

EU Security and Defence Policy: What It is, How It Works, Why It Matters (MA, 2 credits, winter term)

Lecturer: Michael Merlingen

Teaching Assistant: 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 effective European security policy.

This course will examine key dimensions of EU security policy both empirically and theoretically.

Aims

- The aim of the course is to provide students with a thorough empirical knowledge of 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 brief critical comments (about 5 to 10 minutes) on the presentation, which are offered by a discussant. Each student has to take on the role of presenter and discussant once during the term. After the discussant concluded her / his observations, the discussion is opened up to all students. The quality of what happens then depends on students' preparation. 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 (20%).
2. Seminar presentation of assigned texts (20%).
3. At about halfway through the term, students have to submit a 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 theoretical and, if relevant, empirical critique and should be informed by the literature covered in the course (up to this point) (20%).
4. Final paper of 3,000 to 3,500 words (40%).

Schedule of Seminars & Readings

Seminar 1: Introduction

- Course introduction: 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.
- Background lecture on the development of the CSDP

Seminar 2: The Development of EU Foreign, Security and Defence Policy – A Liberal Cut

- Smith, Michael E., 2004: *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 63-89; 117-175.

Further Readings:

- Norheim-Martinsen, P.M. (2010) 'Beyond Intergovernmentalism: European Security and Defence Policy and the Governance Approach'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 5, pp. 1351-65.

Seminar 3: The Development of EU Foreign, Security and Defence Policy – A Constructivist Cut

- Mérand, Frédéric (2010) 'Pierre Bourdieu and the Birth of European Defense'. *Security Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 342-74.
- JolyonHoworth, 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 University Press.
- Frédéric Mérand, 2006: 'Social Representations in the European Security and Defence Policy', *Cooperation and Conflict* 41(2): 131-52.

Seminar 4: The Development of EU Foreign, Security and Defence Policy – A Realist Cut

- Seth G. Jones, 2007: *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*, Cambridge University Press, pp.18-56.
- Barry Posen, 2006: 'European Union Security and Defence Policy: Response to Unipolarity?', *Security Studies* 15(2): 149-86.

Further Readings:

- Hyde-Price, Adrian, 2007: *European Security in the Twenty-first Century*, Manchester University Press.
- Selden, Zachary (2010) 'Power is Always in Fashion: State-Centric Realism and the European Security and Defence Policy'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 2, pp. 397-416.

Seminar 5: The Policy Process

- Duke, Simon and Sophie Vanhoonaeker 2006: 'Administrative Governance in the CFSP: Development and Practice', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11(2): 63-182.
- Juncos, Ana E., and Christopher Reynolds, 2007: 'The Political and Security Committee: Governing in the Shadow', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 12: 127-147.

Further Readings:

- Michael Merlingen, (forthcoming): Chapters 4& 5, in: M. Merlingen, *EU Security and Defence Policy: What It Is, How it Works, Why it Matters*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Howorth, Jolyon (2010) 'The Political and Security Committee: A Case Study in 'Supranational Inter-governmentalism''. *Les Cahiers Européens*, No. 1, pp.
- Ana E. Juncos and Karolina Pomorska, 2007: "The Deadlock that Never Happened: The Impact of Enlargement on the Common Foreign and Security Policy Working Groups in the Council", *European Political Economy Review*, 6: 4-30.

Seminar 6: The EU: A Strategic Actor in the Making?

- Toje, Asle. (2008) The Consensus-Expectations Gap: Explaining Europe's Ineffective Foreign Policy. *Security Dialogue* 39(1): 121-141.
- Toje, Asle (2008) 'The European Union as a Small Power, or Conceptualizing Europe's Strategic Actorness'. *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 199-215.

Further Readings:

- Vennesson, Pascal (2010) 'Competing Visions for the European Union Grand Strategy'. *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 57-75.
- Toje, Asle (2010) 'The EU Security Strategy Revised: Europe Hedging Its Bets'. *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 171-90.
- Biscop, S. and Jan Joel Andersson, eds, 2008: *The EU and the European Security Strategy: Forging a Global Europe*, Routledge.
- Becher, Klaus, 2004: 'Has-Been, Wannabe, or Leader: Europe's Role in the World After the 2003 European Security Strategy', *European Security* 13(4).

Seminar 7: Evaluating the CSDP

- Menon, Anand (2009) 'Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at Ten'. *International Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 2, pp. 227-46.
- Michael Merlingen (forthcoming): 'Evaluating CSDP Operations: How Well Do They Work, What Difference Do They Make and Why Do They Not Do Better?'

Further Reading:

- 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).

Seminar 8: EU – US Security Relations

- Layne, Christopher, 2006: *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present*, Cornell University Press, pp. 94-117.
- Layne, Christopher, 2008: 'It's Over, Over There. The Coming Crack-Up in Transatlantic Relations', *International Politics*, 325-347.
- Sergio Fabbrini, 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.

Further Readings:

- Michael Merlingen (forthcoming) Chapter 12 – Transatlantic Relations and the CSDP.in: M. Merlingen, *EU Security and Defence Policy: What It Is, How it Works, Why it Matters*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- David Clark. European Foreign Policy and American Primacy. *International Politics*, Volume 45, Number 3 (May 2008), pp. 276-291,
- Michael Smith, 2005: 'Taming the Elephant? The European Union and the Management of American Power', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 6(1): 129-54.
- Christopher Layne, 2003: 'America as European Hegemon', *The National Interest* 72: 17-29.
- Brimmer, Esther, 2007: Seeing Blue: American Vision of the EU, *Chaillot Paper*, no. 105.
- Moravcsik, Andrew 2003: 'Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain', *Foreign Affairs*, 82(4): 74-89.
- McGuire, Steven and Michael Smith, 2008: *The European Union and the United States: Competition and Convergence in the Global Arena*, Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Kagan, Robert, 2002: *Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*. London: Atlantic Books.
- Dannreuther, Roland and John Peterson, 2006: *Security Strategy and Transatlantic Relations*, Routledge.

Seminar 9: European Security Policy and NATO

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

- 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.
- Dunn, D. 2001: European Security and Defence Debate: Counter-balancing America or Re-balancing NATO, *Defence Studies* 1(1): 146-155.
- Natalia Touzovskaia, 2006: 'EU-NATO Relations: How Close to "Strategic Partnership"?' ,*European Security*, 15(3): 235-258.

Seminar 10: European Security Policy and Russia

- John Van Oudenaren and Ronald Tiersky, 2010: 'Europe and Russia: Strategic Partnership and Strategic Mistrust', in: Tiersky, Ronald and John Van Oudenaren (eds), *European Foreign Policies: Does Europe Still Matter?*, Rowman& Littlefield
- Graeme P. Herd, 2010: 'Europe and Russia: from Strategic Dissonance to Strategic Divorce?' in Thierry Tardy, *European Security in a Global Context: Internal and External Dynamics*, Routledge

Further Reading:

- Michael Merlingen (forthcoming): Chapter 13 –Russia and European Security Policy: From the Collapse of the Soviet Union to the Deployment of CSDP Operations in Post-Soviet Space, in: M. Merlingen, *EU Security and Defence Policy: What It Is, How it Works, Why it Matters*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- 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. 115-128.
- Hughes, James, 2007: EU Relations with Russia: Partnership or Asymmetric Interdependency?, in: Nicola Casarini and Costanza Musu, eds, *European Foreign Policy in an Evolving International System: The Road Towards Convergence*, Palgrave, pp.76-94.

Seminar 11: Guest Lecture (speaker and time to be announced)

Seminar 12: Guest Lecture (speaker and time to be announced)