

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND EUROPEAN SECURITY (draft outline – may be amended)
EURR 4104A/5104A, PSCI4608A/5608A
2nd Summer Term 2018, MW 2:30-5:30

Instructors:

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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:

Seminar participation	25%
Term paper proposal (due July 20 at noon)	10%
Term essay (due August 15)	35%
Short class presentation on weekly readings	15%
Position paper and its presentation (3 pages)	15%

Requirements for 5000-level students:

Seminar participation	20%
Term paper proposal (due July 20 at noon)	5%
Term essay (due August 15)	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. Please consult CULearn regularly, where discussion questions for class sessions may be posted. Please consult with instructor if you are concerned about this element, as we will try to assist in facilitating your participation.
2. Class presentations: 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 readings for the week, focusing on a one or two designated question from the list of discussion questions circulated through CULearn. The presentation should be about 8 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. They are intended to encourage seminar participation and reflection on the course readings, and to and kick-start the week's discussion.

5000 level: Each student will make in a presentation on a topic relating to the week's theme. 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. Term essay proposal (2 pages, double-spaced): The term essay topic must be approved. The proposal is a brief description of the topic and thesis you will explore in the paper, along with a preliminary bibliography. You should meet with one of the instructors to discuss your topic at some point early in the semester. The Term essay proposal should be submitted to the CULearn Assignment Dropbox no later than July 18. Failure to gain approval of the proposal may also adversely affect your term paper mark
4. Term essay (12 pages for 4000-level, 15 pages for 5000-level): 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. The paper should be handed in in hard copy and through the CULearn Assignment drop-box. Students may be asked to provide a short summary of the term essay (~4-5 minutes) for

discussion in the final class session and should be prepared to do so. The course instructor(s) also reserve the right to request an individual meeting to discuss your completed paper.

5. **Position paper:** Each student is required to write one position paper related to a question relevant to a particular class session, which will be assigned early in the term. The length differs depending on your student registration: 3 pages (double-spaced, 12 point font) for students registered at the 400-level; and 5 pages for students registered at the 5000 level. The paper is due by 9 a.m. on the day of the relevant class, handed in through the CULearn Assignment box. 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. You should be present your argument from the paper orally in class. A bibliography of works cited should be included, and in-text citations should be used for direct quotes or specific references to the readings. (References are not included in the page length). It is not expected that you include readings beyond the required readings for the week, but optional readings may be included if desired. 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. Papers will be evaluated based on the cogency and clarity of the argument, as well as evidence brought in support of it (including references to course readings). Students may replace their first mark with the mark on a second paper, if desired.

Due Dates and Penalties

Please note the following important rules associated with this course:

- Any student who fails to hand in the term essay will receive a failing mark in the course. Penalties for late assignments will be as follows (waived with a valid medical or equivalent excuse):
 - Term essay: Two points (of a 100% scale) for each day late (excluding weekends). No papers accepted after August 22.
 - Failure to hand in the proposal for the term essay will result in a 5% deduction from the overall mark on the term essay, or a 2% deduction if handed in more than one week late. Failure to receive approval of the proposal may also affect the mark on the essay itself.
- Position papers: If handed in late (without a valid excuse) but by the beginning of the relevant class session, the paper will receive a maximum mark of 80% (of 100%). Papers handed in later than that will receive a maximum mark of 60% (out of 100%). Papers not handed in will receive a "0".
- Students absent on a date of an oral presentation will receive a "0" unless a valid medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided. Students who are not able to be present for a presentation must inform the instructor as far as possible in advance of the class so that the presentation can be rescheduled.

READINGS: Please note that readings are available through ARES on CULearn. Some readings are not available electronically and must be accessed in hard copy through library reserves, to please check in advance to allow adequate time. If you have any difficulty finding readings, please contact the relevant instructor as soon as possible so that the problem can be corrected. **Unless indicated as 'optional' or 'additional', all readings are required.**

Session 1 Wednesday, July 4 (DeBardleben)

INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

Background on the EU

The EU as an international actor

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 DeBardleben, 'Geopolitics of the EU,' in , *European Union Governance and Policy-Making: A Canadian Perspective* (2018), pp. 359-378

Session 2 Monday, July 9 (DeBardleben)

THE CHANGING NATURE OF SECURITY CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

The context of EU security policy

Concepts of security

Soft vs. hard power responses

Security communities and strategic policy culture

International relations theory and security issues

Required:

- Filippo Andreatta and Lorenzo Zambenardi, 'The European Union as Power,' in Christopher Hill, Michael Smith, and Sophie Vanhoonacker, eds., *International Relations and the European Union*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press, 2017), Ch.4 pp. 73-93
- David A. Baldwin, 'The Concept of Security', *Review of International Studies* 23, no. 1 (1997), pp. 5-26
- O. Waever, "Securitization and Desecuritization," in *On Security*, Ronnie D. Lipschutz, ed., (Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 48-86

Additional readings:

- Oliver Schmidtke, 'Justice, Freedom, and Security: From Humble Beginnings to a Key EU Policy Field,' in *European Union Governance and Policy-Making: A Canadian Perspective* (2018), pp. 155-175.

- Arnold Wolfers, ' "National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol', *Political Science Quarterly*, 67 (1952), p. 483
- Amelia Hadfield (2007), "The EU and Strategic Culture: Virtual Identity Vs Uploaded Preferences," in *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 1 (1):59-72
- Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, Japp DeWilde, *Security: A New Framework of Analysis*, (1998)
- Buzan, Barry (2015) *The English School: a neglected approach to International Security Studies*. Security Dialogue, 46 (2). pp. 126-143. ISSN 0967-0106

Session 3 Wednesday, July 11 (DeBardleben)

SECURITY CONCEPTS AND THE EUROPEAN SECURITY STRATEGY

In the 2nd hour, we will have a guest speaker from the Delegation of the European Union to Canada: Mr. Brice De Schieter, Deputy Head of Delegation and Delegation Security Coordinator

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
- Sten Rynning, "The European Union: Towards a Strategic Culture?" *Security Dialogue* vol. 34, no. 4, December 2003, : 479–496
- Per M. Norheim-Martinsen (2011), " EU Strategic Culture: When the Means Becomes the End," *Contemporary Security Policy* 32:3, 517-534
- Nathalie Tocci, "From the European Security Strategy to the EU Global Strategy: explaining the journey," *International Politics* 54 (2017): 487-502.

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)
- Ana E. Juncos, "Resilience as the new EU foreign policy paradigm: a pragmatist turn?", *European Security* 26, no. 1 (2017): 1-18.
- 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

Session 4: Monday, July 16 (Kaim)

THE TRANSATLANTIC BARGAIN 1949-2018

The role of the US in European security and transatlantic relations

NATO and the EU: cooperation, boundaries, and responsibilities

Areas of tension and areas of congruence

A question of burden-sharing: The 2%-Debate

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>>
- Jan Joel Andersson, et. al., *Envisioning European Defence. Five Futures* (European Union Institute for Security Studies - Chaillot Papers, 137), Paris 2016:
<<https://www.iss.europa.eu/content/envisioning-european-defence-%E2%80%93-five-futures>>

Session 5 Wednesday, July 18 (Kaim)

EMERGENCE OF A COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

National foreign policy traditions and approaches (Case Studies: France/ UK/ Germany/ Poland)

Motivations for a European approach and first steps (EPC)

EU and Member State competences in the area of security

Main steps and obstacles in developing a European approach: The Coherence Problem

Required:

- Carmen Gebhard, 'The Problem of Coherence in the European Union's International Relation,' in Hill, Christopher/ Michael Smith/Sophie Vanhoonacker, eds., *International Relations and the European Union*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press, 2017), Ch.6, pp. 97-122
- Reuben Wong, 'The Role of the Member States: The Europeanization of Foreign Policy?' in Hill, Smith, and Vanhoonacher, eds., *International Relations and the European Union* (2017), pp. 143-164.
- Fraser Cameron, *An Introduction to European Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed., (Routledge, 2012), Ch.3
- Stephan Keukeleire and Tom Delreux, *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*, 2nd edition (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2014), Ch.2

Session 6: Monday, July 23 (Kaim)
EU IN THE WORLD – TWO CASE STUDIES

a) Enlargement and Neighborhood Policy

Required:

- Tanja Börzel, Antoaneta Dimitrova, and Frank Schimmelfennig 'European Union Enlargement and Integration Capacity: Concepts, Findings, and Policy Implications,' in: *Journal of European Public Policy* 24 (2017) 2, pp. 157-176
- Karen E. Smith, 'Enlargement, the Neighbourhood, and European Order, in Hill, Smith and Vanhoonacker, eds., *International Relations and the European Union*. 3rd ed. (2017) Ch.14, pp. 316-340.

b) The Middle East (MEPP/ Arab Spring/ JCPOA)

Required

- Vincent Durac, 'Counterterrorism and Democracy. EU Policy in the Middle East and North Africa after the Uprisings', in: *Mediterranean Politics* 23(2018) 1, pp.103-121
- Roberto Roccu, 'Security and Stability Reframed, Selective Engagement Maintained? The EU in the Mediterranean after the Arab Uprisings', in: *Mediterranean Politics* 23(2018) 1, pp.182-195

Session 7 Wednesday, July 25 (Kaim)
EU AS CRISIS MANAGER – THE EMERGENCE OF THE COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY

Historical background
Political and Security Committee
EU Military Committee, EU Military Staff
Crisis Management and Planning Directorate
Major EU missions: Achievements and challenges
Case studies (student presentations)

Required:

- Jolyon Howorth, 'The EU's Security and Defence Policy: The Quest for Purpose,' in: Hill, Smith, and Vanhoonacker (eds.), *International Relations and the European Union* (2017) pp. 341-364
- Thierry Tardy, 'CSDP in Action. What Contribution to International Security?' (European Union Institute for Security Studies - Chaillot Papers, 134), Paris 2015, <https://www.iss.europa.eu/content/csdp-action-%E2%80%93-what-contribution-international-security>
- Jolyon Howorth, *The Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 2nd ed., New York 2014

Session 8 Monday, July 30 (Kaim)
TERRORISM, FAILED STATES AND THE ISLAMIC STATE AS SECURITY CHALLENGES

Definition of terrorism
Reasons for European vulnerability

EU anti-terror policy
The risks of failed states and EU responses
ISIS as a security threat

Required:

- Annegret Bendiek, 'At the Limits of the Rule of Law. EU-US Counterterrorism Cooperation' in: Finn Laursen (ed.), *The EU, Security and Transatlantic Relations* (Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 275-303
- Mai'a Cross and K. Davis, 'Counter-terrorism in the EU's External Relations', in: *Journal of European Integration* 39(2017) 5, pp.609-624
- Teemu Sinkkonen, 'War on Two Fronts: The EU Perspective on the Foreign Terrorist Fighters of ISIL' (Finnish Institute of International Affairs) Helsinki 2015: <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/187029/bp166.pdf> >

Session 9 Wednesday, August 1 (Kaim)

THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY

Challenges from the outside

The end of the liberal world order

New power structures, new institutions, new norms

Required:

- Richard Maher, 'The Rise of China and the Future of the Atlantic Alliance', in: *Orbis* 60 (2016) 3, pp. 366-381
- Luis Simón, 'Europe, the Rise of Asia and the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship,' in: *International Affairs* 91 (2015) 5, pp. 969-989

Challenges from within

The Rise of Populism

Growing Rifts in the EU

Required:

- Erik Jones, 'The Rise of Populism and the Fall of Europe', in: *The SAIS Review of International Affairs* 37(2017) 1, pp.47-57
- Tim Oliver, 'Fifty Shades of Brexit: Britain's EU Referendum and its Implications for Europe and Britain', in: *The International Spectator* 52(2017) 1, pp.1-11

Session 10: Wednesday, August 8 (DeBardleben)

RUSSIA AS A SECURITY CHALLENGE?

Russia's geopolitical interests and security concepts

Lessons from the Georgian and Ukraine crises

Stealth influence and ideological offensives

Common interests between Russia and the EU

Past cooperation and potential for the future

European and Russian reactions to frozen conflicts

Required:

- 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
- 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
- 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_West_ResponseUkraine_Apr16_web.pdf

Session 11. Monday, August 13 (DeBardeleben)

CANADIAN POLICY AND EUROPEAN SECURITY (In the first hour we will have a guest speaker from Global Affairs Canada, Ms. Anne Therrien, from the section on Europe Bilateral and EU Institutions

Points of contradiction and interface with European approaches
Canadian participation in CSDP missions
Coordination inside and outside of NATO
Canada's NATO role
Arctic issues

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/cu-events/policy-workshop-the-transatlantic-security-triangle-where-does-canada-fit/>
- *Strategic Partnership Agreement between Canada, of the One Part, and the European Union and its Member States, of the Other Part.* http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/international_relations-relations_internationales/can-eu_spa-aps_can-ue.aspx?lang=eng
- Frederic Merand and Antoine Vandemoortele, "Europe's Place in Canadian Strategic Culture (1949=-2009), *International Journal* 66, no. 2 (2011): 419-438
- Alexander Ianoszka, "From Ottawa to Riga: Three tensions in Canadian defence policy," *International Journal*, 72, no. 4 (2017) : 520-537

Session 12. Wednesday, August 15 (DeBardeleben)

POSSIBILITIES FOR A NEW EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURE?

Is a solution acceptable to the EU, Russia (and the US?) possible?
The OSCE as a European security organization
Presentation of summaries of student research papers

Required:

- Michael Mosser, 'Embracing "embedded security": the OSCE's understated but significant role in the European security architecture', *European Security* (201) 24 (4): 579-599
- Stephen Simbala, "Putin and Russia in Retro and Forward: the Nuclear Dimension," *Defense and Security Analysis* 33 (1) 2017: 57-67
- 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.

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Academic Accommodations:

The Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS) is a centralized collection of learning support services designed to help students achieve their goals and improve their learning both inside and outside the classroom. CSAS offers academic assistance with course content, academic writing and skills development. Visit CSAS on the 4th floor of MacOdrum Library or online at: www.carleton.ca/csas.

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send the instructor your ***Letter of Accommodation*** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). **Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis.** After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with the instructor to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website (www.carleton.ca/pmc) for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism:

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own”. This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

All suspicions of plagiarism will be dealt with according to the Carleton’s Academic Integrity Policy (<http://carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/>). The Associate Dean of the Faculty will conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of F for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. If permitted in the course outline, late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside room 3305 Richcraft Hall. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day’s date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.