

Spring 2011

# Trans-Atlantic Relations and World Politics

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**JOHN C. WHITEHEAD SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY AND  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**SETON HALL UNIVERSITY**

**DPL 6422 Trans-Atlantic Relations and World Politics (Spring 2011)**

*“Je t’aime, moi non plus”*

**Thursday 4:00 – 6:10 P.M.  
Fomerand@gmail.com**

**Email:**

**I. Objectives of the course**

The transatlantic relationship between Europe and North America has been one of the most peaceful and durable partnership among states in history. It has also been and remains the bedrock of international relations since the end of World War II. Transatlantic relations initially grew of the fears prompted by the Cold War and focused on security concerns as evidenced by the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which was designed to “keep the Russians out, the Germans down, and the Americans in.” They have all along been shaped (and reshaped) by an ever widening range of security as well as non-security concerns prompted by changes in the tectonics of international relations, an evolving balance of power between the United States and Europe and changing global issues of common but increasingly differentiated interest. Conflict and cooperation have in any case been one of the perennial characteristics of transatlantic relations, the latter appearing increasingly to give way to the former, especially since the end of the Cold War. But as shall be seen, there is considerable disagreement among scholars and practitioners as to whether the divide is deep and structural or is simply attributable to the vagaries of partisan politics and dashing personalities in each camp.

Against this broad stroked background and drawing from lectures, class discussions and intensive readings, the purpose of this course is to provide tentative answers to three interrelated questions about transatlantic relations: one, what is the nature and character of the Atlantic political order? Is it a “pluralistic security community? A cooperative security alliance? A reflection and manifestation of United States hegemony?. A political community? An economic region?...Second: how has that political order functioned and operated over time in dealing with such security, economic and human rights challenges as the Cold War, nuclear proliferation, terrorism, the Palestinian question, Iraq, globalization, trade and investment, climate change, international criminal justice in the context of broader structural change within the global arena? Three: what are the prospects for the future of the Atlantic order?. Are US-European relations likely to become more divisive and conflict ridden to the point of that they might undo the great

“historical bargains” they were built upon? Or will they simply lead to systemic change and adaptation? The course will accordingly be structured into three parts. The first portion of the course will seek to elucidate the historical and theoretical foundations of the Atlantic political order with particular attention to the Atlantic Charter of 1941, the Bretton Woods Agreements of 1944, the United Nations Charter of 1945, the Marshall Plan of 1947, the Atlantic Pact of 1949 and the parallel process of unification and integration of Europe. The second part of the course will assess the determinants of the transformations of the Atlantic political order through an in depth examination of selected case studies. The final part of the course, blending theory and case study lessons, will take stock of the transformations of the Atlantic political order and endeavor to ascertain how it might evolve in the years ahead.

## **II. Requirements of the course:**

### **1. Readings and reading presentations:**

- ▶ Under each topic listed in the syllabus, students will find a “core reading” and “background/optional reading” sections. Core readings include two basic texts:

Geir Lundestad. *The United States and Western Europe Since 1945*. Oxford University Press, 2005.

Jeffrey Anderson, G. John Ikenberry, and Thomas Risse (eds.). *The End of the West? Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Additional documents or articles listed in the syllabus are also required reading as they will be the basis for our class discussions. So-called “background/optional reading (s)” are listed to draw attention to a number of important works in the literature on the subject which students may wish to explore depending on their interests.

- ▶ For those who are fuzzy about the European Union:

John Pinder, *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 1-59. Available on course website.

Karen Smith, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Cambridge: Polity, 2003)

Pascale Fontaine, Europe in 12 lessons, 2007. available at <http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/index.en.htm>

- ▶ For a good general introduction to international politics the following book (onerous) is recommended:

Frieden, Jeffrey A. Lake, David A. and Schultz, Kenneth A. *World Politics. Interests, Interactions, Institutions* (W.W. Norton & Company Inc. New York & London 2010).

- ▶ The success of a course in large part depends on the sustained participation of students. All students are thus expected to attend every class session. Students who may

unavoidably be prevented from attending a particular meeting are asked to notify the instructor in advance. Active participation in class discussions is a requirement. Sessions will be organized around student led presentations of the weekly readings to kick off the discussion. The presentation should briefly summarize the readings (i.e., key arguments, methods, theoretical underpinnings, etc...) and offer a critique/commentary on their strengths and weaknesses. Discussion leaders will be asked to provide one or two discussion questions which will serve as a springboard for the seminar's review of the particular issue under review.

► To keep abreast of the latest developments, students are strongly advised to consult the daily and weekly press on a regular basis including among others, *The New York Times*, *The Financial Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Le Monde*, *The Economist* or the BBC online: [www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk). Students may wish to subscribe to the following free newsletter services which contain useful material on transatlantic and European affairs.

**German Marshall Fund of the United States:** [www.gmfus.org/](http://www.gmfus.org/);

**Center for Transatlantic Relations:** <http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/publications/books.htm>

[www.atlantic-community.org/](http://www.atlantic-community.org/)

**European Union Website Information:** [www.euractiv.com](http://www.euractiv.com)

**Europe's World:** [www.enropesworld.org](http://www.enropesworld.org)

► Additional resources for further information and/or research purposes (periodicals, non-governmental organizations and governmental or inter-governmental organizations) are provided below:

**Useful periodicals:**

Cold War History  
International Affairs  
International Security  
Journal of Cold War Studies  
Journal of Common Market Studies  
Journal of Contemporary History  
Journal of European Integration  
Journal of Transatlantic Studies  
International Affairs  
International Security  
Journal of Cold War Studies  
The National Interest  
Foreign Affairs  
Foreign Policy  
Policy Review  
Survival  
The Washington Quarterly

### Academic institutions and think tanks

Atlantic Council of the United States  
Center for European Reform  
Center for Strategic and international Studies  
Center for Transatlantic Relations  
EU Council on Foreign Relations  
EU Institute for Security Studies  
The European Institute  
European Institute of Public Administration  
Friends of Europe  
Institute for International and European Policy  
Institute for National Strategic Studies  
Institute for Security Studies  
National Defense University  
Transatlantic Economic Council

### Intergovernmental/governmental

NATO	<a href="http://www.nato.int">http://www.nato.int</a>
European Union (main site)	<a href="http://europa.eu/index_en.htm">http://europa.eu/index_en.htm</a>
EU Delegation to US	<a href="http://www.eurunion.org/">http://www.eurunion.org/</a>
Atlantic Community Initiative	<a href="http://www.atlanticcommunity.org">www.atlanticcommunity.org</a>
Atlantische Initiative	<a href="http://www.atlantic-community.org">www.atlantic-community.org</a>
European Union	<a href="http://www.europa.eu">www.europa.eu</a>
Council of Europe	<a href="http://www.coe.int">www.coe.int</a>
European Delegation to the United States:	<a href="http://www.eurunion.org/eu/">http://www.eurunion.org/eu/</a>
United States Mission to the European Union:	<a href="http://www.useu.be/">http://www.useu.be/</a>

### 2. Research paper:

Students will submit a 15 page long written essay on a topic to be agreed to by the instructor. The essay may be either (a) A policy paper with recommendations with respect to some specific issue, for some specific actor (a government, NGO, multinational organization, etc.) OR (b) An exploration paper, an examination of a topic inadequately covered in the course. Further guidelines will be made available.

### 3. Grading policy:

Grades will be determined as follows: policy paper (50%), oral presentations (35%); and class participation (15%).

# SYLLABUS

## January 20: Introduction

### ▶ Students to come prepared to discuss:

▶ The New Transatlantic Agenda (1995)

[http://www.eeas.europa.eu/us/docs/new\\_transatlantic\\_agenda\\_en.pdf](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/us/docs/new_transatlantic_agenda_en.pdf)

### OR either one of

▶ The EU and the world in 2009 European perspectives on the new American foreign policy agenda

<http://www.eurunion.org/eu>

▶ *Fact Sheet on the United States' Relationship with the European Union: An Enduring Partnership* <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2010/11/20/fact-sheet-united-states-relationship-with-european-union-enduring-partn>

### Recommended/Optional:

▶ Tomas Valasek, “What Europe wants from President Obama,” Policy Brief, Center for European Reform, Brussels, November 2008.

[http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/pb\\_obama\\_27nov08.pdf](http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/pb_obama_27nov08.pdf)

Kramer, Steven Philip. “The Absence of Europe: Implications for International Security,” Strategic Forum No. 235, Institute for National Strategic Studies, October 2008.

<http://www.atlanticcommunity.org/Kramer%20on%20Europe.pdf>

▶ Discussion of syllabus, requirements and assignments for the course

## PART ONE: The foundations of the Atlantic political order as a constructed regional interstate system

### January 27: Theoretical underpinnings

#### Core reading :

▶ Lundestad, introduction

- ▶ Anderson et al.: ch.2 (especially pp. 28-42)

**Background/optional reading :**

- ▶ Deutsch, Karl Wolfgang, Sidney A. Burrell, Robert A. Kann, Maurice Lee, Jr., Martin Lichterman, Raymond E. Lindgren, Francis L. Loewenheim, and Richard W. Van Waganen. *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- ▶ Mearsheimer, John, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton, 2001.

**February 3: Historical foundations of the Atlantic political order**

**Core reading :**

- ▶ Lundestad, ch. 1-2
- ▶ Anderson et al.: ch. 1

**Background/optional reading :**

- ▶ Grazia, Victoria de. *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through Twentieth-Century Europe*. Belknap Press, 2005.
- ▶ Hitchcock, William I., *France Restored: Cold War diplomacy and the quest for leadership in Europe*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- ▶ Hogan, Michael, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987.
- ▶ Leffler, Melvyn P, *A preponderance of power: national security, the Truman administration, and the Cold War*. Stanford: Stanford UP.
- ▶ Trachtenberg, Marc. *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945-1963*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

**February 10: Power and Security**

**Core reading**

- ▶ Lundestad, ch. 3-4, 6-9
- ▶ Anderson et al.: Ch. 3-5

**Background/optional reading :**

- ▶ Calleo, David, *The German Problem reconsidered: Germany and the world order, 1870 to the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982.
- ▶ Duchêne, François, *Jean Monnet: The first statesman of interdependence*. New York: Norton, 1994.
- ▶ Gaddis, John Lewis, *The United States and the origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947*. New York: Columbia UP, 2000.
- ▶ Garton Ash, Timothy, *In Europe's name: Germany and the divided continent*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1993,
- ▶ Grosser, Alfred, *The Western Alliance: European-American relations since 1945*. New York: Continuum, 1980.

- ▶ Hitchcock, William I., *The Struggle for Europe: the turbulent history of a divided continent, 1945 to the present*. New York: Anchor Books, 2004.
- ▶ Kaplan, Lawrence A. "The United States and the Origins of NATO," *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 2, April 1969, p. 210-222.
- ▶ Zelikow, Philip and Condoleezza Rice *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft*. Harvard University Press, 1995.

## **February 17: Economic Interests**

### **Core reading**

- ▶ Lundestad, ch. 3-4, 6-9
- ▶ Anderson et al.:6-7

### **Background/optional reading :**

- ▶ Center for Transatlantic Relations. *The Transatlantic Economy* (annual)
- ▶ Vayrynen, Raimo, Interactions of Economics and Politics in Transatlantic Relations  
<http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/partnerships/eu-us-partnership.htm>

## **February 24: Shared values, norms. Perceptions**

### **Core reading**

- ▶ Anderson et al. Ch. :8-11
- ▶ U.S.-EU Summit Declaration of November 3, 2009  
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2009/11/03/us-eu-joint-declaration-and-annexes>

### **Background/optional reading :**

- ▶ Brimmer, Esther, *Seeing Blue: American Visions of the European Union*, EU Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Paper No.105, Paris Sept. 2007.
- ▶ Dorman, Andrew and Joyce Kaufman (eds.). *The Future of Transatlantic Relations: Perceptions, Policy and Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010
- ▶ Hunt, Michael, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1987.
  
- ▶ Kagan, Robert, "Power and Weakness: Why the United States and Europe see the World Differently", Policy review, No. 113, The Hoover Institution, June & July 2002.
- ▶ Kaiser, Karl, "America in the World Today: A European View", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, December 2007, pp. 419-424.
- ▶ Markovits, Andrei S. *Uncouth Nation: Why Europe Dislikes America*. Princeton University Press, 2007.
- ▶ Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness: Why the United States and Europe See the World Differently," *Policy Review*, June/July 2002. Available at <http://www.policyreview.org/JUN02/kagan.html>
- ▶ Ninkovich, Frank, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: US foreign policy and cultural relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981.



- ▶ Nye, Joseph S., *Soft power: the means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.
- ▶ Nye, Joseph S., *The Paradox of American Power: why the world's only superpower can't do it alone*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002.
- ▶ Pells, Richard, *Not Like US: How Europeans have loved, hated and transformed American culture since World War II*. New York: Basic Books, 1997.
- ▶ Rosenberg, Emily, *Spreading the American Dream: American economic and cultural expansion, 1890-1945*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1984.
- ▶ Wagnleitner, Reinhold, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: the cultural mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

## **PART TWO: The Praxis of the Atlantic partnership**

**March 3: NATO at 60** Challenges at the end of the Cold War (with NATO video supplement)

### **Core reading**

- ▶ Sven Biscop et al., What do Europeans want from NATO? Report No. 8 (November 2010). Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2010.  
[http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Report\\_8-What do Europeans want from NATO.pdf](http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Report_8-What_do_Europeans_want_from_NATO.pdf)
- ▶ "Alliance Reborn: An Atlantic Compact for the 21st Century," Washington NATOProject, Atlantic Council of the US/CSIS, February 2009.  
[http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/y/i/nato\\_executive\\_summary\\_final.pdf](http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/y/i/nato_executive_summary_final.pdf)  
[http://csis.org/files/media/isis/pubs/090130\\_nato\\_draft\\_final.pdf](http://csis.org/files/media/isis/pubs/090130_nato_draft_final.pdf)

### **Background/optional reading :**

- ▶ Asmus, Ronald, *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- ▶ Brzezinski, Zbigniew, "An Agenda for NATO," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October, 2009.
- ▶ "Can NATO Survive Afghanistan," *Swords and Ploughshares*, " Bulletin of the Program in Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security, Volume XVI/No. 2, Summer 2008, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Summer 2008.
- ▶ Daalder, Ivo and Goldgeier, James, "Global NATO," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2006, pp. 105-114.
- ▶ Goldgeier, James M. *Not Whether but When: The US. Decision to Enlarge NATO..* Brookings Institution Press, 1999

- ▶ Haftendorn, Helga et al. (eds.), *The strategic triangle: France, Germany, and the United States in the shaping of the new Europe*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2006.
- ▶ Howorth, Jolyon. 2007. *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*
- ▶ Kaplan, Lawrence S., *NATO: The Formative Years*. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1984.
- ▶ Lundestad, Geir . *Just Another Major Crisis: The United States and Europe Since 2000*, Oxford University Press, 2008. .
- ▶ NATO in the 21st Century – The Alliance’s Strategic Concept,” April, 1999.
- ▶ “NATO 2020: Assured Security, Dynamic Engagement“, May 17th 2010.
- ▶ Reiter, Dan “Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy,” *International Security* 25 (Spring 2001), pp. 41-67.
- ▶ Schmidt, Gustav (ed.), *A history of NATO: the first fifty years*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- ▶ Sloan, Stanley R. 2005. *NATO, the European Union and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Challenged*. Rowman and Littlefield.
- ▶ Sloan “Negotiating Article 5”, *NATO Review*, Summer 2006  
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2006/issue2/english/art4.html>
- ▶ Sloan, Stanley “NATO in Afghanistan,” UNISCI Discussion Papers, N° 22, pp 34-55, January 2010.
- ▶ Sloan, “How and why did NATO survive the Bush doctrine,” Report, NATO Defense College Research Division, October 2008.
- ▶ NATO’s new missions: Afghanistan, terrorism and beyond (with NATO video supplement) <http://www.nato.int/multi/2008/080325-terrorism-dvd/vicelo/eng/index.html>

## March 7-12; Spring break

## March 17: Terrorism

### Core reading

- ▶ US-EU Declaration on Combating Terrorism, June 2004  
<http://www.uspollcy.be/Article.asp?ID=9CC663FB-9652-4015-9505-C786EAB89C72>
- ▶ *Sundelius, Bengt, “Beyond Anti-Terrorism: Ensuring Free and Resilient Societies,”*  
[http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/k/a/us-eu\\_book\\_resilience\\_bengt\\_sundelius.pdf](http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/k/a/us-eu_book_resilience_bengt_sundelius.pdf)

### Background/optional reading:

- ▶ Allison, Graham, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* (NY: Henry Holt, 2004).
- ▶ Asmus, Ronald D., *Jeremy Rosner* A New Mission for NATO November 1, 2001  
Blueprint, November/December 2001, Issue 13 German Marshall Fund of the

United States

[http://www.gmf.us.org/news\\_analysis/news\\_article\\_view?newsarticle.id=131](http://www.gmf.us.org/news_analysis/news_article_view?newsarticle.id=131)

► Dworkin, Anthony “Beyond the “War on Terror”: Towards a New Transatlantic

Framework for Counterterrorism,” EU Council on Foreign Relations, May 2009.

[http://ecfr.eu/page/-/documents/ECFR\\_counterterrorism\\_brief.pdf](http://ecfr.eu/page/-/documents/ECFR_counterterrorism_brief.pdf)

► European Union, “The EU, the U.S., and the Fight against Global Terrorism,” *eu focus*, May 2005.

► Freedman, Lawrence (ed.), *Superterrorism: policy responses*. Malden: Blackwell, 2002.

► NATO’s new missions: Afghanistan, terrorism and beyond (with NATO video supplement) <http://www.nato.int/multi/2008/080325-terrorism-dvd/video/eng/index.html>,

► “The National Security Strategy of the United States of America”, May 2010, pp 19-22.

[http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)

► Richard, Anne. *Fighting Terrorist Financing Transatlantic Cooperation and International Institutions*. Center for Transatlantic Relations 2006.

<http://www.brookings.edu/press/Books/2006/fightingterroristfinancing.aspx>

► Shapiro, Jeremy and Byman, Daniel, “Bridging the Transatlantic Counterterrorism

Gap,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 4, Autumn 2006, pp. 33-49.

## **March 24: Iraq**

### **Core reading**

► Duke, Simon. *The Hyperpower and the Hype: Reassessing transatlantic relations in the Iraqi context*. Maastricht: European Institute of Public Administration, 2003

<http://publications.eipa.eu/en/details/&tid=1710>

### **Background/optional reading :**

► Biddle, Stephen et.al. “How to leave a stable Iraq,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2008, pp. 41-58.

► Gordon, Philip H. Jeremy Shapiro. *Allies at War: America, Europe, and the Crisis Over Iraq*. McGraw Hill, 2004.

► Daalder, Ivo, “The End of Atlanticism,” *Survival* 45 (2003), pp. 147-166.

► Haass, Richard N. and Martin Indyk “Beyond Iraq: A new US Strategy for the Middle East,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2009, pp. 41-58.

► Newhouse, John, *Imperial America: the Bush assault on the world order*. New York: Vintage, 2004.

► Hoffmann, Stanley with Frederic Bozo, *Gulliver Unbound: America's Imperial*

*Temptation and the War in Iraq*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.

▶ Hunter, Robert E. "A new American Middle East Strategy?," *Survival*, December

2008/January 2009, pp. 49-66.

▶ Moravcsik, Andrew. "Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2003), pp. 74-89.

▶ de Vasconcelos, Alvaro, "The EU and Iraq," in "Looking into Iraq," Walter Posch

(ed), EU Institute for Security Studies, 2005, pp.87-94.

▶ Szabo, Stephan, "Parting Ways: The Crisis in German-American Relations," (Brookings Institution Press, 2004).

### **March 31: Transatlantic Economic Relations**

#### **Core reading**

▶ The Transatlantic Economy 2010 Annual Survey of Jobs, Trade and Investment between the United States and Europe (Executive Summary)

[http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/q/r/te2010\\_executive\\_summary.pdf](http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/q/r/te2010_executive_summary.pdf)

▶ Altman, Roger C "The Great Crash, 2008: A Geopolitical Setback for the West."

*Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2009, pp. 2-1

▶ Dieter, eribert Global Economic Governance and the Role of the Transatlantic Powers *Business and Politics*, Volume 11, Issue 3 (2009)

▶ U.S.-EU Responses to Globalization – Working Papers Comparing the EU and U.S. Response to the Financial Crisis

[http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/hin/g/i/us-eu\\_book\\_crisis\\_response\\_karel\\_lannoo.pdf](http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/hin/g/i/us-eu_book_crisis_response_karel_lannoo.pdf)

#### **Background/optional reading:**

▶ Daniel Hamilton and Joseph Quinlan *Globalization & Europe: Prospering in the New Whirled Order*. Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2009, 2008, 2007

▶ Eckes, Alfred E. and Thomas W. Zeiler, *Globalization and the American Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.

▶ Ferguson, Niall, *Colossus: the price of America's empire*. New York: Penguin, 2004.

▶ "Framework for Advancing Transatlantic Economic Integration between the European Union and the United States of America," 2007.

- ▶ Gillingham, John, *European integration, 1950-2003: superstate or new market economy?* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004.
- ▶ Milward, Alan S, *The European Rescue of the Nation State*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- ▶ Milward, Alan S, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-1951*. London: Methuen, 1984.
- ▶ Moravcsik, Andrew, *The choice for Europe: social purpose and state power from Messina to Maastricht*. London: UCL Press, 1999.
- ▶ Rosecrance, Richard "Bigger is Better. The Case for a Transatlantic Economic Union," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2010.
- ▶ Salt, Richard "Virtue from Necessity: Why the EU and U.S. should strengthen regulatory cooperation" German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 16, 2009.
- ▶ Schnabel, Rockwell A., *The Next Superpower: The Rise of Europe and Its Challenge to the United States*, Bowman and Littlefield, 2005, pp. 100-145.
- ▶ Transatlantic Economic Council Report to the EU-U.S. Summit 2008.  
<http://merln.ndu.edu/archivepdf/EUR/WH/20080610-4.pdf>

## **April 7: Cooperation for Development**

### **Core reading**

- ▶ Center for Global Development. Commitment to Development Index  
[http://www.cgdev.org/doc/CDI/2010/2010%20files/CDI\\_2010-FINAL-Web.pdf](http://www.cgdev.org/doc/CDI/2010/2010%20files/CDI_2010-FINAL-Web.pdf)
- ▶ Solana, Miguel and Vicente Palacio. *Strengthening EU-US. Policies for Development*  
[http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/c/u/us-eu\\_book\\_development\\_solana\\_palacio.pdf](http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/c/u/us-eu_book_development_solana_palacio.pdf)

### **Background/optional reading :**

## **April 14: Transatlantic approaches to human rights**

### **Core reading**

- ▶ Brimmer, Esther. *The United States, the European Union, and International Human Rights Issues*. Washington: Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2003.  
[http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/s/q/us\\_eu\\_humanrights\\_monograph.pdf](http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/s/q/us_eu_humanrights_monograph.pdf)
- ▶ Melia, Thomas O. *Supporting Democracy Abroad: Transatlantic Cooperation at a Crossroads*  
[http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/a/f/us-eu\\_book\\_democracy\\_thomas\\_melia.pdf](http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/a/f/us-eu_book_democracy_thomas_melia.pdf)

### **Background/optional reading :**

► Brimmer, Esther (ed.), *Defending the Gains? Transatlantic Responses When Democracy is Under Center for Transatlantic relations*, 2007.

[http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/m/l/defending\\_the\\_gains\\_text.pdf](http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/bin/m/l/defending_the_gains_text.pdf)

► Gause, Gregory, "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?" *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2005, pp. 62-76.

► Kopstein, Jeffrey "The Transatlantic Divide over Democracy Promotion" *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2006, pp. 85-98.

► Magen Amichai, Risse, Thomas and McFaul, Michael (eds.), "Promoting Democracy and the Rule of Law," (Palgrave MacMillan 2009), pp. 1-33 and pp. 244-272.

► Price, David "Global Democracy Promotion: Seven Lessons for the new Administration," *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2008/2009, pp. 159-170.

► Diamond, Larry, "The Democratic Rollback," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2008, pp.36-48.

### **April 21-22 University closed**

### **April 28 Climate Change**

#### **Core reading:**

► Svensson, Lisa *Combating Climate Change A Transatlantic Approach to Common Solutions Center for Transatlantic Relations* 2008.

#### **Background/optional reading:**

► Godement, Francois et al, "Climate Policies after Copenhagen", *European Council on Foreign Relations, China Analysis* 27, July 2010.

► McKibben, Bill "Climate Change" *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2009, pp.32-38.

► Ott, Hermann, "Climate Change: An Important Foreign Policy Issue," *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 2, 2001, p. 277-296.

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## **PART THREE: CONCLUSIONS, DRIFTING APART OR GROWING TOGETHER?**

## May 5: The changing tectonics of the Atlantic Political Order

### Core reading

- ▶ *Anderson et al., ch. 12*
- ▶ Lundestad, Ch. 10

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- ▶ Stumbaum, May-Britt. *The European Union and China. Decision-Making in EU Foreign and Security Policy towards the People's Republic of China*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2009.
- ▶ Walt, Stephen, "The Ties that Fray: Why Europe and America are Approaching a Parting of the Ways," *The National Interest* No. 54 (Winter 1998-99).

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