INTA 3223/8803-AY: Transatlantic Relations MW 11-12:15 Habersham 136

Dr. Alasdair Young

E-mail: <u>Alasdair.young@gatech.edu</u>
Office hours: M 10-11 and W 2-3 in Habersham 212B and by appointment

Course description

Despite the rapid rise of China and the other emerging economies, Europe is by far the United States' most important economic and security partner. It is also a critical political partner. This course analyses the politics of governing this crucial relationship. It aims to help students to understand why different aspects of the relationship between the United States and Europe are characterized by cooperation, conflict and competition. It also counts towards the European Affairs Certificate and the European Studies Minor.

This is a Core IMPACTS course that is part of the Social Sciences area.

Core IMPACTS refers to the core curriculum, which provides students with essential knowledge in foundational academic areas. This course will help students master course content, and support students' broad academic and career goals.

This course should direct students toward a broad Orienting Question:

How do I understand human experiences and connections?

Completion of this course should enable students to meet the following <u>Learning Outcome</u>:

• Students will effectively analyze the complexity of human behavior, and how historical, economic, political, social, or geographic relationships develop, persist, or change.

Course content, activities and exercises in this course should help students develop the following Career-Ready Competencies:

- Intercultural competence
- Perspective-taking
- Persuasion

Intended learning outcomes

By the end of this course, students will:

- be able to effectively analyze the complexity of human behavior, and how historical, economic, political, social, or geographic relationships develop, persist, or change
- demonstrate the ability to describe the social, political, and economic forces that influence social behaviors associated with the transatlantic relationship;
- demonstrate theoretical knowledge of the discipline to address international policy issues;
- use oral communications to demonstrate knowledge and to make cogent arguments in international affairs; and
- demonstrate proficiency in written communication to increase knowledge and develop cogent arguments in international affairs.

Course text

Gardner, A. L. (2020), Stars with Stripes: The Essential Partnership between the European Union and the United States (Palgrave Macmillan).

To keep on top of developments in the transatlantic relationship, you should subscribe (free) to Dan Hamilton's "Transatlantic Must-Reads" at: https://transatlanticrelations.org/must-reads/

Additional resources are available through the GT library (1) or on Canvas (c) or on the web (w).

Course Requirements and Evaluation:

Each student enrolled in the course will become an expert on the relationship between the US and one European country. Students will give short presentations to the class on the relationship between the U.S. and that country. The presentation must be up-loaded to the relevant discussion in Canvas by 5pm on 2/11. Undergraduate students will also be responsible for presenting (in groups) two (2) case-studies to the class. Graduate students are expected to participate in four (4) presentations. Each presentation must be posted to the case study discussion in Canvas by 5 pm the day before the presentation. There will also be a midterm exam and a reflection paper on the state of the transatlantic relationship. Detailed guidance on the assignments will be posted on Canvas. Graduate students are expected to answer an additional question on the mid-term and write a longer reflection paper.

Graded assignments	Date due	Maximum points possible	Share of total
Ambassador briefing presentation	2/11	300	15
Midterm	2/21	300	15
Case study presentations (2 for undergraduates; 4 for graduate students)	various	600	30
Reflection paper	4/22	600	30
Participation	continuous	200	10
TOTAL		2000	100

Late assignments will NOT be accepted, except for medical reasons or personal emergencies.

Extra-credit (25 points for a serious effort) (up to 2 assignments may be submitted) Write a reflective summary (500 words max) of an approved public talk. Due by email within a week of the event.

Grading

Grade	Points	Descriptors
A	20 19 18	Exceptionally good performance demonstrating a superior understanding of the subject matter, a foundation of extensive knowledge, and a skillful use of concepts and/or materials.
В	17 16 15	Good performance demonstrating capacity to use the appropriate concepts, a good understanding of the subject matter, and an ability to handle the problems and materials encountered in the subject.
С	14 13 12	Adequate performance demonstrating an adequate understanding of the subject matter, an ability to handle relatively simple problems.
D	11 10 9	Minimally acceptable performance demonstrating at least partial familiarity with the subject matter and some capacity to deal with relatively simple problems, but also demonstrating serious deficiencies.
F	<9	Did not demonstrate familiarity with the subject matter, nor the capacity to deal with simple problems in a manner recognizable to the consensus of mainstream academic practitioners within the field.

Final grades:

> 1800	A
1500-1799	В
1200-1499	C
900-1199	D
<900	F

Grade Change Policy

Simple computational or clerical errors should be brought to my attention immediately. Legitimate requests for grade changes are welcome and encouraged. You should, however, resist the temptation to file a frivolous request just hoping to "get lucky". Approach a grade change request as if arguing a legal case: you should have strong and convincing arguments and evidence to support your request. Be aware that appeals to the practices of other professors generally do not constitute good argument or evidence. Note also that grade changes requests can result in re-grades either up or down (or left unchanged). That is, if the greater scrutiny demanded by a grade change request reveals your assignment to deserve a lower grade than previously awarded, and then the lower grade may be assigned.

Attendance policy

Attendance is required, although each student can have 2 (two) <u>un</u>excused absences without penalty. Each subsequent <u>un</u>excused absence will result in the student's class participation grade being lowered 1/2 (half) point on the 20 point scale.

Absences for medical or personal emergencies will be excused. Absences for school athletics
will be excused only if they are in accordance with the schedules approved and circulated by

the Student Academic & Financial Affairs Committee for Travel or the Associate Athletic Director (Academic Services). Absences due to military service will be handled on a case-by-case basis and subject to verification.

- In order to get the most out of the course and to be able to participate effectively in class, you are expected at a minimum to read and reflect upon required readings before class.
- Course participants will treat each other with respect. Constructive questioning and criticism are encouraged. Personal attacks and insults will not be tolerated. The rule of thumb here is that critical comments and questions should be maturely phrased in a manner that encourages constructive and open debate. They should **not** be phrased as insults, threats, or in a manner that shuts down discussion.

Statement on inclusiveness

The Ivan Allen College of Liberal Arts supports the Georgia Institute of Technology's commitment to creating a campus free of discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity, or veteran status. We further affirm the importance of cultivating an intellectual climate that allows us to better understand the similarities and differences of those who constitute the Georgia Tech community, as well as the necessity of working against inequalities that may also manifest here as they do in the broader society.

Special Accommodations

Students requesting academic accommodations based on a documented disability are required to register with the Georgia Tech office of Disability Services (https://disabilityservices.gatech.edu/).

Academic misconduct

According to Georgia Tech's <u>Academic Honor Code</u>, **academic misconduct is any act that does or could improperly distort Student grades or other Student academic records**. Such acts include:

- Possessing, using or exchanging improperly acquired written or verbal information in the preparation of any essay, laboratory report, examination, or other assignment included in an academic course;
- Substitution for, or unauthorized collaboration with, a student in the commission of academic requirements;
- Submission of material that is wholly or substantially identical to that created or published by another person or persons, without adequate credit notations indicating authorship (plagiarism).

Course overview

1/8	Introduction	
1/10	Origins of European integration	
1/15	No class – Martin Luther King Jr. Day	
1/17	What is the EU?	
1/22	Different preferences I: Origins of different interests	
1/24	Different preferences II: Domestic political	
′ .	institutions	
1/29	Different preferences III: How does the EU work?	
1/31	Challenges of cooperation	
2/5	Dimensions of the relationship	
2/7	Development of the relationship	
2/12	Ambassador briefings I	All briefings due 2/11 by 5pm
2/14	Ambassador briefings II	
2/19	Review	
2/21	Midterm	
	Economic relations	
2/26	Transatlantic economic relationship	
2/28	Different approaches to regulation	• Privacy
3/4	Multilateral trading system	Hormone-treated beef
		Boeing-Airbus
3/6	Regulatory cooperation	Aviation safety
		Automobile safety
3/11	No class – Nunn School Symposium	
3/13	Bilateral trade relations from cooperation to conflict	• 232 tariffs
	and back again?	
3/18	No class – Spring break	
3/20	No class – Spring break	
	Security relations	
3/25	NATO I: History and background	
3/27	NATO II: How does it work?	
4/1	NATO II: Alliance rejuvenated?	
	Foreign policy relations	
4/3	Russia	
4/8	China	 Semiconductors
4/10	Middle East	Iran nuclear deal
4/15	Climate change	• COP28
4/17	The Global South	
4/22	Reflection: State of the transatlantic relationship	Reflection papers due

Detailed course outline

1/8	Introduction This class will explore what participants know and think about the transatlantic relationship. It will also provide a substantive and administrative overview of the course.
1/10	Origins of European integration and transatlantic cooperation This class examines the origins of European integration in the post-war period and the role of the U.S. in fostering it. This period provides the foundation for contemporary transatlantic cooperation.
	Reading Howard, M. (1998), "Europe in the Age of Two World Wars," in M. Howard and W. R. Louis (eds), <i>The Oxford History of the Twentieth Century</i> , Oxford University Press, 108-116 (c). Deighton A. (1998), "The Remelting of Europe," in M. Howard and W. R. Louis
	Deighton, A. (1998), "The Remaking of Europe," in M. Howard and W. R. Louis (eds), <i>The Oxford History of the Twentieth Century</i> , Oxford University Press, 190-201 (c)
	McGuire, S. and Smith, M. (2008), <i>The European Union and the United States:</i> Competition and Convergence in the Global Era, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 6-13 (c)
	Gildea, R. (2019), Empires of the Mind: The Colonial Past and the Politics of the Present, Cambridge University Press, 1-7 and 84-91 (c)
1/15	No class – Martin Luther King Jr. Day
1/17	What is the EU? The EU is an increasingly important component of the transatlantic relationship, but it defies easy categorization. It is more politically centralized than a typical international organization, but less so than a conventional state. This class will begin to explore the implications of that duality for transatlantic relationship.
	Reading McCormick, J. (2021), <i>Understanding the European Union</i> , 8th edition, McMillan International/Red Globe Press, pp. 1-6, 13-22, 110-113 and Fig 6.2. (c)
1/22	Different preferences I: origins of different interests This class will explore how history, culture and values shape states' preferences. It will consider differences within Europe and between Europe and the U.S. Country experts to be prepared to weigh in.
	Readings Schmidt, V. A. (2002), <i>The Futures of European Capitalism</i> , Oxford University Press, 112-118. (c) World Values Survey, "Wave 7: Findings and Insights"

1/24	Different preferences II: domestic political institutions This class will examine how different domestic political institutions aggregate underlying preferences. It will pay particular attention to electoral systems and the relationship between the legislature and the executive. Country experts to be prepared to weigh in.
	Readings Evans, J.A.J. (2009), "Electoral Systems," in J. Bara and M. Pennington (eds), Comparative Politics, Sage, pp. 98-108. (c) Neeham, C. (2009), Legislative-Executive Relations," in J. Bara and M. Pennington (eds), Comparative Politics, Sage, pp. 133-135. (c)
1/29	Different preferences III: How does the EU work? Given that the EU is neither an international organization nor a state, its policy making process is extremely complex. Like the US, the EU's decision making is intended to make the center weak. This class will explore EU policy-making in broad terms.
	Reading McCormick, J. (2021), Understanding the European Union, 8th edition, McMillan International/Red Globe Press, pp. 67-87; 123-8. (c) Gardner, pp. 43-56.
1/31	Challenges of cooperation This class considers in broad terms the benefits of cooperation and the challenges of doing so.
	Axelrod, R. and Keohane, R. O. (1985), "Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions," <i>World Politics</i> , 38/1, 226-254 (I). Krasner, S.D. (1991), 'Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier,' <i>World Politics</i> , 43/3, April, 336-342 (I).
2/5	Dimensions of the relationship This class will introduce the multi-level and multi-dimensional nature of the relationship.
	Reading McGuire, S. and Smith, M. (2008), The European Union and the United States: Competition and Convergence in the Global Arena (Palgrave Macmillan), 36-66 (c)
2/7	Development of the relationship The US and the EU have had a long and complex relationship. Although they share many values and objectives, the relationship has often been fraught. This class the broad fluctuations between cooperation and conflict.
	Reading McGuire, S. and Smith, M. (2008), The European Union and the United States: Competition and Convergence in the Global Arena (Palgrave Macmillan), 13-35 (c)

	Hanhimäki, J. M. (2021), Pax Transatlantica: America and Europe in the Post-Cold War Era (Oxford University Press): 13-41 (c) Gardner, pp. 36-43. Archick, K. (2023), "U.SEuropean Relations in the 118th Congress," In Focus, Congressional Research Service, updated 6 Feb. (w) Tocci, N. (2021), "European Strategic Autonomy: What It Is, Why We Need It, How to Achieve It," Instituto Affari Internazionali, Executive Summary (pp. 3-6). (w) German Marshall Fund (2023), Transatlantic Trends 2023, pp. 22-29. (w)
2/12	Ambassador briefings I Half the class will brief the rest of the class on the transatlantic relationship with "their" country. All briefing presentations to be submitted to Canvas discussion by 5pm on 2/11.
2/14	Ambassador briefings II The other half the class will brief the rest of the class on the transatlantic relationship with "their" country.
2/19	Review This class session will provide an opportunity for students to ask questions about the material covered thus far in preparation for the midterm.
2/21	Midterm
	ECONOMIC RELATIONS
2/26	The transatlantic economic relationship This class introduces the nature of the transatlantic economic relationship and the most relevant trade policies – tariffs, trade defense instruments, and regulatory differences – that affect it. It also introduces how the policies are made and addressed through negotiations. This will include a discussion of the EU's common commercial policy and the single market.
	Readings Hamilton, D. and Quinlan, J.P. (2023), <i>Transatlantic Economy 2023</i> , Key Findings and Executive Summary. Young, A. R. (2017), <i>The New Politics of Trade: Lessons from TTIP</i> (Agenda Publishing): 7-10 and 17-19. (c) Young, A. R. (2020), "Trade Policy: Making Policy in Turbulent Times," in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack, C. Roederer-Rynning and A.R. Young (eds), <i>Policy-Making in the European Union</i> , 8 th edn. (Oxford University Press): 363-373 (c in Wallace et al 2020). Young, A. R. (2020), "The Single Market: Central to Brexit," in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack, C. Roederer-Rynning and A.R. Young (eds), <i>Policy-Making in the European Union</i> , 8 th edn. (Oxford University Press): 116-125 (c in Wallace et al 2020).

2/28Different approaches to regulation For a variety of reasons, the U.S. and EU regulate some products and services differently. Some of these differences present problems for firms seeking to supply both markets. This class will look at the origins of these regulatory differences and their implications. Case study: Privacy Readings Vogel, D. (2012), The Politics of Precaution: Regulating Health, Safety and Environmental Risks in Europe and the United States (Princeton University Press): 1-20. (c) Wiener, J. B. (2011), 'The Real Pattern of Precaution,' in J.B. Wiener, M. D. Rogers, J.K. Hammitt and P.H. Sand (eds), The Reality of Precaution: Comparing Risk Regulation in the United States and Europe (Washington, DC: RFF Press): 519-522. (**c**) Bradford, A. (2023), Digital Empires: The Global Battle to Regulate Technology, Oxford University Press: 6-23 (c) Young, A. R. (2024), "Governing the Digital Economy: The Cooperative Transatlantic Core," paper under review with the Journal of European *Integration*: 14-21. (c) **Multilateral trading system** 3/4One of the transatlantic contributions to global governance was the creation of multilateral trading system, initially as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade then as the World Trade Organization. Absent a bilateral transatlantic trade agreement, the WTO provides the institutional framework for the transatlantic economy. Case studies: Hormone-treated beef **Boeing-Airbus** Readings Young, A.R. and Peterson, J. (2014), Parochial Global Europe: 21st Century Trade *Politics* (Oxford University Press): 73-78 and 80-94. (c) WTO Secretariat, Understanding the WTO: Settling Disputes: A unique contribution. Pollack, M.A. (2003), 'The Political Economy of Transatlantic Trade Disputes,' in E.-U. Petersmann and M. A. Pollack (eds), Transatlantic Economic Disputes: The EU, the US and the WTO, Oxford University Press, 65-81. (c) Schneider-Petsinger, M. (2020), "Reforming the World Trade Organization: Prospects for Transatlantic Cooperation and the Global Trade System," Chatham House, September. Summary (pp. 2-3) (w) 3/6 Regulatory cooperation Since the mid-1990s the U.S. and the EU have made numerous attempts to mitigate the adverse effects of their regulatory differences. These attempts have been largely

unsuccessful. This class analyzes these efforts an considers why they have been largely unsuccessful. It pays particular attention to the most ambitious attempt to

address transatlantic regulatory differences the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) negotiations.
Case studies: Aviation safety Automobile safety
Readings Young, A.R. and Peterson, J. (2014), Parochial Global Europe: 21st Century Trade Politics (Oxford University Press): 160-164 and 167-172. (c) Young, A. R. (2017), The New Politics of Trade: Lessons from TTIP (Agenda Publishing): Ch.3 and pp. 125-130. (c) Gardner pp. 105-144.
No class – Nunn School Symposium
Bilateral trade relations from cooperation to conflict and back again? Transatlantic trade relations took a dramatic turn for the worse under President Donald Trump. In the latter half of 2021 the U.S. and EU moved to resolve the disputes and launched a new forum for transatlantic economic cooperation the Trade and Technology Council (TTC). This class will analyze what explains these substantial shifts in U.S. policy and considers the implications for the future of the transatlantic trading relationship.
Case study: 232 tariffs
Readings Gardner, 146-8. Hillman, J. and Grundhoefer, S. (2021), "Can the U.SEU Trade and Technology Council Succeed?" Council on Foreign Relations, 29 October.
No class – Spring break
No class – Spring break
SECURITY RELATIONS
NATO I: History and background The security pillar of the transatlantic relationship rests heavily on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, arguably the most successful military alliance that has ever existed. Founded during the Cold War to defend western Europe against Soviet aggression, its mission has evolved with the times. This class will explore NATO's origins and how it has developed over time.
Readings Smith, M. E. (2018), "Transatlantic Security Relations since the European Security Strategy: What Role for the EU in its Pursuit of Strategic Autonomy?" <i>Journal of European Integration</i> , 40/5, 605-620. (I) Gardner, pp. 351-2 and 362-76 CRS (2019), "Assessing NATO's Value," Congressional Research Service Report R45652, 28 March. https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R45652.pdf

3/27	NATO II: How does NATO work? This class will explore how the alliance works in practice. Guest Lecturer: Robert Bell, Senior Civilian Representative of the Secretary of Defense in Europe and the Defense Advisor to the U.S. Ambassador to the NATO (2010-17). Readings TBD
4/1	NATO III: Alliance rejuvenated? Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 has arguably given NATO new purpose and impetus. This class will examine how NATO has responded to and been changed by Russia's aggression and consider how enduring its new vigor might be. Readings Hanhimäki, J. M. (2021), Pax Transatlantica: America and Europe in the Post-Cold War Era (Oxford University Press): 131-140 (c) Foy, H. and Fleming, S. (2021), "European defence: the quest for 'strategic autonomy,' Financial Times, 27 September. (c) Watch the video: "U.S. Alliance Leadership After Afghanistan and AUKUS: Troubled Waters or Summer Squalls?" 9 Nov. 2021. (c – in media gallery) Perissich, R. (2021), "Europe's Strategic Compass: Merits and Shortcomings," IAI Commentaries 21:57, Instituto Affari Internazionali, December. (w) NATO (2023), "NATO's Response to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine" FAQ 10 and the three associated "learn mores".

	FOREIGN POLICY RELATIONS
	The transatlantic relationship is not just about how the US and the EU engage with each other, but whether and how they cooperate with respect to others. That engagement will be the focus of this section of the course.
4/3	Russia Russia's invasion of Ukraine posed a major challenge to the EU and the US. This class will discuss how they have responded separately and collectively to that challenge.
	Readings Birchfield, V.L and Young, A.R. (2018) (eds), Triangular Diplomacy among the European Union, the United States and the Russian Federation: Responses to Crisis in Ukraine (Palgrave Macmillan): 1-6; 28-32 (c) Gardner, pp. 243-5; 249-66; 279-303. Atlantic Council, "Russia Sanctions Database" Busvine, D. (2023), "Sanctions aren't working: How the West enables Russia's war on Ukraine," POILTICO, 11 December. (w) Sheppard, D. et al. (2023), "Almost no Russian oil is being soled below the \$60 cap, say western officials," Financial Times, 14 November (1) Lyngass, R. (2023), "Sanctions and Russia's War: Limiting Putin's Capabilities," U.S. Department of the Treasury, 14 December. (w)
4/8	China: Economic opportunity or rival? Until recently, U.S. and the EU tended to view China's rise somewhat differently, with the US emphasizing the threat and the EU emphasizing the opportunity. The EU's position has begun to harden lately, although there remain significant differences with the US. This class will examine those differences and seek to explain them. Case study: Semiconductors Readings Brown, S.A.W. (2018), Power, Perception and Foreign Policymaking: US and EU Responses to the Rise of China, Routledge, pp. 193-203. (c) CRS (2023), "China Primer: U.SChina Relations," In Focus, Congressional Research Service, 24 October. (w) Bartsch, B. and Wessing, C. (2023) (eds), From a China strategy to no strategy at all: Exploring the diversity of European approaches, A report by the European Think-tank Network on China, July: pp. 8-17; 19-26; and the section on "your" country.

4/10 Middle East

The Middle East is a critical region for both the U.S. and the EU. It is a key source of oil, sits astride a critical supply line, and is a significant source of migrants to Europe. Tensions in the region fuel terrorism far beyond its boundaries. Iran's nuclear weapons program also poses a wider threat. The U.S. and EU, however, do not always agree on how best to secure stability in the Middle East. This course will explore these tensions.

Case study: The Iran nuclear deal

Readings

Nonneman, G. (2011), "Europe, the US, and the Gulf after the Cold War," in Möckli, D. and V. Mauer (eds), European-American Relations and the Middle East: From Suez to Iraq, Routledge, pp. 203-217. (l-ebook)

Gardner 266-77.

Zanotti, J. and Sharp, J. M. (2023), "<u>Israel and Hamas 2023 Conflict in Brief:</u> Overview, U.S. Policy, and Options for Congress," R47828, Congressional Research Service, 13 December: 1-11.

Lefebvre, M. (2023), "The EU and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: many voices, no shared vision," *The Conversation*, 19 October.

4/15 Climate change

Climate change presents a profound and severe global challenge. Transatlantic cooperation is necessary (although hardly sufficient) for responding effectively to that challenge. Such cooperation has, however, been only sporadic. The EU has committed itself to reducing greenhouse gas emissions, although that goal is internally contested. The US's efforts to address climate change have waxed and waned. When the US has abdicated from global leadership, the EU has sought to seize the reigns.

Case study: COP 28

Readings

Gardner, pp. 379-85 and 388-417.

Cross, M. K. D. (2018), "Partners at Paris? Climate Negotiations and Transatlantic Relations," *Journal of European Integration*, 40/5, 571-586. (I)

POLITICO (2020) "What is the Green Deal?" 20 October.

Vela, J. H. with Sheftalovich, Z. (2023), "Climate Goals Crash into Reality," Brussels Playbook, 19 December 2023. (c)

Brower, D. and Chu, A. (2023), "The US plans to become the world's cleantech superpower," *Financial Times*, 16 February.

4/17	The Global South The United State and the European Union are the world's largest international aid donors. They differ, however, in how they deliver aid and to which countries. This class will seek to understand the reasons for those differences. Students should be prepared to discuss the development priorities and policies of the US, the EU and "their" country. Readings Robinson, A. L. (2019), "Colonial Rule and Its Political Legacies in Africa," Oxford Research Encyclopedias (w – sign in using institutional (GT) login) OECD Development Co-operation Peer Reviews: United States 2022, (main findings and recommendations). (w) OECD Development Co-operation Peer Reviews: European Union 2018 (main findings and recommendations). (w) OECD Development Co-operation Directorate profiles for: US EU institutions 'your" country Profiles are located in the left-hand column. Gardner, pp. 435-43.
	REFLECTION
4/22	Reflection: State of the transatlantic relationship In the light of the course material, this class will reflect on the current state of the transatlantic relationship and how it might develop in the near future. Reflection papers due by email before class.