

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 26th, last class April 25th)
Tuesdays and Thursdays, 5:30 to 8:00pm
Location: Crowe Room

Office hours: TBC
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Office hour sign-up sheets will be posted on Monday mornings outside Mugar 129d.

Teaching Assistant

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Timeline

The seminar meets 10 times between March 26th and April 25th, including a mandatory simulation exercise (date TBC).

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, and German Ambassador to the United States. He is also, among other functions, a member of the board of directors of the German Atlantic Association, Humanity and Inaction, of the Jewish Museum Berlin, of

Professional Services International in Washington D.C., and a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations.

Organization & Structure

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 only exception is for memos focusing on the topics to be covered in class on 28th, which will be due by 4pm on Monday, April 1st.

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 discover 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.

Accommodation for Disability

In accordance with federal and state law, Tufts University provides for reasonable accommodation to students with documented disabilities. Student Accessibility Services <http://students.tufts.edu/student-accessibility-services> provides resources for students, faculty and staff, including information on policies and procedures and forms for reporting barriers to access. If you believe you require an accommodation, e-mail accessibility@tufts.edu or Catherine.Flynn@tufts.edu.

Course structure and readings:

Note: below is an overview of the readings from last year – an updated syllabus will be posted as soon as it becomes available. Most of the readings will remain the same. Note also that the dates and topics of the mandatory negotiation simulation have yet to be confirmed.

Session 1 – Tuesday March 26th

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 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 – Thursday March 28th

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 – Tuesday April 2nd

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

6. 9/11 and the Response to the Threat of Violent Extremism

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>
15. Jeremy Shapiro and Daniel Byman, “Bridging the Transatlantic Counterterrorism Gap,” *The Washington Quarterly* 29, No. 4 (Autumn 2006), 33-49.
16. Anthony Dworkin, “Beyond the ‘War on Terror’: Towards a New Transatlantic Framework for Counterterrorism,” *EU Council on Foreign Relations*, May 2009.
17. Melvyn Leffler, “9/11 in Retrospect: George W. Bush’s Grand Strategy, Reconsidered,” *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 5 (Sept/Oct 2011), 33-44.

18. 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>.

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/Jun 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 – Thursday April 4th

7. 9/11 continued

8. Afghanistan

Required Readings:

1. Dobbins, James, *U.S.-European Cooperation in Afghanistan*, Aspen Atlantic Group, 2009
2. Miller, Paul, *Finish the Job - How the War in Afghanistan Can Be Won*, in *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2011
3. Flanagan, Stephen, Cipoletti, T.J., Tuninetti, Amanda, *Afghanistan: A Stress Test For Transatlantic Security Cooperation in EU-U.S. Security Strategies*, March 1, 2011
4. 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).

Session 5 – Tuesday April 9th

9. The Iraq War

10. Syria and the Challenge of ISIS/ISIL

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. “Statement of the International Syria Support Group,” Munich, February 12, 2016.
5. Jeffery Goldberg, “The Obama Doctrine,” *The Atlantic* 317, no. 7 (April 2016): 70-90.
6. “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>
7. “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>
8. 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>

Optional Readings:

- i. Ali A. Allawi, *The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
- ii. David Frum, “Bombing Syria Won’t Make Paris Safer,” *Defense One*, November 20, 2015.
- iii. Stephen Walt, “ISIS as Revolutionary State,” *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 6 (November/December 2015): 42-51.
- iv. Daniel Byman, “ISIS Goes Global: Fight the Islamic State by Targeting its Affiliates,” *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 2 (March/April 2016): 76-85.
- v. Kori Schake, “Meeting the ISIS Challenge,” *The Caravan* 1509, The Hoover Institution, December 10, 2015.
- vi. Vitaly Naumkin, “What Exactly is Russia doing in Syria,” *Global Affairs*, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/What-exactly-is-Russia-doing-in-Syria-17679>

Session 6 – Thursday April 11th

11. Iran

12. Nuclear Proliferation and Disarmament in General

Required Readings:

1. Greg Bruno, “Backgrounder on Iran’s Nuclear Program,” *Council on Foreign*

- Relations*, March 10, 2010.
2. 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.
 3. U.S. Department of State, "Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action," July 14, 2015.
 4. William J. Burns, "The Fruits of Diplomacy with Iran," *New York Times*, April 2, 2015.
 5. Henry Kissinger and George Shultz, "The Iran Deal and Its Consequences," *Wall Street Journal*, April 7, 2015.
 6. Cornelius Adebahr, "The Linchpin to the Iran Deal's Future: Europe," *The Washington Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (Winter 2016): 115-131.
 7. 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
 8. 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>
 9. "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>
 10. "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>
 11. Sam Nunn, "Memorandum for NATO Group of Experts," *Nuclear Threat Initiative*, February 22, 2010.
 12. The White House, "Statement by President Obama on the Release of the Nuclear Posture Review," April 6, 2010.
 13. Global Zero, "Global Zero U.S. Nuclear Policy Commission Report," May 16, 2012.
 14. European Council on Foreign Relations, "*European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2016*."
 15. James Acton, "Russia and Strategic Conventional Weapons," February 3, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2016/02/03/russia-and-strategic-conventional-weapons-pub-62676>
 16. Steven Pifer, "Multilateralize the INF Problem," March 21, 2017, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/03/21/multilateralize-the-inf-problem/>
 17. 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
 18. "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. Joachim Krause, "Playing With Fire: German foreign policy and Iran's nuclear weapons program," DGAP (German Council on Foreign Relations), January 18, 2012.
- ii. Andrew J. Bacevich, "Prophets and Poseurs: Niebuhr and Our Times," *World Affairs* 170, no. 3 (Winter 2008): 24-37.
- iii. U.S. Department of Defense, *Nuclear Posture Review 2010*.
- iv. Harnisch, Sebastian, *The Lessons of the EU's Iran Diplomacy*, *IP Global*, Fall 2007
- v. 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.
- vi. 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.
- vii. "Nuclear Disarmament: Move the Base Camp," *The Economist*, June 16, 2011.
- viii. 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 7 – Tuesday April 16th

Simulation Exercise (tentative)

Session 8 – Thursday April 18th

Simulation Exercise (tentative)

Session 9 – Tuesday April 23rd

13. Cyber and the Dilemma of Security vs. Privacy

14. TTIP, Free Trade and the Future of the WTO

Required Readings:

1. Anngret 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->

Syllabus: Spring 2019 (*note: parts of reading list will be revised*)

- [disinformation](#)
6. Susan Hennessey, “*Deterring Cyberattacks*,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2017, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2017-10-16/deterring-cyberattacks>
 7. Stephan Richter, “How Trump's Trade Policy resurrects COMECON,” <https://www.theglobalist.com/united-states-donald-trump-trade-policy/>
 8. Agnieszka Gehringer, “Protectionism is Back on the US Policy Agenda,” https://www.salon.com/2018/03/12/protectionism-is-back-on-the-u-s-policy-agenda_partner/
 9. “Final Report,” U.S.-European Union High Level Working Group on Jobs and Growth, February 11, 2013.
 10. Council of the European Union, “Directives for the negotiation on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership between the European Union and the United States of America,” Brussels, June 17, 2013, declassified October 9, 2014.
 11. “At Issue Interview: Dr. Klaus Scharioth,” American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, March 4, 2013.
 12. Peter Sparding, “Germany’s Pivotal Role on the Way to TTIP,” Policy Paper, German Marshall Fund, November 23, 2014.
 13. Jackson Janes and Tilman Krueger, “Boring Hard Boards: Negotiating the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership,” American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Johns Hopkins University, May 29, 2013.
 14. Michael Froman, “The Strategic Logic of Trade: New Rules of the Road for the Global Market,” *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 6 (November/December 2014): 111-V.
 15. Miriam Sapiro, “The Geopolitical Impact of TTIP: A Transatlantic Fortress or an Open Platform?” IAI Working Papers 15|10, Istituto Affari Internazionali, May 2015.

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)
- iii. Vasilis Trigkas, “The Strategic Implications of TAFTA|TTIP: Will it Engage or Contain China?” December 2013
- iv. Tyson Barker, *For Transatlantic Trade, This Time Is Different*, in *Foreign Affairs*, February 26, 2013
- v. European Council on Foreign Relations, *European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2016*, p. 117.
- vi. Simon Lester, “Tackling Regulatory Trade Barriers in the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership,” December 2013
- vii. Mona Vom Endt, “Is TAFTA|TTIP a Race to the Bottom in regulatory Standards? The Case of Hormone-Treated Beef,” December 2013
- viii. Daniel Hamilton, *Forging a Transatlantic Partnership for the 21st Century*, Cornerstone Project Working Paper, November 2011

Session 10 – Thursday April 25th

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

Required Readings:

1. Walter Russell Mead, “The Jacksonian Revolt: American Populism and the Liberal Order,” *Foreign Affairs*, (March/April 2017),
2. Jeremy Shapiro, “The Everyday and the Existential: How Clinton and Trump Challenge Transatlantic Relations,” *European Council on Foreign Relations*, October 12, 2016.
3. Scott A.W. Brown, “The Transatlantic Relationship: On Life Support?” *Scottish Global Forum*, November 17, 2016.
4. Toni Nitti, “The Border Adjustment Tax for Dummies: Who Will Pay for the Wall?” *Forbes*, January 26, 2017.
5. James Carson, “What is fake news? Its origins and how it grew under Donald Trump,” *The Telegraph*, February 24, 2017.
6. Jeet Heer, “Steve Bannon is Turning Trump into an Ethno-Nationalist Ideologue,” *The New Republic*, February 2, 2017.
7. Jonathan Swan, “What Stephen Bannon wants to do in Trump’s White House,” *The Hill*, November 15, 2016.
8. G. John Ikenberry, “The Plot Against American Foreign Policy: Can the Liberal Order Survive?” *Foreign Affairs* 96, no. 3 (May/June 2017): 2-9.
9. The National Security Strategy 2018, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>
10. Sinan Ülgen, “EU Global Strategy: A Transformed Security Landscape,” *Carnegie Europe*, February 1, 2016.
11. “America’s National Security Strategy: Defending America, Donald Trump’s Way”, *The Economist*, December 19, 2017, <https://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21732810-turning-its-back-decades-foreign-policy-it-magnifies-small-threats-and-minimises-big>
12. Gary Cohn, H.R. McMaster, “The Trump Vision for America”, *The New York Times*, July 13, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/13/opinion/the-trump-vision-for-america-abroad.html>
13. Natalie Nougayrede, “France’s Gamble”, *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2017, accessible online at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/western-europe/2017-08-15/frances-gamble>
14. Stefan Theil, “Berlin’s Balancing Act”, *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2017, accessible online at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/germany/2017-08-15/berlins-balancing-act>
15. David Goodhart, “How Special a Relationship”, *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2017, accessible online at

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-kingdom/2017-08-15/united-kingdoms-trump-trap>

Optional Readings:

- i. Neil Howe, “Where did Steve Bannon get his worldview? From my book.” In *The Washington Post*, February 24, 2017.
 - ii. Joshua Green, “This Man Is the Most Dangerous Political Operative in America: Steve Bannon runs the new vast right-wing conspiracy—and he wants to take down both Hillary Clinton and Jeb Bush,” *Bloomberg Businessweek*, October 8, 2015.
 - iii. Erin McPike, “Trump’s Diplomat: How Rex Tillerson is Translating ‘America First’ Into Foreign Policy” *Independent Journal Review*, March 17, 2017.
 - iv. Gillian Tett, “Donald Trump’s Campaign Shifted Odds by Making Big Data Personal,” *Financial Times*, January 26, 2017.
 - v. Mary-Ann Russon, “Political Revolution: How Big Data Won the Election for Donald Trump” *IB Times*, January 20, 2017.
 - vi.
-