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**LV 15 373: EU and the United States Foreign and Security Policy in Comparative
Perspective: Prospects for Transatlantic Cooperation** Winter semester
Monday 10 -- 12 AM, the seminar will be held in presence & online (hybrid mode) 2021/22

Below you will find the syllabus for this seminar with all details regarding contents, structure, procedure, and basic readings. However, I start with some general hints of how we will proceed in the seminar, held in presence & online that is in 'hybrid mode'!

Preparations before the seminar starts – managing the general access:

This seminar is offered in class Monday 14-16h in room 21-F for everybody able and willing to comply with the „3-G-Regeln“. Those who cannot or do not want to comply with these rules may participate via the online option based on Webex. For a start, those students registered directly via the CMS are first to take part in presence, while those who have been admitted outside the 35 participation limit by the lecturer are asked to start via the online option. We will then learn who will prefer to come to class or who will opt for online during the first & second session, allowing others to join the class in presence once we know who will be staying online. However, in any case, the previous experience shows that everybody coming to class should also bring her/ his notebook for entering our Webex meeting in parallel.

Rules for participating in presence:

- All in-class participants have to do justice to the 3-G rules!
- All in-class participants are required to register via the QR-Code available in our seminar room!
- All in-class participants ought to – and this is a legal obligation in the state of Berlin (whether we like it or not!) – wear a FFP-2 mask if we cannot guarantee a minimum distance of 1,5 m. IF this distance can be kept, medical masks suffice ☺!
>>This is also valid for the lecturer despite all inconvenience this may cause; we will handle this with humor and pragmatism!

Here comes the detailed information on entering the seminar via Webex:

Use the following link to join or copy this into your web browser:

<https://fu-berlin.webex.com/fu-berlin/j.php?MTID=mebbabae9d97f6d5fb7b9c7e563515755>

In case this should not work try this way:

1. Use this URL for access to Webex: <https://fu-berlin.webex.com>
2. For joining our seminar use „Meeting Beitreten“ and insert the following 'Kennummer' ein: 2732 410 0087
3. In case you are requested to provide for a password, use this one
4. Sie werden aufgefordert, ein 'Passwort' einzutragen. Geben Sie ein: P4SdCpJDK99 & enter!

You can only enter the virtual classroom once the lecturer will have started the session which will happen every session at 14.00h thus allowing time for the necessary adjustments.

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LV 15 373: EU and the United States Foreign and Security Policy in Comparative Perspective: Prospects for Transatlantic Cooperation

Tuesday 2-4 pm, the Seminar will be conducted online via Webex

**Winter semester
2021/22**

The end of the East-West conflict (“11/9”) and the terrorist attacks of September 2001 (“9/11”) significantly altered or accentuated the political agenda in general and the security agenda in particular of “the West” (and beyond), i. e. of EU-Europe and the United States of America (as well as Canada). Instead of traditional military threats transatlantic partners, governments, and societies (as well as other parts of the World) encounter sources of insecurity, which are new or at least have gained new relevance: international/transnational terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, failing states, transnational migration or organized crime. Hence, instead of ‘threats’ security ‘risks’ have emerged, associated with state and non-state actors, whose intentions and capabilities are not always obvious. Moreover, the global economic crisis has evolved since 2008 very much questioning the effectiveness and legitimacy of western policy-making and possibly undermining the West’s international standing and impact on global governance.

The empirical focus of this seminar will be on the various ‘security risks & risk management’ in a **broad understanding of ‘security’** encompassing traditional security threats as much as new risks, including economic and societal challenges.

Many analysts, as well as politicians, address these challenges from a premise of transatlantic policy interdependence, often corresponding to a plea and hope for policy coordination and cooperation across the Atlantic when it comes to tackling these challenges. After the often-dramatic crisis in transatlantic relations during the Bush years, we have witnessed constructive changes with the Obama administration again turning to more confrontational policy-making by the Trump administration. Against this backdrop, **the central research interest and questions guiding this seminar are: *Are we witnessing a further decline of transatlantic cooperation across issue areas or are there still hopeful prospects for mutually cooperative engagement?***

Thus, the **analytical focus of this seminar** is directed toward **three interrelated aspects** of the new political and security agenda and the transatlantic partners’ attempts to cope with these challenges: **1)** How do political actors on both sides define the problems, adequate strategies, and instruments for addressing these security risks? **2)** How is this agenda institutionalized and which forms of governance are enfolding? **3)** What kind of implications do the answers to the previous question have for a) the practice and prospects of transatlantic cooperation and b) for problem-solving, i. e. for the effectiveness or success of transatlantic risk management policies?

Hence, the **students’ assignment** consists of 1) spotting a significant political/security challenge (threat or risk, or in the broad sense of the security realm), 2) identifying cooperation problems among transatlantic partners and attempts at institutional cooperation, and 3) analyzing causes for ‘success or failure’ of transatlantic cooperation, 4) investigating and evaluating political strategies and expert recommendations for overcoming these cooperation problems.

The **principal objective** of this seminar is to provide a framework for students’ work aiming at **two types of case studies**: either a) a case study to generate hypotheses, or b) a case study testing one (or a set of) hypotheses.

Seminar procedure:

- By using **basic texts in sessions 1 – 8**, we will get a common basis of understanding for the subject and its various political aspects. This will also offer various dimensions of problems and different views on the topic. Moreover, this should allow the students to select a specific topic as a project they want to pursue in their research possibly leading to a presentation and a seminar paper.
- In **sessions 9 – 14**, students (or small workgroups of students) will present results (or intermediate results) of their 'case study'. The latter has to be conceived as **examples** of a more general problem and incorporate the lead questions of the seminar. The presentations will be no longer than 20-minutes, and will additionally provide problem-oriented basics on the topic to allow everyone having in mind the general research interest of this course to take part in the discussion.
- The **student presentations** should show the structure and the plan of the respective final paper. The presentation will be followed by a discussion in the plenary on the design and its implementation of the research project. That means that in your presentation you should discuss the relevance of your paper's specific research question, and in **a type-a)** case study, how you want to generate hypotheses, in **type-b)** case studies, the chosen hypotheses, and its theoretical background, the "operationalization" of the hypothesis, as well as the empirical realization and the intermediate results of your examination. The **interrelationship between** the respective research interest, IR theories, and adequate methods will have to be clarified.
- Students will select the topic for their research project out of the huge variety of possible cases related to the seminar's *problematique*. The project proposals (regardless of which type of case study) should be submitted to the lecturer via e-mail. **Only students who indicated in advance and written form their readiness to give a presentation are entitled to submit a final paper for grading**, irrespective of the fact that they were chosen or not for actually doing a presentation.
- The student carrying out a project presentation will provide a **hand-out** on the presentation consisting of its **research concept** possibly supplemented by a **fact-sheet** –possibly prepared by another student in fulfillment of the deliverables for the certificate of participation – as well as a reading recommendation for a basic text dealing with the specific subject. All papers for the presentation should be turned in to the lecturer and the whole class well in advance.
- For connecting the whole seminar we will make use of a **mailing list** rendering it easy for every member of this seminar to provide her/his papers to the fellow students also well in advance. On how to obtain an **FU-blackboard account** consult <http://www.cms.fu-berlin.de/lms/studierende/selbstregistrierung/index.html>. On how to subscribe to the FU-blackboard mailing list for this seminar consult <http://lms.fu-berlin.de/infos/studierende-faq.html>. There will be the possibility of self-enrollment on Blackboard subject to the submission of a **password**. This password will be announced in one of the first seminar sessions.
- The students, who are selected for doing a presentation meeting with the lecturer at least twice. First for a preliminary discussion of the topic and research interest through the example they chose. And then at least once more in the week before the presentation takes place for a final discussion of the preparations and presentation strategy for the respective session.

Student assignments:

1. For all participants!

- a) Continuous attendance and active participation in seminar discussions.
- b) Preparation & introduction of a basic text in-class sessions 2 -8, a write an excerpt on that basic text. If all texts are taken for presentation, other students may freely choose one for writing one excerpt!

2. For those students aiming at a participation certificate (besides assignment under point 1.)

- c) Preparation of an information sheet/ 'facts & figures' (3-5 pages) for one student project, first of all for those to be presented in class in coordination with the respective fellow student.

b) (in addition to a.) for those who are going to do a seminar paper:

- Readiness to do a **project presentation during sessions 9 to 14**. The first project proposals (see above) should be handed in by the end of **week three** of the seminar and indicate a preliminary subject and possibly a sketch of a case study along the lines of the common course *problematique*.
- An **elaborated research concept/design** of two pages and a preliminary structure of the expected seminar paper have to follow by the end of **week six**. Those chosen for the presentation will also present a revised research design for the meeting with the lecturer.
- **A seminar paper** will be between 15 and 20 pages long (i.e. 6.000 words), with a problem-focused question in the preface, the main part in which the necessary empirical work for answering the question is presented, and a final part, which consists of a qualified answer to the question posed in the introduction of the paper. Papers will have to resemble the basic *problematique* and guiding questions of the seminar. Additionally, a list of literature used is a standard requirement for any decent research paper. Type-size is 12. Line size is 1½. **Papers not meeting these standards will not be accepted; they should be submitted as pdf.**
- Papers have to be turned in by the end of the semester, i.e. **until March 31, 2022**.

c) (in addition to 1) for those aiming at an attendance certificate ("Teilnahmeschein")

- Students prepare in coordination with the student/s working on the respective case – a 3-5-page **briefing-paper/ fact-sheet** sketching 'facts and figures' on a respective transatlantic issue/conflict/crisis, thus providing the background for the actual project presentation. This could, for example, encompass basic information relevant to the issue in question, i.e. a time-line on the evolution of an issue, some facts, and figures relevant for the substance of the issue, some statistics, or a list of basic documents and articles or books of special interest. These briefing papers are due for the session when the respective project/case study will be presented and should be circulated to all seminar participants via Blackboard!

Services of the lecturer:

- I will structure and conduct the seminar in the sense of constructive "supervision" in terms of content and procedure by keeping an eye on the central theme, i.e. the overall research interest of this seminar as stated above.
- I will prepare myself profoundly for every session.
- I will be available for students (or small groups of students) after consultation during my office hours for preparation of the paper presentation or the paper, as well as for any other questions.
- Seminar papers will be read and commented on thoroughly, and grading will be done in a differentiating manner. A 'Schein' will be given to students only after the lecturer's feedback on the seminar paper during office hours.

Contact and appointments: via the list at my office door at **Ihnestr. 22, room 102**

Under Corona circumstances: Please write an email to make appointments for online office hours!

Seminar Overview

Session	Topic	Remarks
Part 1:		
Session 1 (19 Oct. 2021)	Introduction to the seminar subject, its analytical focus as well as the procedures to be followed over the semester	Literature-based plenary discussion
Session 2 (26 Oct. 2021)	Transatlantic Relations in Historical Perspective	Literature-based plenary discussion
Session 3 (02 Nov. 2021)	Problems of describing and evaluating the quality of the transatlantic relationship, crisis, and cooperation as well as explaining cooperation problems	Literature-based plenary discussion
Session 4 (09 Nov. 2021)	Conceptualizing (New) Security Challenges: Threats, Risks and other Sources of Insecurity	Literature-based plenary discussion <i>Note: End of this week your first project proposal is due!</i>
Session 5 (16 Nov. 2021)	The global economic crisis and its impact on transatlantic partners and prospects for cooperation	Literature-based plenary discussion
Session 6 (23 Nov. 2021)	A shortlist of method issues: case study design, policy evaluation, and causal analysis	Literature-based plenary discussion <i>Note: End of this week your elaborated project proposal is due!</i>
Session 7 (30 Nov. 2021)	Masterplans – Blueprints – Remedies: Policy recommendations and their ‘theoretical’ foundations	
Session 8 (07 Dec. 2021)	Transatlantic Relations in a Rollercoaster: from Bush to Obama, Trump, and Biden	Literature-based plenary discussion
PART 2		
Session 9 (14 Dec. 2021)	2 case studies	Student presentations
Session 10 (04 Jan. 2022)	2 case studies	Student presentations
Session 11 (11 Jan. 2022)	2 case studies	Student presentations
Session 12 (18 Jan. 2022)	2 case studies	Student presentations
Session 13 (25 Jan. 2022)	2 case studies	Student presentations
Session 14 (01 Febr. 2022)	2 case studies	Student presentations
Session 15 (08 Febr. 2022)	2 case studies	
Session 16 (15 Febr. 2022)	Final Discussion: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empirical Findings and Academic Added Value of the Seminar? • Seminar critique 	

SEMINAR STRUCTURE

1. Introduction to the seminar subject, its central research interest as well as the procedures to be followed over the semester. (19 Oct. 2021)

- Why could or should transatlantic relations be a worthwhile subject for us?
 - Research interests, analytical challenges and problems of explanation.
 - Procedures guiding this seminar.
 - Student assignments and grading of student performance.
- Krause, Keith, and Williams Michael C. 1996. Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods. *Mershon International Studies Review* 40: 229-54.
 - Smith, Steve. 1999. The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualizing Security in the Last Twenty Years. *Contemporary Security Policy* 20(3): 72-101.

2. Transatlantic Relations in Historical Perspective (26 Oct. 2021)

How have TAR been characterized in the past and what crises occurred? We are interested in learning about past crises, i.e. about the reasons, the intensity of conflicts and crisis, and the remedies that were applied. Moreover, we want to learn some basic features of transatlantic cooperation, i.e. about the intensity and quality of cooperation, the institutionalization of the US-European relationship. What kind of 'cooperation', 'conflicts', or 'crisis' could be differentiated, which preliminary typology/typologies could be inferred?

What are the more recent features of TAR and its crises and the respective accounts? We should learn about the different qualifications of the state of the relationship and the prospects for transatlantic cooperation. Again: What accounts are given concerning a) the state of affairs, b) prospects for TAR? Why do different authors come to different accounts, and what is their respective basis in terms of worldviews, data, and judgments? Which categories are introduced which could be useful for a typology of cooperation, conflicts, or crisis? What kind of mix is discernible concerning the long-term/structural vs. short-terms/contingent 'crisis'?

Basic texts:

- Lundestad, Geir. 2003. *The United States and Western Europe since 1945*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press. Introduction, 1-21.
- Peters, Ingo. 2006. Contending versions and competing visions of transatlantic relations. In *Transatlantic Tug-of-War. Prospects for EU-US Relations Cooperation* edited by Peters, Ingo, 11-49. Münster, Hamburg: Lit Verlag.
- Pollack, M. A. 2005. The New Transatlantic Agenda at ten: Reflections on an experiment in international governance. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43: 5, 899-91

Some additional texts:

The following overview of additional readings in this section is not intended to be an exhaustive account and cannot make up for student's efforts in identifying and coping with the relevant literature.

(recommended first choices >>***)

Andrews, D. M., Ed. (2005). *The Atlantic Alliance Under Stress: US-European Relations after Iraq*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Anagnostakis, D. (2017). *EU-US cooperation on internal security: building a transatlantic regime*. London: Routledge.

- Anheier, H. K., Falkner, R., Bunde, T., & Ischinger, W. (2017). European Security Policy at the End of the Post-Cold War Era. *Global Policy* 8(S4), 27-29.
- Bergsten, Fred C. 1999: America and Europe: Clash of the Titans?, in *Foreign Affairs* 78:2, 20-34.
- Bertram, Christoph, Partnerschaft und Divergenz: die amerikanische Außenpolitik und die Zukunft der transatlantischen Beziehungen, in: Rudolf, Peter/Wilzewski, Jürgen (Ed.): *Weltmacht ohne Gegner. Amerikanische Außenpolitik zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts*, Baden-Baden 2000. 395-400.
- Blinken, Antony J. 2001. The False Crisis Over the Atlantic. *Foreign Affairs* 80: 3, 35-48.
- Burghardt, Günter. 2006. *The European Union's Transatlantic Relationship*. Vol. 2, *Eu Diplomacy Papers*. Brussels: College of Europe.
- Cox, Michael. 2004. *The Trans-Atlantic Relationship in the Post-Cold War International Relations*. Budapest: Center for Policy Studies, Central European University.
- Czempiel, Ernst-Otto, Deutschland und USA: Kooperation und Irritation, in: *Außenpolitik*: 1 (1982), 14-29.
- Delpech, Thérèse. 2002. Four Views of 9/11. *Internationale Politik* 3: 52, 3-8.
- Dembinski, Matthias/Gerke, Kinka (Ed.), *Transatlantic Relations in Transition*, Frankfurt a. M./ New York 1998.
- Everts, Steven. 2001. A new phase in US-European relations. In *Europe After September 11th* edited by Bannermann, Edward/Everts, Steven/Grabbe, Heather/Grant, Charles /Murray, Alasdair, 16-31. London: CER.
- Forndran, Erhard 1991: *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und Europa. Erfahrungen und Perspektiven transatlantischer Beziehungen seit dem 1. Weltkrieg*, Baden-Baden.
- Fouskas, V. & Bülent, G. 2019. *The Disintegration of Euro-Atlanticism and New Authoritarianism Global Power-Shift*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Gaddis, John Lewis 1997: *We Now Know. Rethinking Cold War History*, Oxford, Chapt 2. 26-53 (‘Cold War Empires: Europe’).
- Gann, Lewis H./Duignan, Peter (Ed.) 1998: *Contemporary Europe and the Atlantic Alliance: a political history*. Oxford.
- Gardner, H., Ed. (2004). *NATO and the European Union. New World, New Europe, New Threats*. Aldershot, Ashgate.
- Gustenau, G. E., O. Höll, et al., Eds. (2005). *Europa-USA: Diverging Partners*. Baden-Baden, Nomos.
- Haftendorn, Helga. 2003. A Poisoned Relationship? Die transatlantischen Beziehungen nach den Terrorangriffen des 11. September 2001. In *Weltmacht vor neuer Bedrohung. Die Bush-Administration und die US-Außenpolitik nach dem Angriff auf Amerika* edited by Kremp, Werner/Wilzewski, Jürgen, 249-275. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag.
- Hanhimäki, Jussi M./ Schoenborn, Benedikt/ Zanchetta, Barbara (2012): *Transatlantic relations since 1945: an introduction*, Routledge.
- Hanrieder, Wolfram 1995: *Deutschland, Europa, Amerika. Die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949-1994*, Paderborn.
- Hanrieder, Wolfram 1992: The FRG and NATO: Between Security Dependence and Security Partnership, in: *Kirchner, Emil/Sperling, James (Ed.): The Federal Republic of Germany and NATO. 40 Years After*, London, 194-220.
- ***Howorth, J. (2018). Strategic autonomy and EU-NATO cooperation: threat or opportunity for transatlantic defence relations?. *Journal of European Integration* 40(5), 523-537.
- ***Howard, Michael, An unhappy successful marriage, in: *Foreign Affairs* 2 (1999), 164-175.
- Kellner, A. (2018). Condemned to Succeed? The EU Security and Defence Policy one Year After the Global Strategy. *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* 11(1), 1-11.
- Knapp, Manfred/Link, Werner, et. al. 1975: *Die USA und Deutschland 1918-1975*, München.
- Kagan, Robert. 2002. Power and Weakness. *Policy Review* 113, 3-28. <http://www.policyreview.org/JUN02/kagan.html>
- Kopstein, Jeffrey/Steinmo, Sven (Hrsg.) (2008): *Growing Apart? America and Europe in the Twenty-First Century*, Cambridge, MA/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kupchan, Charles. 2006. The Fourth Age: The Next Era in Transatlantic Relations. In *The National Interest*. Washington, DC.

- Lieber, Robert J. (Ed.) 1997: *Eagle Adrift. American Foreign Policy at the End of the Century*, New York et.al.
- Lieber, Robert J. 2002. *Eagle Rules? Foreign Policy and American Primacy in the Twenty-First Century*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Lundestad, G. (2005). Toward transatlantic drift? The Atlantic Alliance Under Stress: US-European Relations after Iraq. D. M. Andrews. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 9-29.
- Martens, S. (2005). "Die Zukunft der transatlantischen Beziehungen." *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 50(38-39): 31-37.
- Meier-Walser, Reinhard C. 1997: Weltpolitischer Umbruch und transatlantische Partnerschaft, in: Meier-Walser, Reinhard C. (Ed.): *Transatlantische Partnerschaft: Perspektiven der amerikanisch-europäischen Beziehungen*, Landsberg am Lech, 9-27.
- Noetzel, Timo and Schreer, Benjamin. 2009. Does a Multi-Tier NATO Matter? The Atlantic Alliance and the Process of Strategic Change. *International Affairs* 85(2): 211-26.
- Peel, Quentin. 2002. Transatlantic Ties after 9/11: A European View. *Internationale Politik* 3: 52, 19-24.
- Peters, Ingo, ed. 2006. *Transatlantic Tug-of-War. Prospects for US-European Cooperation*. Münster/Hamburg: Lit Verlag.
- Peterson, J. (2018). Structure, agency and transatlantic relations in the Trump era. *Journal of European Integration* 40(5), 637-652.
- Peterson, John 1996: *Europe and America. The Prospects for Partnership*, London and New York: Routledge, 35-54.
- Peterson, John/Pollack, Mark A. 2003. *Europe, America, Bush: Transatlantic relations in the twenty-First century*. London/New York: Routledge. Introduction (1-12) and Conclusions (128-142).
- Riddervold, M., & Newsome, A. (2018). Transatlantic relations in times of uncertainty: crises and EU-US relations. *Journal of European Integration* 40(5), 505-521.
- Riddervold, M., & Rosen, G. (2018). Unified in response to rising powers? China, Russia and EU-US relations, *Journal of European Integration* 40(5), 555-570.
- Rieß, Cornelia B./Bortfeldt, Heinrich, *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen der Nachkriegszeit*, Melle 1994.
- Risse, Thomas. 2006. The Crisis of the Transatlantic Security Community. In *Transatlantic Tug-of-War. Prospects for EU-US Relations Cooperation* edited by Peters, Ingo, 111-141. Münster, Hamburg: Lit Verlag.
- Rudolf, Peter. 2002. Die USA und die transatlantischen Beziehungen nach dem 11. September 2001. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 52: 25, 7-13.
- Rudolf, Peter/Wilzewski, Jürgen, Der unilaterale Reflex. Amerikanische Außenpolitik vor neuen Herausforderungen, in: Rudolf, Peter/Wilzewski, Jürgen (Ed.): *Weltmacht ohne Gegner. Amerikanische Außenpolitik zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts*, Baden-Baden 2000. 9-18.
- Schauer, Hans 1999: Europa und Amerika – Rivalen oder Partner?, in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 49:B 29-30, 12-21.
- Smith, Michael. 2009. Perceptions, Misperceptions, and Transatlantic Relations: Past, Present, and Future. In *Perceptions and Policy in Transatlantic Relations*, edited by Natividad Fernández Sola and Michael Smith, 59-76. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Smith, Michael. 2011. European Responses to US Diplomacy: Special Relationships, Transatlantic Governance and World Order. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 6(3-4): 3-4.
- Smith, M. (2018). The EU and the US and the crisis of contemporary multilateralism. *Journal of European Integration* 40(5), 539-553.
- Trachtenberg, M. (2005). The Iraq crisis and the future of the Western alliance. The Atlantic Alliance Under Stress: US-European Relations after Iraq. D. M. Andrews. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 201-231.
- Wallace, William and Phillips, Christopher. 2009. Reassessing the Special Relationship. *International Affairs* 85(2): 263-84.
- ***Walt, Stephen M. 1998/99: The Ties That Fray. Why Europe and America are Drifting Apart, in *The National Interest*: 54, 3-11.
- Weidenfeld, W., C. Koch-Weser, et al., Eds. (2004). *From Alliance to Coalition: The Future of Transatlantic Relations*.

Wohlforth, William C. 2004. The Transatlantic Dimension. In *European Union Foreign and Security Policy: Toward a Neighbourhood Strategy*, edited by Roland Dannreuther, 186-201. London: Routledge.

3. Problems of describing and evaluating the quality of the transatlantic relationship, crisis, and cooperation as well as explaining cooperation problems. (02 Nov. 2021)

The theme of the previous sessions was, on the one hand, to learn about the past and present state of the transatlantic relationship and the various accounts to be found in the literature. The secondary question of the previous sessions is now becoming the focus of investigation: Which concepts of cooperation, conflict, or crises are explicitly or implicitly introduced? What are alternative ways of describing and evaluating the actual quality of the relationship, i.e. the quality of cooperation, conflict, and crisis? These questions are relevant since a differentiated and specific description is the necessary prerequisite for any distinct attempt to a) evaluate and b) explain or understand the state or the relationship and to c) either generate or test hypotheses.

Basic texts:

- Risse, Thomas. 2008. The End of the West? Conclusions. In *The End of the West? Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order* edited by Anderson, Jeffrey J./Ikenberry, G. John/Risse, Thomas, 263-290. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Peters, Ingo. 2010. Cooperation, Conflict, and Crisis: Conceptualizing the Quality of Transatlantic Relations because of the 2003 Iraq War [unpublished manuscript]. 33.

... Plus one of the following offers:

Asmus, Ronald D./Pollack, Kenneth M. 2002. The New Transatlantic Project. *Policy Review* 115, 3-18.

Daalder, H. Ivo. 2001. Are the United States and Europe heading for divorce?, in *International Affairs* 77: 3, 553-567.

Hellmann, Gunther. 2006. Inevitable Decline versus Predestined Stability: The Structure of Disciplinary Explanations of the Evolving Transatlantic Order, Institute of European Studies, University of California, Berkeley

4. Conceptualizing (New) Security Challenges: Threats, Risks and other Sources of Insecurity (09 Nov. 2021)

A differentiated description and a sophisticated analysis of the status of security as well as defining adequate policy responses require differentiated terms and concepts of 'what it's all about.' What are the systematic differences of threats and risks in the context of a broad understanding of 'security'? Do these differences matter? And what are the consequences for related policies?

Required readings:

- Daase, Christopher. 2002. Internationale Risikopolitik: Ein Forschungsprogramm für den sicherheitspolitischen Paradigmenwechsel. In *Internationale Risikopolitik. Der Umgang mit neuen Gefahren in den internationalen Beziehungen* edited by Daase, Christopher/Feske, Susanne/Peters, Ingo, 9-36. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Bailes, Alyson J. K. 2007. Introduction. A World of Risk. In *SIPRI Yearbook 2007: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*, edited by Alyson J. K. Bailes, 1-20. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

... plus one of the following texts:

Braun, Herbert. 2003. The non-military threat spectrum. In *SIPRI Yearbook 2003: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* edited by Bailes, Alyson J. K., 33-46. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

- Daase, Christopher/Feske, Susanne/Peters, Ingo. 2002. International Risikoforschung: Ergebnisse und Perspektiven. In *Internationale Risikopolitik. Der Umgang mit neuen Gefahren in den internationalen Beziehungen* edited by Daase, Christopher/Feske, Susanne/Peters, Ingo, 267-278. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Krahmann, Elke. 2005. From State to Non-State Actors: The Emergence of Security Governance. In *New Threats and New Actors in International Security*, edited by Elke Krahmann, 3-19. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- E-learning on international risk policy: <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/elearning/dl/intlsecrisks/index.cfm>

Some additional texts: (recommended first choices >>***)

- Benkert, V. (2018). *Feinde, Freunde, Fremde? Deutsche Perspektiven auf die USA*, Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Brands, H. (2017). The Unexceptional Superpower: American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump. *Survival* 59(6), 7-40.
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- Rhinard, Mark and Boin, Arjen. 2008. Bureaucratic Politic and the European Union's Emerging Homeland Security Role. In *Draft paper prepared for the 49th Annual Convention, International Studies Association, March 26-29, 2008, San Francisco, CA*.
- ***Smith, M.E. (2018). 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), 605-620.
- ***Szabo, S.F. (2018). Partners in Leadership? American Views of the New German Role. *German Politics* 27(4), 539-554.
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5. The global economic crisis (2007ff) and its impact on transatlantic partners and prospects for cooperation (16 Nov. 2021)

Transatlantic relations are marked by multidimensional interests and governance structures. Aside from the security relationship covered by NATO, economic relations are indeed an important dimension in terms of mutual interconnectedness and interdependence as much as for both partners' policies in the global economy and economic governance structures. What are the trends in economic relations, bilaterally as much as concerning engagement in international economic governance within the World Bank, the IWF etc. and the strategies for coping with the global economic crises evolving since 2008?

Basic texts:

- **Dieter, Heribert.** 2009. The Decline of Global Economic Governance and the Role of the Transatlantic Powers. *Business and Politics* 11(3): 1-23.
- **de Zoysa, Richard & Otto Newman** (2009): "Crisis and resurgence: redefining the United States and European Union relationship in the face of global challenges", *Twenty-First Century Society: Journal of the Academy of Social Sciences*, 4:3, 297-318.
- **Damro, Chad.** 2014. Competitive Interdependence: Transatlantic Relations and Global Economic Governance. (http://transworld.iai.it/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/TW_WP_40.pdf)

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Altman, Roger C. 2009. Globalization in retreat: Further geopolitical consequences of the financial crisis. *Foreign Affairs*: 2-7.

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Dolls, Mathias, Clemens Fuest, and Andreas Peichl. 2010. Automatic stabilizers and economic crisis: US vs. Europe. National Bureau of Economic Research.

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***Melchior, A. (2018). *Free trade agreements and globalisation: in the shadow of brexit and trump*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

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Pagliari, Stefano. 2012. A Wall Around Europe? The European Regulatory Response to the Global Financial Crisis and the Turn in Transatlantic Relations. *Journal of European Integration*: 1-18.

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***Schweiger, Christian. 2018. The Global Financial Crisis and the Euro Crisis as Contentious Issues in German-American Relations. *German Politics* 27(2). 214-229.

- Smith, Michael. 2009. Transatlantic Economic Relations in a Changing Global Political Economy: Achieving Togetherness but Missing the Bus? *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 11: 94-107.
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- Shaffer, Gregory C. 2002. Managing US-EU Trade Relations Through Mutual Recognition and Safe Harbor Agreements: 'New' and 'Global' Approaches to Transatlantic Economic Governance. *Columbia Journal of European Law* 9: 29-77.
- A PIVOT, OR AT LEAST A HEAD FAKE, BACK TO EUROPE ? A Free Trade Agreement between U.S. and EU Gets Interim Nod, by Brian Beary, Washington correspondent for EuroPolitics [<http://europeaninstitute.org/EA-June-2012/a-pivot-or-at-least-a-head-fake-back-to-europe-a-free-trade-agreement-between-us-and-eu-gets-interim-nod.html>]
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- Fioretos, Orfeo (2010): "Capitalist diversity and the international regulation of hedge funds", *Review of International Political Economy*, 17:4, 696-723.
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- Beeson, Mark & Stephen Bell (2009): "The G-20 and International Economic Governance: Hegemony, Collectivism, or Both?", *Global Governance*, 15, 67-86.
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- Posner, Elliot & Nicolas Véron (2010): "The EU and financial regulation: power without purpose?", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17:3, 400-415.
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6. A shortlist of method issues: case study design, policy evaluation, and causal analysis
(23 Nov. 2021)

This session is reserved for recounting some major method issues related to the assignments for students. Without basic knowledge on the issues of case-studies, policy evaluation and causal analysis, and IR theories, developing and implementing a proper research design incorporating the tenets of this seminar's research interest will be impossible. Of course, this session cannot fully do justice to the respective issues but is meant to provide an opportunity to take stock of the respective basic implications and requirements. One seminar session, which goes (almost) without saying, cannot substitute for a full-fledged method and theory seminar.

Basic texts:

- Seawright, Jason, and John Gerring. 2008. "Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research. A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options." *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (2):294-308.
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For advanced students: Kahl, Martin. 2013. Causes, Effects and Effectiveness -- Conceptual, Epistemological and Methodological Considerations. In *Studying 'Effectiveness' in International Relations. A guide for students and scholars*, edited by Hendrik Hegemann, Regina Heller and Martin Kahl, 35-60. Opladen, Berlin & Toronto: Barbara Budrich Publishers.

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7. Masterplans – Blueprints – Remedies: Policy recommendations and their ‘theoretical’ foundations (30 Nov. 2021)

Most of the accounts of TAR we have read so far come up with policy recommendations, i.e. political measures to be taken to cure the ‘transatlantic crisis’ of some sort. Moreover, numerous papers have been written especially devoted to the purpose of bringing TAR back onto a cooperative track. What kind of plans are available, which actual measures have been proposed? What is the (mostly implicit) theoretical foundation of these recommendations? Do the respective analysis/ diagnosis match with the respective cure/ therapy?

Basic texts: -- **A choice of two for everybody!**

1. **Weidenfeld, Werner 1994:** Jenseits des Selbstverständlichen: Europa und USA brauchen einen Neubeginn, in: Europa-Archiv Bd.13-14:7, 365-372.
2. **Hellmann, Gunther 1994:** EU und USA brauchen ein breiteres Fundament: Plädoyer für einen "transatlantischen Vertrag", in: Aussenpolitik: 11, 236-245.
3. **Kupchan, Charles A. 1996:** Den Westen erneuern. Plädoyer für eine transatlantische Union, in: Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik 41:7, 793-803.
4. **Czempiel, Ernst-Otto 1999:** Europa und die Atlantische Gemeinschaft, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 49:B 1-2, 12-21.
5. **Guérot, Ulrike. 2005.** Europa und Amerika: business as usual? Die Zeit ist reif für einen US-EU-Vertrag. Internationale Politik 60: 1, 54-60.
6. **Albright, Madeleine et. al. 2003:** Joint Declaration. Renewing the Transatlantic Partnership, CSIS, Washington
7. **Asmus, Ronald D./Bardaji, Rafael L./Bertram, Christoph/Bildt, Carl. 2003.** Declaration on Transatlantic Relations: How to overcome the Divisions. <http://www.brookings.edu/views/papers/daalder/20030516.htm> [5 March 2004].
8. **Peterson, John, and Rebecca Steffenson. 2009.** Transatlantic Institutions: Can Partnership be Engineered? *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 11(1): 25-45.
9. **Trans-Atlantic Briefing Book (2009),** Managing Expectations Expanding the Partnership Shaping the Agenda for 2009. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Foundation.
10. **Hamilton, Daniel S, and Frances Burwell. 2010.** *Shoulder to Shoulder: Forging a Strategic US-EU Partnership:* Center for Transatlantic Relations, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University. Chapter ????. (available as pdf file)
11. **Hamilton, Daniel Sheldon, and Kurt Volker. 2011.** *Transatlantic 2020: A Tale of four futures:* Center for Transatlantic Relations, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.
12. **Tocci, Nathalie, and Riccardo Alcaro. 2014.** Rethinking transatlantic relations in a multipolar era. *International Politics* 51(3): 366-89. >><https://doi.org/10.1057/ip.2014.10>
13. **Smith, Michael E. 2018.** "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):605-20.
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Some additional texts:

- Anagnostakis, Dimitrios. 2017. *EU-US cooperation on internal security: building a transatlantic regime*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Bail, Christoph/Reinicke, Wolfgang H., et al. 1997: EU-US Relations: Balancing the Partnership, Baden-Baden, 3-37.
- Bail, Christopher 1997: The new transatlantic agenda and the joint EU-US action plan: an assessment, Ebenhausen.
- Krenzler, Horst Günter/Schomaker, Astrid 1996: A New Transatlantic Agenda, in: *European Foreign Affairs Review* 1:1, 9-28.
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- Pollack, Mark A./Shaffer, Gregory C. (Ed.), *The New Transatlantic Dialogue: Intergovernmental, Transgovernmental, and Transnational Perspectives*, Boulder CO 2000.
- Zaborowski, Marcin (2011): How To Renew Transatlantic Relations in the 21st Century, *The International Spectator*, 46 (1), 101-113.

8. Transatlantic Relations in a Rollercoaster: from Bush to Obama and Trump

(07 Dec. 2021)

Basic texts

- **Riddervold, Marianne; Newsome, Akasemi 2018.** Transatlantic relations in times of uncertainty: crises and EU-US relations. *Journal of European Integration*, 29 July 2018, Vol.40(5), p.505-521.
- **Fehl, Caroline, and Johannes Thimm. 2019.** "Dispensing With the Indispensable Nation?: Multilateralism minus One in the Trump Era." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 25 (1):23-46.
- **Viola, Lora Anne. 2020.** "The 2020 US Presidential Election and the Transatlantic Relationship Under Stress." *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* 13:237-46. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12399-020-00814-9>
- **Samantha Power. 2020. The Can-Do Power: America's Advantage and Biden's Chance (2020).** *Foreign Affairs, January/February 2021. (US-Ambassador to the UN)*

Additional Readings:

- **The Barack Obama Presidency** (recommended first choices >>***)
Barrios, Cristina. 2011. "Rival Universalisms in Transatlantic Relations: Obama's Exceptionalism Meets Europe's Low Profile." *European Political Science* 10 (1):11-9.
- Cox, Michael. 2012. "Too Big To Fail?: The Transatlantic Relationship from Bush to Obama: Transatlantic Relationship." *Global policy*, 3:71-8.
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- Larres, Klaus. 2010. "Obama and Europe." In *AICGS Advisor*. Washington, DC: American Institute for Contemporary German Studies.
- Lymar, Marharyta, and Viktoria Ahieieva. 2020. "The European Defence Policy and Transatlantic Cooperation in Times of Obama and Trump Administrations." *European Historical Studies* 16:6-18.
- ***Nau, Henry R. 2010. "Obama's Foreign Policy. The swing away from Bush: How far to go?" *Policy Review* (160):27-47.
- Rudolf, Peter. 2008. "Amerikas neuer globaler Führungsanspruch. Außenpolitik unter Barack Obama." In *SWP-Aktuell*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP).
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- ***Stelzenmüller, Constanze. 2010. "End of a Honeymoon - Obama and Europe, One Year Later." In *Brussels Forum Paper Series*, edited by The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). Washington.

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- **The Donald Trump Presidency** (recommended first choices >>***)

Allison, Graham T. 2015. "The Thucydides trap." *The Atlantic* 24 Sept. 2015:73-80.

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Biegon, Rubrick. 2019. "A populist grand strategy? Trump and the framing of American decline." *International Relations* 33 (4):517-39.

Brands, Hal. 2017. "The unexceptional superpower: American grand strategy in the age of Trump." *Survival* 59 (6):7-40.

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Gordon, Philip H. 2009. "Strengthening the Transatlantic Alliance: An Overview of the Obama Administration's Policies in Europe." *The DISAM journal of international security assistance management*, 31 (3):38.

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Mearsheimer, John J, and Stephen M Walt. 2016. "The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior US Grand Strategy." *Foreign Affairs* 95 (4):70-83.

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***Posen, Barry R. 2018. "The Rise of Illiberal Hegemony: Trump's Surprising Grand Strategy." *Foreign Affairs* 97 (2):20ff.

Powaski, R. E. . 2019. *Ideals, Interests, and U.S. Foreign Policy from George H. W. Bush to Donald Trump* Houndmills: Palgrave.

Rudolf, Peter. 2020. "Amerikanische Chinapolitik und transatlantische Beziehungen." In *SWP-Aktuell 2020/A 68*. Berlin.

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- Webber, Mark, and Adrian Hyde-Price. 2015. *Theorising NATO: New perspectives on the Atlantic alliance*: Routledge.

PART II: Two Case Studies – Student presentations

9. Two Case Studies – Student presentations (14 Dec. 2021)

Topic/Case 09.1)	
Names of students	
Literature	

Topic/Case 09.2)	
Names of students	
Literature	

10. Two Case Studies – Student presentations (04 Jan. 2022)

Topic/Case 10.1)	
Names of students	
Literature	

Topic/Case 10.2)	
Names of students	
Literature	

11. Two Case Studies – Student presentations (11 Jan. 2022)

Topic/Case 11.1)	
Names of students	
Literature	

Topic/Case 11.2)	
Names of students	
Literature	

12. Two Case Studies – Student presentations (18 Jan. 2022)

Topic/Case 12.1)	
Names of students	
Literature	

Topic/Case 12.2)	
Names of students	
Literature	

13. Two Case Studies – Student presentations (25 Jan. 2022)

Topic/Case 13.1)	
Names of students	
Literature	

Topic/Case 13.2)	
Names of students	
Literature	

14. Two Case Studies – Student presentations (01 Febr. 2022)

Topic/Case 14.1)	
Names of students	

Literature	
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Topic/Case 14.2)	
Names of students	
Literature	

15. Two Case Studies – Student presentations (08 Febr. 2022))

Topic/Case 14.1)	
Names of students	
Literature	

Topic/Case 14.2)	
Names of students	
Literature	

16. Final Session (15 Febr. 2022)

Final Discussion:

- Empirical Findings and Academic Added Value of the Seminar?
- Seminar critique: promises made & promises kept?

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