



# *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

## *Syllabus*

### ***EUROPEAN SECURITY: FROM NATO TO IMMIGRATION - 58431***

*Last update 03-08-2016*

*HU Credits:* 4

*Degree/Cycle:* 1st degree (Bachelor)

*Responsible Department:* international relations

*Academic year:* 0

*Semester:* 1st Semester

*Teaching Languages:* Hebrew

*Campus:* Mt. Scopus

*Course/Module Coordinator:* Dr. Tal Dingott Alkopher

*Coordinator Email:* [msding@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:msding@mail.huji.ac.il)

*Coordinator Office Hours:* Mon 16-17

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Teaching Staff:

Dr. Tal Dingott Alkopher

Course/Module description:

The course deals with the impact of security perceptions on security practices in Europe since WW2 till today. It focuses first on the impact of "narrow" and "traditional" security concepts that characterized modern Europe such as the "security dilemma", the "balance of power" and "collective security" on European alliances during the 20th century and specifically on NATO after WW2 and during the Cold War. It then follows evolutions in the European security discourse and perceptions (such as "cooperative security", "security community" and "ontological security") in light of changes in the European strategic arena in particular and the in general in the 1990s. It traces the impact of new discourses and perceptions on NATO, on the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as well as on Europe's attitude towards humanitarian wars, terror as well as immigration.

Course/Module aims:

1. To describe critical junctures in the developments of security perceptions in Europe alongside historical and cultural developments in Europe specifically and in the international arena in general.
2. To present new theoretical concepts in the literature of security studies such as "cooperative security", "security communities", "human security", "securitization" and "ontological security".
3. To analyze the change occurring in the European discourse and perception of security (known as the "redefinition" of the security concept) alongside changes in the European strategic arena in specific and in the international arena in general in the 1990s and onwards.

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

1. To evaluate the impact of theoretical, cultural and normative perceptions on security practices in Europe and beyond.
2. To explain the relationship between security perceptions and cooperative practices on the one hand and antagonistic practices on the other hand in Europe and beyond.

Attendance requirements(%):

100

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Teaching arrangement and method of instruction: 1. Debate based on reading materials and reading reports.

2. teacher's power point presentations.

3. Students' presentation plus debate and comments.

Course/Module Content:

1. Traditional security perception and the North Atlantic Area during the Cold War.
2. Collective security perception and NATO as a Collective Security System.
3. The redefinition of security and its broadening.
4. Cooperative Security and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).
5. Security organizations as socialization agents: NATO after the Cold War, NACC and PfP.
6. The impact of culture and norms on security? The case of NATO's enlargement, Germany after WWII.
7. Identity and Security: the European Security Community.
8. Common European Foreign and Security Policy?
9. Human Security and Humanitarian Military Interventions.
10. Ontological Security: what threatens Europe's identity?
11. The impact of 11/9 and the transatlantic crisis
12. Homegrown terrorism in Europe
13. Europe's Counterterrorism
14. Europe and the Mediterranean.
15. Immigration as a "threat" to Europe?
16. Europe and Turkey.
17. critical security studies: the case of Europe
18. Europe- Where to?

Required Reading:

1. Terrif, Croft, James & Morgan. (1999). "Traditional Views of Security in International Politics", *Security Studies Today*, Ch.2: 29-64.
2. Morgenthau H. (1959) "Alliances in Theory and Practice" in *Alliance Policy in the Cold War*, pp.184-202.
3. Kupchan, C. (1994). "The Case for Collective Security," *Collective Security Beyond the Cold War*, pp.41-55.
4. Mary Hampton (1995) "NATO at the Creation: U.S Foreign Policy, West Germany and the Wilsonian Impulse", *Security Studies*, 4(3):610-656.
5. Miller, B. 2001. "The Concept of Security: Should it be Redefined?" *Journal of Strategic Studies* 24: 13-42.
6. V. Kitchen (2010) "NATO's Out of Area, Norm from Suez to Afganistan", *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 8(2): 105-117.
7. Gareth Evans (Fall 1994) "Cooperative Security and Intrastate Conflict" *Foreign*

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Policy, no.96, pp.3-20.

8.Bruce Cronin, "Creating Stability in the New Europe: the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities and the Socialization of Risky States," *Security Studies* 12 (Autumn 2002), 143-163.

9.Alexandra Gheciu. 2005. "Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the "New Europe", *International Organization*, 59:4, 973-1012.

10.Richard Rupp. 2000. "NATO 1949 and NATO 2000: From Collective Defense toward Collective Security," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 23 (3): 154-176.

11.Franck Scimmelfennig, NATO Enlargement: A Constructivist Explanation," *Security Studies* 8#2/3 (Winter 1998-1999), 198-234.

12.Berger Thomas, "Norms, Identity, and National Security in Germany and Japan", Peter Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp.317-356.

13.Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett. (1998) "Security Communities in Theoretical Perspective," in Adler&Brnett (eds.), *Security Communities* (Cambridge University Press), Ch.2.

14.Bially-Mattern, Janice (2005) 'Why `Soft Power' Isn't So Soft: Representational Force and the Sociolinguistic Construction of Attraction in World Politics', *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 33: 583-612.

14.Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias (2004), "International Governance as New Raison d'État? The Case of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy," *European Journal of International Relations* 10, 2: 147-188.

18.Dingott T. (2001). "NATO and Kosovo: A War by Right?" Helmut Kohl Institute for European Studies and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Working Paper, pp.1-43.

19.Huysmans Jef (2002) Shape-shifting NATO: humanitarian action and the Kosovo refugee crisis", *Review of International Studies* 28:599-618.

20. R.Paris (2001) "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?", *International Security*, 26(2): 87-102.

20.Jennifer Mitzen, (2006) "Anchoring Europe's civilizing Identity: habits, capabilities and Ontological Security," *Journal Of European Public Policy* 13:2, pp.270-285.

21.Catarina Kinnvall (2004) "Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security", *Political Psychology* 25(5):741-767.

22.Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review* 113 (June 2002), 1-19.

23.Thomas Risse, "Beyond Iraq: The Crisis of the Transatlantic Security Community," draft, 24.6.03. [http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~atasp/texte/030625\\_beyond%20iraq.pdf](http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~atasp/texte/030625_beyond%20iraq.pdf)

24.Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen (2010) "Violent Radicalization in Europe: What We Know and What We do not know", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 33(9): 797-814.

25. Michael King&Donald M.Taylor (2011) "The Radicalization of Homegrown Jihadists: A Review of Theoretical Models and Social Psychological Evidence", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 23(4): 602-622.

26.Peter R.Neumann (2006) "Europe's Jihadist Dilemma", *Survival*, 48(2): 71-84.

27.Marieke De Goede (2008) "The Politics of Preemption and the War on Terror in Europe", *EJIR* 14(1:)161-185.

28. Jan Wouters and Sanderijn Duquet (2013) "The Arab Uprisings and the European

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- Union: In Search of a Comprehensive Strategy", *Tearbook of European Law* (doi:10.1093/yel/yet005), pp.1-36.
29. Peter Andreas "Redrawing the Line Borders and Security in the Twenty-First Century" *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Fall 2003), pp. 100-107.
30. Huysmans, J. (2000) "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration", *Journal Of Commom Market Studies* 38(5): 751-777.
31. Ouguzlu H Tariq (2002) "The Clash of Security Identities: The Question of Turkey's membership in the European Union", 57(4): 579-603
32. C.A.S.E Collective (2006) "Critical Approaches to Security in Europe: A Networked Manifesto", *Security Dialogue* 37(4): 443-487.
33. Christopher S. Browning and Matt McDonald (2013) "The Future of Critical Security Studies", *EJIR*.
34. Emanuel Adler and Patricia Greve (2009) "When Security Community meets balance of Power: Overlapping regional mechanisms of security governance," *Review of International Studies* 35: 59-84.

#### Additional Reading Material:

1. Biscop, Sven, and Edith Drieskens (2006), "Effective Multilateralism and Collective Security: Empowering the UN," in *Intersecting Multilateralisms: The European Union at the United Nations*, Katie Verlin Laatikainen and Karen E. Smith, eds., 115-132. London: Palgrave.
2. Hanrieder, Wolfram. 1989. *Germany, America, Europe: Forty Years of German Foreign Policy*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
3. Rothschild, E. 1995. "What is Security?" *Daedalus*, 124: 53-98.
4. Galbreath, David J. (2009) "Putting the Colour into revolutions? The OSCE and Civil Society in the Post-Soviet Region", *Journal of Communist Studies & Transitions Politics*, 25(2/3): 161-180.
5. Warkotsch, Alexander (2007) "The OSCE as an Agent of Socialization? International Norm Dynamics and Political Change in Central Asia," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 59(5): 829-846.
6. Richard Cohen and Michael Mihalka (2001) "Cooperative Security: New Horizons for International Order" *The Marshall Center Papers*, no.3 <<http://www.marshallcenter.org/site-graphic/lang-en/page-pubs-mcpapers-1/cat/xdocs/coll/mc-papers.htm>>, pp.3-15, 38-40, 56-58
6. Celeste A. Wallander. (2000). "Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO after the Cold War," *International Organization*, 54 (4): 717-723. *NATO's Handbook*, pp.42-47, 61-86.
7. Emanuel Adler, "Imagined (Security) Communities: Cognitive Regions in International Relations," *Millennium* 26/2 (1997), 249-277.
8. Vincent Pouliot, "The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities," *International Organization* 62 (Spring 2008), 257-288.
9. Adler, Emanuel. (2008) *The spread of security Communities: Communities of Practice, Self -Restraint and NATO's Post Cold War Transformation*. *European Journal of International Relations* 14 (2):195-230.
15. Simon Roschuty (2014) "Emotional (Securit Communities: the Significance of

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- Emotion Norms in Inter-Allied Conflict Management, *RIS*, 40:533-558.
- Jolyon Howorth (2007) *Security and Defense Policy in the European Union*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 11.Klaus Brummer (2007) "Superficial, not Substantial: The Ambiguity of Public Support for Europe's Security and Defence Policy," *European Security*, 16(2): 1746-1545.
- 12.Gary King and Christopher Murray (2001-02) "Rethinking Human Security," *Political Science Quarterly*, 116(4):585-610.
- 13.Taylor Owen, "Human Security-Conflict, Critique and Consensus: Colloquium Remarks and a proposal for a Threshold-Based Definition," *Security Dialogue*, 35(3): 373-387.
- 14.Bretherton, C. and Vogler, J. (2006) "The EU as Development and Humanitarian Actor", in *The European Union as a Global Actor*, Routledge.
- Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40/2 (2002), 235-258.
- 15.Fen Olser Hampson et al., *Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder* (Oxford University Press, (2002), ch.2: 14-37.
- 16.Matlary, Jannehaaland (2008) "Much ado about little: the EU and Human Security", *International Affairs*, 84(1):131-143.
- 17.Marlies Glasius&Mary Kaldor (2004) *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe: Projects, Principles, Practicalities*, Routledge.
- 15.Berenskoetter, F.S. (2005) 'Mapping the mind gap: a Comparaison of US and European security strategies', *security dialogue* 36(1): 71-92.
- 16.Council of European Union "A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy," Brussel, 12 December, 2003.  
[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/misc/78348.pdf](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/misc/78348.pdf)
- 17.The White House, "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America," September 2002. [www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html)
18. Silander, Daniel (2009) *Transatlantic Relations in a Post-Bush Era-Cooperation or Conflict?* *American Studies in Scandinavia*, 41(2): 25-43.
19. Whyn Rees (2009) "Security in Homeland: Transatlantic Cooperation after Bush" *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 11(1): 108-121.
- 18.Paul Cornish and Geoffrey Edwards, "Beyond the EU/NATO Dichotomy: The Beginning of a European Strategic Culture," *International Affairs* 77/3 (2001), 587-603.
- 19.Sven Biscop, "The European Security Strategy: Implementing a Distinctive Approach to Security," *Royal Defense College, Brussels Paper#82*, March 2004.  
<http://www.egmontinstitute.be/papers/Artikel.ESS.pdf>
- 18.Paul Cornish and Geoffrey Edwards, "Beyond the EU/NATO Dichotomy: The Beginning of a European Strategic Culture," *International Affairs* 77/3 (2001), 587-603.
- 19.Sven Biscop, "The European Security Strategy: Implementing a Distinctive Approach to Security," *Royal Defense College, Brussels Paper#82*, March 2004.  
<http://www.egmontinstitute.be/papers/Artikel.ESS.pdf>
- 20.Monica Den Boer and Jörg Monar (2002) "Keynote Article: 11 September and the Challenge of Global Terrorism to the EU as a Security Actor", *JCMS* 40:11-28.

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21. Jackson Richard (2007) "An Analysis of EU counterterrorism discourse post-September 11", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 20(2): 233-247.
22. Renée de Nevers (2007) "NATO's International Security Role in the Terrorist Era", *International Security* 31(4): 34-66.
23. Guy Harpaz and Asaf Shamis (2010) "Normative Power Europe and the State of Israel: An Illegitimate EUtopia?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48(3):579-616.
24. Emanuel Adler & B. Crawford "Normative Power Europe: the European Practice of Region Building and the Case of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, Working Paper.
25. Richards Youngs (2008) *Europe and the Middle East* (Lynne Rienner Publishers).
26. Didier Bigo, "When Two Become One: Internal and External Securitizations in Europe," in Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, Community*, 171-203.

Course/Module evaluation:

End of year written/oral examination 0 %  
Presentation 20 %  
Participation in Tutorials 20 %  
Project work 50 %  
Assignments 0 %  
Reports 10 %  
Research project 0 %  
Quizzes 0 %  
Other 0 %

Additional information: