Georgia Tech | The Sam Nunn School of International Affairs

INTA 3223: TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS

Dr. Scott Brown

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Office hours: Monday & Wednesday 11am-12pm and by appointment

Class: Monday, Wednesday & Friday 12.20-1.10pm
Instruction Center, 217

Course Description:
Despite the rapid rise of China and the other emerging economies, Europe is by far the United States' most important economic partner. It is also a critical political partner, as underlined in the war in Afghanistan and sanctions against Iran and Russia. The relationship between the Europe Union and the United States of America is arguably one of the most dominant alliances in international politics. This course analyzes 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. While the focus is predominantly on the EU, we will also look at Member States' relations with the US where appropriate. The course examines how the transatlantic partners are adjusting to the shifting power dynamics in the international system in the early years of the 21st Century, and will also cover recent developments that impact both the bilateral relationship and the wider global order.

Learning Outcomes:
By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- *demonstrate the ability to describe the social, political, and economic forces that influence behavior within the transatlantic relationship.*
- *demonstrate the ability to describe the social, political, and economic forces that influence the global system and how the US and the EU behave there within.*
- *compare and contrast differences in European and American political and cultural systems and be able to understand key issues with respect for a range of different variables (political and cultural awareness.)*
- *analyze and compare US and EU policy-making systems and be able to understand how and why decisions are taken.*
- *analyze developments in the management and function of the transatlantic relationship.*
- *Analyze developments in the global system which impact upon the transatlantic relationship.*

Required Text:
Kagan, Robert (2004) *Paradise and Power*: *America and Europe in the New World Order*, New York: Vintage Books (any edition acceptable).

Note: this is not a textbook, but is a piece that merits consideration throughout the course. I highly recommend reading this as a primer before the course begins, and must be read before the class dedicated to Kagan's arguments.

Optional Text:
Lagadec, E (2012) *Transatlantic Relations in the 21st Century: Europe, America and the Rise of the Rest* New York: Routledge

Note: We will read multiple chapters from this research monograph over the course. However, I will provide pdf scans of the relevant chapters - you do not need to buy a copy of this book unless you really want to. The other chapters we don't use are still interesting and relevant to the themes of the course.

For our regular class readings, we will use a mixture of chapters, articles, and reports. Where possible these will be available online via t-square or the course Facebook group (denoted by **ONLINE**), available through the GT library's electronic catalogue (**LIBRARY**). All journal articles are online.

To access electronic journal articles through the library website:

- click on 'eJournals' on the left-hand side of the library homepage (under 'research tools');
- type the name of the journal in the search box;
- select the database option that includes the appropriate issue of the journal;
- browse the journal to the appropriate volume and issue.
- You can usually just find an article or journal via the main library webpage's search box.

Podcasts:
Podcasts are an excellent source of news and analysis, particularly on foreign policy matters. In some of the reading below, I have suggested episodes from various podcasts to go with specific classes. However, there are a few that you should listen to throughout the course, and a few others recommended only. Of course, any other suggestions that you have for podcasts would be welcome.

Required: listen to each new episode, and check out the back catalogue
Brussels Sprouts (Center for a New American Security, covers transatlantic relations)
Mark Leonard's World in 30 Minutes (European Council for Foreign Relations, covers global politics from a European perspective)

Recommended
Rational Security (Lawfare, covers US politics and foreign policy)
The Editor's Roundtable (Foreign Policy, covers US foreign policy and world politics)
Brexitcast (BBC, latest news on Brexit)
Deep State Radio (DSR Network, snarky takes on US foreign policy)
Worldly (Vox, US foreign policy and world politics)
World Weekly (Financial Times, global politics from a British perspective)
Pod Save the World (Crooked Media, in-depth interviews with former US foreign policy actors)
The CSIS Podcast (CSIS, covers all range of global issues)
In the Loop (Politico Europe, only occasional episodes in English - mostly in French - covering European political developments)
FT Politics (Financial Times, coverage of the latest Brexit news)
Politics Weekly (Guardian, coverage of the latest Brexit news)
Covert Contact (Blogs of War, national security, intelligence and technology issues)

List of Graded Assignments:

Assignment	Share of total (%)	Date
Essay	45	Oct 23
Policy brief	30	Dec 4
Multiple Choice Quiz	15	Sep 20
Class participation/attendance	10	Continuous

Essay
A formal essay constitutes the first major written piece of work for this course. Choose one question from the set list and answer the question, drawing in primary and secondary sources.

Please follow these guidelines:

- The essay should be about **2,000 words for undergraduates / 3000 words for postgraduates** in length.

- The essay must be systematically referenced where appropriate and with a bibliography (list of references) at the end - detailing only the material you have actually *used*.
- Absence of adequate referencing and a bibliography will result in the essay being penalized.
- The word length stated above *does not* include the bibliography. It applies only to the main text of the essay, including quotations. *You may exclude in-text references and footnotes from the word count*.
- You should not exceed the word limit by more than ten percent; essays that do so will be automatically penalized by the loss of an alphanumerical grade (e.g. an essay awarded B-16 would be reduced to B-15).
- You will submit one paper copy in class and upload a digital copy to t-square.
- The absolute deadline is 5pm on the date stated above.

With respect to referencing, there are a number of recognized academic systems (e.g., the Harvard system – which is *preferred* for this course). Which of these you adopt is less important than making sure you are consistent throughout your essay and do not mix different styles or systems. Your bibliography should include details of all works quoted, cited, or referred to in the course of your essay.

Essay questions will be disclosed via t-square/Facebook group at a later date.

Multiple Choice Quiz
At the end of the 'Understand and Explaining Transatlantic Relations' section of the course, a 40-question multiple choice quiz will be used to assess knowledge of US and EU foreign policymaking processes and the main schools of thought in IR theory. The quiz will cover the readings and lecture material from classes 4 through 11. We will be using Scantron sheets, please be prepared by bringing a pencil and eraser.

Policy Brief
The final assessed written piece for the course is a policy brief, designed to make you think like a policymaker. The idea is to write a brief on a salient foreign policy issue by detailing the background, actors involved, interests at stake, and developing policy recommendations. You may choose which polity you are 'working for' - the US, the EU, or an EU Member State government. More information will be given in the policy brief guidance class.

Please follow these guidelines:
- The policy brief should be about **1,200 words for undergraduates / 2,000 words for postgraduates** in length.
- The brief must be systematically referenced where appropriate and with a bibliography (list of references) at the end - detailing only the material you have actually *used*.
- Absence of adequate referencing and a bibliography will result in the brief being penalized.
- The word length stated above *does not* include the bibliography. It applies only to the main text of the brief, including quotations. *You may exclude in-text references and footnotes from the word count*.
- You should not exceed the word limit by more than ten percent; essays that do so will be automatically penalized by the loss of an alphanumerical grade (e.g. an essay awarded B-16 would be reduced to B-15).
- You will submit one paper copy in class and upload a digital copy to t-square.
- The absolute deadline is 5pm on the date stated above.

Class Participation/Attendance
Attendance at class is mandatory, and full participation in our group discussions is expected and assessed. Participation will be assessed in terms of frequency and quality (knowledge, and understanding of reading materials, contributions which are focused on the issue at hand and move our discussion forward).

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

Extra-credit assignments (50 points for a serious effort)
Write a reflective summary (no more than 500 words) of a guest lecture or approved CETS/INTA event.
To count summaries must be submitted (by email) within one week of the event.
No more than two may be submitted.

Additional extra-credit (25 points each)
Attend approved CETS/INTA events (approved events will be notified in class)

Grades

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.
B	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.
C	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 deficiencies serious enough to make it inadvisable to proceed further in the field without additional work.
F	<8	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.

To calculate the percentage equivalent, just multiply the number in the second column by five.

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, then the lower grade may be assigned.

Attendance Policy
Attendance is required. For every three unexcused absences the student's class participation grade will be lowered one full letter grade.

- Absences for medical or personal emergencies will be excused upon verification by the instructor. 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. You should also read daily a quality newspaper (*Financial Times, New York Times, Wall Street Journal or Washington Post*) or online equivalent.
- Course participants will treat each other with respect. Constructive questioning and criticism are welcome, even encouraged. Personal attacks and insults are not. 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.
- **All cell phones are to be switched off/on silent during class.**
- **Computers and tablets are only allowed a) with express permission or b) at specific times indicated by the instructor.**
- **No food in class. Drinks are fine.**

ADAPTS
The professor will work with ADAPTS so that all students have an equal opportunity for success. For information on ADAPTS, see http://www.adapts.gatech.edu/

Honor Code Statement:
Plagiarizing is defined by Webster's as "to steal and pass off (the ideas or words of another) as one's own: use (another's production) without crediting the source."
If caught plagiarizing, you will be dealt with according to the GT Academic Honor Code.
For more information see: http://www.honor.gatech.edu/plugins/content/index.php?id=9

Facebook
As a means of sharing resources, news articles relevant to the content of the course and course announcements we have established a course Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/groups/493172201015389. You should join this group ASAP as it will be updated ahead of t-square.

Twitter
There are a whole lot of twitter accounts that are worth following in relation to news & research on transatlantic relations - from time to time I'll use **#INTA3223** to link to relevant stories/articles, who to follow, etc. Viewing twitter feeds doesn't require an account - so don't worry if you don't have/want one.

Reading List
The detailed course outline (below) provides the readings for each class. Those labelled 'readings' are required and it will be assumed that you have read each of these ahead of the class. For graduate students, some classes have additional required readings. I have also provided optional materials should you wish to expand your reading on a particular topic - these will come in handy for the assessed written pieces. Note: the reading list is a 'living document' - i.e. I might decide to change readings over time. I will notify you of any changes in advance.

Course Overview

No	Date	Topic	Assignment
		Introduction to Transatlantic Relations	
1	8/21	Introduction	
2	8/23	Importance of the Transatlantic Relationship	
	8/25	No class	
3	8/28	Historical Overview of the Transatlantic Relationship	
		Understanding and Explaining Transatlantic Relations	
4	8/30	Foreign Policymaking in the US I	
5	9/1	Foreign Policymaking in the US II	
	9/4	No class - Labor Day	
6	9/6	Essay guidance	
7	9/8	Foreign Policymaking in the EU I	
8	9/11	Foreign Policymaking in the EU II	
9	9/13	Theorizing Transatlantic Relations I: Realism	
10	9/15	Theorizing Transatlantic Relations II: Liberalism	
11	9/18	Theorizing Transatlantic Relations III: Constructivism (and Others)	
12	9/20	Multiple Choice Quiz	Quiz
		Brexit	
13	9/22	Brexit I: Background - The Awkward Partner?	Quiz return
14	9/25	Brexit II: Campaign & Referendum	
15	9/27	Brexit III: State of Play/Implications for Transatlantic Relations	
		The Transatlantic Partnership and the International System	
16	9/29	American and European Political Cultures, Values and Interests	
17	10/2	Americans from Mars, Europeans from Venus?	
18	10/4	The Transatlantic Relationship and International Institutions: Global Dominance?	
19	10/6	The Transatlantic Relationship and UNSC Reform	
	10/9	No class - Student Recess	Essay rough draft – by email
		Trade and Economics	
20	10/11	Competitive Cooperation? Trade and Economics	
21	10/13	Transatlantic Responses to the Global Financial Crisis	
22	10/16	The (Almost) Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership	Essay rough draft return
		Security and Defense	
23	10/18	Security and Defense Cooperation Since the End of the Cold War	
24	10/20	What Future for NATO?	
25	10/23	The War on Terror	Essay
26	10/25	The Afghanistan and Iraq Wars	
27	10/27	International Intervention I: Background / Kosovo	
28	10/30	International Intervention II: Libya and Syria	
29	11/1	The Politics of Nuclear Weapons	
30	11/3	Nuclear Non-Proliferation: The Iran Deal	
		Great Power Politics	
31	11/6	US-EU-Russia I: Overview	Essay return
32	11/8	US-EU-Russia II: The Ukraine Crisis	
33	11/10	One Year On: Implications of the 2016 Presidential Election on US Foreign Policy & Transatlantic Relations	

34	11/13	US-EU-China Relations I: Overview	
35	11/15	US-EU-China Relations II: The Arms Embargo Debate	
36	11/17	US-EU-China Relations III: The South China Sea Dispute	
37	11/20	Policy brief guidance	
	11/22	No class	
	11/24	No class	
The Transatlantic Relationship in a Changing World Order			
38	11/27	China-Russia Relations: A Challenge for the Transatlantic Alliance?	
39	11/29	What Future for the EU?	
40	12/1	Decline of the West, Rise of the Rest?	
41	12/4	Reflection and Review	Policy brief

Detailed Course Outline

8/21	**Introduction** This class will explore what participants know and think about the transatlantic relationship through a trivia quiz (not assessed!). It will also provide a substantive and administrative overview of the course.
8/23	**Importance of the Transatlantic Relationship** This class will introduce the importance of and dimensions to the transatlantic relationship. It will focus on Europe's economic and political importance to the US and vice versa - but, we will also consider counterarguments to these claims. Reading Lagadec, Introduction **ONLINE** Preble, C (2017) *America's Transatlantic Relationship Is Overrated* http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/americas-transatlantic-relationship-overrated-20931 Optional Videos Atlantic Council (2017) *Federica Mogherini: Transatlantic Relations* https://www.c-span.org/video/?423806-1/federica-mogherini-discusses-transatlantic-relations UCIS Pitt (2017) *Virtual Briefing: The Transatlantic Relationship After the First 100 Days* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CypD11Aguqc
8/28	**Historical Overview of the Transatlantic Relationship** Examining the historical foundations of the contemporary transatlantic relationship - particularly from the end of World War II onwards - is an important step in enabling better understanding of why the alliance persists and the challenges it continues to face. Reading Lagadec, Ch 1. **ONLINE** Egan, M and Nugent, N (2015) 'The Changing Context and Nature of the Transatlantic Relationship' in Buonanno, L, Cuglesan, N & Henderson, K (2015) *The New and Changing Transatlanticism* New York: Routledge **ONLINE**
8/30	**Foreign Policymaking in the US I** In the field of International Relations, looking at how particular decisions were made is as important as looking at the consequences of those decisions themselves. To understand how the US approaches its external relations with the EU and others, we will explore who gets to make decisions and how. The first class focusses on the President and the Executive Branch Agencies. Reading Halperin, M; Clapp, P: & Kanter, A (2006) *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* 2nd Edition, Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. **Ch15: Presidential Control** **LIBRARY** Pfiffner, J. (2011) 'Decision Making in the Obama White House' *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 41:2, pp.244–262 Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Pickering, T (2000) 'The Changing Dynamics of US Foreign Policy-Making: An Interview with Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Thomas R Pickering', *US Foreign Policy Agenda: An Electronic Journal of the US Department of State*, 5:1. pp5-8 Wayne, S (2000) 'The Multiple Influences on US Foreign Policy-Making', *US Foreign Policy Agenda: An Electronic Journal of the US Department of State*, 5:1. Pp25-27

	Optional Podcasts Covert Contact (2016) *Inside the President's Daily Brief with David Priess*, Episode 58 http://covertcontact.com/2016/08/19/inside-the-presidents-daily-brief-with-david-priess-episode-58/ [this gives interesting insights into a very small, but potentially very important, part of the foreign policymaking process] Pod Save the World (2017) *8 Years in the Situation Room with Ben Rhodes*, Feb 15, 2017
9/1	**Foreign Policymaking in the US II** Building on the previous class, we will examine how Congress - as the Legislative Branch - shapes US foreign policy. Reading Halperin, M; Clapp, P: & Kanter, A (2006) *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* 2nd Edition, Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. **Ch16: Congress and Bureaucratic Politics** **LIBRARY** Weissman, S (2017) 'Congress and War: How the House and the Senate Can Reclaim Their Role', *Foreign Affairs*, 96:1, pp132-145 Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Frizellm S (2015) *How Hilary Clinton Won the Benghazi Hearing*. At www.time.com/4084578/benghazi-hearing-hillary-clinton-analysis/
9/6	**Essay guidance** Ahead of the class essay (see above for submission deadline), I will talk you through how to research and write an essay for this course and take questions about research, writing, referencing, etc. No reading for today.
9/8	**Foreign Policymaking in the EU I** The EU poses an interesting challenge to scholars of International Relations because it is not a state yet something more than an international organization. One feature which is particularly interesting is the development of a distinctive 'EU foreign policy' system which does not supersede or replace the independent foreign policies of its Member States. We will take a historical approach and examine key developments. Reading Van Oudenaren, J (2010) 'The European Union as a Foreign Policy Actor' in Tiersky & Van Oudenaren (eds) *European Foreign Policies: Does Europe Still Matter?*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield **LIBRARY** Lehne, S (2012) *The Big Three in EU Foreign Policy*. Available at http://carnegieendowment.org/files/eu_big_three1.pdf Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Smith, M (2004) 'Toward a theory of EU foreign policy-making: multi-level governance, domestic politics, and national adaptation to Europe's common foreign and security policy' *Journal of European Public Policy*, 11:4, pp740-758 **ONLINE**

9/11	**Foreign Policymaking in the EU II** Continuing our consideration of how the EU's foreign policy is made, we will explore the most recent developments and consider what this means for the EU as a global actor in its own right. Reading Missiroli, A (2010) 'The New EU 'Foreign Policy' System after Lisbon: A Work in Progress' *European Foreign Affairs Review,* 15:4, 427–452 Vanhoonacker, S, Pomorska, K & Maurer, H (2011) 'The Presidency in EU External Relations: Who is at the helm?' *Politique Européenne,* 3:35 pp.139-164 **ONLINE** Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Howorth, J. (2011) 'The "New Faces" of Lisbon: Assessing the Performance of Catherine Ashton and Herman van Rompuy on the Global Stage' *European Foreign Affairs Review,* 16:3 pp.303-23
9/13	**Theorizing Transatlantic Relations I: Realism** A key component of International Relations scholarship is the application of theoretical models to explain and understand trends/patterns in international affairs, the state of the international system, and the behavior of actors therein. The first in this series of classes offers up a 'crash course' in Realism, arguably the predominant school of thought in contemporary IR. Optional: If you're completely new to IR theory, you might want to read these two short articles first: Walt, S (1998) 'International Relations: One World, Many Theories', *Foreign Policy*, 110, pp29-46 Snyder, J (2004) 'One World, Rival Theories', *Foreign Policy*, 145, pp52-63 Reading Dunne, T & Schmidt B (2014) 'Realism' in Baylis, J Smith, S & Owens, P (eds) *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press **LIBRARY** (multiple versions in library, any version fine) Mearsheimer, J (2002) 'Realism, the Real World, and the Academy' in Brecher and Harvey (eds) *Realism and Institutionalism in International Studies*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. Available at http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0029.pdf Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Hyde-Price, Adrian (2008) 'A 'Tragic Actor'? A Realist Perspective on 'Ethical Power Europe'' *International Affairs* 84:1 pp29-44
9/15	**Theorizing Transatlantic Relations II: Liberalism** Liberalism is argued by some to be the main contender to the Realist school of thought. Variations of this model have been highly influential within the EU - both in terms of political integration and also how the EU itself acts on the global stage. Reading Dunne, T (2014) 'Liberalism' in Baylis, J Smith, S & Owens, P (eds) *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press **LIBRARY** (multiple versions in library, any version fine) Keohane, R & Martin, L (1995) 'The Promise of Institutionalist Theory', *International Security*, 20:1, pp39-51 Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Smith, ME (2011) 'A Liberal Grand Strategy in a Realist World? Power, Purpose and the EU's Changing Global Role', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18:2, pp144-163

9/18	**Theorizing Transatlantic Relations III: Constructivism (and Others)** Our third and final 'theory' class will engage with the Constructivist school of thought, which departs from the realism-liberalism dichotomy and offers up an alternative way of thinking about - and trying to explain - international affairs. We will also briefly touch upon alternative theoretical models that have emerged in IR scholarship. Reading Telo, M (2009) *International Relations: A European Perspective*, Farnham: Ashgate, **Ch.8** **LIBRARY** Lagadec Ch.11 **ONLINE** Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Schimmelfenning, F (1998) 'NATO Enlargement: A Constructivist Explanation', *Security Studies*, 8:2/3, 198-234
9/22	**Brexit I: Background - The Awkward Partner?** To understand the UK's decision to hold a referendum on its EU membership, we need to place the latter in historical and political context. The UK has always been seen as something as an 'awkward partner' for the EU, remaining outside key integration projects such as the single currency. The public - and particularly portions of the media - have been strongly Eurosceptic. Reading Baimbridge, M & Whyman, P (2008) *Britain, the Euro and Beyond*, Burlington: Ashgate **Chapters 2 & 3** **LIBRARY** Daddow, O & Oliver, T (2016) *A not so awkward partner: the UK has been a champion of many causes in the EU*. Available at http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2016/04/15/a-not-so-awkward-partner-the-uk-has-been-a-champion-of-many-causes-in-the-eu/ Optional reading Baimbridge, M & Whyman, P (2008) *Britain, the Euro and Beyond*, Burlington: Ashgate **Ch 14** **LIBRARY**
9/25	**Brexit II: Campaign & Referendum** In this class, we will examine the political decision by then-Prime Minister David Cameron to offer a referendum on EU membership, the subsequent 'renegotiation' of the terms of the UK's membership, and the referendum campaign and outcome. Reading Cardwell, P (2016) 'The 'hokey cokey' approach to EU membership: legal options for the UK and EU', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23:9, pp1285-1293 **ONLINE** Hobolt, S (2016) 'The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23:9, pp1259-1277 **ONLINE** Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Freedman, L (2016) 'Brexit and the Law of Unintended Consequences', *Survival*, 58:3, 7-12 Optional Podcasts FT Politics (2017) *The Day After Brexit*, June 10, 2016. FT Politics (2017) *Summer Special: Brexit One Year In*, July 28, 2017.

9/27	**Brexit III: State of Play/Implications for Transatlantic Relations** Article 50 has been triggered by the UK government, and negotiations are now underway. This class will provide an overview of the state of play. Further, Brexit will not just impact the UK; as one of the 'EU3', the UK will leave a significant gap in the EU's political weight and actual capabilities for acting internationally. It also removes the US' most important ally in the EU, potentially decreasing its influence. We will consider how transatlantic relations are likely to evolve when the UK formally leaves the EU at some point in the next few years. Reading Rees, W (2017) 'America, Brexit and the Security of Europe', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19:3, pp558–572 Wilson, G (2017) 'Brexit, Trump and the Special Relationship', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19:3, pp543-557 Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Oliver, T (2016) 'European and international views of Brexit', *Journal of European Public Policy,* 23:9, pp1321-1328 **ONLINE** Optional Reading Heisbourg, F (2016) 'Brexit and European Security', *Survival,* 58:3, 13-22. Oliver, T & Williams, M (2016) 'Special Relationships in Flux: Brexit and the Future of the US–EU and US–UK Relationships', *International Affairs,* 92:3, pp547-567 Optional Podcast Brussel Sprouts (2017) *Rethinking UK's Brexit Strategy: Tidbits from the Chatham House Director*, July 15, 2017.
9/29	**American and European Political Cultures, Values and Interests** How actors view the world around them - and decide to act within in - are argued by many scholars to be influenced by their domestic political cultures, and the values and interests that prevail at a given time. Although the United States was strongly influenced by European heritage, there are clear differences in political culture on the two sides of the Atlantic. We will explore the similarities and differences and consider what this means for the transatlantic alliance. Reading Lagadec, Ch.2 **ONLINE** O'Neill, M (2015) 'The Cultural Dynamics of Transatlanticism' in Buonanno, L, Cuglesan, N & Henderson, K *The New and Changing Transatlanticism,* New York: Routledge **ONLINE** Optional Reading Lucarelli, S (2006) 'Values, identity and ideational shocks in the transatlantic rift', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 9, pp304--334
10/2	**Americans from Mars, Europeans from Venus?** Robert Kagan's *Of Paradise and Power* sets out an argument that Americans and Europeans are fundamentally different in nature when it comes to questions of world order, security, and the use of force. At the time of its publication, the book caused a stir in the transatlantic political community, and continues to be widely read and cited today. This class will focus on discussing Kagan's arguments and examining critiques.

	Reading Kagan's *Of Paradise and Power* (complete text). **AND** Barrios, C (2011) 'Rival universalisms in transatlantic relations: Obama's exceptionalism meets Europe's low profile', *European Political Science*, 10, pp11-19 **ONLINE** Fonte, J (2003) *Critical Review of Robert Kagan's Of Paradise and Power* https://www.aei.org/publication/critical-review-of-robert-kagans-of-paradise-and-power/ Vallely, P (2003) *Robert Kagan: Paradox and power: the philosopher of a world in turmoil* http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/profiles/robert-kagan-paradox-and-power-the-philosopher-of-a-world-in-turmoil-122828.html
10/4	**The Transatlantic Relationship and International Institutions: Global Dominance?** The post-World War II international institutions were designed by the US and the allied powers, including the European states of France and the UK. In this session, we will examine the politics of these institutions and consider the extent to which they continue to serve the transatlantic partners. Reading Lagadec, Ch.12 **ONLINE** Zurn, M & Stephen, M (2010) 'The View of Old and New Powers on the Legitimacy of International Institutions' *POLITICS*, 30:S1, pp91-101 Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Cronin, B (2001) 'The Paradox of Hegemony: America's Ambiguous Relationship with the United Nations' *European Journal of International Relations* 7:1 pp103-130 **ONLINE** Optional Reading Voeten, E. (2004) 'Resisting the Lonely Superpower: Responses of States in the United Nations to US Dominance' *The Journal of Politics*, 66:3, pp.729-754
10/6	**The Transatlantic Relationship and UNSC Reform** The UN Security Council, despite flaws and failures, is widely regarded as one of the most important global institutions. Notably, 3 out of its 5 permanent members are key players in the transatlantic alliance. However, it has been argued that the current membership fails to fairly represent significant portions of the world's population and/or fails to reflect the changed distribution of political, economic and military power in the post-Cold War era. In this session, we will consider options for reform and debate who deserves a seat - and who doesn't. Reading ECFR (2012) *European Policy on UN Reform*. At http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/hpschmitz/PSC124/PSC124Readings/WeissIllusionofUNReform.pdf McDonald, K & Patrick, S (2010) *UN Security Council Enlargement and US Interests*, Council Special Report No.59, New York: Council on Foreign Relations. At http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/UNSC_CSR59.pdf [note, pages 3-31 only] Weiss, T (2003) 'The Illusion of UN Security Council Reform', *Washington Quarterly*, 26:4, pp147-161 Optional Reading Malone, D (2007) 'The Security Council: Adapting to Address Contemporary Conflicts', *Negotiation Journal*, 19:1, pp69-83 Roos, U, Franke, U, & Hellmann, F (2008) 'Beyond the Deadlock: How Europe can Contribute to UN Reform', *International Spectator*, 43:1, pp43-55 http://85.116.228.17/NR/rdonlyres/15F07D6B-1673-416E-A1BD-AC0FB3A46F29/0/20081103093930170.pdf

	Optional Video Al Jazeera (2014) *Inside Story - United Nations: Time for Reform?* At https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Ywr4_Sg0qg
10/11	**Competitive Cooperation? Trade and Economics** The EU and the US share a highly interdependent economic relationship, and represent the largest and second-largest economies by GDP respectively (if the EU is treated as a single entity, which in economics/trade is often the case). Given their commitment to the open, liberal/capitalist international economic system, the two sides cooperate extensively to promote this model and shape international trade rules through the World Trade Organization. At the same time, they also compete for influence on the world stage and preferable trade relations with third parties. Reading Lagadec, Ch.5 **ONLINE** Jarman, H (2015) 'Transatlantic Trade Policy' in Buonanno, L, Cuglesan, N & Henderson, K (2015) *The New and Changing Transatlanticism*, New York: Routledge **ONLINE** Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Smith, M (1998) 'Competitive co-operation and EU-US relations: can the EU be a strategic partner for the US in the world political economy?', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5:4 561-577 **ONLINE** Optional Reading Damro, C (2016) 'Competitive Interdependence: Transatlantic Relations and Global Economic Governance' in Alcaro, R; Peterson, J; Greco, E (eds) *The West and the Global Power Shift: Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance*, London: Palgrave Macmillan **ONLINE** Sbragia, A (2010) 'The EU, the US, and trade policy: competitive interdependence in the management of globalization' *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17: 3, pp.368-82 **ONLINE** Optional Podcast FT World Weekly (2016) *The EU's Trade Conundrum*, October 26, 2016.
10/13	**Transatlantic Responses to the Global Financial Crisis** The Global Financial Crisis of 2008 originated in the US and quickly spread to Europe given their highly interdependent economic relationship. In the EU, it contributed to what eventually became the 'eurozone crisis' which threatened the very existence of the single currency project. While some argued that the crisis signaled the demise of Western economic dominance, this has not come to pass. The responses of the US and the EU to the crisis potentially provide interesting insights into contemporary transatlantic and global economic relations. Reading Altman, R (2009) 'The Great Crash 2008', *Foreign Affairs*, 88:1 (also available as a podcast - http://www.cfr.org/united-states/podcast-great-crash-2008/p18007) Bremmer, I & Roubini, D (2011) 'A G-Zero World: The New Economic Club Will Produce Conflict, Not Cooperation', *Foreign Affairs*, 90:2, pp2-7 Hodson, D & Quaglia, L (2009) 'European Perspectives on the Global Financial Crisis: Introduction', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 5:4, pp939-953 Optional Reading Emerson, M (2012) 'Implications of the Eurozone Crisis for EU Foreign Policy: Costs and Opportunities' *CEPS Commentary*. Available at: http://aei.pitt.edu/35333/1/ME_Implications_of_EZ_Crisis_for_EU_FP.pdf

	Schmidt, V. (2010) 'The European Union's Eurozone Crisis and What (Not) to Do About It' *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 17:1, 199-213 https://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/schools/cas_sites/economics/pdf/Seminars/SemF2011/Schmidt.pdf
10/16	**The (Almost) Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership** TTIP ('tee-tip'), as it is commonly known, is (or rather was) a highly ambitious proposal for a free trade area between the EU and the US. As things currently stand, however, TTIP is dead in the water. Nevertheless, it may be revived in the future under different political leadership on both sides of the Atlantic. As it was initially conceived, the deal's significance lay in the ambition to set a new precedent in bilateral free trade agreements, but was simultaneously contentious due to a number of potential implications and provisions of the deal. Reading Cremona, M (2015) 'Guest Editorial: Negotiating the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)' *Common Market Law Review*, 52:2, 351–362 **ONLINE** Peterson, J (2016) 'Choosing Europe or Choosing TTIP?: The European Union and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 21:3, pp383-402 **ONLINE** Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Young, A (2016) 'Not the Trade Politics of Your Parents: The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Negotiations', *Review of International Political Economy*, 23:3 Optional Reading Eliasson, L (2014) 'Problems, progress and prognosis the transatlantic free trade and investment partnership', *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 12:2, pp119-139 Buonanno, L (2015) 'The TTIP Arrives' in Buonanno, L, Cuglesan, N & Henderson, K (2015) *The New and Changing Transatlanticism*, New York: Routledge **ONLINE** Optional Podcast Guardian, The (2015) *Lifting the Lid on TTIP*. Available at https://www.theguardian.com/membership/audio/2015/sep/18/podcast-guardian-live-ttip Optional Video Cato Institute (2015) *The Geopolitical and Security Implications of TTIP*. Available at http://cdn.cato.org/archive-2015/cc-10-12-15-07.mp4 (other sessions also available - and podcasts as well as videos - here http://www.cato.org/events/will-transatlantic-trade-investment-partnership-live-its-promise)
10/18	**Security and Defense Cooperation Since the End of the Cold War** Security and Defense cooperation was arguably the central pillar of the transatlantic relationship during the Cold War. However, with the demise of an overriding external threat - the Soviet Union - security/defense relations have waned in importance in some regards but evolved in others - particularly in terms of counterterrorism. Reading Lagadec, Ch.4 **ONLINE** Sloan, S (2016) *Defense of the West: NATO, the European Union and the Transatlantic Bargain*, Manchester: Manchester University Press **Ch.10** **ONLINE** Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Coker, C (2006) 'The ESDP: A Threat to the Transatlantic Alliance?' in Ilgen, T (ed) *Hard Power, Soft*

	Power and the Future of Transatlantic Relations **LIBRARY** Optional Reading Berindan, I (2013) 'Not Another 'Grand Strategy': What Prospects for Future European Security Strategy?' *European Security*, 22:3, pp395-412 Kempin, R & Mawdsley, J (2013) 'The Common Security and Defence Policy as an Act of American Hegemony', *European Security*, 22:1, pp55-73 **ONLINE** Optional Podcast Brussels Sprouts (2017) *European defense Capabilities: A Conversation with Tomas Valasek*, July 10, 2017.
10/20	**What Future for NATO?** NATO remains the world's most prominent example of an active common defense organization. However, the primary purpose for its existence - the threat from the Soviet Union - a quarter of a century ago raises important questions about whether NATO is still needed, what its role should be and how it should interact with Russia. Some argue that NATO has yet to clearly identify its new purpose. Reading Lagadec, Ch.7 **ONLINE** Breedlove, P (2016) 'NATO's Next Act: How to Handle Russia and Other Threats', *Foreign Affairs*, 95:4, pp96-105 Mearsheimer, J (2010) 'Why is Europe Peaceful Today?' *European Political Science* 2:3 pp387-397 http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0055.pdf Required Podcast Brussels Sprouts (2017) *NATO's Back on the Table: Reflections from the Secretary General* Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Oma, I (2012) 'Explaining States' Burden-Sharing Behaviour Within NATO', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 47:4, pp562-573 Optional Reading Hallams, E (2009) 'The Transatlantic Alliance Renewed: the United States and NATO since 9/11', *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 7:1, pp38-60 Optional Podcast Pod Save the World (2017) *NATO, mistakes we made in Libya, and lessons from Iraq and Afghanistan*, Jun 7, 2017.
10/23	**The War on Terror** The terrorist attacks of 9/11 had a profound impact not only in the US, but also the EU. The subsequent 'global war on terror' has revealed stark divisions between the two. Whereas the US has tended to prefer military solutions, the EU has responded to the threat of terrorism as a law enforcement issue. More broadly, the EU and US have cooperated extensively, but challenges persist. Reading Porter, A. & Bendiek, A. (2012) 'Counterterrorism Cooperation in the Transatlantic Security Community' European Security, 21:4 497-517 Rees, W & Aldrich, R (2005) 'Contending Cultures of counterterrorism: transatlantic divergence or convergence?' *International Affairs* 81:5 pp905-923 Prothero, M (2016) *Belgium Called In The NSA To Help Catch Paris Attacker*. Available at

	https://www.buzzfeed.com/mitchprothero/belgium-called-in-the-nsa-to-help-catch-paris-attacker?utm_term=.hs98OO4eX#.plvNxxMVp Optional Reading Kaunert, C. (2009) 'The External Dimension of EU Counter-Terrorism Relations: Competences, Interests and Institutions' *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22:1, 41-61
10/25	**The Afghanistan and Iraq Wars** The US-led war in Afghanistan was initially backed by some European states both independently and through NATO. However, the war in Iraq - that the US linked to the war on terror - represented not just a divide between the US and the EU, but also clear internal divisions for the latter, raising questions over the very idea of a common EU foreign policy. The repercussions of these decisions continue to loom large in contemporary regional and global politics, as well as the transatlantic relationship itself. Reading Mitchell, D. & Massoud, T. (2009) 'Anatomy of Failure: Bush's Decision-Making Process and the Iraq War' *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 5:3, pp.265-286 Shepherd, A (2006) 'Irrelevant or Indispensable? ESDP, the 'War on Terror' and the Fallout from Iraq', *International Politics*, 43:1, 71-92 Optional Reading Betts, RK. (2007-08) 'Two faces of intelligence failure: September 11 and Iraq's missing WMD' *Political Science Quarterly*, 122:4, pp.585-606 **LIBRARY** Kagan, Robert (2008) 'The September 12th Paradigm: America, the World and George Bush' *Foreign Affairs*, 87:5, pp25-39 Optional Video Obama, B (2009) *Address to Joint Session of Congress* [excerpts] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_g6WZYf8rXk [full transcript - https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-barack-obama-address-joint-session-congress]
10/27	**International Intervention I: Background / Kosovo** International intervention - for humanitarian reasons or otherwise - is a contentious political issue. The Western powers have often justified international interventions on the basis of preventing further conflict, restoring peace and providing humanitarian assistance. This has proved controversial in the international community, especially when the government of the state involved has not provided consent. We will look at the background to international interventions and the Kosovo case study which set an important precedent. Reading Ayoob, M (2002) 'Humanitarian Intervention and State Sovereignty', *International Journal of Human Rights*, 6:1, pp81-102 **ONLINE** Blair, T (1999) *Address to the Economic Club of Chicago*, Transcript at http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/international-jan-june99-blair_doctrine4-23/ Wilton, R (2008) 'The Beginning and the End of Humanitarian Intervention: Kosovo 1999', *Defense & Security Analysis*, 24:4, 363-380 Required Viewing Clinton Library (2013) 'President Clinton's Address to the Nation on Kosovo (1999)'. Available at www.youtube.com/v=rLzPVYTf2oc

	Optional Reading Peters et al (2001) *European Contributions to Operation Allied Force: Implications for Transatlantic Cooperation*, Washington DC: RAND. (read **Summary** and **Chapter Two** but stop at p24 before 'conduct of air operations' and skip to 'conclusions' on p51
10/30	**International Intervention II: Libya and Syria** In 2011, the UNSC authorized a limited intervention to stop the bloodshed of the Libyan civil war, a task which was operationalized by NATO. Although not invoked in the Resolution, many at the time argued that the decision was in the spirit of Responsibility to Protect (R2P). In contrast, the West - and the rest of the international community - has been reluctant to get involved in the Syrian civil war to bring an end to the violence. We will consider why and how transatlantic powers decide to intervene or not. Reading Morris, J (2013) 'Libya and Syria: R2P and the Spectre of the Swinging Pendulum' *International Affairs* 89:5 pp1265-1283 Tocci, N (2016) 'The Responsibility to Protect in Libya and Syria: Europe, the USA and Global Human Rights Governance' in Alcaro, R; Peterson, J; Greco, E (eds) *The West and the Global Power Shift: Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance*, London: Palgrave Macmillan **ONLINE** Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Kersavage, K (2014) 'The "responsibility to protect" our answer to "never again"? Libya, Syria and a critical analysis of R2P', *International Affairs Forum*, 5:1, 23-41, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23258020.2014.933057 Optional Reading Guiora, A (2012) 'Intervention in Libya, Yes; Intervention in Syria, No: Deciphering the Obama Administration' *S.J. Quinney College of Law research paper No. 32* Available: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1993322 Optional Videos EurActiv (2011) *Ashton outlines possible Libya sanctions: Travel ban, asset freeze, no fly zone* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bENcVvQ6auw PBS (2011) *President Obama's Full Speech on the U.S. Mission in Libya* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hUXEiwJiKj4
11/1	**The Politics of Nuclear Weapons** The US, France and UK are the three transatlantic nuclear powers, underpinning the NATO security umbrella. However, governments of all three have pushed non-proliferation with respect to other states, and have actively pursued foreign policies aimed at preventing new nuclear powers from emerging. Here, we will consider the logic of nuclear weapons, the US and EU approach to their use and non-proliferation. Reading Sagan, S (1996/97) 'Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb', *International Security*, 21:3, 54-86 Sauer, T (2004) 'The 'Americanization' of EU nuclear non-proliferation policy', *Defense & Security Analysis*, 20:2, 113-131 Optional Reading Allison, G (2010) 'Nuclear Disorder: Surveying Atomic Threats', *Foreign Affairs*, 89:1, pp74-85 Daalder, I and Lodal, J (2008) 'The Logic of Zero: Towards a World Without Nuclear Weapons',

	Foreign Affairs, 87:6, pp80-95 Optional Podcasts CSIS (2017) *Defusing North Korea*, July 7, 2017. Pod Save the World (2017) *Are they gonna' nuke us?* August 2, 2017 [first section]
11/3	**Nuclear Non-Proliferation: The Iran Deal** For over a decade, the West has regarded Iran's alleged nuclear weapons program as a source of potential threat to regional stability and potentially global peace. While 'punishing' Iran with economic sanctions, the US and the EU have concentrated on a diplomatic solution. In this session we examine the question of Iran as a nuclear weapons power and look at how the US and the EU approached this issue, and what it might mean for future cases of potential nuclear proliferation. Reading Einhorn, R (2015) *Debating the Iran Nuclear Deal*. Available at https://www.brookings.edu/research/debating-the-iran-nuclear-deal-a-former-american-negotiator-outlines-the-battleground-issues/ Lohmann, S (2016) 'The convergence of transatlantic sanction policy against Iran', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 29:3, pp930-951 Waltz, Kenneth (2012) 'Why Iran Should Get the Bomb' *Foreign Affairs* 91:4 pp2-5 Required Podcast Pod Save the World (2017) *Secret Iran Talks with Jake Sullivan*, Feb 1, 2017. Optional Reading Einhorn, R (2004) 'A Transatlantic Strategy on Iran's Nuclear Program' *The Washington Quarterly* 27:4 pp21-32 Erasto, T (2011) 'Transatlantic Diplomacy in the Iranian Nuclear Issue - Helping to Build Trust?', *European Security*, 20:3, pp405-430 Harnisch, S (2007) 'Minilateral Cooperation and Transatlantic Coalition-Building: The E3/EU-3 Iran Initiative' *European Security* 16:1 pp1-27 Optional Podcasts Covert Contact (2017) *Iran in the Age of Trump*, Episode 70, June 18, 2017. Vox Worldly (2017) *Why Trump has stuck with the Iran deal he hates*, July 20, 2017.
11/6	**US-EU-Russia I: Overview** The Soviet Union loomed large in transatlantic relations during the Cold War. In the post-Cold War era, the US and EU were instrumental in attempting to encourage Russia's transition to Western-style democracy and capitalist economic system. The Putin era has resulted in renewed tensions, particularly in relation to NATO expansion and disagreements over international rules and the use of force. Many EU states are economically interdependent with Russia and very dependent on its energy exports, thus is a significant factor in European politics. Russia is also widely considered to be a rising power as part of the 'BRICS' grouping, which affords it a degree of international legitimacy and is sometimes conceptualised as opposed to the US' dominance of the international system. Reading Charap, S. anyoud Troitskiy, M. (2013) 'Russia, the West and the Integration Dilemma' *Survival*, 55:6, pp.49-62 Schmidt-Felzmann, A (2016) 'The breakdown of the EU's strategic partnership with Russia: from strategic patience towards a strategic failure', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 29:1, pp99-127

	Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Luk, K (2015) *How to Talk with Russia*. Available at http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_how_to_talk_to_russia5055 Kortunov, A (2016) *How Not to Talk with Russia.* Available at http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_how_not_to_talk_with_russia_6053 Optional reading Casier, T. (2013) 'The EU–Russia Strategic Partnership: Challenging the Normative Argument', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 65:7, pp.1377-1395 Krickovic, A (2016) 'When ties do not bind: the failure of institutional binding in NATO Russia relations', *Contemporary Security Policy*, 37:2, pp175-199 Optional podcasts CSIS (2016) *Zbigniew Brzezinski on Europe and Russia*. Available at https://soundcloud.com/csis-57169780/zbigniew-brzezinski-on-europe FT World Weekly (2016) *Russia's Foreign Policy Resurgence*. February 10, 2016.
11/8	**US-EU-Russia II: The Ukraine Crisis** The Ukraine crisis arguably put Russia back on the map as a threat to regional peace and stability, as well as potentially divisive in transatlantic relations. The crisis also tested the US' commitment to its European allies and once again raised questions about the EU's ability to play a role in regional and global security, as well as to generate a common foreign policy more generally. Reading Mearsheimer, J. (2014) 'Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin' *Foreign Affairs*, 93:5 pp.77-89 Merry, EW (2015) *Dealing with the Ukrainian Crisis: Transatlantic Strategy Dilemmas*. Available at: http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaiwp1551.pdf Robertshaw, S (2015) 'Why the EU got the Ukraine Crisis Wrong', *Global Affairs*, 1:3, pp335-343 Optional Reading Feklyunina, V and Romanova, V (2016) 'Ukraine and Triangular Diplomacy: Kyiv's Legitimacy Dilemmas in the midst of the Crisis' *CETS Working Paper*, GTJMCE-2016-1, Atlanta: Center for European and Transatlantic Studies http://www.inta.gatech.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/GTJMCE2016-1-Feklyunina&Romanova.pdf Sauer, T (2017)' The Origins of the Ukraine Crisis and the Need for Collective Security between Russia and the West', *Global Policy*, 8:1, pp82-91 Vieira, A (2016) 'Ukraine, Russia and the strategic partnership dynamics in the EU's eastern neighbourhood: recalibrating the EU's 'self', 'we' and 'other'', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 29:1, pp128-150
11/10	**One Year On: Implications of the 2016 Presidential Election on US Foreign Policy & Transatlantic Relations** The course mostly examines key developments that precede the Trump administration. Marking the one year anniversary of the 2016 US Presidential election, we will discuss what the result has meant for US foreign policy broadly and specifically with respect to the EU and NATO. Reading Lissner, R & Zenko, M (2017) 'There Is No Trump Doctrine, and There Will Never Be One' https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/07/21/there-is-no-trump-doctrine-and-there-will-never-be-one-grand-strategy/

	In addition: Ahead of class, identify two recent newspaper articles that relate to the US's foreign policy towards either the EU or NATO. Be prepared to discuss these in class. Optional Podcast ECFR (2016) *The Trump Alliance? The US Presidential Election and Transatlantic Relations*. Available at http://www.ecfr.eu/podcasts/episode/the_trump_alliance_transatlantic_relations_and_us_presidential_election [Discussion at the ECFR in March 2016, giving a European perspective on what might happen following the presidential election – you can reflect on which predictions were accurate, and which were not]
11/13	**US-EU-China Relations I: Overview** China is the fastest rising power in the international arena, widely expected to overtake the US in overall GDP terms sooner rather than later. China poses an interesting challenge for the transatlantic partners as they have both widely implemented policies of engagement - not containment - towards China, but with notable differences. Some in the US continue to see China as a potential threat to the US' position in East Asia and push for policies which reinforce their presence in the region. On the EU's part, China's economic importance and the mutual recognition as 'strategic partners' dominate foreign policy, with the implication that China's rise is seen predominantly as an opportunity. Reading Fallon, T (2014) 'China's Pivot to Europe', *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 36:3, pp175-182 Kissinger, H (2012) 'The Future of US-Chinese Relations: Conflict is a Choice, Not a Necessity' *Foreign Affairs* 91:2 pp44-55 Smith, M (2013) 'Beyond the Comfort Zone: Internal Crisis and External Challenge in the European Union's Response to Rising Powers' *International Affairs* 89:3 pp653-671 Optional Reading Foot, R (2010) 'Strategy, Politics, and World Order Perspectives: Comparing the EU and US Approaches to China's Resurgence' in Ross, R; Øystein, T; and Zhang, T (eds) *US-China-EU Relations: Managing the New World Order* London: Routledge **ONLINE** Optional Podcast Pod Save the World (2017) *China's Rise with Evan Medeiros*, April 5, 2017.
11/15	**US-EU-China Relations II: The Arms Embargo Debate** As a response to the Tiananmen crackdown of 1989, the (then) EU Member States imposed an embargo on the export of arms/weapons to China, as did the US. The embargo then remained in place but off the political agenda until 2003, when the EU began to review the embargo, with a view to lifting it. The EU went through a period of internal debate over the issue; however, the more significant debate was across the Atlantic; the US was strongly opposed to such a move by the EU, at a time when relations were already strained due to divisions over the Iraq war. We will consider the events of the arms embargo debate, and its implications for EU-China relations, as well as the EU-US-China strategic triangle. Reading Bersick, S (2006) 'Strategic Considerations in the US-China Relationship and the Role of European Soft Power' *Asia Europe Journal* 4:2 pp251-264 Casarini, N (2007) 'The International Politics of the Chinese Arms Embargo Issue' *The International Spectator* 42:3 pp371-389

	Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Kreutz, J (2004) 'Reviewing the EU Arms Embargo on China: The Clash between Value and Rationale in the European Security Strategy' *Perspectives: Review of International Affairs*, 22, pp43-58 Optional Reading Brown, SAW (2017) *Power, Perception and Foreign Policymaking: US and EU Responses to the Rise of China*, London: Routledge. Ch.5 **ONLINE**
11/17	**US-EU-China Relations III: The South China Sea Dispute** China and a number of other Southeast Asian nations are locked in disputes over sovereignty claims pertaining to waters and islands of the South China Sea. In recent years, China has undertaken efforts to transform some of the islands it claims as its own into, ostensibly, military and naval bases, in effect militarizing the South China Sea. A recent international tribunal has ruled against China in this case, but the latter refuses to accept the verdict. The issue is now one of the West's resolve to uphold international laws which they developed and, for the US in particular, its ability to influence regional security in East/Southeast Asia. Reading Burgess, S (2016) 'Rising bipolarity in the South China Sea: the American rebalance to Asia and China's expansion', *Contemporary Security Policy*, 37:1, pp111-143 Fallon, T (2016) *The EU, the South China Sea, and China's Successful Wedge Strategy*. Available at https://amti.csis.org/eu-south-china-sea-chinas-successful-wedge-strategy/ Glaser, B (2015) *Conflict in the South China Sea*. Available at http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/CPM_Update_South_China_Sea_.pdf Grad student additional reading (optional for undergrad) Mearsheimer, John (2010) 'The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia' *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3:4 pp381-396 Optional Reading Yahuda, M (2013) 'China's New Assertiveness in the South China Sea', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 22:81, pp446-459 Optional Podcasts CSIS (2016) *A Case Built on Sand*. Available at https://soundcloud.com/csis-57169780/a-case-built-on-sand Diplomat, The (2017) *One Year After the South China Sea Arbitration Award, Has China "Won"?* July 21, 2017.
11/20	**Policy brief guidance** Ahead of the reflection paper (see above for submission deadline), I will talk you through how to research and write such a piece for this course and take questions. No reading for today.
11/27	**China-Russia Relations: A Challenge for the Transatlantic Alliance?** The China-Russian relationship - whether in its bilateral format, in the context of the 'BRICS' group, or in the UNSC and other major international institutions and forums (e.g. the G20) - has been described by some as a potential challenge to the Western-led international system of rules and norms. In particular, the sanctions against Russia following the Ukraine crisis have led to concerns that rather than integrating Russia into the status quo order, it pushes it into the arms of China. How the West manage

	this potential 'axis' may become a hot issue in 21st century global politics. Reading Baev, P (2016) 'Russia's pivot to China goes astray: the impact on the Asia-Pacific security architecture', *Contemporary Security Policy*, 37:1, pp89-110 Carlson, B (2016) 'China–Russia Relations and the Inertia of History', *Survival*, 48:3 Ying, F (2016) 'How China Sees Russia', *Foreign Affairs*, 95:1, 96-105 Optional Reading Singh, A (2016) *A China–Russia maritime confluence in littoral Asia* http://www.aspistrategist.org.au/china-russia-maritime-confluence-littoral-asia/
11/29	**What Future for the EU?** The EU political integration project has come under severe strain in recent years. Despite treaty changes to adapt to life with 27+ members, the EU has struggled to deal with the global financial crisis and the ensuing Eurozone crisis, conflicts on its border (Ukraine) and the refugees seeking shelter from the ongoing violence in the Middle East. The EU's future is also challenged by the UK's decision to leave, which some fear might embolden Eurosceptic movements across the continent. Alternatively, the seismic shock of the UK's departure - a state which obstructed closer political and economic integration - may spur the rest of the EU to cooperate more closely to guard against future crises. Antidemocratic or authoritarian governments currently hold power in Poland and Hungary, testing the very norms upon which the EU is founded. Reading Economist, The (2017) *Creaking at 60: The Future of the European Union*. Available at https://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21719188-it-marks-its-60th-birthday-european-union-poor-shape-it-needs-more European Commission (2017) *White Paper on the Future of Europe: Reflections and Scenarios for the EU27 by 2025*, Brussells: European Commission. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/white_paper_on_the_future_of_europe_en.pdf European Council (2017) *The Rome Declaration*. Available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/03/25-rome-declaration/ Techau, J (2016) *Four Predictions on the Future of Europe*. Available at http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategiceurope/?fa=62445 Optional Reading Economist, The (2012) *The Choice*. Available at http://www.economist.com/node/21555916 McNamara, K (2010) *The Eurocrisis and the Uncertain Future of European Integration*, Available at http://www.cfr.org/world/eurocrisis-uncertain-future-european-integration/p22933 Optional Podcasts FT World Weekly (2015) *Europe's Fraying Union*, September 16, 2015. FT World Weekly (2017) *The Fate of the Euro*, February 9, 2017. Optional Video Council on Foreign Relations (2017) *The Future of Europe: The EU at a Crossroads*. Available at https://www.cfr.org/event/future-europe-eu-crossroads
12/1	**Decline of the West, Rise of the Rest?** Over the past few decades, some politicians, commentators, etc. have feared the 'decline' of the Western-led international system and its main powers. The 'rise of the rest' - China, Russia, India, etc. - has given an external 'Other' to fret over, politically, economically and potentially militarily. However,

	such previous concerns - e.g. the rise of Japan in the 1980s - have not borne out the worst fears. This has not stopped some from attempting to exploit this politically within Western countries, particularly the US. Reading Lagadec, Ch.10 **ONLINE** Flockhart, T (2016) 'The Coming Multi-Order World', *Contemporary Security Policy*, 37:1, pp3-30 Haass, R (2008) 'The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow US Dominance', *Foreign Affairs*, 87:3, 44-56 Optional Reading Burrows, M & George, R (2016) *Is America Ready for a Multipolar World?* Available at http://nationalinterest.org/feature/america-ready-multipolar-world-14964 Optional Podcasts FT World Weekly (2017) *The EU-US Rift*, June 1, 2017. World in 30 Minutes (2017) *The End of the World #1: Interview with Edward Luce* World in 30 Minutes (2017) *The End of the World #: Interview with Edward Luttwak*
12/4	**Reflection and Review** We will wrap up the course with a reflection on the state of contemporary transatlantic relations and what has changed since the end of the Cold War. No reading for today.