

BOSTON UNIVERSITY  
Pardee School of Global Studies

Spring Semester 2015 Course Offering CAS IR 589/PO 582

**North Atlantic and European Security**

Class Hours: Monday 1-4 PM  
Location: 152 Bay State Road, room 220

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Office Hours: Friday 1-3 PM and by email appointment

## North Atlantic and European Security

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 of NATO, in place for more than four decades in Europe and the North Atlantic area. We will then evaluate changes to NATO in the 1990s, as well as challenges and conflicts such as the Balkan Wars. The majority of the course will then focus on the various attempts to create a new Europe-wide security system since the 1990s. The two organizations emphasized are the existing NATO architecture and the emerging security institutions and initiatives of the European Union. These challenges include new security issues such as migration, terrorism, and trafficking, as well as existing geopolitical issues such as Russia as a power rival to Europe and European security relations with regions such as the Middle East, China and Africa. We will also examine the major powers within Europe, their national security interests, strategies, and military capabilities, as well as divisions of interests within Europe and between Europe and the United States.

### COURSE READINGS

- Stanley Sloan (2010) *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*. Continuum Press. library e-copy:  
<http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.bu.edu/lib/bostonuniv/detail.action?docID=10422455>
- Christopher Hill, Michael Smith (eds) (2011) *International Relations and the European Union*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Oxford University Press.
- Jolyon Howorth (2014) *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Palgrave Macmillan.

All the books are available in the Boston University Barnes and Noble bookstore. They will also be on reserve in the library.

### COURSE REQUIREMENTS

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 prevent you from getting an “A”. If you miss two or more classes, your grade will be in jeopardy and you will not be able to accrue the participation points. 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.

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 10 am the day of class (10 points).**

3. **One class discussion presentation (two for graduate students) (20 points).** The oral presentation will be an oral and written report based on a topic and readings listed in the syllabus (15 minute presentation). You will be assigned a presentation the second week of the course. This 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 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. **Midterm take home essay (20 points).** Questions provided at one class session and will be due by the next class session. Due **February 20, 5pm.**
5. A research paper on a topic of the student's choice, using **primary** and **secondary** research sources, to be undertaken in two stages:
  - a 5 page topic abstract, argument, basic outline, and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on **April 3 at 5 pm. (10 points)**
  - the final draft of the research paper, including citations and bibliography (**30 points**), due on or before **May 4 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/>

Color Code of Assigned Readings:

Red=Readings from course books

Green= Readings provided through email or blackboard

Black=link provided to reading or BU library resource

**Please note that all assigned readings are subject to potential revision as new and more up-to-date sources are released and we progress through the course. I will circulate new versions of the syllabus in class and update the course blackboard site accordingly. Research Resources are also listed on blackboard.**

### COURSE OUTLINE

January 26

**Introduction and recent events in European Security**

- EU Introduction: [http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/index_en.htm)
- European Council. "A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy," Brussels: European Union (December 12, 2003): <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>

- European Council. “Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy: Providing Security in a Changing World,” Brussels: European Union (December 11, 2008):  
[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf)
- 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” (November 2010), available online at:  
<http://www.nato.int/lisbon2010/strategic-concept-2010-eng.pdf>
- Jolyon Howorth, CSDP and NATO Post-Libya: Towards the Rubicon?  
<http://www.egmontinstitute.be/papers/12/sec-gov/SPB35-Howorth.pdf>
- Mearsheimer, John J. "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin." *Foreign Aff.* 93 (2014): 77.
  - <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141769/john-j-mearsheimer/why-the-ukraine-crisis-is-the-wests-fault>
  - <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/discussions/news-and-events/conference-call-with-john-mearsheimer-on-the-ukraine-crisis>

## February 2

### European Security in the International System

- 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.
- Mearsheimer, John (2010) “Why is Europe peaceful today”, *European Political Science*, Vol. 9, pp. 387–397
- Van Evera, Stephen (2000) “Primed for Peace: Europe after the Cold War”, *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 7-57
- 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.
- Robert Kagan, “Power and Weakness,” *Policy Review*  
<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/3460246.html>
- Robert Cooper, “The European Answer to Robert Kagan,” *Transatlantic Internationale Politik*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2003), pp. 19-24.
- Andrew Moravcsik, “Europe: The Quiet Superpower,” *French Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 3/4 (Sept-Dec 2009), pp. 403-422.

## February 9

### European Security During the Cold War

- Snyder, Glenn H. "The security dilemma in alliance politics." *World politics* 36.04 (1984): 461-495.
- Jervis, Robert. 1978. “Cooperation under the Security Dilemma.” *World Politics* 30, 2: 167-214.

- Stanley Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, p. 3-89.
- Irving Kristol, "Does NATO Exist?" *Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 1979, p. 45-53.
- Stephen Brooks, William Wohlforth, "Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas," *International Security* 25-3, Winter 2000/01, p. 5-53.
- Robert English, "Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold War's End: A Reply to Brooks and Wohlforth," *International Security* 26-4, Spring 2002, p. 70-92.

**February 17 (no class, professor at conference)  
Post-Cold War European Security: Balkan Wars**

- Stanley Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, pp. 147-186 (Chapter 8).
- Dana H. Allin, *NATO's Balkan Interventions*, Adelphi Paper 347, Oxford: Oxford University Press for the IISS, 2002.
- Michael Mandelbaum, "A Perfect Failure: NATO's War Against Yugoslavia," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1999.
- Adam Roberts, "NATO's 'Humanitarian War' over Kosovo," *Survival* 41/3 (1999), p. 102-123.
- Online documentaries:
  1. "Srebrenica - A Cry from the Grave"  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fliw801iX84>
  2. Srebrenica - Never Again?  
<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLE024BBCE5688A3C2>

**February 20 – Midterm essay due on blackboard, 5 pm.**

**February 23  
European National Security Interests and Capabilities**

Please read TWO country sections.

**Presentation 1: France's national security interests**

- Zaretsky, Robert, "A more sacred Union: How two words -- forged nearly a century ago - help explain France's military intervention in Mali"  
[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/01/17/sacred\\_union\\_france\\_mali\\_military\\_intervention](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/01/17/sacred_union_france_mali_military_intervention)
- "Special Issue: At the Crossroads: France, NATO and Europe since Reintegration," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, Volume 12, Issue 4, 2014  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rjts20/12/4#.VLbhJ6acM78>

**Presentation 2: Germany's national security interests**

- Miskimmon, Alister. "German foreign policy and the Libya crisis." *German politics* 21.4 (2012): 392-410.

- Hansel Mischa, Oppermann Kai. (2014) "Counterfactual Reasoning in Foreign Policy Analysis: The Case of German Nonparticipation in the Libya Intervention of 2011." *Foreign Policy Analysis*.
- Bucher, Jessica, et al. "Domestic politics, news media and humanitarian intervention: why France and Germany diverged over Libya." *European Security* 22.4 (2013): 524-539.
- Brockmeier, Sarah. "Germany and the Intervention in Libya." *Survival* 55.6 (2013): 63-90.
- Kundnani, Hans. "Germany as a Geo-economic Power." *The Washington Quarterly* 34.3 (2011): 31-45.
- Noetzel, Timo. "The German politics of war: Kunduz and the war in Afghanistan." *International affairs* 87.2 (2011): 397-417.

### **Presentation 3: 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): 490-518.
- Paul Cornish, "Strategy in Austerity The Security and Defence of the United Kingdom, A Chatham House Report"  
[http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/r1010\\_cornish.pdf](http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/r1010_cornish.pdf)
- Wheeler, Nicholas J. and Tim Dunne. "Good International Citizenship: A Third Way for British Foreign Policy." *International Affairs*. October 1998. pp. 847-870.
- Jones, Ben (2011) "Franco-British military cooperation: a new engine for European defence?" European Union Institute for Security Studies. [http://www.astrid-online.it/Riforma-de/Studi-e-ri/Archivio-27/IESUE\\_Fr-Uk-military-coop\\_paper\\_02\\_2011.pdf](http://www.astrid-online.it/Riforma-de/Studi-e-ri/Archivio-27/IESUE_Fr-Uk-military-coop_paper_02_2011.pdf)
- O'DONNELL, Clara. "Britain's coalition government and EU defence cooperation: undermining British interests." *International Affairs* 87.2 (2011): 419-433.

### **Presentation 4: Poland's national security interests**

- Chappell, Laura. "Poland in transition: implications for a European security and defence policy." *Contemporary Security Policy* 31.2 (2010): 225-248.
- Nicolaidis, Kalypso. "Trusting the Poles? Constructing Europe through mutual recognition", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14:5, 682-698, August 2007.
- The Economist, "The Home Army is back" December 29, 2014  
<http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21637348-unlikely-event-russian-attack-polish-partisans-may-be-waiting-home-army-back>
- 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 Aff.* 91 (2012): 97.
- Andrew Somerville, Ian Kearns and Malcolm Chalmers, "Poland, NATO and Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons in Europe," RUSI Occasional Paper, February 2012  
<http://whiteag1.miniserver.com/~elntest/medialibrary/2012/02/20/4028797d/Poland.%20NATO%20and%20NSNW%20in%20Europe.pdf>

## **March 2**

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

- Sloan, Chapters 6,-7, 9-13.
- Hill and Smith Chapter 17
- Howorth Chapter 4
- Jeremy Shapiro and Nick Witney. *Towards a Post-American Europe: A Power Audit of EU-U.S. Relations*, Brussels: European Council on Foreign Relations, 2009, available online at: [http://ecfr.3cdn.net/05b80f1a80154dfc64\\_x1m6bgxc2.pdf](http://ecfr.3cdn.net/05b80f1a80154dfc64_x1m6bgxc2.pdf)
- Foreign Policy: “Saving NATO from Europe” and “Nothing to Fear”
  - <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/60275/jeffrey-l-cimbalo/saving-nato-from-europe>
  - <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/60442/ronald-d-asmus-antony-j-blinken-and-philip-h-gordon/nothing-to-fear?page=2>
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James G. Stavridis. "NATO's victory in Libya: the right way to run an intervention." *Foreign Aff.* 91 (2012): 2.
- Michaels, Jeffrey H. "NATO After Libya: Alliance Adrift?." *The RUSI Journal* 156.6 (2011): 56-61.

#### **Presentation 5: Why did NATO continue to exist after the Cold War?**

- Walt (1997) “Why alliances endure or collapse”, *Survival*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 156-179
- Wallander, Celeste A. (2000) “Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War,” *International Organization*, Vol. 54, pp. 705-735
- Kay, Sean (2004) “NATO, the Kosovo war and neoliberal theory,” *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 252-279
- Press-Barnathan, Galia. 2006. Managing the hegemon : NATO under unipolarity. *Security Studies* 15, 2: 271-309

#### **Presentation 6: NATO expansion and competing spheres of influence**

- Goldgeier, James M. "NATO Expansion." *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence* (2012): 383.
- Rumer, Eugene and Angela Stent (2009) “Russia and the West”, *Survival*, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 91-104
- Waltz, Kenneth. 2000. “NATO Expansion: A Realist’s View.” *Contemporary Security Policy* 21, 2: 23-38.
- Averre, Derek (1998) “NATO expansion and Russian national interests”, *European Security*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 10-54
- Lynch, Allen (2001) “The Realism of Russia’s Foreign Policy” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 1, pp. 7-31
- Trenin, Dmitri (2009) “Russia’s sphere of interest, not influence”, *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 4, pp. 3-22

#### **Presentation 7: US-European security relationship during and after the Iraq War.**

- Jeffrey Lewis, “EU Policy on Iraq: The collapse and reconstruction of consensus-based foreign policy.” *International Politics* 46.4 (2009): 432-450.
- Andrew Moravcsik, “Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2003, p. 74-89, available at <http://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/bargain.pdf>

- Daniel C Thomas, "Rejecting the US Challenge to the International Criminal Court: Normative Entrapment and Compromise in EU Policy-Making," *International Politics*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (July 2009), pp. 376-394
- Fawcett, Louise. "The Iraq War ten years on: assessing the fallout." *International Affairs* 89.2 (2013): 325-343.
- David P Calleo, "Europe and America in a New Century." *Survival* 55.5 (2013): 211-224.

### **Presentation 8: NATO purpose, strategy, and out of area missions such as Afghanistan.**

- Daalder, Ivo and James Goldgeier. 2006. "Global NATO." *Foreign Affairs* (September/October): 105-113  
([http://www.brookings.edu/views/articles/daalder/2006sept\\_oct.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/views/articles/daalder/2006sept_oct.pdf)).
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. "An agenda for NATO: Toward a global security web." *Foreign Affairs* (2009): 2-20.
- Gheciu, Alexandra and Roland Paris. 2011. "NATO and the Challenge of Sustainable Peacebuilding." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 17, 1: 75-79.
- Yost, David S. "The US debate on NATO nuclear deterrence." *International affairs* 87.6 (2011): 1401-1438.
- Hallams, Ellen, and Benjamin Schreer. "Towards a 'post-American' alliance? NATO burden-sharing after Libya." *International affairs* 88.2 (2012): 313-327.
- Morelli, Vincent and Paul Gallis. 2008. "NATO in Afghanistan: A Test of the Transatlantic Alliance," CRS Report for Congress, 23 October 2008.

### **March 9: SPRING BREAK**

#### **March 16**

#### **EU Security and Defense Policy**

- Hill and Smith Chapter 9
- Sloan, Chapter 10.
- Howorth Chapters 1-3, 6
- Rynning, Sten. "Realism and the common security and defence policy." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 49.1 (2011): 23-42.
- BICKERTON et al (2011), Security Co-operation beyond the Nation-State: The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49: 1–21. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5965.2010.02126.x

### **Presentation 9: How does IR theory help us understand CSDP?**

- Howorth Chapter 7
- Posen, Barry (2006) "European Union Security and Defense Policy. Response to Unipolarity?" *Security Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 149-186
- Pape, Robert A. (2005) "Soft balancing against the United States" *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 7-45.



- Howorth and Menon (2009) "Still not pushing back: Why the European Union is not balancing the United States", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 727-744
- Krotz, Ulrich, and Richard Maher. "International relations theory and the rise of European foreign and security policy." *World politics* 63.03 (2011): 548-579.

### March 23

#### Practicalities: EU Missions and Capabilities

- Howorth Chapter 5
- Ulrich Krotz, "Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe Won't Emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage Soon," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (2009), pp. 555-578.
- Howorth, Jolyon (2010) "The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48 Issue 3, pp. 455-474
- Menon, Anand (2009). "Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at ten", *International Affairs*, Volume 85, Issue 2, pp. 227-246 IV) *Analysing foreign policy I: Influencing the neighborhood*
- European Parliament (2011) 'The Impact of the Financial Crisis on European Defence', Directorate B, Policy Department Study, pp. 9-14.

#### Presentation 10: EU CSDP Missions

- Mattelaer, Alexander. "The CSDP mission planning process of the European Union: innovations and shortfalls." *European Integration online Papers (EIoP)* 14.1 (2010).
- Friesendorf, Cornelius and Susan Penksa. 2008. "Militarized Law Enforcement in Peace Operations: EUFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping* 15, 5: 677-694.
- Ehrhart, Hans-Georg, and Kerstin Pettreto. "The EU and Somalia: counter-piracy and the question of a comprehensive approach." *Study for the Greens/ European Free Alliance, Hamburg* (2012).
- Keohane, Daniel. 2011. **Lessons from EU Peace Operations.** *Journal of International Peacekeeping* 15, 1: 200-217.
- Marchi Balossi-Restelli, Ludovica. "Fit for what? Towards explaining Battlegroup inaction." *European Security* 20.2 (2011): 155-184.

#### Presentation 11: EU Crisis Management and Capabilities

- Simón, Luis. "CSDP, strategy and crisis management: out of area or out of business?." *The International Spectator* 47.3 (2012): 100-115.
- Koenig, Nicole. "Between conflict management and role conflict: the EU in the Libyan crisis." *European Security* 23.3 (2014): 250-269.
- Hofmann, Stéphanie C. "Why institutional overlap matters: CSDP in the European security architecture." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 49.1 (2011): 101-120.
- Hynek, Nik. "EU crisis management after the Lisbon Treaty: civil–military coordination and the future of the EU OHQ." *European security* 20.1 (2011): 81-102.
- Chappell, Laura. "Differing member state approaches to the development of the EU Battlegroup Concept: implications for CSDP." *European security* 18.4 (2009): 417-439.

### Presentation 12: European Defense under Austerity

- S. Biscop (2009), 'Odd Couple or Dynamic Duo? The EU and Strategy in Times of Crisis', *European Foreign Affairs Review* Vol. 14, No. 3, pp.367-384.
- M. Emerson (2012), 'Implications of the Eurozone Crisis for EU Foreign Policy: Costs and Opportunities', CEPS Commentary, 1 June.
- Z. Selden (2011), 'Matching Ambitions to Resources: Paying for CFSP in an Era of Fiscal Restraint' APSA Annual Meeting Paper,
- Mölling, Christian, and Sophie-Charlotte Brune. "The impact of the financial crisis on European defence." (2011).
- Rasmussen, Anders Fogh. "NATO after Libya: the Atlantic alliance in austere times." *Foreign Aff.* 90 (2011): 2.
- NATO Introduction: NATO and Austerity, RAND Report  
[http://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_briefs/RB9675/index1.html](http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9675/index1.html)

### March 30

#### EU Foreign Policy

- Hill and Smith Chapters 2-8
- Sjursen, Helene. "Not so intergovernmental after all? On democracy and integration in European Foreign and Security Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 18.8 (2011): 1078-1095.
- Marangoni, Anne-Claire, and Kolja Raube. "Virtue or Vice? The Coherence of the EU's External Policies." *Journal of European Integration* ahead-of-print (2014): 1-17.

### Presentation 13: Cohesion of EU foreign policy?

- Witney, Nick. "Where does CSDP fit in EU foreign policy." *European Council on Foreign Relations* (2013).
- Frieden, Jeffrey (2004) "One Europe, One Vote?: The Political Economy of European Union Representation in International Organizations", *European Union Politics* June, Vol. 5, pp. 261-276
- Smith, Karen (2006) "Speaking with one voice? European Union coordination on human rights issues at the United Nations", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 113-137
- Xi and Hosli (2013) "Pre-and Post-Lisbon: European Union Voting in the United Nations General Assembly", *West European Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 6, pp. 1274-1291
- Jakobsson, Ulf (2009) "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 2000–05", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3, pp. 531–554

### Presentation 14: EU economic power and foreign policy?

- Hill and Smith Chapter 14
- Damro, Chad. "Market power europe." *Journal of European Public Policy* 19.5 (2012): 682-699.

- Elgstrom, Ole. "Images of the EU in EPA negotiations: Angel, demon-or just human?" (2008). [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1339834](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1339834)

## April 6

### What kind of power is Europe? Normative and Civilian power

- 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*.
- Mitzen, Jennifer. 2006. "Anchoring Europe's civilizing identity: habits, capabilities and ontological security" *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:2. 270-285.
- A European Civilising Process? (Linklater in Hill/Smith), chapter 18.
- Asle Toje, "The European Union as a Small Power," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 49, No.1 (January 2011), pp. 43-60
- Acting for Europe: Reassessing the European Union's Place in International Relations (Hill / Smith in Hill/Smith), chapter 19.

### Presentation 15: What kind of power is Europe I? Europe as a normative power?

- Sjursen, Helene. "What kind of power?." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13.2 (2006): 169-181.
- Manners, Ian. "Normative power Europe: a contradiction in terms?." *JCMS: journal of common market studies* 40.2 (2002): 235-258.
- Sjursen, Helene. "The EU as a 'normative' power: how can this be?." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13.2 (2006): 235-251
- Diez, Thomas. "Normative power as hegemony." *Cooperation and Conflict* 48.2 (2013): 194-210
- Hyde-Price, Adrian (2006) "Normative power" Europe: a realist critique", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 217-234

### Presentation 16: What kind of Power is Europe II? Arms and Norms

- Hansen, Susanne Therese, and Nicholas Marsh. "Normative power and organized hypocrisy: European Union member states' arms export to Libya." *European Security* ahead-of-print (2014): 1-23.
- Erickson, Jennifer L. "Market imperative meets normative power: human rights and European arms transfer policy." *European Journal of International Relations* (2011): 1354066111415883.
- Joachim, Jutta, and Matthias Dembinski. "A contradiction in terms? NGOs, democracy, and European foreign and security policy." *Journal of European public policy* 18.8 (2011): 1151-1168.
- Schilde, Kaija. "Power, Influence, and Austerity in Europe: The Case of Greek Arms Imports,"
- Bailes, Alyson JK. "The EU and a 'better world': what role for the European Security and Defence Policy?." *International Affairs* 84.1 (2008): 115-130.

## April 13

## Counter-terrorism, Immigration, and Homeland Security

- Hill and Smith Chapter 17
- Schilde, Kaija. "Cosmic Top Secret Europe? The Legacy of NATO and Cold War US Policy on European Union Information Policy." *European Security* (forthcoming 2014)

### Presentation 17: EU and European counter-terrorism

- Eder, Franz. "The European Union's counter-terrorism policy towards the Maghreb: trapped between democratisation, economic interests and the fear of destabilisation." *European security* 20.3 (2011): 431-451.
- Coolsaet, Rik. "EU counterterrorism strategy: value added or chimera?." *International affairs* 86.4 (2010): 857-873.
- Bjorn Müller-Wille, "The Effect of International Terrorism on EU Intelligence Co-operation," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46(1): 49-73.
- Keohane, Daniel. "The Absent Friend: EU Foreign Policy and Counter-Terrorism." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 46.1 (2008): 125-146.

### Presentation 18: EU border control and homeland security

- Huysmans, Jef. 2000. "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38, 5: 751-77.
- Seeberg, Peter. "The Arab Uprisings and the EU's Migration Policies—The Cases of Egypt, Libya, and Syria." *Democracy and Security* 9.1-2 (2013): 157-176.
- Neal, Andrew W. "Securitization and risk at the EU border: the origins of FRONTEX\*." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 47.2 (2009): 333-356.
- Léonard, Sarah. "EU border security and migration into the European Union: FRONTEX and securitisation through practices." *European Security* 19.2 (2010): 231-254.
- Lodge, Juliet. "EU homeland security: citizens or suspects?." *Journal of European Integration* 26.3 (2004): 253-279.

### April 22 (Wednesday class)

#### EU Relations with other Regions and Countries: the European Neighborhood, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East

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#### **Presentation 20: EU-Ukraine relations**

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#### **Presentation 21: EU-Mediterranean relations and the Arab Spring**

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### **Presentation 22: EU relations with Turkey, Israel, Iran, and other regional Middle Eastern powers.**

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#### **Presentation 24: EU-Russia relations (Energy Security)**

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#### **Presentation 25: EU Foreign Policy and Climate Change**

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