

DHP D283m

U.S.-European Relations Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall

Dr. Klaus Scharioth, Professor of Practice at the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy
Second half of Spring Semester 2018, first class meets March 27th
Tuesdays and Thursdays, 5:30 to 8:00pm
Location: Crowe Room

Office hours: Wednesdays, 1:00 to 5:00pm
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Office hour sign-up sheets will be posted on Monday mornings outside Mugar 129d.

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Timeline:

The seminar meets 10 times between March 27 and April 26. There is also a required simulation exercise on April 20.

Course description:

The seminar examines U.S.-European relations since a peaceful revolution brought down the Berlin Wall in November 1989. The seminar looks at various common challenges in the period thereafter and how they were dealt with, both from the U.S. and the European perspective: the unification of Germany, the opening of NATO to new members, NATO/Russia, Russia/Ukraine, 9/11 and the threat of violent extremism, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria/ISIS, Iran and nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, the dilemma of security vs privacy, as well as free trade among others. The emphasis is on practical skills rather than theory. Students will practice writing short memos for political leaders and to give short oral presentations.

Please note that this is a laptop-free course.

Instructor:

Klaus Scharioth is Professor of Practice at the Fletcher School and Dean of the Mercator College for International Affairs in Berlin. He was a member of the German Foreign Service for more than 35 years. He witnessed the cases discussed in the seminar while serving in various positions, among them: Director of the Private Office of the NATO Secretary General, Head of the Office of the German Foreign Minister, Political Director of the German Foreign Office, State Secretary (Deputy Foreign Minister), and German Ambassador to the United States. He is also, among other functions, chairman of the

board of the German-Turkish Youth Bridge, a member of the board of directors of the German Atlantic Association, of Humanity In Action, of the Jewish Museum Berlin, of Professional Services International in Washington D.C., and a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations.

Organization:

The course is taught as a seminar. The teaching method will be based primarily on class discussions rather than lectures. Students are required to complete all assigned readings in advance of each seminar session and are expected to take an active part in a substantive discussion of the issues. Attendance is mandatory.

Requirements:

Throughout sessions 2-10, students will be assigned **two short political action memos** for a U.S. or European leader of their choice (3 pages maximum, 1.5 spaced). In addition, students will also be responsible for **two short oral presentations** on the topics discussed during those sessions. The two written memos and the two oral presentations shall all be on four different topics.

The political action memos shall consist of three parts:

1. Brief description of the situation/problem
2. What are the options available?
3. What is the recommended action (or non-action) and why?

The political action memos are due in hardcopy to Professor Scharioth (Mugar 129d) by **no later than 4pm on the Monday of each week of the selected topic**. The one exception being for the topics on March 29, when memos will be due by 4pm on Monday, April 2.

The two oral presentations shall be, in consultation with the TA, one short introduction of the situation/problem discussed during that specific seminar day (Type A Presentation) and one short oral advice intended for a U.S. or European leader (Type B Presentation), along the same lines as described above for political action memos.

- Type A Presentation: *Introduction* shall be between 90 seconds and two minutes in length and will be given at the beginning of the discussion on the selected topic.
- Type B Presentation: *Oral Advice* shall not exceed three minutes and will be given at the conclusion of the topic discussion.

During the **simulation exercise**, the seminar will be divided into small teams of U.S. or European negotiators, discussing one current or strategic issue at a U.S.-European meeting. Each team will present to the other side their analysis of the problem and their recommendations for a common position. Both sides will then try to find out if there is common ground and to what extent. The meeting will conclude with a short joint press conference, where the results are communicated to the public. A single grade will be assigned to each team, to be determined by the quality of the presentation, its persuasiveness, the skill in defending the recommended course of action in the

negotiation with the other side, and in presenting the result in the joint press conference.

Grading:

- Class participation: 20%
- Two political action memos: 40%
- Two oral presentations: 20%
- Simulation exercise: 20%
- There is no final exam.

Course structure and readings:

Session 1 - March 27:

1. Introduction

**The Structure of Transatlantic Relations during the Cold War
Turning Point 1989 – what happened and why**

2. The Two-Plus-Four Process and its Consequences for the European Peace Order

Required Readings:

1. “X,” (George Kennan), “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs* 25, no. 4 (July 1947): 566-582.
2. John W. Young, “Western Europe and the End of the Cold War, 1979–1989,” in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume 3, Endings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 289-310.
3. Michael Cox, “Chapter 4: Transatlantic Relations in the Shadow of the Cold
4. War,” in George Lawson, Chris Armbruster, and Michael Cox, eds., *The Global 1989: Continuity and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 97-111.
5. U.S. Diplomatic Mission to Germany, “Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany, September 12, 1990,” American Foreign Policy Current Documents, 1990, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 1991).
6. Robert B. Zoellick, “Two Plus Four: The Lessons of German Unification,” *The National Interest* 61 (Sept 2000): 17-28.
7. Hanns Jurgen Küsters, “The Kohl-Gorbachev Meetings in Moscow and in the Caucasus, 1990,” *Cold War History* 2, no. 2 (2002): 195-235.
8. Robert D. Blackwill, “German Unification and American Diplomacy,” Unpublished Manuscript, John F. Kennedy School of Government, April 11, 1994.

Optional Readings:

- i. Michael Cox, “Introduction: The Transatlantic Relationship - The Marriage Without End?” *European Political Science* 10, no. 1 (2011), 1.
- ii. Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe*

- Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995). (On reserve at Ginn Library)
- iii. Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994). (On reserve at Ginn Library)
 - iv. Mary Elise Sarotte, *1989*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 1-87.

Session 2 - March 29:

3. **The Transatlantic Debate about European Security and Defense Policy and PESCO**
4. **The Opening of NATO for New Members and the NATO/Russia Founding Act**

Required Readings:

1. Klaus Scharioth, "Making ESDP Strong Will Strengthen NATO and the Transatlantic Partnership," in Esther Brimmer, ed., *The EU's Search for a Strategic Role: ESDP and Its Implications for Transatlantic Relations* (Washington, DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 2002), 165-174.
2. Ronald Asmus, Richard L. Kugler, and Frederick S. Larrabee, "Building A New NATO," *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 4 (Sept/Oct 1993): 28-40.
3. Strobe Talbott, *Why NATO Should Grow*, *The New York Review of Books* 42, no. 13 (Aug 1995): 27.
4. Michael E. Brown, "The Flawed Logic of NATO Expansion," *Survival* 37, no. 1 (March 1995): 34-52.

Optional Readings:

- i. Robert Edwards Hunter, *The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion – or Competitor?* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002).
- ii. Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2012). (On reserve at Ginn Library)
- iii. Dmitri Trenin, "Russia Reborn," *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 6 (Nov/Dec 2009), 64-78.
- iv. Charles A. Kupchan, "NATO's Final Frontier," *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 3 (May/June 2010), 100-112. accessible online at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2010-05-01/natos-final-frontier>

Session 3 – April 3:

5. **Russia/Ukraine: Is Russia Abandoning the Jointly Established European Peace Order?**

1. "Minsk Agreement on Ukraine Crisis: Text in Full." *The Telegraph*, February 12, 2015.
2. Vladimir Putin, "Speech at the Meeting of the Valdai International Discussion Club," October 25, 2014.
3. Michael Rühle, "NATO Enlargement and Russia: Myths and Realities," *NATO Review Magazine* (July 2014): 2.
4. John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 5 (September/October 2014): 77-89.
5. Ivan Krastev and Mark Leonard, "The New European Disorder," European Council on Foreign Relations, November 20, 2014.
6. Hannes Adomeit, "German-Russian Relations: Change of Paradigm vs. Business as Usual," Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Paris: IFRI, February 2015): 1-34.
7. Ivo Daalder, Michele Flournoy, et al., "Preserving Ukraine's Independence, Resisting Russian Aggression: What the United States and NATO Must Do," Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Reports, February 2015.
8. Paul J. Saunders, "How Russia Sees the Ukraine Crisis," *The National Interest*, October 13, 2014.
9. Dmitri Trenin, "2014: Russia's New Military Doctrine Tells It All," Carnegie Moscow Center, December 29, 2014.
10. Henry Kissinger, "To Settle the Ukraine Crisis, Start at the End," *Washington Post*, March 5, 2014.
11. Elizabeth Pond, "Do Not Arm Ukraine," *Chatham House: The World Today* 71, no. 2 (Apr/May 2015): 32-34.
12. Ulrich Speck, "The West's Response to the Ukraine Crisis: A Transatlantic Success Story," *Transatlantic Academy Paper Series*, no. 4 (April 2016), 1-18.
13. Joseph R. Biden Jr., and Michael Carpenter, "How to Stand Up to the Kremlin," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2018, accessible online at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2017-12-05/how-stand-kremlin>
14. Ivo H. Daalder, "Responding to Russia's Resurgence," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2017, accessible online at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2017-10-16/responding-russias-resurgence>

Optional Readings:

- i. Dmitri Trenin, "Russia Reborn," *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 6 (Nov/Dec 2009), 64-78.
- ii. Charles A. Kupchan, "NATO's Final Frontier," *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 3 (May/June 2010), 100-112.
- iii. Anne Applebaum, "How He and His Cronies Stole Russia," *New York Review of Books*, December 18, 2013.
- iv. A. Wess Mitchell, *Why Ukraine Can't Be a 'Buffer State'*, Center for European Policy Analysis <http://cepa.org/index/?id=4851be13cf2335c7f889d389d219fb24>
- v. Ivan Timofeev, "Russia and NATO: A Paradoxical Crisis," *Global Affairs*,

<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/Russia-and-NATO-A-Paradoxical-Crisis-18793>

- vi. Rubin, James, "Building a New Atlantic Alliance - Restoring America's Partnership With Europe", in *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2008

Session 4 – April 5:

6. 9/11 and the Response to Violent Extremism

7. Afghanistan

Required Readings:

1. Jeremy Shapiro and Daniel Byman, "Bridging the Transatlantic Counterterrorism Gap," *The Washington Quarterly* 29, No. 4 (Autumn 2006), 33-49.
2. Anthony Dworkin, "Beyond the 'War on Terror': Towards a New Transatlantic Framework for Counterterrorism," *EU Council on Foreign Relations*, May 2009.
3. Melvyn Leffler, "9/11 in Retrospect: George W. Bush's Grand Strategy, Reconsidered," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 5 (Sept/Oct 2011), 33-44.
4. Lisa Monaco, "Preventing the Next Attack," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2017, accessible online at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2017-10-16/preventing-next-attack>.
5. Dobbins, James, *U.S.-European Cooperation in Afghanistan*, Aspen Atlantic Group, 2009
6. Miller, Paul, *Finish the Job - How the War in Afghanistan Can Be Won*, in *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2011
7. Flanagan, Stephen, Cipoletti, T.J., Tuninetti, Amanda, *Afghanistan: A Stress Test For Transatlantic Security Cooperation in EU-U.S. Security Strategies*, March 1, 2011
8. Kosh Sadat and Stanley McChrystal, "Staying the Course in Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2017, accessible online at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/2017-10-16/staying-course-afghanistan>

Optional Readings:

- i. Scott N. Siegel, "Bearing Their Share of the Burden: Europe in Afghanistan," in *European Security* 18, no. 4 (Winter 2009): 461-468.
- ii. James Dobbins, *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND National Security Research Division, 2007).
- iii. Michael Mandelbaum, *Mission Failure: America and the West in the Cold War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) (On reserve at Ginn)

Session 5 - April 10:

8. The Iraq War

Required Readings:

1. Ronald Asmus, "Rebuilding the Atlantic Alliance," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 20-31.
2. James P. Rubin, "Stumbling Into War," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 46-66.
3. Madeline Albright, "Bridges, Bombs or Bluster?" *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 2-19.
4. Emma Sky, "Mission Still Not Accomplished in Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2017, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2017-10-16/mission-still-not-accomplished-iraq>
5. Peter Beinart, "The Deeply Underdeveloped Worldview of John Bolton," *The Atlantic*, March 29, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/03/john-bolton-iran-nuclear-trump-iraq-war-north-korea/556763/>
6. Karl Zinsmeister, "15 Years Later, Iraq is a Modest Success," *The Wall Street Journal*, April 8, 2018, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/15-years-later-iraq-is-a-modest-success-1523219424>

Optional Readings:

- i. Ali A. Allawi, *The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

Session 6 - April 12:

9. Syria/ISIS

10. Iran

Required Readings:

1. Statement of the International Syria Support Group," Munich, February 12, 2016.
2. Jeffery Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine," *The Atlantic* 317, no. 7 (April 2016): 70-90.
3. "The war in Syria: Rebels on the slide", *The Economist*, January 18, 2018, <https://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21735053-time-bashar-al-assads-side-regime-syria-closing-rebel>
4. "The war in Syria: Into the abyss", *The Economist*, January 25, 2018, <https://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21735604-clash-america-possible-turkeys-offensive-syria-complicates-already>
5. Robert Ford, "Keeping Out of Syria", *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2017, accessible online at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2017-10-16/keeping-out-syria>
6. Greg Bruno, "Backgrounder on Iran's Nuclear Program," *Council on Foreign*

- Relations*, March 10, 2010.
7. U.S. Department of State, "Parameters for a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action Regarding the Islamic Republic of Iran's Nuclear Program," April 2, 2015.
 8. U.S. Department of State, "Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action," July 14, 2015.
 9. William J. Burns, "The Fruits of Diplomacy with Iran," *New York Times*, April 2, 2015.
 10. Henry Kissinger and George Shultz, "The Iran Deal and Its Consequences," *Wall Street Journal*, April 7, 2015.
 11. Cornelius Adebahr, "The Linchpin to the Iran Deal's Future: Europe," *The Washington Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (Winter 2016): 115-131.
 12. Corentin Brustlein, James Dobbins, Dalia Dassa Kaye, Oliver Meier, Marco Overhaus, Neil Quilliam, Charles Ries, Dorothee Schmid, Sanam Vakil, Azadeh Zamirirad, "Saving Transatlantic Cooperation and the Iran Nuclear Deal", A View from Europe and the United States, SWP Comment 2018/C 09, February 2018, 4 pages, accessible online at https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2018C09_zmd_etal.pdf
 13. Ilan Goldenberg and Elizabeth Rosenberg, "How to Save the Iran Nuclear Deal," *Foreign Affairs*, March 13, 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2018-03-13/how-save-iran-nuclear-deal>
 14. "The Iran Nuclear Agreement: Trump Card", *The Economist*, January 18, 2018, <https://www.economist.com/news/united-states/21735070-unfortunately-they-do-not-think-better-one-available-donald-trump-gives-his-european>
 15. "Charlemagne: Torn over Tehran", *The Economist*, January 25, 2018 <https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21735593-crunch-fast-approaching-splits-over-iran-deal-test-europes-bond-america>

Optional Readings:

- i. David Frum, "Bombing Syria Won't Make Paris Safer," *Defense One*, November 20, 2015.
- ii. Stephen Walt, "ISIS as Revolutionary State," *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 6 (November/December 2015): 42-51.
- iii. Daniel Byman, "ISIS Goes Global: Fight the Islamic State by Targeting its Affiliates," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 2 (March/April 2016): 76-85.
- iv. Kori Schake, "Meeting the ISIS Challenge," *The Caravan* 1509, The Hoover Institution, December 10, 2015.
- v. Vitaly Naumkin, "What Exactly is Russia doing in Syria," *Global Affairs*, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/What-exactly-is-Russia-doing-in-Syria-17679>
- vi. Joachim Krause, "Playing With Fire: German foreign policy and Iran's nuclear weapons program," DGAP (German Council on Foreign Relations), January 18, 2012.
- vii. Harnisch, Sebastian, *The Lessons of the EU's Iran Diplomacy*, IP Global, Fall

2007

- viii. Eric Edelman, Andrew Krepinevich, and Evan Braden Montgomery, "The Dangers of a Nuclear Iran: The Limits of Containment," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 1 (January/February 2011): 66-81.

Session 7 – April 17

11. Nuclear Proliferation and Disarmament in General

Required Readings:

1. Sam Nunn, "Memorandum for NATO Group of Experts," *Nuclear Threat Initiative*, February 22, 2010.
2. The White House, "Statement by President Obama on the Release of the Nuclear Posture Review," April 6, 2010.
3. Global Zero, "Global Zero U.S. Nuclear Policy Commission Report," May 16, 2012.
4. European Council on Foreign Relations, "*European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2016*."
5. James Acton, "Russia and Strategic Conventional Weapons," February 3, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2016/02/03/russia-and-strategic-conventional-weapons-pub-62676>
6. Steven Pifer, "Multilateralize the INF Problem," March 21, 2017, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/03/21/multilateralize-the-inf-problem/>
7. Alexey Arbatov, "An Unnoticed Crisis: The End of History for Nuclear Arms Control," June 2015, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_Arbatov2015_n_web_Eng.pdf
8. "Threats to nuclear stability: Not so MAD", *The Economist*, January 25, 2018, <https://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21735475-mutually-assured-destruction-has-served-ultimate-deterrent-how-much>

Optional Readings:

- i. U.S. Department of Defense, *Nuclear Posture Review 2010*.
- ii. Andrew J. Bacevich, "*Prophets and Poseurs: Niebuhr and Our Times*," *World Affairs* 170, no. 3 (Winter 2008): 24-37.
- iii. Joseph Parent and Paul MacDonald, "The Wisdom of Retrenchment: America Must Cut Back to Move Forward," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 6 (November/December 2011): 32-47.
- iv. "Nuclear Disarmament: Move the Base Camp," *The Economist*, June 16, 2011.
- v. Colby Elbridge, "Countering Russian Nuclear Strategy in Central Europe, in *Frontline Allies: War and Change in Central Europe*", The Center for European Policy and Analysis, November 2015, p. 87-101, <http://cepa.org/index/?id=87c7574c5d15873bb3e824068262daa6>

Session 8 – April 19

12. Cyber and the Dilemma of Security vs. Privacy

Required Readings:

1. Annegret Bendiek, “Tests of Partnership: Transatlantic Cooperation in Cyber Security, Internet Governance, and Data Protection,” *Transatlantic Academy Paper Series*, March 2014.
2. Ralph Langner, “Cyber Warfare: Preparing for the Inevitable,” audio file accessible at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v1EcziU_AtY
3. Tyson Barker, “Blown Cover: The NSA and the Unraveling US-EU Intelligence Relationship,” “B|Brief,” Bertelsmann Foundation, July 3, 2013.
4. Matthias Döpfner, “Open Letter to Eric Schmidt,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 27, 2014.
5. “My truth against yours: The power of fake news and undue influence”, *The Economist*, January 25, 2018, <https://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21735479-power-fake-news-and-undue-influence-waging-war-disinformation>
6. Susan Hennessey, “*Deterring Cyberattacks*,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2017, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2017-10-16/deterring-cyberattacks>
7. Tom Wheeler, “Europe Can Lead on Privacy”, *The New York Times*, April 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/01/opinion/europe-privacy-protections.html>
8. Michael Sulmeyer, "How the U.S. Can Play Cyber-Offense," *Foreign Affairs*, March 22, 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2018-03-22/how-us-can-play-cyber-offense?cid=int-lea&pgtype=hpg>
9. GDPR 2018 update, <https://www.eugdpr.org/key-changes.html>

Optional Readings:

- i. Thomas Ruddy, “Regimes Governing the Re-Use of Personal Data in the US and the EU: A Primer on Mass Surveillance and Trade,” *The Transatlantic Colossus*, January 31, 2014.
- ii. Dave Eggers, *The Circle* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf/McSweeney’s Books, 2013). (On reserve at Ginn Library)

Simulation Exercise - April 20:

Brexit

1. The Lisbon Treaty, Article 50, accessible at <http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-European-union-and-comments/title-6-final-provisions/137-article-50.html>
2. Alex Hunt and Brian Wheeler, “Brexit: All you need to know about leaving the EU,” *BBC News*, March 30, 2017.

3. Dan Roberts, "Brexit Fallout: seven ways the Leave vote could damage US interests," *The Guardian*, June 24, 2016.
4. Carole Cadwalladr, "Arron Banks: 'Brexit was a war. We won. There's no turning back now.'" *The Guardian*, April 2, 2016.
5. David Böking, "Brexit Consequences: Things to Do Before the UK Is Out," *Spiegel Online*, March 29, 2017.
6. "Brexit 2016: Policy Analysis from the Center for Economic Performance," Center for Economic Performance, The London School of Economics and Political Science, June 2016.
7. Matthias Matthijs, "Europe After Brexit: A Less Perfect Union," *Foreign Affairs* 96, no. 1 (January/February 2017), 85-95.
- Optional 1: Michael Wilkinson and Robert Midgley, "What is Article 50? The only explanation you need to read," *The Telegraph*, March 31, 2017.

China

1. Francois Godement, "Europe's Trump-China Dilemma," European Council on Foreign Relations, "Commentary," January 31, 2017.
2. Graham Webster, "A False Start for Trump and Xi," *Foreign Affairs "Snapshot,"* April 10, 2017.
3. Eric X. Li, "America Can Be First Without China Being Last," *Foreign Affairs "Snapshot,"* April 6, 2017.
4. European Council on Foreign Relations, European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2016, pp. 9-20.
5. European Council on Foreign Relations, European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2016, 126-130.
6. Hillary Clinton, "America's Pacific Century," *Foreign Policy*, October 11, 2011.
7. Phillip Saunders, "China's Rising Power, the U.S. Rebalance to Asia, and Implications for U.S.-China relations," *Issues & Studies* 50, no. 3 (September 2014): 19-55.
8. Jonathan Pollack and Philippe Le Corre, "Why China goes to Europe," Brookings Institution, July 29, 2015.
9. Reuben Wong, "Chapter 5: An Anatomy of European and American Perspectives on China in the International System," in Roland Vogt, ed., *Europe and China: Strategic Partners or Rivals* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 95-112.
10. David Shambaugh, "China and Europe: The Emerging Axis," *Current History* (September 2004), 243-248.

Refugee Crisis/Mass Migration

1. "European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2016," European Council on Foreign Relations, pp. 9-20, 24-36.
2. Natalia Banulescu-Bogdan and Susan Fratzke, "Europe's Migration Crisis in

- Context: Why Now and What Next?" Migration Policy Institute, September 24, 2015.
3. Kenneth Pollack, "U.S. Policy toward a Turbulent Middle East," Testimony before the United States Senate Armed Services Committee, about U.S. Policy toward the Middle East, Brookings Institution, March 2015.
 4. Judy Batt, "Failing States and the EU's Security Agenda," EU Institute for Security Studies, November 8, 2004.
 5. Judy Batt and Dov Lynch, "What is a 'Failing State,' and when is it a Security Threat?" EU Institute for Security Studies, November 2004.
 6. Megan Greene and Daniel Kelemen, "Europe's Lousy Deal with Turkey," *Foreign Affairs* "Snapshot," March 29, 2016.
 7. Alexander Betts and Paul Collier, "Help Refugees Help Themselves: Let Displaced Syrians Join the Labor Market," *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 6 (November/December 2015), 84-92.
 8. Robert Rotberg, "Failed States in a World of Terror," *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 4 (July/August 2002), 127-140.
 9. Daniel Korski and Richard Gowan, "Can the EU Rebuild Failed States? A Review of Europe's Civilian Capacities," European Council on Foreign Relations, October 2009.
 10. European Council on Foreign Relations, "European Responses to the Refugee Crisis," (links to multiple papers and commentaries).
 11. Jacob Poushter, "European Opinions of the Refugee Crisis in 5 Charts," Pew Research Center, September 16, 2016.
 12. Michael Ignatieff, Juliette Keely, Betsy Ribble, and Keith McCannon, "The United States and the European Refugee Crisis: Standing with Allies," Harvard Kennedy School Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy, May 4, 2016.
 13. Max Abrams, Denis Sullivan, and Charles Simson, "Five Myths about Syrian Refugees: Separating Fact from Fiction," *Foreign Affairs* "Snapshot," March 22, 2017.
 14. James Traub, "Europe Wishes to Inform You that the Refugee Crisis is Over: But the Humanitarian and Political Crises of the Great Syrian Exodus are Just Beginning," *Foreign Policy*, October 18, 2016.
 15. Fareed Zakaria, "How Long Will America Ignore Syria's Suffering?" *Washington Post*, June 2, 2016.
 16. Pricilla Alvarez, "What Should the U.S. Do About Refugee Resettlement?" *The Atlantic*, March 29, 2016.

Covert Foreign Interference in Elections and Public Opinion

1. Internet Research Agency Indictment
2. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Putin's Asymmetric Assault on Democracy in Russia and Europe: Implications for U.S. National Security," January 10, 2018 GDPR 2018, p. IV-6,
<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/FinalRR.pdf>
3. U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, testimony by Constanze

- Stelzenmüller, <https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-impact-of-russian-interference-on-germanys-2017-elections/>
4. Senate Testimony: Russian Interference in European Elections, Amb. Nicholas Burns, <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/senate-testimony-russian-interference-european-elections>
 5. Mike Rogers and Rick Ledgett, “Four steps to fight foreign interference in U.S. elections,” *The Washington Post*, February 14, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/four-steps-to-fight-foreign-interference-in-us-elections/2018/02/14/fb99b7a0-11c1-11e8-8ea1-c1d91fcec3fe_story.html?utm_term=.9688f5cd565d
 6. Stefan Meister, “Isolation and Propaganda: The Roots and Instruments of Russia’s Disinformation Campaign,” The German Marshall Fund of the United States, April 15, 2016
 7. Eric Lipton, David Sanger, and Scott Shane, “The Perfect Weapon: How Russian Cyberpower Invaded the U.S.,” *The New York Times*, December 13, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/13/us/politics/russia-hack-election-dnc.html>
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13. TTIP, Free Trade and the Future of the WTO

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- ii. Tyson Barker, *For Transatlantic Trade, This Time Is Different*, in *Foreign Affairs*, February 26, 2013
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- v. Mona Vom Endt, "Is TAFTA|TTIP a Race to the Bottom in regulatory Standards? The Case of Hormone-Treated Beef," December 2013
- vi. Daniel Hamilton, *Forging a Transatlantic Partnership for the 21st Century*, Cornerstone Project Working Paper, November 2011

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14. The Future of the Transatlantic Relationship after the Brexit Referendum and the US Elections of 2016

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