

EU Security and Defence Policy: What It is, How It Works, Why It Matters (MA, 4 credits, winter term)

Instructors: Michael Merlingen & Elena Stavrevska

Course Description

Security and defence is one of the areas in which the EU has advanced most in recent years. Europe has come a long way since the disappointments and frustration in the 1990s, when, in light of the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia, analysts argued that the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the EU was 'neither common, nor foreign, nor dealing with security, nor [could] be called a policy.' Since then the newly developed Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) has become the necessary framework for the formulation and implementation of European security policy.

This course will examine EU security policy in some detail, both empirically and theoretically. After covering the various theories that are used to explain EU Security Policy, the course covers issues such as the CFSP / CSDP policy-making system, its Brussels-based actors, the role of the member states in EU security policy, the emerging European security culture, EU military capabilities, military and civilian EU interventions abroad, EU security relations with America, Russia & NATO.

Aims

- The aim of the course is to provide students with a thorough empirical knowledge of EU security policy so as to make them experts in one of the most dynamic areas of European integration;
- equip them with the conceptual tools to examine the CFSP / CSDP;
- equip them with the cognitive skills to critically engage with the policy domain;
- enable them to develop their own standpoint with regard to the pros and cons of the institutionalisation of collective European security policy and the challenges and opportunities faced by the EU as it evolves its international security role.

Learning Outcomes

- By the end of the course students will have the factual knowledge to understand and discuss the key actors, institutions, decision-making processes, policies and achievements/failures of European security policy;
- distinguish between facts and opinions concerning Europe's quest for its own international security role;
- compare, contrast and evaluate different accounts of the driving forces behind the CSDP and the determinants of its policy processes;
- critically reflect upon and evaluate EU interventions abroad.

Teaching method

This course combines short lectures by the course convenor with student-driven seminar discussions and other activities. Seminar discussions are structured around a short presentation (15-20 minutes) of the assigned texts, in which the presenter summarises and critically evaluates the readings. This is followed by class discussions of the various points raised by the readings. For the quality of these discussions, it is crucial that all

come to class having done the required readings and being fully prepared to take part in a dialogue. Given the subject matter of the class, there is not necessarily always a right answer. Besides getting the facts right it is therefore important to focus and critically reflect on what the authors think and how they argue.

Method of Assessment

Each student will be assessed through a combination of seminar contributions, oral presentations and written work.

The final grade is made up of the following components:

1. Seminar attendance (mandatory) and participation (10%).
2. Seminar presentation(s) of assigned texts (20%).
3. At about halfway through the term, students have to submit a written book review of about 1,500 words. You are free to select any book on the CSDP you want for the review. The review should be a critical assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the book and should be informed by the literature covered in the course (up to this point) (30%). Each student has to present her/his review in class in the two seminars set aside for this purpose.
4. Final paper of 3,000 to 3,500 words (40%).

Key Background Text

Merlingen, Michael (2011) *European Security and Defense Policy: What It Is, How It Works, Why It Matters*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner).

Schedule of Seminars & Readings

Seminar 1: Introduction

This first seminar will act as a brief introductory seminar where the nature of the course will be discussed, together with the goals and expectations of both the students and the course convenor. Moreover, student presentations will be assigned.

Seminar 2: No class (Preparatory reading)

Seminar 3: The CSDP in Context: The EU as a Foreign Policy Actor

- Smith, Karen E. (2008) *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, (Oxford: Polity Press), chapters 2 & 3.

Seminar 4: EU Security Policy – A Constructivist Cut

- Mérand, Frédéric (2010) 'Pierre Bourdieu and the Birth of European Defense', *Security Studies*, 19(2): 342-74.
- Howorth, Jolyon (2004) 'Discourse, Ideas, and Epistemic Communities in European Security and Defence Policy', *West European Politics*, 27(2): 211-34.

Further Readings:

Tonra, Ben and Thomas Christiansen (eds.) (2004) *Rethinking European Union Foreign Policy*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Frédéric Mérand (2006) 'Social Representations in the European Security and Defence Policy', *Cooperation and Conflict* 41(2): 131-52.

Seminar 5: EU Security Policy – A Realist Cut

- Selden, Zachary (2010) 'Power is Always in Fashion: State-Centric Realism and the European Security and Defence Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48(2): 397-416.
- Jones, Seth G. (2007) *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp.18-56.

Further Readings:

Rosato, Sebastian (2011) *Europe United: Power Politics and the Making of the European Community*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).

Hyde-Price, Adrian (2007) *European Security in the Twenty-first Century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Seminar 6: EU Security Policy – A Liberal Cut

- Moravcsik, Andrew (2010) 'Europe: Quietly Rising Superpower in a Bipolar World', in Alexandroff, Alan and Andrew Cooper (eds.) *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press), pp. 151-74.
- Norheim-Martinsen, P.M. (2010) 'Beyond Intergovernmentalism: European Security and Defence Policy and the Governance Approach'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48(5): 1351-65.

Seminar 7: EU Security Policy – A Marxist Cut

- Oikonomou, Iraklis (2011) 'A Historical Materialist Approach to CSDP', in Kurowska, Xymena and Fabian Breuer (eds.) *Explaining the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy. Theory in Action*, (Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 162-87.
- TBA

Seminar 8: The Mechanics of the Policy Process

- Morillas, Pol (2011) 'Institutionalization or Intergovernmental Decision-Taking in Foreign Policy: The Implementation of the Lisbon Treaty', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 16(2): 243–57.
- TBA

Further Readings:

Juncos, Ana E. and Christopher Reynolds (2007) 'The Political and Security Committee: Governing in the Shadow', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 12: 127-47.

Smith, Michael E. (2004) '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: 740-58.

Seminar 9: The Policy Process - Socialisation

- Howorth, Jolyon (2010) 'The Political and Security Committee: A Case Study in 'Supranational Inter-governmentalism'', *Les Cahiers Européens*, No. 1.
- Davis Cross, Mai'a K. (2010) *Cooperation by Committee*, Occasional Paper, EU Security Studies.

Further Readings:

Lewis, Jeffrey (2005) 'The Janus Face of Brussels: Socialisation and Everyday Decision Making in the European Union', *International Organization* 59: 937–71.

Beyers, Jan (2005) 'Multiple Embeddedness and Socialisation in Europe: The Case of Council Officials', *International Organisations* 59(4): 899-936.

Juncos, Ana and Karolina Pomorska (2006) 'Playing the Brussels Game: Strategic Socialisation in the CFSP Council Working Groups', *Integration Online Papers*.

Seminar 10: The CSDP & Member States

- Aggestam, Lisbeth (2011) *European Foreign Policy and the Quest for a Global Role: Britain, France and Germany*, (London: Routledge), chapter 5.
- Jakobsen, Peter Viggo (2009) 'Small States, Big Influence: The Overlooked Nordic Influence on the Civilian ESDP', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47(1): 81-102.

Seminar 11: The Europeanisation of Security and Defence

- Watanabe, Lisa (2010) *Securing Europe: European Security in an American Epoch*, (Houndmills: Palgrave), chapter 2
- Major, Claudia (2005) 'Europeanization and Foreign and Security Policy: Undermining or Rescuing the Nation State?', *Politics* 25(3): 175-90.

Further Readings:

Jokela, Juha (2011) *Europeanization and Foreign Policy: State Identity in Finland and Britain*, (London: Routledge).

Moumoutzis, Kyriakos (2011) 'Still Fashionable Yet Useless? Addressing Problems with Research on the Europeanization of Foreign Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(3): 607-29.

Gross, Eva (2009) *The Europeanization of National Foreign Policy: Continuity and Change in European Crisis Management*, (Houndmills: Palgrave).

Miskimmon, Alister (2007) *Germany and the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union: Between Europeanisation and National Adaptation*, (Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 145-85.

Dover, Robert (2007) *Europeanization of British Defence Policy*, (Ashgate Publishing).

Rieker, Pernille (2006) *Europeanization of National Security Identity: The EU and the Changing Security Identities of the Nordic States*, (London and New York: Routledge).

Giegerich, Bastian (2006) *European Security and Strategic Culture: National Responses to the EU's Security and Defence Policy*, (Baden Baden: Nomos).

Irondelle, Bastien (2003) 'Europeanization Without the European Union? French Military Reforms 1991- 96', *Journal of European Public Policy* 10(2): 208-26.

Seminar 12: EU Firepower & Capabilities

- Biscop, Sven and Jo Coelmont (2011) *Europe, Strategy, and Armed Forces*, (London: Routledge), chapters 3 & 4.
- Witney, Nick (2011) *How to stop the demilitarisation of Europe*, (London: European Council on Foreign Relations).

Further readings:

Chang, Fu-Chang (2011) 'European Defence Agency – Motor of Strengthening the EU's Military Capabilities', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 16(1): 59-87.

Seminar 13: The EU: A Strategic Actor in the Making?

- Toje, Asle (2011) 'The European Union as a Small Power', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(1): 43-60.
- Vennesson, Pascal (2010) 'Competing Visions for the European Union Grand Strategy', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 15(1): 57-75.

Further Readings:

Toje, Asle (2010) *The European Union as a Small Power: After the Post-Cold War*, (Houndmills: Palgrave).

Toje, Asle (2010) 'The EU Security Strategy Revised: Europe Hedging Its Bets', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 15(2): 171-90.

Bendiek, Annegret and Heinz Kramer (2010) 'The EU as a 'Strategic' International Actor: Substantial and Analytical Ambiguities', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 15(4): 453-74.

Biscop, Sven and Jan Joel Andersson (eds.) (2008) *The EU and the European Security Strategy: Forging a Global Europe*, (London and New York: Routledge).

Seminar 14: EU – US Security Relations: Synergy or Antagonism

- Howorth, Jolyon and Anand Menon (2009) 'Still Not Pushing Back', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(5): 727-44.
- Layne, Christopher (2008) 'It's Over, Over There. The Coming Crack-Up in Transatlantic Relations', *International Politics* 3: 325-47.

Further Readings:

Vasconcelos, Álvaro de (ed.) (2011), *The Agenda for the EU-US Strategic Partnership*, (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies).

Monteleone, Carla (2011): The enabling factor: the influence of US-EU cooperation on UN peace operations, *European Security* 20(2): 265-89.

Fabbrini, Sergio and Daniela Sicurelli (2008) 'Bringing Policy-Making Structure Back In: Why are the US and the EU Pursuing Different Foreign Policies?', *International Politics* 45(3): 292-309.

Clark, David (2008) 'European Foreign Policy and American Primacy', *International Politics* 45(3): 276-91.

Brimmer, Esther (2007) 'Seeing Blue: American Vision of the EU', *Chaillot Paper*, no. 105.

McGuire, Steven and Michael Smith (2008) *The European Union and the United States: Competition and Convergence in the Global Arena*, (Houndmills: Palgrave).

Dannreuther, Roland and John Peterson (2006) *Security Strategy and Transatlantic Relations*, (Routledge).

Seminar 15: European Security Policy and NATO

- Biscop, Sven and Jo Coelmont (2011) *Europe, Strategy, and Armed Forces*, (London: Routledge), chapter 5.
- Duke, Simon (2008) 'The Future of EU-NATO Relations: A Case of Mutual Irrelevance Through Competition?', *Journal of European Integration* 30(1): 27-43.

Further Reading:

Vasconcelos, Álvaro de (ed.) (2010), *What do Europeans want from NATO?*, (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies).

Fernández Sola, Natividad and Michael Smith (eds.) (2009), *Perceptions and Policy in Transatlantic Relations: Prospective visions from the US and Europe*, (London: Routledge).

Hanna Ojanen (2006) 'The EU and NATO: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44(1): 57-76.

Cascone, Gabriele (2007) 'ESDP Operations and NATO: Co-operation, Rivalry or Muddling-through?', in Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaitė (eds.) *European Security and Defence Policy: An Implementation Perspective*, (London: Routledge).

Cimbolo, Jeffrey (2004) 'Saving NATO from Europe', *Foreign Affairs* 83: 11-120.

Touzovskaia, Natalia (2006) 'EU-NATO Relations: How Close to "Strategic Partnership"?', *European Security* 15(3): 235-258.

Seminar 16: European Security & Russia

- Jeffrey Mankoff (2009) *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*, (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers), pp. 145-92.
- Popescu, Nicu and Andrew Wilson (2009) *The Limits of Enlargement-Lite: European and Russian Power in the Troubled Neighbourhood*, (London: European Council on Foreign Relations).

Further Reading:

Huff, Ariella (2011) *The role of EU defence policy in the Eastern neighbourhood*, Occasional Paper, EU Institute for Security Studies.

Alcaro, Riccardo and Emiliano Alessandri (2010) 'Engaging Russia: Prospects for a Long-Term European Security Compact', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 15(2): 191-207.

Haukkala, Hiski (2010) *The EU-Russia Strategic Partnership: The Limits of Post-Sovereignty in International Relations*, (London: Routledge).

Polikanov, Dmitry (2007) 'Russia-EU Relations: Opportunities for a Security Dialogue', in David Brown and Alistair J.K. Shepherd (eds.) *The Security Dimensions of EU Enlargement: Wider Europe, Weaker Europe?*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 115-28.

Giegerich, Bastian, Darya Pushkina and Adam Mount (2006) 'Towards a Strategic Partnership? The US and Russian Response to the European Security and Defence Policy', *Security Dialogue* 37(3): 385-407.

Seminar 17: Presentation of Book Reviews

Seminar 18: The CSDP Operations

- Merlingen, Michael (2011) *European Security and Defense Policy: What It Is, How It Works, Why It Matters*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner), chapters 9, 10 & 11.

Further Readings:

Merlingen, Michael and Rasa Ostrauskaitė (eds.) (2010) *European Security and Defence Policy: An Implementation Perspective*, (London: Routledge).

Chivvis, Christopher S. (2010) *EU Civilian Crisis Management: The Record So Far* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation).

Merlingen, Michael and Rasa Ostrauskaitė (2009) 'EU Peacebuilding in Georgia: Limits and Achievements', in J. Wouters, Stephen Blockmans and T. T. Ruys (eds.) *The European Union and Peacebuilding: Policy and Legal Aspects*, (The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press).

Grevi, Giovanni, Damien Helly and Daniel Keohane (eds.) (2009) *European Security and Defence Policy: The First 10 Years (1999-2009)* (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies).

Korski, Daniel and Richard Gowan (2009) *Can the EU Rebuild Failing States? A Review of Europe's Civilian Capacities*, (London: European Council on Foreign Relations).

Olsen, Gorm Rye (2009) 'The EU and Military Conflict Management in Africa: For the Good of Africa or Europe?', *International Peacekeeping* 16(2): 245-60.

Gross, Eva (2009) *Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan: The EU's Contribution*, Occasional Paper, EU Institute for Security Studies.

Merlingen, Michael and Rasa Ostrauskaitė (2005) 'ESDP Police Missions: Meaning, Context and Operational Challenges', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10(2): 215-35.

Merlingen, Michael and Rasa Ostrauskaitė (2005) 'Power/Knowledge in International Peacebuilding: The Case of the EU Police Mission in Bosnia', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 30(3): 297-323.

Seminar 19: The CFSP/CSDP and Ethical Foreign Policy [this seminar may be cancelled due to a guest lecture]

- Zielonka, Jan (2011): 'The EU as an International Actor: Unique or Ordinary?', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 16(3): 281–301.
- Manners, Ian (2002) 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(2): 235-58.

Further Readings:

Merlingen, Michael (2007) 'Everything is Dangerous: A Critique of Normative Power Europe', *Security Dialogue* 38(4): 435–53.

Whitman, Richard G. (ed.) (2010), *Normative Power Europe: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*, (Houndmills: Palgrave).

Mayer, Hartmut and Henri Vogt (eds.) (2006) *A Responsible Europe? Ethical Foundations of EU External Affairs*, (Palgrave).

Lucarelli, Sonia and Roberto Menotti (2006): 'The Use of Force as Coercive Intervention', in Sonia Lucarelli and Ian Manners (eds.) *Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy*, (London: Routledge), pp. 147-63.

Nicolaïdis, Kalypto and Robert Howse (2002) "'This Is My EUtopia...": Narrative as Power', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40: 767–92.

Diez, Thomas (2005) 'Constructing the Self and Changing Others: Reconsidering "Normative Power Europe"', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 33(3): 613–36.

Manners, Ian (2006) 'The European Union as a Normative Power: A Response to Thomas Diez', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 35(1): 167–80.

Hyde-Price, Adrian (2006) "'Normative" Power Europe: A Realist Critique', *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(2): 217-34.

Seminar 20: Guest Lecture (speaker and time to be announced)

Seminar 21: Guest Lecture (speaker and time to be announced)

Seminar 22: Wrap-Up