Does Europe Still Matter to America?

A Program of the American Academy of Diplomacy,
The University of Virginia Center for Politics,
and
The Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies

Saturday, October 24, 2020

A virtual conference

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American Academy of Diplomacy
Washington, D.C.

University of Virginia Center for Politics
Charlottesville, Virginia

Robert H. Smith International Center
For Jefferson Studies at Monticello
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The American Academy of Diplomacy
The American Academy of Diplomacy was founded in 1983 by Ambassadors Ellsworth Bunker, U. Alexis Johnson, and John J. McCloy to explore ways in which persons who had served in positions of major responsibility could cooperate to promote the highest standards in the practice of American diplomacy. Today, the Academy is dedicated to strengthening the resources and tools America brings to managing its diplomatic challenges, and accomplishes this through targeted outreach programs, distinguished awards, and robust, practical, research-based publications. Through these activities, the Academy promotes an understanding of the importance of diplomacy to serving our nation and enhancing America’s standing in the world.

The mission of the University of Virginia Center for Politics directed by Professor Larry Sabato is to promote the value of politics and the importance of civic engagement. Government works better when politics works better, and politics works better when citizens are informed and involved participants. The Center strives to encourage citizens to actively participate in the political process and government; evaluate and promote the best practices in civic education for students of all ages; and educate citizens through the Center’s comprehensive research, exchanges, programs, and publications. The Center’s Global Perspectives on Democracy program (GPD) hosts exchanges, workshops and presentations for international delegates in the U.S. and abroad with thus far over 1,400 participants from high school students to government ministers. GPD organizes the Ambassador Series which hosts ambassadors from nations around the world who engage with UVA students, faculty, staff, and members of the public.
The Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello

From its beginning in 1994, the dual purpose of the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies has been research and education — to foster Jefferson scholarship and to disseminate its findings. The activities of the Center are diverse and multidisciplinary. It is a residential site for individual Jefferson scholars and teachers as well as a venue for lectures, seminars, and conferences. The Center seeks a central role in the ongoing study of Thomas Jefferson internationally by supporting a wide range of inquiry; by building a network of scholars, teachers, and resources; by helping to define new areas of investigation; and by promoting the application of new technologies to Jefferson scholarship. An Advisory Board of acclaimed scholars and statesmen helps guide the Center’s activities.
Does Europe Still Matter to America?

Why?

American policy toward Europe has become compartmentalized. Should the US pull out of NATO if members do not pay enough or rally NATO to confront Russia and continue years of support in Afghanistan? Europe is a major trading partner, but we have trade wars. Years of support for the European Union are in question as President Trump supports Brexit. This year’s conference will step back to look at the fundamentals of our relationship with Europe.

To answer these and other questions, the conference will bring together a diverse group of experts. The panel discussion will feature the former U.S. Ambassador to Uzbekistan and the Kyrgyz Republic, Pamela Spratlen; the former U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Robert E. Hunter; and the former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative in charge of Europe and the Middle East and U.S. Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Maldives, Shaun Donnelly. They will examine the importance of European and American trade, how Russian policy affects trans-Atlantic trade and diplomatic relations, and how American diplomacy fits into a post-Brexit European Union. Former Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs and U.S. Ambassador to France and Monaco, Charles Rivkin will give the keynote address. Tyson Reeder, Associate Editor at the Papers of James Madison at the University of Virginia will join as this year’s Thomas Jefferson Foundation speaker.
PROGRAM

Does Europe Still Matter to America

A Discussion of American Diplomacy

October 24, 2020

10:00 a.m. Welcome and Introductions

Dr. Andrew O’Shaughnessy, Vice President and Saunders Director of the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies

Ambassador Ronald E. Neumann (ret.), President, American Academy of Diplomacy

10:15 a.m. Tyson Reeder, Assistant Editor The Papers of James Madison

Calamities from Abroad: Foreign Meddling and Foreign Collusion in Early America

This presentation traces early America’s troubled history of foreign meddling and foreign collusion through the prism of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. It reveals a nation entangled by partisanship and foreign hostility, aggravated by unprecedented media coverage of politics. It unveils how foreign governments exploited party distrust to advance their own agendas and weaken the United States. It details how those governments interfered in U.S. elections to promote their favored candidate. It tells a story of U.S. partisans who accused each other of foreign collusion, conflating dissent with disloyalty. And it describes how that animosity brought America to the brink of collapse.

10:45 a.m. Introduction to the Theme

Ambassador Ronald Neumann
11:00 a.m.  Panel Discussion

The panel will examine the importance of European and American trade, how Russian policy affects trans-Atlantic trade and diplomatic relations, and how American diplomacy fits into a post-Brexit European Union.

Ambassador Pamela Spratlen, former U.S. Ambassador to Uzbekistan and the Kyrgyz Republic

Ambassador Robert E. Hunter, former U.S. Ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Ambassador Shaun Donnelly, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative in charge of Europe and the Middle East and former U.S. Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Maldives

11:35 p.m.  Q&A Session

11:45 p.m.  Break for Lunch

12:30 p.m.  Keynote Address

Charles H. Rivkin, Chairman and CEO of the Motion Picture Association (MPA) and former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs and former U.S. Ambassador to France and Monaco.

A Lesson from Jefferson: Getting Back to the Table with Europe

1:00 p.m.  Q & A

1:15 p.m.  Closing Remarks

Ambassador Ronald Neumann and Andrew O’Shaughnessy

1:30 p.m.  Conference Adjourns
PARTICIPANTS

Ambassador Ronald E. Neumann (ret.)

Formerly a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Ronald E. Neumann served three times as Ambassador: to Algeria, Bahrain, and finally to Afghanistan from July 2005 to April 2007. Before Afghanistan, Mr. Neumann, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, served in Baghdad from February 2004 with the Coalition Provisional Authority and then as Embassy Baghdad’s political/military liaison with the Multinational Command, where he was deeply involved in coordinating the political part of military actions.

Prior to working in Iraq, he was Ambassador in Manama, Bahrain (2001-2004), Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Near East Affairs (1997-2000) with responsibility for North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, and Ambassador to Algeria (1994 to 1997). He was Director of the Office of Northern Gulf Affairs (Iran and Iraq; 1991 to 1994). Earlier in his career, he was Deputy Chief of Mission in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, and in Sanaa in Yemen; Principal Officer in Tabriz, Iran; and Economic/Commercial Officer in Dakar, Senegal. His previous Washington assignments include service as Jordan Desk Officer, Staff Assistant in the Middle East (NEA) Bureau, and Political Officer in the Office of Southern European Affairs.

Ambassador Neumann is the author of a memoir, Three Embassies, Four Wars: a personal memoir (2017), and The Other War: Winning and Losing in Afghanistan (Potomac Press, 2009), a book on his time in Afghanistan. He has returned to Afghanistan repeatedly and is the author of a number of monographs, articles, and editorials. His writings have focused most heavily on Afghanistan, stabilization, and Bahrain. At the Academy, he has focused particularly on efforts to maintain adequate State and USAID budgets and staffing and upgrade professional formation to enable these institutions to carry out their responsibilities. Ambassador Neumann is on the Advisory Committee of a nonprofit working in Afghanistan, the School of Leadership, Afghanistan (SOLA). He is on the board of the Middle East Policy Council.

Ambassador Neumann speaks some Arabic and Dari as well as French. He received State Department Superior Honor Awards in 1993 and 1990. He was an Army infantry officer in Vietnam and holds a Bronze Star, Army Commendation Medal, and Combat Infantry Badge. In Baghdad, he was awarded the Army Outstanding Civilian Service Medal. In 2018, he was awarded the American Foreign Service Association’s award for Lifetime Contributions to
American Diplomacy. He earned a B.A. in history and an M.A. in political science from the University of California at Riverside. He is married to the former M. Elaine Grimm. They have two children.

Dr. Andrew O’Shaughnessy


Ambassador Shaun Donnelly

Shaun Donnelly is Vice-President for Investment, Financial Services, and Banking in the Washington office of the United States Council for International Business (USCIB.) USCIB is a leading voice for U.S. business to the U.S. Government and represents U.S. business at the OECD, the UN system, and the International Chamber of Commerce.

Shaun Donnelly retired from the U.S. Foreign Service in 2008 after a 36-year career concentrating on international economics, trade and development. He served as U.S Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Maldives, as Deputy Ambassador in Tunisia and Mali, in three separate Deputy Assistant Secretary positions (totaling eight years) in the State Department’s Economic and Business Bureau, and as Assistant U.S. Trade Representative in charge of Europe and the Middle East.
After retiring from the U.S. Government and before joining USCIB, Ambassador Donnelly worked as Senior Director for International Business Policy at the National Association of Manufacturers and as Vice President for the Middle East at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, two leading business organizations.

Ambassador Donnelly is board member of the International Executive Service Corps (IESC) and of ASTM International, a leading international standards developer. He is a board member and the membership committee chair of the American Academy of Diplomacy. He is also a member of the Ambassadors Advisory Board of the Executive Council on Diplomacy.

Ambassador Donnelly earned a BA degree in economics from Lawrence University and an MA degree, also in economics, from Northwestern University. He served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Tunisia.

Ambassador Robert E. Hunter

Robert E. Hunter was U.S. Ambassador to NATO under President Clinton (’93-’98), and represented the U.S. to the Western European Union. He was the principal architect of the “New NATO”, leading the North Atlantic Council in implementing decisions of the 1994 and 1997 NATO Summits. Ambassador Hunter led the Council in obtaining major air-strike decisions for Bosnia and securing approval for the Implementation Force and Stabilization Force. He served on Secretary Cohen’s Defense Policy Board and was President of the Atlantic Treaty Association (2001-06).

During his extensive career in the public sector, he served as Special Advisor on Lebanon to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and Lead Consultant to the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America (the Kissinger Commission. During the Carter Administration, Ambassador Hunter served on the National Security Council staff as Director of West European Affairs (’77- ’79), and later as Director of Middle East Affairs (’79- ’81). He was a member of the U.S. negotiating team for talks on the West Bank and Gaza, directed the 1978 NATO Summit, and was the principal author of the Carter Doctrine for the Persian Gulf. He also served as Foreign Policy Advisor to Senator Edward M. Kennedy (’73- ’77) and foreign and domestic policy advisor to Vice President Hubert Humphrey. He served on White House staff (health, education, welfare, labor) in the Johnson Administration (’64- ’65) and in the Navy Department on the Polaris Project. Has written, lectured, and broadcast extensively on foreign affairs and national security issues.

Ambassador Hunter was a Senior Fellow at the Overseas Development Council (’70- ’73), Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London (’67- ’69), and Vice president for Regional Issues at the Center for Strategic and International Studies ((1981-’93). Twice recipient of the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished
Public Service and decorated by seven European countries (including the French Legion of Honor.)

Ambassador Hunter’s publications include *Building Security in the Persian Gulf*, which can be downloaded [here](#), and *Education Never Ends*. Wesleyan University (BA) and Fulbright Scholar at the London School of Economics (Phd.)

**Tyson Reeder**

[Tyson Reeder](#) is an expert in early U.S. foreign relations and state building. He is an assistant professor of history at the University of Virginia, where he serves as an editor with the *Papers of James Madison* and specializes in Madison’s tenure as secretary of state. He is the author of *Smugglers, Pirates, and Patriots: Free Trade in the Age of Revolution* and the editor of the Routledge History of U.S. Foreign Relations. He is currently writing a book called *Between Dissent and Disloyalty: Foreign Meddling and Foreign Collusion in the Age of Madison*.”

**Charles Rivkin**

[Charles H. Rivkin](#) is Chairman and CEO of the Motion Picture Association (MPA). He leads the MPA’s global mission to advance and support the film, television, and streaming content industry. The MPA’s members currently include; Disney, Netflix, Paramount, Sony, Twentieth Century Fox, Universal, and Warner Bros. Drawing on almost 30 years of experience as a media executive and a leading U.S. diplomat, Rivkin advocates for policies that drive investment in film and television production, protect creative content, and open markets. He champions the economic and cultural power of film and television to communities around the world.

As chief executive, Rivkin is also responsible for the MPA’s iconic movie ratings system, which has served parents and moviegoers for more than 50 years.

In 2018, Rivkin was appointed to the U.S. Trade Representative’s (USTR) Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations (ACTPN). Prior to joining the MPA, Rivkin served for more than seven years at the highest levels of the U.S. government’s diplomatic corps. He was the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs from February 2014 to January 2017. He led the State Department Bureau responsible for managing international trade negotiations, intellectual property rights protection, and global internet policy, among other major policy issues. While conducting economic
diplomacy for the United States, he visited more than 40 countries and 70 cities around the world.

From 2009 to 2013, Rivkin was the United States Ambassador to France and Monaco. In this role, he guided America’s oldest and one of its largest diplomatic missions, with six constituent posts throughout France and representing more than 50 U.S. government agencies. During his posting, Rivkin was personally awarded the Légion d’honneur with the rank of Commander by the President of France. He also received the city of Paris’ highest honor, la Grande Médaille de Vermeil de la Ville de Paris, and was presented with the U.S. Navy’s Distinguished Public Service Award.

Before his government service, Rivkin worked in the media and entertainment sector for more than 20 years. During that period, he served as President and CEO of Jim Henson Company, home to The Muppets and other award-winning film and television franchises and beloved characters. He also was CEO of WildBrain, where he won a BAFTA Award as an Executive Producer of the hit children’s television series Yo Gabba Gabba!, and Fast Company named him one of the 100 Most Creative People in Business.

Rivkin is a member of the Board of Trustees of the American Film Institute (AFI), a member of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, and in 2017 was accepted as a member of the American Academy of Diplomacy. He received his bachelor’s degree from Yale University in 1984, graduating with distinction in political science and international relations. He received his M.B.A. from Harvard University in 1988.

**Ambassador Pamela Spratlen**

A career member of the Foreign Service, Pamela L. Spratlen has over 20 years of policy and leadership accomplishment across a wide variety of assignments. She is currently Senior Advisor of the Office of Inspector General in the US State Department, Inspections Division. Before holding her current position, Spratlen was nominated by President Barack Obama to be US Ambassador to Uzbekistan and was sworn in as Ambassador in 2014. Previous to her appointment as Ambassador to Uzbekistan, she was the US Ambassador to the Kyrgyz Republic, and prior to that, she was the Deputy Chief of Mission at the US Embassy in Astana, Kazakhstan. Ambassador Spratlen’s senior Washington assignments include her roles as Director of Western European Affairs (2007-08), Director of Central Asian Affairs (2006-2007), Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for Central Asia (December 2007 – May 2008) and Special Assistant to the Counselor of the State Department (2005-2006). Ambassador Spratlen served overseas as Consul General in Vladivostok, Russia (2002-2004). Prior to that, she served as Assistance Coordinator at the US Embassy in Moscow (2000-2002). She was a Fellow and Diplomat-in-Residence at the East-West Center in Honolulu in 2004-2005. Ambassador Spratlen served in two multilateral missions, including the U.S Mission to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (USOECD-Paris,

Ambassador Spratlen received her bachelor’s degree from Wellesley College and she also holds master’s degrees from the Army War College (Strategic Studies – Distance, 2006) and the University of California, Berkeley’s Goldman School (Public Policy, 1981). Ambassador Spratlen has received numerous awards, including the Meritorious and Superior Honor Awards at State. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, she served for almost nine years as a professional committee staff member in the California Legislature. Ambassador Spratlen speaks Russian, French, and Spanish.