

**SYLLABUS for POLS 686: Transatlantic Relations after the Cold War****Instructor: Dr. Rebecca Steffenson****Office phone:** 753-7043 **Office location:** ZH 113 **email:** [rsteffenson@niu.edu](mailto:rsteffenson@niu.edu)**Office hours:** Mondays and Wednesdays 4:00-5:30 and by appointment.**Class M** 6:30-9:10, DuSable Hall 270**Please remember to check Blackboard for announcements!**

**COURSE OBJECTIVE:** In this course we will examine the post Cold War state of transatlantic relations considering both shifts in the NATO security alliance and the development of bilateral EU-US institutions under the New Transatlantic Agenda designed to manage political and economic relations since 1990. In addition, the impact of transatlantic cooperation and conflict on international organizations including the UN Security Council and the World Trade Organization will be discussed.

Earlier this decade Robert Kagan, drawing from a familiar metaphor, famously declared that 'Americans are from Mars, European from Venus'. Further characterizations of American power versus European weakness sparked a heated debate about the extent to which the transatlantic partnership was being derailed by

- 1) diverging values and preferences across a wide range of global policy issues (including strategic security, state sovereignty, human rights, civil liberties, and global warming)
- 2) distinctly separate strategic approaches to the organization of international relations as a whole and the role of international institutions (centered around opposing views of unilateralism versus multilateralism and the use of force versus the rule of law).

It is within this context that we will investigate the driving forces behind transatlantic disputes, and analyze the role transatlantic institutions play in both mitigating conflict and triggering policy convergence. We will consider the impact of domestic politics on transatlantic policy decisions and discuss how domestic actors are becoming increasingly 'transatlantic' through intergovernmental, transgovernmental, and transnational networks. And, we will question the relevance of the transatlantic partnership given the reduced security threat from Russia (at least so we thought!!!) and the rising economic power of Asia.

The expectations of this course are that students 1) learn how to analyze transatlantic relations within the frameworks provided by international relations theory 2) develop theses about the uses and limitations of transatlantic institutions 3) use case study analysis to construct solid arguments about transatlantic policies issues.

**REQUIRED READING:**

Steffenson, R (2005) *Managing EU-US Relations: Actors, Institutions and the New Transatlantic Agenda*, Manchester University Press.

Dannreuther and Peterson (2006) Security Strategy and Transatlantic Relations  
Routledge.

Other required readings are listed by author in the tentative schedule. Full references and PDFs will be available for download from Blackboard.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

1. **Class Participation (20%)** Class participation is crucial to an interactive graduate seminar. In order for class discussions to be informative and thought-provoking students need to do all of the readings in advance and be prepared to summarize the main arguments of individual authors, form responses to these readings, and identify key questions related to the topics discussed. Please note 'A' participation grades will only be given to students with regular attendance who offer consistent and thoughtful participations which demonstrates knowledge and understanding of course reading. Asking specific questions about authors' arguments will not lower your participation grade. Less substantial and regular participation will result in a 'B' grade. Students who regularly attend class but off little to no participation in group discussions will receive a 'C' for participation. Poor attendance will result in either a 'D' or an 'F'.
2. **Research Paper (40%)** You will be required to write an 8,000 word original paper on a mutually agreed research topic related to either Atlantic security or EU-US relations. Proposed topics should be discussed with me by September 22nd.

Papers need to include

- 1) a theoretical framework/ literature review
- 2) defined research question/s
- 3) developed argument/s which are supported with case studies
- 4) proper citations
- 5) an organized structure including an introduction, conclusion and subsections

The grade for the research paper will be divided into the following components

- 1) Rough Draft 10% due October 13th
- 2) Presentation 10% will vary depending on topic
- 3) Final Draft 20% due November 17<sup>th</sup>

Rough drafts will be circulated to the class ahead of presentations. The purpose of the presentation is to get 'conference' style feedback from the class which can be incorporated into final drafts. The main arguments, thesis and evidence should be presented in 15-20 minutes, with time allotted for questions.

3. **Final Exam (40%)** The final exam will be a take home comprehensive exam consisting of four essay questions which will be made available before November 17<sup>th</sup>.

Answers need to reflect graduate level work. This means that each essay must have a clearly defined argument. As with the research papers, answers should be grounded in theory, address the key arguments made by core authors (including citations), and reference specific case studies.

I will answer questions and review and offer comments on any outlines handed in before December 1st.

**COURSE RECOMMENDATIONS:** I highly recommend taking advantage of the discussion board on Blackboard to share current news stories and continue class discussions.

Given that some weeks have much heavier reading loads than others (given the nature of the topics discussed) I strongly encourage students to establish amongst themselves some division of labor and consider drafting and distributing short summaries of articles/book chapters.

**ATTENDANCE POLICY:** Attendance is expected and directly impacts your participation grade. If for some reason you cannot attend, please let me know in advance.

**ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:** Cheating- which includes plagiarism- will not be tolerated in class. The NIU Undergraduate Catalog states that 'Students are considered to have cheated if they copy the work of another during an examination or turn in a paper or an assignment written whole or in part by someone else. Students are guilty of plagiarism, intentional or not, if they copy materials from books, magazines or other sources without identifying or acknowledging those sources or if they paraphrase ideas from such sources without acknowledging them.' Students who plagiarize will be reported to the Department of Political Science and subject to further action by university judicial proceedings.

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE WEBSITE:** Students are strongly encouraged to consult the Department of Political Science web site on a regular basis. This up-to-date, central source of information will assist students in contacting faculty and staff, reviewing course requirements and syllabi, exploring graduate study, researching career options, tracking department events, and accessing important details related to undergraduate programs and activities. To reach the site, go to <http://polisci.niu.edu>

**STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES:** Under Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, NIU is committed to making reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Those students with disabilities that may have some impact on their coursework and for which they may require accommodations should notify the Center for Access-Ability Resources (CAAR) on the fourth floor of the Health Services Building. CAAR will assist students in making appropriate accommodations with course

instructors. It is important that CAAR and instructors be informed of any disability-related needs during the first two weeks of the semester.

**ADDITIONAL STUDENT RESOURCES:** Written work will determine a significant portion of your grade. Students are encouraged to take advantage of the University Writing Center <http://uwc.niu.edu>

**TENTATIVE SCHEDULE:** (Please note: I will not rush through topics. If more time is needed on any particular topic, the schedule will be amended accordingly. Students should check Blackboard regularly for announcements).

8/ 25	<p><b>Topic: <u>Introduction to the Transatlantic Relationship</u></b></p> <p>---Steffenson 1</p> <p>---Dannreuther &amp; Peterson 1</p>
9/1	Labor Day
9/8	<p><b>Topic: <u>Americans from Venus/ European from Mars? What divides and unites Europe and the US?</u></b></p> <p>---Nye, J <i>Soft Power and European-American Affairs</i></p> <p>---Kagan,R <i>Power and Weakness/ Looking for Legitimacy in All the Wrong Places/ The September 12th Paradigm</i></p> <p>---Borzal and Risse <i>Venus Approaching Mars? The EU as an Emerging Civilian World Power</i></p> <p>---Ruggie <i>United States, United Nations and Transatlantic Gap</i></p> <p>---Bratspies <i>This Too Shall Pass: A Response to Kagan's Power and Weakness.</i></p> <p>---Makins <i>Power and Weakness or Challenge and Response</i></p> <p>---Steffenson and Smith <i>'External Relations with the US' in The International Relations of the EU</i></p> <p>--- Keohane and Katzenstein, <i>The Political Consequences of Anti-Americanism</i></p>
9/15	<p><b>Topic: <u>Diverging European and American security strategies and transatlantic security institutions</u></b></p> <p>---Dannreuther and Peterson 2-4; 11-12 and appendix 192-239</p> <p>---Vincent et al <i>Capability Theory and the Future of NATO's Decisionmaking Rules</i></p>

	<p>---Risse, <i>Beyond Iraq: The Crisis of the Transatlantic Security Community</i></p> <p>---Peterson <i>In Defence of Inelegance: IR Theory and Transatlantic Practice</i></p> <p>---Clarke, <i>The European Defence Project and the Prague Summit</i></p> <p>-----Forbes, <i>Minding the Gap: Foreign Policy</i></p>
9/22	<p><b>Topic: <u>NATOs Post Cold War Role: KFOR versus ISAF</u></b></p> <p>---Dannreuther and Peterson, <i>Chapters 5-6</i></p> <p>---Tanner, <i>NATO's Role in Defence Cooperation and Democratisation in the Middle East</i></p> <p>---CRS <i>Congress Report Afghanistan: Post-War Governance</i></p> <p>---Dutch <i>Parliamentary Debate on Troops for Afghanistan</i></p> <p>--- <i>Frederking Constructing Post-Cold War Collective Security</i></p> <p>--- <i>Yoo Kosovo, War Powers, and the Multilateral Future</i></p> <p>--- <i>Weinberger Civil-military coordination in peacebuilding</i></p>
9/29	<p><b>Topic: <u>NATO, China and Russia: Expanding institutions and shifting balances of power</u></b></p> <p>---Dannreuther and Peterson, <i>Chapters 7-10</i></p> <p>---Splidsboel <i>In the Transatlantic Gap</i></p> <p>---Aalto <i>Russia's Quest for International Society and the Prospects for Regional-Level International Societies</i></p> <p>---Terriff <i>et al One in, All in?' NATO's Next Enlargement Author</i></p> <p>---Scott, <i>China and the EU: A Strategic Axis for the Twenty-First Century?</i></p> <p>---Bowen, <i>Missile Defence and the Transatlantic Security Relationship</i></p>
10/6	<p><b>Topic: <u>The end of Atlanticism or a new era of burden sharing?</u></b></p> <p>---Waterman <i>et al NATO and Democracy</i></p> <p>---Croft <i>etal NATO's Triple Challenge CRS REPORT</i></p> <p>---Gallis <i>The NATO Summit at Bucharest, 2008</i></p> <p>---Archick, <i>The United States and Europe: Possible Options for U.S. Policy</i></p>

	<p>---Flockhart <i>Masters and Novices: Socialization and Social Learning through the NATO Parliamentary Assembly</i></p> <p>---Maull <i>The Future of NATO</i></p>
10/13	<p><b>Topic: <u>EU-US institutions</u></b></p> <p>---Steffenson 2-4</p> <p>---Marks and Hooghe, <i>Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-Level Governance</i></p> <p>---Hamilton and Quilan <i>Partners in Prosperity</i></p> <p>---Langhammer et al, <i>Assessing Proposals for a Transatlantic Free Trade Area and Why a Marketplace Must Not Discriminate</i></p> <p>---Meyer, <i>Structural Shortcomings in an Experimental Form of International Governance</i></p> <p>---Bermann <i>Agencies on the Loose? Holding Government Networks Accountable</i></p>
10/20	<p><b>Topic: <u>Migration, Homeland Security, and Law Enforcement</u></b></p> <p>---Steffenson 5,</p> <p>---Pawlak <i>From Hierarchy to Networks: Transatlantic Governance of Homeland Security</i></p> <p>---Dion, <i>The EU-US Passenger Name Record Agreements:</i></p> <p>---Lindstrom, <i>The EU's Approach to Homeland Security:</i></p> <p>---Balancing <i>Safety and European Ideals</i></p> <p>---Koslowski, <i>International Cooperation on Electronic Advanced Passenger Information Transfer and Passport Biometrics</i></p>
10/27	<p><b>Topic: <u>Transatlantic Environmental Cooperation</u></b></p> <p>---Busby, <i>From Mars and Venus Down to Earth: Understanding the Transatlantic Climate Divide</i></p> <p>---Hald-Mortensen "Transatlantic Climate Policy: Towards a Copenhagen Protocol in 2009"</p> <p>---Knigge, <i>Transatlantic Environmental Cooperation at the Subnational Level</i></p> <p>---Ochs and Schaper, <i>Conflict or Cooperation? Transatlantic Relations in the Environmental Field</i></p>

11/3	<p><b>Topic: <u>Trade Negotiations and Trade Disputes</u></b></p> <p>---Steffenson Chapter 7</p> <p>---Stokes, Trade Negotiations</p> <p>---Busch and Reinhardt, Transatlantic Trade Conflicts and GATT/WTO Dispute Settlement</p> <p>---Shaffer and Pollack, Ongoing Transatlantic Dispute over Biotechnology</p> <p>---Meunier, What Single Voice? European Institutions and EU–U.S. Trade Negotiations</p> <p>---Clark et al , Domestic and International Asymmetries in United States–European Union Trade Negotiations</p>
11/10	<p><b>Topic: <u>Mutual Recognition Agreements and Safe Harbour</u></b></p> <p>--- Steffenson 6</p> <p>--- Steffenson and Nicolaidis Managed Mutual Recognition</p> <p>---Night, Regulatory Conflict over Data Privacy: Can the US-EU Safe Harbor Arrangement Be Sustained?</p> <p>---Pouillet and Asinari, Privacy personal protection and the Safe harbor agreements</p> <p>---Shaffer, Managing U.S-EU Trade Relations through Mutual Recognition and Safe Harbor Agreements:"New" and "Global" Approaches to Transatlantic Economic Governance?</p>
11/17	<p><b>Topic: <u>Competition Policy and Financial Services/ Markets</u></b></p> <p>---Posner, The New Transatlantic Regulatory Relations in Financial Services</p> <p>---Alexander etal Transatlantic Financial Services Regulatory Dialogue</p> <p>---Deutsche Bank Financial Market Integration</p> <p>---Kovacic, Competition Policy Cooperation and the Pursuit of Better Practices</p> <p>---Gerber, Transatlantic Economic Governance: The Domains and Dimensions of Competition Law</p>
11/24	<p><b>Topic: <u>Where from here? The future of transatlantic relations</u></b></p> <p>--- Steffenson 8</p>

	---- <i>Peterson and Steffenson, Transatlantic Relations After Bush</i>
12/1	Study/ Review Session for final exam
12/8	Final Exams Due by 6:30 pm.