

IR 385
SIR/USC
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M & W 2-3:20
MHP 101

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Monday 3-5:30

EUROPEAN FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

This new understanding of security has required a shift in focus, from ensuring peace across state borders to building peace within states. As a result, foreign policy issues are increasingly driven by values rather than military security interests. Lloyd Axworthy

In a curious symmetry these changes in Europe have come partly as a result of a second Thirty Years War: 1914-1945. The first paroxysm led to rejection of Christianity or forms of Christianity as an organizing principle on the continent and to the adoption of the state system as codified in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The second, paroxysm, aided by the prod of globalization, has now led to another revolutionary systemic change in Europe based on reconciliation, postnational pooling of sovereignty, blurring of the distinction between domestic and foreign affairs, and hourly meddling in each other's business. Elizabeth Pond

It is easy to suggest that our security is linked to the security of others and, thus, we have a responsibility to respond to distant conflicts and crises in distant lands. It is much harder to act if people do not see any direct benefits for those actions. S. Lamy

Introduction

This is a time of profound change and uncertainty in the new European home. A region that now includes some of the most economically advanced states in the West and fourth world states in the former Soviet Empire. With the end of the Cold War, a rigid division that dominated and defined political, military, economic, and social affairs in every nation-state on both sides of the "Iron Curtain", leaders throughout Europe are focused on new and some enduring internal and external security challenges. Today, one might argue that European international relations are defined by opposing forces and conditions such as integration and disintegration; nationalism and transnationalism; postmodern and premodern; rich and poor; open and closed societies; liberalism and socialism; and, freedom and authoritarianism. The Cold War dominated the security debates and much of the foreign policy agenda in most European states. This global division limited the flexibility and independence of states within Europe. In this post-Cold War system, states and citizens may be less constrained; however, citizens may also be less secure. One of the results of the end of the Cold war has been the wider acceptance of a broader meaning of security. In June 1992, leaders at a Western European Union (WEU) suggested a new definition: security in its broadest sense encompasses not only military but also political aspects, respect for human rights and freedoms, economic rights and opportunities, social cohesion, and environmental quality

issues. Traditional realists may not accept a broader definition of the security challenges facing European states; however, most accept a new security agenda that combines a more traditional list of

issues with human security issues. Stability, economic growth, democracy, and cosmopolitan rights such as employment, food, shelter, health care, education, and employment are international security challenges to many in Europe.

This class will explore a number of the new security challenges faced by European states. We will explore five security issue areas as discussed by Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde : **military security, political security, economic security, societal security, and environmental security.**

Seminar Design and Structure

This is an active learning seminar. You are expected to participate! This class will be structured around a problem-based cooperative learning approach (see attached strategy for problem-based learning). Problem-based learning is being used in many professional schools and diplomatic training programs in many countries. It emphasizes skills such as problem identification, hypothesis formulation, critical thinking and creativity. Discussion, group research, case studies, and other interactive learning exercises will be the norm. As we review each security challenge, students will explore several very important but basic questions:

- **How do different state and non-state actors see and define the security challenge?**
- **What do we need to know to respond to the problems associated with the security challenge?**
- **Who needs to be part of the solution?**
- **What solutions do these actors advocate?**
- **What resources do they bring to the policy process?**

Course Requirements

The emphasis on cooperative learning and the problem-based focus will make it essential that **students attend every class session** and work informally as a group outside of the class. We have the classroom reserved for Friday and the TA or I will be available to work with each group during this period of time and during office hours. Grades will be determined using the following criteria:

1. Attendance and Participation

a. Individually: graduate seminar rules will prevail. We meet only twice a week. You are expected to be there and to come prepared. Every class will be similar to a case discussion: **5% citizenship**

b. Group Work: You will be assigned to a research team of 5-7 students. We will switch after two-graded problem exercises. Each of you will serve as a leader for at least one of the five security issue areas. You will be graded for the quality of your group work and for your leadership and coordination:

10% leadership

2. Problem Exercises, reading checks, and case studies: **7 @ 10% 70% of grade**

Although the assignments will rely on cooperative group work, the assignments will be structured so that each student will be responsible for specific parts of the exercise. This should help control for the free rider problem.

3. Final: There will be a final problem exercise in this class. It will be a take home exercise distributed the final day of class: **15% of grade**

You are an adult, keep track of your grades and talk with us! Also, take responsibility for your decisions to miss class or to skip an assignment. I do not give grades, you earn them whether good or bad.

Required Readings:

- B. Buzan, et al. **Security . A new framework of Analysis**
- C. Piening, **Global Europe: The EU in World Affairs**
- D. Yost, **NATO Transformed**
- D. Dewitt, et al, **Building A New World Order**

All books should be at the USC Bookstore.

Reserve Readings will be placed in VKC 300

All country theme readings, selected by each group, will be placed on reserve in VKC 300.

Overview of the Course

Week One: Introducing the Process

Session One: 1-8-01

- A review of the syllabus and a review of the problem-based process. Critical analysis of the problem, identification of areas that need attention, research, peer review and evaluation, development of policy strategy, and integration with other proposed programs.

- Historical background and the contemporary security challenges in Europe. Also a review of politics and political culture in the European region.

Readings:

It is important that you have some understanding of contemporary European history. We cannot make you read; but, doing some preparation here might help you succeed. A few suggestions:

C. Black, Helmrich, et al. **Rebirth. A History of Europe Since W.W.II.**
 N. Davies, *Europe: A History*

W.R. Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World*

A CORE REQUIREMENT WORTH 5 POINTS: European information strategy- on-line newspaper, weekly newsmagazine, radio or TV news site and one security website.

Example: Guardian-UK, the Economist, ITN or BBC, ISN or SIPRI

Set this strategy-up by January 17 and submit to the TA

Session Two: January 10: Order and its Challenges

Readings:

Yost, **NATO Transformed**, Chapters 1 and 2

Dewitt, **Building A New Global Order**, Chapters 1 and 4

T. Lloyd, "Union and Division in Europe" in *IJ*(Autumn 1997) 546

*** A sample problem exercise: Convincing the public to pay for a European Defence force.

See Chapter 16 in Dewitt.

January 15 University Holiday

- **The European Security Order**

Session Three: Jan. 17

Reports on sample exercise

Understanding Security Challenges and Actors

Readings:

Buzan et al., **Security**, Chapters 1, 2 and 8.

Piening, **Global Europe**, Chapters 1 and 2

Yost, Chapter 3

Friday, Jan. 19: Optional Session

A Library Session on the EU sources and other European Journals and Sources and first group meetings.

Session Four: Jan. 22

Introducing the Five Security Challenges
Assignment of First Group Roles

Session Five: Jan. 24

European Security Institutions: an overview of key actors and institutions:
Atlantic, European, and global institutions

Readings:

Yost, Chapter 5

Dewitt, chapters 12 and 14

Visit the websites of these institutions

• **Military Security**

In the history of organized violence, Europe is second to none. In 25 of 75 interstate wars between 1815-1993, the war action took place at least partly in Europe. In 31 wars one or more European countries participated on both sides. In 46 wars at least one European country took part.

Nils Petter Gleditsch (EJIR, 1995)

Session Six: January 29

Military Security Challenges

Readings:

Dewitt, Chapters 6, 11, and 15

Buzan, Chapter 3

Piening, Chapter 9

Yost, Chapters 4 and 5

Session Seven: January 31

Continuation of the military security discussion

Session Eight: February 5

Presentation of Military security problem and assignment of actors for the research process.

Actors will include states, regional organizations and NGOs

One group will present the problem with the instructors. Others will be assigned countries. See attached *How Problem-based Learning Works* sheet.

Readings:

Each group will present an article that gives a general overview of their actor's position on the issue.

What Role for NATO and European security organizations in civil wars? Lessons from the Balkans.

Readings:

A. Pasic and T.G. Weiss, "The Politics of Rescue: Yugoslavia's Wars and the Humanitarian Impulse", **Ethics In International Affairs**(V.11 1997), 105-131
J. Nowak, "The OSCE in Europe" in T. Findlay, **Challenges for Peacekeepers**(SIPRI 1996)

Group leaders are responsible for providing a one-page bibliography and for making sure the group is well prepared for the discussion.

Session Nine: February 7

A general discussion of the possible conflicts in Europe and the lessons from attempts to respond to these conflicts.

Session Ten: February 12:

First Problem forum: *European strategy for civil wars (a preemptive strategy.)

- **Economic Security: Prosperity and Poverty**

What keeps socialism relevant is capitalism.

E. M. Woods in the **Monthly Review**

Session Eleven: **February 14 Valentine's day-*Love the one you're with***

An Overview of the European Economy

Assignment of new group roles for the discussion on economic security.

Readings:

Buzan, Chapter 5

C. Piening, **Global Europe**, Chapters 1, 5, 6, 7 and 8.

J. Sperling and E. Kirchner, "Economic Security and the Problem of Cooperation in Post Cold War Europe", **RIS**(1998)V.24, 221-237.

G. Soros, "Can Europe Work?" in **Foreign Affairs**(Sept.-Oct. 1996)

University Holiday-February 19

Session Twelve: February 21

A Discussion of the Economic Security Agenda and Actor Positions.

Readings:

Each group will suggest an article that discusses the issue from the perspective of their assigned actor.

Session Thirteen: February 26

****Second Problem Forum:**

Maintaining the Social Contract in a New Europe: Options and Obstacles

Session Fourteen: February 28

Trade and development issues as security issues

Readings:

C. Piening, **Global Europe**, Chapters 2 and 3

Dewitt, Chapters 5 and 7

Session Fifteen: March 5

***** Third Problem Forum: *Trade wars-EU vs. US***

Session Sixteen: March 7

Assessment exercise: Evaluating our policy suggestions

- **Spring Break March 12-16**
- **Society and Security**

Everything was shaken, was changed since I was born, starting with social structures, with people, with public life and, last but not least, with monuments, street names, the memory of the people, the soul of the houses.
Alexandru George

Session Seventeen and Eighteen: March 19 & 21

Readings:

Buzan, Chapter 6

Dewitt, Chapter 8

The problem of national identity, I believe, is the most acute problem in the world today. Mikhail Gorbachev

Class, Ethnicity, and Other Identity issues as Security Challenges

Readings:

K.Goldmann, "Nationalism and Internationalism In Post Cold war Europe", in **EJIR**, 259-290

A. Guelke, "Wars of Fear"

W. Laquer, "Terror's New Face" In the **Harvard International Review**, Fall 1998, 44-51

G. Schopflin, "Nationalism and Ethnicity in Europe, East and West" in Kupchan, **Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe**(1995)
Session Seventeen: 3-24-99

Security Threats in Changing Societies: A policy agenda

Session Nineteen: March 26

**** Fourth Problem Forum: **Refugees, Nationalism, and Ethnocentrism**

- **Political Security: Governance Issues**

So the essence of the century has been the collapse of empire. You have two now left: China, which will never give Hong Kong self-determination and still lays claim to Taiwan, and the European Union, which is succeeding in diminishing parliamentary sovereignty and the rule of law, for which we fought, in favor of the biggest bureaucracy the world has ever known. And all of this with Germany as the dominant one-I don't like it. Lady Margaret Thatcher (1995)

Session Twenty: March 28

Governance in a new and old states.

Readings:

Buzan, Chapter 7

Dewitt, Chapter 3

D. Held and A. McGew, "Globalization and the Liberal Democratic State" **Government and Opposition**(Spring 1993) 261-288

H. Miall, **Shaping a New World Order**, Chapter 4

M. Zurn, "The Challenge of Globalization and Individualization: A View from Europe", in Holm and Sorensen, **Whose World Order** (1995)

Session Twenty-one: April 2

Supranationalism and subnationalism

Readings to be suggested

Session Twenty-two: April 4

*****Fifth Problem Forum: **Building Civil Society in the former Soviet Empire**

Readings to be suggested by groups

- **Environmental Security**

An issue area that combines economic, political, social, and even military security challenges.

The historical goals of job creation and improved quality of life are at the forefront of the new debate-in the North at least. Joining them are new gender issues arising from the dramatic growth of female participation in the labour market. Less visible, but equally important, are ecological concerns and the need for a new model of development. By linking these issues, reduced work time is a focal point for a new Left-Green politics that emphasizes social justice, quality of life and ecological sustainability. Anders Hayden NI, (1998)

Session Twenty-three: April 9

Security Challenges and the Environment

Readings:

Buzan, Chapter 4

Dewitt, Chapters 9 and 10

N.Myers, "Environmental Security: How it Works", in Conca, et al. **Green Planet Blues**, essay 26

M. Levy, "European Acid Rain: The Power of Tote-Board Diplomacy" in Haas, et al. **Institutions for the Earth**, 75-132

Session Twenty-four: April 11

Environmental security discussion continued

Session Twenty-five: April 16

******* Sixth Problem Forum: Nuclear and other toxic wastes**

Readings:

Groups will make suggestions

Session Twenty-six: April 18

Discussion about green policies continues

• **Europe and the world**

Session Twenty-seven: April 23

Europe as an international security actor

Session Twenty-eight: April 25:

******* Seventh Problem Forum: Living with a hyperpower: Europe and the U.S. battle for global influence and control.**

If we need it, we will have a final class on Friday, April 27.

How do I get an A in this class?

Do not plan on an A, A- , or B+ unless you do the following:

- Come to every class and participate in discussions
- Take a leadership role in your group research projects
- Show you are capable of doing extensive research using print and non-print resources
- Do your readings and use these readings to frame your presentations
- Present professional briefing papers at our problem fora
- Work effectively with your peers and participate in group meetings, etc. NO FREE RIDERS ALLOWED!