molotov-Ribbentrop Agreement, 1939)</i>  (Canvas)</p> <p>2. Timothy Snyder, <i>“Putin’s New Nostalgia”</i>  (Canvas)</p>
26-Apr-2023	Is Winter Coming? : REVIEW SESSION & CONCLUSION	There are no readings for this class. Please prepare your questions for the review session.

**USEFUL LINKS:**

1. The Avalon Project at Yale Law School: <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/> (Diplomatic History)
2. The Archive of European Integration: <http://aei.pitt.edu/> (European Integration)

**BOOK LIST (OPTIONAL):**

WRITING	Joseph Williams, “ <i>Style: Toward Clarity and Grace (Chicago Guides to Writing, Editing, and Publishing)</i> ,” The University of Chicago Press, 1995
EUROPE 1648-1815	Tim Blanning, “ <i>The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648-1815</i> ”, Viking Penguin, 2007
EUROPE 1815-1914	Richard J. Evans, “ <i>The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815-1914</i> ”, Viking 2016
EUROPE 1848-1918	Alan J.P.Taylor, “ <i>The Struggle for Mastery in Europe: 1848-1918</i> ”, Oxford University Press, 1980
AMERICA AND EUROPE 1916-1931	Adam Tooze, “ <i>The Deluge: The Great War, American and the Remaking of the Global Order 1916-1931</i> ”, Penguin Books, 2014
EUROPE 1914-1949	Ian Kershaw, “ <i>To Hell and Back: Europe 1914-1949</i> ”, Viking 2015
EUROPE 1950-2017	Ian Kershaw, “ <i>The Global Age: Europe 1950-2017</i> ”, Viking, 2018
DIPLOMACY	Sir Harold Nicholson, “ <i>Diplomacy</i> ”, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 2018
DIPLOMACY (PRACTICE)	Sir Ernest Satow, “ <i>A Guide to Diplomatic Practice</i> ”, Alfa Editions, 2020 [1905]
ECONOMIC CHANGE AND MILITARY CONFLICT	Paul Kennedy, “ <i>The Rise and Fall of Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000</i> ”, Vintage Books, 1987
POWER AND INSTITUTIONS	G. John Ikenberry, “ <i>After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars</i> ”, Princeton University Press, 2019
STRATEGY (REVIEW)	Lawrence Freedman, “ <i>Strategy: A History</i> ”, Oxford University Press, 2015
GRAND STRATEGY	John Lewis Gaddis, “ <i>On Grand Strategy</i> ”, Penguin Press, 2018