US-EU RELATIONS IN THE 21st CENTURY
A MULTIDISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS OF TRANSATLANTIC AFFAIRS

Fall Semester 2020
Wednesdays, 8 – 11 am Boston time, 2 – 5 pm Bruges/Natolin time

A course offered jointly by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and the College of Europe during the fall semester 2020 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 was the driving force behind the development of a framework for international order following the end of World War II. That framework is now being challenged – some would say dismantled – as a result of rapidly shifting national and global political, economic and cultural forces, enhanced by the Covid-19 pandemic. Fundamental changes in transatlantic relationships and structures in the next decade of the 21st century are likely to shape the future 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, analyze centrifugal forces of disintegration that have tested transatlantic security relations and 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 changing joint and separate transatlantic security structures. The
influence of the ongoing public health pandemic on all aspects of transatlantic relations will be covered in several sessions of the course.

*US-EU Relations in the 21st Century* is 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. It will be presented entirely online. Students enrolled in the MATA program at both institutions are guaranteed admission to the course. The course will be open to all Fletcher students, but will be capped at 16, 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, supported by his Teaching Assistant Lucy Fyler.

**Course Requirements and Assessment**

- During the semester students will prepare two short papers and two policy debate topics and a longer final exam paper. Students are required to attend all class sessions (unless explicitly excused by Professor Shattuck), and to participate in class discussion.
- At the first class session, students will be assigned by alphabetical order to draft 900-word policy papers responding to designated questions in the syllabus for the remaining eight class sessions. Each student’s paper should address the questions in the syllabus assigned to that student. Students will also be assigned by alphabetical order to prepare 900-word papers on opposing sides of the policy debate topics listed in the syllabus for sessions 2-8. Students who are assigned questions should come to class prepared to discuss their responses. Students assigned to policy debate topics should come prepared to make short oral presentations of their policy arguments and to respond to the other side of the argument.

Papers should be emailed before **14:00 Bruges time / 08:00 Boston time of the Tuesday before class** (24 hours 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 Lucy Fyler (lucy.fyler@tufts.edu) for Fletcher students – who will forward them to Professor Shattuck and the faculty co-teaching that session. The papers will be reviewed and graded by Professor Shattuck,
who will be available to discuss the papers individually with each student during his office hours.

- Professor Shattuck will be available to meet with students individually by phone or Zoom during office hours to discuss the papers and his comments, as well as any other issues or questions students may have. **Office Hours: Wednesdays 11:30 am to 1:30 pm, or by appointment.**
- 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 (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 9: 8 - 11 am Boston time, 2 - 5 pm Bruges/Natolin time, videoconference) – Course Introduction and Overview; History of the European Project and the Atlantic Alliance.** John Shattuck and Alan Henrikson

**Readings:**

- "How Did We Get Here? A Look Back at the Creation of the European Union," oral history interview with Arthur Hartman, Association for Diplomatic Studies and
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 16: 8 – 11 am Boston time, 2 - 5 pm Bruges/Natolin time, videoconference) Foundations of postwar transatlantic relations – Yalta, Marshall Plan. John Shattuck and Alan Henrikson**

**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 its acute domestic budget problems, and requests that the US take over the aid program. 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 advisors from the Greece Desk, the Turkey Desk, the Economic Office and the Political-Military Affairs Office to debate the issue. One team of advisors (Greece and Turkey Desk Officers) advocates US economic and military support to assist Greece and Turkey in repelling Soviet aggression and send a message to the Soviets that the US will use economic and military means to confront any similar aggression toward other countries. The second team (Economic Office, Pol-Mil Office) proposes a more cautious response of limited humanitarian assistance to the two countries but no military aid because of the complex political situation and corruption in the two governments, and opposes making future commitments to other countries except on a case-by-case basis. The two teams meet in advance to try to narrow their differences before meeting with Secretary Acheson in class to debate and resolve the issue.
Legal Issues

Session 3 (Wednesday, September 23, 8 - 11 am Boston time, 2 - 5 pm Bruges/Natolin time, videoconference) – Comparative federalism in the EU and the US; how US and EU legal structures for transatlantic relations work. Olivier Costa (College of Europe) and Michael Glennon (Fletcher) with John Shattuck

Readings:

- United States Constitution.

Optional/supplementary reading:


Questions:

- 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?

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?

**Policy Debate Topic:** In September 2020 the Defense Ministers of France and Germany debate their counterparts from Latvia and Poland on the question of whether EU military affairs competences and authority should be expanded in order to assert the EU’s strategic autonomy and defend common EU interests when they diverge from those of the US. The French position is the most expansively pro-EU strategic autonomy; the German position is cautiously supportive of greater EU autonomy within a NATO framework; the Latvians advocate continuing support for NATO and limited EU autonomy, and the Poles reject EU strategic autonomy. The debate takes place in class, where the policy is further debated and put to a vote.

**Political Issues**

**Session 4 (Wednesday, September 30 – 8 - 11 am Boston time, 2 - 5 pm Bruges/Natolin time, videoconference)** – Post-Cold War forces of disintegration, failed states, human rights wars and the European refugee crisis. John Shattuck

**Readings:**

- Memorandum to the Secretary of State from the Assistant Secretary for Human Rights, “Bosnia Trip Report”, August 4, 1995.

**Questions:**

- What were the drivers of the post-Cold War “forces of disintegration” in transatlantic affairs?
- 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?
- What are the migration implications of state fragility and failure in Europe’s southern and eastern neighborhoods, and 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 Secretaries of State and Defense make the case that the UN arms embargo on the former Yugoslavia should be lifted so that the Bosnian Muslims can defend themselves against Bosnian Serb aggression, and that NATO should conduct airstrikes against Bosnian Serb military targets if the Serb attacks continued. The French Foreign Minister and British Foreign Secretary oppose the US “lift and strike” proposal on the ground that it would lead to more violence and would endanger European peacekeepers, and they issue a challenge to the US to contribute troops to the peacekeeping force. The four officials meet in advance to discuss possible areas of agreement, following which the NATO meeting takes place in class, where the potential costs and benefits of the US and EU policy positions are debated.

**Session 5 (Wednesday, October 7: 8 – 11 am Boston time, 2 - 5 pm Bruges/Natolin time, videoconference)** – Centrifugal forces and populist-nationalist challenges to liberal democratic governance in Europe and the US, Brexit. John Shattuck and Simon Schunz (CoE)

**Readings:**

https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/democracy/reports/2018/05/10/450552/drivers-authoritarian-populism-united-states/


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”?  
- What has been the impact of Brexit on the EU, and how great are the dangers of EU disintegration?
- 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 and strategies for rebuilding liberal transatlantic democracy?

Policy Debate: A 2016 conference on transatlantic cooperation hosts a debate on strategies of defending of liberal democracy against rising populism and nationalism. Two speakers argue that transatlantic cooperation is essential to the defense of liberal
democracy; two others argue that transatlantic cooperation on this issue is impossible.
The first speaker expresses the view that populist-nationalist challenges to liberal
democratic governance in the EU and the US have the same root causes. The second
speaker proposes a set of strategies to counter populist attacks on transatlantic liberal
democracy. The third speaker argues that the roots of the populist rebellion are varied,
country-specific and dissimilar across nations and transatlantic borders. The fourth
speaker asserts that, depending on varying circumstances in different countries,
populism can play a constructive role in reinvigorating and reforming democracy and
democratic institutions. The two teams of speakers meet in advance to define what
they mean by “liberal democracy”, “populism” and “nationalism”, and then they present
their opposing positions in class.

**NO CLASS ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14**

**Economic Issues**

**Session 6 (Wednesday, October 21 – 8 – 11 am Boston time, 2 - 5 pm
Bruges/Natolin time, videoconference) – Comparative transatlantic responses to
the financial crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic. 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).
- Carmassi, Jacopo, Daniel Gros, and Stefano Micossi. 2009. 'The Global
  Financial Crisis: Causes and Cures', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*,
  47: 977 - 96.
- Enderlein, Henrik. 2020. "Time to move on: The discussion about EMU
  deepening needs to change." In *Strengthening the Institutional Architecture of the
  Economic and Monetary Union*, edited by Marco Buti, Gabriele Giudice and José
- Hall, Peter A. 2018. 'Varieties of capitalism in light of the euro crisis', *Journal of
  Less: Comparing the US and French COVID-19 Crisis Responses." *Peterson
- Mazzacuto, Marianna, *Capitalism After the Pandemic*, FOREIGN AFFAIRS
  (November/December 2020) [https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-

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?
• Why did the financial crisis in Europe result in a ‘sovereign debt crisis’?
• In what ways did the policy responses to the financial crisis differ in the Euro Area from those of the US, and were the reforms adequate in the short term and long term?
• How have the EU and US differed in their policy responses to the COVID-19 crisis and the shutdown, partial reopening and management of the economy?
• What are the similarities and differences between the US and the EU responses to the financial and public health crises?
• What do these comparative responses say about contemporary politics and governance in the US and the EU and the future of transatlantic economic relations?

Policy Debate Topic: In April 2020 a two-person US staff delegation representing the Senate Finance Committee and the Treasury Department meet in Paris with their French counterparts from the Parliamentary Standing Committee on the Economy and the Ministry of Finance and the Economy. The two teams discuss and debate how the US and France plan to respond to the economic shock resulting from public health measures necessary to contain the coronavirus pandemic. Each team briefly describes the political (congressional/parliamentary staff) and economic (department/ministry staff) approach they are recommending and their prediction of its likely impact. Following each presentation, the other team explains why they are following a different approach and why they believe it is likely to be more successful than the US/French response.

Session 7 (Wednesday, October 28: 8 - 11 am Boston time, 1 – 4 pm Bruges/Natolin time, videoconference) -- US-EU cooperation and competition in international trade and regulatory affairs; negotiations over the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership; US presidential campaign. Sieglinde Gstöhl (CoE) and John Shattuck.

Readings:
• 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


Optional/supplementary reading:


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 did the EU and the US attempt to negotiate a bilateral Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)? Why have these negotiations failed? Are the current trade negotiations different?

*Policy Debate Topic*: Biden-Trump presidential debate on foreign policy toward Europe, with specific focus on transatlantic trade and economic relations.

**Security Issues**

*Session 8 (Wednesday, November 4: 8 - 11 am Boston time, 2 - 5 pm Bruges/Natolin time, videoconference) – Eastern relations: Russia and Ukraine.* Chris Miller and John Shattuck, with guest speaker Frederica Mogherini, Rector of the College of Europe and former EU High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy.

*Readings:*
• Putin, Speech on Crimea, March 18, 2014.
• Putin, Speech to the Valdai Discussion Club, October 24, 2014.
• Lukyanov, Fyodor, “The Spirit of the Cold War is Back as NATO Confronts Russia,” The Huffington Post, 15 July 2016.

Questions:
• What drives the confrontation between Russia and the West?
• To what extent was the war in Ukraine a breaking point in the relationship?
• Which parties, if any, have achieved their objectives in Ukraine?
• What other factors obstruct relations between Russia, the U.S. and the E.U.?
• How does Russia understand the relationship between the U.S. and the E.U. and between the E.U. and its member states?
• What role do cyber attacks and political meddling play in US-Russia relations?
• Why does Russia think it is the primary victim of political meddling? Is there any truth in its claims?

Policy Debate Topic: Germany is the victim of Russian hacking intended to influence the country’s politics. The German foreign minister advises taking a low-key response, on the grounds that hacking is different from an act of aggression. When brought up in the EU and in NATO, the U.S. and Poland advocate sanctions. The Estonian foreign minister advocates that the U.S. quietly retaliate with its own offensive cyber measures. What is the best response, if any, to deal with the hacking? Should the response be at a national level, or should it be carried out by the EU or NATO? What form should the response take: a private demarche, public criticism, sanctions, counter-hacking, or some other format? The four foreign ministers articulate their reasons for the different responses advocated by their countries, and the policy options are briefly debated and voted on by the class.
Session 9 (Wednesday, November 11 – 8 - 11 am Boston time, 2 - 5 pm Bruges/Natolin time, videoconference) – US presidential election, NATO, transatlantic security and the future of transatlantic relations. John Shattuck and guest speaker, Anthony Gardner, former US Ambassador to the European Union and current adviser to Biden presidential campaign.

Readings:


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 relations and security cooperation?
**Policy Debate Topic:** [TBD: policy advisors to the US President-Elect and the EU Commission President debate alternative US and EU policy approaches to the future of NATO and transatlantic relations]