Instructors:
Prof. Joan DeBardeleben
Office: 3307 Richcraft Hall
Office Hours: On teaching days, Mondays, 5:30-6:30 and Wednesdays, 1-2; or by appointment (I will be out of town May 22- June 7)
Telephone: 520 –2600 ext 2886
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Prof. Luca Ratti
Office: See CULearn for office location
Office Hours: Mondays and Wednesdays 1-2 or by appointment
E-mail: l.ratti@aur.edu

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 May 24, 5 p.m.) 10%
Term essay (due June 19 at noon) 35%
Short class presentation on weekly readings 10%
Position paper and its presentation (4 pages) 20%

Requirements for 5000-level students:
Seminar participation 20%
Term paper proposal (due May 24, 5 p.m.) 5%
Term essay (due June 19 at noon) 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.

For an excused absence (e.g., valid medical excuse) you may write a short (3 pg) paper responding to 2-3 of the week’s discussion questions, referring to required readings, to avoid losing participation marks. This should be handed in within one week of the missed session. If this poses a problem, consult the instructor of the missed session. This option is not available for unexcused absences.

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 required 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 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 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. **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/hypothesis you will explore in the paper, along with a preliminary bibliography. The Term essay proposal should be submitted to the CUlearn Assignment Dropbox no later than Friday, May 24, 2019 at 5 p.m. Failure to gain approval of the proposal may also adversely affect your term paper mark.

4. **Term essay (12 pages for 4000-level, 15-16 pages for 5000-level, plus references):** 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 form 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 instructors 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: 4 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. 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, consideration of important counter-arguments, where appropriate. Students may replace their first mark with the mark on a second paper (which may or may not be presented in class), 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, term essay proposal: Two points (of a 100% scale) for each day late (excluding weekends). No papers will be accepted more than one week after the due date. 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%) but will only be accepted until one week after the due date. Papers not handed in will receive a “0”.
- Students absent on the 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, so 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: Monday, May 6 (DeBardeleben)**

**INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE**

1st hour: Guest speaker

2nd hour: Guest speaker

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


**Session 2: Wednesday, May 8 (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**


Optional readings:
• European Union Institute for Security Studies, After the EU global strategy – consulting the experts: security and defense (Paris, 2016)

Session 3: Monday, May 13 (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):
• 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)
Additional readings (optional):


**Session 4: Wednesday, May 15 (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

**Optional:**

- Simon Lunn and Nicolas Williams, NATO Defence Spending: The Irrationality of 2% (ELN Issue Brief), London 2017:

**Session 5: Wednesday, May 22 (Ratti)**

**INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND STRATEGY**

Key issues: European Defence Community, Western European Union, supranational and intergovernmental methods, unanimity, constructive abstention, enhanced cooperation, mutual defence clause, solidarity clause, opting outs, pooling and sharing, European Parliament & democratic deficit

**Required:**
• Patrick Müller, EU foreign policy: no major breakthrough despite multiple crises, *Journal of European Integration*, 38, no. 3, 2016
• 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:

• Nicola Chelotti, Analysing the Links between National Capitals and Brussels in EU Foreign Policy, *West European Politics*, 36, no. 5, 2013
• 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

Session 6: Monday, May 27 (Ratti)

**IR THEORY AND THE CSDP**

Key issues: Institutionalism, Normative Power, Civilian Power, Hegemony, Balance of Power, Bandwagoning, Eclecticism, Security Consumer & Producer, Governmentality

Required:

• Anand Menon, Power, Institutions and the CSDP: The Promise of Institutionalist Theory,
Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, no. 1, 2010

- 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
- Evangelos Fanoulis, Understanding the social construction of the democratic deficit in CSDP: a Foucauldian approach, European Security, 23, no. 4, 2014
- Iraklis Oikonomou, The political economy of European security, European Security, 27, no.4, 2018

Session 7: Wednesday, May 29 (Ratti)
THE BALKANS AND EUROPEAN SECURITY

Key Issues: Dayton Peace Treaty, St. Malo declaration, EUPM, Althea, Concordia, Proxima, EULEX, Stabilization and Association Agreements, European Neighbourhood Policy, High Representative for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe, Regional Cooperation Council, Prespa Agreement

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, no.1, 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
Session 8: Wednesday, 3 June (Ratti)

The CSDP’S OPERATIONS

Key Issues: Petersberg Tasks, Reformed Petersberg Tasks, ERRF, EUROFOR, ‘second generation’ operations, out of area, Berlin Plus, European Union Military Staff, Military Planning and Conduct Capability, EU battlegroups, Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability, Athena mechanism

Required:
- Jochen Rehrl (ed.), *Handbook on CSDP*, pp. 78-97
- Michael E. Smith, Learning in European Union peacebuilding: rhetoric and reality *Global Affairs*, 4, no. 2-3, 2018

Optional Readings:

Session 9: Monday, June 5 (Ratti)

THE MEDITERRANEAN, MIGRATION, AND TERRORISM

Key Issues: Barcelona Process, Union for the Mediterranean, EUTM Somalia, EUNAVFOR Atlanta, EUNAVFOR Med, Operation Barkhane, EUCAP Sahel, EUTM Mali, EUFOR Libya, EUBAM Rafah

Required:

Optional Readings:
• Jochen Rehrl (ed.), *Handbook on CSDP*, pp. 114-118
• 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

Session 10: Monday, June 10 (Ratti)
FRANCO-GERMAN COOPERATION AND EUROPEAN SECURITY AFTER BREXIT


Required:
• Sven Biscop, European Defence: Give PESCO a Chance, *Survival*, 60, no. 3, 2018
• 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 Ridervold & Akasemi Newsome, Transatlantic relations in times of uncertainty: crises and EU-US relations, *Journal of European Integration*, 40, no. 5, 2018

Optional Readings:
• 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
• 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

**Session 11: Wednesday, June 12 (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:**

**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

**Session 12: Monday, June 17 (DeBardeleben)**

**CANADA and EUROPEAN SECURITY**
Hour 1: Guest speaker: Ms. Anne Therrien, Global Affairs Canada section on Europe Bilateral and EU Institutions
Points of contradiction and interface with European approaches
Canadian participation in CSDP missions

Required:
- 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

SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

Student Support:

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.

Survivors of Sexual Violence: As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Requests for Academic Accommodations:

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Religious Observance: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for
accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

**Pregnancy:** Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

**Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. carleton.ca/pmc. Please consult the PMC website (www.carleton.ca/pmc) for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

**Accommodation for Student Activities:** Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

**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 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:

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<th>Percentage</th>
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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.