

2nd Term Seminar 2021-2022

Global ordering and European security

Organised by Stephanie Hofmann

Contact: Claudia.Fanti@eui.eu

The transatlantic relationship is often considered to be at the core of the so-called liberal international order. However, the post WWII order, in which institutions such as NATO and the ECSC/EEC/EU were created, has not much to do with the global ordering that we experience today. The end of the Cold War, 9/11, isolationist and unilateral tendencies across US administrations, and the changing global power relations each have contributed to the debate over the nature and longevity of the global order “as we know/knew it.” And they have impacted policymakers’ understanding of fundamental uncertainties, risks and threats.

In this course, we will focus on European attempts and successes of institutionalizing European security and defense cooperation. While this will be the main focus of the course, we will also examine the different ways through which scholars have made sense of global ordering and situate European security cooperation within this debate. To better understand how regional actors engage with global politics and changes, particular attention will be given to the EU and NATO, institutional developments as well as capabilities and capacities.

In this seminar, we will pursue several objectives. First, this seminar provides researchers with theoretical and conceptual tools to classify what kind of actor / power / institutional structure the EU is / has in security and defense policy. Second, it confronts researchers with empirical examples to discuss and demonstrate the EU’s activities in this policy domain. This will ultimately help refine researchers’ expertise in developing and criticizing different kinds of research designs. Third, this course will demonstrate under what conditions we should not think of the EU in isolation but instead also study the US or other IOs to understand EU security and defense policy. Fourthly, this class should help understand the history and political of EU security and defense policy and provide researchers with arguments for or against the idea that the European security and defense policy should be fully integrated.

Course requirements consist of

- **Complete the readings and active participation** in the seminar discussions and debates, e.g. contributing to addressing broader issues and questions underlying the readings, identifying strengths and problems with theory & research design as well as discussing potential room for revisions.
- **authors' defendant** (1x), that is, defend the merits of the week's readings in class.
- **2-3 discussion questions** (1x) with a short explanation of why these questions occurred to you. Please circulate these questions to the entire class via email no later than one day before class.
- **(Group) briefing** on threats, risks and uncertainties (1x)
- **interview questionnaire** (1x)

Authors' defendant and discussion questions must be completed on separate weeks. To receive credit for this seminar, you must get a pass on each of them.

Schedule

This seminar takes place on Thursdays at 15:00-17:00

Readings

Week 1 (January 13). Introduction

European Council. 2003. "A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy," <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/30823/qc7809568enc.pdf>.

European Council. 2008. "Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy: Providing Security in a Changing World." https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/reports/104630.pdf.

EEAS. 2016. "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy." https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eugs_review_web_0.pdf.

EEAS. 2019. "The European Union's Global Strategy. Three Years on, Looking Forward." https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eu_global_strategy_2019.pdf

Week 2 (January 20). What is international / global order and how does it change?

Norloff, Carla and William C. Wohlforth. 2019. "*Raison de l'hegemonie* (The Hegemon's Interest): Theory of the Costs and Benefits of Hegemony." *Security Studies* 28: 422-450.

Reus-Smit, Christian. 2017. "Cultural Diversity and International Order." *International Organization* 71, 4: 851-885.

Allan, Bentley B, Srdjan Vucetic, and Ted Hopf. 2018. "The distribution of identity and the future of the international order: China's hegemonic prospects." *International Organization* 72: 839-869.

Acharya, Amitav. 2017. "After liberal hegemony: the advent of a multiplex world order."

Ethics and International Affairs 31, 3: 271-285.

Further reading

Mead, Walter R. 2014. "The return of geopolitics." *Foreign Affairs*.

Hurrell, Andrew. 2006. "Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be great powers?" *International Affairs* 82, 1: 1-19.

Ruggie, John G. 1982. "International regimes, transactions, and change: embedded liberalism in the postwar economic order." *International Organization* 36, 2: 379-415.

Payne, Anthony. 2008. "The G8 in a changing global economic order." *International Affairs* 84, 3: 519-533.

Bull, Hedley. 1972. "International Law and International Order." *International Organization* 26, 3: 583-588.

Held, David. 1995. *Democracy and the Global Order. From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Twining, William. 2010. "Normative and legal pluralism: a global perspective." *Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law* 20: 473-517.

Cox, Robert W. 1981. "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 10, 2: 126-155.

Week 3 (January 27). The historical dimension: is integration in European security and defense matters automatic?

Monnet, Jean. 1963. "A Ferment of Change." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 1, 3: 203-211.

Gordon, Philip H. 1997/98. "Europe's Uncommon Foreign Policy." *International Security* 22, 3: 74-100.

Mérand, Frédéric. 2010. "Pierre Bourdieu and the Birth of European Defense." *Security Studies* 19: 342-374.

Rosato, Sebastian. 2011. "Europe's Troubles: Power Politics and the State of the European Project." *International Security* 35: 45-86.

Further reading

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

"Correspondence: Back to the Future Part II." *International Security* 15, 2: 191-199.

Kupchan, Charles A. and Clifford A. Kupchan. 1991. "Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe." *International Security* 16, 1: 114-161.

Burgess, J. Peter. 2009. "There is No European Security, Only European Securities." *Cooperation and Conflict* 44, 3: 309-328.

Week 4 (February 3). Threats, risks and uncertainties

No readings for this week. Instead, researchers will present their briefings on different public opinion polls and other methods / data to tap into (the perception of) threats, risks and uncertainties across Europe.

Week 5 (February 10). Who governs?

Howorth, Jolyon. 2012. "Decision-making in security and defense policy: Towards supranational intergovernmentalism?" *Cooperation and Conflict* 47: 433–453.

Riddervold, Marianne. 2016. "(Not) in the Hands of the Member States: How the European Commission Influences EU Security and Defence Policies: (Not) in the hands of the member states." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54: 353–369.

Lepgold, Joseph. 1998. "NATO's Post-Cold War Collective Action Problem." *International Security* 23:1: 78-106.

Rosén, G., 2015. "EU Confidential: The European Parliament's Involvement in EU Security and Defence Policy: EU confidential." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53: 383–398.

Further reading

Barber, Tony. 2010. "The Appointments of Herman van Rompuy and Catherine Ashton." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48, Supplement: 55-67.

Wallander, Celeste A. 2000. "Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO after the Cold War." *International Organization* 54, 4: 705-35.

Wallander, Celeste A. and Robert O. Keohane. 1999. "Risk, Threat, and Security Institutions." In Helga Haftendorn, Robert O. Keohane and Celeste A. Wallander, eds. *Imperfect Unions. Security Institutions over Time and Space*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kupchan, Charles A. 2000. "In Defence of European Defence: An American Perspective." *Survival* 42, 2: 16-32.

Week 6 (February 17). Has the informal taken over from the formal?

Guest speaker: Maria Giulia Amadio Viceré (RSC)

Readings tbd

Week 7 (February 24). Political economy of European security

Guest speaker: Catherine Hoeffler (RSC)

Readings tbd

Week 8 (March 3). The EU in IOs

Interviewing Stelios Makriyannis, Chair of the United Nations Working Party, EEAS

- Please submit your interview questionnaire on March 2

Some preparatory readings (to tease out conceptual issues)

Græger, Nina. 2017. "Grasping the everyday and extraordinary in EU–NATO relations: the added value of practice approaches." *European Security* 26: 340–358.

Dijkstra, Hylke, Ewa Mahr, Petar Petrov, Katarina Đokić, Peter Horne Zartsdahl. 2018. "The EU's partners in crisis response and peacebuilding: complementarities and synergies with the UN and OSCE." *Global Affairs* 4: 185–196.

Carta, Catarina. 2013. "The EU in Geneva: The Diplomatic Representation of a System of Governance." *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 9.

Week 9 (March 10). What power does the EU have?

Ariel, Jonathan and Yoram Haftel. 2021. "Mostly in its backyard: security provisions in EU economic agreements." *Journal of Common Market Studies*
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/jcms.13194>

Posen, Barry R. 2006. "European Union Security and Defense Policy: Response to Unipolarity?" *Security Studies* 15, 2: 149-186.

Orenstein, Mitchell A. and R. Daniel Kelemen. 2017. "Trojan Horses in EU Foreign Policy: Europe's Hybrid Foreign Policy." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55: 87–102.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2017. "Europe is Still a Superpower." *Foreign Policy*
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/13/europe-is-still-a-superpower/>

Further reading

Meunier, Sophie and Milada A. Vachudova. 2018. "Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56: 1631–1647.

Toje, Asle. 2011. "The European Union as a Small Power." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49, 1: 43-60.

Daalder, Ivo and James Goldgeier. 2006. "Global NATO." *Foreign Affairs* (September/October): 105-113.

Giegerich, Bastian and William Wallace. 2004. "Not Such a Soft Power: the External Deployment of European Forces." *Survival* 46, 2: 163-182.

Friesendorf, Cornelius and Susan Penksa. 2008. "Militarized Law Enforcement in Peace Operations: EUFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping* 15, 5: 677-694.

Novotná, Tereza, 2017. "The EU as a Global Actor: United We Stand, Divided We Fall." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55: 177–191.

Week 10 (March 17). Conclusions

