

PPS340*52/ POLSCI398*52
TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS

Monday 4:30 – 6:55 pm

Place: Sanford 102

Limit: 15 students

Professor Judith Kelley

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Office Hours: by appt.

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INTRODUCTION

“Transatlantic relations are a cornerstone of peace and stability—this is crucially important to me. This means that we must treat each other as partners. Yet it also means that we must take account of the new conditions, the new challenges and the new dangers. For our friends in the United States it means that a Europe, which is growing together is, on the one hand, raising concerns, but, as we have seen in the Balkans, is also bringing an increase in partnership. We have to learn how to deal with this dynamic aspect. Thus we need a new strategic debate, a debate about basic policy issues in the transatlantic relationship.”

- German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer in the German Bundestag, 10
September 2003 in Berlin

What is the future of the Transatlantic relationship and what does this matter? This course will examine the relationship between the United States and Europe with particular focus on US-EU relations. From trade to environment, from international criminal justice to war, Europe and the US have found plenty of room for disagreements lately. Some argue that these disagreements are passing ripples in an otherwise calm sea, while others argue that they merely reveal the tip of the iceberg of differences that have accumulated and will continue to grow. Alarmed, the US House sub committee on Europe has held hearings about “The future of the transatlantic relations.” “The transatlantic divide”, a “continental drift” and the “crisis in the transatlantic relationship” have become common phrases in the foreign policy debate. Robert Kagan has even argued that Europeans and Americans are from two different planets!

As fears of the common enemy during a half-century subside, the differences between the old allies are emerging. The US rise to preeminent power has clearly caused the EU to regard it with some apprehension, while Europe’s moves towards a constitution and a united military has raised concerns in Washington. Three events have dramatically highlighted the transatlantic relationship: the fall of the Berlin wall (Europe’s 9/11), 9/11, and the war in Iraq. Given these events, how will the US and Europe play out their relationship in the future? With the U.S.-EU partnership accounting for roughly half the global economy and leading the debate on international policies from security to environment, the transatlantic relationship has global

ramifications. How do the changes in Europe in terms of constitution making and recent enlargement influence the transatlantic relationship? Where is the relationship headed? Are Europe and the US partners or rivals? Or both? Will we see convergence or divergence in the future? Can the US and Europe grow apart, while retaining a common foundation?

Opinions on the transatlantic relations are a dime a dozen. I am sure you can discuss with the best of them. But what does it matter? It does matter, because understanding the transatlantic relationship goes to the core of international relations theory: it poses questions about power and the balance and mediation of power, questions of identity and values across national boundaries, the role of norms in international politics, national preferences and their formation, international cooperation and the role of international law, international political economy, visions of global governance and voice in international relations, and on and on. However, opinions will not suffice for such analysis: understanding transatlantic relations requires international relations theory and solid empirical examination of the issues.

Outline of the course:

The first part of the course raises the basic puzzles and questions that we will address in the course and provides some background on the EU and the transatlantic relationship. It covers a brief history and outlines the current debates about the transatlantic relationship.

The second provides an introduction to relevant IR theory. Here we will think about the usefulness of the different ways of thinking about the world that political scientists have offered us to date. What do we really talk about when we talk about the “transatlantic relationship?” (Can we measure it?) How useful is realism in understanding the transatlantic relationship? Does cooperation occur more in thick institutional contexts? Does the value basis of the EU and the US matter? Is multi-level governance, or yet some other theoretical framework, most useful for analyzing transatlantic relations?

The third part of the course is an empirical examination of issues that face the transatlantic relationship: security, trade, environment and international justice. We will look at case studies of EU defense development, NATO, Iraq and other security issues, the International Criminal Court, the Kyoto Protocol, WTO etc. Here students may have a chance to explore topics that they are particularly interested in and share with the class.

The last part of the course has two sections set aside for students to share their work.

The final class brings us back to the beginning questions and reexamines the prospects for divergence or convergence.

Course requirements:

This class focuses heavily on student participation, individual student work and sharing of individual research.

Contribution to class discussions: 30 percent (averaged over 12 classes or so, this means almost 3 % of your grade is determined by weekly participation – and by participation is meant not just showing up, but intelligently engaging in the discussion in a manner that reveals your understanding of the material)

Small papers and presentations: 30 percent* (see below)

Final paper (30 percent) and presentation (10 percent)

Note on late work: *Unless you contact me and make arrangements in advance, work assigned for a class will not be accepted if late, resulting in zero credit for that portion of your grade. The final paper will be marked down one grade step for each late day and will not be accepted more than four days late.*

Note on plagiarism: *Cite everything properly. I have no sympathy for plagiarism.*

On the syllabus you will find certain tasks or topics highlighted in red. These are either tasks that all students have to complete or they are individual sign-up tasks, which we will assign in advance to make sure we have full coverage.

* ALL STARRED READINGS ARE THE MANDATORY READINGS!

Resources:

Books to purchase:

The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century. Robert Cooper. London: Atlantic Books, 2003, 156 pp. £10.49

Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order
Robert Kagan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003.

A World of Nations: The international order since 1945. William R. Keylor. Oxford: 2003.
Chapters 1-3, 5, 10-11. (Mandatory background reading)

After the Cold War / international institutions and state strategies in Europe, 1989-1991 /
Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993. (We are using 3 chapters out of this)

Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy. Mark Pollack and Gregory Shaffe, editors.
Rowman and Littlefield, 2001. (We are using 4 chapters out of this)

Timothy Garton Ash, *Free World: America, Europe and the Surprising Future of the West.*

Miles Kahler and Werner Link, *Europe and America: A Return to History* . Council on Foreign Relations Press 1996. (Optional background reading)

SOME RELEVANT LINKS FOR THE CLASS:

[Duke Library resources for a former class of mine on international organizations](#)

[European Union](#)

[Council On Foreign Relations](#)

[Centre for European Reform](#)

[The European Institute](#)

[Common Foreign and Security Policy](#)

[The EU in the US](#)

[The EU commissions site for external relations, relations with the US](#)

[Link To Foreign Affairs](#) (some articles can be retrieved from here)

[Duke University E-Journals website](#)

[International Relations and Security Network](#)

[US House of Representatives, Committee on International Relations, Sub-committee on Europe](#)

COURSE OUTLINE

PART I: UNDERSTANDING THE EU AND EUROPE

CLASS 1, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12: INTRODUCTION

CLASS 2, MONDAY, JANUARY 24: TRANSATLANTIC PUZZLES/ARE WE REALLY FROM TWO DIFFERENT PLANETS?

CLASS 3, MONDAY, JANUARY 31: HISTORY OF THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP

PART II: UNDERSTANDING THEORY

CLASS 4, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7: REALISM/ STRATEGIC INTERESTS

CLASS 5, FEBRUARY 14: INSTITUTIONS

CLASS 6, FEBRUARY 21: VALUES/ IDENTITIES/IDEAS

PART III: EMPIRICAL STUDIES

CLASS 7, FEBRUARY 28: PUBLIC OPINION / TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS

(MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE)

CLASS 8, MARCH 7: SECURITY

CLASS 9, MARCH 21: ENVIRONMENT/ INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

CLASS 10, MARCH 28: ECONOMIC RELATIONS

PART IV: STUDENT WORK AND CONCLUSION

CLASS 11, APRIL 11: STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

CLASS 12, APRIL 18: STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

CLASS 13, APRIL 18: THE FUTURE OF THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP

PART I: UNDERSTANDING THE EU AND EUROPE

CLASS 1, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12: INTRODUCTION

This class has two parts:

First: A brief intro to the class, it's structure and requirements/expectations

Second: Initial discussion:

What puzzles us about the transatlantic relationship? What may be the future direction? How can we understand it conceptually? What drives the relationship: Economic Interests? Security concerns? Values? Policy? Individuals? History? This first class will be a place to discuss our views before we delve into those of others. We will also make initial introductions and get to know each other's particular relationship to the issue of transatlantic relations in terms of background and research interests.

If there are general questions on the European Union, we can also bring those up.

Useful background preparation on the European Union:

EU glossary: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/europe/euro-glossary/default.stm

European institutions:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/europe/2001/inside_europe/eu_institutions/default.stm

Flow of power:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/europe/2001/inside_europe/eu_institutions/flow_chart.stm

EU budget: http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/europe/2001/inside_europe/budget/

European Union, a Guide for Americans (EU publication, so read with grain of salt)

<http://www.eurunion.org/infores/euguide/euguide.htm>

How the EU was built: timeline from the BBC

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1055729.stm>


Audio and video clip (70 minutes):

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/europe/2001/inside_europe/milestones/

Enlargement

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/europe/2000/redefining_europe/default.stm

A new constitution

The politics of the IGC  briefing note by the CER, 16 October 2003
http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/briefing_cer_igc.pdf

The CER guide to the draft EU constitution 
http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/policybrief_constitution_oct03.pdf

EU's Relations with the US – The official EU web page version of the relationship
http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/us/intro/index.htm

CLASS 2, MONDAY, JANUARY 24: TRANSATLANTIC PUZZLES/ARE WE REALLY FROM TWO DIFFERENT PLANETS?

This will be our first real discussion of the transatlantic debate as it has developed since Iraq. We will focus on comparing and contrasting Kagan and Cooper.

ASSIGNMENT: Write *individual papers drawing out five points from EACH Kagan and Cooper book that you agree with and five you disagree with*. Submit these by noon to me, and be prepared to engage in a vigorous discussion in class. I may circulate your papers in advance of the class via email.

*Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order
Robert Kagan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003.

(See also [Power and Weakness](#), by Robert Kagan, *Policy Review* (June/July 2002) (Kagan's original article that started the debate)

*The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century. *Robert Cooper. London: Atlantic Books, 2003*

(see also Robert Cooper, "[The European Answer to Robert Kagan](#)," *Transatlantic Internationale Politik*, Vol. 4(2), 2003, p. 19-24.

ALL STUDENTS ASSIGNMENT: Choose one of the following articles and summarize the argument briefly. State your own opinion. Bring your write-up to class:

Commentary: Martians and Venutians in the new world order. Cox, Michael (2003)
International Affairs 79 (3), 523-532

Victor Davis Hanson. [Goodbye to Europe?](#) (American-European relations) *Commentary* Oct 2002 v114 i3 p21(5)

Anand Menon, Kalypto Nicolaïdis and Jennifer Welsh) "[In Defence of Europe - A Response to Kagan](#)", *Journal of European Affairs*, September 2004

[The New Transatlantic Project: A Response to Robert Kagan](#), by Ronald D. Asmus and Kenneth M. Pollack, in *Policy Review*, October 2002.

David Runciman [A Bear Armed with a Gun](#) *London Review of Books* Vol. 25 No. 7 dated 3 April 2003

CLASS 3, MONDAY, JANUARY 31: HISTORY OF THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP

This class will examine some of the most important historical elements in the transatlantic relationship. Per definition, this is impossible to do in one class, students must do the necessary background reading.

HISTORICAL VIDEOS – I may show selections in class if we have time.

* US—European Relations: Past and Future, by Stanley Hoffmann:
International Affairs 79 (5), 1029-1036

*Keylor: Chapter 1-2, 5, 6 (until 158),10 (until p. 325), 11

Optional:

Miles Kahler and Werner Link, *Europe and America: A Return to History* Council on Foreign Relations Press 1996), p. 29-106

Changing borders:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/europe/02/euro_borders/html/1.stm

The Marshall Plan Commemoration Section: Miles to Go: From American Plan to EU. Foreign Affairs: May/June 1997.

That was then: Allen W. Dulles on the Occupation of Germany, by Allen W. Dulles. Foreign Affairs: Nov/Dec 2003.

ALL STUDENTS ASSIGNMENT: EACH STUDENT will research one particular event/theme/episode in the history of the transatlantic relationship. Write a short paper about it and share her/his understanding of the event and its implications with the class. Suggestions:

- a. The Marshall Plan Student: _____
- b. The division of Germany/ Berlin – the airlift and the eventual building of the wall Student: _____
- c. The Suez Crises Student: _____
- d. Nuclear worries and NCS-68 Student: _____
- e. De Gaulle/ force de frappe/ St. Elysee Treaty between Germany and France Student: _____
- f. The creation of an Atlantic Security System/France’s withdrawal from NATO (and French scheme for Western military integration) Student: _____
- g. 1990 Transatlantic Declaration Student: _____
- h. Lybia bombing raid Student: _____
- i. Invasion of Afghanistan Student: _____

- j. Truman Doctrine
- k. Ostpolitik
- l. Helsinki Final Act
- m. German Unification

Student: _____

Student: _____

Student: _____

Student: _____

PART II: UNDERSTANDING THEORY

This section is a three-part introduction to international relations theory that may be relevant to the transatlantic relationship (Note, I will sneak in more theory later in the course too).

Useful overview readings (Mandatory, but we will not discuss specifically):

*Walter Carlsnaes: “Foreign Policy”, in *Handbook of International Relations*, Sage, 2002, 331-349.- on e-reserves

*Duffield, John S. (2001) Transatlantic Relations after the Cold War: Theory, Evidence, and the Future. *International Studies Perspectives* 2 (1), 93-115.

CLASS 4, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7: REALISM/ STRATEGIC INTERESTS

In this class we will introduce basic realist thought as it has been applied to the post-cold war European era. We will also examine the role of NATO (not just from a realist perspective). Will it, as some scholars are suggesting, be further transformed from an essentially military organisation to a political one; or will it perhaps even go out of business altogether? And if either of these developments does in fact occur, what will the likely implications of this be for future Transatlantic relations?

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: For each reading, ONE student will choose one reading and write a short paper that includes a brief summary, a discussion, and presents a set of questions for the class to discuss.

*John J. Mearsheimer, Back to the future: instability in Europe after the Cold War. *International Security* Summer 1990 v15 n1 p5

Student: _____

*Huntington, Samuel P. [The Lonely Superpower](#). *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/Apr99, Vol. 78 Issue 2, p35, 15p, 3bw; (AN 1582019)

Student: _____

*Stephen Walt "The Precarious Partnership," in *Atlantic security: contending visions* / Charles A. Kupchan, Charles. Published: New York: Council on Foreign Relations: Distributed by Brookings Institution Press, c1998, 5-44. – e-reserves

Student: _____

* Charles A Kupchan. [The rise of Europe, America's changing internationalism, and the end of U.S. primacy](#) *Political Science Quarterly*. New York: Summer 2003. Vol. 118, Iss. 2; p. 205

Student: _____

*Colin Dueck. 2004. [New Perspectives on American Grand Strategy](#). *International Security* 28:4 P: 197 – 216

Student: _____

*Kenneth N. Waltz [The Emerging Structure of International Politics](#) *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (Autumn, 1993), pp. 44-79.

Student: _____

CLASS 5, FEBRUARY 14: INSTITUTIONS

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: For each reading, ONE student will choose one reading and write a short paper that includes a brief summary, a discussion, and presents a set of questions for the class to discuss.

*Lisa L. Martin [Credibility, Costs, and Institutions: Cooperation on Economic Sanctions](#), *World Politics*, 45 (3): pp. 406-432

Student: _____

**After the Cold War / international institutions and state strategies in Europe, 1989-1991 /* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993, Introduction, Chapter 3, and conclusion.

Student: _____

*Detlev F. Vagts. 1998. [Taking Treaties Less Seriously](#) *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 92, No. 3. pp. 458-462.

Student: _____

*Helen Milner, The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory; A Critique, in Baldwin, Chapter 6, 143-170. (Will copy or put on e-reserves)

Student: _____

*[Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions](#)

Robert Axelrod; Robert O. Keohane
World Politics, Vol. 38, No. 1. (Oct., 1985), pp. 226-254.

Student: _____

*Henry Nau on [America and the Rule of Democratic Law in the World Community](#)

Do institutions matter?

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the arguments below. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

*Magali A Delmas 2002 [The diffusion of environmental management standards in Europe and in the United States: An institutional perspective](#). *Policy Sciences*. .Vol.35, Iss. 1; pg. 91

In class Exercise: Map the institutionalization of the Transatlantic relationship

CLASS 6, FEBRUARY 21: VALUES/ IDENTITIES/IDEAS

****** 1 PAGE PAPER PROPOSALS DUE!!!**

This first part of this class introduces value/norm based IR theories into the transatlantic area of study. We will pay particularly attention to the debate about the different notions of sovereignty. In the second part of the class, we will also examine recent survey data on perceptions on both sides of the pond.

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: For each reading, ONE student will choose one reading and write a short paper that includes a brief summary, a discussion, and presents a set of questions for the class to discuss.

*Adler and Barnett, eds: *Security Communities*. 1998. Cambridge, chapter 1, p. 1-15, (chapter 2 optional) -- on e-reserves

Student: _____

*Alice Ackermann. 2003 [The Changing Transatlantic Relationship: A Socio-Cultural Approach](#). *International Politics*. 40, Iss. 1; pg. 121

Student: _____

*Political Culture and State Behavior: Why Germany Confounds Neorealism
John S. Duffield, *International Organization* Volume 53 - Issue 04 - October 1999

Student: _____

*Thomas Risse, *The Crisis of the Transatlantic Security Community*. Prepared for Christopher Daase, Susanne Feske, Ingo Peters (Hrsg.), *Festschrift für Helga Haftendorn (I have uploaded this under blackboard "course documents".)*

Student: _____

*Kalypso Nicolaïdis "[The Power of the Superpowerless](#)", in Tod Lindberg (ed) *Beyond Paradise and Power: Europe, America, and the Future of a Troubled Partnership*, Routledge, 2004.

Student: _____

*Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms? By: Manners, Ian. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Jun2002, Vol. 40 Issue 2, p235, 24p

AND

*Nye, Joseph S *The Decline of America's Soft Power. *Foreign Affairs*, May/Jun2004, Vol. 83 Issue 3, p16, 5p;

Student: _____

EU/US and sovereignty

Do you agree with the analysis by different authors about sovereignty? Whose view do you favor? What implications is it likely to have if the EU and the US have different sovereignty conceptions? Question: Is the EU changing the concept of sovereignty, or the concept of the state? Are those the same? Why or why not?

*Keohane, Robert O. (2002)

Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States.

Journal of Common Market Studies 40 (4), 743-765.

*In connection with above article, see also [*American Sovereignty and the UN](#).* Author(s):

Helms, Jesse Source: *National Interest*; Winter2000/2001 Issue 62, p31, 4p

Student: _____

PART III: EMPIRICAL STUDIES

The next section of the course takes us into a series of case studies of issues that arise in the transatlantic relationship recently. As we proceed to analyze these cases, we will draw on the discussions to date about the relationship: do we see traces of history in the present cases? How is the intra-European politics affecting decision to cooperate with the US? How do divergent preferences and definitions of multilateralism, power and sovereignty manifest themselves? What theoretical framework is most useful for each topic and why?

CLASS 7, FEBRUARY 28: PUBLIC OPINION / TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS (MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE)

***Data (mandatory browsing of this data):**

Chicago Council on Foreign relations
worldviews 2002

American and European Public Opinion & Foreign Policy
http://www.c CFR.org/globalviews2004/sub/pdf/2002_Comparative.pdf

Transatlantic trends 2004. <http://www.transatlantictrends.org/>

[Breakdowns according to party identification and voting intentions](http://www.worldviews.org/)

<http://www.worldviews.org/>

ALL STUDENTS ASSIGNMENT: Pick one or two pieces of statistics that you consider the most interesting. Why is that? Write a paragraph, bring it to class and be prepared to share with everyone.

Readings:

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: For each reading, ONE student will choose one reading and write a short paper that includes a brief summary, a discussion, and presents a set of questions for the class to discuss.

*Misunderstanding Each Other, Richard Lambert *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2003

Student: _____

*Ron Asmus, Philip Everts and Pierangelo Isernia. 2003. [Power, war and Public Opinion: Thoughts on the Nature and Structure of the Transatlantic Divide](http://www.transatlantictrends.org/), Transatlantic Trends Survey 2003.

Student: _____

*Ronald D. Asmus, Phillip P. Everts, and Pierangelo Isernia [Across the Atlantic and the Political Aisle: The Double Divide in U.S.-European Relations](#) . Analytical paper, German marshall Fund, 2004.

Student: _____

*Timothy Garton Ash, *Free World: America, Europe and the Surprising Future of the West*.
Chapter 1-3:

Chapter 1: Janus Britain

Student: _____

Chapter 2: Europe as Not-America

Student: _____

Chapter 3: America, the Powerful

Student: _____

Transnational relations – multilevel governance

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the arguments below. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

*Mark Pollack and Gregory Shaffe, editors. *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2001. *Read the introduction and conclusion.*

CLASS 8, MARCH 7: SECURITY

This class will cover four issues:

- I. EU defense and US-EU defense cooperation more broadly
- II. NATO
- III. Comparative security strategies
- IV. Counter terrorism

EU defense

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Write a short (or work individually/divide the readings) reaction paper about defense, posing at least one viable question/hypothesis for the class to discuss. These questions must be circulated in advance to the whole class.

Student: _____

*SUSAN E. PENKSA ; WARREN L. MASON. 2003. [EU Security Cooperation and the Transatlantic Relationship](#) Cooperation and Conflict 38: 3 Page: 255

*The Future of the Transatlantic Defense Community. Final Report of the CSIS Commission on Transatlantic Security and Industrial Cooperation in the 21st Century. CSIS, January 2003. Part 1 and 2: p. 3-35. On e-reserves.

*[EU on the offensive about defence](#) article by Daniel Keohane, European Voice, 22-28 July 2004

* Richard J. Aldrich. Transatlantic intelligence and security cooperation *International Affairs* 80: 4 731 -- 753

NATO

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: write a synthesis of argument for what NATO represents, what the future of NATO is likely to be like, and why. What author puts forth the most interesting arguments?

Student: _____

* Forster, A. and W. Wallace (2001) "What is NATO For?" 43(4) *Survival*.

* S. Yost Transatlantic relations and peace in Europe, *International Affairs*, Volume 78 Issue 2 Page 277 - April 2002

*Celeste A. Wallander, "Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War," *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2000): 705-35 [30].

* Helene Sjurson On the identity of NATO. *International Affairs*. July 2004 - Volume 80 Issue 4

Comparative security strategies

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Comparing security strategies. Read the two security strategies as well as the articles in the *Oxford Journal on good governance*. Decide on what elements each strategy stresses most and compare how that element is treated in the other strategy. Do you discover differences or similarities? What are they? From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

EU:

*[A Secure Europe in a Better World](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/76255.pdf), by Javier Solana, Report to the European Council (June 20, 2003) http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/76255.pdf

Background briefing:

<http://www.eurunion.org/legislat/Defense/esdpweb.htm>

US:

**The National Security Strategy of the United States*, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>

Walt, Stephen (2002) "Beyond bin Laden: Reshaping US Foreign Policy." *International Security* 26 (3).

*[A security strategy for Europe - The Solana strategy in the wake of Madrid](#) 

MANDATORY: Read articles by Javier Solana, Doug Bereuter and Barry Posen. Other articles are OPTIONAL. *Oxford Journal on good governance*, May 2004

Terrorism Cooperation

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Read the hearing and summarize it for the class. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

[US House of Representatives, Committee on International Relations, Sub-committee on Europe](#)
JOINT HEARING: U.S.-European Cooperation on Counterterrorism: Achievements and Challenges
September 14, 2004: 1:30 p.m., 2172 Rayburn House Office Building

[How Europe and America Defend Themselves.](#) By: Stevenson, Jonathan. *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/Apr2003,
Vol. 82 Issue 2, p75,

Student: _____

Relations with third states

INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH ASSIGNMENTS: Choose one of the countries below. Write a short assessment to share with the class, considering the following questions:

1. Is EU US policy aligned or not? Converging or diverging?
2. Does the EU and US have equal stakes/interests in the country?
3. Does it have equal influence with the country?
4. Do the countries define the problems in the same way?
5. Are there institutional components to the foreign policy?

Russia Student: _____
Turkey Student: _____
China - arms ban? Student: _____
Iran Student: _____

MISCELLANEOUS OPTIONAL READINGS:

[Bound to Cooperate? Transatlantic Policy in the Middle East](#) Author(s): Dalia Dassa Kaye
Source: The Washington Quarterly (MIT Press) Year: 2003 Volume: 27 Number: 1 Pages:
179-195

[A Transatlantic Strategy on Iran's Nuclear Program](#) Author(s): Robert J. Einhorn Source:
The Washington Quarterly (MIT Press) Year: 2004 Volume: 27 Number: 4 Pages: 21-32

Financial Times (London,England), May 27-30, 2003, ran a four part series in COMMENT &
ANALYSIS called: THE DIVIDED WEST (Uploaded to blackboard)

Judith Kelley [Strategic Non-Cooperation As Soft Balancing: Why Iraq Was Not Just About Iraq](#)
Sanford Working Paper Number: SAN04-06 December 2004

[Is Turkey Ready for Europe?](#) Philip L. Martin, [Michael S. Teitelbaum](#)
Foreign Affairs (May/June 2003)

Philip Robins. 2003. Confusion at home, Confusion abroad: Turkey between Copenhagen and
Iraq in *International Affairs* Volume 79 Issue 3 Page 547 - May

[The International Herald Tribune](#), September 24, 2003 Wednesday, OPINION; Pg. 10, 1125 words, A trans-Atlantic role reversal on the Mideast; Europe, America and Zionism, Geoffrey Wheatcroft, BATH, England

Kaye, Dalia Dassa. *Bound to Cooperate? Transatlantic Policy in the Middle East*
Bound to cooperate, Washington Quarterly, 2003 winter,
http://www.twq.com/04winter/docs/04winter_kaye.pdf

CLASS 9, MARCH 21: ENVIRONMENT/ INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

MARCH 21 ** PAPER DRAFTS DUE!!!**

This class will be broken into two separate topics. We will start with an examination of the International Criminal Court and the difference in the European and US approach to this topic. Why does the US oppose, and why did the Europeans insist on a version they knew the US would oppose? We also include here a short discussion on human rights. We then move to the somewhat parallel debate about Kyoto and global warming. Individual students can choose to do discussion papers to lead the class debate. We will round this class out with a student led discussion on burden-sharing in the sense of providing global public goods.

I. HUMAN RIGHTS

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the two articles below. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

*Kissinger, Henry A. The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction. *Foreign Affairs*, Jul/Aug 2001, Vol. 80 Issue 4, p86, 11p; (AN 4604651)

*Thomas Franck. 2001. "Are Human Rights Universal?" *Foreign Affairs* 80(1): 191-204.

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize article below. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

*Andrew Moravcsik, "The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe," *International Organization* 54, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 217-52 [35].

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize article below. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

*Andrew Moravcsik, "Why Is U.S. Human Rights Policy So Unilateralist?" in Shepard Forman and Patrick Stewart, Eds. *The Cost of Acting Alone: Multilateralism and US Foreign Policy* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001). (uploaded to blackboard)

International Criminal Court

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the arguments below (and add any independent research on the ICC you wish to). Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

*[Toward an International Criminal Court?](#) (you may skim summaries and read selectively in depth)

Anne-Marie Slaughter, Kenneth Roth, John Bolton and Ruth Wedgwood
The Council on Foreign Relations

* Ruth Wedgwood, Fiddling in Rome: America and the International Criminal Court *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1998

Death Penalty

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT/INDEPENDENT RESEARCH: Summarize the arguments below. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

Photocopied readings (hand outs)

*Andrew Moravcsik, The New Abolitionism: [Why does the U.S. practice the death penalty while Europe does not?](#) European Studies Newsletter - September 2001

Do other individual research to supplement this!

II. ENVIRONMENT

Different attitudes towards risk?

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the arguments below. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

The precautionary principle: Burden of Proof, Rifkin, 320-334.

*Jonathan B. Wiener; Michael D. Rogers 2002 [Comparing precaution in the United States and Europe](#): *Journal of Risk Research* Volume: 5 Number: 4 Pages: 317-349

Global warming/Kyoto

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the arguments below. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/us/climat/index.htm

*[Damro, Chad and Luaces-Méndez, Pilar \(2003\) THE KYOTO PROTOCOL'S EMISSIONS TRADING SYSTEM: An EU-US Environmental Flip-Flop. Working Paper #4, August 2003.](#)

[David G Victor. Climate of doubt. *Sciences*; Spring 2001; 41, 2; Research Library, pg. 18](#)

LINK to EU website on environment: [Transatlantic Environment Dialogue](#)

US and the environmental law system

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the arguments below. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

*[The United States and International Environmental Law: Living with an Elephant](#) Jutta Brunnée
European Journal of International Law 15(4) 617 - 649

*John W. Meyer; David John Frank; Ann Hironaka; Evan Schofer; Nancy Brandon Tuma. The Structuring of a World Environmental Regime, 1870-1990. In *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4. (Fall, 1997), pp. 623-653.[30]

CLASS 10, MARCH 28: ECONOMIC RELATIONS

During the last decade the US and EU have developed a \$1 billion a day trade. However, they have also had a number of contentions economic issues, such as the Helms/Burton, Steel, Foreign sales cooperation, Beef hormones, and GMO food. During the last years, the US and the EU have both pushed for the Doha round of negotiations, yet failed to find solutions, particularly on agriculture. This class will discuss these economic issues more in-depth. Are they indicative of underlying differences between the US and the EU? If so, what are those? If not, why did the conflicts arise?

OPTIONAL Background Resources from EU website:

[The EU and the US are each other's main trading partners and account for the largest bilateral trade relationship in the world. They are also the largest players in global trade.](#)

[How the EU-US trade co-operation is structured](#)

[Annual EU Report on US Trade Barriers shows potential for resolving outstanding trade disputes](#)
Brussels, 23 December 2004

The relationship in numbers

*Quinlan and Hamilton. 1994. Partners in Prosperity: The changing Geography of the Transatlantic Economy. Chapters 1-3, 6-8. (on e-reserves)

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the arguments in chapter 1-3. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the arguments in chapter 6-8. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

Essays on Economic perspective

**Conflict and Cooperation in Transatlantic Relations*, edited by Daniel Hamilton. Center for Transatlantic Relations. 2004. Read Part III: Economic perspectives, chapter 9-11, p. 85-113.(handouts)

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the reading Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

Foreign sales cooperations

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the arguments below. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

*B. Hocking ; S. McGuire 2002. [Government-Business Strategies in EU-US Economic Relations: The Lessons of the Foreign Sales Corporations Issue](#) *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40: 3 **Page:** 449 – 470

Biotech food

* Mark Pollack and Gregory Shaffe, editors. *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2001, chapter 6

Agence France Presse, July 2, 2003 Wednesday, Financial Pages, 534 words, EU moves to ease transatlantic row over biotech foods, MICHAEL THURSTON, STRASBOURG, July 2

Vera Kettner: “The European Conflict over Genetically Engineered Crops, 1995-1997,” in *Contentious Europeans*, Edited by Doug Imig and Sidney Tarrow, Rowman and Littlefield: 2001. – on e-reserves

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize the arguments/ issues on Biotech food. Discuss. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

WTO disputes

INDIVIDUAL ASSIGNMENT: Summarize and discuss the readings below. From your observations, pose a question for discussion.

Student: _____

*Busch and Reinhardt. 2003. *Transatlantic Trade Conflicts and GATT/WTO Dispute Settlement*, in Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann and Mark A. Pollack / *Transatlantic Economic Disputes: The EU, The US and The WTO* (Uploaded to Blackboard)

* Mark Pollack and Gregory Shaffe, editors. *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2001, chapter 3

[WTO Dispute Settlement Cases involving the EU](#) (go to cases launched by EC at bottom of page and see cases where US is the defendant)

PART IV: STUDENT WORK AND CONCLUSION

CLASS 11, APRIL 11: STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

The next two classes are devoted to student presentation of their term papers. Each student will have about 20 minutes and should distribute their paper abstracts (up to 500 words) in advance of the presentation.

CLASS 12, APRIL 18: STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

CLASS 13, APRIL 18: THE FUTURE OF THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP

This class will wrap up the course. After reading all the different perspectives, what is your opinion about 1) the state of the transatlantic relationship, 2) the cause of the state of transatlantic relationship, and 3) the future of that relationship and what that will depend on?

ALL STUDENTS: Read the reading below. Write a short paper on *what you believe will be the future of the transatlantic relationship and why*, referencing these readings and any other from the course that you see fit. Not to exceed 2 pages. Email to me by noon for distribution to the class.

*Timothy Garton Ash, *Free World: America, Europe and the Surprising Future of the West*. Chapter 5-7

*Robert Kagan, [American Power and Legitimacy](#), afterword of his latest book, *Of Paradise and Power*.

Erik Jones 2004 [Debating the transatlantic relationship: rhetoric and reality](#) Author(s): *International Affairs* 80 4 Page: 595-612

*The End of Atlanticism, by Ivo Daalder, *Survival* (Summer 2003)

*Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain, Andrew Moravcsik. From *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2003, <http://search.epnet.com/direct.asp?jid=FAF&db=afh>


*John Peterson 2004 [America as a European power: the end of empire by integration?](#) *International Affairs* 80 4 Page: 613 -- 629

OPTIONAL ADDITIONAL READINGS

[Renewing the Atlantic Partnership](#)

Henry A. Kissinger, Charles A. Kupchan, Lawrence H. Summers
Independent Task Force Report - *Council on Foreign Relations* (March 2004)

JOINT DECLARATION, Renewing the Transatlantic Partnership

The Center for Strategic and International Studies 

Europe, the Necessary Partner, William Wallace, [Foreign Affairs](#), May/June 2001

FINAL PAPERS DUE: WEDS APRIL 27, NOON