



Course program and reading list

Semester 2 Year 2024

School: Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy B.A

Transatlantic Relations in the 21st Century

Lecturer:

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Teaching Assistant:

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Course No.:	Course Type :	Weekly Hours :	Credit:
4247	Lecture	2	2

Course Requirements :	Group Code :	Language:
Final Paper	242424700	English

Prerequisites

Students who took one of the courses listed below will not be allowed to register to the course Transatlantic Relations in the 21st Century (4247):

4224 - Transatlantic Relations in the 21st Century

Course Description

Over the past two centuries, the Western powers across the Atlantic Ocean have shaped international relations and global politics. Founded in the heydays of the Cold War, NATO is undoubtedly the most successful alliance in the world's history.

Since the end of the Cold War considerable fluctuations have shaped and continue to

reshape relations between North America and Europe -- from NATO's enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe and NATO's role in securing stability in the Balkans, through September 11, the War in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Middle East turmoil, Russia's aggression in Ukraine, and the rise of China. The global economic crisis that hit Europe and America particularly tested the Atlantic community and it seems that Europe has never recovered since. The economic crisis has underscored the shifting global balance of power away from the Atlantic powers to Asia, while the global economic repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic are still evolving, as China's economic situation clearly indicates. It has become popular to proclaim the end of the Transatlantic partnership and focus attention on the rise of emerging powers in what now is increasingly common to call the Indo-Pacific. Notwithstanding, U.S. and Europe demonstrated considerable resolve to Putin's Ukraine gambit in a manner that took even China by surprise. More recently, the U.S. has demonstrated similar resolve in the Middle East.

While President Biden's election revitalized the Transatlantic bond, North America's relations with Europe remain characterized by a broad range of common values and interests, alongside different outlooks, and not insignificant disputes. President Trump's imprint remains a vivid reminder how this relationship can easily sour, especially as he could well become the next U.S. President in January 2025.

In face of what is commonly known as the "Great Power Competition" and amid recurring warnings of the "End of the West", the nature and scope of transatlantic relations will arguably continue to have a distinctive mark on world affairs. This raises two fundamental questions: What is the current role of the best alliance in history? What role will it play in the foreseeable future? To offer plausible answers to this question and other policy issues, the purpose of the course, held with active student participation, is to review and analyze the main political and strategic issues on the transatlantic agenda and the role of this relationship on the world stage.

Introduction

- The Historical Evolution of the Most Successful Alliance: The Atlantic Alliance and Winning the Cold War
- Theoretical Review – The Atlantic Community: Alliance, International/Multilateral Regime, or Security Community?

The Post-Cold War Era (1990-2015): The First Two Decades

- The 1990s: "A Europe, Whole, Free, and at Peace"?
- The Atlantic Community in the First Decade of the 21st Century and the War on Terror in Afghanistan – "Out of Area", "Out of Reach" or "Out of Touch"?
- Trying to Fix the Middle East: Two Decades of Promoting Peace, Democracy, and Regional Cooperation

The Atlantic Community and the Great Power Rivalry

- Dealing with a Resurgent Power: The Atlantic Alliance and Russia
- The U.S.-China Rivalry and the Transatlantic Partnership
- The "Southern Flank": US, Europe, and the Middle East

- NATO's Brave New World: Adapting to New and Emerging Challenges in Face of Internal Divisions
 - The Future of the Transatlantic Partnership: Key Drivers & Debates
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Course Goals

The objective of this course in International Relations is to explore the evolution of NATO and U.S.-European relations since the 1990s, with a focus on key historical events, policy developments, and contemporary challenges. Held with active student participation, the course will review and analyze the main political and strategic issues on the transatlantic agenda and the role of this relationship on the world stage. By studying evolving power relations and the dynamic role of interests and values that shape transatlantic relations, students will gain an understanding of contemporary international affairs.



Grading

Course requirements have been adapted due to the special war situation.

This edition of the course is adapted in line with the University President's guidelines due to the outbreak of war in Gaza. Further adaptations might be required.

Students carrying out reserve service during the course or facing specific challenges due to the war and need additional guidance and support to fulfill requirements – are encouraged to contact the lecturer.

The **course encourages active student participation**, which would benefit from paying ongoing attention to current events.

Therefore, in addition to regular readings – as outlined below – students will benefit tremendously from following news on transatlantic affairs, particularly through major global news outlets such as New York Times (international.nytimes.com), The Economist (www.economist.com), Foreign Policy (www.foreignpolicy.com), Financial Times (www.ft.com), Foreign Affairs (www.foreignaffairs.com), and Politico EU (www.politico.eu/).

Other useful sources are:

- Carnegie Europe's "Strategic Europe" Blog (<http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategiceurope>)
- German Marshall Fund of the United States – research and publications (gmfus.org)
- Atlantic Council of the U.S. – "NATOSource" (<http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/natosource>)

As this special edition will consist of 11 lectures, the lecturer will provide **asynchronous review assignments** – essentially "offlining" parts of class by utilizing useful documentaries and video clips. The viewing of the items will be guided; with background in class – before

and after – and with key questions/issues to follow as you view the items. **To be clear – the asynchronous items are as required readings and class discussions will be based upon them.**

Attendance is warmly recommended and encouraged. In-class lectures will be recorded and posted onto the class moodle website.

The **final paper assignment (100% of the final grade)** will assess the knowledge of students with regards to the course discussions and readings and analytical skills. In the final paper, students will answer one long essay question (2,500 words). The essay question will be published at the end of the semester and will include specific instructions. The final date of submission will be announced. Students will submit their papers electronically via Moodle (WORD files only). Exemplary questions will be published on the course website before the end of the terms. University guidelines will apply to late submissions.



Lecturer Office Hours

By appointment



Tutor Office Hours

By appointment



Additional Notes

CONDUCT AND ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Meaningful learning can only happen in an environment of trust, integrity, and mutual respect. The vast majority of students conduct themselves accordingly and take for-granted the specific instructions that appear below.

According to the university's disciplinary regulations, each assignment must be personally authored by the submitting student. Notwithstanding, students are allowed to work in groups on the assignment before beginning to write them, but each student must write the assignment herself (or himself). Submitted assignments with very similar phrasing will be disqualified and could lead to disciplinary action. Furthermore, a completed assignment shared with other students and used for the purpose of copying – will be disqualified. In addition, false reporting or presenting fabricated information regarding an assignment and/or for the purpose of obtaining a postponement or exemption is a violation of the disciplinary code. Violations will lead to disciplinary action.

Reading List

The following bibliography is listed according to the course structure and themes and divided between asynchronous review assignments (ARAs), required and elective readings. Most of the readings are available on the course website.

As the course deals with current events, readings are subject to updating during the course.

Introduction

The Historical Evolution of the Most Successful Alliance: The Atlantic Alliance and Winning the Cold War

ARA

War Studies, KCL, "NATO Engages" – Clips 1-6

<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLhmPz0vZubxiz34UYuE8e0gDMXIbAV1ko>

"Europe Goes Nuclear" <https://youtu.be/M5NllqmYADQ?si=w6KgSYPWyBir6A5u> [it is set to start at 02:45 on purpose]

Required Reading

Maria G. Cowles and Michelle Egan, "The Evolution of the Transatlantic Partnership," Transworld Project Working Paper No. 3, September 2012.

Vojtech Mastny, "NATO at Fifty: Did NATO Win the Cold War? Looking over the Wall," *Foreign Affairs* 78(3), 1999.

Elective Reading

Henry A. Kissinger, "The Unsolved Problems of European Defense," *Foreign Affairs*, 40(4), 1962.

Stanley Hoffmann, "The Western Alliance: Drift or Harmony?" *International Security* 6(2), 1981.

Michael Howard, "An Unhappy Successful Marriage: Security Means Knowing What to Expect," *Foreign Affairs* 78(3), 1999.

Elective ARA

"The ENTIRE History of the Cold War Explained"

https://youtu.be/XDrykOhrb5s?si=HK_kpWWSHOFoo3UB

Theoretical Review – The Atlantic Community: Alliance, International/Multilateral Regime, or Security Community?

Andrew Byrne, "Conflicting Visions: Liberal and Realist Conceptualisations of Transatlantic Alignment," Transworld Project Working Paper No. 12, March 2013.

Thomas Risse, "Determinants and Features of International Alliances and Structural Partnerships," Transworld Project Working Paper No. 2, September 2012.

Elective Reading

Mark Webber, "Thinking NATO through Theoretically," In Mark Webber et al. (eds.) *NATO's Post-Cold War Trajectory: Decline or Regeneration?* Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012, pp. 22-46.

Elective ARA

"Realism" <https://youtu.be/eqvax-b6JM?si=zfWRqZAOI26tb1DM>

"International Relations – Liberal Theory" <https://youtu.be/7D5FNrqT5dM?si=74qQeQ8URSsPCwDz>

"Constructivist Theory" <https://youtu.be/ArQuWRXhDig?si=1bSUqfTXiATyORrn>

THE POST-COLD WAR ERA (1990-2010): THE FIRST TWO DECADES

The 1990s: "A Europe, Whole, Free, and at Peace"?

Required Reading

Philip H. Gordon and Jeremy Shapiro, *Allies at War: America, Europe and the Crisis Over Iraq*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004, pp. 19-45.

Robert W. Rauchhaus, "Explaining NATO Enlargement," *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2000, 173-194.

Elective Reading

Ronald D. Asmus, *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade itself for a New Era*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, Conclusion (pp. 289-305). [355.03109 ASM]

Karl Kaiser, "The Balkans as a Model," *Internationale Politik* (Transatlantic Edition) No. 3, 2003.

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The Atlantic Community in the First Decade of the 21st Century and the War on Terror in Afghanistan – "Out of Area", "Out of Reach" or "Out of Touch"?

ARA

CNN, "America's Longest War: What Went Wrong in Afghanistan" (2021).

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8HmutDVB7KM>

Required Reading

Julie Garey, "Chapter 4: September 11, 2001, and the War in Afghanistan," *The US Role in*

NATO's Survival After the Cold War, Palgrave, 2020.

Rory Stewart, "The Last Days of Intervention Afghanistan and the Delusions of Maximalism," *Foreign Affairs*, November–December 2021.

Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review* 113, 2002.

Elective Reading

Philip H. Gordon and Jeremy Shapiro, *Allies at War: America, Europe and the Crisis Over Iraq*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004, pp. 1-16; 155-182 [for background on the run-up to the Iraq War, read also pp. 115-154].

Mats Berdal, "A Mission Too Far? NATO and Afghanistan, 2001–2014," In Daniel Marston & Tamara Leahy (eds.) *War, Strategy and History: Essays in Honour of Professor Robert O'Neill*, Acton, ACT: ANU Press, 2016.

James Sperling and Mark Weber, "NATO: From Kosovo to Kabul," *International Affairs*, Vol. 85(3), 2009.

Trying to Fix the Middle East: Two Decades of Promoting Peace, Democracy, and Regional Cooperation (1990s-2000s)

Required Reading

Nicola de Santis, "NATO's Outreach to and Cooperation with Mediterranean Countries through the Mediterranean Dialogue," *Med 2010. IEMED Mediterranean Yearbook*, Barcelona: European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMED), 2010, pp. 139-143.

Roberto Aliboni and Yasar Qatarneh, "The Future of the EMP in a Changing Context of Transatlantic and Regional Relations," *EuroMeSCo Paper*, No. 46, 2005.

Philip Gordon, "Trading Places: America and Europe in the Middle East," *Survival*, Vol. 47, 2005.

Nathalie Tocci, "The EU, the Middle East Quartet, and (In)effective Multilateralism," *Mercury* E-paper No. 9, 2011.

Elective Reading

Völker Perthes, America's "Greater Middle East" and Europe: Key Issues for Dialogue, *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Fall 2004.

Rosemary Hollis, "Europe in the Middle East," in Louise Fawcett (ed.), *The International Relations of the Middle East*, 4th Edition, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Ronald D. Asmus, et. al., "A Transatlantic Strategy to Promote Democratic Development in the Broader Middle East," *Washington Quarterly* Vol. 28, 2005.

Jeremy M. Sharp, "The Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative: An Overview," Congressional Research Service Report, February 15, 2005.

THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY AND THE GREAT POWER RIVALRY

Dealing with a Resurgent Power: The Atlantic Alliance and Russia

Putin's Testing: From Georgia to Crimea – And NATO's Response

ARA

TBD

Required Reading

Andrew S. Weiss & Eugene Rumer, "The Day After: Reckoning with a Resurgent Russia," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2020.

Dmitri Trenin, "View from Moscow," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2020.

John Andreas Olsen, "Understanding NATO," *RUSI Journal*, April 2020.

Marc Pierini, "Russia's Posture in the Mediterranean: Implications for NATO and Europe," Carnegie Europe, June 2021.

War in Ukraine 2022-

In this section, we will take a close look at the war in Ukraine – the first full-fledged war in Europe since WW2. We will focus on how the war has prolonged into a stalemate and how this has affected NATO. Has it become Putin's strategic failure or might he actually prevail?

ARA

DW Analysis, "Why the war in Ukraine has bogged down - and how this might change," January 5, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FmFND9FwgFM>

Vox, "Putin's war on Ukraine, explained," March 2, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MVu8QbxafJE>

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Required Reading

Chester A. Crocker, "Endings and Surprises of the Russia–Ukraine War," *Survival*, Vol. 64, No. 5, 2022.

Angela Stent, "The Putin Doctrine: A Move on Ukraine Has Always Been Part of the Plan," *Foreign Affairs*, January 27, 2022.

Nigel Gould-Davies, "Putin's Strategic Failure," *Survival*, Vol. 64, No.2, 2022.

Elective Reading

Eugene Ramer, *Russia and the Security of Europe*, Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2016.

Matthew Kroenig, "Facing Reality: Getting NATO Ready for a New Cold War," *Survival*, Vol. 57, No. 1, 2015, pp. 49–70.

François Heisbourg, "Preserving Post-Cold War Europe," *Survival*, Vol. 57, No. 1, 2015, pp. 31-48.

Nadezhda K. Arbatova & Alexander A. Dynkin, "World Order after Ukraine," *Survival*, Vol. 58, No. 1, 2016, pp. 71-90.

Ulrich Speck, "Beyond Sanctions: What's the West's Strategy on Russia?" Carnegie Europe, August 1, 2014.

Joseph S. Nye, "A Western Strategy for a Declining Russia," *Project Syndicate*, September 3, 2014.

The U.S.-China Rivalry and the Transatlantic Partnership

ARA

TBD

Required Reading

Julianne Smith and Torrey Taussig, "The Old World and the Middle Kingdom," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2019.

Pierre Haroche and Martin Quencez, "NATO Facing China: Responses and Adaptations," *Survival*, Vol. 64, No. 3, 2022.

John R. Deni & Jake Shatzer, "China's Economic Statecraft in Europe During the Pandemic," October 16, 2020.

Pepijn Bergsen, Antony Froggatt, Veerle Nouwens and Raffaello Pantucci, "China and the Transatlantic Relationship Obstacles to Deeper European-US Cooperation," Briefing Paper, RUSI, June 2022.

Ian Bond, François Godement, Hanns W. Maull, and Volker Stanzel, "Rebooting Europe's China Strategy," Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, May 2022.

Elective Reading

Nicola Casarini, "Rising to the Challenge: Europe's Security Policy in East Asia amid US-China Rivalry," *The International Spectator*, Vol. 55, No.1, 2020.

Ian Brzezinski, "NATO's Role in a Transatlantic Strategy on China," *New Atlanticist*, June 1, 2020.

François Godement, "Europe's Response to China's Military Strategies and Challenges," Institut Montaigne, June 24, 2021.

François Heisbourg, "NATO 4.0: The Atlantic Alliance and the Rise of China," *Survival*, 62:2, 2020, 83-102.

The "Southern Flank": U.S., Europe, and the Middle East

ARA

TBD

Required Reading

Becca Wasser et al. *Crossroads of Competition: China, Russia, and the United States in the Middle East*, RAND, 2022, pp.21-68.

Michael Singh, "Axis of Abraham: Arab-Israeli Normalization Could Remake the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2022.

Louis Dugit-Gros, "How to Respond to China's Growing Influence in the Gulf," PolicyWatch 3632, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, July 21, 2022.

Pierre Morcos and Luis Simón, "NATO and the South after Ukraine," CSIS Briefs, May 9, 2022.

Julien Barnes-Dacey and Hugh Lovatt, "Principled Pragmatism: Europe's Place In A Multipolar Middle East," Policy Brief, European Council on Foreign Relations, April 2022.

Elective Reading

Thierry Tardy, "NATO's Sub-strategic Role in the Middle East and North Africa," Policy Brief, German Marshall Fund of the United States, February 2022.

Ignacio Fuente Cobo, "NATO and the 'Southern Flank': Balance and Future Prospects in light of the Madrid Summit 2022," Documento de Análisis IEEA 49/2022.

Stefanie Babst, "Bad Neighborhood," Berlin Policy Journal, May/June 2016.

Margherita Bianchi, Guillaume Lasconjarias, and Alessandro Marrone, "Projecting Stability in NATO's Southern Neighbourhood," NDC Conference Report No. 03/17, July 2017.

Tommy Steiner, "NATO and its Middle East and Mediterranean Partners: Taking NATO's Role in its Southern Flank to a New Strategic Level," Forthcoming Policy Brief for the German Marshall Fund of the United States, October 2016.

NATO's Brave New World: Adapting to New and Emerging Challenges in Face of Internal Divisions

ARA

TBD

Required Reading

Thierry Tardy ed. "NATO's New Strategic Concept," *NDC Research Paper*, No. 25, September 2022, NATO Defense College – Rome.

William Alberque & Benjamin Schreer, "Finland, Sweden and NATO Membership," *Survival*, Vol. 64, No.3, 2022.

Justyna Gotkowska and Jacek Tarociński, "NATO after Madrid: How Much Deterrence and

Defence on the Eastern Flank?" *OSW Commentary*, No. 462, July 5, 2022.

Jamie Shea, "NATO Must Now transform Old Missions into New Strategy," Chatham House, June 21, 2022.

Elective Reading

Judy Dempsey, *From Suez to Syria: Why NATO Must Strengthen its Political Role*, Carnegie Europe, December 2016.

Ivo Daalder and James Goldgeier, "Global NATO," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, September-October 2006.

The Future of the Transatlantic Partnership: Key Drivers & Debates

ARA

TBD

Required Reading

Hans Binnendijk, Daniel S. Hamilton, Alexander Vershbow, "Strategic Responsibility: Rebalancing European and Trans-Atlantic Defense," Brookings Institution, June 24, 2022.

Charles A. Kupchan, "NATO's Hard Road Ahead: The Greatest Threats to Alliance Unity Will Come After the Madrid Summit," *Foreign Affairs*, June 29, 2022.

Jamie Shea, "Annual Stocktaking Analysis on NATO/US/EU Security Structures: Where do we Need to Go Now?" Transatlantic Policy Network, 2022.

Ivan Krastev, "The Specter Haunting Europe: The Unraveling of the Post-1989 Order." *Journal of Democracy*, no. 4 (2016): 88-98.

Alina Polyakova and Benjamin Haddad, "Europe Alone: What Comes After the Transatlantic Alliance," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2019.

Elective Reading

Roland Freudenstein and Craig Kennedy, "A New Transatlantic Agenda: Challenges and Opportunities in the Trump Era," Wilfred Martens Centre for European Studies, May 2017.

Constance Stelzenmüller, "Hostile Ally: The Trump Challenge and Europe's Inadequate Response," Brookings Institution, 2019.

Karen E. Smith, "The European Union in an Illiberal World," *Current History*, 116 (788), 2017, pp. 83-87.