**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 2019 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 tension and cooperation will be studied, including the financial crisis, regulatory differences, and transatlantic trade and investment relationships. The course will also take up cooperative and conflicting policies of transatlantic partners in addressing security issues, including the relationship with Russia, Ukraine and countries to the east and south, and the evolving joint and separate transatlantic security 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.
Students enrolled 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 20, 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 faculties. 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 **two short papers and one policy debate topic** and a **longer final exam paper**, and will be expected to attend all class sessions and participate in **class discussion**.
- For each class session except the first, several students will be assigned to draft 900-word papers responding to one or more of the **questions** in the syllabus for that session. Each student’s paper should respond to questions in the syllabus assigned to that student. Two other students will be assigned to prepare 900-word papers on opposing sides of the **policy debate topic** listed in the syllabus for that session. The students assigned **questions** should come to class prepared to discuss their responses. The students assigned to the **policy debate topic** should come prepared to present their side of the debate and respond to the other side.

Papers should be emailed before 12 noon of the Monday before class to the Teaching Assistant of each student’s school – Yana Brovdiy (yana.brovdiy@coleurope.eu), for students participating from the College of Europe, and Constantine Atlamazoglou (Constantine.Atlamazoglou@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 any other issues or questions students may have. **Office Hours: Wednesdays 11:15 am to 1:15 pm (404 Goddard)**, or by appointment, including by Skype for students based at the College of Europe.
- 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 accessiblity@tufts.edu or Catherine.Flynn@tufts.edu.

Students will be graded on the basis of:

- Class papers (30%)
- Participation in class discussion (30%)
- Final exam paper (40%)

Readings

All readings will be available on Canvas.

Class Sessions

Historical Issues

Session 1 (Wednesday, September 11 – 8-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2-5 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, immediate…” (1976).
Optional/supplementary reading:


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 (Wednesday, September 18 – 8-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall; 2-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference)** Foundations 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.
• McFarland, Kelly M., “The Marshall Plan Turns 70 This Week: Here are four reasons it was so important,” Washington Post, June 5, 2017.

Optional/supplementary reading:


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 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?

Policy Debate Topic: In February 1947 the British government informs the Truman Administration that it is terminating aid to Greece and Turkey because of acute budget problems. President Truman asks the State Department to advise whether the US should provide aid to Greece and Turkey, and if so, in what form, and under what rationale and circumstances. Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson convenes a meeting of senior advisors to debate the issue and formulate a response. One advisor advocates US economic and military support for the two countries to assist them in repelling Soviet aggression and to send an unambiguous message to the Soviets that the US will use economic and military means to confront and contain any similar aggression toward other countries. A second advisor supports economic assistance to the two countries but opposes military aid and cautions against committing the US to a policy of universal containment.

Legal Issues
Session 3 (Wednesday, September 25, 8-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2-5 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:

- United States Constitution.

Optional/supplementary reading:


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?

Policy Debate Topic: EU foreign and military affairs competences should be expanded in order to strengthen the EU’s capacity to develop a coherent foreign and military policy and project and defend common EU interests internationally.

Political Issues

Session 4 (Wednesday, October 2 – 8-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – Post-Cold War forces of disintegration, failed states, human rights wars and the European refugee crisis. John Shattuck

Readings:

• Mazarr, Michael, “The Rise and Fall of the Failed State Paradigm,” Foreign Affairs, January/February 2014, pp. 113-121.
• Betts, Alexander, “State Fragility, Refugee Status and ‘Survival Migration’,” States of Fragility (May 2013), pp. 4-6.

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?

**Policy Debate Topic:** At a NATO meeting in April 1993 the US Secretary of State makes the case that a NATO coalition should conduct airstrikes against Bosnian Serb military targets in order to protect Bosnian civilians. The French Foreign Minister opposes the US airstrike proposal on the ground that it would endanger European peacekeepers, and issues a challenge to the US to contribute troops to the peacekeeping force.

**Session 5 (Wednesday, October 9 – 8-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2-5 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:**

• Mudde, Cas, ”Europe’s Populist Surge,” *Foreign Affairs*, October 2016.

Optional/supplementary reading:


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?

*Policy Debate:* At a conference on transatlantic cooperation a speaker expresses the view that populist-nationalist challenges to liberal democratic governance in the EU and the US have the same root causes and require similar counter-strategies; a second speaker argues that the causes are varied and often dissimilar and the counter-strategies should be different.

**NO CLASS ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 16**

Economic Issues
Session 6 (Wednesday, October 23 – 8-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, NOTE TIME CHANGE: 1-4 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – The financial crisis and its transatlantic effects. Michele Chang (CoE) and 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).
- Müller, Henrik, Giuseppe Porcaro, and Gerret von Nordheim. 2018. 'Tales from a crisis: diverging narratives of the euro area', Bruegel Policy Contribution, 03.

Optional/supplementary reading:


Questions:

- How did the US get into the financial crisis and why?
- What were the US policy responses to the crisis, and were they effective?
- How was the financial crisis transmitted across the Atlantic?
- Why did the financial crisis in Europe result in a 'sovereign debt crisis'?
- What were the main fault lines of the Euro Area revealed by the financial crisis?
- In what ways did the policy responses differ in the Euro Area from those of the US, and were the reforms adequate in the short term and long term?
- What were the similarities and differences between the US financial crisis and the Euro Area financial crisis?

Policy Debate Topic: The US response to the financial crisis was more effective than the EU response to the sovereign debt crisis in the Euro Area in addressing structural problems in their respective financial institutions.
Session 7 (Wednesday, October 30 – 8-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall; videoconference) – US-EU cooperation and competition in international trade and regulatory affairs; Negotiations over the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership and beyond. Sieglinde Gstöhl (CoE) and John Shattuck

Readings:


Optional/supplementary reading:


⑧ 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 has transatlantic regulatory cooperation developed? How and why do EU and US regulatory approaches differ (e.g. regarding environmental protection, public health or privacy)?

How does the World Trade Organization (WTO) mediate (transatlantic) trade disputes? Why should the WTO from a US and EU perspective be reformed?

Why have the EU and the US tried to negotiate a bilateral Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)? Why have these negotiations failed? To what extent are the current trade negotiations different?

Policy Debate Topic: The EU Commissioner for Trade meets with the US Trade Representative to discuss and debate an EU proposal to require stronger CO₂ emissions standards for US cars exported to EU countries. The two officials seek to identify areas of agreement and disagreement.

Security Issues

Session 8 (Wednesday, November 6 – 8-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – Eastern relations: Russia and Ukraine. Chris Miller and John Shattuck

Readings:

- Putin, Speech on Crimea, March 18, 2014.
- Putin, Speech to the Valdai Discussion Club, October 24, 2014.

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?

**Policy Debate Topic:** At a NATO ministerial conference in June 2015 the US Secretary of Defense proposes that NATO provide heavy weapons and training to the Ukrainian military so that it can defend Eastern Ukraine against Russian-backed separatist forces, and that NATO move two divisions of troops to the Baltic countries. The German Defense Minister opposes these recommendations on the ground that they would provoke Russia to end negotiations on a permanent ceasefire in Eastern Ukraine based on autonomy for the region within a guaranteed framework of Ukrainian sovereignty, and that economic sanctions provide a sufficient coercive incentive for Russia to agree to a permanent ceasefire.

**Session 9 (Wednesday, November 13 – 8-11 am Boston time, Isobe Room, Cabot Hall, 2-5 pm Bruges time, videoconference) – NATO, transatlantic security and the future of transatlantic cooperation. John Shattuck**

**Readings:**

• Stavridis, James G., The Accidental Admiral: A Sailor Takes Command at NATO, Chapter 14, “NATO: Quo Vadis?”
• Wallender, Celeste A., “NATO’s Enemies Within: How Democratic Decline Could Destroy the Alliance,” Foreign Affairs, July/August 2018, pp. 70-81.
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 enlargement, and what has been the impact of enlargement 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?

Policy Debate Topic: TBD.