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SoSe 2021

Seminar 15 370: European Union Foreign Policy: Problems of Success and Failure *Euromasters & Transatlantic Masters Core Course*

Wednesday 4-6 pm, synchron (run through HU-Moodle & ZOOM!)

RESEARCH INTEREST AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Many politicians as much as pertinent experts consider the project of foreign-policy integration 'the' EU integration project of and for the 21 century. However, the external relations of the EU comprise numerous and very different policies: Common Foreign and Security Policy/ European Security and Defence Policy, relations to other countries or regions like the EU's policy towards the US, Russia, China as well as relations towards Africa, Latin-America, South or East Asia (ASEAN), European Neighbourhood Policy, trade, international environmental or energy policy etc.

With the decisions taken at the Council meetings of Cologne and Helsinki in 1999 and the Nice Treaty (2000) as well as the Lisbon Treaty (2009) integration in external relations gained momentum. Moreover, ambitious claims for a unified foreign and security policy, a refined 'actorness' and 'presence' of the Union in its external relations have been part and parcel of statements and documents of many member states' politician's as well as of representatives of the Council or the Commission. More recently the decisions compounded in the Autumn 2017 package were meant to push EU foreign policy integration further. However, what is the actual accomplishments and shortcomings on the policy-making level? How far are ambitions and practices apart?

The guiding question for our seminar are the following:

- 1) Which features characterize EU foreign policy (across cases)?
- 2) How effective is EU foreign policy (and in which terms)?
- 3) Which factors influence/determine, according to the pertinent literature, the balance sheet regarding questions 1) & 2)?

Aims of this seminar are:

1. Generating a common knowledge base concerning the empirical evolution and the current state of affairs on the EU's Foreign Policy.
2. Developing a systematic awareness of the structural problems of the many dimensions of a "European Foreign Policy".
3. Providing the opportunity to devise and implement a problem-oriented research design, in this case combining an evaluative with elements of a causal research question.

The principal aim of this seminar thus is to provide a framework for students' individual projects following a case-study design, i.e. students focus their case studies on the general *problematique* and research questions and thus contribute to the common goal, which is to study problems of "success & failure". Thus, given the stated RQs, every case study has to proceed in three analytical steps: 1) systematic policy description, 2) a systematic policy evaluation; and 3) the collection and evaluation of causal factors from secondary/expert literature.

Seminar procedure

By using **basic texts for introducing the various topics of all the session** we will get a common basis of understanding for the subject and its various political aspects. This will also offer various dimensions of problems and different views on our object of investigation. Moreover, this should allow the students to select a specific topic, which they want to pursue in their research project/ case-study leading to a presentation and a seminar paper.

Meetings 1 – 7

Students (or small workgroups of students) will present the respective dimension solely based on the basic literature and some additional articles to combine a message of substantive information and related problems involved which are relevant for our overall research interest.

Meetings 8 - 14

The basic literature will serve as a point of departure for the whole seminar, but the seminar as such will **switch to the presentation of intermediate results of students' individual case studies**. The latter has to be conceived as examples of the general problem and incorporate the RQs guiding this seminar. The presentations will be no longer than 20 minutes, and will additionally provide problem-oriented basics on the topic to allow everyone having in mind the general research interest of this course to take part in the discussion.

- Students will **select the topic for their research project** out of the huge variety of possible cases related to the seminar's *problematique*. **The project proposals** (regardless of which form of the exam) should be turned in to the lecturer in a written statement on paper or via e-mail). *Only those students' papers will be considered and graded, which are submitted to the lecturer in due time, were agreed upon and commented on by the lecturer beforehand!*
- **Student presentations** should show the structure and the plan of the respective final paper. The presentation will be followed by a discussion in the plenary on the design and content of the research project. Hence, students should discuss in their respective presentation the relevance of the paper's specific research question, the respective "operationalisation" of "success & failure", as well as the empirical implementation and the intermediate results of your examination. The **interrelationship between** the respective research interest, evaluation and causal analysis will have to be clarified.
- Students doing a project **presentation in class** will circulate via Moodle a concise **hand-out** on the case study's **research design** a specific short (!) reading recommendation for an additional basic text dealing with the specific subject. **This will be** supplemented by a **fact-sheet** (assignment been taken on by those students aiming for a participation certificate!). All papers, power-points etc. prepared for the presentation should be turned in to the lecturer in advance.
- HU-Moodle will be used as a learning platform where students can find all basic material listed in this syllabus as well as additional documents and texts relevant to our topic in general. Moodle (as Blackboard at the FU) allows us to connect to the seminar as a whole as much as to individual participants. The **seminar reader** containing all basic texts indicated in the seminar plan will also be available as individual pdf-files on HU-Moodle! >><https://moodle.hu-berlin.de/login/index.php>
- The students **meet with the lecturer** at least twice – if need be in ZOOM or WebEx sessions: First for a preliminary discussion of the topic and research interest employing the example they chose. And then at least once more in the week before the presentation takes place for a final discussion of the performance and the configuration of the actual seminar.

Student assignments

For those students aiming at a participation certificate

Preparation of an information sheet/ 'facts & figures' (about 3 pages) for one student project, first of all for those to be presented in class in coordination with the respective fellow-student.

Participation Certificate
(Teilnahmeschein)

For all participants!

Continuous attendance and active participation in seminar discussions.

Preparation of **one excerpt** on one of the basic texts **and** readiness to **introduce one of the texts for sessions 2 – 9** in the plenary.

For those students aiming at a graded "Schein"

→ Seminar paper

- Readiness to do a **project presentation during sessions 08 – 13**. The **first project proposals** (see above) should be submitted via email by the end of **week four** of the seminar and indicate a preliminary subject and possibly a sketch of a case study along the lines of the common course *problematique* (see above).
- An **elaborated research concept/design** of two pages and a preliminary structure of the expected seminar paper have to follow by the end of **week six**.
- Papers have to be turned in – a paper copy AND a pdf-file via email – until the end of the semester, i. e. until **30 September 2021!**

Please note: Seminar papers will be between 18 and 20 pages long (i.e. 6.000 words), with a problem-focused question based on the common *problematique* and research question outlined above in the preface, the main part in which the necessary empirical work for answering the question is presented, and a final part, which consists of a qualified answer to the question posed in the introduction of the paper. Additionally, a list of literature used -- a bibliography is a standard requirement for any decent research paper. This lecturer recommends a Harvard or Chicago style of for references.

Font-size is 12. Line-size is 1½. **Papers not meeting these standards will not be accepted.**

Graded Certificate
(Leistungsschein)

Services of the lecturer:

I will structure and conduct the seminar in the sense of constructive "supervision" in terms of content and procedure by keeping an eye on the central theme, i.e. the overall research interest of this seminar as stated above.

- I will prepare myself profoundly for every session.
- I will be available for students (or small groups of students) after consultation during my office hours for preparation of the paper presentation or the paper, as well as for any other question.
- Seminar papers will be read and commented on thoroughly in written form, and grading will be one in a differentiating manner. A 'Schein' will be given to students only after the lecturer's feedback on the seminar paper during office hours.

Contact and appointments: via email appointment for ZOOM meeting!

SEMINAR OVERVIEW – TOPICS AND SCHEDULE

Session	Topic	Remarks
1. Session – 14.04.2021	Introduction to the seminar subject, its central research interest as well as the procedures to be followed over the semester	
I. TEIL: BASICS ON EU FOREIGN POLICY AND RESEARCH DESIGN ISSUES		
2. Session – 21.04.2021	The Evolution of Foreign and Security Policy Integration an Overview: Critical Junctions, Institutionalization and Policies	Literature-based plenary discussion
3. Session – 28.04.2021	The EU as foreign policy actor & power: issues of concepts, typologies, and methods	Literature-based plenary discussion
4. Session – 05.05.2021	Conceptual Problems of Effectiveness and Success	Literature-based plenary discussion Note: End of this week your first project proposal is due!
5. Session – 12.05.2021	Analyzing Experts' Evaluations of EU foreign policy	Literature-based plenary discussion
6. Session – 19.05.2021	Structures of and Modes of Decision-making in EU foreign policy (incl. EEAS) Instruments of EU foreign policy	Literature-based plenary discussion Note: End of this week your elaborated project proposal is due!
7. Session – 26.05.2021	The European Security Strategy (ESS) of 2003, its update of 2008 and the review process of 2014	Literature-based plenary discussion
II. PART: POLICY FIELDS AND CASE STUDIES		
8. Session – 02.06.2021	E.g.: EU & Conflict-/Crisis Management: civilian missions & military operations	2 Case studies
9. Session – 09.06.2021	E.g.: Transatlantic Relations and Co-operation between EU and NATO A. CFSP/ESDP as an issue in transatlantic relations B. The Institutionalisation of EU-NATO relations	2 Case studies!
10. Session – 16.06.2021	E.g.: European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) (EU Relations to the CIS States, the Caucasus Region, the Middle East and EMP)	2 Case studies
11. Session – 23.06.2021	E.g.: EU Relations to Russia: Problems and Prospects	2 Case studies
12. Session – 30.06.2021	E.g.: EU Relations to China: Problems and Prospects	2 Case studies
13. Session – 07.07.2021	E.g.: EU Relations to other regions in the world/ inter-regional relations	2 Case studies
14. Session – 14.07.2021	Final Discussion: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empirical Findings and Academic Added-value of the Seminar? • Seminar critique 	

SEMINAR SESSIONS IN DETAIL

1. Session (14 April 2021)

Introduction to the seminar subject, its central research interest as well as the procedures to be followed over the semester

- KEMPIN, R. & OVERHAUS, M. E. 2014. EU-Foreign Policy in Times of the Financial and Debt Crisis. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 19(2), 179-194.

2. Session (21 April 2021)

Literature-based plenary discussion!

The Evolution of Foreign and Security Policy Integration an Overview: Critical Junctions, Institutionalization and Policies

Basic texts:

For general orientation: Smith, Karen E. 2014. *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*. Cambridge: Polity Press, Chapter Two: The Evolution of the EU as an International Actor, 21-43.

- Kempin, Ronja/Kunz, B. 2017. France, Germany, and the Quest for European Strategic Autonomy. Franco-German Defence Cooperation in a New Era. *Notes de l'Ifri, Notes du Cerfa* 141, 6-31.
- Duke, Simon W. 2019. The Competing Logics of EU Security and Defence. *Survival* 61 (2):123-42.
- European Commission. 2017. Reflection Paper on the Future of European Defence. Brussels.

Basic EU documents: Please familiarize yourself – step by step, perhaps approaching one document a week – with the pertinent EU documents as the foundation of EU policy-making and our take on the topic in question! (all available on Moodle or in the WWW!)

- European Commission. 2001. Communication from the Commission on **Conflict Prevention**. In *COM (2001) 211 final*. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission. 2013. Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council. The **EU's comprehensive approach** to external conflict and crises. JOIN(2013) 30 final Brussels.
- Council of the European Union. 2015 (6777/15). Annual 2014 CSDP Lessons Report. Brussels
- European Commission. 2016. Elements for an EU-wide **strategic framework to support security sector reform**. SWD (2016)221 final. Brussels.
- European Union, EEAS. 2016. Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe. **A Global Strategy** for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy. edited by High Representative of the Union for Foreign and Security Policy. Brussels.
- Council of the European Union. 2018 (5266/18). Council Conclusions on the **Integrated Approach** to External Conflicts and Crises. Brussels.
- ???

Complementary readings (incomplete!):

Bailes, Alyson J.K. 1999. NATO's European Pillar: The European Security and Defense Identity. *Defense Analysis* 15: 3, 305-22.

Bendiek, Annegret. 2017. A paradigm shift in the EU's common foreign and security policy: from transformation to resilience. *SWP Research Paper No. 11*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.

Bretherton, Charlotte/Vogler, John. 1999. *The European Union as global actor*. London, New York: Routledge.

- Bouris, Dimitris & Schumacher, Tobias (Hrsg.). 2017. *The Revised European Neighbourhood Policy: Continuity and Change in European Foreign Policy*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Cameron, Fraser. 1998. The European Union as a Global Actor: Far from Pushing Its Political Weight Around. In *The European Union in the World Community* edited by Rhodes, Carolyn, 19-44. Boulder CO/ London: Lynne Rienner.
- Carlsnaes, Walter/Smith, Steve, ed. 1994: *European Foreign Policy. The EC and Changing Perspectives in Europe*. London: Sage.
- Carlsnaes, Walter/Sjursen, Helene/White, Brian, ed. 2004. *Contemporary European Foreign Policy*. London et al.: SAGE Publishers.
- Cederman, Lars-Eric, ed. 2000: *Constructing Europe's Identity: The External Dimension*. London: Lynne Rienner.
- Cross, Mai'a K. Davis. 2018. Secrecy and the making of CFSP. *West European Politics* 41(4), 914-932.
- Dukanovic, Dragan. 2015. The Process of Institutionalization of the EU's CFSP in the Western Balkan Countries during the Ukraine Crisis. *Croatian International Relations Review* 21(72), 81-106.
- Duke, Simon/Ojanen, Hanna. 2006. Bridging Internal and External Security: Lessons from the European Security and Defence Policy. *European Integration* 28: 5, 477-494.
- Ehrhart, Hans-Georg, ed. 2002. *Die Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik - Positionen, Perzeptionen, Probleme, Perspektiven*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Ehrhart, Hans-Georg/Varwick, Johannes. 2006. *Lexikon Europäische Sicherheitspolitik*. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag.
- Ehrhart, Hans-Georg/Jaberg, Sabine/Rinke, Bernhard/Waldmann, Jörg, ed. 2007. *Die Europäische Union im 21. Jahrhundert. Theorie und Praxis europäischer Außen-, Sicherheits- und Friedenspolitik*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Fiott, Daniel, Antonio Missiroli, and Thierry Tardy. 2017. *Permanent Structured Cooperation: What's in a Name?*. Institute for Security Studies, European Union
- Flournoy, Michèle A./Smith, Julianne. 2005. *European Defense Integration: Bridging the Gap Between Strategy and Capabilities*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Fröhlich, Stefan. 2006. *Die Gemeinsame Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik. Eine Einführung*. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag.
- Gärtner, Heinz/Hyde-Price, Adrian/Reiter, Erich, ed. 2001: *Europe's New Security Challenges*. London: Lynne Rienner.
- Gegout, Catherine. 2017. *European Foreign and Security Policy: States. Power, Institutions*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.
- Hilz, Wolfram. 2005. Die Sicherheitspolitik des europäischen Führungstrios. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 38-39, 15-22.
- Hix, Simon. 1999. *The Political System of the European Union*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2000. Britain, France and the European Defence Initiative. *Survival* 42: 2, 33-55.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2000. *European Integration and Defence: The Ultimate Challenge*. Paris: Institute for Security Studies, Western European Union.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2004. The European Draft Constitutional Treaty and the Future of the European Defence Initiative: A Question of Flexibility. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9: 483-508.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2007. *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. Palgrave.
- Joffe, Josef. 1999. Internationalism, withdrawal, and Europe's role in international affairs. *International Journal* 52: 1, 48-56.
- Jørgensen, Knud Erik. 2004. Theorising the European Union's foreign policy. In *Rethinking European Union foreign policy* edited by Tonra, Ben/Christiansen, Thomas, 1-9. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Jopp, Mathias. 1986. Sicherheitspolitik und europäische Integration im System der Gemeinschaft. In *Sicherheitspolitische Zusammenarbeit und Kooperation der Rüstungswirtschaft in Westeuropa* edited by Brock, Lothar/Jopp, Mathias, 59-91. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Juncos, A. 2017. Security and defense. In *Foreign Policies of EU Member States. Continuity and Europeanisation* edited by Hadfield, A./Manners, I./Whitman, G. Routledge/London, 115- 130.
- Kaim, Markus. 2007. *Die Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik. Präferenzbildungs- und Aushandlungsprozesse in der Europäischen Union (1990 – 2005)*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft (Aktuelle Materialien zur Internationalen Politik, Bd. 74).
- Kirchner, Emil J. 2006. The Challenge of European Union Security Governance. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44: 5, 947-968.
- Koenig/Walter-Franke. 2017. *France and Germany: Spearheading a European Security and Defence Union?* Jacques Delors Institut Berlin, Policy Paper 202, 1-18.
- Meyer, C. O. 2005. Convergence towards a European strategic culture? A constructivist framework for explaining changing norms. *European Journal of International Relations* 11: 4, 523-549.

- Missiroli, Antonio. 2000. *CFSP, Defence and Flexibility*. Paris: WEU Institute for Security Studies.
- Rhodes, Carolyn, ed. 1998: *The European Union in the World Community*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner.
- Sjursen, Helene. 2004b. Towards a post-national foreign and security policy, Arena Working Paper 12/04,
- Smith, Michael E. 2004. *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy. The Institutionalization of Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Themes in European Governance).
- Smith, Michael. 2006. European Foreign Policy in Crisis? EU Responses to the George W. Bush Administration. *European Political Science* 5: 41-51.
- Smith, Michael. 2006. European Foreign Policy in Crisis? EU Responses to the George W. Bush Administration. *European Political Science* 5: 41-51.
- Spaak, Paul-Henri. 1950. The Integration of Europe: Dreams and Realities. *Foreign Affairs* 29: 1, 94-100.
- Stirk, Peter M.R. 1996. *A History of European Integration since 1914*. London and New York: Pinter.
- Wallace, Helen/Wallace, William, ed. 1996: *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Treacher, Adrian. 2004. From Civilian Power to Military Actor: The EU's Resistable Transformation. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9: 1, 49-66.
- Violakis, Petros. 2018. Europeanisation and the transformation of EU security policy: post-Cold War developments in the Common Security and Defence Policy. London/New York: Routledge.
- Wessel, Ramses A. 2015. Resisting legal facts: are CFSP norms as soft as they seem?. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 17(4), 625(27).

3. Session (28 April 2021) -- Literature-based plenary discussion!

The EU as foreign policy actor & power: issues of concepts, typologies, and method

Basic texts:

- **Manners, Ian. 2002.** Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms? *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40: 2, 235-258.
- **Peters, Ingo. 2016.** The European Union's foreign policy "actorness and power": foundations of and challenges for a comparative research design. [proofs-corr]. (London: Routledge, chapter 1, pp. 1-38).
 >>Niemann, Arne, and Charlotte Bretherton. 2013. EU external policy at the crossroads: The challenge of actorness and effectiveness. *International Relations* 27(3), 261-75.
 >>Peen Rodt, Annemarie. 2014. "EFFECTIVENESS IN OPERATIONAL CONFLICT PREVENTION: How should we measure it in EU missions and operations?" In *Seminar Publication on Contemporary Peace Operations—From theory to practice*, 79-86. Helsinki (2 - 4 May 2017): EAPTC Seminar

Complementary readings (selection only!):

- Adam, C., G. Chambas, et al. (2004). Performance-based conditionality: A European perspective. *World Development* 32(6): 1059-1070.
- Allen, David/Smith, Michael. 1990. Western Europe's Presence in the Contemporary International Arena. *Review of International Studies* 16: 3, 19-38.
- Allen, David/Smith, Michael. 1998. The European Union's Security Presence: Barrier, Facilitator, or Manager? In *The European Union in the World Community* edited by Rhodes, Carolyn. Boulder CO/ London: Lynne Rienner, 45-64.
- Bergmann, Julian. 2020. The European Union as International Mediator Brokering Stability and Peace in the Neighbourhood. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Chandler, David. 2003. 'Governance: the Unequal Partnership' in W. van Meurs (ed.) *South Eastern Europe: Weak States and Strong International Support*, Prospects and Risks Beyond EU Enlargement, Vol. 2 (Opladen: Leske and Budrich/ Bertelsmann Foundation, 2003), pp.79-98
- Charillon, Frederic. 2004. Sovereignty and Intervention: EU's Interventionism in its 'Near Abroad'. In *Contemporary European Foreign Policy* edited by Carlsnaes, Walter/Sjursen, Helene/White, Brian, 252-261. London et al.: SAGE Publishers.

- Diedrichs, Udo/Jopp, Mathias. 2003. Flexible Modes of Governance: Making CFSP and ESDP Work. *International Spectator* 38: 3, 15-30.
- Everts, Steven/Keohane, Daniel. 2003. The European Convention and EU Foreign Policy: Learning from Failure. *Survival* 45: 3, 167-186.
- Farrell, Mary. 2005. EU External Relations: Exporting the EU Model of Governance. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10: 4, 451-462
- Feliu, Laura/Grasa, Rafael. 2002. Ownership and Conditionality, EuroMeSco Seminar on "Common Ground and Common Language", Barcelona 14-15 June 2002.
- Ginsberg, Roy H. 1999. Conceptualizing the European Union as an International Actor: Narrowing the Theoretical Capability-Expectation Gap. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 3, 429-454.
- Glarbo, Kenneth. 1999. Wide-awake diplomacy: reconstructing the common foreign and security policy of the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 6: 4, 634-51.
- Gordon, Philip H. 1998. Europe's Uncommon Foreign Policy. *International Security* 22: 3, 74-100. (*Funktionalismus vs. Intergovernmentalismus*)
- Gordon, Philip H. 1998. The Limits of Europe's Common Foreign and Security Policy. In *Centralization or Fragmentation: Europe Facing the Challenges of Deepening, Diversity, and Democracy* edited by Moravcsik, Andrew. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 159-186. (*Funktionalismus vs. Intergovernmentalismus*)
- Giegerich, Bastian/Wallace, William. 2004. Not Such a Soft Power: the External Deployment of European Forces. *Survival* 46: 2, 163-182.
- Grabbe, Heather. 2004. How the EU should help its neighbours. London: Centre For European Reform. http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/policybrief_eu_neighbours.pdf [03.03.2005]
- Hettne, B. and F. Söderbaum (2005). Civilian Power or Soft Imperialism? The EU as a Global Actor and the Role of Interregionalism. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10(4): 535-552.
- Hill, Christopher. 1993. The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualising Europe's International Role. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31: 3, 305-328.
- Hill, Christopher. 1998. Closing the Capabilities-Expectations Gap. In *A Common Foreign Policy For Europe?* edited by Peterson, John/Sjursen, Helene. London/ New York: Routledge, 18-38.
- Hyde-Price, A. (2006). 'Normative' power Europe: a realist critique. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(2): 217-234.
- Kelley, J. (2005). New Wine in Old Wineskins: Policy Learning and Adaptation in the New European Neighborhood Policy. *Terry Sanford Institute for Public Policy, Working Paper*. 22p.
- Larsen, Henrik. 1999. New Approaches to the common foreign and security policy of the EU (CFSP): The constructivist research agenda, Copenhagen, 21.
- Manners, Ian. 2006. Normative Power Europe: reconsidered: beyond the crossroads. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13: 2, 182-199.
- Missiroli, Antonio. 2002. EU-NATO Cooperation in Crisis Management. *Security Dialogue* 33: 1, 9-27.
- Morillas, P. 2019. Strategy Making in the EU From Foreign and Security Policy to External Action. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Niemann, Arne, and Charlotte Bretherton. 2013. EU external policy at the crossroads: The challenge of actorness and effectiveness. *International Relations* 27(3), 261-75
- Olsen, Johan P. 2002. The Many Faces of Europeanization. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40: 5, 921-952.
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1996. Exploring the Nature of the Beast. *International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union. Journal of Common Market Studies* 34: 1, 53-80.
- Rosamund, Ben. 2005. Conceptualizing the EU Model of Governance in World Politics. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10: 4, 463-478.
- Sjöstedt, Gunnar. 1977. The Exercise of International Civil Power. *Cooperation and Conflict* 12(1): 21-39.
- Sjursen, Helene. 2004. Towards a post-national foreign and security policy, Arena Working Paper 12/04.
- Sjursen, Helene. 2006a. The EU as a 'normative power': how can this be? *Journal of European Public Policy* 13: 2, 235-251.
- Sjursen, Helene. 2006b. What kind of power? *Journal of European Public Policy* 13: 2, 169-181.
- Smith, Karen E. 1998. The Use of Political Conditionality in the EU's Relations with Third Countries: How Effective? *European Foreign Affairs Review* 3: 2, 253-274.
- Smith, Karen. 2003. The European Union: A Distinctive Actor in International Relations. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 9:2, 103-113.
- Smith, Karen E. 2005. *Still 'civilian power' EU?* London: European Foreign Policy Unit (Working Paper 1/2005).
- Smith, Karen E. 2005. Beyond the civilian power EU debate. *Politique européenne*(17): 63-82.
- White, Brian. 1999. The European Challenge to Foreign Policy Analysis. *European Journal of International Relations* 5: 1, 37-66.
- Wright, N. 2011. The European Union: What Kind of International Actor? *Political Perspectives* 5(2): 8-32.

Trybus, Martin. 2004. The Limits of European Community Competence for Defence. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9: 2, 189-217.

4. Session (5 May 2021) -- Literature-based plenary discussion!

Conceptual Problems of Effectiveness and Success & methodological challenges

Note: End of this week your first project proposal is due!

Basic texts:

- Jørgensen, Knud Erik. 1998. The European Union's Performance in World Politics: How Should we Measure Success? In *Paradoxes of European Foreign Policy* edited by Zielonka, Jan, 87-101. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.
- Howlett, Michael/Ramesh, M./Perl, Anthony. 2009. Chapter 8: Policy Evaluation: Policy Making as Learning. In *Studying Public Policy. Policy Cycles & Policy Subsysteme* edited 178-196. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Thomas, Daniel C. 2012. Still Punching below Its Weight? Coherence and Effectiveness in European Union Foreign Policy. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(3): 457-74.
- Onar, Nora Fisher, and Kalypso Nicolaïdis. 2013. The Decentring Agenda: Europe as a post-colonial power. *Cooperation and Conflict* 48(2): 283-303.

For advanced students:

- Kahl, Martin. 2013. Causes, Effects and Effectiveness -- Conceptual, Epistemological and Methodological Considerations. In *Studying 'Effectiveness' in International Relations. A guide for students and scholars*, edited by Hendrik Hegemann, Regina Heller and Martin Kahl, 35-60. Opladen, Berlin & Toronto: Barbara Budrich Publishers.
- European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR): European Foreign Policy Score Card 2012ff. Available at: <http://www.ecfr.eu/scorecard/2012>

Complementary readings (selection only!)

Windhoff-Héritier, Adrienne. 1987. Policy-Analysis: Eine Einführung. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Rudolf, Peter. 2007. Außenpolitikevaluation. Konzeptionelle Überlegungen zu einem vernachlässigten Bereich der Außenpolitikanalyse. *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 14: 2, 319-330.

Underdal, Arild. 2004. Methodological challenges in the study of regime effectiveness. In *Regime consequences: methodological challenges and research strategies*, edited by A. Underdal and O.R. Young, 27-48: Kluwer.

Young, Oran R. 1992. The effectiveness of international institutions: Hard cases and critical variables. In *Governance without government: order and change in world politics* edited by Rosenau, James N./Czempiel, Ernst-Otto, 160-194. Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press. (first part only!)

Merlingen, Michael. 2013. A Toolkit for Evaluating the Design and Implementation of European Union Security and Defence Policy Mandates. *Review of European Studies* 5(3 special issue): 41.

Arteaga, Félix. 2011. The Need for an Open System to Evaluate European Union CSDP Missions. *Think Global-Act European report-The Contribution of* 16: 316-21.

5. Session (12 May 2021) -- Literature-based plenary discussion!

Analysing Experts' Evaluations of EU foreign policy

Basic texts:

- Asseburg, Muriel/ Kempin, Ronja, eds. 2009. The EU as a Strategic Actor in the Realm of Security and Defence? SWP-Studie Nr. 14. Berlin, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.

- Emerson, Michael/Noutcheva, Gergana/Popescu, Nicu. 2007. European Neighbourhood Policy Two Years on: Time indeed for an 'ENP Plus'. Centre for European Policy Studies.
- von Ondarza, Nicolai/ Scheler, Ronja (2015): *Die Hohe Vertreterin als Stimme der EU- eine Evaluation fünf Jahre nach ‚Lissabon‘*. In: *integration*, 38:2, pp. 129-145.

Complementary readings (incomplete!): More or less comparative & evaluative studies

a) of EU missions and operations:

- Nowak, Agnieszka, ed. 2006. *Civilian crisis management: the EU way*. Paris: Institute for Security Studies (Chaillot Paper 90).
- Merlingen, Michael/ Ostrauskaite, Rasa 2006. The Implementation of the ESDP. Issues and Tentative Generalizations, in: *European Security and Defence Policy. An implementation perspective*, Edited by Merlingen, Michael/ Ostrauskaite, Rasa, London/ New York: Routledge, 189-205.
- Witney, Nick 2008. Re-energising Europe's Security and Defense Policy. ECFR Policy Paper. London, European Council on Foreign Relations.
- Asseburg, Muriel/ Kempin, Ronja, eds. 2009. The EU as a Strategic Actor in the Realm of Security and Defence? SWP-Studie Nr. 14. Berlin, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.
- Grevi, Giovanni/Helly, Damien/Keohane, Daniel, ed. 2010. *European Security and Defence Policy. The First 10 Years (1999-2009)*. Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies.

b) of ENP

- European Commission. 2006. *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on Strengthening the European Neighbourhood Policy* (4 December 2006). Brussels: http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com06_726_en.pdf [08.05.2007]
- EU Commission. Country Reports (available on EU homepage; new every December).
- Cremona, Marise/Meloni, Gabriella, ed. 2007. *The European Neighbourhood Policy: A Framework for Modernisation?* San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute (EUI Working Papers LAW No. 2007/21).
- Balfour, Rosa/Missiroli, Antonio. 2007. Reassessing the European Neighbourhood Policy. *European Policy Center*. 54.
- Emerson, Michael/Noutcheva, Gergana/Popescu, Nicu. 2007. European Neighbourhood Policy Two Years on: Time indeed for an 'ENP Plus'. Centre for European Policy Studies.
- Lippert, Barbara. 2007. The Discussion on EU Neighbourhood Policy - Concepts, Reform Proposals and National Positions. Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

6. Session (19 May 2021) -- Literature-based plenary discussion!

PART A) Structures and Modes of Decision-making Processes in EU Foreign Policy-making

Note: End of this week your elaborated project proposal is due!

Basic texts:

- Duke, S. 2012. Now We Are One... A Rough Start for the EEAS. Maastricht: European Institute for Public Administration. 1-5 (Eipascope Bulletin No 2012/01).
- Smith, Michael E. 2013. The European External Action Service and the Security-Development Nexus: Organizing for Effectiveness or Incoherence. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20(9): 1299-315.
- Weston, Alison, and Frédéric Mérand. 2015. The EEAS and Crisis Management: The Organisational Challenges of a Comprehensive Approach. In *The European External Action Service*, edited by David Spence and Jozef Batorá, 323-40. Abdington: Springer.

Graphic Presentation, European External Action Service. (1. September 2013):

http://eeas.europa.eu/background/docs/organisation_en.pdf

Complementary readings (selection only!):

- ADEBAHR, C. & GREVI, G. 2007. The EU Special Representatives: what lessons for the EEAS? In: AVERY, G. M., ANTONIO (ed.) *The EU Foreign Service: how to build a more effective common policy*. Brussels: European Policy Centre.
- AVERY, G. 2011. The EU's External Action Service: new actor on the scene. *EPC Commentary*, 28.
- BISCOP, S. 2011. A New External Action Service Needs a New European Security Strategy. Security Policy Brief 29, November 2011.
- CROSS, M. A. K. D. 2011. Building a European Diplomacy: Recruitment and Training to the EEAS. *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 16, 451.
- Dagand, Sophie. 2008. The impact of the Lisbon Treaty on CFSP and ESDP. *European Security Review* No. 37: 5-9.
- Dassù, Marta/Missiroli, Antonio. 2002. More Europe in Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutional Dimension of CFSP. *International Spectator* 2, 79-88.
- Diedrichs, Udo/Jopp, Mathias. 2003. Flexible Modes of Governance: Making CFSP and ESDP Work. *The International Spectator* 38: 3, 15-30.
- Diedrichs, Udo. 2004. The European Parliament in CFSP: More than a Marginal Player? *International Spectator* 39: 2, 31-46.
- DUKE, S. 2008. The European Commission: Inside and Out—Administering EU Foreign Policy after Lisbon: The case of the EEAS'. EIPA Working Paper, 1, 2008.(online).
- DUKE, S. 2011. Learning to cooperate after Lisbon: Inter-institutional dimensions of the EEAS. *Cuadernos Europeos de Deusto*, 43-61.
- DUKE, S. 2012. Diplomatic Training and the Challenges Facing the EEAS. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 7, 95-114.
- EDWARDS, G. 2013. The EU's foreign policy and the search for effect. *International Relations*, 27, 276-291.
- Everts, Steven/Keohane, Daniel. 2003. The European Convention and EU Foreign Policy: Learning from Failure. *Survival* 45: 3, 167-186. Institute for Security Studies (ISS).
- Gräßle, I. (11. 02 2011). Die Gründung des Europäischen Auswärtigen Dienstes, Eine kritische Analyse. *Europäische Frage*, S. 1-4.
- Grevi, Giovanni/Helly, Damien et al. eds. 2009. *European Security and Defense Policy. The First 10 Years (1999-2009)*. Paris, European Union. (pp. 19-68)
- Häge, Frank M. 2007: Committee Decision-making in the Council of the European Union. In: *European Union Politics*, 8(3). pp. 299-328.
- HELWIG, N., IVAN, P. & KOSTANYAN, H. 2013. The New EU Foreign Policy Architecture: Reviewing the First Two Years of the EEAS. *Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies*.
- HOWORTH, J., LE GLOANNEC, A.-M. & FOREIGN, C. 2007. The institutional logic behind the EEAS. *EPC WORKING PAPER* No. 28, 28.
- HOWORTH, J. 2011. The 'New Faces' of Lisbon: Assessing the Performance of Catherine Ashton and Herman Van Rompuy on the Global Stage. *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 16, 303-323.
- Jopp, Mathias/Regelsberger, Elfriede. 2003. GASP und ESVP im Verfassungsvertrag -- eine neue Angebotsvielfalt mit Chancen und Mängeln. *Integration* 26: 4, 550-563.
- JUNCOS, A. E. & POMORSKA, K. 2013. 'In the face of adversity': explaining the attitudes of EEAS officials vis-à-vis the new service. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1-18.
- LAURSEN, F. 2012. The European External Action Service (EEAS): the Idea and its Implementation. *The EU's Lisbon Treaty: Institutional Choices and Implementation*, 171.
- LIEB, J. & KREMER, M. 2010. Der Aufbau des Europäischen Auswärtigen Dienstes: Stand und Perspektiven. *integration*, 33, 195-208.
- LIEB, J. & MAURER, A. 2007. *Europas Rolle in der Welt stärken. Optionen für ein kohärenteres Außenhandeln der Europäischen Union*, Berlin, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP).
- LIEB, J. & MAURER, A. 2007. *Making EU Foreign Policy More Effective, Consistent and Democratic. The Options and Variables for the European External Action Service*, Berlin, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP).
- LIEB, J. & ONDARZA, N. V. 2007. *Institutionen und europäische Außenpolitik. Beiträge in Fachzeitschriften der Jahre 2006 und 2007*, Berlin, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP).
- LIEB, J. 2012. *Diplomatie jenseits des Staates. Die EU-Außenvertretung gegenüber Drittstaaten und der Europäische Auswärtige Dienst*, Baden-Baden, Nomos.
- LIEB, J. 2013. Die Einrichtung des Europäischen Auswärtigen Dienstes: Über die Grenzen einer gemeinsamen Diplomatie. In: BAASNER, F. & SEIDENDORF, S. (eds.) *Jeder für sich in Europa? Die Debatte über Identität, Wohlstand und die institutionellen Grundlagen der Union*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

- Maurer, A., & Reichel, S. (11 2004). Der Europäische Auswärtige Dienst. Elemente eines Drei-Phasen-Plans. *SWP - Aktuell*, S. 1 - 8.
- MURDOCH, Z. 2012. Negotiating the European External Action Service (EEAS): Analyzing the External Effects of Internal (Dis) Agreement. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50, 1011-1027.
- Piana, Claire. 2002. The EU's Decision-Making Process in the Common Foreign and Security Policy: The Case of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 7, 209-226.
- Plechanovová, Bela 2007: Decision-Making in the EU Council after the first Eastern Enlargement: The Relevance of the Empirical Findings for the Voting Rules. International Workshop "Distribution of power and voting procedures in the European Union." Warschau.
- Plechanovová, Bela 2008: The Lisbon Treaty and the Decision-Making in the EU Council: Winning Coalitions and the Policy Shift, Prag.
- Riddervold, Marianne, and Guri Rosén. 2015. "Beyond intergovernmental cooperation: The influence of the European Parliament and the Commission on EU foreign and security policies." *European foreign affairs review* 20 (3):399-417.
- . 2016. "Trick and treat: How the Commission and the European Parliament exert influence in EU foreign and security policies." *Journal of European Integration* 38 (6):687-702.
- Schmid, H.-M. (2010). EU-Außenpolitik nach Lissabon. Struktur und Wirkung. *Zeitschrift für Außen und Sicherheitspolitik*, 3, S. 457– 465.
- Sjursen, Helene 2011: Not so intergovernmental after all? On democracy and integration in European Foreign and Security Policy. In: *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18(8). pp. 1078-1095.
- Smith, Michael. 2004. Toward a theory of EU foreign policy-making: multi-level governance, domestic politics, and national adaptation to Europe's common foreign and security policy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 11: 4, 740-758.
- Thomas, Daniel C., and Ben Tonra. 2012. To What Ends EU Foreign Policy? Contending Approaches to the Union's Diplomatic Objectives and Representation. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 7: 11-29.
- Warntjen, Andreas 2009: Mode(l)s of Decision-Making in the Council of the European Union. DEI Working Paper 09-6. Dublin.
- Widgrén, Mika 2008: The impact of council's internal decision-making rules on the future of EU. München: CESifo.
- WOUTERS, J. & DUQUET, S. 2011. The EU, EEAS and Union Delegations and International Diplomatic Law: New Horizons? *Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies Working Paper*.

PART B) Instruments of EU Foreign Policy-making

Basic texts:

- Rodt, Annemarie Peen. 2011. "The EU: A Successful Military Conflict Manager?" *Democracy and security* 7 (2):99-122
- Biscop, Sven. 2018. "European defence: give PESCO a chance." *Survival* 60 (3):161-80.
- Tardy, Thierry. 2017. "The new forms of civilian crisis management." In *ISSUE, Report 31*, edited by Thierry Tardy, 9-22. Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies.

Overview: Smith, Karen E. 2014. *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*. Cambridge: Polity Press, Chapter Three: The EU's Foreign-Policy Instruments 44-65.

Complementary readings (selection only!):

- Biscop, Sven. 2004. Able and Willing? Assessing the EU's Capacity for Military Action. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9: 509-527.
- Dietrichs, Udo/Jopp, Mathias/Sandawi, Sammi. 2004. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen militärischer Integration im Rahmen der ESVP. *integration* 27: 3, 223-233.
- Heisbourg, Francois. 2000. Europe's Strategic Ambitions: The Limits of Ambiguity. *Survival* 42: 2, 5-15.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2000. *European Integration and Defence: The Ultimate Challenge*. Paris: Institute for Security Studies, Western European Union (Chaillot Papers 43).
- Jakobsen, Peter-Viggo. 2006. The ESDP and civilian rapid reaction: adding value is harder than expected. *European Security* 15: 3, 299-321.
- Juncos, Ana E. 2018. "Civilian CSDP missions: 'the good, the bad and the ugly'." In *Research Handbook on the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

- Juncos, Ana E, and Steven Blockmans. 2018. "The EU's role in conflict prevention and peacebuilding: four key challenges." *Global Affairs*:1-10.
- Keohane, Daniel. 2003. EU defence policy: Beyond the Balkans, beyond peacekeeping? Center for European Reform. http://www.cer.org/articles/keohane_weltpolitik_jul03.html [25.2.2005].
- MAJOR, C. & MÖLLING, C. 2010. EU-Battlegroups - Bilanz und Optionen zur Weiterentwicklung europäischer Krisenreaktionskräfte. In: (SWP), S. W. U. P. (ed.) *SWP-Studie*. Berlin.
- Missiroli, Antonio. 2002. Counting Capabilities: What For? In *The EU's Search for a Strategic Role* edited by Brimmer, Esther, 57-66. Washington D.C.: Center for Transatlantic Relations.
- Nowak, Agnieszka, ed. 2006. *Civilian crisis management: the EU way*. Paris: Institute for Security Studies (Chaillot Paper 90).
- O'Hanlon, Michael. 1997. NATO's European Pillar. Transforming NATO: The Role of European Forces. *Survival* 39: 3, 5-15.
- Rummel, Reinhard. 2006. Die zivile Komponente der ESVP. Reichhaltiges Gestaltungspotential für europäische Krisenintervention. *SWP-Studie* 16, Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP).
- Rummel, Reinhard. 2005. *Krisenintervention der EU mit Polizeikräften*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) (SWP-Studie S 22).
- Scannell, David. 2004. Financing ESDP Military Operations. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9: 529-549.
- Schake, Kori/Bloch-Lainé, Amaya/Grant, Charles. 1999. Building a European Defence Capability. *Survival* 41: 1, 20-40.
- Schake, Kori N. 2002. Constructive Duplication: Reducing EU reliance on US military assets. London: Centre for European Reform. Working paper pp. 39.
- Stewart, Emma. 2006. *The European Union and Conflict Prevention. Policy Evolution and Outcome*. Münster.
- Trybus, Martin. 2004. The Limits of European Community Competence for Defence. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9: 189-217.
- Weinlich, Silke. 2003. Die zivile Komponente der Europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) 32).
- Yost, David S. 2001. The NATO Capabilities Gap and the European Union. *Survival* 42: 4, 97-128.
- Youngs, Richard. 2004. Democratic Institution Building and Conflict Resolution: Emerging EU Approaches. *International Peacekeeping* 11: 3, 526-543.

7. Session (26 May 2021) -- Literature-based plenary discussion!

The European Security Strategy (ESS) of 2003, its update of 2008 and the review process 2014 leading to the Global Strategy of 2016

Basic documents:

- European Security Strategy: A Secure Europe in a Better World [2009], <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/30823/qc7809568enc.pdf>
- European Commission 2008. Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy. Providing Security in a Changing World, S407/08, Brussels.
- European Union, EEAS. 2016. Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe. **A Global Strategy** for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy. edited by High Representative of the Union for Foreign and Security Policy. Brussels.

Basic texts:

- Bailes, Alyson J. K. 2005. Die Europäische Sicherheitsstrategie: programmatische und praktische Perspektiven für GASP und ESVP. *Integration* 28: 2, 107-118.
- Tocci, Nathalie. 2015. Towards an EU global strategy. In *European Union Institute for Security Studies*, edited by Antonio Missiroli, Nathalie Tocci and Federica Mogherini, 116-23. Paris: EUISS.
- Tardy, Thierry. 2017. *The EU: from comprehensive vision to integrated action*: European Union Institute for Security Studies. Available at: https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/Brief_5_Integrated_Approach.pdf
- Bendiek, Annegret/ Kaim, Markus (2015): *New European Security Strategy – The*

Transatlantic Factor. In: SWP Comments 34.

Complementary readings (incomplete!):

- Anderson, Stephanie B. (2008) *Crafting EU security policy: in pursuit of a European identity*. Boulder: Rienner.
- Becher, Klaus. 2004. Has-been, wannabe or leader: Europe's role in the world after the 2003 European security strategy. *European Security* 4: 345-359.
- Bendiek, Annegret. 2006. Cross-Pillar Security Regime Building in the European Union. Effects of the European Security Strategy of December 2003. *European Integration online Papers* 10: 9, 1-17.
- Biscop, Sven/Coolsaet, Rik. 2003. *The world is the stage – a global security strategy for the European Union*. Paris: Notre Europe.
- Biscop, Sven. 2004. The European Security Strategy. Implementing a Distinctive Approach to Security. *Sécurité & Stratégie* 82, 43p.
- Biscop, Sven/Andersson, Jan Joel, ed. 2007. *The EU and the European Security Strategy. Forging a Global Europe*. London/ New York: Routledge.
- Duke, Simon. 2004. The European Security Strategy in a Comparative Framework: Does it Make Secure Alliances in a Better World? *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9: 459-481.
- Ellner, Andrea. 2005. The European security strategy: multilateral security with teeth? *Defense and Security Analysis* 3: 223-242.
- Glasius, Mark/Kaldor, Mary. 2005. Individuals first: A Human Security Strategy for the European Union. *International Politics and Society* 1, 62-82.
- Missiroli, Antonio. 2008. Revisiting the ESS – Beyond 2008 and beyond ESDP. In *Studia Diplomatica* 61:3, 19-28.
- Oudenaren, John Van. 2004. US Reactions to the EU Security Strategy. *Oxford Journal on Good Governance* 1: 1, 43-48.
- Pullinger, Stephen. 2007. Revising the European Security Strategy: Building a secure Europe in a better world. *European Security Review* No. 35: 1-4.
- Quille, Gerrard. 2004. The European Security Strategy: A Framework for the EU Security Interests? *International Peacekeeping* 11: 3, 422-438.
- Riemer, Andrea K./Hauser, Gunther. 2004. *Die Nationale Sicherheitsstrategie der USA und die Europäische Sicherheitsstrategie: ein Vergleich des Unvergleichbaren*. Köln: Lehrstuhl für Internationale Politik, Universität zu Köln (Arbeitspapiere zur Internationalen Politik und Außenpolitik 2/2004).
- Solana, Javier. 2004. Thoughts on the reception of the European Security Strategy. *Oxford Journal on Good Governance* 1: 1, 17-19. Cameron, Fraser. 2004. Europas neue Sicherheitsstrategie. *Internationale Politik* 59: 1, 39-50.
- Whitman, Richard. 2006. Road map for a route march? (De-)civilianizing through the EU's security strategy. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11: 1, 1-15.

The Review Process 2014:

- Council of the European Union (2009): *European Security Strategy. A secure Europe in a better world*, DGF-Communication / Publications: Brussels.
- Council of the European Union (2013): *Annual report from the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy to the European Parliament*, (14924/13), 16 October, Brussels.
- Council of the European Union (2015): *Outcome of the Council Meeting Foreign Affairs*. (6044/15). Brussels.
- EEAS. (2015): *The European Union in a changing global environment*.
- European Commission (2015): *European Agenda on Security: Questions and Answers*, Fact Sheet, 28 April, Strasbourg.
- European Commission (2015): *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee: The European Agenda on Security*, 28 April, Strasbourg.
- European Council (2015): *European Council meeting (25 and 26 June 2015) – Conclusions*, (EUCO 22/15), 26 June, Brussels.

Expert Comments:

- Dennison et al. (2015): *The road back to European Power*. Policy Brief, European Council on Foreign Relations.
- Frontini, Andrea (2015): *Ensuring the EU's future as a security provider – Five recommendations for the June European Council's session on CSDP*. European Policy Centre, Commentary.
- Janning, Josef (2014): *Europäischer Auswärtiger Dienst*. In: *Internationale Politik*, 69:4, 61-65.

- Keukeleire, Stephan (2015): *Three steps for Mogherini to refurbish EU foreign policy*. In: Europe's World <http://europesworld.org/2015/06/22/three-steps-for-mogherini-to-refurbish-eu-foreign-policy/#.Vcr2vmOYv1A> (Stand: August 2015).
- Koenig, Nicole (2015): *Neuaufrichtung des auswärtigen Handelns der EU: Potenzial und Grenzen*, Policy Paper 125, Jaques Delors Institut Berlin.
- Korteweg, Rem (2015): *Mogherini's mission: Four steps to make EU foreign policy more strategic*. Centre for European Studies: <http://www.cer.org.uk/print/4205> (Stand August 2015).
- Lehne, Stefan (2014): *Eine Agenda für Federica Mogherini – Vorschläge zur Weiterentwicklung der europäischen Außenpolitik*. In: *integration*, 37:3.
- Lundin, Lars-Erik (2012): *From a European Security Strategy to a European Global Strategy: Ten Content-Related Issues*. In: *Occasional Ulpapers*, no. 11.
- Schwegmann, Christoph (2014): *Sicher in der Zukunft. Anregungen für eine nachhaltige Sicherheitspolitik*. In: *Internationale Politik*, 69:4, 48-55.
- Solana, Javier/ Blockmans, Steven/ Faleg, Giovanni (2015): *More Union in European Defence – Report of a CEPS Task Force*. Centre for European Policy Studies.
- Tocci, Nathalie (2015): *Der Weg ist Teil des Zieles: Anmerkungen zur Entwicklung einer Globastrategy für die Union*. In: *Internationale Politik*, 70:5, 80-83.
- Missiroli, Antonio, Nathalie Tocci, and Federica Mogherini. 2015. *Towards an EU global strategy—Background, process, references*. *European Union Institute for Security Studies*: 116.
- von Ondarza, Nicolai (2014): *Die Gemeinsame Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik der Europäischen Union nach dem Verteidigungsgipfel von Dezember 2013. Von der Stagnation zum (ambitionslosen) Pragmatismus*. In: *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, 7:3, 311-321.

8. Session (02 June 2021) -- Student project presentations

Policy field e.g.: EU & Conflict-/Crisis Management: civilian missions & military operations

Basic texts:

- Hill, Christopher. 2001. *The EU's Capacity for Conflict Prevention*. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 6: 3, 315-333.
- Juncos, Ana E, and Steven Blockmans. 2018. "The EU's role in conflict prevention and peacebuilding: four key challenges." *Global Affairs* 4(2-3): 131-140.
- Pirozzi, Nicoletta. 2015. *The European Union and Civilian Crisis Management after Lisbon*. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 20(2): 287-306.
- Jackson, Paul. 2018. *Introduction: Second-Generation Security Sector Reform*. *Journal of Intervention and State Building* 12(1): 1-10.

Additional Readings:

- Richmond, Oliver, Annika Björkdahl, and Stefanie Kappler. 2011. *The emerging EU peacebuilding framework: confirming or transcending liberal peacebuilding?* *Cambridge review of international affairs* 24(3): 449-69.
- *Case Studies from the EUNPACK-Project*: <http://www.eunpack.eu/>

More or less comparative & evaluative studies:

- Nowak, Agnieszka, ed. 2006. *Civilian crisis management: the EU way*. Paris: Institute for Security Studies (Chaillot Paper 90).
- Merlingen, Michael/ Ostrauskaite, Rasa 2006. *The Implementation of the ESDP. Issues and Tentative Generalizations*, in: *European Security and Defence Policy. An implementation perspective*, Edited by Merlingen, Michael/ Ostrauskaite, Rasa, London/ New York: Routledge, 189-205.
- Witney, Nick 2008. *Re-energising Europe's Security and Defense Policy*. ECFR Policy Paper. London, European Council on Foreign Relations.

- Asseburg, Muriel/ Kempin, Ronja, eds. 2009. The EU as a Strategic Actor in the Realm of Security and Defence? SWP-Studie Nr. 14. Berlin, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.
- Grevi, Giovanni/Helly, Damien/Keohane, Daniel, ed. 2010. *European Security and Defence Policy. The First 10 Years (1999-2009)*. Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies.

These five texts will also be available on BB!

Complementary readings (selection only!):

- Arteaga, Félix. 2011. The Need for an Open System to Evaluate European Union CSDP Missions. *Think Global–Act European report–The Contribution of 16*: 316-21.
- Bailes, Alyson J.K. 1999. National Interests versus European Approaches to Crisis Management: A View from Brussels (30. Sept. 1999). 8. Stockholm.
- Bendiek, Annegret. 2017. *A paradigm shift in the EU's common foreign and security policy : from transformation to resilience*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.
- Bergmann, Julian. 2017. "Bargaining for Peace, Striving for Stability: A Study on the European Union's Effectiveness as International Mediator." Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz § Z2017.
- Bergmann, Julian, and Arne Niemann. 2013. "The European Union as an Effective Mediator in Peace Negotiations? Conceptual Framework and Plausibility Probe." *Mainz Papers on International and European Politics* 5.
- Bildt, Carl. 1997. Hat Europa aus Bosnien gelernt? Schlußfolgerungen für die europäische Außenpolitik. *Internationale Politik* 52: 7, 3-8.
- Bildt, Carl. 1998. *Peace Journey. The Struggle for Peace in Bosnia*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Bühling, Rainer. 2018. *Die EU und die Ukraine: das Dilemma des strategischen Defizits*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Calic, Marie-Janine. 1998. Post-SFOR: Towards Europeanization of the Bosnia Peace Operation. *Chaillot Papers* 32: 10-22.
- Edwards, Geoffrey. 1997. The Potential and Limits of the CFSP: The Yugoslav Example. In *Foreign Policy of the European Union. From EPC to CFSP and beyond* edited by Regelsberger, Elfriede, 173-195. Colorado: Boulder.
- Edwards, G. 2013. The EU's foreign policy and the search for effect. *International Relations*, 27(3), 276-291.
- Ejdus, Filip, and Ana E Juncos. 2018. "Reclaiming the local in EU peacebuilding: Effectiveness, ownership, and resistance." *Contemporary Security Policy* 39 (1):4-27.
- Erhart, Hans-Georg. 2005. Die EU als militärischer Akteur in Mazedonien: Lehren und Herausforderungen für die ESVP. In *Die Beziehungen zwischen NATO und EU. Partnerschaft, Konkurrenz, Rivalität?* edited by Varwick, Johannes, 169-184. Opladen: Barbara Budrich.
- Fiott, Daniel, Antonio Missiroli, and Thierry Tardy. 2017. *Permanent Structured Cooperation: What's in a Name?* : Institute for Security Studies, European Union.
- Giersch, Carsten. 1998. *Konfliktregulierung in Jugoslawien 1991-1995. Die Rolle von OSZE, EU, UNO und NATO*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag.
- Giegerich, Bastian/Wallace, William. 2004. Not Such a Soft Power: the External Deployment of European Forces. *Survival* 46: 2, 163-182.
- Ginsberg, Roy H. 2001. *The European Union in International Politics. Baptism by Fire*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Gourlay, Catriona 2004. European Union Procedures and Resources for Crisis Management. *International Peacekeeping* 11(3): 404-421.
- Holländer, Lutz. 2005. Die Übernahme von SFOR durch die EU: Voraussetzungen, Strategien und Konsequenzen, In: *Die Beziehungen zwischen NATO und EU. Partnerschaft, Konkurrenz, Rivalität?* Edited by Varwick, Johannes, Barbara Budrich: Opladen. 185-198.
- Juncos, Ana E. 2018. "Civilian CSDP missions: 'the good, the bad and the ugly'." In *Research Handbook on the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Kintis, Andreas G. 1999. Between ambition and paralysis: The European Union's CFSP and the war in Former Yugoslavia. In *Redefining European Security* edited by Hodge, Carl C., 273-297. New York: Garland.
- Kurowska, X. 2008. The Role of ESDP Operations. In: Merlingen, M. & Ostrauskaite, R. (eds.) *European Security and Defence Policy. An Implementation Perspective*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Newman, Edward, and Eamon Aloyo. 2018. "Overcoming the Paradox of Conflict Prevention." In *Just Security in an Undergoverned World*, edited by William Durch, Joris Larik and Richard Ponzio, ??? Oxon: Oxford University Press.

- Rudischhauser et al. 2018. Sicherheit in Europa – Hindernisse und Möglichkeiten einer europäischen Sicherheitspolitik Security in Europe – Opportunities for and Limits of European Security Policy. *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* 11(2). 181-201.
- Schroeder, Ursula C, Fairlie Chappuis, and Deniz Kocak. 2014. "Security sector reform and the emergence of hybrid security governance." *International Peacekeeping* 21 (2):214-30.
- Tardy, Thierry. 2017 & European Union Institute for Security Studies (Hrsg.). *Recasting EU civilian crisis management*. Permanent Link: <https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/21e92b03-0d3b-11e7-8a35-01aa75ed71a1>.
- Whitman, Richard G./Wolff, Stefan. 2010. The EU as a conflict manager? The case of Georgia and its implications. In *International Affairs* 86: 1, 87-107.

9. Session (09 June 2021) -- Student project presentations

Policy field e.g.: Transatlantic Relations and Co-operation between EU and NATO

A. CFSP/ESDP as issue in transatlantic relations

Basic texts:

- Peters, Ingo. 2004. ESDP as Transatlantic Issue: Problems of Mutual Ambiguity. *International Studies Review* 6: 3, 381-401.
- Smith, Michael E. 2018. Transatlantic Security relations since the European security strategy: what role for the EU in its pursuit of strategic autonomy? *Journal of European Integration* 40(5). 605-620.
- Riddervold, Marianne, and Akasemi Newsome. 2018. "Transatlantic relations in times of uncertainty: crises and EU-US relations." *Journal of European Integration* 40 (5):505-21. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2018.1488839>.

Complementary readings (selection only!)

Transatlantic Relations and Co-operation between EU and NATO

- Anagnostakis, Dimitrios. 2017. *EU-US cooperation on internal security: building a transatlantic regime*. New York: Routledge.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2000. *European Integration and Defence: The Ultimate Challenge*. Paris: Institute for Security Studies, Western European Union (Chaillot Papers 43).
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2003. Why ESDP is Necessary and Beneficial for the Alliance, In: *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy*, edited by Howorth, Jolyon/Keeler, John T.S.: Palgrave, Basingstoke, 219-238
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2017. "Strategic autonomy and EU-NATO cooperation: squaring the circle." In *Security Policy Brief No. 85*. Brussels: Egmont Institute.
- Koschut, Simon. 2018. Appropriately Upset? A Methodological Framework for Tracing the Emotion Norms of the Transatlantic Security Community. *Politics and Governance* 6(4). 125-134.
- Lebl, Leslie S. 2004. European Union Defense Policy. An American Perspective. *Policy Analysis* 516, 1-15.
- Menon, Anand. 2003. Why ESDP is Misguided and Dangerous for the Alliance, in: *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy*, edited by Howorth, Jolyon/Keeler John T.S., Palgrave, Basingstoke, 203-217.
- Gnesotto, Nicole 1996: Common European Defence and Transatlantic Relations, in: *Survival* 38: 1, 19-31.
- Kupchan, Charles A. 2000: In Defence of European Defence: An American Perspective, in: *Survival* 42: 2, 16-32.
- Scherpenberg, Jens van 1997: Transatlantic Competition and European Defence Industries: A New Look at the Trade-Defence Linkage, in: *International Affairs* 73: 1, 99-122.
- Sloan, Stanley R. 2000: The United States and European Defence, Paris.
- Wallace, William. 2001. Europe, the Necessary Partner. *Foreign Affairs* 80: 3, 16-34.

B. Policy field e.g.: The Institutionalisation of EU-NATO Relations

Basic texts:

- Ojanen, Hanna. 2006. The EU and Nato: Two competing models for a common defence policy. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44: 1, 57-76.
- Duke, Simon. 2008. The Future of EU-NATO Relations: a Case of Mutual Irrelevance through Competition?, *Journal of European Integration* 30:1, 27-43.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2018. Strategic autonomy and EU-NATO cooperation: threat or opportunity for transatlantic defence relations?. *Journal of European Integration* 40(5). 523-537.

Complementary readings (selection only!):

- Dijkstra, Hylke, Ewa Mahr, Petar Petrov, Katarina Đokić, and Peter Horne Zartsdahl. 2017. "Partners in conflict prevention and peacebuilding: How the EU, UN and OSCE exchange civilian capabilities in Kosovo, Mali and Armenia."
- Hofmann, Stephanie/Reynolds, Christopher. 2007. *Die EU-Nato-Beziehungen. Zeit für "Tauwetter"*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP-Aktuell 37).
- Hofmann, Stephanie C. 2007. *Institutional Overlap in the Realm of Security: The Case of NATO and ESDP* <http://www.princeton.edu/~smeunier/HofmannOverlap.pdf>.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2003. ESDP and NATO: wedlock or deadlock? *Cooperation and Conflict* 38: 3, 235-254.
- Howorth, Jolyon 2010. NATO and ESDP: Institutional Complexities and Political Realities? *Politique étrangère* 4, 95-106.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2017. EU-NATO cooperation: the key to Europe's security future. *European Security* 26(3). 454-459.
- Hunter, Robert E. 2001. *The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion - or Competitor?* Santa Monica.
- Larrabee, Stephen F. 2004. ESDP and NATO: Assuring Complementarity. *The International Spectator* 39: 51-70.
- Riggio, Daniele. 2003. EU – NATO Cooperation and Complementarity between the Rapid Reaction Forces. *The International Spectator* 3: 47 – 60
- Meiers, Franz-Josef. 2005. Die „NATO Response Force“ und die „European Rapid Reaction Force“: Kooperationspartner oder Konkurrenten, In: *Die Beziehungen zwischen NATO und EU. Partnerschaft, Konkurrenz, Rivalität?* Edited by Varwick, Johannes, Barbara Budrich: Opladen. 119-138.
- Whitman, Richard G. 2004. NATO, the EU and ESDP: An Emerging Division of Labour. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 25(3): 430-451.
- Missiroli, Antonio. 2002. EU-NATO Cooperation in Crisis Management. *Security Dialogue* 33: 1, 9-27.

10. Session (16 June 2021) -- Student project presentations

European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)

(EU Relations to CIS States, the Caucasus Region, the Middle East and EMP)

Basic texts:

- **Smith**, Karen E. 2005. The outsiders: the European neighbourhood policy. *International Affairs* 81: 4, 757-773.
- **Emerson**, Michael. 2004. European Neighbourhood Policy: Strategy or Placebo? Brussels: (CEPS Working Document 215).

Complementary readings (selection only!):

A) ENP

- Aliboni, Roberto. 2005. The Geopolitical Implications of the European Neighbourhood Policy. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10: 1 1-16.
- Börzel, Tanja & van Hüllen, Vera. 2014. One voice, one message, but conflicting goals: cohesiveness and consistency in the European Neighbourhood Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(7), 1033-1049.

- Bouris, Dimitris & Schumacher, Tobias. 2017. *The Revised European Neighbourhood Policy: Continuity and Change in EU Foreign Policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cianciara, Agnieszka K. 2017. Stability, security, democracy: explaining shifts in the narrative of the European Neighbourhood Policy. *Journal of European Integration* 39(1), 49-62.
- Chulitskaya, Tatsiana et al. 2017. Science policies and international cooperation in the eastern neighbourhood of the European Union: an overview. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, EU-STRAT.
- Cremona, Marise. 2004. *The European Neighbourhood Policy: Legal and Institutional Issues*. Stanford, CA: Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford Institute for International Studies, Stanford University. CDDRL Working Papers 25, 27.
- Dimitrova, Antoaneta et al. 2017. *The Elements of Russia's Soft Power: Channels, Tools, and Actors Promoting Russian Influence in the Eastern Partnership Countries*. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin EU-STRAT.
- Freyburg, Tina et al. 2011. Democracy promotion through functional cooperation? The case of the European Neighbourhood Policy. *Democratization* 18(4), 1026-1054.
- Gardner Feldman, Lily. 2003. The Implications of EU Enlargement for the EU as an International Political Actor: Opportunities and Risks. In *EU Enlargement and Transatlantic Relations: Background Analysis* edited by Fisher, Cathleen S., 85-104. Washington DC: American Institute of Contemporary German Studies.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2017. 'Stability on the Borders': The Ukraine Crisis and the EU's Constrained Policy Towards the Eastern Neighbourhood. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 55(1). 121-136.
- Langbein, Julia. 2011. Organizing Regulatory Convergence outside the EU Setting Policy-Specific Conditionality and Building Domestic Capacities. KFG Working Papers No. 33. Available at: https://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/en/v/transformeurope/publications/working_paper/wp/wp33/WP_33_JuliaLangbein.pdf
- Missiroli, Antonio. 2004. The EU and its changing neighbourhood: stabilization, integration, and partnership. In *European Union Foreign and Security Policy: Toward a Neighborhood Strategy* edited by Dannreuther, Roland, 12-26. London: Routledge.
- Van Hüllen, Vera. 2009. EU Democracy Promotion in the Mediterranean Cooperation against all odds? KFG Working Paper No. 9. Available at: https://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/en/v/transformeurope/publications/working_paper/wp/wp9/WP_09_November_van-Huellen1.pdf
- Wesselink, Edzard & Boschma, Ron. 2017. European Neighbourhood Policy: History, Structure, and Implemented Policy Measures. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 108(1), 4-20.
- Whitman, Richard G., and Stefan Wolff, eds. 2010. *The European Neighbourhood Policy in Perspective. Context, Implementation and Impact*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wetzel, A. 2014. Die Europäische Nachbarschaftspolitik gegenüber der Ukraine: Vom Scheitern einer Politik mit technokratischen Mitteln. *Die Friedens-Warte*, 89, pp.105-123.

Additional Readings:

B) Eastern Partnership

- Crombois, Jean. 2017. Conflicting Narratives?: Geopolitical and Normative Power Narratives in the EU Eastern Partnership. *Politeja* 49, 109-125.
- Erkomaishvili, David. 2009. The EU's Eastern Challenge. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 3(1).
- Kølvraa, Christoffer. 2017. Limits of Attraction: The EU's Eastern Border and the European Neighbourhood Policy. *East European Politics & Societies and Cultures* 31(1), 11-25.
- Rouet, Gilles. 2016. A new European Neighbourhood Policy to strengthen the European project. *Eastern Journal of European Studies* 7(2), 5-10.
- Schäffer, Sebastian, and Dominik Tolksdorf. 2009. The Eastern Partnership "ENP plus" for Europe's Eastern neighbors. *C·A·Perspectives* · 4 no.4.
- Shapovalova, Natalia. 2009. The EU's Eastern Partnership: Stillborn? *Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE)*(11): 5.
- Sikorski, Radek. 2009. The EU's "Eastern Partnership" with former Soviet states holds the key to relations with Russia. www.europesworld.org.
- Tinsky, Grigory. 2009. A Carrot for the Eastern Donkey *RPMonitor*.
- — —. 2009. Mind the Doors Closing! *RPMonitor*.

11. Session (23 June 2021) -- Student project presentations

Policy field e.g.: EU Relations to Russia: Problems and Prospects

Basic texts:

- Forsberg, Tuomas. 2004. The EU-Russian Security Partnership: Why the Opportunity was Missed. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9: 247-267.
- Fischer, Sabine 2006: Die EU und Russland. Konflikte und Potentiale einer schwierigen Partnerschaft. *SWP-Studie* 34, Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP).
- Hughes, James. 2006. EU Relations with Russia: Partnership or Asymmetric Interdependency? In: *The EU's Foreign Policy in an Evolving International System: The Road to Convergence* edited by Casarini, Nicola/ Musu, Constanza, London: Palgrave Macmillan, part II.

Complementary readings (selection only!):

- Adomeit, Hannes/Aslund, Anders, ed. 2005. *Russia versus the United States and Europe - or "Strategic Triangle"? Developments in Russian Domestic and Foreign Policy, Western Responses, and Prospects for Policy Coordination*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP).
- Danilov, Dmitry. 2005. Russian and European Security. *Chaillot Papers* 74: 80-96.
- Danilov, Dmitry/Karaganov, Sergei/Lynch, Dov/Pushkov, Alexey/Trenin, Dmitri/Zagorski, Andrei. 2005. *What Russia sees*. Paris: Institute for Security Studies (Chaillot Paper 74).
- Delcour, Laure. 2017. *The EU and Russia in their "contested neighbourhood": multiple external influences, policy transfer and domestic change*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Delcour, Laure. 2018. Dealing with the elephant in the room: the EU, its 'Eastern neighbourhood' and Russia. *Contemporary Politics* 24(1). 14-29.
- Emerson, Michael, ed. 2006. *The Elephant and the Bear Try Again. Options for a New Agreement between the EU and Russia*. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies.
- Emerson, Michael. 2005. *EU-Russia. Four Common Spaces and the Proliferation of the Fuzzy*. CEPS Policy Brief 71.
- European Union. 2004. *EU-Russia Summit: The four "common spaces"* (24. September 2004). Brüssel: http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/russia/summit_11_04/m04_268.htm [21.07.].
- European Union. 2006. *The EU's relations with Russia* http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/russia/intro/index.htm [21.07.].
- Frear, Matthew & Mazepus, Honorata. 2017. A new turn or more of the same? : a structured analysis of recent developments in Russian foreign policy discourse. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin EU-STRAT.
- Futak-Campbell, Beatrix (2018) *Practising EU foreign policy: Russia and the Eastern neighbours*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- GREVI, G. & RENARD, T. (eds.) 2012. *Partners in Crisis: EU Strategic Partnerships and the Global Economic Downturn*, Brussels: European Strategic Partnership Observatory.
- Götz, Roland. 2003. Licht und Schatten. Die Energiepartnerschaft zwischen Rußland und der EU. *Osteuropa* 53: 9-10, 1525-1539.
- Haukkala, Hiski. 2013. The EU and Russia and their 'common neighborhood': Can the two finally move from competition to cooperation? In *Economization versus Power Ambitions. Rethinking Russia's Policy towards the Post-Soviet Space*, edited by Stefan Meister, 91-104. Baden-Baden: Nomos-Verlag.
- . 2008. The European Union as a regional normative hegemon: The case of European neighbourhood policy. *Europe-Asia Studies* 60(9): 1601-22.
- . 2010. *The EU-Russia strategic partnership: the limits of post-sovereignty in international relations*: Routledge.
- . 2009. From Zero-Sum to Win-Win? The Russian Challenge to the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood Policies. *European Policy Analysis* 12.
- . 2007. A normative power or a normative hegemon? The EU and its European Neighbourhood Policy.
- . 2008. A Norm-Maker or a Norm-Taker? In *Russia's European choice*, 35-56: Springer.
- . 2008. The Russian challenge to EU normative power: The case of European neighbourhood policy. *The International Spectator* 43(2): 35-47.
- Karaganov, Sergei. 2005. Russia and the international order. *Chaillot Papers* 74: 23-44.
- Lynch, Dov. 2003. EU-Russian Security Dimensions. Paris: Institute for Security Studies. Occasional Paper 46, 69.
- Lynch, Dov. 2005a. Misperceptions and divergences. *Chaillot Papers* 74: 7-22.

- Lynch, Dov. 2005b. Struggling with an indispensable partner. *Chaillot Papers* 74: 115-136.
- Meier, Christian. 2005. Russland und das neue Modell der Partnerschaft mit der EU. *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte* 52: 4, 19-23.
- Mikhaleva, Galina. 2005. The European Union and Russian Transformation. *Enlarged EU-Enlarged - Neighbourhood: Perspectives of the European Neighbourhood Policy 2*: 107.
- Nitoiu, Christian. 2017. Still entrenched in the conflict/cooperation dichotomy? EU-Russia relations and the Ukraine-crisis. *European Politics and Society* 18(2). 148-165.
- RENARD, T. & BISCOP, S. 2013. *The European Union and emerging powers in the 21st century: how Europe can shape a new global order*, Ashgate Publishing.
- RENARD, T. 2012. a critical assessment of the eu's strategic partnerships. *The Routledge Handbook of European Security*, 302.
- SMITH, M. 2013. Beyond the comfort zone: internal crisis and external challenge in the European Union's response to rising powers. *International Affairs*, 89, 653-671.
- Sus, Monika et. Al. 2018. *EU member states and Russia: national and European debates in an evolving international environment*. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs.
- Timmermann, Heinz. 2003. Russlands Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik: Die europäische Richtung. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 53: 16-17, 22-31.
- Zagorski, Andrei. 2004. Policies towards Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus. In *European Union Foreign and Security Policy: Toward a Neighbourhood Strategy* edited by Dannreuther, Roland, 79-97. London: Routledge.
- Zagorski, Andrei. 2005. Russia and the shared neighbourhood. *Chaillot Papers* 74: 61-79

12. Session (30 June 2021) – Student Project Presentations

Policy field e.g.: EU Relations to China: Problems and Prospects

Basic texts:

- Shambaugh, David. 2004. China and Europe: The Emerging Axis. *Current History* September, 243-248.
- Berkofsky, Axel. 2005. EU-China Relations. Strategic Partnership or partners of convenience? *German Foreign Policy in Dialogue* 6: 16, 14-22.
- Scott, David. 2007. China and the EU: A Strategic Axis for the Twenty-First Century? *International Relations* 21: 1, 23-45.

Complementary readings (incomplete!):

- ANHEIER, Helmut K. et Al. 2017. After Brexit: Risks and Opportunities to EU-China Relations (Report). *Global Policy* 8(S4). 109-115.
- CAMERON, F. 2009. The Development of EU-China Relations. *European Studies: A Journal of European Culture, History and Politics*, 27, 47-64.
- Caruso, Raul. 2005. To Lift or not to Lift? A Few Notes on the Lifting of the European Arms Embargo on China. *Crossroads* 5: 1, 7-18.
- FOX, J. & GODEMENT, F. 2009. *A power audit of EU-China relations*, European Council on Foreign Relations Brussels.
- Friedberg, Aaron L. 2000. Will Europe's Past Be Asia's Future? *Survival* 42: 3, 147-159.
- Gill, Bates/Wacker, Gudrun, ed. 2005. *China's Rise: Diverging U.S.-EU Perceptions and Approaches*. Berlin: SWP.
- Kolkmann, Michael. 2005. Die China-Politik der USA. Konzepte - Erfahrungen - Perspektiven. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP). 9,
- Mauß, Hanns W. 2017. The politics of the EU: China's relationship with Europe. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 2(1). 55-69.
- Michalski, Anna & Pan, Zhongqi. 2017. Role Dynamics in a Structured Relationship: The EU-China Strategic Partnership. *JCMS Journal of Common Market Studies* 55(3).611-627.
- Rupprecht, Klaus. 2001. European and American Approaches toward China as an Emerging Power. *China Aktuell* 30: 2, 169-179.
- Shambaugh, David. 2000. Sino-American Strategic Relations: From partners to competitors. *Survival* 1, 97-115.
- Shambaugh, David. 2005. The New Strategic Triangle: U.S. and European Reactions to China's Rise. *The Washington Quarterly* 28: 3, 7-25.

- Summers, Tim. 2018. The politics of EU-China economic relations: an uneasy partnership, China, the European Union and the international politics of global governance. *International Affairs* 94(1). 223-224.
- Umbach, Frank. 2004. *EU's Links with China Pose New Threat to Transatlantic Relations* http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/ea/2004_spring/2004_spring_06.html [22.02.2006].
- Ward, Adam. 2003. China and America: Trouble ahead. *Survival* 45: 3, 35-56.
- ZABOROWSKI, M. 2008. EU-China security relations. *Analysis*.
- ZABOROWSKI, M. (ed.) 2006. *Facing China's rise: Guidelines for an EU strategy*, Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies.

13. Session (07 July 2021) -- Student Project Presentations

Policy field e.g.: EU Relations to other regions in the world/ inter-regional relations

Basic texts:

- Börzel, Tanja A./Risse, Thomas. 2004. One Size Fits All! EU Policies for the Promotion of Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law, Paper prepared for the Workshop on Democracy Promotion, Stanford University, Oct. 4-5, 32p.
- Hettne, Björn/Söderbaum, Frederik. 2005. Civilian Power or Soft Imperialism? The EU as a Global Actor and the Role of Interregionalism. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10: 4, 535-552.

At this point, every case study should focus on **one** region only! (Texts in Blackboard)

Basic texts:

Söderbaum, Fredrik/Stalgren, Patrik/Van Langenhove, Luk 2005. 'The EU as a Global Actor and the Dynamics of Interregionalism: a Comparative Analysis', *Journal of European Integration*, 27:3, 365-380.

Relations to the ACP countries:

- Ahmed, Bashair, Mahamadou Danda, Audra K Grant, Vassilis Ntousas, Luca Raineri, Alessandro Rossi, Souleymane Sagna, and Bernardo Venturi. 2018. "The security–migration–development nexus revised: a perspective from the Sahel."
- Babarinde, Olufemi/Faber, Gerrit. 2004. From Lomé to Cotonou: Business as Usual? *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9: 1, 27-47.
- Bergmann, Julian. 2017. "Capacity Building in Support of Security and Development (CBSD): securitising EU development policy?" *DIE Briefing Paper* 24 (17).
- Forwood, Geneva. 2001. The Way to Cotonou: Negotiating a Successor to Lomé. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39: 3, 423-442.
- Morrissey, Oliver et al. 2007. A Critical Assessment of Proposed EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements. In: *EU Development policy in a changing world: challenges for the 21st Century*, edited by Andrew Mold, Amsterdam: Amsterdam Univ. Press, ch. 8.
- Tardy, Thierry. 2016. "The EU and Africa: A changing security partnership." *EUISS Brief* (5, February). *European Union Institute for Security Studies*.

Relations to AEAN and Asia, respectively

- European Commission; Joint Research Centre. 2018. *Exploring ASEM Sustainable Connectivity: what brings Asia and Europe together?* Luxembourg: Publications Office.
- Forster, A. 2000. Evaluating the EU–ASEM relationship: a negotiated order approach. *Journal of European Public Policy* 7: 5, 787-805.
- Reiterer, Michael. 2002. The Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM): The Importance of the Fourth ASEM Summit in the Light of 11 September. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 7: 2, 133-152.
- Gilson, Julie. 2005. 'New Interregionalism? The EU and East Asia', *Journal of European Integration* 27(3): 307-326.
- Xuechen, Iris Chen. 2018. The Role of ASEAN's Identities in Reshaping the ASEAN-EU-Relationship. (corporate and social identities of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations). *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 40(2). 222-247.

Relations to Latin America:

- Blanco, Luis Fernando & Theodoro Luciano, Bruno. 2018. Understanding EU's strategic partnership in Latin America: a comparative assessment of EU-Brazil and EU-Mexico relations. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 26(4). 459-472.
- Santander, Sebastian. 2002. EU-MERCOSUR Interregionalism: Facing up to the South American Crisis and the Emerging Free Trade Area of the Americas. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 7: 4, 491-505.
- Freres, Christian. 2007. Challenges of Forging a Partnership between the European Union and Latin America. In: *EU Development policy in a changing world: challenges for the 21st Century*, edited by Andrew Mold, Amsterdam: Amsterdam Univ. Press, ch. 6.
- Ruano, L. 2018. *Dealing with diversity: The EU and Latin America today. Chaillot papers: No. 145*. Paris, Luxembourg: EU Institute for Security Studies; Publications Office of the European Union.
- Selleslaghs, J. 2018. The changing nature of EU-Latin America interregional relations. *Research Handbook on the EU's Engagement with International Organisations*.
- Tayar, Violetta. 2018. The European Union and Latin America: The configuration of interregional and transatlantic cooperation. *Portuguese Journal of Social Science* 17(2). 199-211.
- Whitman, R. G. & Rodt, A. P. 2012. EU-Brazil Relations: A Strategic Partnership? *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 1(17), 27-44.

14. Session (14 July 2021)

Final Discussion:

- Empirical Findings and Academic Added-value of the Seminar?
- Synoptical comparison of (intermediate) project findings

Seminar critique

More recent pertinent literature (*selection only!*):

- Ahmed, Bashair, Mahamadou Danda, Audra K Grant, Vassilis Ntousas, Luca Raineri, Alessandro Rossi, Souleymane Sagna, and Bernardo Venturi. 2018. The security–migration–development nexus revised: a perspective from the Sahel.
- Aydin Düzgit, Senem, and Alessandro Marrone. 2018. PESCO and security cooperation between the EU and Turkey.
- Bergmann, Julian, and Arne Niemann. 2018. From Neo-Functional Peace to a Logic of Spillover in EU External Policy: A Response to Visoka and Doyle. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(2).
- Biscop, Sven. 2018. European defence: give PESCO a chance. *Survival* 60(3).
- Bøås, Morten. 2018. New war zones or evolving modes of insurgency warfare? In *Handbook of Political Anthropology*: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Chalmers, Malcolm. 2018. Brexit and European Security. *Briefing paper of Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (February)*.
- Cold-Ravnkilde, Signe Marie, and Katja Lindskov Jacobsen. 2020. Disentangling the security traffic jam in the Sahel: constitutive effects of contemporary interventionism. *International Affairs* 96(4).
- Cold-Ravnkilde, Signe Marie, and Christine Nissen. 2020. Schizophrenic agendas in the EU's external actions in Mali. *International Affairs* 96(4).
- Dembinski, Matthias, and Dirk Peters. 2018. *Eine Armee für die Europäische Union? Europapolitische Konzeptionen und verteidigungspolitische Strukturen, PRIF Report 01/2018*. Frankfurt am Main: Leibniz-Institut Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (HSFK), Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF).
- Deschaux-Dutard, Delphine. 2020. Simon Duke: Will Brexit Damage our Security and Defence? The Impact on the UK and EU (London: Palgrave, 2018), pp. 120. ISBN: 978-3319961064. *ERIS–European Review of International Studies* 6(2).

- Dijkstra, Hylke, Petar Petrov, and Ewa Mahr. 2019. Learning to deploy civilian capabilities: How the United Nations, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and European Union have changed their crisis management institutions. *Cooperation and Conflict* 54(4).
- Duke, Simon W. 2019. The Competing Logics of EU Security and Defence. *Survival* 61(2).
- Durch, William, Joris Larik, and Richard Ponzio, eds. 2018. *Just Security in an Undergoverned World*. Oxon: Oxford University Press.
- Ejdus, Filip. 2018. Local ownership as international governmentality: Evidence from the EU mission in the Horn of Africa. *Contemporary Security Policy* 39(1).
- Ejdus, Filip, and Ana E Juncos. 2018. Reclaiming the local in EU peacebuilding: Effectiveness, ownership, and resistance. *Contemporary Security Policy* 39(1).
- Faleg, Giovanni. 2018. The EU: from comprehensive to integrated approach. *Global Affairs*.
- Fix, Liana. 2018. The Different 'Shades' of German Power: Germany and EU Foreign Policy during the Ukraine Conflict. *German Politics* 27(4).
- Guichaoua, Yvan. 2020. The bitter harvest of French interventionism in the Sahel. *International Affairs* 96(4).
- Guido, LTC Joseph. 2019. The American way of war in Africa: the case of Niger. *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 30(1).
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2019. Differentiation in security and defence policy. *Comparative European Politics* 17(2).
- Jayasundara-Smits, S. 2018. Bracing the wind and riding the norm life cycle: inclusive peacebuilding in the European capacity building mission in Sahel–Mali (EUCAP Sahel–Mali) 10.1080/21647259.2018.1491683 *Peacebuilding* 6(3).
- Jayasundara-Smits, Shyamika. 2018. From revolution to reform and back: EU-Security sector reform in Ukraine. *European Security*.
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