

TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS IN A CHANGING STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT: CRISES AND CHALLENGES

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This seminar investigates the evolution of relations between the US and European states, with a focus on the strategic and security-related dimensions of this relationship. It seeks to analyse in particular the driving factors behind current transatlantic crises and divergences and the implications for the future of international security.

In the first part, the seminar introduces several theoretical approaches to transatlantic relations, based on the main International Relations schools of thought. In the second part, the seminar applies these approaches to current crises and challenges facing the transatlantic partnership, ranging from defence burden sharing to responding to Russia's assertiveness, China's rise and crises in the Middle East and Africa.

1. Introduction: the transatlantic relations crisis

Required reading:

Lisbeth Aggestam and Adrian Hyde-Price, "Double trouble: Trump, transatlantic relations and European strategic autonomy", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 57, Annual Review, 2019, pp. 114-127.

Recommended readings:

Stephen M. Walt, "In praise of a transatlantic divorce", *Foreign Policy*, 30 May 2017.

Charles A. Kupchan, "The Atlantic order in transition: The nature of change in US-European relations", in Jeffrey J. Anderson, G. John Ikenberry and Thomas Risse (eds), *The End of the West?: Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008, pp. 111-126.

Maria Green Cowles and Michelle Egan, "The historical evolution of the transatlantic partnership", in Riccardo Alcaro, John Peterson, and Ettore Greco (eds), *The West and the Global Power Shift: Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp. 75-97.

I. Theorising transatlantic relations

2. Power and threats: realist approaches to transatlantic relations

Required reading:

Barry Posen, "European Union security and defence policy: response to unipolarity?" *Security studies*, 15 (2), 2006, pp. 149–186.

Recommended readings:

Stephen M. Walt, "There's no partnership in pivot", *Foreign Policy*, 8 July 2014.

Kenneth N. Waltz, "NATO expansion: A realist's view", *Contemporary Security Policy*, 21:2, 2000, pp. 23-38.

Franz Oswald, "Soft balancing between friends: transforming transatlantic relations", *Debatte: journal of contemporary central and Eastern Europe*, 14 (2), 2006, pp. 145–160.

3. Crises and alliance management: institutionalist approaches

Required reading:

William I. Hitchcock, "The ghosts of crises past: The troubled alliance in historical perspective", in Jeffrey J. Anderson, G. John Ikenberry and Thomas Risse (eds), *The End of the West?: Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2008, pp. 53-81.

Recommended readings:

Seth A. Johnston, "NATO adaptation into the twenty first century, 1999-2012", in *How NATO Adapts: Strategy and Organization in the Atlantic Alliance since 1950*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017, pp. 163-175.

Celeste A. Wallander, "Institutional assets and adaptability: NATO after the Cold War," *International Organization*, 54:4, 2000, pp. 705-735.

4. A transatlantic community: constructivist approaches

Required reading:

Thomas Risse, "The transatlantic security community: Erosion from within?", in Riccardo Alcaro, John Peterson, and Ettore Greco (eds), *The West and the Global Power Shift: Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp. 21-42.

Recommended readings:

Dieter Fuchs and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, "American exceptionalism or Western civilization?", in Jeffrey J. Anderson, G. John Ikenberry and Thomas Risse (eds), *The End of the West?: Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2008, pp. 247-262.

Helene Sjursen, "On the identity of NATO", *International Affairs*, 80:4, 2004, pp. 687-703.

Robert Kagan, "Power and weakness", *Policy Review*, 113, 2002, pp. 3-28.

5. Domestic dynamics

Required reading:

Daniel S. Hamilton, "The domestic setting of American approaches to Europe", in Riccardo Alcaro, John Peterson, and Ettore Greco (eds), *The West and the Global Power Shift: Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp. 127-145.

Recommended readings:

Stephanie C. Hofmann, "Party preferences and institutional transformation: Revisiting France's relationship with NATO (and the common wisdom on Gaullism)", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2017, 40:4, pp. 505-531.

Jordan Tama, Joshua Busby, Craig Kafura, Joshua D. Kertzer and Jonathan Monten, "Congress has NATO's back, despite Trump's unilateralism", *The Washington Post*, 3 April 2019.

II. Current challenges

6. Burden sharing: transatlantic defence cooperation

Required reading:

Benjamin Schreer, "Trump, NATO and the future of Europe's defence", *The RUSI Journal*, 164:1, 2019, pp. 10-17.

Recommended readings:

Jolyon Howorth, "Strategic autonomy and EU-NATO cooperation: threat or opportunity for transatlantic defence relations?", *Journal of European Integration*, 40:5, 2018, p. 523-537.

Michael E. Smith, "Transatlantic security relations since the European security strategy: what role for the EU in its pursuit of strategic autonomy?", *Journal of European Integration*, 40:5, 2018, pp. 605-620.

Sophia Besch, "Defence spending in NATO: Stop convincing Trump: Start convincing Europeans", Centre for European Reform, 2018.

7. The changing US attitude towards European integration

Required reading:

John Peterson, "All Roads Don't Lead to Brussels (But Most Do): European Integration and Transatlantic Relations", in Riccardo Alcaro, John Peterson, and Ettore Greco (eds), *The West and the Global Power Shift: Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp. 101-125.

Recommended readings:

Tim Oliver and Michael John Williams, "Special relationships in flux: Brexit and the future of the US-EU and US-UK relationships", *International Affairs*, 92:3, 2016, pp. 547–567.

Laetitia Langlois, "Trump, Brexit and the transatlantic relationship: The new paradigms of the Trump era", *LISA*, 16, 2, 2018.

Jasmin Mujanović and Molly Montgomery, "Macron's veto leaves Balkans wide open for Russia and China", *Foreign Policy*, 31 October 2019.

8. Transatlantic relations and Russia's assertiveness

Required reading:

Marianne Riddervold and Guri Rosén, "Unified in response to rising powers? China, Russia and EU-US relations", *Journal of European Integration*, 40:5, 2018, pp. 555-570.

Recommended readings:

Ulrich Speck, "The West's response to the Ukraine conflict: A transatlantic success story", Transatlantic Academy, 2015-16 Paper Series, no. 4.

Judy Dempsey, "NATO's eastern flank and its future relationship with Russia", Carnegie Europe, 23 October 2017.

Giovanna De Maio, "Nord Stream 2: A failed test for EU unity and trans-Atlantic coordination", Brookings, 22 April 2019.

Didier Audenaert, "The end of the INF-treaty: Context and consequences", Egmont, Security Policy Brief, 111, 2019.

9. Transatlantic relations and China's rise

Required reading:

Richard Maher, "The rise of China and the future of the Atlantic Alliance", *Orbis*, 60, 2016, pp. 366-381.

Recommended readings:

Daniel Twining, "China's trans-Atlantic wedge", *Foreign Policy*, 23 March 2015.

The European Think-tank Network on China (ETNC), *Europe in the Face of US-China Rivalry*, January 2020.

Luis Simon, "What is Europe's place in Sino-American competition?", *War on the Rocks*, 14 February 2019.

Lindsay Gorman, "US-China tech Cold War puts Europe in the middle", *Defense One*, 4 June 2019.

10. Transatlantic relations in the Middle East and Africa

Required readings:

Tarja Cronberg, "On Iran, Europeans caught between multilateral and transatlantic realities", Atlantic Council, 13 May 2019.

Rachael Kennedy, "Did US action in Syria really trigger 'brain death' of NATO?", *Euronews*, 8 November 2019.

Alexandra de Hoop Scheffer and Martin Quencez, "U.S. 'burden-shifting' strategy in Africa validates France's ambition for greater European strategic autonomy", GMF, 23 January 2019.

Michael Shurkin, "Abandoning West Africa carries risks for U.S.", *The Rand Blog*, 3 January 2020.

11. Conclusion and revision: towards the end of the transatlantic partnership?

12. Exam

The final grade will be based upon:

- Participation in the class discussions (20%)
- One 15-minute presentation (40%), responding to one of the week's questions
- One final exam (40%) on the main issues covered during the course, consisting of a written test of 5 questions to be answered in 20 lines per question.