

**PSCI 4608/5608**  
**European integration and European security**  
Fridays, 11:35-14:25  
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

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Since the end of the Cold War the meaning of “security” in Europe has changed significantly. Traditional or “old” security concerns to do with war and peace such as national defense, territorial integrity and struggle for power have progressively been to an important extent replaced by “new” security risks and threats ranging from combating global climate change, securing energy supplies, coping with demographic decline, controlling immigration and fighting terrorism, just to name a few issues. European integration was a successful project in bringing about peace and stability on most of the European continent once plagued with wars. Today, this integration project has developed a considerable level of cooperation at the European Union level in the form of common foreign and security policy (CFSP) and European security and defense policy (ESDP) that has come to be known as the “second pillar”. Most striking is the level of integration in respect to especially ESDP. The focus of both policies is primarily toward the external world beyond Europe. CFSP and ESDP addresses traditional security concerns beyond Europe in Africa, Middle East and Asia while also developing the idea of European defense. The regions of Europe that continue to suffer instability and insecurity in the traditional sense of the word is by and large the focus of EU’s enlargement or European neighborhood policy (ENP), part of the “first pillar” of EU policy making. Policy making in these areas is characterized by a combination of intergovernmental cooperation accompanied by degrees of supra-nationalism. The integration that is taking place in this area is leading increasingly to the EU being portrayed as a “global actor” of a “soft power” kind. The EU is also focusing on security issues of the “new” type. Considerable integration has occurred in respect to addressing these areas. Immigration control and internal security aspects of terrorism is very much part of the “third pillar” while energy security and for example combating global climate change as fledging areas of integration fall mostly under the realm of the “first pillar”.

How has European integration in relation to addressing both “old” and “new” forms of insecurities evolved? What institutional structures have emerged across time? How have member states been transformed (Europeanized)? What has been the impact of integration occurring in these areas on the evolution of a European identity? How has the EU’s relations with major security actors such as the US and NATO on the one hand and Russia and Turkey, as

two critical “outsiders” to the EU, developed and been shaped as a result of European integration in these areas? How has the scholarly community tried to make sense of European integration in the area of security? What theories have been developed to understand integration in these areas? What are the ways in which EU policy has manifested itself in respect to a range of “old” and “new” security challenges and issues? Has the EU indeed become a global actor? If it has, what kind of an actor is it? Does it contribute to a safer and more secure world? What kind of a future can be envisaged for European integration and security? These are the questions that this course aims to address.

The course is divided into five sections:

The first section will focus on the history and legacy of the World War II and the Cold War on European security and integration. This section will also discuss the theoretical literature on the study of (in)security in Europe since the end of the Cold War together with the one on European integration in addressing “old” and “new” forms of security issues.

The second section will focus primarily on the emergence of the EU as a global actor, the evolution and management of especially ESDP as the “second pillar” of the EU will be examined together with a debate on what kind of a “power” the EU has become: a purely “soft or normative power” or a “soft power” with growing hard power capabilities.

The third section of the course will study EU’s relations with major players of “security” such as the US, Russia and NATO. This section will also examine the EU’s efforts to extend “security” to its immediate neighborhood through its policy of enlargement (constructing *Pax Europea or Bruxellana*) and ENP. Particular attention will be given to the EU’s role in respect to security issues in the Balkans and the Middle East.

The fourth section will address efforts of the EU to manage “new” security issues in the area. There are many issues that come to mind but priority will be given to securing energy supplies, controlling immigration and confronting threats from terrorism.

In the final concluding section of the course a short debate will be held on the future form that European integration might take and the impact that this may have on European security. This discussion will question whether the EU has grown beyond being “an economic giant, a political dwarf and a military worm” in the words of Mark Eyskens, the Belgian foreign minister, in January 1991. (quoted by C. Whitney in the New York Times, 25 January 1991).

### **Course requirements:**

Students are expected to participate in class sessions actively. It will be very important that reading material assigned for each week is actually read in advance. For each week there will be on the average 3-4 pieces of **required reading** assigned accompanied with **supplementary reading**. Supplementary readings are meant for those students who may develop deeper interest in the topic. Such readings would be useful in completing some of the course requirements such as literature surveys or term papers. For some weeks optional **background reading** will also be

provided. Please note that senior and graduate students will be responsible for a differentiated set of assignments.

Course requirements and grading is arranged in such a way that work is distributed across the term to give students a chance to follow their progress during the term but also make the learning as well as grading process as cumulative as possible. Grading will be based on the following assignments:

Summary chart:

<b>Attendance</b>	<b>11 %</b> (each week attendance will be taken, each student will be entitled to miss one week)
<b>Short essays on readings</b>	<b>10 %</b> (each student will hand in short reviews of assigned reading material for a total of five weeks of their choice)
<b>Class presentations</b>	<b>15 %</b> (each student in class will help to lead discussion at least once during the term, a draft essay will handed in before class when the presentation is due, followed by the final version of the essay the following week, graduate students will also make a presentation on a “case study” accompanied by a brief essay. For graduate students the average of the two essays will count towards their final overall grade.)
<b>Literature review</b>	<b>20 %</b> (total)
Proposal	5 % (to be handed in no later than <b>6 Feb.</b> before class)
Review essay	15 % (to be handed in no later than, <b>27 March</b> )
<b>Term Paper</b>	<b>44 %</b> (total)
Proposal	7 % (to be handed in no later than <b>13 Feb.</b> before class)
Progress report	7 % (to be handed in no later than <b>13 March</b> before class)
Term paper	30 % (to be handed in no later than <b>6 April</b> )
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100 %</b>

**Attendance/Participation (10 %):** Each member of class will prepare **five** 1-2 pages long (12 font, 1.5 line spacing) essays covering at least three items from a week’s assigned required readings. The essays will be based on three items of your choice from the readings assigned for the five weeks for which you choose. The class will be required to write their first essay on the reading assigned for the first week. This first essay will be due for the class on the second week. Students will be encouraged to spread the remaining four essays as evenly across the term as possible. This exercise will require reading the material and then either simply summarizing the arguments very briefly/broadly or to ensure a higher grade you can choose to be more adventurous and productive by highlighting and building your own arguments on aspects of the

material you read in a more comparative manner. Raising questions meant to encourage thinking and debate is encouraged. These papers must be handed in to the instructor before class. You will lose grade if you have a late delivery without an excuse and prior clearance from the instructor. Please see note on **late deliveries**. The reading for the first week will need to be handed in on the second week. In total you must have a minimum of **five** pieces of written work handed in for the twelve weeks of class. Please bear in mind that the purpose of this exercise is to encourage you to come to class prepared and the exercise should not mean that you are exempted from doing the rest of the readings assigned for each week.

**Class presentations (15 %):** Each week two or three students will make a 20-30 minute oral presentation related to the topic of the week. The presentation will be based on the assigned reading material. The weeks and the topics will be chosen at the beginning of the course. The distribution of weeks across students will also take place the first week. The presentation should be designed as much as possible to encourage discussion in class. One way to ensure this can be by raising analytical questions to induce a debate. No “show” and no presentation will result in no grade. Should you have a problem make sure to clear your absence with the instructor at the latest two days in advance. Each “oral presentation” will have to be handed in to the instructor in a written draft essay format of 2-3 pages (12 font, 1.5 line spacing) no later than 17:00 the day before the presentation. The draft essay will be followed by a final version of the essay to be handed in at the latest the following week before class. You will lose marks if you have a late delivery without an excuse and prior clearance from the instructor. Please see note on **late deliveries**. Additionally, those in class who are registered for graduate credit will prepare a presentation on a “case study” topic. These presentations will take place after the regular class discussions of the reading material starting from Week 6. Each “case study” presentation will be accompanied by a 2-3 pages (12 font, 1.5 line spacing) long essay on the case study including references.

**Literature reviews (5 % + 15 % = 20%):** Each member of this class will write a 3-4 pages (12 font, 1.5 line spacing) long review of either 4-5 academic articles or a scholarly book on issues relating to this course. You are advised to think of a topic as soon as the course begins and start identifying books and articles of possible interest to you. You may use the bibliography you will find in the literature assigned for this course as well as by running article searches from academic journals. You may also examine the web pages of the many “think-tanks” or research institutes in Europe dealing with issues covered in this course. You can also make use of the “supplementary reading” in this syllabus. You may choose to write your literature review on a subject that relates to the topic you plan to cover for your term paper assignment. You will prepare a one page proposal essay, worth 5 %, listing the reading material and the reasoning behind your choice and hand them over to the instructor by **6 February**. Your essays will be returned to you the following week and you may be called to go over your list with the instructor. The actual literature reviews will be due on **27 March**. The total grade for the reviews together with the 5 % for the short proposal essay will be 20 %. You will lose marks if you have a late delivery without an excuse and prior clearance from the instructor. Please see note on **late deliveries**.

**Term paper 44 %:** Each student will identify a research subject for a term paper. Students are encouraged to write term papers that focus on subjects covered in class and actually make use of European Union decision making documents. These would be official documents adopted by the various bodies of the EU such as the Commission, the European Parliament and the Council. There would also be the relevant official documents to be found on the web pages of the member state holding Presidency of the EU. During the first half of 2009 the Czech Republic will be holding the Presidency of the EU preceded by France. Students would also be encouraged to use a wide range of “think-tanks” that deal with European integration and security issues. A list of such institutes will be presented in class. Each student will hand over to the instructor by **13 February** an abstract of the term paper subject they intend to focus on. This will be a 1-2 pages long paper (12 font, 1.5 line spacing) aiming to identify a “research topic/problem”, a “reasoning” for the interest in the topic and a “preliminary list of bibliography” to be consulted including relevant web pages. The instructor will respond to each paper and may need to go over them with the students. This paper will be worth 7 %. A second “progress report” type paper will be prepared for **13 March**. The format will be similar to the first paper. It will be 1-2 pages long and it will give a brief description of the work done since the first paper and update the bibliography. This paper will be worth 7 % too. The final paper can be handed in on **6 April**. **I will be holding special office hours to accommodate the collecting of the papers from 15.00-17.00.** The term paper will need to be approximately 14-15 pages for undergraduate students and 19-20 pages for graduate students (12 font, 1.5 spacing). The term paper will be 30 % of the overall grade. You will lose marks if you have a late delivery without an excuse and prior clearance from the instructor. Please see note on **late deliveries**.

**LATE DELIVERIES:** In case of late delivery of class assignment one point out of the grade assigned for the course work will be taken-off for each day. In other words if the literature review essay is handed in three days late three points will be taken out from the 15 points assigned for the exercise. Medical reasons for delays will be accepted if accompanied with a doctor’s note. The departmental drop box cut off time is 4pm. Any assignments submitted after 4pm will be date stamped with the following weekday.

### **Reading assignments:**

This course assumes a basic knowledge and familiarity with European integration as well as the institutions of the European Union. Those who may wish to revise their background knowledge may want to have a quick look at D. Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of the European Union* (Palgrave, 2004) and/or J. McCormick, *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction* (Palgrave, 2002). Of course there is always D. Dinan, *Ever Closer Union: an Introduction to the European Union* (Lyne Reinner, 2005). There is no specific textbook for this course except a number of books that will be available at the “reserves” section of the library. These will be books from which readings will be assigned repeatedly. Additional readings for each week will also be assigned. Required readings will be marked with an “**R**” and will be accompanied with supplementary reading marked “**S**”. The latter group of readings is to help you with your course assignments. For some of the weeks background reading will be suggested marked with a “**B**”. There will also be occasional references to additional literature that may cater for your research and broader interests. This course is not a course on CFSP and ESDP

from an institutional or decision making perspective. However, for those who may wish to consult them a number of books are recommended below. A list of web page addresses for European Union institutions, “think-tanks” as well as academic journals dealing with security related issues covered in this course will be provided in class.

### **Selected books on CFSP and ESDP:**

- S. Keukeleire and J. MacNaughtan, *The Foreign Policy of the European Union* (Palgrave, 2008). (JZ1570 K48 2008)
- J. Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (Palgrave, 2007). (JZ1570 A5 H69 2007)
- F. Merand, *European Defence Policy: Beyond the Nation State* (Oxford University Press, 2008). (UA646.3 .M37 2008)
- K. Smith, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Blackwell, 2003).

### **Books that are given repeated references:**

- M. Webber, *Inclusion, Exclusion and the Governance of European Security* (Manchester University Press, 2007). JZ5420 W43 2007 (in reserve)
- F. Merand, M. Foucault and B. Irondelle (eds.) *European Security Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall* (Forthcoming)
- M. Kelstrup and M. C. Williams. (eds.) *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*, (Routledge, 2000). (JZ1570 158) (in reserve)
- G. Hauser and F. Kernic (eds.) *European Security in Transition* (Ashgate, 2006). (JZ6009 E94 E974 2006) (in reserve)

**WEEK 1 (9 January):** Legacy of the quest for security in Europe since WWII: History, institutions and politics.

- F. Kernic, “European Security in Transition: The European Security Architecture since the End of the Second World War” in G. Hauser and F. Kernic (eds.) *European Security in Transition* (Ashgate, 2006), pp. 5-23. **R**
- F. Merand et al in “Introduction” in F. Merand, M. Foucault and B. Irondelle (eds.) *European Security Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall* (Forthcoming), pp. 3-25. **R**
- M. Webber, ‘Inclusion, exclusion and the international politics of the Cold War’ in M. Webber, *Inclusion, Exclusion and the Governance of European Security* (Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 27-48. **R**
- S. Meunier and K. McNamara, “Making History: European Integration and Institutional Change at Fifty” (vol. 8) in S. Menuier and K.McNamara (eds.) *Making History: European Integration and Institutional Change at Fifty* (OUP, 2007). (in EURUS resource room) **R**

- J. M. Roberts, *A History of Europe*, Book six, chps. 1-4. (D102.R645). **B**
- E. Hobsbawn, *The Age of Extremes: A Short Century 1914-1991* (D421 H 582). **B**

Stanley Sloan, *NATO, the European Union and the Atlantic Community* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2003) (UA646.3 S5836 2003) chps. 2-4, pp. 13-73. **S**

J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War", *International Security*, 15(1), 1990, pp. 5-56. **S**

**WEEK 2 (16 January):** Changing conceptions of "security", theoretical perspectives and the study of security.

E. Rothschild, "What is security?" *Daedalus* 124(3), 1995, pp. 53-98. **R**

M. Webber, 'Security community and security governance: a framework of inclusion and exclusion' in Webber, (2007), pp. 49-76. **R**

A. Gheciu, "Towards Security? The Politics of Managing Risks in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Europe" in Merand et al eds. (forthcoming) pp. **R**

O. Waever, "Insecurity, security, and asecurity in the West European non-war community", E. Adler and M. Barnett (eds.) *Security Communities* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 69-118. (in reserve) **R**

R. Ullman, "Redefining Security", *International Security* 8(1), 1983, pp. 129-153. **S**

E. Adler, "The Spread of Security Communities: Communities of Practice, Self-Restraint and NATO Post Cold War Transformation" *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2008), pp. 195-230. **S**

M. Kaldor, M. Martin and Sabine Selchow, "Human security: a new strategic narrative for Europe", *International Affairs* 83(2), 2007, pp. 273-288. **S**

B. Buzan, *People, States, and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*. (L. Rienner, 1991). **S**

B. Buzan, O. Waever and J. de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rienner, 1998.) **S**

**WEEK 3 (23 January):** Theorizing about European Union security integration

S. Smith, 'International theory and European integration', M. Kelstrup and M. C. Williams. (eds.) *International Relations Theory and The Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*, (Routledge, 2000), pp. 33-56. (in reserve) **R** (JZ1570 158)

O. Waever, "The EU as a security actor: reflections from a pessimistic constructivist on post-sovereign security orders" in M. Kelstrup and M. C. Williams (eds.) (2000), pp. 250-294. **R**

M. Smith, "Toward a theory of EU foreign policy-making: multi-level governance, domestic politics, and national adaptation to Europe's common foreign and security policy", *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(4), (2004), pp. 740-758. **R**

P. Schmitter, "Neo-Functionalism" in A. Wiener and T. Diez. (eds.) *European Integration Theory*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 45-74. **R** (JN15 W495 2004)

T. Risse, 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', in A. Wiener and T. Diez. (eds.) (2004), pp. 159-176. **R**

F. Schimmelfennig, 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism', A. Wiener and T. Diez. (eds.) (2004), pp. 75-94. **R**

M. Pollack, 'The New Institutionalisms and European Integration', A. Wiener and T. Diez. (eds.) (2004), pp. 137-156. **R**

C. Musu, "European Foreign Policy: A Collective Policy or a Policy of Converging Parallels?" European Foreign Affairs Review, 8(1), pp. 35-49, 2003. **S**

W. Wagner, "Why the EU's common foreign and security policy will remain intergovernmental: a rationalist institutional choice analysis of European crisis management policy" Journal of European Public Policy, 10(4), pp. 576 – 595, 2003. **S**

H. Sjursen, "The Common Foreign and Security Policy: Limits of Intergovernmentalism and the Search for a Global Role" in S. Andersen and K. Eliassen (eds.) Making Policy in Europe (Oxford: OUP, 2003). **S**

**WEEK 4 (30 January):** The European Union as a global actor:

R. Gingsberg, "The Conceptualizing the EU as an International Actor", Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS), (1999), Vol. 37, Issue 3. **R**

C. Hill, "Closing the Capability-Expectations Gap" in J. Peterson and H. Sjursen (eds.), A Common Foreign Policy for Europe, (London: Routledge 1998). (electronically available from the library) **R**

C. Hill, "The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe's International Role" JCMS, (1993), Vol. 31, No. 3, (1993). **R**

S. Biscop, "Global Europe: An Emerging Strategic Actor" in Merand et al eds. (forthcoming) pp. **R**

R. Ginsberg and M. Smith, "Understanding the EU as a Global Actor: Theory, Practice and Impact" (vol. 8) in S. Menuier and K. McNamara (eds.) *Making History: European Integration and Institutional Change at Fifty* (Oxford University Press, 2007). (in EURUS resource room) **B**

R. Rosecrance, 'The European Union: A New Type of International Actor', J. Zielonka. (eds.) *Paradoxes of European Foreign Policy*. (Kluwer, 1998) 15-23. **D1060.P37 S**

B. Hettne and F. Soderbaum, "Civilian Power or Soft Imperialism?: The EU as a Global Actor and the Role of Interregionalism" *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 2005, pp. 535-552. **R**

J. Galtung, *The European Community: A Superpower in the Making* (George Allen and Unwin, 1973), especially chapter 9 "Pax Bruxellana: The European superpower". (HC 241.2 G32) **S**

E. Haas, "International Integration: The European and the Universal process" *International Organization* Vol. 15, pp. 366-92, 1961. **S**

**WEEK 5 (6 February):** Security and the Second Pillar: Emergence of ESDP and the idea of the EU as a strategic actor in world politics

S. Hoffman, "Towards a Common European Foreign Policy and Security Policy?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2, June 2000. **R**

T. Solmon, "The European Security and Defense Policy: Built on Rocks or Sand" *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 359-374. **R**

J. Howorth, "Britain, France and the European Defense Initiative" *Survival*, Vol. 42, No. 2, Summer 2000. **R**

P. Vennesson, "Is There a European Way of War?" in Merand et al (eds.) (forthcoming) **R**

F. Heisbourg, "The 'European Security Strategy' is not a Security Strategy" in S. Everts et al (eds.) *A European Way of War* (CER, 2004). **R**

A. Toje, "The 2003 European Security Strategy: A Critical Appraisal" *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 117-133, 2005. **R**

R. Whitman, 'Road Map for a Route March? (De-)civilianizing through the EU's Security Strategy', in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2006, pp. 1-15. **R**

J. Peterson and E. Bomberg, *Decision-Making in the European Union* (St. Martin's Press, 1999), chp. 9, pp. 228-249. (JN32 P47) (in reserve) **B**

G. Hauser, "The ESDP: The European Security Pillar" in Hauser and Kernic (eds.) (2006), pp. 39-62. **B**

A. Missiroli and G. Quille, "European security in flux" in F. Cameron (ed.) *The Future of Europe: Integration and Enlargement*, pp. 35-62. (Routledge, 2004) JN30 F83 2004. **B**

J. Solana, European Security Strategy "A Secure Europe in a Better World" (EU Institute for Security Studies, 2003). **B**

F. Merand, "Social Representations in the European Security and Defense Policy" *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association*, Vol. 41(2), 2006, pp. 131-152. **S**

W. Wallace and B. Giegerich, "Not Such a Soft Power: the External Deployment of European Forces" *Survival*, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 163-182, 2004. **S**

F. Berenskoetter, "Mapping the Mind Gap: A Comparison of the US and EU Security Strategies" *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 71-92. **S**

S. Biscop and J. Andersson (eds.) *The European Union and the European Security Strategy – Forging a Global Europe* (Routledge, 2008). **S**

**WEEK 6 (13 February):** Debating what kind of a "power" the EU is: a "soft power", a "civilian normative power" or an emerging "hard power"

H. Bull, "Civilian Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 21(1/2), (1982), pp. 149-170. **R**

I. Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(2), (2002), pp. 235-258. **R**

I. Manners, "European Union 'Normative Power' and the Security Challenge", *European Security* 15(4), (2006), pp. 405-421. **R**

S. Scheipers, and D. Sicurelli, "Normative Power Europe: A Credible Utopia?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(2), 2007, pp. 435-457. **R**

K. Smith, "Still 'civilian power EU'?" *European Foreign Policy Unit Working Paper*: 1-19, 2005. <http://www.arena.uio.no/cidel/WorkshopOsloSecurity/Smith.pdf>. **R**

F. Duchêne, 'Europe's role in world peace', R. Mayne. (eds.) *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead* (Fontana, 1972), pp. 32-47. **B**

A. Hyde-Price, "Normative power Europe: a realist critique", *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(2), (2006), pp. 217-234. **S**

H. Sjursen, "The EU as a 'normative' power: how can this be?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(2) (2006), pp. 235-251. **S**

K. Nicolaidis and R. Howse, "This is my EUtopia ...': Narrative as Power", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4), 2002, pp. 767-792. **S**

R. Youngs, "Normative Dynamics and Strategic Interests in the EU's External Identity", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42(2), 2004, pp. 415-435.

R. Whitman, "The Fall, and Rise, of Civilian Power Europe?" National Europe Centre Paper, No. 16, 2002, pp. 2-28. <https://dspace.anu.edu.au:8443/bitstream/1885/41589/2/whitman.pdf>.

**Case Study:** Decision making and deployment of an ESDP Operation (to be selected)

**WEEK 7 (27 February):** Competing or converging with NATO and the United States

H. Ojanen, "The EU and NATO: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 1, 2006, pp. 57-76. **R**

Webber, "NATO: 'a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe'" in Webber (2007). **R**

M. Smith and G. Timmins, "The EU, NATO and the Extension of Institutional Order in Europe" *World Affairs*, Vol. 163, No.2, (2000), pp. 80-90. **R**

S. Rynning, "Geopolitics and the Atlantic Alliance" in Merand et al (eds.) (forthcoming). **R**

R. Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, no.113, June-July 2002, 19p. **R**

B. Schreer, "US Defense Transformation and its Implications for Europe" in Hause and Kernic (eds.) (2006), pp. 103-114. **B**

S. Serfaty, "The Transatlantic Dimension," F. Cameron (ed.) *The Future of Europe: Integration and Enlargement*, (Routledge, 2004), pp. 135-148. **B** ( JN30 F83 2004).

P. Cornish and G. Edwards, "Beyond the EU/NATO Dichotomy: the beginnings of a European strategic culture" *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 3, 2001, pp. 587-603.

D. Daalder, "The End of Atlanticism" *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 2, Summer 2003. **S**

M. Gilbert, "Europe: Paradise Found," *World Policy Journal*, vol. 21, Issue 4, Winter 2004/2005, pp. 8-12. **S**

A. Moravcsik, "Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain" *Foreign Affairs*, v. 82, no. 4, July/August, 2003. **S**

L. Watanabe, "The ESDP: Between Estrangement and a New Partnership in Transatlantic Security Relations", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 13(1), (2005), pp. 5-20. **S**

**Case study:** Assessing EU-US relations under Barack Obama's administration

**WEEK 8 (6 March):** The European Union and the outsiders: Russia and Turkey

V. Pouliot, "The year NATO lost Russia" in Merand et al (eds.) (forthcoming). **R**  
T. Forsberg, "The EU-Russian Security Partnership: Why the Opportunity was Missed" *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 2004, pp. 247-67. **R**  
M. Light, "Russian political engagement with the European Union" in R. Allison, M. Light and S. White, (Blackwell, 2006), pp. 45-69. (D1065R9 A43 2006) (in reserve). **R**  
R. Allison, "Russian security engagement with the European Union" and "Russian security engagement with NATO" in (Blackwell, 2006), pp. 72-127. (D1065R9 A43 2006) (in reserve) **R**  
Webber, "Russia: included out" in Webber, 2007. **R**

Webber, "Turkey: neither in nor out" in Webber, 2007. **R**  
B. Park, "The EU and Turkey: bridge or barrier?" in Brown and Sheperd (eds.) 2007. **R** (in reserve).  
P. Udum, "Turkey's Role in Post-Cold War European Security Policy" in Hauser and Kernic (2006). **R** (in reserve).  
Z. Onis and S. Yilmaz, "Turkey-EU-US: Transformation or Continuity" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 2, (2005), pp. 265-284. **R**

A. Shleifer and D. Treisman, "Russia: A normal country", *Foreign Affairs*, v.83, n.2, March/April 2004. **S**  
M. Williams and I. Neumann. "From Alliance to Security Community: NATO, Russia and the Power of Identity." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29, no.2 (2000): 357-387.  
A. Rahr, "Russia between Asia and the West", *Internationale Politik. Transatlantic Edition*, v.3, n.1, Spring 2002, pp. 31-34. (D839.E862) **S**  
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M. Kibaroglu, "Good for the Shah, Banned for the Mullahs: The West and Iran's Quest for Nuclear Power" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 2, 2006. **R**

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F. Proedrou, "The EU-Russia Energy Approach under the Prism of Interdependence" *European Security*, Vol. 16, Nos. 3-4, 2007, pp. 329-355. **R**

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V. Milov, L. Coburn and I. Danchenko, 'Russia's Energy Policy 1992-2005', *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2006, pp. 285-313. **S**

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**Case study:** Integration or competition for energy: Challenges of EU decision making

**WEEK 12 (3 April):** Security and the third pillar of the EU: Border control and immigration issues

E. Guild, "International Terrorism and European Union Immigration, Asylum and Border Policy: The Unexpected Victims of 11 September 2001" *European Journal of Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 8, No., Fall 2003, pp. 331-346. **R**

F. Sendagorta, "Jihad in Europe: The Wider Context" *Survival*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2005, pp. 63-71. **R**

J. Huymans, "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration" *JCMS*, Vol. 35, No.5, 2000. **R**

M. Somers, "An Emerging Geopolitics of 'illegal' immigration in the European Union" *European Journal of Migration and Law* Vol. 6, No. 1, 2004. **R**

S. Lavanex and E. Ucarer, "External Dimension of Europeanization: The case of Immigration Policies" *Cooperation and Conflict* Vol. 39, No. 4, 2004. **R**

J. Huymans, "Contested Community: migration and the question of the political in the EU" in M. Kelstrup and M. C. Williams. (eds.) (Routledge, 2000), pp. 149-170. **R** (JZ1570 158) (in reserve)

A. Kammel, "Justice and Home Affairs in Transition" in Hauser and Kernic (eds.) (2006), pp. 73-86. **B**

J. Monar, (2004) "The EU as an International Actor in the domain of JHA" *European Foreign Affairs Review* Vol. 9, No. 4. **B**

D. Bico, "When two become one: internal and external securitizations in Europe" in M. Kelstrup and M. C. Williams. (eds.) (Routledge, 2000), pp. 171-205. **B** (JZ1570 158)

B. Giegerich and R. Pantucci, "The Terrorist Threat to Europe" in Merand et al (eds.) (forthcoming). **S**

H. Grabe, "Stabilizing the East while keeping out the Easterners: Internal and External Security Logics Conflict" in Lavanex and Ucarer (eds.) *Migration and the Externalities of European Integration* (Lexington Books, 2003), pp. 91-104. (in reserve) **S**

M. Ekengren, "New Security Challenges and the Need for New Forms of EU Cooperation: The Solidarity Declaration against Terrorism and the Open Method of Coordination", *European Security* 15(1), 2006, pp. 89-111. **S**

A. Aradau and R. Van Munster, "Governing Terrorism through Risk Taking Precautions, (UN)knowing the Future" *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2007, pp. 89-115. **S**

O. Potemkina, "Some ramifications on the EU-Russia Relations and the Schengen Regime" *European Journal of Migration and Law* Vol. 5, No. 2, 2003. **S**

**Case study:** Debate on the future of EU integration and securing Europe

G. Sorensen, "An Analysis of contemporary statehood: consequences for conflict and cooperation" *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 23, pp. 253-269, 1997. **R**

J. Caporaso, "The EU and forms of state: Westphalian, regulatory and post-modern" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 1996. **R**

J. Howorth, "The Major Challenges Ahead" in J. Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (Palgrave, 2007). **R** (JZ1570 A5 H69 2007) in reserve

W. Walters, "The Frontiers of the European Union: A Geostrategic Perspective", *Geopolitics* 9(3), (2004): 674-98.

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### Academic Accommodations

**For students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your letter of accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 7, 2008 for December examinations**, and **March 6, 2009 for April examinations**.

**For 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](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**For 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.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

**Oral Examination:** At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Approval of final grades:** 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.

**Course Requirements:** Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course

due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Connect Email Accounts:** The Department of Political Science only communicates with students via Connect accounts. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

**Carleton Political Science Society:** The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email [carletonpss@gmail.com](mailto:carletonpss@gmail.com), visit our website at [poliscisociety.com](http://poliscisociety.com), or come to our office in Loeb D688.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.