**POL 137 International Relations in Western Europe** 

#### **Course teacher:**

Professor Michael Cox Director, LSE IDEAS

#### A. Aims and Objectives

The aim of this short, and intense ten week, course is to look at the role and position of Europe in the international system. Because the course is being taught in the UK following a decision by the British people to leave the European Union it will have a decidedly, but not exclusively, UK 'flavour'. And because it is aimed at students from the United States it will have a lot to say about both the relationship of the US with both the UK and Europe. The course will begin with a long look at the rise and fall of Europe as an international actor into the twentieth century. It will then, at a later stage, discuss how the end of the Cold War changed Europe making it a far more significant international actor as a result. It will then go on to examine the 'transatlantic' relationship between Europe and the United States – as well as between the UK and the United States - and ask why these relationships became 'special'. It will in turn look at the "special relationship" between Tony Blair and two US presidents - Clinton and G.W.Bush – and explain how this relationship impacted on the peace process in Northern Ireland and the decision to go to war in Iraq. This will be followed by an exploration of one of the great transatlantic debates of the past fifteen years occasioned by the writer Robert Kagan concerning the differences and similarities between Europe and the United States. The course will then look at the wider security and economic relationship between Europe and the United States as expressed through NATO on the one hand and the EU-US economic partnership on the other. Finally, it will conclude by asking two questions: how will the Brexit vote impact on the UK relationship with the EU and the United States? And whether the Brexit vote will accelerate what many already see as Europe's long term decline well into the twenty first century? As we will try and show, what to many in the United States must look like a very European debate, apparently having little to do with the US, has in fact huge implications for America's position in the world - a world in which Chinese power is on the rise, where Russia is becoming increasingly more assertive, where the Middle East is becoming daily more unstable, and where power seems to be shifting away from the Atlantic to Asia.

**B.** Module Overview

Each week you will receive three and a half hours of tuition in the following format:

1 x 1.5 hour lecture

1 x 2 hour seminar

The lecture aims to provide an introduction to each of the weekly topics, providing an outline of the main points and developments. The seminar, will provide an arena for developing your understand of each topic and well as a place for discussion. You must complete the readings and prepare the seminar questions in advance.

C. Background Reading

There is no one book that adequately deals with the course as a whole. I have thus recommended four books all easily available in paperback.

 James Sheehan, The Monopoly of Violence. Why Europeans Hate Going to War. Faber and Faber. 2007 This is a 'big picture' book which takes the long view of European history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in order to explain why Europe became a zone of 'peace' after World War II

 John Dumbrell, A Special Relationship: Anglo- American Relations From the Cold War to Iraq. 2nd edition. 2006. This is a student friendly and well written study which asks why the UK-US relationship became – and possibly still - remains 'special'.

 Jussi M. Hahnhimaki, Benedikt Schoenborn, Barbara Zanchetta Transatlantic Relations Since 1945: An Introduction. 2012. Probably the best overview of the transatlantic relationship written by three international historians. Theory 'lite'.

 Karen Smith. European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World 3rd edition 2012. The best single volume on the EU's foreign policy written by an American who has worked at the LSE for many years teaching European foreign policy.

#### D. Lecture & Seminar Timetable

The timetable below outlines the scheduled lectures for this module. Please note that any changes will be emailed to your LSE email account and updated on Moodle.

1	The Long View: The Rise and Fall of Europe in the International System
Seminar questions	To what degree was Europe's rise and decline inevitable?
2	Europe and the United States: From Independence to Cold War - and beyond
Seminar questions	In what sense has Europe's relationship with the United States always been 'special'?
3	From Community to Union: Europe and the EU after the Cold War
Seminar questions	What kind of power did Europe become after the Cold War?
4	Anglo-America: myth and reality
Seminar questions	Is the Anglo-American relationship different?
5	Anglo-American relations in practice: Northern Ireland and the Iraq war
Seminar questions	Why did the special relationship produce peace in Northern Ireland but war in Iraq?
6	"Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus". Robert Kagan
Seminar questions	"Europe and the US are part of a common, big-tent grouping". Peter Baldwin.
7	Transatlantic Security Relations: NATO
Seminar questions	"NATO is costing us a fortune; we're protecting Europe with NATO but we're spending a lot of money".  Donald Trump.

8	Transatlantic Economic Relations in an Asian Century
Seminar questions	"Europe remains a more important economic partner for the USA than Asia". Is this true?
9	The USA, Brexit and Europe
Seminar questions	The UK leaving the EU is as much a challenge for the USA as it is for the EU
10	European in the World in the 21st Century
Seminar questions	Is the EU in decline in the world?

#### **Assessment**

The assessment of this module will consist of:

• 2 x Mid-Term Essay

Further information such as assessment dates and requirements will be announced shortly.

#### **Module Outline**

### <u>Week One – The Long View: The Rise and Fall of Europe in the</u> International System

**Lecture:** This lecture will provide an overview of how Europe became the dominant player in world politics before the First World War, why it gradually lost that position of pre-eminence, and with what results for Europe and the international system.

# Seminar Question: To what degree was Europe's rise and decline inevitable?

- Jack Goldstone, Why Europe? The Rise of the West in World History. 1500-1850.
  - http://sex.ncu.edu.tw/members/Ho/study/2012spring WesternCivilization/Why \_Europe\_The\_Rise\_of\_the\_West\_in\_World\_History\_1500\_1850.pdf
- Philip T. Hoffman. 'Why Was It Europeans Who Conquered the World?' <a href="http://economics.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Workshops-seminars/Economic-History/hoffman-120409.pdf">http://economics.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Workshops-seminars/Economic-History/hoffman-120409.pdf</a>
- Daron Acamoglu, Simon Johnson and James Robinson, 'The Rise of Europe: Atlantic Trade, Institutional Change, and Economic Growth'.
   http://economics.mit.edu/files/4466
- Barry Buzan and George Lawson, 'The Global Transformation:
   'The Nineteenth Century and the Making of Modern International Relations'
   <a href="https://www.google.co.uk/?gws\_rd=ssl#q=barry+buzan+and+George+Lawson">https://www.google.co.uk/?gws\_rd=ssl#q=barry+buzan+and+George+Lawson</a>
- Ian Morris: Why the West Rules for Now. You Tube <a href="https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=rto7TV5wur8">https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=rto7TV5wur8</a>
- Niall Ferguson: TED Talk.
   <a href="http://www.ted.com/talks/niall\_ferguson\_the\_6\_killer\_apps\_of\_prosperity?lan">http://www.ted.com/talks/niall\_ferguson\_the\_6\_killer\_apps\_of\_prosperity?lan</a>
   quage=en
- James Sheehan, The Monopoly of Violence; Why Europeans Hate Going To War. Part I and Part II

# <u>Week Two – Europe and the United States from Independence to Cold War and Beyond</u>

**Lecture:** The United States was the by-product of a dynamic process of early European expansion followed in turn by a long 18<sup>th</sup> century war European war between France and Great Britain. This was then succeeded by a century of European peace which saw mass European migration to the United States, followed in turn by two global wars and a Cold War which witnessed the development of a quite new – but still very close - relationship between Europe and the United States which then took a different form (or did it?) when the Cold War ended

# Seminar Question: In what sense has Europe's relationship with the United States always been 'special'?

- See the articles in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, Volume 8, No3, 2010, pp.
  193-300. These deal with various aspects of the Transatlantic relationship seen
  through the eyes of different US Presidents from Theodore Roosevelt to
  G.W.Bush.
- See also the Special Issue, 'Conflict and Community: Transatlantic Relations During the Cold War', *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, Issue 1, 2010, pp. 1-82. These focus more specifically on transatlantic relations during the Cold War.
- Michael Cox, 'No Longer Inevitable? The Transatlantic Relationship from Bush to Obama'. LSE IDEAS.
   <a href="http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/SR013/SR013-Eucox.pdf">http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/SR013/SR013-Eucox.pdf</a>
- Michael Cox, (2013) Too Big To Fail?: The Transatlantic Relationship from Bush to Obama. Global Policy, Volume 3, 1, pp. 71-78. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1758-5899.12011/full
- Konrad H. Jarausch, 'Continental Drift: The Divisions that Damage the U.S.–
  EU Relationship, Foreign Affairs, September 8, 2015.
  <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2015-09-08/continental-drift">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2015-09-08/continental-drift</a>

# <u>Week Three – From Community to Union: Europe and the EU after the Cold War</u>

**Lecture:** The unexpected end of the Cold War followed by the collapse of the USSR radically altered the European landscape. This posed new challenges and new opportunities for European and US policy-makers. How did they deal with these, how did Europe redefine itself, and what sort of power did the new Europe become as a result?

Seminar Question: What kind of "power" did Europe become after the end of the Cold War?

- Ian Manners, 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms'?
   <a href="http://rudar.ruc.dk:8080/bitstream/1800/8930/1/lan\_Manners\_Normative\_Power\_Europe\_A\_Contradiction\_in\_Terms\_COPRI\_38\_2000.pdf">http://rudar.ruc.dk:8080/bitstream/1800/8930/1/lan\_Manners\_Normative\_Power\_Europe\_A\_Contradiction\_in\_Terms\_COPRI\_38\_2000.pdf</a>
- Hyde-Price, A., "Normative" power Europe; a realist critique, Journal of European Public Policy (13:2, 2006).
- Ulrich Krotz, , 'Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe Won't Emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage Soon', *Journal of Common Market* Studies, 47, 3, 2009.
- Jan Zielonka, 'Europe as a Global Actor: Empire by Example?' International Affairs, 84(3): 2008
- Jolyon Howorth, J. (2010). The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48 (3): 455-474
- Chad Damro 'Market Power Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy,* vol. 19, no. 5, 2012.

#### Week Four - Anglo-America: Myth and Reality

**Lecture:** One of the most cherished notions in Great Britain that there is a deep affinity between the United Kingdom and the United States – a special relationship by any other name. Sceptics though point to the simple fact that the United States has no special relationship with any country and only judges the value of any relationship it has abroad in terms of how it advances the US national interest. Nonetheless, the term still gets used regularly, reflecting what many continue to regard as a very close – very different kind of- relationship between the two countries that is more than just about power and interests.

Seminar Question: Is the Anglo-American relationship different?

- David Reynolds, 'A 'Special Relationship'? America, Britain and the International Order Since the Second World War' *International Affairs* Vol. 62, No. 1 (Winter, 1985-1986), pp. 1-20
- Douglas Brinkley, 'Dean Acheson and the "special relationship": the West
   Point speech of December 1962', Historical Journal 33: 3, 1990, pp. 599–608.
- See the Special Supplement, on the 'Special Relationship' Journal of Transatlantic Studies, Vol 3. Supplement, No 1, 2005, pp. 1-83.
- William Wallace and Christopher Philips, 'Reassessing the Special Relationship, *International Affairs*, 85,2, 263-284, 2009.
- Patrick Porter, 'Last charge of the knights? Iraq, Afghanistan and the special relationship', *International Affairs* 86: 2, March 2010, pp. 355–75.
- Special Issue; 'Anglo-American Relations in War, Cold War and the Post-Cold War Era', Special Issue 2. 2012, pp. 117-199, Journal of Transatlantic Studies
- Katherine Epstein, 'Scholarship and the ship of state: rethinking the Anglo-American strategic decline analogy', *International Affairs* 91: 2, March 2015, pp. 319–31;

# <u>Week Five – Anglo-American Relations in Practice: Northern Ireland and the Iraq War</u>

**Lecture:** One of the most famous British Prime Ministers of recent times was Margaret Thatcher who had what many have seen as a very 'special relationship' with Ronald Regan. But the Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair. also developed a very special relationship, but not with one, but two US Presidents: Bill Clinton and G.W.Bush; and it was a result of these two relationships - it has been argued - that the UK was initially able to bring peace to Northern Ireland but was then drawn into war in Iraq.

Seminar Question: Why did the special relationship produce peace in Northern Ireland but war in Iraq?

#### Readings:

#### **NORTHERN IRELAND**

- John Dumbrell, "The United States and the Northern Ireland Conflict 1969-94:
   From indifference to intervention," *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 6 (1995), pp. 107-25
- Adrian Guelke "The United States, Irish Americans and the Northern Ireland Peace Process," *International Affairs*, 72, no. 3 (July 1996), pp. 521-36.
   <a href="https://www.jstor.org/stable/2625555?seq=1#page\_scan\_tab\_contents">https://www.jstor.org/stable/2625555?seq=1#page\_scan\_tab\_contents</a>
- Roger MacGinty 'American Influences on the Northern Ireland Peace Process' The Journal of Conflict Studies Vol. XVII No. 2, Fall 1997 https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/11750/12521
- Michael Cox (1998) 'Northern Ireland: the war that came in from the cold',
   Irish Studies in International Affairs, 9: 73-84
- Michael Cox, 'Bringing in the "International": The IRA Ceasefire and the End of the Cold War', International Affairs 1997. 73(4): 671—693.
- Michael Cox, 'The War That Came in from the Cold: Clinton and the Irish Question' World Policy Journal Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring, 1999), pp. 59-67
- Adrian Guelke, 'The International System and the Northern Ireland Peace Process'. IBIS. Working Papers in British-Irish Studies No. 21, 2002. https://www.ucd.ie/ibis/filestore/wp2002/21\_gue.pdf

- Sean Doyle, 'Stars and Stripes ....and Shamrocks? Clinton's Intervention in Northern Ireland' <a href="http://vanderbilthistoricalreview.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Stars-and-Stripes.pdf">http://vanderbilthistoricalreview.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Stars-and-Stripes.pdf</a>
- Feargal Cochrane, 'Irish-America, the End of the IRA's Armed Struggle and the Utility of `Soft Power' Journal of Peace Research March 2007 44: 215-231,
- Paul Dixon, 'Rosy Catholics' and 'Dour Prods': President Clinton and the Northern Ireland peace process, International Politics March 2010, Volume 47, Issue 2, pp 210–228. <a href="http://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/ip.2010.3">http://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/ip.2010.3</a>

#### THE IRAQ WAR

- Christoph Bluth 'The British Road to War: Blair, Bush and the decision to invade Iraq', International Affairs, October 2004. Volume 80, Issue 5, 871-892
- Tim Dunne, 'When the shooting starts': Atlanticism in British security strategy' International Affairs, October 2004. Volume 80, Issue 5, 893-909.
- John Dumbrell, 'Reflections on the Contemporary US-UK Special Relationship: Structure and Agency in Anglo-American Relations'. <a href="https://www.rose-hulman.edu/~casey1/BAB-Dumbrell.pdf">https://www.rose-hulman.edu/~casey1/BAB-Dumbrell.pdf</a>
- James K. Withers, British Bulldog or Bush's Poodle? Anglo-American Relations and the Iraq War, Parameters, Winter, pp.67-82.
   <a href="http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/articles/03winter/wither.pdf">http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/articles/03winter/wither.pdf</a>
- Patrick Porter, 'Last charge of the knights? Iraq, Afghanistan and the special relationship' *International Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 2 (March 2010), pp. 355-375
- The Report of the Iraq Inquiry, Executive Summary. July 6th 2016 <a href="http://www.iraqinquiry.org.uk/media/246416/the-report-of-the-iraq-inquiry">http://www.iraqinquiry.org.uk/media/246416/the-report-of-the-iraq-inquiry</a> executive-summary.pdf
- Jamie Merrill, 'The Chilcot Report Shows How the U.S.-U.K. 'Special Relationship' Went Sour in the Iraq War' Time magazine. 6 July 2016. <a href="http://time.com/4395319/chilcot-inquiry-tony-blair-iraq-war">http://time.com/4395319/chilcot-inquiry-tony-blair-iraq-war</a>
- Stephen Blackwell 'Chilcot shows myth and reality of UK-US special relationship' July 7, 2016, The National Opinion.
   <a href="http://www.thenational.ae/opinion/comment/chilcot-shows-myth-and-reality-of-uk-us-special-relationship#page2">http://www.thenational.ae/opinion/comment/chilcot-shows-myth-and-reality-of-uk-us-special-relationship#page2</a>

# Week Six – 'Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus' Robert Kagan

**Lecture:** In a much discussed article published in 2002 the famous neo-conservative writer, Robert Kagan, wrote that the United States and Europe were drifting apart and were doing so, quite simply, because they did different things in the world with very different instruments of power. But what lay behind the Kagan argument? Was there very much to it? Why did so many policy-makers and analysts respond so strongly to his thesis that 'Americans were from Mars and Europeans were from Venus'? And why did the American sociologist, Peter Baldwin, later suggest the opposite?

Seminar Question: 'Europe and the US are part of a common big-tent grouping' Peter Baldwin.

- Robert Kagan, 'Power and weakness', *Policy Review;* Jun/Jul 2002, pp. 3-28.
   http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/rdenever/PPA-730-27/Kagan.pdf
- Michael Cox, 'Commentary: 'Martians and Venusians in the new world order',
   *International Affairs* 79: 3, Summer 2003.
   http://www.dod.mil/transcripts/2001/t10182001\_t018sdmy.html.
- Erik Jones, 'Debating the transatlantic relationship: rhetoric and reality
   International Affairs 80, 2004. <a href="http://www.jhubc.it/facultypages/ejones/jones-ia2.pdf">http://www.jhubc.it/facultypages/ejones/jones-ia2.pdf</a>
- Michael Cox, (2005) Beyond the West: terrors in Transatlantia' *European Journal of International Relations*, 11 (2). 203-233.
- Vincent Pouliot (2006): "The Alive and Well Transatlantic Security Community: A Theoretical Reply to Michael Cox", European Journal of International Relations Vol.12, No.1 pp.119-127
- Michael Cox (2006) 'Let's argue about the West: reply to Vincent Pouliot'.
   European Journal of International Relations, 12 (1). pp. 129-134.
- Michael Cox (2006) The transatlantic crisis: the wolf is at the door' *European Political Science*, 5 (1). 34-40.

- Peter Baldwin, 'How America and Europe Are Alike' *The Globalist*, January 28, 2010. <a href="http://www.theglobalist.com/how-america-and-europe-are-alike/">http://www.theglobalist.com/how-america-and-europe-are-alike/</a>
- Debate. 'Just how different are the U.S. and Europe, really?' YOUTUBE <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uLpH5QIRBAU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uLpH5QIRBAU</a>

#### Week Seven - Transatlantic Security Relations: NATO

**Lecture:** NATO has been at the heart of the Transatlantic relationship since it was first formed in 1949; and in spite of many 'crises' over the next forty years it always managed to hold together – partly because of values, partly because of shared interests, and partly because of the Soviet Union. However, with the end of the Cold War and the rise of new threats outside of Europe many believed that NATO had had its day. Yet the organization continues to command support on both sides of the Atlantic; and with Putin in charge of Russia it would seem that it will continue to do so. Still NATO is not without its sceptics. Donald Trump for example has expressed the view that the US may not always come to the defence of certain NATO allies in Europe. NATO is not without its critics either. Indeed, there are many even in the West today who hold NATO expansion responsible for the current 'new' Cold War between the West and Russia.

Seminar Question: "Nato is costing us a fortune; we're protecting Europe with Nato but we're spending a lot of money" Donald Trump.

- Michael John Williams, 'Enduring, but irrelevant? Britain, NATO and the future of the Atlantic alliance', *International Politics* 50: 3, 2013, pp. 360–86
- Natalie Tocci and Riccardo Alcaro, 'Rethinking Transatlantic Relations in a Multipolar World'. *International Politics*, 51, 3, May 2014, 366-389
- Sten Rynning, 'The geography of the Atlantic peace: NATO 25 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall', *International Affairs* 90: 6, Nov. 2014, pp. 1383–401.
- Richard Sokololsy, 'Not Quiet on NATO's Eastern Front: How the Alliance Can De-escalate With Russia', Foreign Affairs, June 29, 2016.
   <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2016-06-29/not-quiet-natos-eastern-front">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2016-06-29/not-quiet-natos-eastern-front</a>
- 'NATO-Russia' John Mearsheimer & Timothy Snyder on ABC AU 05/02/2015.
   <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZyT-krDx9Q0">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZyT-krDx9Q0</a>
- 'Anne Applebaum & Stephen Cohen cross over NATO expansion'. The Munk Debates. 7 July 2015. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m6xlYhSd2gg">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m6xlYhSd2gg</a>

•	<u>Lilia Shevtsova</u> 'Humiliation as a Tool of Blackmail. <i>Brookings</i> . Tuesday, June 2, 2015, <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/humiliation-as-a-tool-of-blackmail/">https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/humiliation-as-a-tool-of-blackmail/</a>
	blackmail/

#### Week Eight - Transatlantic Economic Relations in an Asian Century

**Lecture:** Since the beginning of the new century there has been a decisive move away from thinking of the Atlantic as being the axis around which the world economy rotates towards thinking of it as rotating increasingly around an emerging Pacific region. Many have even begun to talk of a new Asian Century in the making – and when in 2011 President Obama declared a 'tilt to Asia' many concluded that Europe had been downgraded to second best by the US. But how far does this reflect economic realities? How important does the Atlantic economic region remain? And why has its importance been underrated by many pundits of late?

Seminar Question: 'Europe remains a more important economic partner for the USA than Asia'. Is this true?

- William H. Cooper, 'EU–US economic ties: framework, scope and magnitude', Congressional Research Service Report, 21 Feb. 2014, https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL30608.pdf.
- Dan Hamilton and Joseph Quinlan, The transatlantic economy 2015 (Washington DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, 2015).
- Johannes F. Linn, 'Trends and Prospects of Transatlantic Economic Relations
  The Glue That Cements a Fraying Partnership? *The Brookings Institution*. April
  28,
  2004. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/20040428linn.pdf">https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/20040428linn.pdf</a>
- Michael Smith. (2009) 'Transatlantic Economic Relations in a Changing Global Political Economy' *British Journal of Politics and International* Relations Vol 11. Nr 1 pp 94-107. <a href="http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2008.00351.x/pdf">http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2008.00351.x/pdf</a>
- Michael Cox, 'Power shift and the death of the west? not yet!' European Political Science, 10 2011 (416–424)
   http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/people/michaelCox/PDF/PowerShift.pdf

- Michael Cox, 'Power shifts, economic change and the decline of the west?'
   Originally published in *International Relations*, Volume 26, No 4, pp. 369 383
   and reproduced by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office online. 28

   November 2012. <a href="https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/power-shifts-economic-change-and-the-decline-of-the-west/power-shifts-economic-change-and-the-decline
- Luis Simón, 'Europe, the rise of Asia and the future of the transatlantic relationship', *International Affairs* 91:5, Sept. 2015, pp. 969–89;
- Sebastian Dullien, Adriana Garcia, and Josef Janning, 'A Fresh Start for TTIP',
   European Council on Foreign Relations. February 2015.
   http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR124\_-\_TTIP.pdf
- Lee Williams, 'What is TTIP? And six reasons why the answer should scare you'. October 2015. The Independent,
   http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/what-is-ttip-and-six-reasons-why-the-answer-should-scare-you-9779688.html

#### Week Nine - The USA, Brexit and Europe

Lecture: In June 2016 the British electorate voted by 52-48% to leave the Europe Union, even after having been warned by President Obama that the UK would now have to move to the 'back of the queue'. The British referendum sent shock waves around the world; and nowhere were these more acutely felt than in the United States. But what impact will the British vote to leave have on the United States? What impact has it had already? Could it help Trump politically? Could it even weaken the US relationship with the UK and with Europe more generally? And will it make other countries in Europe – Germany especially – more special for the United States?

Seminar Question: 'The UK leaving the EU is as much a challenge for the United States as it is for the EU' Discuss

- Tim Oliver, 'Europe's British Question: the UK–EU relationship in a changing Europe and multipolar world', *Global Society* 29: 3, 2015, pp. 409–426.
- Tim Oliver and Michael John Williams, 'Special Relationship in Flux: Brexit and the Future of the US-EU and US-UK Relationships' 92,3, *International Affairs*, 547-567, 2016.
  - https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/publications/ia/inta9 2-3-03-oliver%20and%20williams.pdf
- Peter Harris, 'Why Brexit matters for America', The National Interest,
   February 24, 2016, <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-brexit-matters-america-15299">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-brexit-matters-america-15299</a>
- Richard N. Haass & John Fonte, 'A Debate. Brexit: Good for the United States?' The American Interest, June 15, 2016. <a href="http://www.the-american-interest.com/2016/06/15/brexit-good-for-the-united-states/EU referendum">http://www.the-american-interest.com/2016/06/15/brexit-good-for-the-united-states/EU referendum</a>
- Dan Roberts, Brexit fallout: seven ways the Leave vote could damage US interests. The Guardian, Friday 24 June 2016.
   <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/20/european-union-referendum-brexit-us-world">http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/20/european-union-referendum-brexit-us-world</a>

- Cleo Paskal, '5 ways Brexit could be good for the United States' Yahoo News,
   June 25, 2016. <a href="https://www.yahoo.com/news/5-ways-brexit-could-be-good-for-the-united-states-155328701.html">https://www.yahoo.com/news/5-ways-brexit-could-be-good-for-the-united-states-155328701.html</a>
- 'How Brexit will change the World'. Politico Magazine. June 25, 2015
   <a href="http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/06/brexit-change-europe-britain-us-politics-213990">http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/06/brexit-change-europe-britain-us-politics-213990</a>

#### Week Ten - Europe in the World in the 21st Century

**Lecture:** In the fifteen year period following the end of the Cold War there was a great deal of optimism in Europe about the new Europe's future. Some even talked of the 21<sup>st</sup> century becoming a European century. A combination of events since, from the euro crisis through the Greek crisis to Brexit has undermined this mood of optimism; and much of the talk now is of a Europe facing a deeply uncertain future, possibly long-term international decline in a world likely to be shaped more and more by at least two Asian Economies: China and India.

Seminar Question: Is the EU in decline in the world?

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