

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PIA 2491-PS 2317 THE POLITICS OF E.U.-U.S. RELATIONS
(PROF. ERIC REMACLE)

January-February 2005, Fri. 9:00 a.m.-12:00 p.m., 3430 Posvar Hall

COURSE DESCRIPTION

As the world's two largest economies, the European Union and the United States of America are at the center of the reorganization of the world order. Their policies have both a deep impact on world trade, international economic and financial organizations, world security, global environmental challenges.

Their history and the sharing of common values is making them at the same time allies and competitors. Furthermore, they both represent historic efforts, in the words of *The Federalist Papers*, to create integrated political institutions by “reason and choice” rather than by “accident and force”. This origin has also led both actors to propose their political and legal model(s) of integration and policymaking to other groups of countries.

USA and EU have built common frameworks for policymaking and joint action, mainly through the so-called *New Transatlantic Agenda* and *Joint Action Plan* adopted in 1995 but also through other transatlantic older organizations, mainly NATO, and co-operation within other multilateral bodies (OSCE, WTO, UNSC, IMF, World Bank, etc...).

The preservation of the transatlantic partnership has been challenged in 2003 by the transatlantic disputes regarding the Iraqi crisis which have in fact addressed the wider question of principles, organization and institutions of world governance. These disputes have nevertheless not opposed Europe and America but a wide array of American and European actors grouped into ‘transatlantic coalitions’.

For all these reasons, this course gives special attention to the different levels of transatlantic relationships: intergovernmental negotiations and relations; joint contributions to the world organization and/or disputes about global issues; links between citizens and so-called “civil societies”. It aims to assess the impact of transatlantic relations on both actors and on third parties in fields like economics, trade, monetary stability, security, global issues.

The idea of a ‘crisis’ or ‘drifting apart’ between the USA and the EU will be discussed and put into question throughout the whole series of classes and additional lectures.

The course will run for 5 regular sessions on Fridays, from 9:00 to 12:00, plus several additional lectures by guest speakers invited by the University of Pittsburgh.

CORE READINGS

- John PETERSON & Mark POLLACK (eds), *Europe, America, Bush. Transatlantic Relations in the 21st Century*, Routledge, London, 2003.
- Jolyon HOWORTH & John T.S. KEELER (eds), *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York-Basingstoke, 2003.

ASSIGNMENTS AND ASSESSMENT

All members of the course will be assigned two or three pieces of reading for each session. They will be called upon to make one presentation during the course (which can be a draft of their final paper), and to participate in general discussion.

As far as final paper is concerned, students are required to conduct research that assesses the impact of the transatlantic relations in one peculiar empirical sector. Theory is welcome but not compulsory. The use of a comprehensive bibliography about the case study is required.

GSPIA students are allowed to refer less to theory and more to policy recommendations than Political Science students.

Size of the paper: 10-15 pages, including bibliography.

Submission **by email** by February 14, 2005.

Assessment will be determined as follows:

* paper	60%
* class presentation	30%
* class participation	10%

HOW TO CONTACT ME ?

Office : Room 4445 Wesley W. Posvar Hall

Office hours : Monday Jan. 10, 17 and and Wed. Feb. 2 between 9 am and 12 pm (no need to make any more precise appointment, I stay in the office anyway).

Tel. (412-64)8-7272

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FRIDAY JANUARY 7
PARAMETERS OF TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS – UNITY OR CRISIS ?

The historical dimension

- Kevin Featherstone & Roy H. Ginsberg, *The United States and the European Union in the 1990s : Partners in Transition*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1996.
- Thomas Frellesen & Roy H. Ginsberg, *EU-US Foreign Policy Cooperation in the 1990s. Elements of Partnership*, Center for European Policy Studies, Brussels, 1994.
- Roy H. Ginsberg, « US-EU Relations : The Commercial, Political and Security Dimensions », in Pierre-Henri Laurent & Marc Maresceau eds, *The State of the European Union*, vol. 4, *Deepening and Widening*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1998.
- Miles Kahler & Werner Link, *Europe and America. A Return to History*, Council on Foreign Relations Press, New York, 1996.
- Karl K. Schonberg, « The Evolution of American Attitudes toward the Atlantic Alliance: Continuity and Change from the Washington Treaty to NATO Enlargement », *European Security* 9, 4, London, 2000.

The EU-US Framework for Co-operation: the New Transatlantic Agenda

- Frances G. Burwell & Ivo Daalder eds, *The United States and Europe in the Global Arena*, Macmillan/St Martin's Press, London/New York, 1999.
- Matthias Dembinski & Gerke Kinka eds, *Cooperation or Conflict. Transatlantic Relations in Transition*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1998.
- Anthony Gardner, *A New Era in US-EU Relations ? The Clinton Administration and the New Transatlantic Agenda*, Avebury, Aldershot, 1997.
- David C. Gompert & Stephen S. Larrabee eds, *America & Europe. A Partnership for a New Era*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998.
- Hall Gardner & Rsdoslava Stefanova eds, *The New Transatlantic Agenda. Facing the Challenges of Global Governance*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2001.
- Jörg Monar ed, *The New Transatlantic Agenda and the Future of EU-US Relations*, Kluwer, London, 1998.
- Eric Philippart & Pascaline Winand (eds), *Ever Closer Partnership. Policy-Making in US-EU Relations*, Peter Lang-PIE, Bern-Brussels, 2001, pp. 17-72.
- Mark A. Pollack & Gregory C. Shaffer (eds), *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, 2001.

The debate about the transatlantic crisis in the early 2000s (see also session Feb. 4, 2005 hereafter)

- Antony J. Blinken, « The False Crisis Over the Atlantic » + Dominique Moïsi, « The Real Crisis Over the Atlantic », *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2001 + July/August 2001.
- Ivo Daalder, “Are the United States and Europe Heading for Divorce ?”, *International Affairs* 77(3), July 2001, pp. 553-567.
- Charles Grant, *Transatlantic Rift: How to Bring the Two Sides Together*, Centre for European Reform, London, July 2003.
- Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, Knopf, New York, 2003 (+« Power and Weakness », *Policy Review* 113, June/July 2002).
- Charles Krauthammer, « The Unipolar Moment Revisited », *The National Interest* 70, Winter 2002/2003.
- Andrew Moravcsik, “Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain”, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2003.
- Joseph S. Nye Jr., *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002.
- James B. Steinberg, “An Elective Partnership: Salvaging Transatlantic Relations”, *Survival* 45(2), Summer 2003, pp. 113-146.

THURSDAY JANUARY 13 – 12:00 PM – 4217 POSVAR HALL

ADDITIONAL SESSION - GUEST LECTURER

“Why the Cooks Don’t Do the Dishes: On the Division of Labor in International Crisis Management”

by Dr. Marc HOUBEN, former Netherlands Liaison Officer to the Coalition Provisional Authority (South), Basra, Iraq

Co-sponsored by the CWES/EUC and the University Honors College

(no readings to be prepared)

FRIDAY JANUARY 14
VALUES AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICIES

Readings: Peterson & Pollack, Chapter 2 and 9, pp. 13-28, 115-127; Howorth & Keeler, Chapter 1, pp. 3-21. Before this session, compare the two following documents and identify points of convergence and divergence about values and interests:

- *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, The White House, Washington DC, September 2002 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>).
- *A Secure Europe in a Better World. European Security Strategy*, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 12 December 2003 (<http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>).

Additional bibliography :

- Gordon Adams, Christophe Cornu & Andrew D. James, ed. by Burkard Schmitt, *Between Cooperation and Competition : the Transatlantic Defence Market*, Institute for Security Studies, European Union, Chaillot Paper n. 44, Paris, January 2001.
- Ronald D. Asmus, *Opening NATO's Doors*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2002.
- Stephen Blank, "The Transatlantic Security Agenda: A Conference Report and Analysis", *European Security* 11(2), Summer 2002, pp. 1-32.
- John Borawski & Thomas Durrell-Young, *NATO After 2000 : The Future of the Euro-Atlantic Alliance*, Praeger, Westport, 2001.
- Robert Cooper, "The New Liberal Imperialism", *The Observer*, 7 April 2002 (= *The Post-Modern State*, The Foreign Policy Centre, London, 2002) (<http://observer.guardian.co.uk/worldview/story/0,11581,680095,00.html>).
- Robert Cooper, "How Shall We Answer Robert Kagan ?", *Transatlantic Internationale Politik* 2/2003, pp. 19-24.
- Stuart Croft, « The EU, NATO and Europeanisation: The Return of Architectural Debate », *European Security*, 9, 3, London, 2000.
- Thérèse Delpech, *International Terrorism and Europe*, Institute for Security Studies, European Union, Chaillot Paper n. 56, Paris, December 2002.
- Philip H. Gordon, « Bridging the Atlantic Divide », *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2003.
- Pierre Hassner, *The United States. The Empire of Force or the Force of Empire ?*, Institute for Security Studies, European Union, Chaillot Paper n. 54, Paris, September 2002.
- François Heisbourg, "A Work in Progress, the Bush Doctrine and Its Consequences", *Washington Quarterly* 26(2), pp. 75-88.
- Gustav Lindstrom (ed.), *Shift or Rift. Assessing US-EU Relations After Iraq*, European Union Institute for Security Studies, Paris, 2003 (<http://www.iss-eu.org/chaillot/bk2003.pdf>).
- Kori Schake, *Constructive Duplication : Reducing EU Reliance on US Military Assets*, Centre for European Reform, London, January 2002.
- Gustav Schmidt ed., *A History of NATO. The First Fifty Years*, Palgrave, London/New York, 3 volumes, 2001.
- Stanley Sloan, *NATO, the European Union and the Atlantic Community. The Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham MD, 2003.
- Javier Solana, *Mars and Venus Reconciled. A New era for Transatlantic Relations*, Speech at the Kennedy School of Government, 7 April 2003 (<http://ue.eu.int/newsroom/makeFrame.asp?MAX=1&BID=107&DID=75373&LANG=1&File=/pressData/en/discours/75373.pdf&Picture=0>).

Special issues of journals on the security dimension of transatlantic relations :

- *Cooperation and Conflict* vol. 38, n. 3, September 2003, Sage Publications.
- *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 8, n. 4, Winter 2003, Kluwer Law Publisher.

FRIDAY JANUARY 21
TRADE, ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS, ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Readings: Peterson & Pollack, Chapters 3 and 5, pp. 29-46; 59-68.

Additional bibliography :

- John J. Audley, *Green politics and global trade: Nafta and the future of environmental politics*, Georgetown University Press, 1997.
- Jagdish N. Bhagwati, *The Wind of the Hundred Days: How Washington Mismanaged Globalization*, MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 2001.
- George Boyd ed, *The Struggle for World Markets. Competition and Cooperation Between NAFTA and the European Union*, Edward Elgar, Aldershot, 1998.
- Youri Devuyt, « Towards a Multilateral Competition Policy Regime ? », *Global Governance* 6, 2000, pp. 319-338.
- European-American Business Council, *The United States and Europe : Jobs, Investment and Trade*, EABC, Washington DC, 2001.
- Simon J. Evenett, Alexander Lahmann & Benn Steil eds, *Antitrust Goes Global : What Future for Transatlantic Cooperation ?*, Brookings Institution, Washington DC, 2000.
- Geza Feketekuty & Bruce Stokes eds, *Trade Strategies for A New Era. Ensuring US Leadership in a Global Economy*, Council of Foreign Relations Press, New York, 1998.
- Eleanor Fox, « Antitrust Regulation across National Borders : the United States of Boeing versus the European Union of Airbus », *Brookings Review* 6, 1, 1998, pp. 30-32.
- Ellen Frost, *Transatlantic Trade : A Strategic Agenda*, Institute for International Economics, Washington DC, 1998.
- Mark Grubb & Farhana Yamin, “Climate Collapse at the Hague: What happened and where do we go from here?”, *International Affairs* 77,2, April 2001, pp.261-276.
- Randall C. Henning & Pier Carlo Padoan, *Transatlantic Perspectives on the Euro*, Brookings Institution Press, Washington DC, 2000.
- Samuel Hopgood, *American Foreign Environmental Policy and the Power of the State*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998.
- T. Legge & C. Egenhofer, *CEPS Commentary: After Marrakech: the Regionalization of the Kyoto Protocol*, CEPS Brussels, 2001.
- John McCormick, *Environmental Policy in the European Union*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2001.
- Eric Philippart & Pascaline Winand (eds), *Ever Closer Partnership. Policy-Making in US-EU Relations*, Peter Lang-PIE, Bern-Brussels, 2001, pp. 283-312.
- Mark A. Pollack & Gregory C. Shaffer (eds), *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, 2001, pp. 45-95 & 127-152.
- Joseph P. Quinlan, *Drifting Apart or Growing Together ? The Primacy of the Transatlantic Economy*, Center for Transatlantic Relations, Washington DC, 2003 (executive summary in English: http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/PDF/publications/Executive_Summary-English.pdf; full text in French on <http://www.robert-schuman.org/notes/note23.pdf>).
- Wolfgang H. Reinicke, *Deepening the Atlantic. Toward a New Transatlantic Marketplace ?*, Bertelsmann Foundation, Gütersloh, 1996.
- Alberta M. Sbragia, « European Union and NAFTA », in Mario Telo ed., *European Union and New Regionalism. Regional Actors and Global Governance in a Post-Hegemonic Era*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2001, pp. 97-109.
- Michael Smith, « Competitive Cooperation and US-EU Relations. Can the EU be a strategic partner for the US in the world economy ? », *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5, 4, 1998, pp. 561-577.
- David G. Victor, *The Collapse of the Kyoto Protocol and the Struggle to Slow Global Warming*, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ, 2001.

FRIDAY JANUARY 28
TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS AS A MULTI-LEVEL GAME:
PUBLIC OPINIONS, INTEREST GROUPS AND DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS

Readings: compare the four following studies:

* German Marshall Fund of the United States, *Transatlantic Trends 2004 – Topline Data*, June 2004 (<http://www.transatlantictrends.org/>).

* Pew Research Center, Pew Global Attitude Project, *One Year After Iraq. Mistrust of America in Europe Even Higher, Muslim Anger Persists*, 16 March 2004 (available at <http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=206>).

* Anand Menon & Jonathan Lipkin, *European Attitudes Towards Transatlantic Relations 2002-2003*, Notre Europe Paris, 2-3 May 2003 (<http://www.notre-europe.asso.fr>).

* Timo Behr, *US attitudes towards Europe: a shift of paradigms ?*, Notre Europe, Paris, 6 November 2003 (<http://www.notre-europe.asso.fr/pages/indexmain.php>).

Additional bibliography :

- Paul-Henri Claeyns, Corinne Gobin, Isabelle Smets & Pascaline Winand eds, *Lobbying, Pluralism and European Integration*, PIE-Peter Lang, Brussels-Bern, 1998.
- Sergio Fabbrini, “The Domestic Sources of European Anti-Americanism”, *Government and Opposition* 37(1), Winter 2002, pp. 3-14.
- Maria Green Cowles, “The EU Committee of AmCham: the Powerful Voice of American Firms in Brussels”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 3, 3, 1996, pp. 339-358.
- Maria Green Cowles, « Trends in International Business : the TransAtlantic Business Dialogue : Business at the Negotiating Table », *International Executive*, November/December 1996, pp. 849-856.
- Maria Green Cowles, « The Transatlantic Business Dialogue and Domestic Business-Government Relations », in Maria Green Cowles, James Caporaso & Thomas Risse eds, *Transforming Europe. Europeanization and Domestic Change*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2001.
- Peter B. Evans, Harold K. Jacobson, Robert D. Putnam, *Double-Edged Diplomacy : International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, Univ. of California Press, Berkeley, 1993.
- J.P. Heinz e.a., *The Hollow Core : Private Interests in National Policy Making*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1993.
- Robert Howse, « The World Trade Organization and the Protection of Workers’ Rights », *Journal of Small and Emerging Business Law* 3, 1, 1999, pp. 131-172.
- Ethan B. Kapstein, *Sharing the Wealth : Workers and the World Economy*, Norton, New York, 1999.
- Ronnie D. Lipschutz, *Global Civil Society and Global Environmental Governance*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1996.
- Robert N. Mayer, *The Consumer Movement : Guardians of the Marketplace*, Twayne, Boston, 1989.
- Eric Philippart & Pascaline Winand (eds), *Ever Closer Partnership. Policy-Making in US-EU Relations*, Peter Lang-PIE, Bern-Brussels, 2001, pp. 83-106 & 313-347.
- Mark A. Pollack & Gregory C. Shaffer (eds), *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, 2001, pp. 213-284.
- Kalevi Raustiala, « States, NGOs and International Environmental Institutions », *International Studies Quarterly*, 41, 1997, pp. 719-740.
- Thomas Risse-Kappen, *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In : Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*, Cambridge Univ Press, New York, 1995.
- Jan Aart Scholte, Robert O’Brien & Marc Williams, « The WTO and Civil Society », *Journal of World Trade*, 331, 1999, pp. 107-123.

MONDAY JANUARY 31 – 12:00 PM – 4130 POSVAR HALL

ADDITIONAL SESSION - GUEST LECTURER

“Can the European Union Become a Strategic Actor ?”

by Dr. Jean-Yves HAINE, Senior Research Fellow, European Union Institute for Security Studies,
Paris

Sponsored by the CWES/EUC.

(no readings to be prepared)

FRIDAY FEBRUARY 4
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CHALLENGES FOR THE TRANSATLANTIC ALLIANCE

Readings: Peterson & Pollack, Chapters 6-7-8, pp. 69-114; Howorth & Keeler, pp. 203-238.

Additional bibliography :

- Dana H. Allin, *NATO's Balkan Interventions*, Adelphi Paper 347, Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 2002.
- Ronald D. Asmus, "Rebuilding the Transatlantic Alliance", *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2003.
- Michael Brenner & Guillaume Parmentier, *Reconcilable Differences: French-American Relations in the New Era*, Brookings Institution, Washington DC, 2001.
- Jeffrey L. Cimbalo, "Saving NATO From Europe", *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2004, and the answer from Ronald D. Asmus, Anthony J. Blinken & Philip H. Gordon, "Nothing to Fear" *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2005.
- Council on Foreign Relations, *Renewing the Atlantic Partnership*, Report of an Independent Task Force, Co-Chairs Henry A. Kissinger & Lawrence H. Summers, Project Director Charles A. Kupchan, March 2004 (http://www.cfr.org/pdf/Europe_TF.pdf).
- Ivo Daalder, "The End of Atlanticism", *Survival* 45(2), Summer 2003, pp. 147-166.
- Timothy Garton Ash, *Free World: Why a Crisis of the West Reveals the Opportunity of Our Time*, Penguin Books, 2004.
- Nicole Gnesotto, "Reacting to America", *Survival* 44(4), Winter 2002/03, pp. 99-106.
- François Heisbourg & Charles Grant, *How Should Europe Respond to the New America ?*, *Prospect*, Centre for European Reform, London, April 2003, pp. 16-20.
- John C. Hulsman & Nile Gardiner, *A Conservative Vision for U.S. Policy Toward Europe*, Heritage Foundation, Oct. 2004 (<http://www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/bg1803.cfm>).
- Charles A. Kupchan, *The End of the American Era*, Knopf, New York, 2002 (+ Charles A. Kupchan, "The Rise of Europe, America's Changing Internationalism and the End of US Primacy", *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 118, n. 2, Summer 2003, pp. 205-231).
- Ian O. Lesser, *The United States and Euro-Mediterranean Relations: Evolving Attitudes and Strategies*, EuroMeSCobrief. 10, Lisbon, July 2004 (full text available on http://www.euromesco.net/euromesco/publi_artigo.asp?cod_artigo=105007).
- Geir Lundestad e.a., *No End to Alliance*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1998.
- Walter Mattli, *The Logic of Regional Integration. Europe and Beyond*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK, 2000, especially pp. 179-188 (« integration in North America »).
- Shoji Nishijama & Peter H. Smith eds, *Cooperation or Rivalry ? Regional Integration in the Americas and the Pacific Rim*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1996.
- John H. Norris, "When Alliance and Self-Interest Collide", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 16, n. 2, July 2003, pp. 36-47 (available among electronic resources on Pitt library catalogue).
- T.R. Reid, *The United States of Europe: The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy*, Penguin Books, 2004.
- Alberta M. Sbragia, "Building Markets and Comparative Regionalism: Governance Beyond the Nation-State", in Markus Jachtenfuss, Michele Knodt (eds), *Regieren in internationalen Institutionen*, Leske+Budrich, 2002, pp. 235-254.
- Hazel Smith, "Giving Peace a Chance: What the EU Can Teach the US", *EUSA Review* 16(1), Winter 2003.
- James P. Thomas, *The Military Challenges of Transatlantic Coalitions*, Adelphi Paper 333, Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 2000.