COURSE OUTLINES

European Integration and European Security

EURR 4104A/5104A, PSCI4608A/5608A (4th year undergraduate seminar and MA seminar)

The course outline is provided here in generic form as a curricular resource. The course was offered in Summer 2018 and Summer 2019, with Prof. Joan DeBardeleben as co-instructor as part of her activities for the Jean Monnet Chair in EU Relations with Russia and the Eastern Neighbourhood (Sept. 2016-August 2019), Carleton University, Ottawa. The course was jointly taught by Markus Kaim (2018) and by Prof. Luca Ratti (2019). This course outline is the most recent version, updated Summer 2019.

The Jean Monnet Chair is co-funded by a grant from the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union.



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EUROPEAN INTEGRATON AND EUROPEAN SECURITY

EURR 4104A/5104A, PSCI4608A/5608A

Instructors:

Prof. Joan DeBardeleben and Prof. Luca Ratti (visiting scholar)

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GOALS OF THE COURSE

Among the most important goals of the course are the following:

- a) To familiarize students with the main security challenges facing Europe
- b) To problematize the concept of 'security' and its boundaries
- c) To learn about the EU's security strategy, its origins, motivations, and influences
- d) To understand the main security structures, policies, and practices in the EU
- e) To relate EU security structures and processes to other security organizations and actors
- f) To analyze the relationship between EU and EU Member state approaches to security

The course will be run seminar style. Students are expected play an active role in the life of the class. Completion of course readings, participation in class discussions, class presentations, and a course paper will be required.

Requirements for 4000-level students:

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Seminar participation	25%
Term paper proposal	10%
Term essay	35%
Short class presentation on weekly readings	10%
Position paper and its presentation (3 pages)	20%
Requirements for 5000-level students:	

Seminar participation	20%
Term paper proposal	5%
Term essay	35%
Expert presentation (with extra readings and power point slides)	20%
Position paper (5 pages)	20%

- 1. Seminar participation. Students are expected to attend all class sessions unless they present a valid medical or equivalent excuse. Participation will be graded on the basis of attendance and the quality of regular contributions to the class discussion; familiarity with required course readings will be considered an important criterion of evaluation.
- 2. <u>Class presentations</u>: Each student will make a class presentation. Requirements differ for students registered at the 4000 or 5000 levels. A schedule of dates for presentations will be decided at the first class session.

4000 level: The presentation will address the required readings for the week, focusing on a one or two designated question from the list of discussion questions circulated to the class in advance. The presentation should be about 5-6 minutes in total and should not simply summarize the course readings, but also present the student's viewpoint and reflection on the course material. You should avoid reading a text for your presentation, but also focus on effective delivery. No extra reading, beyond the required readings, is expected for these presentations. This presentation is intended to encourage seminar participation and reflection on the course readings, and to kick-start the week's discussion.

5000 level: Each student will make in a presentation on a topic relating to the week's theme on a topic not covered by the required readings. This 'expert presentation' will be about 15 minutes in length and should draw on at least three additional academic readings as well as other sources for empirical information, as appropriate. The presentation should be accompanied by a PowerPoint presentation. A list of additional sources consulted should be provided at the end of the PowerPoint. The topic of the presentation will be determined in consultation with the course instructor, based on a list of proposed topics. Other topics may be suggested but they must be approved in advance.

- 3. <u>Term essay proposal</u> (2 pages, double-spaced): The term essay topic must be approved. The proposal is a brief description of the topic and thesis/hypothesis you will explore in the paper, along with a preliminary bibliography.
- 4. Term essay: The term essay should address a specific problem related to course topic in more detail. You should have a question and a particular thesis (hypothesis) or theses that forms the framework of analysis for the paper. Additional research materials are required for this paper, including academic writings (articles, books, chapters) and, where appropriate, primary source documents (e.g., EU documents). The paper will be evaluated on the basis of the quality of the research, the analysis, and the presentation.
- 5. Position paper: Each student is required to write one position paper related to a question relevant to a particular class session. Each paper will argue a position, supported by evidence and sources from the required readings. The course instructors will suggest a question for the paper for each week. You may suggest a different question for your paper, but it must be approved in advance. The paper should demonstrate familiarity with the course readings for the week but be focused around your own conclusions and insights. The position paper should NOT be a summary of readings and should be prepared for a class different from the class in which you make your other oral presentation. It is not expected that you include readings beyond the required readings for the week, but optional readings may be included if desired. A bibliography of works cited should be included, and in-text citations (author-date style) should be used for direct quotes or specific references to the readings. (References are not included in the page length). You are required to present your argument orally in class in no more than 10 minutes. You should avoid reading the paper. Papers will be evaluated based on the cogency and clarity of the argument, evidence brought in support of it (including references to course readings), and the presentation of the paper. Include consideration of important counter-arguments, where appropriate.

Week 1 (DeBardeleben) INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

Background on the EU 2nd hour: Guest speaker

Background readings (Please read unless you have a strong background in EU studies):

- Constantin Chira-Pascanut, 'A Short History of the European Union: From Rome to Lisbon' in Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, Achim Hurrelmann, and Amy Verdun, eds., *European Union Governance and Policy-Making: A Canadian Perspective* (University of Toronto Press, 2018), pp. 17-40.
- Finn Laursen, 'The Major Legislative and Executive Bodies of the European Union,' in European Union Governance and Policy-Making: A Canadian Perspective (2018), pp. 41-63.
- Joan DeBardeleben, 'Geopolitics of the EU,' in, European Union Governance and Policy-Making: A Canadian Perspective (2018),pp. 359-378

Week 2 (DeBardeleben) THE EVOLVING EUROPEAN APPROACH TO SECURITY

1st **hour:** Guest speaker from the Delegation of the European Union to Canada: Mr. Brice De Schietere, Deputy Head of Delegation and Delegation Security Coordinator 2nd hour:

The EU as an international actor

The 2003 European Security Strategy

The 2016 Global Strategy

The place of security in the EU's larger global strategy

Changing security priorities

Changing security identities and geopolitical change

Required

- Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy (executive summary and Section 3.1, 2016), https://eeas.europa.eu/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf
- Filippo Andreatta and Lorenzo Zambernardi, 'The European Union as Power,' in Christoper Hill, Michael Smith, and Sophie Vanhoonacker, eds., *International Relations and the European Union*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press, 2017), Ch.4 pp. 73-93
- Nathalie Tocci, "From the European Security Strategy to the EU Global Strategy: explaining the journey," *International Politics* 54 (2017): 487-502.
- Ana E. Juncos, "Resilience as the new EU foreign policy paradigm: a pragmatist turn?", *European Security* 26, no. 1 (2017): 1-18
- Per M. Norheim-Martinsen (2011), "EU Strategic Culture: When the Means Becomes the End," *Contemporary Security Policy* 32:3, 517-534

Optional readings:

• "A Secure Europe in a Better World," European Security Strategy Dec. 12, 2003, https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en/european-security-strategy-secure-europe-better-world (skim this document)

- Per M. Norheim-Martinsen (2011), "EU Strategic Culture: When the Means Becomes the End," *Contemporary Security Policy* 32:3, 517-534
- European Union Institute for Security Studies, *After the EU global strategy consulting the experts: security and defense* (Paris, 2016)
- Goran Zendelovski (2017), 'The EU Between Old and New Security Strategies Approach," *Security Dialogues* 8 (2):301-317
- Sten Rynning, "The European Union: Towards a Strategic Culture?" *Security Dialogue* vol. 34, no. 4, December 2003, : 479–496
- Amelia Hadfiled (2007), "The EU and Strategic Culture: Virtual Identity Vs Uploaded Preferences," in *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 1 (1):59-72

Week 3 (DeBardeleben) THE CONCEPT OF SECURITY AND NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES

Concepts of security

Soft vs. hard power responses

Securitization and de-securitization

Security communities and strategic policy

Non-traditional security challenges: climate change, energy security, refugee flows

Required (please read the Waever article and three other articles from the list below);

- O. Waever, "Securitization and Desecuritization," in *On Security*, Ronnie D. Lipschutz, ed., (Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 48-86
- Shahrazad Far and Richard Youngs (2018), "The EU's distinctive approach to climate security," in *Climate Change and the UN Security Council*, edited by Shirley V. Scott and Charlotte Ku (Edward Elgar publishing, elgaronline), pp. 147-161.
- Tim Boersma and Andreas Goldthau (2016), "Wither the EU's Market making project in energy: From liberalization to securitization?", in *Energy Union: European's New Liberal Mercantilism?*, edited by Svein S. Andersen, Andreas Goldthau, and Nick Sitter (Springer Link)
- Claire Dupont (2019) The EU's collective securitisation of climate change, *West European Politics*, 42:2, 369-390, DOI: 10.1080/01402382.2018.1510199
- Judge and T. Maltby (2017), "European Energy Union? Caught between securitisation and 'riskification'," *European Journal of International Security* 2(2): 179-202, doi:10.1017/eis.2017.3

Additional readings (optional):.

- François Heisbourg (2015) "The Strategic Implications of the Syrian Refugee Crisis", *Survival*, 57:6, 7-20, DOI: 10.1080/00396338.2015.1116144
- Arnold Wolfers,' "National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol', *Political Science Quarterly*, 67 (1952), p. 483
- Barry Buzan, Ole Waeer, Japp DeWilde, Security: A New Framework of Analysis, (1998)
- David A. Baldwin, 'The Concept of Security', *Review of International Studies* 23, no. 1 (1997), pp. 5-26
- Thierry Balzacz, Sara Leonard, and Jan Ruzicka, "'Securitization' revisited: theory and cases," *International Relations* 30 (4): 494-51.

Week 4 (DeBardeleben) NATO AND EUROPEAN SECURITY

Points of contradiction and interface with European approaches Coordination inside and outside of NATO The impact of NATO on the EU EU-NATO relations

Required:

- Stanley Sloan Defense of the West. NATO, the European Union and the Transatlantic Bargain (Manchester University Press, 2016), Ch. 1 and Ch. 10
- Simon Lunn and Nicolas Williams, NATO Defence Spending: The Irrationality of 2% (ELN Issue Brief), London 2017: http://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/medialibrary/2017/06/12/6c4740de/170608% 20ELN%20Issues%20Brief%20-%20Defence%20Spending.pdf
- Joachim Koops, "NATO's influence on the evolution of the European Union as a security actor", in *The influence of international institutions on the EU: when multilateralism hits Brussels*, edited by Oriol Costa and Knud Erik Jørgensen (Palgrave, 2012)
- Simon Duke ad Sophie Vanhooncker, "EU-NATO relations: Top-down strategic paralysis, bottom up cooperation, in *The EU, Strategy, and Security Policy: Regional and Strategic Challenges*, edited by Laura Chappell, Jocelyn Mawdsley, Petar Patrov (Routledge, 2016), pp. 154-168

Optional:

- Simon Lunn and Nicolas Williams, NATO Defence Spending: The Irrationality of 2% (ELN Issue Brief), London 2017:
- Jan Joel Andersson, et. al., Envisioning European Defence. Five Futures (European Union Institute for Security Studies Chaillot Papers, 137), Paris 2016

Week 5 (Ratti) INSTITUIONAL STRUCTURE AND STRATEGY

Required:

- Nicola Chelotti, Analysing the Links between National Capitals and Brussels in EU Foreign Policy, *West European Politics*, 36, no. 5, 2013
- Ralph Dietl, The WEU: a Europe of the Seven, 1954–1969, *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 7, no.4, 2009
- Daniel Fiott, Strategic autonomy: towards 'European sovereignty' in defence?, European Union Institute for Security Studies Brief, December 2018,
 https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/Brief%2012__Strategic%20Aut onomy.pdf
- Patrick Müller, EU foreign policy: no major breakthrough despite multiple crises, *Journal of European Integration*, 38, no. 3, 2016
- Olivier Schmitt, A Tragic Lack of Ambition: Why EU Security Policy is no Strategy, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 34, no.2, 2013
- Jochen Rehrl (ed.), *Handbook on CSDP* (Vienna, 2017. Third Edition), pp. 42-73
- Alistair Shepherd, The European Union's Security and Defence Policy: a policy without substance?, *European Security*, 12, no.1, 2003

• William Wallace, European foreign policy since the Cold War: How ambitious, how inhibited?, *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19, no.1, 2017

Optional readings:

- Hylke Dijkstra, The influence of EU officials in European Security and Defence, *European Security*, 21, no. 3, 2012
- Ariella Huff, Executive Privilege Reaffirmed? Parliamentary Scrutiny of the CFSP and CSDP, *West European Politics*, 38, no. 2, 2015
- Berthold Rittberger, 'No integration without representation!' European integration, parliamentary democracy, and two forgotten Communities, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13, no.8, 2006
- Mette Eilstrup Sangiovanni, Why a Common Security and Defence Policy is Bad for Europe, *Survival*, 45, no. 4, 2003
- Chiara Steindler, Mapping out the institutional geography of external security in the EU, *European Security*, 24, no. 3, 2015

Week 6 (Ratti) IR THEORY AND THE CSDP Required:

- Adrian Hyde-Price, Neither Realism nor Liberalism: New Directions in Theorizing EU Security Policy, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 34, no. 2, 2013
- Benjamin Pohl, Neither Bandwagoning nor Balancing: Explaining Europe's Security Policy, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 34, no.2, 2013
- Benjamin Pohl & Niels van Willigen, Analytic Eclecticism and EU Foreign Policy (In)action, *Global Society*, 29, no.2, 2015
- Jens Ringsmose, Balancing or Bandwagoning? Europe's Many Relations with the United States, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 34, no. 2, 2013

Optional Readings:

- Julian Bergmann, Neofunctionalism and EU external policy integration: the case of capacity building in support of security and development (CBSD), *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2018
- Maria-Adriana Deiana & Kenneth McDonagh, 'It is important, but...': translating the Women Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda into the planning of EU peacekeeping missions, *Peacebuilding*, 6, no. 1, 2018
- Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Europe's Defence Dilemma, *The International Spectator*, 49, no. 2, 2014
- Evangelos Fanoulis, Understanding the social construction of the democratic deficit in CSDP: a Foucauldian approach, *European Security*, 23, no. 4, 2014
- Ronja Kempin & Jocelyn Mawdsley, The Common Security and Defence Policy as an act of American hegemony, *European Security*, 22, no.1, 2013
- Anand Menon, Power, Institutions and the CSDP: The Promise of Institutionalist Theory,

- Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, no. 1, 2010
- Iraklis Oikonomou, The political economy of European security, *European Security*, 27, no.4, 2018

Week 7 (Ratti) The CSDP'S OPERATIONS Required:

- Niklas I. M. Nováky, The Credibility of European Union Military Operations' Deterrence Postures, *International Peacekeeping*, 25, no. 2, 2018
- Benjamin Pohl, The logic underpinning EU crisis management operations, *European Security*, 22, no. 3, 2013
- Jochen Rehrl (ed.), Handbook on CSDP, pp. 78-97
- Luis Simón, CSDP, Strategy and Crisis Management: Out of Area or Out of Business?, *The International Spectator*, 47, no. 3, 2012
- Michael E. Smith, Learning in European Union peacebuilding: rhetoric and reality *Global Affairs*, 4, no. 2-3, 2018

Optional Readings:

- Kateryna Zarembo, Perceptions of CSDP effectiveness in Ukraine: a host state perspective, *European Security*, 26, no. 2, 2017
- Emma Skeppström, Cecilia Hull Wiklund & Michael Jonsson, European Union Training Missions: security sector reform or counter-insurgency by proxy?, *European Security*, 24, no. 2, 2015
- Fabien Terpan, Financing Common Security and Defence Policy operations: explaining change and inertia in a fragmented and flexible structure, *European Security*, 24, no.2, 2015

Week 8 (Ratti) THE MEDITERRANEAN, MIGRATION, AND TERRORISM Required:

- Anand Menon, European Defence Policy from Lisbon to Libya, Survival, 53, no.3, 2011
- Jörg Monar, The EU as an International Counter-terrorism Actor: Progress and Constraints, *Intelligence and National Security*, 30, no. 2-3, 2015
- Bruno Oliveira Martins & Laura C. Ferreira-Pereira, Stepping inside? CSDP missions and EU counter-terrorism, *European Security*, 21, no. 4, 2012
- Nicoletta Pirozzi, The Civilian CSDP Compact A success story for the EU's crisis management Cinderella?, European Union Institute for Security Studies Brief, October 2018,
 - https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/Brief%209__Civilian%20CSDP.pdf
- Jochen Rehrl (ed.), *Handbook on CSDP*, pp. 114-118
- Luis Simon, CSDP, Strategy and Crisis Management: Out of Area or Out of Business?, *The International Spectator*, 47, no. 3, 2012

Optional Readings:

- Ludovica Marchi Balossi-Restelli, The Common Security and Defence Policy in a State of Flux? The Case of Libya in 2011, *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 15, no.1, 2014
- Michael E. Smith, Implementing the Global Strategy where it matters most: the EU's credibility deficit and the European neighbourhood, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 37, no.3, 2016
- Inez von Weitershausen, David Schäfer and Wolfgang Wessels, A 'Primus Inter Pares' in EU Foreign Policy? German Leadership in the European Council during the Libyan and Ukrainian Crises, *German Politics*, 28, 2019

Week 9 (Ratti) THE BALKANS AND EUROPEAN SECURITY Required:

- Chris van der Borgh, Puck le Roy & Floor Zweerink, Coordinating international interventions in complex settings. An analysis of the EU peace and state-building efforts in post-independence Kosovo, *Peacebuilding*, 6, no.3, 2018
- Emil Kirchner, Common Security and Defence Policy peace operations in the Western Balkans: impact and lessons learned, *European Security*, 22, no1, 2013
- Deniz Mutluer & Dimitris Tsarouhas, EU foreign policy and 'perceived coherence': the case of Kosovo, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 18, no.3, 2018
- Jochen Rehrl (ed.), *Handbook on CSDP*, p. 78-97

Optional Readings:

- Gentjan Skara, The Role of the EU as a Peacebuilder in the Western Balkans, *Romanian Journal of European Affairs*, 14, no.4, 2014
- Rok Zupančič, Nina Pejič, Blaž Grilj & Annemarie Peen Rodt, The European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo: An Effective Conflict Prevention and Peace-Building Mission?, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 20, no. 6, 2018

Week 10 (Ratti) FRANCO-GERMAN COOPERATION AND EUROPEAN SECURITY AFTER BREXIT

Required:

- Sven Biscop, European Defence: Give PESCO a Chance, Survival, 60, no. 3, 2018
- Pierre Haroche, Interdependence, asymmetric crises, and European defence cooperation, *European security*, 26, no.2, 2017
- François Heisbourg, Europe's Defence: Revisiting the Impact of Brexit *Survival*, 60, no.6, 2018
- Karl-Heinz Kamp, Europe's defence project time for transatlantic rearrangement, *Global Affairs*, 1, no. 2, 2015
- Ronja Kempin & Jocelyn Mawdsley, The UK, the EU and European Security: A German Perspective, *The RUSI Journal*, 158, no. 4, 2013
- Ulrich Krotz & Joachim Schild, Back to the future? Franco-German bilateralism in Europe's post-Brexit union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25, no.8, 2018

- Steve Marsh, The US, BREXIT and Anglo-American relations, *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 16, no.3, 2018
- Marianne Riddervold & Akasemi Newsome, Transatlantic relations in times of uncertainty: crises and EU-US relations, *Journal of European Integration*, 40, no. 5, 2018
- Nick Witney, European Defence: An Open Goal for Britain, *The RUSI Journal*, 160, no.5, 2015

Optional Readings:

- Sven Biscop, The state of defence in Europe: dependence, deterrence and deployment, *Global Affairs*, 1, no. 2, 2015
- Thierry Tardy, Does European defence really matter? Fortunes and misfortunes of the Common Security and Defence Policy, *European Security*, 27, no.2, 2018
- Marcin Terlikowski, No One Left Behind?: European Defence and 'Brexit', *The RUSI Journal*, 158, no.4, 2013
- Ragnar Weilandt, Will Brexit change the EU's foreign policy?, Survival, 61, no.2, 2019

Week 11 (DeBardeleben) RUSSIA AS A SECURITY CHALLENGE?

Russia's geopolitical interests and security concepts Stealth influence and ideological offensive

Past cooperation and potential for the future

The nature of the security challenge with Russia

Required:

- Pavel Baev, "The military dimension of Russia's connection with Europe. *European Security* 27, no. 1 (2018): 82-97. 16p.
- Pernille Rieker and Krinstian Lundby Gjerde, 'The EU, Russia and the potential for dialogue – different readings of the crisis in Ukraine', *European Security* 25, no. 3 (2016): 304-325.
- Anna Felfeli, Robin Lucke, and Bernhard Stahl, 'Comeback of the Transatlantic Security Community? Comparative Securitisation in the Crimea Crisis', in: East European Politics 32 (2016) 4, pp. 525-546
- Stephen Simbala, "Putin and Russia in Retro and Forward: the Nuclear Dimension," *Defense and Security Analysis* 33 (1) 2017: 57-67

Optional:

- Michael Mosser, 'Embracing "embedded security": the OSCE's understated but significant role in the European security architecture', *European Security* (201) 24 (4): 579-599
- Nelli Babayan, et al.: Russia. A Test for Transatlantic Unity (Transatlantic Academy),
 Washington 2016:
 http://www.transatlanticacademy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TA16_report_May16_complete.pdf
- Ulrich Speck, 'The West's Response to the Ukraine Conflict. A Transatlantic Success Story', Washington 2016,

http://www.transatlanticacademy.org/sites/default/files/publications/Speck_WestResponseUkraine_Apr16_web.pdf

Week 12 (DeBardeleben) CANADA and EUROPEAN SECURITY

Points of difference and interface with European approaches Canada and NATO Canadian participation in CSDP missions

Required:

- Policy memos from the policy workshop The Transatlantic Security Triangle: Where
 does Canada fit? (2006) Please read the memos by Frederic Merand, and by Amy
 Verdun/Osvaldo Croci, and the responses,
 https://carleton.ca/canadaeurope/cuevents/policy-workshop-the-transatlantic-securitytriangle-where-does-canada-fit/
- Frederic Merand and Antoine Vandemoortele, "Europe's Place in Canadian Strategic Culture (1949=-2009)," *International Journal* 66, no. 2 (2011): 419-438
- Alexander lanoszka,"From Ottawa to Riga: Three tensions in Canadian defence policy," *International Journal*, 72, no. 4 (2017): 520-537
- Document: Strategic Partnership Agreement between Canada, of the One Part, and the European Union and its Member States, of the Other Part (read portions relevant to security), https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/international_relations-relations_internationales/can-eu_spa-aps_can-ue.aspx?lang=eng