

US-EU RELATIONS IN THE 21st CENTURY

A MULTIDISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS OF TRANSATLANTIC AFFAIRS

A course offered jointly by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and the College of Europe during the fall semester 2018 by John Shattuck, Fletcher Professor of Practice in Diplomacy, and Fletcher/CoE faculty.

Course theme

Europe and North America have deep common roots. Countries today on both sides of the Atlantic reflect a web of historic connections, shared traditions and mutual interests that have provided a basis for 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 – and some would even say dismantled – as a result of rapidly shifting national and global political, economic and cultural forces. The evolution of transatlantic relationships and structures in the 21st century is likely to shape ongoing or new forms of international order and disorder.

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, 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 Master of Arts in Transatlantic Affairs program offered jointly by the Fletcher School

and the College of Europe. Students in the MATA program will be guaranteed admission to the course. The students at the College of Europe (Bruges and Natolin campuses) will participate by interactive video. The course will be open to other Fletcher students, and will be capped at 17, including the College of Europe 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 the students enrolled in the course will be assigned to draft 900-word papers on the topic of that session. Each student's paper should (1) analyze one or more issues arising from the readings for that session, and (2) prepare responses to the questions in the syllabus assigned to that student. Students should come to class prepared to discuss the issues and questions addressed by their papers.
- Papers should be emailed before 12 noon of the Monday before class to the Teaching Assistant of each student's school -- _____, for students participating from the College of Europe (email address), and Nurik Eldosov (nurmukhamed.eldosov@tufts.edu) for Fletcher students – who will forward them to Professor Shattuck and the faculty co-teaching that session. The papers will be reviewed by Professor Shattuck and returned in class with his written comments.
- Professor Shattuck will be available to meet with students individually during office hours to discuss the papers and his comments, as well as other issues or questions students may have.
- The final exam will be a 3,000-word essay on a topic to be assigned at the end of the final class session and submitted within a week thereafter.
- *In accordance with federal and state law, Tufts University provides reasonable accommodations to students with documented disabilities. If you believe you*

require an accommodation, email accessibility@tufts.edu or Catherine.Flynn@tufts.edu.

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 12 – 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:

- Monnet, Jean, *Memoirs*, Chapter 12, “A Bold Constructive Act (1949-50)” (1978);

Monnet, Jean, *Mémoires*, XII, “Une action profonde, réelle, immédiate...” (1976).

- Henrikson, Alan, “Historical Forms of US-European Cooperation: Combination or ‘Only’ Coordination?,” *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 21, no. 3 (August 2016), pp. 329-356.
- Henrikson, Alan, “The Creation of the North Atlantic Alliance,” *Naval War College Review*, 32, no.3 (May-June 1980), pp. 296-323.

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 19 – 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:

- "The Yalta Conference, February 1945," A Decade of American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1941-49. Prepared at the request of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.
- DeParle, Jason, "The Bitter Legacy of Yalta: Four Decades of What-if's," The New York Times, November 26, 1989.
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew, "The Future of Yalta," *Foreign Affairs*, 63, No. 2, winter, 1984, pp. 279-302.
- Truman Speech to a Joint Session of Congress, 1947.
- Gaddis, John Lewis, "Reconsiderations: Was the Truman Doctrine a Real Turning Point?," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 52, No. 2, January 1974, pp. 386-402.
- Marshall, George C., Speech at Harvard Commencement, June 5, 1947.
- Truman, Harry S., "Special Message to Congress on the Marshall Plan," December 19, 1947, online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*.
- McFarland, Kelly M., "The Marshall Plan Turns 70 This Week: Here are four reasons it was so important," *Washington Post*, June 5, 2017.
- Steil, Benn, "The Marshall Plan and 'America First'," *Project Syndicate*, August 4, 2017.

Optional/supplementary reading:

- Frazier, Robert, "Kennan, 'Universalism,' and the Truman Doctrine," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 11, Issue 2, spring 2009, pp. 3-34.
- Schake, Kori, "The Trump Doctrine is Winning and the World is Losing," *New York Times*, June 15, 2018.

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 Cold War?

Legal Issues

Session 3 (September 26, 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) with John Shattuck*

Readings:

- Glennon, Michael J. and Sloane, Robert D., *Foreign Affairs Federalism: The Myth of National Exclusivity* (2016), pp. 1-76; 147-160.
- Murphy, Sean, *Principles of International Law* (West, 2nd ed., 2012), pp. 223-253.
- United States Constitution.
- Auer, Andreas, 'The Constitutional Scheme of Federalism', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 12, no. 3, 2005, pp. 419-31.
- Olivier Costa et Paul Magnette, "The European Union as a consociation? A methodological assessment," *West European Politics*, vol. 26, no. 3, July 2003, p. 1-18.
- Benson, David, and Andrew Jordan, "Exploring the Tool-kit of European Integration Theory: What Role for Cooperative Federalism?," *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2011, pp. 1-17.
- Genschel, Philipp and Jachtenfuchs, Markus, "More integration, less federation: The European integration of core state powers," *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 23, 2016, Issue 1, pages 42-59.

Optional/supplementary reading:

- Müller, P. (2016), "EU foreign policy: no major breakthrough despite multiple crises," *Journal of European integration*, 38(3), 359-374.

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 3 – 8:15-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2:15-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – Post-Cold War forces of disintegration, failed states, human rights wars and the European refugee crisis. John Shattuck and Elizabeth Prodromou

Readings:

- Shattuck, John, *Freedom on Fire: Human Rights Wars* (Harvard University Press 2003), Introduction, pp. 1-21.
- Holbrooke, Richard, “America, Europe and Bosnia,” in *To End a War* (New York 1999), pp. 358-369.
- Valentino, Benjamin. “True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention: The Hard Truth About a Noble Notion.” *Foreign Affairs*. November/December 2011. pp. 60-73.
- Lynch, Marc, “Obama and the Middle East,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2015, pp. 18-27.
- Greene, Meghan and Keleman, R. Daniel, “Europe’s Failed Refugee Policy,” *Foreign Affairs*, June 2016.
- Betts, Alexander, “State Fragility, Refugee Status and ‘Survival Migration’,” *States of Fragility* (May 2013), pp. 4-6.

- Mazzucelli, Colette, Visvizi, Anna, and Bee, Ronald, "Secular States in a 'Security Community': The Migration-Terrorism Nexus?," *Journal of Strategic Security*, Vol. 9., No. 3 (2016), pp. 15-27.
- Nianias, Helen, "Lessons from Kosovo?," IRIN (March 2, 2018), <https://www.irinnews.org/feature/2018/03/02/lessons-kosovo-how-european-hotbed-islamist-extremism-deals-returning-fighters>
- Erin K. Wilson and Luca Mavelli, "The Refugee Crisis and Religion: Beyond Conceptual and Physical Boundaries," in *The Refugee Crisis and Religion*, Luca Mavelli and Erin K. Wilson, eds.

Optional/supplementary reading:

- Mazarr, Michael, "The Rise and Fall of the Failed State Paradigm," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2014, pp. 113-121.
- Schumacher, Tobias, "The European Neighbourhood Policy: The Challenge of Demarcating a Complex and Contested Field of Study," by Tobias Schumacher, in *The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy*, eds. Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti and Thomas Demmelhuber.

Questions:

- What were the drivers of the post-Cold War "forces of disintegration," manifested by failed states, ethnic conflict, increased refugee and migration flows, and terrorism?
- What was the impact on Europe and the United States of early post-Cold War failed state conflicts (e.g. Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia)?
- What were the costs and benefits of humanitarian intervention and state-building by the transatlantic partners in response to these conflicts (e.g. Bosnia versus Libya)?
- What were the consequences for transatlantic relations of the post-9/11 shift away from multilateralism toward unilateralism in the US response to the forces of disintegration?
- 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?
- What has been the impact of increased migration on democratic governance in Europe?

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Session 5 (October 17 – 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 and Simon Schunz (CoE)*

Readings:

- Krastev, Ivan, “The Unraveling of the Post-1989 Order,” *Journal of Democracy*, October 2016, pp. 5-15.
- Mudde, Cas, “Europe’s Populist Surge,” *Foreign Affairs*, October 2016.
- Rohac, Dalibor; Kennedy, Liz; Singh, Vikram, “Drivers of Authoritarian Populism in the United States: A Primer”, Center for American Progress and American Enterprise Institute (May 2018), <http://www.aei.org/publication/drivers-of-authoritarian-populism-in-the-united-states-a-primer/>.
- Inglehart, Ronald F., “The Age of Insecurity: Can Democracy Save Itself?”, *Foreign Affairs*, May-June 2018, pp 20-28.
- Greco, Ettore, “A Union at Risk: The Future of the European Project,” *Council of Councils, Council on Foreign Relations*, June 2017.
- Baier, Lili and Andrew Gray, “Brussels unveils battle plan to hit ‘illiberal democracies’”, *Politico*, May 2, 2018, Available at: <https://www.politico.eu/article/mff-commission-eu-budget-proposal-brussels-looks-to-link-eu-payouts-to-justice-standards/>
- Orbán, Viktor, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the 25th Bálványos Summer Free University and Student Camp, Tusnádfürdő (Băile Tuşnad), Romania, 26 July 2014. Available at: <http://www.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-speech-at-the-25th-balvanyos-summer-free-university-and-student-camp>.
- Shattuck, John, “Democracy and Illiberal Governance in Hungary and the U.S.,” *The American Prospect*, August 2017.
- Hobolt, Sara, “The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 23, no. 9, 2016, pp. 1259-1277.

Optional/supplementary reading:

- Hochschild, Arlie, *Strangers in Their Own Land* (The New Press 2016), Chapter 9, pp. 135-151.
- Shattuck, John, “How Democracy in America Can Survive Donald Trump”, *The American Prospect* (February 2018), <http://prospect.org/article/how-democracy-america-can-survive-donald-trump>.

Questions:

- Was there a post-1989 “liberal transatlantic order”? If so, what has happened to it?
- What is populism? How does it relate to nationalism? Authoritarianism? Liberal democracy?

- What are the roots of contemporary populism: how are socioeconomic and cultural factors (e.g. inequalities, financial and migration crises) stimulating challenges to liberal democracy?
- What are the models and tactics of “illiberal governance”?
- How great are the dangers of EU disintegration and democratic deconsolidation?
- What are sources of potential resilience for liberal democracy in the US and Europe? In other words, which actors can and should respond in which ways to anti-democratic tendencies?
- What are the prospects for rebuilding a liberal transatlantic order?

Economic Issues

Session 6 (October 24 – 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 and Michele Chang (CoE) with John Shattuck*

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).
- Baldwin R. and Giavazzi F. (2015), *The Eurozone Crisis: A Consensus View of the Causes and Some Possible Solutions*, London, CEPR.
- Baldwin R. and Giavazzi F. (2016), *How to Fix Europe’s Monetary Union: Views of Leading Economists*, London, CEPR.

Questions:

- How did the US get into the financial crisis and why?
- What were the policy responses to the crisis?
- Were the policy responses sensible, coherent and well justified, and were the reforms designed 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, and were the reforms adequate?
- What were the similarities and differences between the US financial crisis and the Euro Area financial crisis?

Session 7 (OCTOBER 31 – 8:15-11 am Boston time, *Isobe Room, Cabot Hall*;
NOTE TIME CHANGE: 1:15-4 pm Bruges time, videoconference) -- US-EU
cooperation and competition in international trade and regulatory affairs;
Negotiations over the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. Sieglinde
Gstöhl (CoE) and John Shattuck

Readings:

- Gstöhl, Sieglinde & Dirk De Bièvre, *The Trade Policy of the European Union*, London, Palgrave, 2018, pp. 47-64 (83) (“Actors and Processes in EU Trade Policy”).
- Lima-Campos, Aluisio & Juan Gaviria, *Introduction to Trade Policy*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2018, pp. 29-42 (“The U.S. Trade Policy System”).
- Takács, Tamara, “Transatlantic Regulatory Cooperation in Trade: Objectives, Challenges and Instruments for Economic Governance”, in Fahey, Elaine & Deirdre Curtin (eds), *A Transatlantic Community of Law: Legal Perspectives on the Relationship between the EU and US Legal Orders*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 158-185.
- Perišin, Tamara, “Transatlantic Trade Disputes on Health, Environmental and Animal Welfare Standards: Background to Regulatory Divergence and Possible Solutions”, *Croatian Yearbook of European Law & Policy*, vol. 10, Zagreb, University of Zagreb, 2014, pp. 249-268.
- Young, Alasdair R., “Not Your Parents’ Trade Politics: The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Negotiations”, *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 21, no. 3, 2016, pp. 345-378.
- <https://ustr.gov> and <http://ec.europa.eu/trade>

Questions:

- Who are the relevant actors in US and EU trade policy-making? What are the main differences and similarities between the two systems?
- To what extent and in what areas has transatlantic regulatory cooperation successfully developed?
- How and why do the EU and US regulatory approaches differ in general, and in specific areas such as environmental regulation?
- How does the World Trade Organization mediate US-EU trade disputes?
- Why have the EU and the US been negotiating a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)?
- What would be the benefits and the challenges of TTIP?
- Why have negotiations stalled, and what are the future prospects?

Security Issues

Session 8 (November 7 – 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) with John Shattuck*

Readings:

- Putin, Speech to the Munich Security Conference, 2007.
- Putin, Speech on Crimea, March 18, 2014.
- Putin, Speech to the Valdai Discussion Club, October 24, 2014.
- Putin, Speech to the United Nations 2015.
- Speck, Ulrich, “The West’s Response to the Ukraine Conflict: A Transatlantic Success Story,” *Transatlantic Academy*, 2015-16 Paper Series, no. 4.
- Moravcsik, Andrew, “Lessons from Ukraine: Why a Europe-led Geo-economic Strategy is Succeeding,” *Transatlantic Academy*, 2015-16 Paper Series, no. 10
- Lukyanov, Fyodor, “The Spirit of the Cold War is Back as NATO Confronts Russia,” *The Huffington Post*, 15 July 2016.
- Karaganov, Sergei, “New Ideological Struggle?,” 21 April 2016.

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 14 – 8:15-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2:15-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – NATO, transatlantic security and the future of transatlantic cooperation. *John Shattuck and TBA*

Readings:

- Stavridis, James G., *The Accidental Admiral : A Sailor Takes Command at NATO*,
- Chapter 14, “NATO: Quo Vadis?”
- Mattelaer, Alexander, “Revisiting the Principles of NATO Burden-Sharing,” *The US Army War College Parameters*, Volume 46, N° 1, Spring 2016
- Bugajski, Janusz, “Only NATO Can Defend Europe,” *Center for European Policy Analysis*, March 2016.
- Slavin, Barbara, “The Dangerous Consequences of US Withdrawal from the Iran Nuclear Deal”, *The Atlantic Council*, May 2018.

- Brustlein, Corentin, et al, "Saving Transatlantic Cooperation and the Iran Nuclear Deal", German Institute for International Security Affairs, February 2018.
- Wallender, Celeste A., "NATO's Enemies Within: How Democratic Decline Could Destroy the Alliance," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2018, pp. 70-81.
- Sargent, Daniel J. "Pax Americana: Sketches for an Undiplomatic History", *American Historical Association*, January 2018.
- Deudney, Daniel and Ikenberry, G. John, "Liberal World: The Resilient Order," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2018, pp. 16-24.

Supplementary/optional reading:

- Daalder, Ivo H. and Stavridis, James G., "NATO's Victory in Libya: The Right Way to Run an Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, March 2012.
- Bellamy, Alex J, "Libya and the Responsibility to Protect: The Exception and the Norm," *Ethics & International Affairs*, 25 No. 3, 2011, pp. 263-269.

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 should a conceptual framework be developed to address 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?
- What impact have President Trump's decisions to end the US commitment to the Iran nuclear agreement and to propose new NATO burden-sharing goals had on the transatlantic security structure?
- What factors have contributed to the creation and degeneration of a "Pax Americana"?
- What is the likely future of transatlantic and security cooperation?