

**Institute of European and Russian Studies
Centre for European Studies**

COURSE SYLLABUS

EURR 4104/5104 and PSCI 4608/5608

Winter Term 2008

**EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND EUROPEAN
SECURITY**

Fridays, 08:30 – 11:30 AM
Tory Building 230

INSTRUCTOR: Franz Kernic
OFFICE: 1314, Dunton Tower
OFFICE PHONE: 6683 or 2888 (Ginette Lafleur)
E-MAIL: Kernic@hotmail.com or fkernic@ccs.carleton.ca
OFFICE HOURS: Fridays, 11:30 – 12:30 (and by
appointment)

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course will examine efforts to build a European Union, particularly all efforts to establish a common foreign and security policy of the 27 EU member states. The analysis will begin by broadly tracing the evolution of the European Union since the end of the Cold War. The main focus of this course will be on the following two themes: the European integration process itself - with a special focus on the European Union's foreign policy and its role in global politics - and the emerging security structure of the European continent. Topics to be covered include major political efforts toward European integration, the geopolitical history of the European Union, the development of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), the linkage between NATO, OSCE, and the EU, the changing role of the EU in world politics, and major European security and defence issues. Political and social science approaches to analyzing current key issues of European integration and security (including IR-theory as well as the "world society" and "common risk society" concepts) will be reviewed and discussed.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

All students must complete the following requirements:

- a) All students are expected to regularly attend class sessions and to participate in class discussions.
- b) All students are expected to complete the assigned course readings.
- c) Each student is to prepare a short briefing on a course-related topic (maximum of 20 minutes).
- d) Each student is to write a research paper (17-18 pages) on the topic of his/her class briefing.
- e) All students are to take a final written exam on the last day of the course.

In addition (*for graduate students only*):

- a) Graduate students will also have to prepare and present a critical book review (6-10 pages) on one assigned book focusing on a specific issue of European integration or European security.
- b) They also have to prepare a short summary and critical review of an assigned article related to class activities. The respective texts will be assigned by the instructor. The summary and review of this article will be presented in class (maximum of 5 minutes). A short hand-out for class participants is required (max. 1 page).

EVALUATION

General class participation	15% of grade
Final exam	25% of grade
Research paper (including book review for graduate students)	50% of grade (<i>paper due March 30</i>) (<i>35% on term paper and 15 % on book review for graduate students</i>)
Oral presentation (briefing)	10% of grade

The final exam will be held in class on Monday **April 7, 2008**. It will be essay style (with one question to be answered) and take 45 minutes. Students will be responsible for all material discussed prior to the exam date. Students who miss examinations for non-medical reasons will not have the opportunity to rewrite. Medical exemptions will require documentation. No alternate final exams will be scheduled.

Required Readings:

All required readings will be available at the NPDIA Resource Centre. Many readings will be available online. Both readings and lectures/class activities are crucial components of the course and are interrelated.

RESEARCH PAPER

The research paper should be 17-18 pages in length (not including footnotes and bibliography), and should demonstrate substantial library and database research. It should be constructed around a thesis statement (hypothesis) and supporting arguments with evidence (including references and footnotes). It is not enough to write a simple descriptive treatment or review. Your research paper should be an *essay*, i.e. an analytical work that should both illuminate a precise problem and draw some larger conclusions.

Specifically, the paper must do the following four things:

- a) Ask a why or how question
- b) Present an analytical argument that is a clear answer to the question
- c) Address some of the literature related to the question (possible answers)
- d) Offer some compelling evidence to support your argument

This term paper must include:

- a) A short summary (half page)
- b) A general introduction and a key question
- c) The main analytical part, i.e. the body of the paper (this section should also be devoted to supporting your thesis statement).
- d) Conclusions and/or outlook
- e) Final bibliography

Specific formal requirements:

- a) Papers must be typed
- b) You must footnote all references (quotes, use of evidence, etc...)
- c) You must include a final bibliography
- d) The essay must adhere to standard rules of English concerning spelling, grammar, and vocabulary
- e) Length: 17-18 pages, not including notes and bibliography
- f) Font: 12 points
- g) Spacing: double-spaced

EMAIL LIST

An email list will be set up for the purpose of the class. Important announcements or relevant articles/material will be sent to you during the entire semester. If any of you, for whatever reason, would prefer not to be included in this email list, please contact me by email or talk to me directly. I also warmly encourage you to email me for comments, questions, or feedback.

TERM OUTLINE

WEEK 1 (January 11)

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE COURSE

- Objectives of the course
- Selecting a topic and designing a research proposal
- Studying Europe: European Studies, European Integration, and European Security – General Introduction

WEEK 2 (January 18)

FOREIGN POLICY COOPERATION AND EUROPEAN SECURITY: THE SEARCH FOR AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Key Topics: Competing paradigms: Realist theories, neo-liberal institutionalism, world-society theory, common risk society approach, etc. How to analyze the European foreign policy cooperation and the newly emerging European security architecture? Security Studies in the 21st Century.

Required Readings:

- Hyde-Price, Adrian, Beware the Jabberwock! Security Studies in the Twenty-First Century, in: Gaertner, Heinz et al. (eds.), *Europe's New Security Challenges*, Chapter 2, pp. 27-54.
- Smith, Michael E., *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy. The Institutionalization of Cooperation*, Part I, Chapter 1 ("The institutionalization of cooperation: an analytical framework"), pp. 17-36.
- Smith, Michael E., The Framing of European Foreign and Security Policy: Towards a Post-Modern Policy Framework?, in: *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10, 4 (2003), pp. 556-575.

In addition (recommended reading):

- Sjursen, Helene, Understanding the Common Foreign and Security Policy. Analytical Building Blocks, in: Knodt, Michele & Princen, Sebastiaan (eds.), *Understanding the European Union's External Relations*, Part I, Chapter 2, pp. 35-53.

WEEK 3 (January 25)

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF FOREIGN POLICY COOPERATION: A HISTORICAL OUTLINE AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Key Topics: European Political Cooperation (EPC); information-sharing and trans-governmental networking; organizations and European foreign policy; norms and rules; the road toward a common foreign and security policy (CFSP); and the attempt of establishing a Constitution of the European Union.

Required Readings:

- Smith, Michael E., *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy. The Institutionalization of Cooperation*, Part II, Chapters 6-7, pp. 145-206.
- Schneider, Gerald and Seybold, Claudia, Twelve Tongues, One Voice: An Evaluation of European Political Cooperation, in: *European Journal of Political Research* 31, 3 (1997), pp. 367-397.

In addition, for basic background information:

- Kernic, Franz, European Security in Transition: The European Security Architecture since the End of the Second World War – An Overview, in: Hauser, Gunther and Kernic, Franz (eds.), *European Security in Transition*, pp. 5-22.
- Homepage “CFSP” (European Union):
http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cfsp/intro/

WEEK 4 (February 1)

THE EU AS A GLOBAL ACTOR

Key Topics: The emergence of the EU as a global power; introducing European foreign and security policy (development, key features); linkages between the national ‘systems’ of foreign and security policy and the EU system; theorizing the EU as a global actor.

For basic information:

- Internet: www.europa.eu.int/pol/ext/index_en.htm

Required Readings:

- Peterson, John and Smith, Michael E., The EU as a Global Actor, in: Bomberg, Elisabeth & Stubb, Alexander (eds.), *The European Union: How Does it Work?* Chapter 10, pp. 195-214.
- Jorgensen, Knud Erik, Making the CFSP Work, in: Peterson, John and Shackleton, Michael (eds.), *The Institutions of the European Union*, Chapter 10, pp. 210-232.
- Hettne, Björn and Söderbaum, Frederik, Civilian Power or Soft Imperialism? The EU as a Global Actor and the Role of Interregionalism, in: *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10, 4 (2005), 535-552.
- Karen E. Smith, ‘The European Union: A Distinctive Actor in International Relations,’ *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Winter/Spring 2003), pp. 103-113.

In addition, recommended reading:

- Jan Wouters and Dominic Coppens, ‘A Global Actor in the Making? Reforming the EU’s External Relations Machinery with or without the Constitution,’ Institute for International Law, K.U. Leuven, *Working Paper* No. 79 (June 2005). Online: <http://www.law.kuleuven.be/iir/nl/wp/WP/WP79e.pdf>

WEEK 5 and WEEK 6 (February 7-8)

TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

- The class meeting of February 15 will be rescheduled to February 7 and 8. The whole class will participate in the international conference on “*Transatlantic Relations and International Conflict Management*”.
- Class Schedule for February 7-8 will be distributed in early January 2008. Class participation is obligatory.
- Location: Carleton University, Room 608 Robertson Hall (Senate Room).

Key Topics: Transatlantic relations in the field of security and defence and global conflict prevention and crisis management, particularly EU-Canada security relations; special areas of transatlantic security cooperation: human security, the use of force and multi-national military operations, intelligence, Afghanistan, conflict prevention and management in the Middle East.

Required Readings:

- Gaertner, Heinz, European Security, the Transatlantic Link, and Crisis Management, in; Gaertner, Heinz et al. (eds.), *Europe’s New Security Challenges*, Chapter 7, pp. 125-148.
- Sloan, Stanley R., *NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community*, Chapters 9-10, pp. 163-216.
- Brunelli, Michele, European Union and the Greater Middle East: Economic Relations, Political Issues and Future Challenges, in: Hauser, Gunther and Kernic, Franz (eds.), *European Security in Transition*, pp. 174-194.
- Peterson, John, Is the Wolf at the Door this Time? Transatlantic Relations after Iraq, in: *European Political Science* 5, 1 (2006), 52-61.

READING BREAK (February 18-22)

WEEK 7 (February 29)

THE EU AS AN EXPORTER OF MODELS, VALUES, NORMS, AND IDEAS

Key topics: The idea of “soft diplomacy”, economic cooperation and the attempt to export “values”, the EU and human rights, the concepts of democracy, human rights, and civil society and their significance for the European Union’s foreign policy, and frameworks for cooperation between the EU and third states.

Required Reading:

- Petiteville, Franck, Exporting ‘values’? EU external cooperation as a ‘soft diplomacy’, in: Knodt & Princen (eds.), *Understanding the European Union’s External Relations*, Part III, Chapter 7, pp. 127-141.

- Hyde-Price, Adrian, 'Normative' Power Europe: A Realist Critique, in: *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, 2 (2006), pp. 217-234.
- Matlary, Janne Haaland, When Soft Power Turns Hard: Is an EU Strategic Culture Possible? in: *Security Dialogue* 37, 1 (2006), pp. 105-121.

WEEK 8 (March 7)

THE EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE IN TRANSFORMATION

Key topics: European Security: Institutions and Organizations (NATO, ESDP, OSCE); compatibility and incompatibility of Europe's major security organizations and policies.

Required Readings:

- Ham, Peter van, EU, NATO, OSCE: Interaction, Cooperation and Confrontation, in: Hauser, Gunther and Kernic, Franz (eds.), *European Security in Transition*, pp. 23-38.
- Schmidt, Peter. The Compatibility of Security Organizations and Policies in Europe, in: Gaertner, Heinz et al. (eds.), *Europe's New Security Challenges*, Chapter 8, pp. 149-163.

WEEK 9 (March 14)

CFSP AND PUBLIC OPINION; EU SECURITY DOCTRINE AND STRATEGIC PLANNING

Key Topics: Public Opinion on European Integration, CFSP, ESDP, and NATO; general attitudes, public support, and trends; the EU Security Doctrine "A Secure Europe in a Better World" (2003); strategic partnerships; preventive diplomacy and crisis management.

Required Readings:

- Eichenberg, Richard C. 'The Polls – Trends: Having It Both Ways: European Defense Integration and Commitment to NATO.' *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 67, 4 (Winter 2003), pp. 627-659.
- Kernic, Franz et al. *Public Opinion on European Security and Defense*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003, Chapter 1 und Conclusions.
- EU Security Doctrine: <http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>
- Biscop, Sven: In Search of a strategic Concept for the ESDP, in: *European Foreign Affairs Review* 7, 4 (2002), pp. 473-490.
- Biscop, Sven, Security and Development: A Positive Agenda for a Global EU-UN Partnership, in: *Chaillot Paper* 78, June 2005 (Paris), pp. 17-30. Available online:

In addition, recommended readings:

- Annegret Bendiek, 'Cross-Pillar Security Regime Building in the European Union: Effects of the European Security Strategy of December 2003,' *European Integration Online Papers*, vol. 10, no. 9 (September 8, 2006). See: http://eiop.or.at/eiop/index.php/eiop/article/view/2006_009a/30

- Alyson J. K. Bailes, 'The European Security Strategy: An Evolutionary History,' *SIPRI Policy Paper No. 10* (Stockholm, February 2005). Available online: <http://www.sipri.org/contents/publications/Polycypaper10.html>

March 21 – official holiday

WEEK 10 (March 28)

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND THE DEFENCE AGENDA: THE EUROPEAN ARMED FORCES IN TRANSITION

Key topics: European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and national defense; the EU battle-group concept; national defense versus/and European defense; reform processes and transformation of the European armed forces and defense systems; military integration and new missions.

Readings:

- Kernic, Franz et al. (eds.). *The European Armed Forces in Transition*, Frankfurt: Lang, 2005, Chapter 1.
- EU Council Secretariat, Development of European Military Capabilities, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/MilitaryCapabilitiesFC06backgroundNov06_en.pdf
- Lindstrom, Gustav, The Headline Goal, European Union Institute for Security Studies (updated version 2007), <http://www.iss-eu.org/esdp/05-gl.pdf>
- Lindley-French, Julian, Headline Goal 2010 and the Concept of the EU Battle Groups: An Assessment of the Build-up of a European Defence Capability, Cicero Foundation (2005), online:

WEEK 11 (April 4)

THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND SECURITY: SUMMARY AND REVIEW

- Final Discussion
- Final oral presentations and book reviews
- Focus on: Current literature and research projects

WEEK 12 (April 7)

FINAL EXAM

Materials:

Core Documents of European Security and Defense (4 volumes), edited by the WEU/ EU Institute for Security Studies (compiled by Maartje Rutten, Jean-Yves Haine, and Antonio Missiroli) are available as full text pdf documents at the ISS Homepage.

- <http://www.iss.europa.eu/>

Further important WWW resources:

- <http://europa.eu.int>
- www.nato.int
- <http://www.osce.org>

International Relations and Security Network

A leading resource in the field of defense studies, security, peace, conflict research and international relations.

Selected Bibliography

Algieri, F. and J.A. Emmanouilidis, Setting Signals for European Foreign and Security Policy. Discussing Differentiation and Flexibility, *CAP Working Paper*, October 2000.

Allen, D. and M. Smith. Western Europe's Presence in the Contemporary International Arena, *Review of International Studies* 16, 19-37.

Alston, P. (ed.). *The EU and Human Rights*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Archer, C. and F. Butler. *The European Union: Structure and Process*, 2nd ed., London: Pinter 1996.

Bomberg, E. and A. Stubb (eds.), *The European Union: How Does it Work?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Bretherton, C. and J. Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, London: Routledge, 1999.

Edwards, G. and E. Regelsberger (eds.). *Europe's Global Links. The European Community and Inter-Regional Cooperation*, 1990.

Gaertner, H. et al. (eds.), *Europe's New Security Challenges*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

Gillingham, J. *European Integration, 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Hauser, G. and F. Kernic, *European Security in Transition*, Aldershot, England, Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2006.

Hill, C. and K. E. Smith (eds.), *European Foreign Policy: Key Documents*, London: Routledge, 2000.

Hix, S.. *The Political System of the European Union*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Hoffmann, S. Towards a Common European Foreign and Security Policy? *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38, 2: 189-198.

Holland, M. (ed.), *Common Foreign and Security Policy: The Record and Reforms*, London: Pinter, 1997.

- Kernic, F. et al. *Public Opinion and European Security*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003.
- Kernic, F. et al. (eds.). *The European Armed Forces in Transition*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2005.
- Knodt, M. and S. Princen. *Understanding the European Union's External Relations*, London: Routledge, 2003.
- Nugent, N. *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, 4th ed., Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999.
- McCormick, J. *Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Musu, C. European Foreign Policy: A Collective Policy or a Policy of 'Converging Parallels'? *European Foreign Affairs Review* 8, 2 (March 2003): 15-49.
- Peterson, J. and M. Shackleton (eds.), *The Institutions of the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Peterson, J. and H. Sjursen (eds.), *A Common Foreign Policy for Europe? Competing Visions of the CFSP*, London: Routledge, 1998.
- Regelsberger, E., Shoutheete de Tervarent, P. de and W. Wessels (eds.), *Foreign Policy of the European Union: From EPC to CFSP and Beyond*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997.
- Rhodes, C. (ed.). *The European Union in the World Community*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.
- Rosecrance, R.N. *The European Union: A New Type of International Actor*, Florence: EUI, 1997.
- Rummel, R. *The Evolution of an International Actor. Western Europe's New Assertiveness*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1990.
- Sloan, S. R. *NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community. The Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.
- Smith, M. E. *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy. The Institutionalization of Cooperation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Wallace, W. and H. Wallace, *Policy-making in the European Union*, 4th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Warleigh, Alex (ed.). *Understanding European Union Institutions*, London: Routledge, 2002.
- White, B. The European Challenge to Foreign Policy Analysis, *European Journal of International Relations* 5,1, 37-66.
- White, B. *Understanding European Foreign Policy*, London: Palgrave, 2001.

STATEMENT ON ACADEMIC OFFENSES

In all written work, students must avoid plagiarism, i.e. presenting the work or ideas of another as one's own. Forms of plagiarism include copying from the work of another author without proper use of footnotes and quotation marks, using the ideas of others without acknowledging the source, extensive paraphrasing, or submitting the work of another as one's own. The same piece of work may not be submitted for more than one course or may not have been submitted previously to fulfil any other course requirement. For graduate students, academic offenses will be reported to the Dean Graduate Studies or his/her designate and an appropriate remedy will be determined. For undergraduate students, they will be reported to the Office of the Dean of the Faculty of Public Affairs and Management.

Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the Centre, make an appointment to meet with me in order to discuss your needs at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request.

Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product the work of another without expressly giving credit to another". (Calendar p. 48).

- Copying from another person's work without indicating this through appropriate use of quotations marks and citations of footnotes.
- Lengthy and close paraphrasing of another person's work (i.e. extensive copying interspersed with a few "different" phrases or sentences).
- Submitting written work produced by someone else as if it were one's own work (e.g. another student's term paper, a paper purchased from a commercial term paper "factory", material downloaded via the Internet, etc.)

In an academic environment plagiarism is a serious offence, and it is not a matter that can be dealt with by an informal arrangement between the student and the instructor. In all cases where plagiarism is suspected, instructors are now required to notify their departmental Chair, and the Chair in turn is required to report the matter to the Associate Dean of the Faculty. The Associate Dean makes a formal investigation and then decides on an appropriate sanction. Penalties can range from a mark of zero for the plagiarized work, to a final grade of F for the course, to suspension from all studies, to expulsion from the University. (Students should also be aware that the Senate classifies as an instructional offence the submission of "substantially the same piece of work to two or more courses without the prior written permission of the instructors..involved.")

Requests for Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities:

"Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact a coordinator at the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities to complete the necessary *letters of accommodation*. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet and discuss your needs with me at least two weeks prior to the first in-class test or its midterm exam. This is necessary in order to ensure sufficient time to make the necessary arrangements. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the Paul Menton Centre: November 6th, 2006 for fall and fall/winter term courses, and March 9th, 2007 for winter term courses."

For Religious Obligations:

Students requesting academic accommodation on the basis of religious obligation should make a formal, written request to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such request 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 not later than two weeks before

the compulsory 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 students.

Students or instructors who have questions or want to confirm accommodation eligibility of a religious event or practice may refer to the Equity Services website for a list of holy days and Carleton's Academic Accommodations policies, or may contact an Equity Services Advisor in the Equity Services Department of assistance.

For Pregnancy:

Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a letter of accommodation. The student must then make an appointment to discuss her needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.