

**CAS IR 589/PO 582**  
**North Atlantic and European Security**  
Pardee School of International Studies  
Boston University

**Instructor:** Timothy Turnbull  
**Class Hours:** Tues/Thurs 9:30-10:45  
**Location:** SOC B61

**Instructor Details**

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**Office Location:** 154 Bay State Road, Room 304  
**Office Hours:** Tuesdays 11-1, or by appointment

**Course Description:**

This course evaluates the central issues concerning European security and Transatlantic relations since the end of the Cold War. We will first review the Cold War security system. We will then evaluate changes to this system since the end of the Cold War. The majority of the course will then focus on new security issues such as migration, terrorism, and austerity, as well as existing geopolitical issues such as Russia as a power rival to Europe and European security relations with the Middle East and rising powers. We will also examine the major powers within Europe, their national security interests, strategies, and military capabilities, as well as the division of interests within Europe and between Europe and the United States.

## Course Details and Policies:

### Format

This course will be run as a seminar. Students are expected to do all the readings and to be prepared to discuss them and participate in seminar activities.

Class attendance is **mandatory**. Missing one class will result in two points being deducted from your final grade. If you miss two or more classes, your grade will be in jeopardy. If it is absolutely necessary to miss a class for personal, religious or medical reasons, please communicate this to me in advance of the course date and time.

### Expectations and Grading

#### 100 points possible

1. Weekly readings of approximately around 200 pages per week;
2. Attendance and participation in class discussions:
  - Discussion of the required readings as well as current events  
**(10 points)**.

Participation credit is given based upon the degree to which a student contributes positively to discussion of material during question and answer and discussion sessions. Students who rarely, or never, speak in discussion will receive no participation credit.

–Submit two reading questions/comments to blackboard discussion board by **9 am the day of class (10 points)**.

3. You will present on one subject and lead that class meeting (graduate students will do this twice) **(25 points)**. The presentation will consist of an oral and written report based on a topic and readings listed in the syllabus. The presentation will be approximately 30 minutes long. After the initial presentation, you will field questions from your peers and continue leading the seminar. You will choose a class meeting for your presentation during the second week of the course. The presentation is not meant to be regurgitation of the material, but synthesis and analysis and critique. You should select the most salient points from the material for discussion and questions. You are encouraged to supplement the presentation with additional relevant policy material

or current events. You should prepare a summary handout (this is the written component) on the assigned material and distribute it **both** in class and online via blackboard (**due 10 pm the night before the class session**), in order to encourage your peers to discuss the material after your presentation.

**4.** A research paper on a topic of the students choice, using primary and secondary research sources, to be undertaken in three stages:

- a 1–2 page abstract outlining your research question and your justification for choosing it, due of **March 1st before class (5 points)**.

- a 5 page prospectus, including the argument, basic outline, and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on **April 3rd before class (10 points)**

- the final draft of the research paper (about 20 pages), including citations and bibliography (**40 points**), due on or before **May 4th at 5 pm**.

### **Academic Honesty**

Without exception, students are expected to adhere to the Boston University CAS Academic Code. Please read the Boston University Academic Conduct Code. Accordingly, all instances of academic dishonesty will be reported to the CAS Academic Conduct Committee. Please see <http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/undergrad-resources/code>.

### **Course Materials:**

All readings will be available on Blackboard. You will not need to purchase any books for this class.

## Course Schedule:

### Week 1: Introduction

#### – January 18th

- These readings are not required, but may be of use.

#### –EU Introduction

- European Council: [A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy](#), Brussels: European Union (December 12, 2003)
- European Council: [Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy: Providing Security in a Changing World](#), Brussels: European Union (December 11, 2008)
- NATO: [Active Engagement, Modern Defence: Strategic Concept For the Defence and Security of the Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Adopted by the Heads of State and Government in Lisbon](#)

### Week 2: European Security During the Cold War

#### – January 23rd

- Snyder, Glenn H., “The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics,” *World Politics* 36:4 (1984).
- Jervis, Robert, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics* 30:2 (1978).
- Georges-Henri Soutou, “Was There a European Order in the Twentieth Century? From the Concert of Europe to the End of the Cold War,” *Contemporary European History* 9:3 (2000).

#### – January 25th

- Brooks, Stephen and William Wohlforth, “Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas,” *International Security* 25:3 (2000/2001).
- English, Robert, “Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold Wars End: A Reply to Brooks and Wohlforth,” *International Security* 26:4 (2002).
- John Lewis Gaddis, “The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in

the Postwar International System,” *International Security* 10:4 (1986).

### **Week 3: European Security After the Cold War**

#### **– January 30th**

– Mearsheimer, John J., “Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War,” *International Security* 15:1 (1990).

– “Correspondence: Back to the Future Part II,” *International Security* 15:2 (1990).

– Mearsheimer, John J., “Why is Europe Peaceful Today?” *European Political Science* 9 (2010).

– Van Evera, Stephen, “Primed for Peace: Europe after the Cold War,” *International Security* 15:3 (2000).

– Kupchan, Charles A. and Clifford A. Kupchan, “Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe,” *International Security* 16:1 (1991).

#### **– February 1st**

– Mandelbaum, Michael, “A Perfect Failure: NATO’s War Against Yugoslavia,” *Foreign Affairs* September/October (1999).

– Roberts, Adam, “NATO’s ‘Humanitarian War’ over Kosovo,” *Survival* 41:3 (1999).

##### **– Online Documentaries:**

– [“Srebrenica - A Cry from the Grave.”](#)

– [“Srebrenica - Never Again?”](#)

### **Week 4: Post-Cold War European Security: NATO Expansion and Transatlantic Relations**

#### **– February 6th**

– Walt, Stephen, “Why Alliances Endure or Collapse,” *Survival* 39:1 (1997).

– Wallander, Celeste A., “Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War,” *International Organization* 54:4 (2000).

– Kay, Sean, “NATO, the Kosovo War and Neoliberal Theory,”

*Contemporary Security Policy* 25:2 (2004).

– Press-Barnathan, Galia, “Managing the Hegemon: NATO under Unipolarity,” *Security Studies* 15:2 (2006).

– **February 8th**

– Rumer, Eugene and Angela Stent, “Russia and the West,” *Survival* 51:2 (2009).

– Waltz, Kenneth, “NATO Expansion: A Realists View,” *Contemporary Security Policy* 21:2 (2000).

– Lynch, Allen, “The Realism of Russias Foreign Policy,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 53:1 (2001).

– Trenin, Dmitri, “Russia’s Sphere of Interest, not Influence,” *Washington Quarterly* 32:4 (2009).

**Weeks 5 and 6: European National Security Interests and Capabilities**

**You may choose class meetings from this date forward for your presentation**

– **February 13th**

**UK’s National Security Interests**

– Walsh, James I., “Policy Failure and Policy Change British Security Policy After the Cold War,” *Comparative Political Studies* 39:4 (2006).

– Cornish, Paul, “[Strategy in Austerity The Security and Defence of the United Kingdom, A Chatham House Report.](#)”

– Wheeler, Nicholas J. and Tim Dunne, “Good International Citizenship: A Third Way for British Foreign Policy,” *International Affairs* 74:4 (1998).

– O’Donnell, Clara, “Britain’s Coalition Government and EU Defence Cooperation: Undermining British Interests,” *International Affairs* 87:2 (2011).

– **February 15th**

**Germany’s National Security Interests**

- Miskimmon, Alister, “German Foreign Policy and the Libya Crisis,” *German Politics* 21:4 (2012).
- Brockmeier, Sarah, “Germany and the Intervention in Libya,” *Survival* 55:6 (2013).
- Kundnani, Hans, “Germany as a Geo-economic Power,” *The Washington Quarterly* 34:3 (2011).
- Noetzel, Timo, “The German Politics of War: Kunduz and the War in Afghanistan,” *International Affairs* 87:2 (2011).

– **February 20th – No Class: Substitute Monday Schedule of Classes**

– **February 22nd**

**Poland’s National Security Interests**

- Chappell, Laura, “Poland in Transition: Implications for a European Security and Defence Policy,” *Contemporary Security Policy* 31:2 (2010).
- Nicolaidis, Kalypso, “Trusting the Poles? Constructing Europe through Mutual Recognition,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 14:5 (2007).
- The Economist, “[The Home Army is Back](#),” December 29, 2014.
- Sikorski, Radek, “The Polish Model: A Conversation with Radek Sikorski,” *Foreign Affairs* 92:3 (2013).
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew, “Balancing the East, Upgrading the West: US grand Strategy in an Age of Upheaval,” *Foreign Affairs* 91:1 (2012).
- Somerville, Andrew, Ian Kearns and Malcolm Chalmers, “[Poland, NATO and Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons in Europe](#),” *RUSI Occasional Paper* (2012).

**Week 7: The US-European Security Relationship**

– **February 27th**

- Moravcsik, Andrew, “[Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain](#),” *For-*

*Foreign Affairs* July/August (2003).

– Fawcett, Louise, “The Iraq War Ten Years On: Assessing the Fallout,” *International Affairs* 89:2 (2013).

– Calleo, David P., “Europe and America in a New Century,” *Survival* 55:5 (2013).

– Brzezinski, Zbigniew, “An Agenda for NATO: Toward a Global Security Web,” *Foreign Affairs* (2009).

– **March 1st**

### **Short Abstract Due Before Class**

– Rynning, Sten, “Realism and the Common Security and Defence Policy,” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 49:1 (2011).

– Pape, Robert A., “Soft Balancing Against the United States,” *International Security* 30:1 (2005).

– Howorth, Jolyon and Anand Menon, “Still not Pushing Back: Why the European Union is not Balancing the United States,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28:3 (2009).

– Posen, Barry, “European Union Security and Defense Policy. Response to Unipolarity?” *Security Studies* 15:2 (2006).

**Week 8: No Class - Spring Break**

**Week 9: EU Foreign Policy**

– **March 13th**

– Sjusren, Helene, “Not so Intergovernmental After all? On Democracy and Integration in European Foreign and Security Policy,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 18:8 (2011).

– Marangoni, Anne-Claire, and Kolja Raube, “Virtue or Vice? The Coherence of the EUs External Policies,” *Journal of European Integration* 36:5 (2014).

– Witney, Nick, “[Where Does CSDP Fit in EU Foreign Policy](#),” *European Council on Foreign Relations* (2013).

– **March 15th**

– Frieden, Jeffrey, “One Europe, One Vote?: The Political Economy of European Union Representation in International Organizations,” *European Union Politics* 5:2 (2004).

– Smith, Karen “Speaking with One Voice? European Union Coordination on Human Rights Issues at the United Nations,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44:1 (2006).

– Jin, Xi and Madeleine O. Hosli, “Pre-and Post-Lisbon: European Union Voting in the United Nations General Assembly,” *West European Politics* 36:6 (2013).

– Jakobsson, Ulf, “An International Actor under Pressure: The Impact of the War on Terror and the Fifth Enlargement on EU Voting Cohesion at the UN General Assembly 200005,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47:3 (2009).

**Week 10: What Kind of Power is Europe?**

– **March 20th**

– Elgstrom, Ole, “Images of the EU in EPA Negotiations: Angel, Demon – or Just Human?” (2008).

– Kaija Schilde, Stephanie B. Anderson and Andrew Garner, “Permissive Consensus or Robust Support? Public Opinion and EU Defense,” in preparation for submission to *International Security*.

– Toje, Asle, “The European Union as a Small Power,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49:1 (2011).

– Damro, Chad, “Market Power Europe,” Paper Prepared for EUSA Biennial Conference (2011).

– **March 22nd**

– Manners, Ian, “Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:2 (2002).

– Sjursen, Helene, “The EU as a ‘Normative’ Power: How Can This Be?” *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:2 (2006).

– Diez, Thomas, “Normative Power as Hegemony,” *Cooperation and Conflict* 48:2 (2013).

– Erickson, Jennifer L., “Market Imperative Meets Normative Power: Human Rights and European Arms Transfer Policy,” *European Journal of International Relations* 19:2 (2011).

## **Week 11: Current Issues - Economic Instability and Austerity**

### **– March 27th**

– European Parliament, “The Impact of the Financial Crisis on European Defence,” Directorate B, Policy Department Study (2011).

– Emerson, Michael, (2012), “Implications of the Eurozone Crisis for EU Foreign Policy: Costs and Opportunities,” *CEPS Commentary* (2012).

– Giegerich, Bastian and Christoph Schwegmann, “Sustaining Europe’s Security,” *Survival* 56:4 (2014).

### **– March 29th**

– Rasmussen, Anders Fogh, “NATO After Libya: The Atlantic Alliance in Austere Times,” *Foreign Affairs* 90 (2011).

– NATO Introduction: NATO and Austerity, RAND Report.

– Biscop, Sven, “Peace Without Money, War Without Americans: Challenges for European Strategy,” *International Affairs* 89:5 (2013).

## **Week 12: Current Issues - Brexit**

### **Full Prospectus Due Before Class**

### **– April 3rd**

– Wilson, Graham K., “Brexit, Trump and the Special Relationship,” *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 19:3 (2017).

– Whitman, Richard G., “Avoiding a Hard Brexit in Foreign Policy,” *Survival* 59:6 (2017).

– Scuirra, Leonardo, “Brexit Beyond Borders: Beginning of the EU Collapse and Return of Nationalism,” *Journal of International Affairs* 70:2 (2017).

– Sampson, Thomas, “Brexit: The Economics of International Disintegration,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 31:4 (2017).

– **April 5th - No Class**

### **Week 13: Current Issues - Migration, Refugees and Counter-Terrorism**

– **April 10th**

– Huysmans, Jef, “The European Union and the Securitization of Migration,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38:5 (2000).

– Neal, Andrew W., “Securitization and Risk at the EU Border: The Origins of FRONTEX,” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 47:2 (2009).

– Lodge, Juliet, “EU Homeland Security: Citizens or Suspects?” *Journal of European Integration* 26:3 (2004).

– **April 12th**

– Coolsaet, Rik, “EU Counterterrorism Strategy: Value Added or Chimera?” *International Affairs* 86:4 (2010).

– Muller-Wille, Bjorn, “The Effect of International Terrorism on EU Intelligence Co-operation,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46:1 (2008).

– Keohane, Daniel, “The Absent Friend: EU Foreign Policy and CounterTerrorism,” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 46:1 (2008).

### **Week 14: Current Issues - Relations with the Middle East**

– **April 17th**

– Brtnick, Michael, “[The Arab Revolts: An Impetus Towards Re-assessment of the European Unions Foreign Policy?](#)” *Contemporary European Studies* 2 (2011).

– Cavatorta, Francesco, and Paola Rivetti, “EUMENA Relations from the Barcelona Process to the Arab Uprisings: A New Research

Agenda,” *Journal of European Integration* 36:6 (2014).

– Bicchi, Federica, “The Politics of Foreign Aid and the European Neighbourhood Policy Post-Arab Spring: More for More or Less of the Same?” *Mediterranean Politics* 19:3 (2014).

– Hollis, Rosemary, “No Friend of Democratization: Europe’s Role in the Genesis of the Arab Spring.” *International Affairs* 88:1 (2012).

#### – April 19th

– Muftuler-Bac, Meltem, “The European Unions Accession Negotiations with Turkey from a Foreign Policy Perspective,” *European Integration* 30:1 (2008).

– Alessandri, Emiliano, “The New Turkish Foreign Policy and the Future of Turkey-EU Relations,” *Institute of International Affairs Documents and Working Papers* 10 (2010).

– Leonard, Mark, “Can EU Diplomacy Stop Iran’s Nuclear Programme?” London: Center for European Reform Working Paper (2005).

– Dryburgh, Lynne, “The EU as a Global Actor? EU Policy Towards Iran,” *European Security* 17:2 (2008).

### Week 15: Current Issues - Russia and Other Rising Powers

#### – April 24th

– Abdelal, Rawi, “The Profits of Power: Commerce and Realpolitik in Eurasia,” *Review of International Political Economy* 20:3 (2013).

– Nol, Pierre, “Beyond Dependence: How to Deal with Russian Gas,” *ECFR* (2008).

– Theil, Stefan, “Berlin’s Balancing Act: Merkel Needs Trump – But Also Needs to Keep Her Distance,” *Foreign Affairs* 96:5 (2017).

#### – April 26th - Last Day of Class

– Smith, Michael, “Beyond the Comfort Zone: Internal Crisis and External Challenge in the European Union’s Response to Rising Powers,” *International Affairs* 89:3 (2013).

– Zimmermann, Hubert, “Realist Power Europe? The EU in the Negotiations about China’s and Russia’s WTO Accession,” *JCMS: Jour-*

*nal of Common Market Studies* 45:4 (2007).

– Lo, Bobo, “[Medvedev and the New European Security Architecture](#),” London: Center for European Reform Policy Brief (2009).

**Final Papers Due May 4th**

