



UNIVERSITÄT  
LEIPZIG

Faculty of Social Sciences and Philosophy

## Course Outline

# European Peace and Security Policy

Winter Term 2024/2025



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<i>Time &amp; Date</i>	Wednesday, 13.00 – 15.00
<i>Venue</i>	NSG S 114
<i>Lecturer</i>	Dr. Julia Leib Heisenberg Chair for International Relations and Transnational Politics Room H3 0.14 (GWZ) <a href="mailto:julia.leib@uni-leipzig.de">julia.leib@uni-leipzig.de</a>
<i>Office Hours</i>	Wednesday, 16.00 – 18.00 (in person or via Zoom // for details see Moodle)

## COURSE DESCRIPTION

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The Course introduces the European peace and security policy and the complex decision-making and institutionalization policies that define it. It examines the historical, institutional, theoretical, and international dimensions of the European security and defence integration and the challenges and opportunities faced by the EU as it enhances its international security role. After a brief overview of key historical developments since the end of WW2, we will discuss the main theoretical approaches dealing with European security. The course will then focus on specific issues and policy domains pertaining to European peace and security policy. It first takes a closer look on governing actors within the EU as well as inter-organizational cooperation within the field (EU-NATO) cooperation. It then analyses different policy domains including the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and its dedicated Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), internal security and migration security. We will also look at case studies of several CSDP missions and operations and include group briefings on the missions in Somalia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Mali. The final part of the course takes a closer look at current dynamics in European foreign policy and the EU's role in global politics.

The course offers students empirical knowledge about various dimensions of European peace and security, analytical skills to better understand European security and shed light on its developments from various theoretical perspectives and encourages students to engage with current political debates related to the EU and more generally to security governance beyond the nation-state, its organization, problem-solving capacity and legitimacy.

## COURSE OBJECTIVES AND LEARNING OUTCOMES

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The most important goal of the course is to impart to students a solid understanding of theories and empirical evidence regarding European peace and security policy.

Additionally, upon completion of this course, students should also be able to:

- Define and identify the characteristics of European foreign policy;
- Gain familiarity with the major theories of European peace and security policy;
- Compare and question different theoretical and empirical approaches to European foreign policy;
- Gain understanding with concepts of EU foreign policy and contemporary debates on Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP);
- Explain historical cases in light of the theories discussed in class;
- Combine theoretical perspectives with empirical examples;
- Improve their analytical skills in dealing with academic texts.

This includes in particular that you are able to:

- Examine and decide to what extent one of the theoretical perspectives can explain the emergence, development and/or effects of selected case(s);
- Select case(s) to investigate with the resources available to you (case selection);
- Formulate a research question for the investigation of selected case(s), which you can answer within the framework of the resources available to you (research question);
- Obtain and process literature serving to answer the research question and write down your research results and argumentation in a structured and focused manner in the form of a seminar paper.

At the end of the seminar, you should be able to, or have improved your ability to,

- Describe important characteristics, processes and possible actions of EU foreign policy;
- Describe central issues and challenges in the theory and practice of EU foreign policy;
- Collect, process, systematize and communicate existing knowledge on a specific research question in a cooperative and individual manner.

## REQUIREMENTS

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**Language requirements:**

The language of instruction is English.

**Active and regular participation:**

This course is designed for students in the political science bachelor's programs who have already taken courses in International Relations and are interested in European peace and security policy. For each week, there are 1-2 texts listed as required reading and a selection of further reading. The required reading serves as preparation for the respective sessions and must be read by all participants. For course credits, reading of the core literature and oral participation in discussions and group work are expected.

As preparation for the essay, students should give a short **presentation** (max. 10 minutes) for one topic listed in this syllabus. Please prepare a 1–2-page thesis paper to be uploaded to the appropriate Moodle folder by Tuesday prior to the session. Presentations deal with the additional literature listed below.

**Bibliography and annotation:**

Students will prepare a bibliography comprising 20 academic texts, 5 of which must be annotated, that are relevant for their research question. Make sure that you include monographs, chapters in edited volumes and articles in academic journals. Please upload your bibliography on Moodle **until 10.01.25.**

**Essay:**

As final examination assignment, you will work on an **essay** that provides a (partial) answer to a research question. The main part of the paper should deal with the analysis or the answer to the research question and not with the detailed description of the topic or the general historical background of a case. The research question addressed in the paper must be stated precisely in the introduction. The reference to the general context (topic of the seminar) should not be missing in term papers. With a term paper you should show that you are able to work independently on a topic using scientific working techniques and methods; this includes an independent literature search. You should strive to include articles from academic journals, in addition to the "easy" to find monographs and internet sources. Note also that the state of research in the field of EU peace and security policy is not limited to German-language literature. A large part of the central contributions has been and will be published in English.

Requirements: Essay of 4.500 – 5.000 words (approx. 13–15 pages). Ideally, your essay topic will be related to the topic of your presentation. The essay can be written either in English or German (though English is preferred) and is **due on March 15, 2025.**

Please upload your essay as a pdf file (file name: EUPASP2024\_NameFirstName) in the designated Moodle folder. A print version is not required.

**Degree Programs**

- BA Politikwissenschaft (Transnationalisierung und europäische Integration)

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## ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

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**General Information:**

I will routinely check all submitted papers for plagiarism (i.e., without a specific case of suspicion). If it becomes obvious that you have not cited all the sources you have used (i.e., quoted verbatim or paraphrased) at the respective place of use as well as in the bibliography, you will have to reckon with comprehensive sanctions.

**Course Organization:**

The individual sessions will take place on **Wednesday, 1 – 3 pm** (contact time). Each seminar session has to be prepared by reading the provided **required literature** (not only cross-reading!) provided in the Moodle course. The active (group)working methods in each session aim at the active participation and commitment of all participants. This is intended to provide an alternative to (often tedious) session routines, which consist of a long presentation and leave (too) little room for discussion. **Questions** about preparation and literature can be asked at any time in the Moodle forum and will be answered either there or in the next session. All course materials will be made available in the Moodle course.

**Moodle:**

The course uses the learning platform Moodle for didactic purposes as well as for internal communication. All students must register for the course in Moodle. You can access Moodle with your university email account and the corresponding password. After logging in, search for this course using the course title, and register for our seminar. This will give you access to the seminar schedule, required reading, and other important information for the seminar progress. You must be enrolled there by **31.10.2024**. After that date, the enrollment option for the course will be deactivated.

**Office Hours:**

I am offering regular office hours in this semester to discuss in-depth questions about course content or your seminar performance, or of course for any other questions and concerns. Office hours will be held on Wednesday from 16.00-18.00 in my office or via Zoom. You can sign up for an appointment on Moodle.

**General Literature Recommendations:**

A political science program thrives on the engagement with literature. Beyond the preparation of the individual sessions, I therefore strongly recommend engaging with further literature on European peace and security policy in self-study. In the following you will find a short, but by no means complete bibliography of important introductory books for independent study.

Stephan Keukeleire and Tom Delreux. 2022. *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*. 3rd edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

David J. Galbreath, Jocely Mawdsley and Laura Chappell (eds.). 2019. *Contemporary European Security*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Fraser Cameron. 2012. *An Introduction to European Foreign Policy*. 2nd edition. Abingdon: Routledge.

Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaite (eds.). 2008. *European Security and Defense Policy: An Implementation Perspective*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Jolyon Howorth. 2014. *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. 2nd edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Simon Hix and Bjørn Høyland. 2022. *The Political System of the European Union*. 4th edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

**Academic Journals:**

- European Political Science
- European Security
- Journal of Common Market Studies
- European Foreign Affairs Review
- Journal of European Integration
- Global Affairs

## SYLLABUS

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### European Peace and Security Policy

Winter Term 2024/2025

#### Overview

##### PART I: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

1. 16.10.24 Introduction
2. 23.10.24 European Security in Historical Perspective

##### PART II: EXPLAINING EUROPEAN SECURITY

3. 30.10.24 Power Politics and Realist Expectations
4. 06.11.24 Liberal Institutionalist Explanations
5. 13.11.24 Constructivist and Critical Approaches

##### PART III: ACTORS AND POLICY DOMAINS

6. 20.11.24 – *No session, public holiday* –
7. 27.11.24 Who Governs CSDP? Actors and Institutions
8. 04.12.24 CSDP Missions and Operations
9. 11.12.24 European Security and NATO
10. 18.12.24 The EU's External Relations: Russia, China & Africa
11. 08.01.25 The EU and the 'Migration Crisis'

##### PART IV: CURRENT DYNAMICS IN EUROPEAN SECURITY

12. 15.01.25 Research Workshop: Analyzing EPSP
13. 22.01.25 European Foreign Policy beyond Security
14. 29.01.25 Security beyond the EU: the EU's Role in Global Politics
15. 05.02.25 Future Scenarii for European Security

**15.03.2025    Deadline Essay**

## PART I: INTRODUCTION

### Session 1: 16.10.2024

#### Introduction to European Peace and Security Policy

This session introduces the students to the topic of the course, explains its structure and its objectives. Student tasks for particular weeks will be disseminated and organizational questions will be discussed.

##### Recommended Readings:

Stephan Keukeleire and Tom Delreux. 2022. "The nature of EU foreign policy", in: *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*. 3rd edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 11-41.

John McCormick. 2018. *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*, 8th edition. London: Red Globe Press, pp. 1-22.

Knud Erik Jorgensen. 2015. "The Study of European Foreign Policy: Trends and Advances", in: Knud Erik Jorgensen, Asne Kalland Aarstad, Edith Drieskens, Katie Laatikainen and Ben Tonra (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 14-29.

Bastian Giegerich. 2020. "Foreign, Security, and Defence Policy: Civilian Power, Europe, and American Leadership", in: Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, Christilla Roederer-Rynning, and Alasdair R. Young (eds.): *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 8th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 388-412.

Jolyon Howorth. 2017. "The European Union's Security and Defence Policy: The Quest for Purpose", in: Christopher Hill, Michael Smith, and Sophie Vanhoonacker (eds.). *International Relations and the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 341-364.

Jennifer Raff. 2016. *How to read and understand a scientific paper: a guide for non-scientists*. LSE Impact Blog. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2016/05/09/how-to-read-and-understand-a-scientific-paper-a-guide-for-non-scientists/>

### Session 2: 23.10.2024

#### European Security in Historical Perspective

- What is the relationship between European integration and EU foreign policy?
- What were obstacles for the development of a foreign policy dimension?
- What are current crises and challenges for European foreign policy?

##### Literature:

Stephan Keukeleire and Tom Delreux. 2022. "European integration and foreign policy: Historical overview", in: *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*. 3rd edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 43-76.

##### Recommended Readings:

Laura Chappell and Jocelyn Mawdsley. 2019. "From Cold War to European Peace", in: David J. Balbreath, Jocelyn Mawdsley, and Laura Chappell (eds.). *Contemporary European Security*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 14-30.

Anand Menon. 2011. "European Defence Policy from Lisbon to Libya", *Survival*, 53(3), 75-90.

Maria Raquel Freire. 2010. "The European Security and Defence Policy: History, Structures and Capabilities", in: Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaité (eds.). *European Security and Defence Policy: An Implementation Perspective*. London: Routledge, pp. 9-24.

Jolyon Howorth. 2014. "European Security Post-Libya and Post-Ukraine: In Search of Core Leadership", in: Nathalia Tocci (eds.). *Imagining Europe: Towards a More United and Effective EU*. Rome: Instituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), pp. 133-162.

Hendrik Hegemann and Ulrich Schneckener. 2019. „Politicising European Security: From Technocratic to Contentious Politics”, *European Security*, 28(2), 133-152.

Jolyon Howorth. 2007. *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 33-59.

## PART II: EXPLAINING EUROPEAN SECURITY

### Session 3: 30.10.2024

#### Power Politics and Realist Expectations

- What are the core assumptions of neorealism?
- What propositions can be inferred about the dynamics of the international system?
- How does neorealism explain European peace and security policy?

#### Literature:

Lorenzo Cladi. 2022. "Persevering with bandwagoning, not hedging: why European security cooperation still conforms to realism", *Defence Studies*, 22(4), 624-643.

#### Student Presentations:

- (1) Neoclassical Realism
- (2) Why is Europe peaceful today?

#### Recommended Readings:

Adrian Hyde-Price. 2012. "Neorealism: A Structural Approach to CSDP", in: Xymena Kurowska, Fabian Breuer (eds.). *Explaining the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy: Theory in Action*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 16-40.

Lorenzo Cladi and Andrea Locatelli. 2016 "Structural Realism: balancing, bandwagoning or what?", in: Lorenzo Cladi and Andrea Locatelli (eds.). *International Relations Theory and European Security: We Thought We Knew*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 11-27.

Tom Dyson. 2016. "Neoclassical Realism: clarifying the nature and role of systemic- and domestic-level variables in CSDP", in: Lorenzo Cladi and Andrea Locatelli (eds.). *International Relations Theory and European Security: We Thought We Knew*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 28-47.

John J. Mearsheimer. 2010. "Why is Europe Peaceful Today?", *European Political Science*, 9(3), 387-397.

Sebastian Rosato. 2011. "Europe's Troubles: Power Politics and the State of the European Project", *International Security*, 35(4), 45-86.

Michael Kluth and Jess Pilegaard. 2012. "The Making of the EU's External Action Service: A Neorealist Interpretation", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 17(2), 303-322.

Adrian Hyde-Price. 2006. "'Normative' Power Europe: a Realist Critique", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(2), 217-234.

Sten Rynning. 2011. "Realism and the Common Security and Defence Policy", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(1), 49 23-42.

**Session 4: 06.11.2024****Liberal Institutionalist Explanations**

- How do domestic processes and events influence European foreign policy?
- What is the institutional context of the EU's foreign policy-making process?
- How does liberalism define and explain the limits of a neorealist explanation of CSDP?

Literature:

Christine Nissen and Jakob Dreyer. 2024. "From optimist to sceptical liberalism: reforging European Union foreign policy amid crises", *International Affairs*, 100(2), 675-690.

Student Presentations:

- (1) EU foreign policy and the crisis of the liberal international order
- (2) The liberal approach to the emergence of the CSDP

Recommended Readings:

Sophie Meunier and Milada A. Vachudova. 2018. "Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(7), 1631–1647.

Pol Bargués, Jonathan Joseph and Ana E. Juncos. 2023. "Rescuing the liberal international order: crisis, resilience and EU security policy", *International Affairs*, 99(6), 2281-2299.

Friederike Richter. 2016. "The Emergence and Evolution of CSDP: a Liberal Approach", in: Lorenzo Cladi and Andrea Locatelli (eds.). *International Relations Theory and European Security: We Thought We Knew*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 48–64.

Benjamin Pohl, Niels van Willingen and Cynthia M. C. van Vronko. 2016. "Governmental interest, new Liberalism and the CSDP", in: Lorenzo Cladi and Andrea Locatelli (eds.). *International Relations Theory and European Security: We Thought We Knew*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 65-82.

Andrew Moravcsik. 2017. "Europe is Still a Superpower: And It's Going to Remain One for Decades to Come", *Foreign Policy*.

Julian Bergmann and Arne Niemann. 2015. "Theories of European Integration", in: Knud Erik Jorgensen, Asne Kalland Aarstad, Edith Drieskens, Katie Laatikainen and Ben Tonra (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 166-182.

Vicki. L. Birchfield, John Krige, Alasdair R. Young. 2017. "European Integration as a Peace Project", *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19(1), 3–12.

Benjamin Pohl. 2013. "Neither Bandwagoning nor Balancing: Explaining Europe's Security Policy", *Contemporary Security Policy*, 34(2), 353–373.

**Session 5: 13.11.2024****Constructivist and Critical Approaches**

- What are the defining features of constructivism and of a critical research tradition?
- What insights do we gain from a constructivist perspective on EU peace and security policy?
- What insights do we gain from critical European foreign policy?

Literature:

Diego Badell. 2024. "Norm contestation in EU foreign policy: understanding the effects of opposition and dissidence", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 37(5), 592-611.

Student Presentations:

- (1) Constructivist perspective on CSDP
- (2) Feminist approach to European foreign policy

Recommended Readings:

Xymena Kurowska and Friedrich Kratochwil. 2012. "The Social Constructivist Sensibility and CSDP Research", in: Xymena Kurowska, Fabian Breuer (eds.). *Explaining the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy: Theory in Action*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 86-110.

Asne Kalland Aarstad. 2015. "Critical Approaches to European Foreign Policy", in: Knud Erik Jorgensen, Asne Kalland Aarstad, Edith Drieskens, Katie Laatikainen and Ben Tonra (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 121-135.

Felix Berenskotter. 2013. "Jumping off the Bandwagon", *Contemporary Security Policy*, 34(2), 382-386.

Frédéric Mérand. 2010. "Pierre Bourdieu and the Birth of European Defense", *Security Studies*, 19(2), 342-374.

Helene Sjursen. 2015. "Normative Theory: An Untapped Resources in the Study of European Foreign Policy", in: Knud Erik Jorgensen, Asne Kalland Aarstad, Edith Drieskens, Katie Laatikainen and Ben Tonra (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 197-213.

Alessia Biava, Margriet Drent, Graeme P. Herd. 2011. "Characterizing the European Union's Strategic Culture: An Analytical Framework", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(6), 1227-1248.

Christoph O. Meyer and Eva Strickmann. 2011. "Solidifying Constructivism: How Material and Ideational Factors Interact in European Defence", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(1), 61-81.

Michael Merlingen. 2011. "From Governance to Governmentality in CSDP: Towards a Foucauldian Research Agenda, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(1), 149-169.

Maria Stern. 2011. "Gender and race in the European security strategy: Europe as a 'force for good'?" *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 14(1), 28-59.

Stephan Keukeleire, Sharon Lecocq. 2018. "Operationalising the decentring agenda: Analysing European foreign policy in a non-European and post-western world", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 53(2), 277-295.

Annica Kronsell. 2016. "Sexed Bodies and Military Masculinities: Gender Path Dependence in EU's Common Security and Defense Policy", *Men and Masculinities*, 19(3), 311-336.

Emanuel Adler. 2008. "The Spread of Security Communities: Communities of Practice, Self-Restraint, and NATO's Post-Cold War Transformation", *European Journal of International Relations*, 14(2), 195-230.

Iraklis Oikonomou. 2012. "A Historical Materialist Approach to CSDP", in: Xymena Kurowska, Fabian Breuer (eds.). *Explaining the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 162-187.

**PART III: ACTORS AND POLICY DOMAINS****Session 6: 20.11.2024**

**- No session, public holiday! -**

**Session 7: 27.11.2024****Who Governs CSDP? Actors and Institutions**

- What is the EU's institutional framework for its foreign policy? Who are the main actors?
- How are the powers and responsibilities of the EU's foreign policy actors determined?

Literature:

Stephan Keukeleire and Tom Delreux. 2022. "The EU's foreign policy system: Actors", in: *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*. 3rd edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 77-116.

Student Presentations:

- (1) The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)
- (2) The Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP)
- (3) The European External Action Service

Recommended Readings:

Jolyon Howorth. 2012. "Decision-making in security and defense policy: Towards supranational intergovernmentalism?", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 47(4), 433–453.

Marianne Riddervold. 2016. "(Not) in the Hands of the Member States: How the European Commission Influences EU Security and Defence Policies", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(2), 353–369.

Stephan Keukeleire and Tom Delreux. 2022. "The EU's foreign policy system: Policymaking", in: *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*. 3rd edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 117-141.

Stephan Keukeleire and Tom Delreux. 2022. "The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)", in: *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*. 3rd edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 167-184.

Stephan Keukeleire and Tom Delreux. 2022. "The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)", in: *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*. 3rd edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 185-213.

Guri Rosén. 2015. "EU Confidential: The European Parliament's Involvement in EU Security and Defence Policy", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(2), 383–398.

Ana E. Juncos and Karolina Pomorska. 2014. "Manufacturing *Esprit de Corps*: The Case of the European External Action Service", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52(2), 302–319.

Ana E. Juncos and Karolina Pomorska. 2015. "The European External Action Service", in: Knud Erik Jorgensen, Asne Kalland Aarstad, Edith Drieskens, Katie Laatikainen and Ben Tonra (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 238-250.

**Session 8: 04.12.2024****EU Missions and Operations**

- Why does the EU send civilian and military mission abroad?
- How are deployment decisions made?
- What are the tasks of EU missions and operations and how effective are they?

Literature:

Howorth, Jolyon. 2014. "The EU as an Overseas Crisis Management Actor", in: *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. 2nd edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 144-189.

Student Presentations:

- (1) EU Military Mission Atalanta (dealing with piracy off the coast of Somalia)
- (2) EU Training Mission in Mali (restoring military capacity of the Malian Armed Forces)
- (3) EU Military Mission Althea in Bosnia and Herzegovina (ensuring compliance with the 1995 Dayton-Paris peace agreement)

Recommended Readings:

[https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/missions-and-operations\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/missions-and-operations_en)

Frédéric Mérard and Antoine Rayroux. 2016. "The practice of burden sharing in European crisis management operations", *European Security*, 25(4), 442–460.

Trineke Palm. 2017. "The changing character of EUFOR Althea: power politics or learning?" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 30(1), 67–86.

Benjamin Pohl. 2014. "To what ends? Governmental interests and European Union (non-) intervention in Chad and the Democratic Republic of Congo", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49(2), 191–211.

Niklas I.N. Nováky. 2015. "Why so Soft? The European Union in Ukraine", *Contemporary Security Policy*, 36(2), 244–266.

Trineke Palm and Ben Crum. 2019. "Military operations and the EU's identity as an international security actor", *European Security*, 28(4), 513–534.

Benjamin Pohl. 2013. "The logic underpinning EU crisis management operations", *European Security*, 22(3), 307–325.

Emma Skeppström, Cecilia Hull Wiklung and Michael Jonsson. 2015. "European Union Training Missions: security sector reform or counter-insurgency by proxy?", *European Security*, 24(2), 353–367.

Marianne Riddervold. 2011. "Finally flexing its muscles? Atalanta – The European Union's naval military operation against piracy", *European Security*, 20(3), 385–404.

Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaitė. 2005. "ESDP Police Missions: Meaning, Context and Operational Challenges", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 10(2), 215–235.

Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaitė. 2005. "Power/Knowledge in International Peacebuilding: The Case of the EU Police Mission in Bosnia", *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 30(3), 297–323.

Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaitė (eds.). 2010. *European Security and Defence Policy: An Implementation Perspective*. London: Routledge.

Hans-Georg Ehrhart and Kerstin Petretto. 2012. "The EU, the Somalia Challenge, and Counter-piracy: Towards a Comprehensive Approach?", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 17(2), 261–83.

**Session 9: 11.12.2024****European Security and NATO**

- o What is the relationship between NATO and the EU?
- o Is there a move towards a clear EU-NATO division of labor?
- o What are informal practices of cooperation between diplomats, and civilian and military staff?

Literature:

Jolyon Howorth. 2017. "EU-NATO cooperation: the key to Europe's security future", *European Security*, 26(3), p. 454–459.

AND

Nina Græger. 2016. "European security as practice: EU-NATO communities of practice in the making?" *European Security*, 25(4), p. 478-501.

Student Presentations:

- (1) The EU and NATO in Georgia
- (2) Is European NATO freeriding?

Recommended Readings:

Nina Græger. 2017. "Grasping the everyday and extraordinary in EU–NATO relations: the added value of practice approaches", *European Security*, 26(3), p. 340–358.

Sebastian Mayer. 2017. "The EU and NATO in Georgia: complementary and overlapping security strategies in a precarious environment", *European Security*, 26(3), p. 435–453.

Jolyon Howorth. 2017. "Strategic autonomy and EU-NATO Cooperation: squaring the circle", *Security Policy Brief*, Egmont: Royal Institute for International Relations, May 2017.

Luis Simón. 2016. "The EU-NATO conundrum in perspective", in: Lorenzo Cladi and Andrea Locatelli (eds.). *International Relations Theory and European Security: We Thought We Knew*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 138-158.

Jo Jakobsen. 2018. "Is European Nato Really Free-Riding? Patterns of Material and Non-Material Burden-Sharing after the Cold War", *European Security*, 27(4), p. 490-514.

Gabriele Cascone. 2007. "ESDP Operations and NATO: Co-operation, Rivalry or Muddling-through?" In: Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaitė (eds.) *European Security and Defence Policy: An Implementation Perspective*. London: Routledge, pp. 142-157.

Jeffrey Cimbolo. 2004. "Saving NATO from Europe", *Foreign Affairs*, 83(6), p. 111-120.

Hanna Ojanen. 2006. "The EU and NATO: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44(1), p. 57-76.

Jolyon Howorth and Anand Menon. 2009. "Still Not Pushing Back: Why the European Union Is Not Balancing the United States", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53(5), p. 727-744.

Stephanie Hofmann. 2013. *European Security in NATO's Shadow: Party Ideologies and Institution Building*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Janne Haaland Matlary and Magnus Petersson. 2013. *NATO's European Allies: Military Capability and Political Will*. Houndsill: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mark Webber, and Adrian Hyde-Price (eds.). 2016. *Theorising NATO: New Perspectives on the Atlantic Alliance*. Abingdon: Routledge.

**Session 10: 18.12.2024**

**The EU's External Relations: Russia, China & Africa**

- o How has the EU's presence in the post-Soviet space contributed to a deep security dilemma?
- o What has been the EU's foreign policy response to China's disputes with its South East Asian neighbors and Japan?
- o What is the EU's foreign policy towards Africa and what are motives for intervention?

Literature:

*Please sign up on Moodle for one of the three texts, which you then read and prepare for the session.*

Cristian Nitouiu. 2016. "Russia and the EU's quest for status: the path to conflict in the Soviet space", *Global Affairs*, 2(2), 143-153

OR

Andrew Cottey. 2019. "Europe and China's sea disputes: between normative politics, power balancing and acquiescence", *European Security*, 28(4), 473-492.

OR

Catherine Gegout. 2017. "The European Union: Indifference, Security and Economic Interests, Prestige", in: *Why Europe Intervenes in Africa: Security, Prestige and the Legacy of Colonialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 243-290.

Student Presentations:

(1) EU foreign policy towards its neighbors

Recommended Readings:

Gergana Noutcheva. 2018. "Whose Legitimacy? The EU and Russia in Contest for the Eastern Neighbourhood", *Democratization*, 25(2), 312–30.

Kristi Raik. 2016. "Liberalism and geopolitics in EU-Russia relations: rereading the 'Baltic factor'", *European Security*, 25(2), 237-255.

Serena Giusti. 2016. "The EU's policy towards Russia: national interests and path dependency", in: Lorenzo Cladi and Andrea Locatelli (eds.). *International Relations Theory and European Security: We Thought We Knew*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 177-196.

Stephan Keukeleire and Tom Delreux. 2022. "EU foreign policy towards major powers: The United States, Russia, China and emerged and regional powers", in: *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*. 3rd edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 303-324.

Laure Delcour. 2018. "Dealing with the Elephant in the Room: The EU, Its 'Eastern Neighbourhood' and Russia", *Contemporary Politics*, 24(1), 14-29.

Niall Duggan and Obert Hodzi. 2021. "The challenges of China-European Union security cooperation in Africa", *Asia Europe Journal*, 19(1), 43-57

Weining Ai and Weiqing Song. 2019. "China and the European Union's Participation in Conflict Resolution: Norm Dynamics, Convergence and Divergence in Foreign Policy", *Journal of Contemporary China*, 28(116), 277-292.

Anna Michalski and Zhongqi Pan. 2017. "Role Dynamics in a Structured Relationship: The EU-China Strategic Partnership", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(3), 611-627.

Jinghan Zeng. 2017. "Does Europe Matter? The Role of Europe in Chinese Narratives of 'One Belt One Road' and 'New Type of Great Power Relations'", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(5), 1162-1176.

Karen Del Biondo. 2020. "Moving beyond a donor-recipient relationship? Assessing the principle of partnership in the joint Africa-EU strategy", *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 38(2), 310-329.

Stephen R. Hurt. 2020. "African Agency and EU-ACP Relations beyond the Cotonou Agreement", *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 16(2), 139-162.

**Session 11: 08.01.2025****The EU and the 'Migration Crisis'**

- What is the role of norms in the EU's response to the migration crisis?
- Is the EU's anti-smuggling naval mission "Sophia" in line with the normative standards of EU foreign policy?
- To what extent has migration been securitized?

Literature:

Marianne Riddervold. 2018. "A humanitarian mission in line with human rights? Assessing Sophia, the EU's naval response to the migration crisis", *European Security*, 27(2), 158–174.

Student Presentations:

- (1) The EU's response to the 'migration crisis'
- (2) The securitization of migration/human rights

Recommended Readings:

Violeta Moreno-Lax. 2018. "The EU Humanitarian Border and the Securitization of Human Rights: The 'Rescue-Through-Interdiction/Rescue-Without-Protection' Paradigm", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(1), 119–140.

Martin Baldwin-Edwards and Derek Lutterbeck. 2019. "Coping with the Libyan migration crisis", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(12), p. 2241–2257.

Stefania Panebianco. 2016. "The Mediterranean migration crisis: border control *versus* humanitarian approaches", *Global Affairs*, 2(4), p. 441-445.

Heaven Crawley and Brad K. Blitz. 2019. "Common agenda or Europe's agenda? International protection, human rights and migration from the Horn of Africa", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(12), p. 2258-2274.

Emilio Coco. 2017. "Where is the European Frontier? The Balkan Migration Crisis and Its Impact on Relations between the EU and the Western Balkans", *European View*, 16(2), 293-302.

Jef Huysmans. 2000. "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), 751–777.

Christian Kaunert and Sarah Léonard. 2019. "The collective securitisation of terrorism in the European Union", *West European Politics*, 42(2), 261–277.

Sandra Lavenex. 2016. "Multileveling EU external governance: the role of international organizations in the diffusion of EU migration policies", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(4), 554–570.

Ruben Andersson. 2016. "Hardwiring the frontier? The politics of security technology in Europe's 'fight against illegal migration'", *Security Dialogue*, 47(1), 22–39.

Luca Raineri and Francesco Strazzari. 2021. "Dissecting the EU response to the 'migration crisis'", in: Roger Mac Ginty, Sandra Pogodda and Oliver P. Richmond (eds.). *The EU and crisis response*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 201-225.

Kaija Schilde and Sara Wallace Goodman. 2021. "The EU's Response to the Migration Crisis: Institutional Turbulence and Policy Disjuncture", in: Marianne Riddervold, Jarle Trondal and Akasemi Newsome (eds.). *The Palgrave Handbook of EU Crises*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 449-468.

Christina Boswell. 2007. "Migration Control in Europe After 9/11: Explaining the Absence of Securitization", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(3), 589–610

## PART IV: CURRENT DYNAMICS IN EUROPEAN SECURITY

### Session 12: 15.01.2025

#### Research Workshop: Analyzing EPSP

- Essay writing workshop
- How do we apply theory to European foreign policy?
- How can we study European peace and security policy? What are methodological approaches?

#### Literature:

Jolyon Howorth. 2014. "Empirical Reality and Academic Theory", in: *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. 2nd edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 190-215.

#### **Assignment:**

Prepare three potential research questions for your final term paper, which deal with specific aspects of this seminar and think about how you would analyze these questions (theory, method, cases).

Also prepare a bibliography comprising 20 academic texts, 5 of which must be annotated, that are relevant for your research question. Make sure that you include monographs, chapters in edited volumes and articles in academic journals.

Please post your **research questions** and your **bibliography** in advance on Moodle **until 12.01.25**. We will use these questions and literature lists in this session to discuss potential research designs.

#### Recommended Readings:

Michael E. Smith. 2008. "Researching European Foreign Policy", *Politics*, 28(3), 177-187.

Benedetta Voltolini and Rainer Eising. 2017. "Framing processes and lobbying in EU foreign policy: case study and process-tracing methods", *European Political Science*, 16(3), 354-368.

Senem Aydin-Düzgit. 2013. "Critical discourse analysis in analysing European Union foreign policy: Prospects and challenges", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49(3), 354-367.

Merje Kuus. 2013. "Foreign Policy and Ethnography: A Sceptical Intervention", *Geopolitics*, 18(1), 115-131.

Henrik Larsen. 2018. "Discourse analysis in the study of European foreign policy", in: Ben Tonra and Thomas Christiansen (eds.). *Rethinking European Union Foreign Policy*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 62-80.

Simon Schunz. 2010. "How to Assess the European Union's Influence in International Affairs: Addressing Major Conceptual Challenges for EU Foreign Policy Analysis", *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 6(1), 22-42.

### Session 13: 22.01.2025

#### European Foreign Policy Beyond Security

- What is the EU's foreign policy response to the challenges of energy security?
- In how far is climate change a European foreign policy issue?
- What are the EU's foreign policy responses to global health crises, such as COVID-19?

Literature:

Óscar Fernández. 2024. "The European Union's securitization of global health: was COVID-19 a *Zeitenwende?* *European Security*, 33(3), 449-473.

Student Presentations:

- (1) The Nord Stream 2 debate
- (2) The EU and climate security

Recommended Readings:

Stephan Keukeleire and Tom Delreux. 2022. "The external dimension of internal policies", in: *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*. 3rd edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic, p. 247-272.

Stephanie C. Hofmann and Ueli Staeger. 2019. "Frame contestation and collective securitisation: the case of EU energy policy", *West European Politics*, 42(2), 323-345.

Marco Siddi. 2020. "Theorising conflict and cooperation in EU-Russia energy relations: ideas, identities and material factors in the Nord Stream 2 debate", *East European Politics*, 36(4), 544-563.

Moniek de Jong and Thijs Van de Graaf. 2021. "Lost in Regulation: Nord Stream 2 and the Limits of the European Commission's Geo-Economic Power", *Journal of European Integration*, 43(4), 495-510.

Anna Herranz-Surrallés. 2015. "European External Energy Policy: Governance, Diplomacy and Sustainability", in: Knud Erik Jorgensen, Asne Kalland Aarstad, Edith Drieskens, Katie Laatikainen and Ben Tonra (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 913-927.

Hannes Sonnås and Malin Mobjörk. 2019. "The EU and climate-related security risks: a community of practice in the making?" *Journal of European Integration*, 41(5), 623-639.

Kamil Zwolski and Christian Kaunert. 2011. "The EU and climate security: a case of successful norm entrepreneurship?" *European Security*, 20(1), 21-43.

Lisanne Groen. 2015. "European Foreign Policy on the Environment and Climate Change", in: Knud Erik Jorgensen, Asne Kalland Aarstad, Edith Drieskens, Katie Laatikainen and Ben Tonra (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 884-897.

Jarrod Hayes and Janelle Knox-Hayes. 2014. "Security in Climate Change Discourse: Analyzing the Divergence between US and EU Approaches to Policy", *Global Environmental Politics*, 14(2), 82-101.

Maria Julia Trombetta. 2014. "Linking climate-induced migration and security within the EU: insights from the securitization debate", *Critical Studies on Security*, 2(2), 131-147.

Richard Youngs. 2014. *Climate Change and European Security*. London: Routledge

**Session 14: 29.01.2025****Security Beyond the EU: the EU's Role in Global Politics**

- What is the EU's track record on pursuing multilateralism?
- How could you evaluate the EU's relationship with the UN?
- Why is there no unified European representation in international financial institutions?
- What is the EU's role in "informal clubs" like the G7 and the G20?

Literature:

Stephan Keukeleire and Tom Delreux. 2022. "The EU and multilateral organizations", in: *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*. 3rd edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic, p. 325-344.

Student Presentations:

- (1) The EU's foreign policy and UNSCR 1325
- (2) EU-UN cooperation in peacekeeping

Recommended Readings:

Tereza Novotná. 2017. "The EU as a Global Actor: United We Stand, Divided We Fall", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(1), 177–191.

Katie Laatikainen. 2015. "The EU and the United Nations", in: Knud Erik Jorgensen, Asne Kalland Aarstad, Edith Drieskens, Katie Laatikainen and Ben Tonra (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 703-720.

Alexandra Novosseloff. 2012. "Options for improving UN-EU cooperation in the field of peacekeeping", in: Joachim Krause and Natalino Ronzitti (eds.). *The EU, the UN and Collective Security*. London: Routledge, pp. 150-173.

Hylke Dijkstra, Ewa Mahr, Petar Petrov, Katarina Đokić, and Peter Horne Zartdahl. 2018. "The EU's partners in crisis response and peacebuilding: complementarities and synergies with the UN and OSCE", *Global Affairs*, 4(2-3), 185–196.

Thierry Tardy. 2013. *Partnering in crisis management: Ten years of UN-EU cooperation*. Brussel: European Union Institute for Security Studies.

Jutta Joachim, Andrea Schneiker, and Anne Jenichen. 2017. "External networks and institutional idiosyncrasies: the Common Security and Defence Policy and UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 30(1), 105–124.

Caterina Carta. 2013. "The EU in Geneva: The Diplomatic Representation of a System of Governance", *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 9(3), 406-423.

Julia Schmidt. 2018. "The EU-UN Partnership in Light of the Responsibility to Protect", in: Laura Chappell, Jocelyn Mawdsley and Petar Petrov (eds.). *The EU, Strategy and Security Policy: Regional and Strategic Challenges*. New York: Routledge, 202–216.

Jan Orbis, Bregt Saenen, Joren Verschaeve and Ferdi De Ville. 2015. "The European Union's Relations with Multilateral Institutions", in: Knud Erik Jorgensen, Asne Kalland Aarstad, Edith Drieskens, Katie Laatikainen and Ben Tonra (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 721-735.

Raffaella A. Del Sarto. 2016. "Normative Empire Europe: The European Union, its Borderlands, and the 'Arab Spring', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(2), 215–232.

Dimitris Skleparis. 2016. "(In)securitization and illiberal practices on the fringe of the EU", *European Security*, 25(1), 92–111.

Anthony Luzzatto Gardner and Stuart E. Eizenstat. 2010. "New Treaty, New Influence? Europe's Chance to Punch Its Weight," *Foreign Affairs*, 89(2), 104-119.

Andrew Moravcsik. 2010. "Europe, the Second Superpower," *Current History*, 109(725), 91-98.

**Session 15: 05.02.2025****Future scenarii for European Security**

- o Is the EU "coming of age" as a security actor?
- o How did the Russian invasion of Ukraine influence EU foreign & security policy?
- o What are the implications of Brexit for European peace and security policy?

Literature:

Marianne Riddervold and Pernille Rieker. 2024. "Finally coming of age? EU foreign and security policy after Ukraine", *European Security*, 33(3), 497-516.

Recommended Readings:

Heidi Maurer, Kolja Raube and Richard G. Whitman. 2024. "'Zeitenwende' as coming of age? EU foreign & security policy through war & peace", *European Security*, 33(3), 345-363.

Eva Michels and Monika Sus. 2024. "(Not) Coming of age? Unpacking the European Union's quest for strategic autonomy in security and defence", *European Security*, 33(3), 383-405.

Wyn Rees. 2017. "America, Brexit and the security of Europe", *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19(3), p. 558–572.

Richard G. Whitman. 2016. "Epilogue: European security and defence in the shadow of Brexit", *Global Affairs*, 2(5), p. 521–525.

**15.03.2025**

Deadline for the submission of your essay. Please upload your paper as a pdf file (file name: EUPASP2024\_NameFirstName) to the designated folder in Moodle. A print version is not required.