

DRAFT

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
2004, Spring

WWS556a:
Topics in IR:
The Transatlantic Relationship: Its Evolution and Relevance.

Wednesday, 9:00-12:00.
Classroom: *tba*

Mario Zucconi
Robertson Hall, 441
e-mail: mzucconi@princeton.edu

The quarrell over Iraq among EU states and the U.S. raised serious questions about the relevance of the 57-year-old transatlantic partnership. The debate focuses on the changing nature of power and its projection in the international system since the end of the Cold War. This seminar will examine this debate and the multiple manifestations of this evolving relationship, starting with an analysis and criticism of the realist approach to the issue.

In some of the sessions the seminar will have an expert or practitioner participating in the discussion.

Requirements:

Seminar participation, doing the assigned readings carefully, *the first session included*, and active participation in class discussion. A short mid-term paper dealing with the issues discussed in the first part of the seminar, and a longer, critical essay at the end of classes.

Warning:

Readings and issues indicated for the sessions below are subject to modification especially as new essays on the topics below are published.

Invitation:

Students are welcome to contact the instructor during the week before the start of the course.

Session 1:

INTRODUCTION –

and provocation: “Old Europe and [my] Europe”.

“It is time to stop pretending that Europeans and Americans share a common view of the world, or even that they occupy the same world. On the all-important question of power - the efficacy of power, the morality of power, the desirability of power - American and European perspectives are diverging. Europe is turning away from power, or to put it a little differently, it is moving beyond power into a self-contained world of laws and rules and transnational negotiation and cooperation. It is entering a post-historical paradise of peace and relative prosperity, the realization of Kant’s “Perpetual Peace.” The United States, meanwhile, remains mired in history, exercising power in the anarchic Hobbesian world where international laws and rules are unreliable and where true security and the defense and promotion of a liberal order still depend on the possession and use of military might. That is why on major strategic and international questions today, Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus: They agree on little and understand one another less and less. And this state of affairs is not transitory - the product of one American election or one catastrophic event. The reasons for the transatlantic divide are deep, long in development, and likely to endure. When it comes to setting national priorities, determining threats, defining challenges, and fashioning and implementing foreign and defense policies, the United States and Europe have parted ways.” [Kagan, 2003a, p. 3].

Required readings:

- Kagan, R., “Power and weakness”, *Policy Review* (June-July 2002).

PART ONE:

**The relationship shapes up – while the nature of the Atlantic states
Changes – under the “common enemy”.**

Session 2:

The participation of the US in the postwar balance of power in Europe.

- DePorte, A.W., *Europe between the Superpowers*: Ch. 3-9.
- Zucconi, M., “The United States and Western Europe”, in L.C. Brown (1990): pp. 126-138.

Session 3:

A more complex relationship in a fast changing global environment.

- Zucconi, M., "The United States and Western Europe", in L.C. Brown (1990): pp. 138-144.
- Brown, S., *New Forces in World Politics*: Ch. 2.
- Kapstein, E.B., *The Insecure Alliance*: Ch. 7-8
- Zucconi, M., "Western Europe and the U.S.-Soviet Conflict in the 1980s", in Ullman, R.H. and Zucconi, M. (1987.)

Session 4:

**The character of the then "new" Europe.
Germany as "civilian power".**

Guest expert participating.

- Schweigler, G., *West German Foreign Policy: The Domestic Setting* (1984.)
- Maull H.W., "Germany and Japan: The New Civilian Powers", *Foreign Affairs* (Winter, 1990-1991).
- Rosecrance R., *The Rise of the Trading State* (1986).
- Le Gloannec, "The Implications of German Unification for Western Europe", in Stares, P.B., *The New Germany and the New Europe* (1992).

PART TWO:

**The Western "zone of peace" and the management of global stability, I:
The relative success of democracy promotion.**

Session 5:

**Western economic integration (trade, finance, regulatory framework:
Has Western economic integration evolved into a cooperative, binding
relationship?**

- Calleo, D.P. (1987), *Beyond American Hegemony*, Ch. 6 and 7. (Washington DC).
- Woolcock, S. (1999), "The United States and the European Union in the Global Economy", in Burwell, F.G. and Daalder, I.H. (eds.), *The United States and Europe in the Global Arena*.
- Simmons, B.A. (1999), "The United States and Europe: The Emerging Regulatory Framework for International Capital", in Burwell, F.G. and Daalder, I.H. (eds.), *The United States and Europe in the Global Arena*.

- Steinberg, R.H. (1999), "Reconciling Transatlanticism and Multilateralism: Great Power Management of the World Trading System", in Burwell, F.G. and Daalder, I.H. (eds.), *The United States and Europe in the Global Arena*.
- Quinlan, J.P. (2003), *Drifting Apart or Growing Together? The Primacy of the Transatlantic Economy*, Center for Transatlantic Relations
- Baldwin, M., Peterson, J. And Stokes, B., "Trade and Economic Relations", in Peterson, J. And Pollack, M.A. (eds) (2003), *Europe, America, Bush: Transatlantic relations in the twenty-first century* (London. Routledge).

Session 6:

Democracy promotion by the United States and the European Union: The recent record.

- Doyle, M.W. (1999), "A liberal view: preserving and expanding the liberal pacific union", in Paul, T.V. and Hall, J.A. (eds.), *International Order and the Future of World Politics*.
 - Pei, M. and Kaspar, S. (2003), "Lessons from the Past: The American Record in Nation-Building", Carnegie Endowment, Policy Brief (Washington DC), 1 May 2003.
 - Ikenberry, G.J. (2000), "America's Liberal Grand Strategy: Democracy and National Security in the Post-war Era", in Cox, M., Ikenberry, G.J. and Inoguchi, T. (eds.), *American Democracy Promotion*.
 - Cox, M. (2000), "Wilsonianism Resurgent? The Clinton Administration and the Promotion of Democracy", in Cox, M., Ikenberry, G.J. and Inoguchi, T. (eds.), *American Democracy Promotion*.
 - Lynch, D. (2003), "The New Eastern Dimension of the enlarged EU", in Batt, J. et al., *Partners and neighbours*.
 - Batt, J. (2003), "The enlarged EU's external borders", in Batt, J. et al., *Partners and neighbours*.
- Wiarda, H. (2002), *The Politics of European Enlargement: NATO, the EU and the New U.S.-European Relationship*, Woodrow Wilson Center, East European Studies, Occasional Papers 67 (Washington DC).

Session 7:

The power of the EU: Institutional inclusion and conditionality. The case of Turkey.

- European Commission (2003), Communication to the Council and the European Parliament, "Wider Europe – Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with Our Eastern and Southern Neighbours", COM (2003) 104 final (Brussels, 11 March).
- Ortega, M. (2003), "A new EU policy on the Mediterranean?", in Batt, J. et al., *Partners and neighbours*.
- Triantaphyllou, D. (2003), "The Balkans between stabilization and membership", in Batt, J. et al., *Partners and neighbours*.
- Anastasakis, O. and Bechev, D. (2003), "EU Conditionality in South East Europe: Bringing Commitment to the Problem", South East European Studies Programme, European Studies Center, St. Anthony's College, University of Oxford, April.
- Triantaphyllou, D. (2003), "The 13th candidate – Turkey: whither its march toward the EU?", in Batt, J. et al., *Partners and neighbours*.
- Zucconi, M. (2003), *Turkey's New Politics and the European Union*.

PART THREE:
**Management of global stability, II:
Failed states, problem countries, international terrorism.**

Session 8:

The learning process: From reliance on the UN to NATO's interventions (Gulf I, Somalia, former Yugoslavia).

- Zucconi, M. (1995), "Extended Peacekeeping", in US Congress, OTA, *Future International Peace Operations*.
- Woodward, S. (1995), *Balkan Tragedy*, Chapters.
- Zucconi, M. (1996), "The European Union in the Former Yugoslavia", in Chayes, A. and Chayes, A.H. (eds.), *Preventing Conflict in the Post-Communist World*.
- von Hippel, K. (2000), *Democracy by Force*, Ch. 5.
- Zucconi, M. (1998), "The West and the Balkan Conflict", in Bianchini, S. and Nation R.C. (eds.), *The Yugoslav Conflict and Its Implications for International Relations*.
- Allin, D.H. (2002), *NATO's Balkan Interventions*, Adelphi Paper 347 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for IISS).

Session 9:

The Kosovo crisis and the debate about European military capabilities.

- Daalder, I.H. and O'Hanlon, M.E. (2000), *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo*, Ch. 6.
- Independent International Commission on Kosovo (2000), *Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, Lessons Learned* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Crawford, T. (2001), "Pivotal Deterrence and the Kosovo War: Why the Holbrook Agreement Failed", Brookings Working Paper (Washington DC), 26 February.
- Zucconi, M. (2001) (ed.), *The Effects of Economic Sanctions: The Case of Serbia*, Ch. 1, 3, 6.
- Hunter, R.(2002), *The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's companion or competitor?* (Santa Monica CA: RAND), Chapters.
- Lindley-French, J. (2002a), "In the shade of Locarno? Why European defence is failing", *International Affairs*, 78. 4.

Session 10:

How much did September 11 distance Washington from the European capitals? .

Guest expert participating.

- Everts, S. (2001), *Unilateral America, lightweight Europe? Managing Divergence in Transatlantic Foreign Policy* (London: Centre for European Reform).
- Gedman, J. (2002), "Transatlantic ties after 9/11: an American view", *Internationale Politik*, 3 (Fall).
- Hassner, P. (2002), *The United States: the Empire of Force or the Force of Empire?* (Paris: Institute for Security Studies), Chaillot Paper no. 54.
- Lindley-French, J. (2002b), *Terms of Engagement: the Paradox of American Power and the Transatlantic Dilemma post-11 September* (Paris: Institute for Security Studies), Chaillot Paper 52.
- Rice, C. (2000), "Promoting the National Interest", *Foreign Affairs*, 79. 1.
- Spiro, P. (2000), "The new sovereignists: American exceptionalism and its false prophets", *Foreign Affairs* (November-December).

Session 11:

Atlantic actors and international institutions: multilateralism, unilateralism, the use of military force.

- "The Impact on International Law of a Decade of Measures against Iraq", special issue of the *European Journal of International Law*, 13.1 (2002): several essays.
- Henrikson, A.K., "The Constraint of Legitimacy: The Legal and Institutional Framework of Euro-Atlantic Security", in Martin, P. and Brawley, M.R. (eds.) (2000), *Alliance Politics, Kosovo, and NATO's War*.
- Rudolf, P. (2000), "Germany and the Kosovo Conflict", in Martin, P. and Brawley, M.R. (eds.), *Alliance Politics, Kosovo, and NATO's War*.
- Hoffmann, S. (2001), "The United States and International Organizations", in Leiber, R.J. (ed.), *Eagle Rules?*
- Miller, S.E. (2002), "The end of unilateralism or unilateralism redux?", *The Washington Quarterly*. 25.1.
- Nye, J. (2002), *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press), Chapter 1.

Session 12:

Beyond Iraq: sharing responsibilities for global stability and using the cumulative elements of Western power (First part of session).

Simulation: Establishing new bases for a collective approach to problem countries (Second part of session).

- Lindstrom, G. (ed.) (2003), *Shift or Rift: Assessing US-EU relations after Iraq* (Paris: ISS/EU).
- Moravcsik, A. (2003), "Striking a New Transatlantic Bargaining", *Foreign Affairs*, 82.4 (July-August).
- Peterson, J. (2001a), *US and EU in the Balkans: 'America Fights the Wars and Europe Does the Dishes'* (San Domenico di Fiesole, Italy: European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies) RSC no. 2001/49.
- Steinberg, B.J. (2003), "An Elective Partnership: Salvaging Transatlantic Relations", *Survival* (Summer).

- Lyne, C. (2003), "Casualties of war: Transatlantic relations and the future of NATO in the wake of the second Gulf war" (August 13).
- Wallace, W. (2002b), "American hegemony: European dilemmas", in Freedman, L. (ed.), *Superterrorism*.

Relevant bibliography

Abramowitz, M. and Hurlburt, H. (2002), "Can the EU hack the Balkans?" *Foreign Affairs*, 81.5.

Aldrich, R. J. (2001), *The Hidden Hand: Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence* (London: John Murray).

Allen, D. J. (2002), "A Competitive Relationship: the Maturing of the EU-US Relationship, 1980-2000", in Ramet, S. P. and Ingebritsen, C. (eds.), *Coming in From the Cold War: Changes in US-EU Interactions since 1980* (Boulder and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield).

Allen, D. and Pijpers, A. (1984) (eds.), *European Foreign Policy-making and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (The Hague: Kluwer Academic Publishers).

Allen, D. and Smith, M. (2002), "External policy developments", in Edwards, G. and Wiessala, G. (eds.), *The European Union: Annual Review of the EU 2001 /2002* (Oxford and Malden MA: Blackwell).

Allin, D.H.(2002), *NATO's Balkan Interventions*, Adelphi Paper 347 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for IISS).

Anastasakis, O. and Bechev, D. (2003), "EU Conditionality in South East Europe: Bringing Commitment to the Problem", South East European Studies Programme, European Studies Center, St. Anthony's College, University of Oxford, April.

Anderson, E., Gutmanis, I., Anderson, L. (2000), *Economic Power in a Changing International System* (London: Cassell).

Andréani, G., Bertram, C. and Grant, C. (2001), *Europe's Military Revolution* (London: Centre for European Reform).

Atlantic Council (2001), *Changing Terms of Trade: Managing the Transatlantic Economy* (Washington DC: Atlantic Council of the United States), April.

Atlantic Council (2002), *Elusive Partnership: US and European Policies in the Near East and the Gulf* (Washington DC: Atlantic Council of the United States), September.

- Bannerman, E., Everts, S., Grabbe, H., Grant, C. and Murray, A. (2001), *Europe after September 11th* (London: Centre for European Reform).
- Batt, J.(2003)), “The enlarged EU’s external borders”, in Batt, J. et al., *Partners and neighbours*.
- Batt, J. et al. (2003), *Partners and neighbours: a CFSP for a wider Europe* (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies), Chaillot Papers 64.
- Beise, M. (2002), „’Doha’ and beyond“, *Internationale Politik*, 3 (Fall).
- Benedick, R. E. (1998), *Ozone Diplomacy: New Directions in Safeguarding the Planet* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press).
- Bennett, C. (2001-02), “Aiding America”, *NATO Review*, 49 (Winter).
- Bertram, C. et al., “Repairing the Rift”, A Brookings Press Briefing, 3 April 2003.
- Bianchini, S. and Nation R.C. (eds.), *The Yugoslav Conflict and Its Implications for International Relations* (Longo, Ravenna).
- Bildt, C. (1998), *Peace Journey* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson).
- Bildt, C. (2000), “Winning the broader peace in Kosovo”, *Financial Times*, 19 January.
- Bildt, C. (2001), “A second chance in the Balkans”, *Foreign Policy*, 80.1 (January-February).
- Black, I., Norton-Taylor, R. and Borger, J. (2003), “US fury at European peace plan”, *The Guardian*, 6 March.
- Blackwill, R. and Stuermer, M. (1997) (eds.), *Allies Divided: Transatlantic Policies for the Greater Middle East* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press).
- Blinken, A.J. (2001), “The false crisis over the Atlantic”, *Foreign Affairs*, 80.3.
- Boniface, P. (2001), “The spectre of unilateralism”, *Washington Quarterly*, 24.3.
- Bossuat, G. and Vaicbourdt, N. (2001) (eds.), *États-Unis, Europe et Union Européenne: Histoire et Avenir d'un Partenariat Difficile (1945-99)* (Brussels and New York: PIE-Peter Lang).
- Bowen, W.Q. (2001), “Missile defence and the transatlantic security relationship”, *International Affairs*, 77.3.
- Bozo, F. (1991), *La France et l'OTAN: De la guerre froide au nouvel ordre européen* (Paris: Masson).

- Brenner, M. (ed.) (1990), *NATO and Collective Security* (New York: St. Martin's).
- Brenner, M. and Parmentier, G. (eds) (2002), *Reconcilable Difference: US-French Relations in the New Era* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution).
- Brown, L.C. (ed.) (1990), *Centerstage: American Diplomacy Since World War Two* (New York: Holmes and Meier).
- Burwell, F.G. and Daalder, I. H. (eds.) (1999), *The United States and Europe in the Global Arena* (New York: St. Martin's).
- Burk, K. and Stokes, M. (eds.) (1999), *The United States and the European Alliance since 1945* (Oxford: Berk).
- Calleo, D.P. (1987), *Beyond American Egemony: The Future of the Western Alliance* (New York: Basic Books).
- Calleo, D.P. (2001), *Rethinking Europe's Future* (Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press).
- Cambone, S., Daalder, I., Hadley, S.J. and Makins, C.J. (2000), *European Views of National Missile Difence* (Washington DC: Atlantic Council of the United States, Policy Paper), September.
- Caporaso, J. (1993), "International relations theory and multilateralism: the search for foundations", in Ruggie, J. G. (ed.) *Multilateralilm Matters*.
- Carpenter, T.G. (1994), *Beyond NATO: Staying out of Europe's wars* (Washington DC: CATO Institute).
- Carpenter, T.G. (2000), *NATO's Empty Victory: a Postmortem on the Balkan War* (Washington DC: CATO Institute).
- Charnovitz, S. (2001), "Rethinking WTO trade sanctions", *American Journal of International Law*, 95.4.
- Chayes, A. and Chayes, A.H. (eds.), *Preventing Conflict in the Post-Communist World: Mobilizing International and Regional Organizations* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution).
- Clark, W.K. (2001), *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Future of Combat* (New York: Public Affairs).
- Clarke, M. and Cornish, P. (2002), "The European defence project and the Prague Summit", *International Affairs*, 78.4.
- Cooper, R. (2002), "The new Liberal imperialism", *Observer* (London), 7 April.
- Cornish, P. (1997), *Partnership in Crisis: The US, Europe and the Fall and Rise of NATO* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs) Chatham House Papers.

Council of the European Union (2002), "Highlights in EU-US cooperation", July 2001-June 2002", 10487/02, 28 June, Brussels.

Cox, A. and Chapman, J. (1999), *European Union External Cooperation Programmes* (London: Overseas Development Institute).

Cox, M. (2000), "Wilsonianism Resurgent? The Clinton Administration and the Promotion of Democracy", in Cox, M., Ikenberry, G.J. and Inoguchi, T. (eds.), *American Democracy Promotion*.

Cox, M., Ikenberry, G.J., Inoguchi, T. (eds.) (2000), *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, Impacts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Daalder, I.H. (2001) "Are the United States and Europe heading for divorce?", *International Affairs*, 77.3.

Daalder, I.H. and O'Hanlon, M.E. (2000), *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution).

David, C.P. (2000), "At Least 2001: US security policy and exit strategy in Bosnia", *European Security*, 9.1.

de Durand, E. (2001), *The United States and the Alliance* (Paris: IFRI).

Deighton, A. (2001), "The European Union and NATO's war over Kosovo" in Martin, P. And Brawley, M. R. (eds.), *Allied Forces or Forced Allies?*

Delpech, T. (2002), "Four views of 9/11", *Internationale Politik*, 3 (Fall).

Dockrill, S. (2002), "Does a superpower need an alliance?", *Internationale Politik*, 3 (Fall).

Doyle, M.W. (1999), "A liberal view: preserving and expanding the liberal pacific union", in Paul, T.V. and Hall, J.A. (eds.), *International Order and the Future of World Politics*.

Duke, S. (2002), "CESDP and the EU response to 11 September: identifying the weakest link", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 7.2.

EABC (2002), *The United States and Europe: Jobs, Investment and Trade* (Washington DC: European-American Business Council) 8th edition, Spring.

Edwards, G. And Wiessala, G. (eds.) (2002), *The European Union: Annual Review of the EU 2001 /2002* (Oxford and Malden MA: Blackwell).

Eisenhower, S. (2002), *NATO at Fifty: Perspectives on the Future of the Atlantic Alliance* (Washington DC: Eisenhower Institute).

European Commission (2001a) "EU response to 11th September –European Commission Action", Memo/01/375, Brussels, 16 November 2001.

European Commission (2001b), "Reinforcing the transatlantic relationship: focusing on strategy and delivering results", Communication from the Commission to the Council, COM (2001) 154 final, 20 March.

European Commission (2002), "EU response to 11 September -latest update on European Commission action", briefing on 12 March 2002.

European Commission (2003), Communication to the Council and the European Parliament, "Wider Europe – Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with Our Eastern and Southern Neighbours", COM (2003) 104 final (Brussels, 11 March).

European University Institute (2002), *The Political Economy of the Transatlantic Partnership* (San Domenico di Fiesole, Italy: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies), 15 March.

Everts, S. (2001), *Unilateral America, lightweight Europe? Managing Divergence in Transatlantic Foreign Policy* (London: Centre for European Reform).

Everts, S. (2002), *Shaping a Credible EU Foreign Policy* (London: Centre for European Reform).

Featherstone, K. and Ginsberg, R. (1996), *The European Community and the United States in the 1990s: Partners in Transition* (London and New York: Macmillan and St Martin's Press), 2nd edition.

Freedman, L. (2002) (ed.), *Superterrorism: Policy Responses* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Frellesen, T. (2001), "Processes and procedures in EU-US foreign policy cooperation: from the Transatlantic Declaration to the New Transatlantic Agenda", in Philippart, E. and Winand, P. (eds.), *Ever Closer Partnership*.

Frost, E. (1997), *Transatlantic Trade: A Strategic Agenda* (Washington DC: Institute for International Economics).

Gardner, A.L. (1997), *A New Era in US-EU Relations? The Clinton Administration and the New Transatlantic Agenda* (Aldershot and Brookfield VT: Ashgate).

Gardner Feldman, L. (2001), "Comparative differences in US and EU Balkans policies: an American perspective on the political dimension", *AICGS German Issues*, 26.

Garton Ash, T. (2003), "Anti-Europeanism in America", *New York Review of Books*, 13 February.

Gedman, J. (2002), "Transatlantic ties after 9/11: an American view", *Internationale Politik*, 3 (Fall).

Ginsberg, R.H. (2001), "EU-US relations after Amsterdam: 'Finishing Europe'", in Philippart, E. and Winand, P. (eds), *Ever Closer Partnership*.

Ginsberg, R.H. (2002), "United States-European Union political relations in the Bush administration", Paper presented to the Sixth Biennial Congress of the European Community Studies Association, Brussels, December.

- Gnesotto, N. (2002), "Demilitarization in Europe, depoliticisation in the US", *Internationale Politik*, 3 (Fall).
- Gompert, D. and Larrabee, E.S. (1998), *America and Europe: A Partnership for a New Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Gordon, P.H. (1998), *The Transatlantic Allies and the Changing Middle East*, Adelphi Paper 322, International Institute for Strategic Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Gordon, P.H. (2001), "Bush, missile defence and the Atlantic Alliance", *Survival*, 43.1.
- Gordon, P.H. (2001-02), "NATO after 11 September", *Survival* 43.4.
- Gordon, P.H. and Steinberg, J.B. (2001), *NATO Enlargement: Moving Forward*, Brookings Policy Briefs, 90.1.
- Grant, C. (2000), *Memorandum to the US President: A European Perspective on Global Alliances* (London: Centre for European Reform), internal document.
- Grant, C. (2002), "The eleventh of September and beyond: the impact on the European Union", in Freedman, L. (ed.), *Superterrorism*.
- Grant C. (2003), *Transatlantic rift: how to bring the two sides together* (London: CER).
- Haass, R.N. (1999) (ed.), *Transatlantic Tensions: The United States, Europe, and Problem Countries* (Washington: Brookings Institution).
- Haftendorn H. (2002), "One Year After 9/11: A Critical Appraisal of German-American Relations", in *The Thyssen German American Dialogue Seminar Series*.
- Hassner, P. (2002), *The United States: the Empire of Force or the Force of Empire?* (Paris: Institute for Security Studies), Chaillot Paper no. 54.
- Henrikson, A.K. (2000), "The Constraint of Legitimacy: The Legal and Institutional Framework of Euro-Atlantic Security", in Martin, P. and Brawley, M.R. (eds.), *Alliance Politics, Kosovo, and NATO's War*.
- Herolf, G. (ed.) (1996), *Europe: Creating Security Through International Organizations* (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute of International Affairs).
- Heuser, B. (1996), *Transatlantic Relations: Sharing ideals and costs* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs), Chatham House Papers.
- Hill, C. (2002), "EU foreign policy since 11 September 2001: renationalising or regrouping?", First Annual EWC Guest Lecture. University of Liverpool, 24 October.

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Howorth, J. and Keeler, J.T.S. (2003) (eds.), *Defending Europe: the EU, NATO and the Quest for Autonomy* (New York: Palgrave).

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Joffe, J. (2001), "Who's afraid of Mr. Big?", *The National Interest*, 64 (Summer).

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