

# 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 recent 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 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.

The final grade will be based upon:

- One 15-minute presentation (50%), responding to one of the week's questions
- One short essay (800-1000 words max) (50%) on the main issues covered during the course. Questions will be given two weeks in advance.

## 1. Introduction: a transatlantic 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 reading:*

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. The Atlantic order: institutionalist approaches**

*Required reading:*

G. John Ikenberry, "Institutions, strategic restraint, and the persistence of American postwar order", *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Winter, 1998-1999), pp. 43-78.

*Recommended readings:*

Frank Schimmelfennig "NATO and institutional theories of international relations", in Mark Webber and Adrian Hyde-Price (eds), *Theorising NATO: New Perspectives on the Atlantic Alliance*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2016, pp 93–115.

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.

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.

Robert B. McCalla, "NATO's persistence after the Cold War", *International Organization*, 50:3, 1996, pp. 445-475.

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

### **3. The Transatlantic balance of power: realist approaches**

*Required reading:*

Adrian Hyde-Price, "NATO and the European security system: a neo-realist analysis", in Mark Webber and Adrian Hyde-Price (eds), *Theorising NATO: New Perspectives on the Atlantic Alliance*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2016, pp 41–60.

*Recommended readings:*

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

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.

John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the future: instability in Europe after the Cold War", *International Security*, 15 (1), 1990, pp. 5-56.

#### **4. The 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:*

Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Collective identity in a democratic community: the case of NATO", in *Domestic Politics and Norm Diffusion in International Relations : Ideas Do Not Float Freely*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2016, pp 78–114

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

Trine Flockhart, "Understanding NATO through constructivist theorising", in Mark Webber and Adrian Hyde-Price (eds), *Theorising NATO: New Perspectives on the Atlantic Alliance*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2016, pp 140–160.

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.

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:*

David G. Haglund, "America's surprisingly 'constrained' presidency: implications for transatlantic relations", in Maud Quessard, Frédéric Heurtebize, and Frédérick Gagnon (eds), *Alliances and Power Politics in the Trump Era: America in Retreat?*, Cham, Palgrave, 2020, pp 15–32.

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.

## **II. Current challenges**

### **6. Burden sharing: transatlantic defence cooperation**

*Required reading:*

Barbara Kunz, "The evolving transatlantic link: what European response? Disentangling the European security debate", in Maud Quessard, Frédéric Heurtebize, and Frédéric Gagnon (eds), *Alliances and Power Politics in the Trump Era: America in Retreat?*, Cham, Palgrave, 2020, pp 33–51.

*Recommended readings:*

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

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.

### **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.

### **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.

Amélie Zima, "Polish–US relations in the Trump era: from worries to honeymoon?", in Maud Quessard, Frédéric Heurtebize, and Frédérick Gagnon (eds), *Alliances and Power Politics in the Trump Era: America in Retreat?*, Cham, Palgrave, 2020, pp. 53–71.

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:*

François Heisbourg, "NATO 4.0: the Atlantic alliance and the rise of China", *Survival*, vol. 62, no. 2, March 2020, pp. 83–102.

*Recommended readings:*

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

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.

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

## 10. Transatlantic relations in the Middle East and Africa

*Required reading:*

Tarja Cronberg, "No EU, no Iran deal: the EU's choice between multilateralism and the transatlantic link", *The Nonproliferation Review*, 24:3-4, 2017, pp. 243-259.

*Recommended readings:*

Maya Kandel, "Hand in hand and eye to eye? US–French counterterrorism cooperation in the Sahel in the Trump-Macron era", in Maud Quessard, Frédéric Heurtebize, and Frédérick Gagnon (eds), *Alliances and Power Politics in the Trump Era : America in Retreat?*, Cham, Palgrave, 2020, pp. 121–136.

Kristina Kausch, "Balancing Trumpism: transatlantic divergence in the Middle East", *GMF Policy Brief*, 38, 2018.

**11. Conclusion: scenarios for the future of transatlantic relations**

**12. Revision**