

# Topics in International Relations: European Security

PL SC 379-R Section 3 Fall 2008

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Office hours: MWF 10-11.30

MWF 2-2.50  
JKB 1103

## Course description:

'On major strategic and international questions today, Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus: They agree on little and understand one another less and less' (Robert Kagan, *Power and Weakness*, 2002). In an effort to try and better understand America's long-time allies and friends, this class in 'Venusian' security looks at the roots and practice of security in Europe. How is it understood? How is security to be achieved? Are we really so different in our values, aims and methods? What are the implications of any differences for trans-Atlantic relationships and security?

Over the course of the semester we will look at critical issues in European security; some of the organisations that make up the European security architecture; and hear from several European 'voices' about security and security policy. By the end of the course, though we may not necessarily agree with Europe, we may better understand them.

This class is taught by a European. Whether this is an advantage remains to be seen.

By the end of the class, you should be better able to understand European security policies and issues, and interpret current events regarding European security. This course is not designed to convert you to a European way of thinking, but I would hope that you can at the least appreciate the differences in thinking, concept and method across the Atlantic.

By studying the ideas and information presented through the class, students can gain both a better understanding of the world around them and a greater capacity to affect the world for good. Furthermore, you should see the course not just as a means to acquire specialised knowledge, but also as an opportunity to develop important academic and life skills, including critical thinking and communication.

For more information on the learning outcome objectives of the Political Science department, visit <http://learningoutcomes.byu.edu>.

## Reading:

There is one 'main' text for this course, which is available online. Other readings are drawn from current periodical journals or other texts. All readings are available via Blackboard (under Course Material). Where there are several readings for each class, you are not required to read all of them. However, reading several of the articles will give you a fuller understanding of the subject.

You are strongly encouraged to read the material ahead of each class. Given that this is quite a small class, classes will tend towards a seminar/discussion style.

The main text is: Carl C. Hodge (Editor), *Redefining European Security*, 1999.



Grades are not curved. The score of 94 and above is an A. Any score between a 90 and a 93 is an A-. The score of 87 and above is a B+, 83-86 is a B, and 80 to 82 is a B-. The same system is used for C's and D's.

I will happily discuss your grades with you, but make a practice not to amend the grade once given. There is no extra credit. I don't want more work - just better work.

## **Expectations**

You're all adults; you've paid for this class. As much as I will try to provide value for money and time, you will get out as much as you put into this class. I expect you to attend class. I expect you to have read some of the assigned reading prior to each class, and to be able to comment on it upon request. I do not intend this to be a formal lecture series – ask questions! If we take the whole class answering your questions about the topic for that day, and have an engaging class discussion, that's fine by me! In fact, I'd prefer that to me talking for 50 minutes. I expect you to participate in class.

### **Plagiarism:**

While all students sign the honor code, there are still specific skills most students need to master over time in order to correctly cite sources, especially in this new age of the internet; as well as deal with the stress and strain of college life without resorting to cheating. Please know that as your professor I will notice instances of cheating on exams or plagiarizing on papers. General information about the honor code can be found at [honorcode.byu.edu](http://honorcode.byu.edu). Details about Academic Honesty at the Honor Code site can be found by moving your mouse over "Honor Code" in the second grey bar and then move down then right and click on "Other Clarifications", then move your mouse down and click on "Academic Honesty."

Writing submitted for credit at BYU must consist of the student's own ideas presented in sentences and paragraphs of his or her own construction. The work of other writers or speakers may be included when appropriate (as in a research paper or book review), but such material must support the student's own work (not substitute for it) and must be clearly identified by appropriate introduction and punctuation and by footnoting or other standard referencing.

The substitution of another person's work for the student's own or the inclusion of another person's work without adequate acknowledgment (whether done intentionally or not) is known as plagiarism. It is a violation of academic, ethical, and legal standards and can result in a failing grade not only for the paper but also for the course in which the paper is written. In extreme cases, it can justify expulsion from the University. Because of the seriousness of the possible consequences, students who wonder if their papers are within these guidelines should visit the Writing Lab or consult a faculty member who specializes in the teaching of writing or who specializes in the subject discussed in the paper.

### **Honour code:**

Students are expected to adhere to the Dress and Grooming Standards. Adherence demonstrates respect for yourself and others and ensures an effective learning and working environment. It is the university's expectation that each student will abide by all Honour Code standards. Please call the Honour Code Office at 422-2847 if you have questions about those standards.

### **Preventing Sexual Discrimination or Harassment**

Sexual discrimination or harassment (including student-to-student harassment) is prohibited both by the law and by Brigham Young University policy. If you feel you are being subjected to sexual discrimination or harassment, please bring your concerns to the professor. Alternatively, you may lodge a complaint with the Equal Employment Office (D-240C ASB) or with the Honour Code Office (4440).

**Students with Disabilities**

If you have a disability that may affect your performance in this course, you should get in touch with the office of Services for Students with Disabilities (1520 WSC). This office can evaluate your disability and assist the professor in arranging for reasonable accommodations.

## Schedule

#	DATE	SUBJECT	MWF 2-2.50 1103 JKB
1	W 3 SEP	<b>Europeans are from Venus!</b> - Robert Kagan, 2002, 'Power and Weakness,' <i>Policy Review</i> , June; - Christopher Jones, 2008, 'Seduce me: Kagan, power, the US and Europe,' <i>International Politics</i> , 45:266-275.	
2	F 5 SEP	<b>Between the logic of anarchy and the logic of community</b> - John Baylis, 1999, 'European Security between the "Logic of Anarchy" and the "Logic of Community",' Chapter 1 in Carl C. Hodge (ed.), <i>Redefining European Security</i> .	
3	M 8 SEP	<b>Geopolitics</b> - Heinz Magenheimer, 1999, 'The revival of geopolitics in Europe,' Chapter 2 in Carl C. Hodge (Ed.), <i>Redefining European Security</i> ; - Atis Lejins, 1997, 'The Baltic States, European security and Geopolitics,' in Palme Center, <i>Hard and soft security in the Baltic Sea Region</i> .	
4	W 10 SEP	<b>Threats to European security</b> - Phil Williams and Paul N. Woessner, 1999, 'Transnational threats and European security,' chapter 5 in Carl C. Hodge (Ed.), <i>Redefining European Security</i> ; - Christoph Lotter, 1996, 'The nature of the threats for Western Europe from the East,' in Lotter and Peters (eds.), <i>The changing European security environment</i> ; - Mariano Aguirre, 1996, 'Responses to the threat from the South: Confrontation versus cooperation,' in Lotter and Peters (eds.), <i>The changing European security environment</i> .	
5	F 12 SEP	<b>Back to the future: the return of the traditional</b> - Louise Richardson, 1999, 'The Concert of Europe and Security Management in the 19th Century,' in: Helga Haftendorn, Robert O. Keohane and Celeste A. Wallander (eds.), <i>Imperfect Unions, Security Institutions over Time and Space</i> , pp. 48-79; - John J. Mearsheimer, 'Back to the future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War,' <i>International Security</i> , Vol. 15, No.1, Summer 1990.	
6	M 15 SEP	<b>The traditional European security agenda</b> - Ken Booth, 1998, 'Cold Wars of the Mind', in Ken Booth (ed.), <i>Statecraft and Security: The Cold War and Beyond</i> , pp. 29-55.	
7	W 17 SEP	<b>What is (European) security today?</b> - Bill McSweeney, 1999, 'The Meaning of Security,' in Bill McSweeney, <i>Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations</i> , pp. 13-22; - Steve Smith, 1999, 'The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualizing Security in the Last Twenty Years,' <i>Contemporary Security Policy</i> , Vol. 20, Issue 3, pp. 72-101.	
8	F 19 SEP	<b>Alternative European security concepts</b> - Christopher Jones, 'Common Security'; - Christopher Jones, 'Cooperative Security'.	

- 9 M 22 SEP Security communities**
- Adler & Barnett, 1998, 'Security communities in theoretical perspective,' in Adler & Barnett, *Security Communities*;
  - Adler & Barnett, 1998, 'A framework for the study of security communities,' in Adler & Barnett, *Security Communities*.
- 10 W 24 SEP Europe as a non-war community**
- Ole Waever, 1998, 'Insecurity, security, and asecurity in the West European non-war community,' in Adler & Barnett, *Security Communities*.
- 11 F 26 SEP Why security institutions matter**
- Celeste A. Wallander and Robert O. Keohane, 1999, 'Risk, Threats, and Security Institutions,' in: Helga Haftendorn, Robert O. Keohane and Celeste A. Wallander (eds.), *Imperfect Unions, Security Institutions over Time and Space*, pp. 21-47;
  - Michael C. Williams, 1997, 'The Institutions of Security: Elements of a Theory of Security Organizations,' *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 32, Issue 3, pp. 287-307.
- 12 M 29 SEP Why and how NATO survived the end of the Cold War**
- Celeste A. Wallander, 2000, 'Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War,' *International Organization*, Vol. 54 Issue 4, pp. 705-35;
  - Anthony Forster and William Wallace, 2001, 'What is NATO for?' *Survival*, Vol. 43 Issue 4, pp. 107-22.
- 13 W 1 OCT NATO: from collective defence to cooperative security**
- John Borawski, 1995, 'Partnership for Peace and beyond,' *International Affairs*, Vol. 71 No. 2, pp. 233-246;
  - John Woodliffe, 1998, 'The evolution of a new NATO for a new Europe,' *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 47 No.1, pp. 174-192;
  - Britta Hanke-Giesers, 1996, 'The North Atlantic Treaty Organization,' in Lotter and Peters (eds.), *The changing European security environment*;;
  - Britta Hanke-Giesers, 1996, 'The North Atlantic Cooperation Council,' in Lotter and Peters (eds.), *The changing European security environment*;
  - Stanley Sloan, 'Negotiating Article 5,' *NATO: Past, present and future*;
  - NATO, 'Partnership for Peace,' *NATO Handbook*;
  - NATO, 'Origins and evolution of partnership,' *Security through partnership*;
  - NATO, 'Essential mechanisms,' *Security through partnership*.
- 14 F 3 OCT NATO's evolving strategic concept**
- NATO, 1990, *The Alliance's New strategic Concept*;
  - Karl-Heinz Kamp, 2005, 'The need to adapt NATO's Strategic Concept,' in Jean Dufourcq & Carlo Masala (eds.), *Security strategies and their implications for NATO's Strategic Concept*, NATO Defence College;
  - Joseph Leggold, 1998, 'NATO's post-Cold War collective action problem,' *International Security*, Vol. 23 No. 1, pp. 78-106.

- 15 M 6 OCT NATO enlargement: an open door**
- NATO, 1995, *Study on NATO enlargement*;
  - Jonathan Eyal, 1997, 'NATO enlargement: Anatomy of a decision,' *International Affairs*, Vol. 73 No. 4, pp. 695-719;
  - SIPRI, 2001, 'European security: consequences of NATO and EU enlargements,' *SIPRI Conference Report*;
  - Stephen Blank, 1998, 'Rhetoric and Reality in NATO Enlargement,' in Stephen Blank (ed.), *European security and NATO enlargement: View from Central Europe*;
  - Charles Kupchan, 1999, 'Turning adversity into advantage: Russia in NATO,' in Mathis Jopp and Hanna Ojanen (eds.), *European security integration: Implications for Non-alignment and Alliances*;
  - Any of the other articles in Stephen Blank (ed.), 1998, *European security and NATO enlargement: View from Central Europe*.
- 16 W 8 OCT A secure Europe in a better world**
- European Union, 2003, *A secure Europe in a better world: European Security Strategy*;
  - Felix Berenskoetter, 2004, 'Mapping the mind gap: A comparison of US and EU security strategies';
  - Gerrard Quille, 2004, 'The European Security Strategy: A Framework for EU Security Interests,' *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 11 Issue 3, pp. 422-438.
- 17 F 10 OCT The CFSP and ESDP**
- Antonio Missiroli, 1999, 'Towards a European Security and Defence Identity? Record – State of play – Prospects,' in Mathis Jopp and Hanna Ojanen (eds.), *European security integration: Implications for Non-alignment and Alliances*;
  - Alexander R. Vershbow, 1999, 'European Security and Defense Identity: Berlin, St. Malo, and beyond,' *JFQ*;
  - Gustav Lindstrom, 2005, 'The European Security Strategy (ESS): Is Venus becoming Mars?' in Jean Dufourcq & Carlo Masala (eds.), *Security strategies and their implications for NATO's Strategic Concept*, NATO Defence College;
  - Philip H. Gordon, 1997, 'Europe's uncommon foreign policy,' *International Security*, Vol. 22 No. 3, pp. 74-100;
  - Ian Davidson and Philip H. Gordon, 1998, 'Assessing European foreign policy,' *International Security*, Vol. 23 No. 2, pp. 183-88;
  - F. Stephen Larrabee, 2000, 'The European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) and American Interests,' *RAND*.
- 18 M 13 OCT Normative power Europe?**
- Ian Manners, 2006, 'Normative power Europe reconsidered: beyond the crossroads,' *Journal or European Public Policy*, Vol. 13 No. 2, pp. 182-199;
  - Adrian Hyde-Price, 2006, 'Normative power Europe: a realist critique,' *Journal or European Public Policy*, Vol. 13 No. 2, pp. 217-234.
- 19 W 15 OCT Between ambition and paralysis**
- Andreas Kintis, 1999, 'Between ambition and paralysis: the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy and the war in the Former Yugoslavia,' chapter 13 in Carl C. Hodge (Ed.), *Redefining European Security*.

- 20 F 17 OCT Implementing the Headline Goals**  
 - Mika Kerttunen, Tommi Koivula and Tommy Jeppsson, 2005, 'EU Battlegroups: Theory and development in the light of Finnish-Swedish co-operation,' pp. 5-22.
- 21 M 20 OCT Pan-European security**  
 - Pal Dunay, *The OSCE in crisis*, Chaillot paper No. 88, chapters 1-3.
- 22 W 22 OCT OSCE: Norms and the construction of European security**  
 - Gregory Flynn and Henry Farrell, 1999, 'Piecing Together the Democratic Peace: The CSCE, Norms, and the "Construction" of Security in Post-Cold War Europe,' *International Organization*, Vol. 53, Issue 03, pp. 505-535;  
 - Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaitė, 2005, 'The OSCE: The somewhat different socialising agency,' in: Trine Flockhart (ed.), *Socialising Democratic Norms: The Role of International Organisations for the Construction of Europe*, pp. 127-146.
- 23 F 24 OCT OSCE: the non-military dimensions of security**  
 - Cathal J. Nolan, 1999, 'The OSCE: Nonmilitary dimensions of Cooperative Security in Europe,' chapter 14 in Carl C. Hodge (Ed.), *Redefining European Security*.  
 - P. Terrence Hopmann, 2001, 'An evaluation of the OSCE's role in conflict management,' in Heinz Gärtner, Adrian Hyde-Price and Erich Reiter (eds.), *Europe's new security challenges*.
- 24 M 27 OCT OSCE: in action**
- 25 W 29 OCT MIDTERM**
- 26 F 31 OCT France 1**  
 - Axel Sauder, 1999, 'France's security policy since the end of the Cold War,' chapter 6 in Carl C. Hodge (Ed.), *Redefining European Security*;  
 - Thomas Pedersen, 1998, 'Structure or Strategy: The case of French European policy after the Cold War,' in Georg Sørensen and Hans-Henrik Holm (eds.), *And now what? International politics after the Cold War*.
- 27 M 3 NOV France 2**  
 - Michael Meimeth, 1999, 'France and the organization of security in post-Cold War Europe,' chapter 7 in Carl C. Hodge (Ed.), *Redefining European Security*.  
 - Axel Quéval, 1996, 'European security: A French point of view,' in Palme Center, *Visions of European Security – focal point Sweden and Northern Europe*.
- 28 W 5 NOV UK 1**  
 - Michael Howard, 1995, '1945-1995: Reflections on half a century of British security policy,' *International Affairs*, Vol. 71 Issue 4, pp. 705-715;  
 - James Walsh, 2006, 'Policy failure and policy change: British security policy after the Cold War,' *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 39 Issue 4, pp. 490-518.

- 29 F 7 NOV UK 2**  
 - Timothy Garton Ash, 2005, chapter 1 in *Free world: America, Europe, and the surprising future of the West*;  
 - Victor Bulmer-Thomas, 2006, 'Blair's foreign policy and its possible successor(s),' *Chatham House Briefing Paper*.
- 30 M 10 NOV Russia 1**  
 - Paul Marantz, 1999, 'Russia and European security,' chapter 10 in Carl C. Hodge (Ed.), *Redefining European Security*;  
 - Gerhard Mangott, 2000, 'Farewell to Russia: The Decline of a Global Power,' in Heinz Gärtner, Adrian Hyde-Price and Erich Reiter (eds.), *Europe's New Security Challenges*, pp. 379-406;  
 - Graeme Herd, 2001, 'Russia and the politics of Putinism,' *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 38 No. 1, pp. 107-112.
- 31 W 12 NOV Russia 2**  
 - Dmitri Trenin, 2006, 'Russia leaves the West,' *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85 Issue 4, pp. 87-96;  
 - Carl Bildt, 1994, 'The Baltic litmus test,' *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73 Issue 5, pp. 72-85.  
 - Strobe Talbott, 2001, 'Trying to keep Russia on track; First of all, engage. No pauses. No is not just another bilateral relationship. Russia matters big time,' *Newsweek*, Jan 29, pg. 64.
- 32 F 14 NOV Georgia**
- 33 M 17 NOV Poland**
- 34 W 19 NOV Sweden 1**  
 - Mike Winnerstig, 2001, 'Sweden and NATO,' in Huldt, Tiilikainen, Vaahtoranta and Helkama-Rågård (eds.), *Finnish and Swedish Security: Comparing national policies*.
- 35 F 21 NOV Sweden 2**  
 - Örjan Berner, 2001, 'Sweden and Russia,' in Huldt, Tiilikainen, Vaahtoranta and Helkama-Rågård (eds.), *Finnish and Swedish Security: Comparing national policies*.
- 36 M 24 NOV Finland 1**  
 - Pekka Sivonen 2001, 'Finland and NATO,' in Huldt, Tiilikainen, Vaahtoranta and Helkama-Rågård (eds.), *Finnish and Swedish Security: Comparing national policies*.
- 37 T (F) 25 NOV Finland 2**  
 - Christer Pursiainen, 2001, 'Finland and Russia,' in Huldt, Tiilikainen, Vaahtoranta and Helkama-Rågård (eds.), *Finnish and Swedish Security: Comparing national policies*.

- 38 M 1 DEC Baltic States 1**
- Christopher Jones, 2001, 'The development of the armed forces in the Baltic States,' *NEBI Yearbook 2001/2002*;
  - Erik Noreen & Roxanna Sjöstedt, 'Estonian Identity Formations and Threat Framing in the Post-Cold War Era,' *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 41 No. 6, 2004, pp. 733-750;
  - Violeta Motulaite, 1996, 'Sources of national security in Lithuania,' in Palme Centre, *Visions of European Security – focal point Sweden and Northern Europe*;
  - Rein Ruutsoo, 1997, 'Estonian integration in the perspective of the Amsterdam and Madrid summits,' in Palme Center, *Hard and soft security in the Baltic Sea Region*;
  - Ronald Asmus and Robert Nurick, 1996, 'NATO enlargement and the Baltic States,' *Survival*, Vol. 38 No. 2, pp. 121-142.
- 39 W 3 DEC Baltic States 2**
- Lena Hjelm-Wallén, 1997, 'Co-operation in the Baltic Sea-region – a peace project,' in Palme Centre, *Hard and soft security in the Baltic Sea Region*;
  - Pertti Joenniemi, 1997, 'The Baltic Nexus: towards Cooperative regional security,' in Palme Center, *Hard and soft security in the Baltic Sea Region*;
  - Kari Möttölä, 'The Nordic countries and an updated security agenda for the Baltic Sea region,' in Palme Centre, *Hard and soft security in the Baltic Sea Region, 1997*;
  - Clive Archer, 'Nordic involvement in the Baltic States security: Needs, response and success,' *European Security*, Vol. 7 No. 3, Autumn 1998;
  - Annika Bergman, 'Adjacent internationalism: the concept of solidarity and post-Cold War Nordic-Baltic relations,' *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 41 No. 1, 2006;
  - Raimo Väyrynen, 'Towards a pluralistic security community in the Baltic Sea region?' in Georg Sørensen and Hans-Henrik Holm (eds.), *And now what? International politics after the Cold War*, 1998.
- 40 F 5 DEC Europe & America: North Atlantic drift**
- Dominique Moisi, 2001, 'The real crisis over the Atlantic,' *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80 Issue 4, pp. 149-153;
  - Stephen Walt, 2005, 'Taming American power,' *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84 Issue 5, pp. 105-120;
  - William Drozdiak, 2005, 'The North Atlantic Drift,' *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 84, Issue 1, pp. 88-98.
- 41 M 8 DEC Europe & America: US hegemony in Europe**
- Christopher Layne, 2005, *The peace of illusions: American grand strategy from 1940 to the present*, chapter 5;
  - Hedley Bull, 1983, 'European self-reliance and the reform of NATO,' *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 64 Issue 4, pp. 874-892.
- 42 W 10 DEC Q & A review**