

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
Department of International Relations

Spring Semester 2013 Course Offering CAS IR 589

North Atlantic and European Security

Class Hours: Friday 1-4 PM
Location: BSR 154, IRC 220

Kaija E. Schilde
Assistant Professor
Department of International Relations
156 Bay State Road Boston, MA 02215
Tel: 617-358-6283
Email: kschilde@bu.edu

Office Hours: Wednesday 2-5 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

- Jones, Seth (2007) *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sloan, Stanley (2010) *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*. Continuum Press.
- Cameron, Fraser. (2012) *An Introduction to European Foreign Policy*, 2nd Ed. New York: Routledge.

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**. If you miss more than 2 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.

1. Weekly readings of approximately around 200 pages per week;
2. Attendance and participation in class discussions (25% of the grade);
 - Discussion of the required readings as well as current events. 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.
 - Attendance in class (only exceptions are medical emergencies or religious reasons),
 - Submit three reading questions/comments to blackboard discussion board by**

10 AM the day of class.

3. One oral background presentation (10% of grade). The oral presentation will be a report based on a topic listed in the syllabus (15 minute presentation). You will sign up for the presentations the second week of the course.
4. Midterm take home essay (15% of grade). Questions provided at one class session and will be due by the next class session.
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 **March 29** (10% of the grade);
 - the final draft of the research paper, including citations and bibliography (30% of the grade), due on or before **May 6 at 5 PM**.
 - Class presentation of paper topic (5 minutes) on **May 3** (10% of grade).

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 available through email or blackboard

Black=link provided to reading

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:

Journals for Research: European Journal of International Relations, Journal of Common Market Studies, European Journal of Political Research, European Security, Journal of European Public Policy, Journal of European Public Policy, Hague Journal of Diplomacy, European Foreign Affairs Review

NATO

NATO www.nato.int/

Atlantic Council (www.acus.org)

NATO Watch (www.natowatch.org)

EU

European Union: <http://europa.eu.int/>

<http://www.youtube.com/user/eutube> – the EU's youtube website

<http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/index.cfm?sitelang=en> – the EU's sounds and sights

<http://www.cvce.eu/> –multimedia reference on the history of the EU
<http://www.clingendael.nl/cdsp/publications/discussion-papers/archive.html> - papers on
 diplomacy and EU foreign policy
 EU Institute of Security Studies, Paris <http://www.iss-eu.org/>
 Security and Defence Agenda (www.securitydefence.org)
 European Policy Centre (www.epc.eu)
 Center for European Policy Studies (www.ceps.be)
 Institute for Security Studies (<http://www.iss.europa.eu/>)
 Centre for European Reform (www.cer.org.uk)
 European Council on Foreign Relations (www.ecfr.eu)

UK

The Royal Institute for International Affairs/Chatham House (www.chathamhouse.org.uk)
 Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies/Whitehall Papers
 (www.rusi.org)

France

Institut Francais des Relations Internationales (www.ifri.org)
 Centre d'Analyses et de Prevision Centre des Relations Internationales

Germany

German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) (www.dgap.org)
 German Institute for International Politics and Security (www.swp-berlin.org)
 Internet Project on German Foreign Policy (www.deutsche-aussenpolitik.de)

Poland

Center for International Relations (www.csm.org.pl)
 Polish Institute for International Affairs (www.pism.pl)

COURSE OUTLINE

January 18

Introduction and recent events in European Security

- EU Introduction: http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/index_en.htm
- NATO Introduction: NATO and Austerity, RAND Report
http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9675/index1.html
- 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

January 25

Defining European Security

Required readings:

- Cameron Chapter 1. (will post on Blackboard)
- 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.
- Asle Toje, "The European Union as a Small Power," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 49, No.1 (January 2011), pp. 43-60
- 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.
- 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>

Recommended readings:

- Mark Leonard, *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century*, New York: Public Affairs, 2005.
- T.R. Reid, *The United States of Europe. The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy*, New York: Penguin Press, 2004.
- Tony Judt, "Europe vs. America," *New York Review of Books* 52/2 (2005), available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/17726>

February 1**European Security During the Cold War****Required readings:**

- 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 8**European National Security Interests and Capabilities**

Presentation 1: France's national security interests

Presentation 2: Germany's national security interests

Presentation 3: UK's national security interests

Presentation 4: Poland's national security interests

Required readings:

- Cameron Chapter 5
- Seth G. Jones, *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*, New York: Cambridge University press, 2007, chapters 5 and 6.
- Nicole Gnesotto (ed.), *EU Security and Defence Policy - The first five years (1999-2004)*, Paris: ISS-EU, 2004, available at <http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/5esdpen.pdf>, read chapter 4 by Burkard Schmitt.
- Gustav Lindstrom, "EU-US burdensharing: Who does what?" *Chaillot Paper 82*, September 2005, available at <http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/cha82.pdf>

Recommended readings:

- Meunier, Sophie "France and the World, from Chirac to Sarkozy" *Developments in French Politics 4*, Alistair Cole, Patrick le Galès and Jonah Levy, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)
- Le Galès, Patrick "Foreign and defence policy: constraints and continuity," in *Developments in French Politics 3*, Alistair Cole, Patrick le Galès and Jonah Levy (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)
- Sarkozy, Nicolas, *The French White Paper on Defense and Security*, (http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2008/livre-blanc_france_2008.htm)
- Valasek, Thomas, "France, NATO and European Defence," *Centre for European Reform Policy Brief*, March 2008, <http://www.cer.org.uk>
- 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
- Yost, David, "France's evolving nuclear strategy," *Survival* (August 2005), pp. 73-92. <http://www.informaworld.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/smpp/section?content=a723690525&fulltext=713240928>
- Kramer, Steven Philip. "Blair's Britain After Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*. pp. 90-104. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=10030047&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- Wheeler, Nicholas J. and Tim Dunne. "Good International Citizenship: A Third Way for British Foreign Policy." *International Affairs*. October 1998. pp. 847-870. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=4540879&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- Crawford, Beverly. *Power and German Foreign Policy: Embedded Hegemony in Europe* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, November, 2007)
- Maull, Hanns W. *Germany's Uncertain Power: Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic (New Perspectives in German Studies Series)* (Basingstoke, England; New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)

- Guerot, Ulrike “Back in the Europe Game – Franco-German Cooperation”, in *Internationale Politik* (Global Edition), 08/2007.
- Fedorowicz, Krzysztof. "National Identity and National Interest in Polish Eastern Policy, 1989-2004". *Nationalities Papers* 35 (3): 537-553. July, 2007.
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=25727766&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- Nicolaidis, Kalypso. "Trusting the Poles? Constructing Europe through mutual recognition", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14:5, 682-698, August 2007.
<http://www.informaworld.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/smpp/content~content=a780328640~db=all~order=page>
- Geurot, Ulrike. “From the Big Three to the Weimar Triangle,” European Council on Foreign Relations, (http://www.ecfr.eu/content/entry/commentary_weimar_triangle/) (<http://www.ipglobal.org/archiv/2007/spring2007/back-in-the---europe-game---.html>) (Poland)
- “A Security Strategy for Germany: Resolution of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group from 6 May 2008.” CDU/CSU. Presented at the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group Security Conference on 7 May 2008 in Berlin. (<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0C54E3B3-1E9C-BE1E-2C24-A6A8C7060233&lng=en&id=90089>)
- Michele Flournoy, Julianne Smith, Guy Ben-Ari, Kathleen McInnis, David Scruggs, *European Defense Integration: Bridging the Gap between Strategy and Capabilities*, CSIS, October 2005.
- Seth Jones and Stephen Larrabee, “Arming Europe,” *The National Interest*, Winter 2005-2006, available at http://www.rand.org/pubs/reprints/2006/RAND_RP1209.pdf
- Burkard Schmitt, “The European Union and armaments: Getting a bigger bang for the Euro,” Chaillot Paper 63, August 2003, available at <http://www.iss-eu.org/chaillot/chai63e.pdf>

February 15

Post-Cold War European Security: Balkan Wars

Guest lecture: Professor Stephen Kinzer

Required readings:

- 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.

Recommended readings:

- Ivo H. Daalder, Michael E. O’Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: Nato’s War to Save Kosovo*, Brookings Press, 2001.

- NATO Review, Winter 2004, “Historic Change in the Balkans”, available at
- <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2004/issue4/english/main.htm>

February 22

Post-Cold War European Security: NATO Strategic Reviews and NATO Expansion

Presentation 5: Partnership for Peace and NATO expansion

- Daalder, Ivo and James Goldgeier. 2006. “Global NATO.” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October): 105-113 (available at http://www.brookings.edu/views/articles/daalder/2006sept_oct.pdf).
- Stanley Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, pp. 147-186 (Chapter 6).
- Cornish, Paul. 2006. “EU and NATO: Co-operation or Competition?” *Briefing Paper for the European Parliament, Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union*, October 2006. http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/pdf/research/niis/NATO_EU.pdf.
- De Hoop Scheffer, Japp. 2007. “NATO and the EU: Time for a New Chapter.” *Keynote speech by NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer*, <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2007/s070129b.html>.
- *Economist, The*. 2007. “Berlin Minus. There is no excuse for the failure of NATO and the EU to talk to each other.” (February 8): 34.

March 1

The Transatlantic Relationship and the Iraq War (Take home midterm assigned – due March 8)

Presentation 6: US-European security relationship since the Iraq War.

Presentation 7: NATO interests, strategy, and outcomes in out of area missions such as Afghanistan and Libya.

Required readings:

- Sloan, Chapter 11.
- Jones, Chapter 7.
- Cameron, Chapter 7.
- 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>
- Stelzenmüller, Constanze, “Transatlantic Power Failures. America and Europe, seven years after 9/11: Hard power humbled, soft power exposed, and a loser, more pragmatic relationship,” *Brussels Forum Paper Series*, March 2008, <http://www.gmfus.org>.
- Shapiro, Jeremy, 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

Recommended readings:

- 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>

- Hamilton, Daniel, and Nikolas Foster. “The Obama Administration and Europe,” in Alvaro de Vasconcelos and Marcin Zaborowski (eds.), *The Obama Moment: European and American Perspectives*, Paris: ISS-EU, 2009 pp. 39-58, available online at: http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/The_Obama_Moment_web_A4.pdf
- Philip Gordon and Jeremy Shapiro: *Allies at War: America, Europe and the Crisis over Iraq*, New York: McGraw Hill, 2004.
- Elizabeth Pond, *Friendly Fire: The Near-Death of the Transatlantic Alliance*, Washington: Brookings Press, 2003.
- Stephen F. Szabo, *Parting Ways: The Crisis in German-American Relations*, Washington: Brookings Press, 2004.
- Speech by Tony Blair at the Labour Party conference in Brighton, 2 October 2001, available at <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/tblair10-02-01.htm>
- Speech by Dominique de Villepin to the United Nations Security Council, New York, 19 March 2003, available at http://www.ambafrance-uk.org/article.php3?id_article=4917
- Lawrence Freedman, “War in Iraq: Selling the Threat,” *Survival* 46/2 (2004), p. 7-50.
- Valentí Puig, “Spain’s Atlantic Option,” *The National Interest* 76 (Summer 2004), p. 69-74.
- “Europe and America Must Stand United” (“Letter of the Eight”), *The Times*, London, 30 January 2003, available at <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/iraq/media/2003/0130useur.htm>
- The “Vilnius Letter” 6 February 2003, available at http://www.vm.ee/eng/nato/kat_352/3407.html
- David P. Calleo, “The Broken West,” *Survival* 46/3 (2004), p. 29-38.
- 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
- Fragkiskos Filippaios and Marina Papanastassiou, “US Outward Foreign Direct Investment in the European Union and the Implementation of the Single Market: Empirical Evidence from a Cohesive Framework,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 5 (2008), pp. 969– 1000
- John Balfour, “EC External Aviation Relations: The Community’s Increasing Role, and the New EC/US Agreement,” *Common Market Law Review*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Apr 2008), pp. 443- 464

March 8 (Take home midterm due)

The EU and European Defense

Presentation 8: EU Defense Institutions: The European Defense Agency

Presentation 9: EU Defense Institutions: EU Military Staff

Presentation 10: EU Defense Institutions: EU PSC

Required readings:

- Jones, pages 1-56.

- Sloan, Chapter 10.
- Cameron, Chapters 2, 3, and 5
- Simon Duke, “Consensus Building in ESDP: The Lessons of Operation Artemis,” *International Politics*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (July 2009), pp. 395-412

Recommended readings:

- James Dobbins. *Europe's Role in Nation-Building: From the Balkans to the Congo*, Washington, DC: RAND, 2008.
- Christopher Chivvis, “Birthing Athena. The Uncertain Future of European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)” IFRI, *Focus stratégique No5*, March 2008 available at http://www.ifri.org/files/Securite_defense/Focus_strategique_5_Chivvis_PESD.pdf
- François Heisbourg: “Europe’s Strategic Ambitions: The Limits of Ambiguity,” *Survival* 42/2 (2000), p. 5-15.
- Jolyon Howorth, “Britain, France and the European Defence Initiative,” *Survival* 42/2 (2000), p. 33-55.
- Charles A. Kupchan: “In Defence of European Defence: An American Perspective,” *Survival* 42/2 (2000), p. 16-32.
- David P. Calleo, “The Strategic Implications of the Euro”, *Survival* 41/1 (1999), p. 5-19.
- Daniel Keohane, “Europe’s New Defence Agency,” *Centre for European Reform*, Policy Brief, June 2004.
- Vlasta Parkanova, “In Some Ways, the European Defence Agency is Stronger than NATO,” *Europe's World*, Spring 2009.
- Frank Slijper, “Potentially powerful: The European Defence Agency at five years,” *Commentary*, *EUObserver*, July 14, 2009.

SPRING BREAK

March 22

Military and Civilian Crisis Management

Presentation 11: The EU Military Mission Atalanta

Presentation 12: The EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

Presentation 13: EU Military Operation in the Republic of Chad and the Central African Republic

Presentation 14: EU Police Mission in Afghanistan

- Cameron, Chapter 12
- Agnieszka Nowak (ed.), *Civilian crisis management: the EU way*, Chaillot Paper n° 90, June 2006, available at <http://www.iss.europa.eu/chaillot/chai90.pdf>
- 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.

- Jolyon Howorth, CSDP and NATO Post-Libya: Towards the Rubicon? <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/papers/12/sec-gov/SPB35-Howorth.pdf>

Recommended readings:

- Gross, Eva. 2009. *The Europeanization of National Foreign Policy. Continuity and Change in European Crisis Management*. Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 2.
- Kurowska, Xymena and Benjamin Tallis. 2009. “EU Border Assistance Mission to Ukraine and Moldova – Beyond Border Monitoring?” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 14, 1: 47–64.
- Gregory Mounier, “Civilian Crisis Management and the External Dimension of JHA: Inceptive, Functional and Institutional Similarities,” *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 45–64
- Merlingen, Michael and Rosa Ostraukaite. 2005. “ESDP Police Missions: Meaning, context and operational challenges.” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10, 2: 215 – 235.
- Grevi, Giovanni et al., eds. 2009. *European Security and Defence Policy: the first ten years (1999-2009)*. Paris: EUISS, pp. 159-403.
- Asseburg, Muriel and Ronja Kempin, eds. 2009. “The EU as a Strategic Actor in the Realm of Security and Defence? A Systematic Assessment of ESDP Missions and Operations.” SWP Research Paper 14.

March 29

European Foreign Policy and the EU External Action Service

Presentation 15: European External Action Service

- **Cameron, Chapter 4**
- Chase, Peter. “The EU’s External Action Service: Will it Deliver?” Brussels Forum Paper Series (March 2011), http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/ct_publication_attachments/BF_briefs_Chase_web.pdf.
- Hemra, Staffan *et al.* “A Diplomatic Entrepreneur: Making the Most of the European External Action Service”, Chatham House Report (Dec. 2011), http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Europe/r1211_eea_s.pdf
- Richardson, John B. “The External Action Service of the European Union – Fit for Purpose?”, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Policy Brief (March 2011), http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/ct_publication_attachments/Richardson_ExtActionServices_Mar11.pdf;jsessionid=aRncHpS7n45_p2yHQg.

Recommended:

- Mauri, Filippo. “The Setting Up of the European External Action Service (EEAS): Laying the Basis for a More Coherent EU Foreign Policy?”, *ISIS Europe European Security Review*, no. 47 (December 2009), http://esdpm.org/pdf/2009_artrel_375_esr47-eas.pdf

- Tony Barber, “The Appointments of Herman van Rompuy and Catherine Ashton,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48, Supplement (September 2010), pp. 55-67
- Jeffrey Lewis, “EU Policy on Iraq: The Collapse and Reconstruction of Consensus-Based Foreign Policy,” *International Politics*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (July 2009), pp. 432-450
- Hillion, Christophe, and Maxime Lefebvre. “The European External Action Service: Towards a Common Diplomacy?”, Fondation Robert Schuman Policy Paper (October 25, 2010), http://www.robert-schuman.eu/doc/questions_europe/qe-184-en.pdf.
- Kaczynski, Piotr Maciej *et al.* “External Action: A Work in Progress”, in *The Treaty of Lisbon: op. cit.* (2010) pp. 139-162, <http://www.ceps.be/book/treaty-lisbon-second-look-institutional-innovations>

April 5 – No Class, paper research and schedule individual meetings with professor over research topics

April 12

Counter-terrorism, Immigration, and Homeland Security

Presentation 16: Counter-terrorism in Europe

Presentation 17: EU border control and FRONTEX

Required readings:

- **Cameron, Chapter 13.**
- Bjorn Müller-Wille, “The Effect of International Terrorism on EU Intelligence Co-operation,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46(1): 49-73.
- Dan Byman, Jeremy Shapiro, “Bridging the Transatlantic Counterterrorism Gap,” *The Washington Quarterly*, The Washington Quarterly 29:4, Autumn 2006, p. 33–50.
- Lindstrom, Gustav. “The EU’s Approach to Homeland Security: Balancing Safety and European Ideals,” in Esther Brimmer (ed.), *Transforming Homeland Security: U.S. and European Approaches*, Washington, D.C.: Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2006, pp. 115-131, at: http://transatlantic.saisjhu.edu/bin/i/p/transforming_homeland_security.pdf

Recommended readings:

- Olivier Roy, “EuroIslam: The Jihad Within?” *The National Interest* 71 (2003), p. 63-73.
- Jeremy Shapiro, Bénédicte Suzan, “The French Experience of Counter-terrorism,” *Survival* 45/1 (2003), p. 67-98.
- Daniel Keohane, *The EU and Counter-Terrorism*, London: Centre for European Reform, May 2005.
- Paul Wilkinson, *International terrorism: the changing threat and the EU’s response*, Chaillot Paper n° 84, October 2005, available at <http://www.iss.europa.eu/chaillot/chai84.pdf>
- US-EU Declaration on Combating Terrorism, June 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/06/20040626-5.html>
- European Council “Fight against terrorism” http://ue.eu.int/cms3_fo/showPage.asp?id=406&lang=en&mode=g
- Counter terrorism at Euractiv.com:

<http://www.euractiv.com/Article? lang=EN&tcmuri=tcm:29-136252-16&type=News>

- “EU Strategy against Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction,” 2004
<http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/st15708.en03.pdf>

April 19

Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East

Presentation 18: European Neighborhood Policy

Presentation 19: Europe’s diplomatic relationship with Turkey, Israel, Iran, and other regional Middle Eastern powers.

Required readings

- **Cameron, Chapters 8, 9**
- ‘One Size Fits All! EU Policies for the Promotion of Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law’, Tanja Borzel and Thomas Risse, Prepared for the Workshop on Democracy Promotion, Oct. 4-5, 2004, Center for Development, Democracy, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University
http://www.eu-newgov.org/database/public/p23000-02-clu302_one_size_fits_all.pdf
- Philip H. Gordon: “Trading Places: America and Europe in the Middle East,” *Survival* 47/2 (2005), p. 87-100.
- Bruno Tertrais, “A Fragile Consensus,” *The National Interest* 83 (2006), p. 31-34.
- Charles Grant (with Tomas Valasek), *Preparing for the Multipolar World: European Foreign and Security Policy in 2020*, CER Essay, December 2007, available at
http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/e783_18dec07.pdf
- Jeffrey Kopstein, “The transatlantic divide over democracy promotion,” *Washington Quarterly* 29.2 (2006), p. 85-98, available at
<http://www.twq.com/06spring/index.cfm?id=202>
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April 26th

European Relations with Russia and China, Global Europe

Presentation 20: EU-China relations (Human rights policy and trade)

Presentation 21: EU-Russia relations (energy policy and missile defense)

Presentation 22: EU-Africa relations (development and investment)

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May 3 (session during reading days)

Conclusions

Cameron Chapter 14

Paper Presentation Workshop