US-EU RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

A MULTIDISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS OF TRANSATLANTIC AFFAIRS

A course to be offered jointly by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and the College of Europe at Bruges, during the fall semester 2017 at Fletcher, by John Shattuck, Fletcher Professor of Practice in Diplomacy, and Fletcher/CoE faculty.

Course theme

Europe and North America have deep common roots. While countries today on both sides of the Atlantic reflect the influence of global culture and migration, a web of historic connections, shared traditions and mutual interests provides the basis for ongoing transatlantic cooperation. This cooperation has been the driving force behind the development of a framework for international order since the end of World War II. The framework is now being challenged as a result of rapidly shifting national and global political, economic and cultural forces. Transatlantic relationships and structures in the 21st century will play a major role in determining the viability of any ongoing or new form of international order.

Course Description

The course will explore the origins of transatlantic cooperation and the creation of common European economic and political structures, notably the European Union (EU), and the development of transatlantic security alliances, particularly the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It will compare constitutional governance in the differing federal systems of the US and the EU, explore centrifugal forces that are testing the sustainability of the EU, and examine the populist and nationalist political movements and neo-authoritarian tendencies that are challenging liberal democracy on both sides of the Atlantic. Areas of economic cooperation and tension will be studied, including the financial crisis, international trade and regulatory affairs, and the negotiation of transatlantic trade and investment partnerships. The course will also take up cooperative and conflicting policies of transatlantic partners in addressing security problems of terrorism, including the relationship of Russia, Ukraine and countries to the east and south with evolving transatlantic security, economic and political structures.
"US-EU Relations in the 21st Century" will be a required course for students enrolled in the new Master of Arts in Transatlantic Affairs (MATA) program offered jointly by the Fletcher School and the College of Europe at Bruges. Five students from the College of Europe and two from Fletcher are enrolled in the inaugural program and will be guaranteed admission to the course. The Bruges students will participate by interactive video. The course will be open to other Fletcher students, and will be capped at 17, including the Bruges students.

The course is designed to introduce students to the substance and dynamics of transatlantic affairs in both the US and the EU. The class will examine institutional structures and the political forces affecting them. Students will debate choices that confront US and European officials in building these structures and responding to these forces. Students will develop an understanding of the dynamics of the issues studied; acquire knowledge of the options considered by decision-makers; be exposed to the political environment and pressures under which policymakers make their decisions; and study the interaction among politics, economics, security, law and culture in shaping transatlantic relations.

The course will be taught by John Shattuck, Professor of Practice in Diplomacy, and other members of the Fletcher and College of Europe faculty. Professor Shattuck will participate in each session, provide overall direction to the course, and, in consultation with colleagues, will be responsible for supervising and grading the students.

Course Requirements and Assessment

During the semester students will prepare four short papers and a longer final paper, and will be expected to attend all class sessions and participate in class discussion. For each class session except the first, half of the students enrolled in the course will be assigned at the beginning of the course to prepare 900-word papers on the topic of that session, briefly analyzing the major themes of the readings and raising three or four questions or issues for possible discussion in class. Papers should be emailed 24 hours before class to the Teaching Assistant of each student’s school -Brice Didier, for students participating from the College of Europe (brice.didier@coleurope.eu) and María Alvarez-Tólcheff (Maria.Alvarez_Tolcheff_Alarco@tufts.edu), for students participating from the Fletcher School, to be forwarded to and assessed by Professor Shattuck and the faculty teaching that session. Students should come to class prepared to discuss the issues raised in their papers. The final
exam will be a 3,000-word essay on a topic to be assigned following the last class session and submitted within a week.

*Students will be graded on the basis of:*

- *class papers (35%),*
- *participation in class discussion (30%),*
- *final exam paper (35%).*

**Readings**

All readings will be available on Canvas.

**Class Sessions**

**Historical Issues**

**Session 1 (September 13 – 8:15-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2.15-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – Course Introduction and Overview; History of the European Project and the Atlantic Alliance. Alan Henrikson and John Shattuck**

**Readings:**


**Questions:**

- Is "the Atlantic world" one community or two (or even more, including, e.g., a British one)?
- Was the Coal and Steel Community (Schuman Plan) more a political project than a program of economic integration? If so, how did this emphasis influence the evolution (function, size, membership, etc.), and perhaps even some of the problems, of the European Union?
What, exactly, was "the Monnet method"? What were its advantages, and the results of its use? Its limitations, possible disadvantages and adverse consequences?

Who were, in Europe and the United States, the leading "Atlanticists" and "Europeanists"? Their differences in outlook and in strategy? Was there cross-Atlantic collaboration between them?

Were there alternatives to the North Atlantic Treaty (Organization)? What were they? Who proposed the alternative ideas? Were these ideas seriously considered? Are they at all relevant in transatlantic security policy today?

Session 2 (September 20 – 8:15-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2.15-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) Foundation of postwar transatlantic relations – Yalta, Marshall Plan. Alan Henrikson and John Shattuck

Readings:

- McFarland, Kelly M., “The Marshall Plan Turns 70 This Week: Here are four reasons it was so important,” Washington Post, June 5, 2017.

Questions:
- How did the US move from prewar isolationism to postwar internationalism?
- What was Roosevelt’s vision of a postwar world order and how did this affect the US negotiating strategy at Yalta?
- What were the issues discussed at Yalta and the results? How were these perceived at the time? After the fact?
- How did postwar US-Soviet relations deteriorate into a “cold war” division of Europe?
- What was the Truman Doctrine? How did it evolve into a “containment” strategy, and what were its short and long-term consequences?
- What were the origins of the Marshall Plan and the revival of Western Europe?
- How did US dominance shape the development of transatlantic relations during the early Cold War?

Legal Issues

Session 3 (September 27, 8:15-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2.15-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – Comparative federalism in the EU and the US; how US and EU legal structures for transatlantic relations work. Michael Glennon and Olivier Costa (College of Europe)

Readings:
- United States Constitution.

**Questions:**

- EU or national policy-makers who engage with government in the United States deal with any of four institutional entities: the Executive Branch, the Congress, the federal courts, or the states (or cities). In each of those four instances, the same question arises: What are the foreign affairs powers of these entities, and what are the limits on those powers? What, specifically, is the effect on those powers and limits of each of the following:
  - The text of the United States Constitution?
  - Applicable judicial doctrine interpreting that text?
  - Relevant historical custom and practice?
  - The functional attributes and capabilities of that entity?

- Why do we say that the EU is not a federation? Is a “federal system” the most suitable model to characterize the EU?
- Why are the main EU competences focused on “non-sovereign” issues?
- Does the rise of Euroscepticism challenge any possibility of an integrated EU policy towards transatlantic relations?
- How do EU and member states competences articulate regarding transatlantic relations?

**Political Issues**

*Session 4 (October 4 – 8:15-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2.15-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – Failed states, human rights wars and the European refugee crisis. Elizabeth Prodromou and John Shattuck*

**Readings:**


Questions:

– What were the causes and manifestations of post-Cold War “forces of disintegration,” such as failed states, ethnic conflict and increased terrorism?
– What has been the impact on Europe and the United States of failed state conflicts (e.g. Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia)?
– What were the costs and benefits of humanitarian intervention and state-building as a response to these conflicts by the transatlantic partners (e.g. Dayton Peace Process)?
– Was there a post-9/11 paradigm shift away from multilateralism toward unilateralism in the US response to the forces of disintegration, and what were the consequences of this shift for US leadership, Middle East stability and transatlantic relations?
– How should we frame the European refugee crisis? What are the migration implications of state fragility and failure in Europe’s southern and eastern neighborhoods?
– How does religion relate to migration flows into Europe? What are the causes and consequences of the securitization of religion in response to increased migration in terms of terrorism, policing and adherence to the rule of law?
– How are mixed migration flows reshaping the human rights regimes of EU member states? What has been the impact of increased migration on democratic governance in Europe?
Session 5 (October 18 – 8:15-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2.15-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – Centrifugal forces and populist-nationalist challenges to liberal democratic governance in Europe and the US. John Shattuck

**Readings:**


**Questions:**

- What is populism? How does it relate to nationalism? Authoritarianism? Liberal democracy?
- Was there a post-1989 “liberal transatlantic order”? If so, what has happened to it?
- How are economic and cultural factors (e.g. financial and migration crises) stimulating populism and challenging liberal democracy?
- What are the models and tactics of “illiberal governance”? 
- How great are the dangers of EU disintegration and democratic deconsolidation?
- Are there sources of resilience for liberal democracy in Europe and the US?
- What are the prospects for rebuilding a liberal transatlantic order?

Economic Issues

Session 6 (October 25 – 8:15-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2.15-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – The financial crisis and its transatlantic effects. George Alogoskoufis

Readings:

- Blinder A. S. (2013) After the Music Stopped: The Financial Crisis, the Response and the Work Ahead, New York, Penguin (Chapters 1 and 16 are required).

Questions:

- How did the US get into the financial crisis and why?
- What were the policy responses to the crisis?
- Were the policy responses to the crisis sensible, coherent and well justified?
- Which were the policy reforms adopted in response to the crisis?
- Were the policy reforms well or poorly designed in order to create a sturdier financial structure?
- How was the financial crisis transmitted across the Atlantic?
- What were the main fault lines of the Euro Area revealed by the financial crisis?
- In what ways did the crisis and the policy responses differ in the Euro Area?
- Are the policy reforms adopted in the Euro Area adequate?
- Is the Euro Area crisis over?
- What were the similarities and differences in the US financial crisis and the Euro Area financial crisis?
Session 7 (November 1 – NOTE TIME CHANGE 9:30-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2.30-5.15 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – US-EU cooperation and competition in international trade and regulatory affairs; Negotiations over the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. Joel Trachtman

Readings:


Questions:

- How does the EU make decisions about international trade relations with “third countries?” Is there a “democracy deficit?”

- How do the EU and US regulatory perspectives or regulatory policies differ? Why do they differ? Would it be attractive to reduce those differences in order to promote free trade? Under what circumstances?

- How does the WTO mediate US-EU trade policy and regulatory policy differences?

- How would the TTIP change the US-EU relationship; how would it change the approach to mediating trade policy and regulatory policy differences? What are the benefits, and what are the risks?

Security Issues

Session 8 (November 8 – 8:15-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2.15-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – Eastern relations: Russia and Ukraine. Chris Miller and Andriy Tyushka (College of Europe)

Readings:

Questions:
- Why did the war in Ukraine begin? What factors have shaped its development since 2014?
- Which parties, if any, have achieved their objectives in Ukraine?
- What other factors obstruct relations between Russia, the U.S. and the E.U.
- To what extent do U.S. and European interests in Ukraine and Russia overlap? In what ways do they diverge?
- How does Russia understand the relationship between the U.S. and the E.U. and between the E.U. and its member states?

Session 9 (November 15 – 8:15-11 am Boston time, Isebe Room, Cabot Hall, 2.15-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – NATO and transatlantic security cooperation. James Stavridis and John Shattuck

Readings:
- Stavridis, ibid., Chapter 14, “NATO: Quo Vadis?”

**Questions:**
- What is the mission of NATO in the 21st century, and what is NATO’s role in transatlantic relations?
- What was the rationale for NATO expansion, and what has been the impact of expansion on transatlantic and geopolitical relations?
- How was the Libya intervention carried out? What were the results? What are the lessons for future NATO operations?
- What is the conceptual framework for addressing the issue of burden-sharing among NATO members?
- What is the relationship between NATO strategic planning, and defense and security planning by the US and the EU?