NORTH AFRICA AND EUROPE: PAST AND FUTURE

“The collusion between media, politics and economic interests account for the ambiguity that still continues to characterize the European position towards the democratic aspirations of the peoples of the Maghreb,” asserted Dr. Larbi Touaf at a Roundtable on the North African Revolutions and Europe on October 3rd.

Touaf was joined by Professor Amy Kallander, Vice Admiral Robert B. Murrett, Ms. Sibel Oktay, and Mr. Noureddine Mouhadjer, each of whom discussed the complexities in the relationship between North Africa and Europe and the implications for the future of the region.

Professor Kallander pointed out that former Tunisian President Ben Ali was a close ally of Europe, particularly France, and as a result the European Union failed to press for an improvement in the human rights situation in Tunisia in prior years. This occurred despite obvious signs that political representation was lacking and that there were severe economic problems. Similarly, Oktay described the lack of conditionality in the European Union’s agreements with North African and Middle Eastern countries, and the failure to differentiate between countries.

Touaf and Kallander highlighted the existence of cronyism, particularly between French officials and Tunisian and Moroccan officials, as well as Europe’s security-based approach to its relationships with authoritarian regimes.

Touaf also emphasized the tendency in the Western media to focus on the Islamist threat in North African countries rather than on the human rights situation. He argued that Al-Jazeera, which provided 24-hour coverage of the protests and government repression, played a key role in the escalation of protests in a region which had previously lacked powerful media systems.

Mouhadjer discussed the history of Algeria, including the decade-long civil war that began Continued on page 6

DIRECTOR’S WELCOME

BY BRIAN TAYLOR

2011 has been a year of great change for Europe, and for the Moynihan European Research Centers. The European financial crisis and the Arab Spring across the Mediterranean from Europe are just two of the momentous events of 2011 that will have a large impact on Europe in the coming years. Our programming reflected these important developments, as we organized expert talks and roundtables on these events in cooperation with partners from the Maxwell School and the university as a whole. Continued on page 2
Welcome cont’d

The year also saw the development of two major initiatives here on campus that bring new opportunities to our students. 2011-2012 is the first year of the ATLANTIS Transatlantic Dual Degree Program in International Security and Development Policy. Students in the master’s program will study at the Maxwell School, the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin, and the International Institute of Social Studies in The Hague. Six American students and two European students are currently at Maxwell in the inaugural year of the program. This year is also the first year in which students will complete a Certificate of Advanced Study in the European Union and Contemporary Europe (the program started in 2010-2011); we expect that roughly half a dozen students will receive the Certificate by the end of the academic year.

2012 promises to be equally momentous for Europe. In the West, the ongoing financial crisis potentially threatens the viability of the Euro. In the East, Vladimir Putin’s likely return to the Russian presidency could be equally consequential for the continent. The Centers will continue to follow a changing Europe, and sponsor events that help members of the community make sense of the past, present, and future of Europe. Be sure to visit our website for information on new and ongoing events, and drop us an email if you would like to receive updates on activities and events. We appreciate your interest!

EUROPE LEARNING LESSONS FROM THE EURO CRISIS

“This crisis only demonstrates again how complex policymaking is in the European context,” argued Busso von Alvensleben, Consul General of the Federal Republic of Germany in New York, in his remarks at Bird Library on October 26th. He emphasized that resolving the debt crisis in Europe will not be simple, and that long term change must be enacted in small steps. At the same time, he rejected claims that the Euro has been a failure and indicated that increased integration is the way forward.

Von Alvensleben highlighted the successes of the Euro. The common currency has facilitated trade, and currently France and the Netherlands are Germany’s most important trading partners, ahead of China. In addition, in Germany the transition to the Euro led to bold policy reforms that have strengthened the economy. Significantly, the competitiveness of German firms remains strong. He also acknowledged that observers of the current crisis may question why the response to the Greek crisis has not been more decisive. However, it is necessary to bear in mind the importance of politics. The Economic and Monetary Union, or the Eurozone, is a monetary union that allows its members fiscal autonomy. The Stability and Growth Pact is meant to balance fiscal autonomy, but member states have allowed one another exceptions to its restrictions by vote of the European Council. Mutual forgiveness became the norm, allowing countries to spend beyond their means.

“Europe is learning from experience, though we are learning these lessons the hard way,” von Alvensleben said. He argued that the Eurozone’s rules were insufficient and that the European Union was not prepared to manage sovereign debt crises.

Efforts to address these shortcomings include stronger fiscal rules in the Stability and Growth Pact, closer surveillance of policies, a pact of competitiveness and the replacement of the rescue fund with the European Stability Mechanism in 2013. Further change may be slow, in large part because national electorates and parliaments are playing a growing role in European policymaking.

During the question and answer session, von Alvensleben also discussed the feasibility of a fiscal union in Europe, the implications of the ageing of the German population, the importance of small and medium enterprises in the German economy and the role of the United Kingdom in European policymaking.
PANEL OFFERS AREA TEACHERS INSIGHTS ON TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY

On October 24th, 2011, representatives from the regional centers of the Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs spoke at the New York State Fairgrounds on the challenge of transitioning to democracy. The session formed part of the Central New York Council for the Social Studies Conference, attended by area K-12 teachers.

Professor Margarita Estevez-Abe of the East Asia Program discussed the importance of examining whether a country has experienced changes in power when determining whether that country is, in fact, democratic. She highlighted the case of Japan, where the transition to democracy is said to have occurred in 1945, but the first change of power took place in 2009. She cautioned, “When the same party has been in power for more than 50 years, even when they say that they have been holding free elections, that’s probably not the case.”

The case of Mexico echoes the concerns described by Estevez-Abe. Professor Gladys McCormick of the Program on Latin America and the Caribbean described how the majority of the 20th century in Mexico was characterized by one-party authoritarian rule. That party was voted out of power in the 2000 presidential elections, signaling a transition to democracy. However, the drug war has led to calls for Mexico to become more like the hyper-militarized Colombia, and one-party rule may soon return to Mexico.

Professor Amy Kallander of the Middle Eastern Studies Program emphasized the role of foreign powers in hindering the spread of democracy in the Middle East. In Algeria and Tunisia, for example, authoritarian regimes have succeeded in gaining support from Western countries by arguing that in their absence, anti-Western theocratic parties would take power. “This is not to say that Europe or the United States controls the regimes across the Middle East, but they’ve played a great role in legitimizing authoritarian dictators and keeping them in place,” she asserted.

In contrast, Professor Brian Taylor of MERC argued that the European Union constituted a positive factor in the spread of democracy in Eastern European countries. There, the prospect of joining the European Union created an incentive to democratize. He contrasted these countries with those of the former Soviet Union, which did not expect to be able to join the European Union and have had less success. Other factors that have influenced Eastern Europe’s ability to democratize include wealth, a lack of dependence on oil, gas and natural resource wealth, and a history of parliamentary democracy.

Mr. Sandeep Banerjee of the South Asia Center described the case of India and in particular, the consequences of scaling back the welfare state beginning in the 1990s. While the rich have gotten richer and often gained access to services, the poor, particularly in rural areas, have not benefited. The push to industrialize, as a result of which many farmers have had to sell their land, has played an important role in undermining the position of the rural population.

The Central New York Council for the Social Studies provides K-12 teachers in the region with opportunities for professional development and networking, with an emphasis on pedagogy and academic content in social studies. This one-day conference included twelve sessions on a number of relevant topics, and MERC’s involvement formed part of its regular community outreach.

FALL 2011 MERC HIGHLIGHTS

The North African Revolutions and Europe: A Roundtable
October 3rd, 2011

The Challenge of Transitioning to Democracy: Panel at the 2011 CNYCSS Conference
October 24th, 2011

Germany and the Current Crisis in Europe
October 26th, 2011

Berlin 1961: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Most Dangerous Place on Earth
Frederick Kempe, President and Chief Executive Officer, Atlantic Council
November 4th, 2011

Localizing Islam in Europe: Turkish Islamic Communities in Germany and the Netherlands
Ahmet Yükleyen, Croft Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Mississippi
November 16th, 2011
The Global Europe Program pulls together the academic, experiential and professional strands of the MA-IR program to focus on contemporary Europe and the European Union. Global Europe has three elements: (a) a seminar on the European Union, (b) a supervised internship in Europe and (c) an independent research course.

This Program is offered by the International Relations Program in collaboration with the Moynihan European Union Center at the Maxwell School of Syracuse University. The program is open to all qualified students in the Maxwell School.

Jordan Kelley, Master’s of Landscape Architecture ’12

Regarding the seminar in Strasbourg the first words that come to mind are inspiring and educational. Landing in Strasbourg I was met with immediate hospitality from locals. The ticket machine for the train from the airport to the city center did not except coins or notes, and my credit card did not work. Some very kind people paid my fare and told me not to worry about it; I thanked them and went on my way. “Off to a good start.” Meeting with the group and traveling to the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, Eurocorps, and the Court of Human Rights were the main stops during our visit. I couldn’t help but think how interesting it was that so many important institutions were located in this place and how accessible it all was. This place that has changed hands so many times, it has a distinct French-German culture, found in its people and its architecture. The term “Alsace” or “foreign domain” is resonant with this bi-cultural city and makes Strasbourg a unique and intriguing palimpsest of culture.

As a student that is not majoring in international relations but essentially minoring in it, I did not expect to be so engaged as I was. Credit must be given to Havva Karakas-Keles for managing our time in Strasbourg and letting us get to all the important international institutions. The time I spent at Maxwell helped me to be engaged and ask questions to important specialists in their respective fields, people I would have otherwise never had the chance to speak with personally. As a result of this experience I feel that I am better armed to navigate the Geo-political forum of what’s happening in the European Union and how other countries interact with the European Union.

My internship in Wales has been extremely satisfying and educational. I was allowed to represent CREW (Centre for Regeneration Excellence Wales) at a conference for a project called “The Works” in Ebbw Vale. The project they are doing is massive and the best part is there are four countries (Italy, France, Belgium, and the United Kingdom) that are stakeholders. The project encompasses derelict industrial reuse, community engagement, environmental education, bio-remediation, local sourcing and employment, sustainable housing, healthcare, and mixed-use development. This list is just a broad description of the amount of time, effort and information that this project has culminated into. I was impressed and felt encouraged that these countries were working together, sharing information, technology, and resources for this common good. I look forward to continuing my research in Wales and working on my own industrial redevelopment site for my capstone.

Colin Ackerman, Master of Arts in International Relations ’11

The Global Europe seminar provided an interesting look at current topics in the European political arena through both site visits to institutions and also from an academic

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Global Europe cont’d

perspective. At the Council of Europe we learned how the Council monitors human rights, democracy and rule of law within its member states. Visiting Eurocorps, a multinational army corps available to the European Union, we discussed the challenges of having international troops fighting under the flag of Europe, but also learned of successful deployments in Kosovo and Afghanistan. We also toured buildings of the EU Parliament and the European Court of Human Rights.

In addition to the site visits, we attended lectures by professors from the University of Strasbourg on a variety of topics. Issues included the role of Turkey and the European Union, collaboration between the EU and NATO on security matters, and the euro debt crisis. Ultimately the combination of visiting institutions along with the academic aspect provided an all-encompassing look at the European political arena and educated us further on the challenges facing Europe as we move into the future.

My internship this fall was at the Carl-Schurz-Haus, a German-American cultural institute located in Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany. Carl-Schurz-Haus organizes approximately 250 events each year encompassing current topics in German and American culture.

I was working primarily with the main cultural program of the Carl-Schurz-Haus. Tasks included marketing for our events, creation of posters and flyers, logistical help at events and program development, and I was responsible for monitoring the local press and archiving our events when they appear. Also, last month the American ambassador in Germany came to Freiburg and we facilitated the event at the town hall with over 300 people in attendance. Lastly, I was an assistant English teacher during English courses we offered for German children.
ATLANTIS TRANSATLANTIC DEGREE PROGRAM IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY: TWO DEGREES FROM TWO CONTINENTS

The Atlantis Transatlantic Degree Program in International Security and Development Policy is intended to prepare students to work effectively with security and development practitioners from Europe and the United States and to develop future practitioners who have a mutual understanding of European and American security and development paradigms.

This program is two years in length and results in two master’s degrees—one from a university in the United States and one from a university in Europe. It involves post-graduate work at three universities—the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin, and the International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University in The Hague.

Students spend the first year of the program at the Maxwell School earning either a Master of Arts in International Relations (MAIR) or a Master’s of Public Administration (MPA) degree. In addition to core requirements, students participate in a Workshop on Security and Development Policy in the EU and US and complete a summer internship providing them with practical experience with regard to the making of security and development policy.

The second year of the program is spent in Europe. Students spend the first semester of Year 2 in the Hertie School of Governance’s Master’s of Public Policy (MPP) program and their second semester in Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University (ISS)'s Master’s of Development Studies (MDS) program. During this second year they develop and complete a master’s thesis on a topic related to either security or development under the supervision of faculty from all three universities.

Four different degree tracks are available to students in the program. They can receive the MPA and MDS degrees, the MPA and MPP degrees, the MAIR and MDS degrees, or the MAIR and MPP degrees.

North Africa cont’d

in 1991. The war was triggered when Islamists won the elections but were not allowed to take power, and it left hundreds of thousands of people dead. Mouhadjer explained that revolution by force is no longer an option: “The future for Algeria is fuzzy and blurred.” He called for Europe and the US to seek win-win solutions.

Vice Admiral Murrett described the events that led up to NATO’s intervention in Libya. With respect to the prospects of military intervention in other countries, he cautioned: “You probably don’t want to draw too many lessons from the Libya case in terms of the urgency of the military intervention because there were just some things that were playing out really in matters of days in March that forced action in ways that were fairly unique to the Libya situation and probably wouldn’t be replicated elsewhere.” Oktay added that, given Libya’s proximity to Europe, concerns about migration played an important role in Europe’s decision to intervene.

As both Murrett and Mouhadjer suggested, it is impossible to predict the future. The need and feasibility for military intervention, the roles that Islamist political groups will play, and the fulfillment of the democratic aspirations of the people in the region are each uncertain. Europe must acknowledge the weaknesses of the security-based approach and be prepared for a variety of outcomes.

INTRODUCING THE ATLANTIS STUDENTS

Karen Auble

After being in the workforce for a decade, I wanted a graduate program that would satisfy my desire to gain useful management tools and understand social issues in a sophisticated way. I hadn’t had much in the way of rigorous analytical training prior to Maxwell, and I’m definitely getting a good foundation in that here. I look forward to applying what I’ve learned in the MPA program to the additional research opportunities that the European MA program affords in social policy and

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Atlantis Students cont’d

development. As part of the first Atlantis cohort to go through Maxwell, Hertie and ISS, I also appreciate that we serve a unique role, helping to shape the program and add value for future students.

Meghan Boesch

I am thrilled to be one of the first students at Maxwell who will benefit from all the Atlantis program has to offer. As an undergraduate political science major at the University of Massachusetts, many of my professors spoke highly of the development studies programs at both the Hertie School in Berlin and the Institute of Social Studies in Rotterdam. Though I had the opportunity to attend ISS's world-renowned development studies program, I ultimately chose to earn my MA in International Relations at the Maxwell School. I now know that I made the right choice; I will earn two degrees at three of the best graduate schools in the world. I am more than confident that the collective education I receive at Maxwell, Hertie, and ISS will prepare me for a career in international development. Best yet, the Atlantis program's faculty and staff have been tireless in their efforts to tailor the Atlantis program to my unique professional interests. I look forward to spending a challenging and memorable year abroad in Europe!

Emese Böröcz

When I first applied to the Hertie School in Berlin, I didn’t know about the Atlantis Program, but at the last minute this exceptional opportunity presented itself. I couldn’t have found a better combination of universities, since I always wanted to experience the American higher education system and wanted to live in Germany after the eight years I’ve spent at a German high school in Budapest. I appreciate the content and form of this program which enables great opportunities for academic development, networking in three countries and a competitive dual degree at the end. It’s also reassuring to have seven other fellows who will experience the frequent relocation with me and we’ll hopefully create a very coherent first group of Atlantis students after all!

John Rastler

The Atlantis program presents a great opportunity to deepen my understanding of transatlantic issues, familiarize myself with development topics, and gain skills in public management. My academic interests include transatlantic security, political economy of the developed world, renewable energy and environmental policy, and comparative parties and political systems. Through the Atlantis program, I aim to become a savvy and well-rounded foreign affairs professional who can work effectively in the public, private, and non-profit sectors. I look forward to meeting the faculty and students at the Hertie School of Governance and the International Institute of Social Studies.

Shannon Rosenberg

Adding an international component to my graduate study will strengthen my professional networks and give me a competitive edge in my future career. The Atlantis Program also allows me to complement the practical skillsets of my Masters in Public Administration with the theory and perspective of a Masters in International Development Strategies. Many thanks are due to the fantastic Maxwell and European staff who have worked with us through this process. I look forward to next year's adventures with my Atlantis cohort!

Lindsey Spector

The Atlantis program is a perfect fit for me because it allows me to pursue graduate degrees in the United States and in Europe, my geographic area of interest, while helping me to further my German language study. So far, I have enjoyed getting to know the other students in the program and appreciate how flexible the program is in accommodating all of our diverse interests. I am grateful to the Atlantis Faculty for their assistance in finding a summer internship in London. I have also enjoyed developing my German language skills with the other students.

Dan Stratila

Participating in the Atlantis program was my first choice when I applied for several MA programs in early 2011. It was my first choice mainly because it offers a study experience in the United States. Studying in the US is not only a great experience because of high quality education but as a scholar of international relations it seemed also highly important to me to gain a profound insight into the most powerful nation on the planet. Moreover my area of focus is international security with an emphasis on the European role. Thus the program offers exactly what I was looking for due to two additional European semesters at top institutions.

Jiayi Zhou

The Atlantis program is a great opportunity to study public policy from a non-US perspective. I especially like how this program integrates development and security aspects, for understanding broader US-EU policies towards the rest of the world. While I originally worried that the program might not allow for more targeted focuses, the Master's thesis requirement, as well as the access to different professors at three universities, allow ample opportunity for us to specialize and conduct our own research. So far, everyone involved in the program has been extremely helpful and kind, and I'm very happy to be a part of the inaugural cohort!
Syracuse University graduate students interested in obtaining a Certificate of Advanced Study in the European Union and Contemporary Europe to supplement their degree with a strong foundation in the region’s culture and politics or to prepare for a career involving regional specialization may do so beginning this year. With this certificate, Syracuse University is one of only a dozen places in the country specializing in the study of the EU and Contemporary Europe. In completing the Certificate Program, students are required to take at least 12 credit hours of study focused on the region, including one 3-credit required course and nine credits from a set of elective courses and/or approved extracurricular activities.

**WHY PURSUE A CERTIFICATE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN THE EU AND CONTEMPORARY EUROPE?**

The relations between the United States and Europe are historically important. In fairly recent history, the United States sent its troops to free Europe of Nazism and to defend it against global communism. With the end of the Cold War, however, relations between the two sides of the Atlantic, though always close, have become strained. The EU and its component governments have not always shared US points of view on such challenges as terrorism, climate change, and welfare policy; policy approaches to these problems have often differed. And yet there is continuing interdependence between the United States and the European Union.

Consider the security relationship between the two-sides of the Atlantic in NATO as well as the facts that the US and EU are each other’s main trading partners, represent three of the five veto players in the United Nations Security Council, and create around 6 million jobs for the other on each side of the Atlantic.

**PROGRAM REQUIREMENTS**

Twelve credits in four courses must be earned to be eligible for the certificate. These must include:

1. The required course PSC 756 Politics of the European Union. This 3-credit course provides an introduction to history, institutions, and politics of the European Union, with an emphasis on policy making in the EU today.

2. Nine credits from a set of elective courses and/or approved extracurricular activities.

**OBTAINING THE CERTIFICATE**

Interested students are encouraged to interact with the Director of the Certificate Program early in their tenure to develop a program of study. Please see our webpage for more details.

http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/moynihan/merc/Welcome

For any further questions, please contact Professor Margaret Hermann by email (mgherman@maxwell.syr.edu)