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Riccardo Alcaro • John Peterson • Ettore Greco
Editors

The West and the Global Power Shift

Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance

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Editors

Riccardo Alcaro
Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)
Rome, Italy

Ettore Greco
Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)
Rome, Italy

John Peterson
University of Edinburgh
United Kingdom

Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics
ISBN 978-1-137-57485-5 ISBN 978-1-137-57486-2 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-57486-2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016940967

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Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd. London

PREFACE

In an era of global flux, emerging powers and growing interconnectedness, transatlantic relations appear to have lost their bearings. As the international system fragments into different constellations of power across different policy domains, the USA and the European Union (EU) can no longer claim exclusive leadership in global governance. Not only the ability, but also the willingness of the USA and the EU to exercise leadership together can no longer be taken for granted. Political, economic and social elites on both shores of the Atlantic express different views as to whether the USA and the EU should bind together, freelance or seek alternative partnerships in a confusing multipolar world.

In this global context, traditional paradigms employed to understand the transatlantic relationship are exposed as wanting. The relationship is no longer determined by the imperative to contain a military and ideological threat of the magnitude of the Soviet Union. Nor is the transatlantic relationship any longer able to present itself as in the vanguard of history, as it often did in the 1990s, when Western liberal democracy appeared the ultimate destiny towards which the world was headed. Common strategic and normative interests still exist, but are of a looser nature than they used to be. The future of transatlantic relations remains very much an open question.

In 2012, the EU awarded a consortium of 13 research and university centres from Europe, the USA and Turkey a generous grant to investigate the direction of transatlantic relations and their role in shaping governance architectures both globally and regionally. Under the leadership of the Rome-based Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), the consortium launched

the Transworld project (www.transworld-fp7.eu). This book represents the culmination of research activities carried out by the consortium. It collects together revised and updated versions of some of the best-quality pieces of analysis produced by the Transworld research team, along with contributions from two leading US-based experts: Daniel S. Hamilton of Johns Hopkins University and Jolyon Howorth of Yale University.

This volume has two primary aims. The first is to assess the state and the future direction of transatlantic relations. The second is to explore the limits and potential of transatlantic leadership in creating effective governance structures.

The volume proceeds in three steps. The first involves resorting to theory and history to understand the transatlantic relationship. After John Peterson's introductory chapter, three chapters conceptualize the transatlantic relationship as a distinct form of security community (Thomas Risse), consider the claims of competing international relations theories about transatlantic relations (Peterson, Riccardo Alcaro and Nathalie Tocci) and link past and present in an historical overview (Maria Green Cowles and Michelle Egan).

The second step is to look at the factors that might set the relationship between the USA and Europe on a different path. Chapters 5 and 6 focus on internal or domestic drivers of change, with an emphasis on the implications for transatlantic relations of European integration (Peterson) and the evolution of US foreign policy thinking (Hamilton). Delving into the systemic dimension, Chap 7 (Howorth) analyses how the USA and the EU have approached the emerging powers (old and new), notably Brazil, Russia, India and China (that is, the BRIC group).

The third step is to locate the transatlantic relationship in the context of the global power shift. Here, the focus is on the nature of transatlantic leadership—actual, potential or declining. One clear finding (illustrated in the first part of the book) is that the world of the twenty-first century displays different power configurations in different policy domains. This changing structure of power complicates the exercise of leadership. Leadership requires not only greater power and authority, but also persuasion, bargaining and moral suasion, all necessary strategies to build coalitions. Soft power, for lack of a better term, is needed to exert pressure and promote pragmatic engagement, and especially to manage conflicts between great powers. More importantly, leadership entails the capacity to put forward solutions to transnational problems and ensure governance of global and regional issues. The third part of the book considers how

the USA and Europe can supply leadership in the policy fields of political economy (Chad Damro), security (Alcaro), human rights (Tocci) and the environment (Christine Bakker and Francesco Francioni).

The book ends with Alcaro and Ettore Greco shedding light on the gap between resilience—a distinctive feature of the transatlantic relationship throughout its history—and leadership—which the West has found increasingly difficult to deliver. The book thus comes full circle: it connects the state of transatlantic relations (Part I) to domestic and systemic undercurrents of change (Part II), and finally considers strategies for turning the transatlantic relationship into a proactive force for managing and even remodelling international relations (Part III).

We are grateful to Kate Ellis of IAI and Clara Eroukhmanoff at the University of Edinburgh for valued assistance in completing the book, and to Nathalie Tocci for her key role in getting it started. The team at Palgrave Macmillan—Ambra Finotella, Imogen Gordon Clark and Hannah Kaspar—were kind, patient and professional throughout. We are in debt to all of those (too many to name) who helped organize Transworld workshops at which contributions were presented and critiqued in Brussels, Edinburgh, Istanbul, Rome and Washington, DC. Finally, we thank the authors for being a joy to work with and for their collegial relations with each other. If there remains much that is unclear about the future of the transatlantic relationship, it is abundantly clear that none of us could have done this book on our own.

Riccardo Alcaro
John Peterson
Ettore Greco
Rome and Edinburgh

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Riccardo Alcaro is a senior fellow in the Transatlantic Programme of the Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome. He was coordinator of the Transworld project.

Christine Bakker is a former research fellow at the European University Institute, Florence, and is a research associate at the LUISS-Guido Carli University, Rome, and a visiting lecturer at the Law Faculty, University of Roma Tre.

Maria Green Cowles Maria Green Cowles is Vice President for Academic Affairs, Immaculata University, Immaculata, Pennsylvania (USA).

Chad Damro is Senior Lecturer of Politics and International Relations, University of Edinburgh, and Jean Monnet Chair and Head of Edinburgh's Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence.

Michelle Egan is a Woodrow Wilson Scholar and Professor at the School of International Service of the American University, Washington, DC.

Francesco Francioni is Professor of International Law Emeritus at the European University Institute, Florence, and Professor at the LUISS-Guido Carli University, Rome.

Ettore Greco is Director of the Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome.

Daniel S. Hamilton is Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation Professor and Founding Director of the Center for Transatlantic Relations at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC.

Jolyon Howorth is Visiting Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (USA), and Jean Monnet Professor *ad personam* and Professor *Emeritus* of European Politics at the University of Bath.

John Peterson is Professor of International Politics at the University of Edinburgh.

Thomas Risse is Professor of International Politics at the Otto Suhr Institute of Political Science, Freie Universität Berlin.

Nathalie Tocci is the Deputy Director of the Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome, and Special Advisor to the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. She was coordinator of the Transworld project.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile (treaty)
ADIZ	Air Defence Identification Zone
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (organization)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
BASIC	Brazil, South Africa, India and China
BBC	British Broadcasting Company
BND	Bundesnachrichtendienst (Germany's Federal Intelligence Service)
BRICs	Brazil, Russian, India and China (sometimes including South Africa)
CEE	Central Eastern European
CFE	Conventional Forces in Europe (treaty)
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy (EU)
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Forces
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CO ₂	Carbon dioxide
COP	Conference of the Parties (of UNFCCC)
CSCE	Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy (EU)
CSI	Container Security Initiative
CTR	Cooperative Threat Reduction
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention
DCFTA	Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (EU)

EaP	Eastern Partnership (EU)
EC	European Community
ECB	European Central Bank
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ECU	Eurasian Customs Union
EDC	European Defence Community
EEAS	European External Action Service
EEC	European Economic Community
EITs	Economies in Transition
EMS	European Monetary System
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ESDI	European Security and Defense Identity
ESS	European Security Strategy
ETS	Emissions Trading System
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FDR	Franklin Delano Roosevelt
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
G2	Group of Two
G5	Group of Five
G7	Group of Seven
G8	Group of Eight
G20	Group of Twenty
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHG	Greenhouse Gases
GICNT	Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism
GMF	German Marshall Fund
HLWG	High Level Working Group (on jobs and growth)
IAI	Istituto Affari Internazionali
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDCs	Intended Nationally Determined Commitments
INF	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (treaty)

IR	International Relations
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISDS	Inter-State Dispute Settlement
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
JAP	Joint Action Plan
KKE	Kommunistikó Komma Elladas (Greek Communist Party)
LDCs	Least developed countries
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSA	National Security Agency (USA)
NTA	New Transatlantic Agenda
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation
OPCW	Organization for the Prevention of Chemical Weapons
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
P5 + 1	Permanent (5) Members of the UN Security Council (plus Germany)
PfP	Partnership for Peace (NATO)
PNR	Passenger Name Record
PSI	Proliferation Security Initiative
PTA	Preferential Trade Agreements
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RRF	Rapid Reaction Force
RwP	Responsibility while Protecting
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SLG	Senior Level Group
TABC	Transatlantic Business Council
TACD	Transatlantic Consumers Dialogue
TAD	Transatlantic Declaration
TAED	Transatlantic Environmental Dialogue
TALD	Transatlantic Labour Dialogue
TEC	Transatlantic Economic Council
TEP	Transatlantic Economic Partnership
TIFAs	Trade and Investment Framework Agreements
TPP	Transpacific Partnership
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNASUR	Union of South American Nations
UNFCCC	United National Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNSG	United Nations Secretary-General
UNSMIS	United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria
USA	United States of America
USDoD	US Department of Defense
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War

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