

EUS 348 / GOV 365V:
The Comprehensive Notion of European Security
Fall 2021

The University of Texas at Austin
Unique ID: 36985/39070

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Course location: GDC 6.202
Course time: TTh 11:00 am-12:30 pm
Office hours: M 13:00 – 16:00 ([Zoom](#))
W 09:00 – 12:00 (in-person)
(and by appointment)

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Course concept

International security, a subfield of international relations, examines the nature of the international states system. It specifically focuses on what is known as the ‘security dilemma,’ the idea (or myth, depending on your theoretical predilection) that states in the international system desire above all to remain secure and extant, and will do whatever necessary to avoid becoming less secure or even disappearing entirely. Questions of how or whether it is necessary or even possible to cooperate to achieve security were seen as peripheral.

Recently, many scholars and practitioners have begun to question the state-centric approach to international security, as well as its focus on power, rivalries, and conflict. Instead, these scholars and practitioners have begun to speak of ‘human’ security, or the ‘comprehensive approach’ to international security. Besides being a good catchphrase, what does comprehensive security mean? What does it entail? “Comprehensive security” has a variety of connotations, depending on the context in which the idea is presented, but generally most agree on the idea of a more all-encompassing, holistic understanding of ‘security’ than that embraced by traditional international relations theories. Part of the rationale for this course is to unpack some of the themes underpinning the various ‘flavors’ of comprehensive security, (among others, its human, economic, environmental dimensions).

One of the regions of the world where the notion of comprehensive security has been most explicitly theorized and implemented is in Europe. Thus the course pays special attention to this region of the world and examines the practical aspects of comprehensive security via the institutions charged with implementing it: the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

Part One: Theories of international security (three weeks)

This part of the course investigates the underlying theoretical premises of international security, with special emphasis on:

- Theories of conflict and cooperation, covering topics such as realism, institutionalism, constructivism, democratic peace theory.

- Theories of influence, covering topics such as soft power, deterrence & coercion, domestic politics and influence, credibility, norms and institutions as influencers of behavior.

Part Two: The idea of human/comprehensive security (three weeks):

This section of the course takes the theoretical precepts gained from Part One and applies them to the newly emerging idea within international security that true international (and regional) security must take into account factors beyond mere state survival. To that end, the idea of 'comprehensive' security is raised, bringing into play a more nuanced view of international security. In this section, we will examine various ways in which comprehensive security has been thought about. Primarily, we will explore the idea of 'human' security that developed out of the 1994 UN Human Development Report, which has seven constituent elements:

1. Economic security
2. Food security
3. Health security
4. Environmental security
5. Personal security
6. Community security
7. Political security

The section will begin with a survey of the general concept of human security, then move to a treatment of four of its components: economic, health and environmental, and community security. The section will conclude with a discussion of security sector reform as the means to establishing lasting peace in post-conflict societies, a key facet in any discussion of post Cold War comprehensive security.

Part Three: The practice of comprehensive security in Europe: case studies (ten weeks):

In Part Three of the course, we look at ways in which comprehensive security has been implemented in Europe. We look specifically at European notions of comprehensive security, focusing on the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the European Union (EU).

Readings:

There is no required textbook for this course. Rather, each week has a series of readings assigned that are to be read before the class meets each day. The readings will be accessible via Canvas and the average reading load per class is between 40 and 60 pages.

Assignments and grading

Your course grade will consist of two midterm exam grades, a homework grade, a take-home final exam grade and a discussion/participation grade:

Exams: 75%

As this class is an upper-division course, a major portion of the grade for the course will consist of exams, consisting of two midterm exams and a take-home final exam. Both midterms and the final will each count for 25% and the take-home final exam will be worth 25% of your course grade.

Homework: 5%

There is one homework assignment, due in November. Details will be posted to Canvas as the date approaches. The homework assignment will count for 5% of your overall grade.

Attendance and Participation: 20%

We are back live this semester, so attendance will be a portion of your grade once again. Live (in-person) attendance is expected, with exceptions to be made on a case-by-case basis only. In-class participation grades will also be re-instated. Along with in-class participation, your participation in the discussion forum will be crucial to getting the most from the class.

Please note there is a significant distinction between attendance and participation. Attendance and participation will count for 20% of your total grade.

Attendance will be managed through Canvas and will take place at five random intervals throughout the semester. Each of these five attendance days will count for 1% of your course grade (for a total of 5%).

Participation will be divided into two sections: Discussion postings (10%) and in-class participation (5%). While not everyone enjoys speaking in class, discussion postings will count equally with in-class participation. Each week's discussion questions will be due every Saturday at midnight; the discussion forum locks at that time and there is no chance to post to that week thereafter.

Discussion postings can be drawn from the readings; in this case, they should reflect any questions, comments, or cries of outrage you may have regarding the arguments set forth by the authors. They most definitely will help you get the most from the class.

Postings may also be brief synopses of newsworthy events. In this case, you must post both the link to the news story and a brief (50-word) précis of what the article discusses. Finally, postings may be replies to others' questions or news stories, as long as they are informative replies and not merely agree/disagree posts. One post (or a thoughtful reply to a post) counts as your post for that week.

There are no discussion postings necessary for midterm week. The total number of discussion postings will be counted at the end of the semester, and also will be examined throughout the semester for evidence of consistent posting. Do not expect to "catch-up" post only at the end of the semester and receive full participation credit.

- 12-15 postings: Full credit
- 8-11 postings: 70% credit
- 5-7 postings: 50% credit

- Less than 5 postings: No credit

In-class participation will be graded as follows (5% total):

- Attending every day, but not participating in class: 80/100
- Attending every day, participating via question answering (from instructor): 90/100
- Attending every day, participating via question answering and active learning (extending discussion, asking follow-up questions): 100/100

** A word on late or missed assignments. Over the course of the semester, it is inevitable that some event will cause a time management issue, which might lead to a missed assignment deadline. Though normally handled on a case-by-case basis, there are some baseline penalties for missed or delayed assignments, detailed here:

Missed exams will receive a 5% deduction per day until made up.

Extra Credit

Students who (virtually) attend an academic lecture/event dealing with an international/global issue and hand in a typed, one-page summary may receive a 3 point increase on an exam grade. No more than two lectures/events total may count. Summaries must be turned in within 5 days of the event.

Grading Standards:

I will use the following grade standards. Grades for individual assignments will be weighted according to the scale in the preceding paragraph. All grades given during the course of the semester will be converted to a 100-point scale.

93 > A	83-86 B	72-75 C	60-64 D
90-92 A-	79-82 B-	67-71 C-	< 60 F
87-89 B+	76-78 C+	65-66 D+	

IMPORTANT INFORMATION

Plagiarism / academic misconduct:

Don't do it. Minimum penalties for cheating are zeros on quizzes or exams where the cheating takes place, and a grade of F on a paper that has been plagiarized. Questions about what constitutes academic misconduct should be brought to my attention.

Undergraduate Writing Center:

The University Writing Center, PCL 2.330, 471-6222: <https://uwc.utexas.edu>) offers free, individualized, expert help with writing for any UT undergraduate, by appointment or on a drop-in basis. Any undergraduate enrolled in a course at UT can visit the UWC for assistance with any writing project. They work with students from every department on campus, for both academic and non-academic writing. Their services are not just for writing with "problems." Getting feedback from an informed audience is a normal part of a successful writing project. Consultants help students develop strategies to improve their writing. The assistance they provide is intended to foster independence. Each student determines how to use the

consultant's advice. The consultants are trained to help you work on your writing in ways that preserve the integrity of your work.

University of Texas Honor Code:

The core values of The University of Texas at Austin are learning, discovery, freedom, leadership, individual opportunity, and responsibility. Each member of the university is expected to uphold these values through integrity, honesty, trust, fairness, and respect toward peers and community. Any student found guilty of scholastic dishonesty may receive an "F" in the course and be remanded to the appropriate University of Texas authorities for disciplinary action. For more information, view Student Judicial Services at <http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs>.

Religious Holidays:

According to UT-Austin policy, students must notify the instructor of an impending absence at least 14 days prior to the date of observance of a religious holy day. If a student must miss a class, an examination, a work assignment, or a project in order to observe a religious holy day, the student will be given an opportunity to complete the missed work within a reasonable time after the absence.

Student Privacy:

The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) requires that student privacy be preserved. Thus the posting of grades, even by the last four digits of the social security number, is forbidden. All communication will remain between the instructor and the student, and the instructor will not be able to share details of the student's performance with parents, spouses, or any others.

Documented Disability Statement:

The University of Texas will make reasonable accommodations for students with documented disabilities. Any student with a documented disability who requires academic accommodations should contact Services for Students with Disabilities at 471-6259 (voice) or 1-866-329-3986 (Video Phone) as soon as possible to request an official letter outlining authorized accommodations.

Emergency Evacuation Policy:

In the event of a fire or other emergency, it may be necessary to evacuate a building rapidly. Upon the activation of a fire alarm or the announcement of an emergency in a university building, all occupants of the building are required to evacuate and assemble outside. Once evacuated, no one may re-enter the building without instruction to do so from the Austin Fire Department, University of Texas at Austin Police Department, or Fire Prevention Services office. Students should familiarize themselves with all the exit doors of each room and building they occupy at the university, and should remember that the nearest exit routes may not be the same as the way they typically enter buildings. Students requiring assistance in evacuation shall inform their instructors in writing during the first week of class. Information regarding emergency evacuation routes and emergency procedures can be found at <http://www.utexas.edu/emergency>.

Course Calendar

****IMPORTANT NOTE** DR. MOSSER WILL BE OUT OF THE COUNTRY UNTIL 29 AUGUST 2021. THE FIRST LECTURE (26 AUGUST) WILL BE RECORDED VIA ZOOM. WATCH THE LECTURE AND BE READY FOR OUR FIRST IN-CLASS SESSION ON 31 AUGUST.**

Week One: Introduction to the Course

Thursday 26 August (**asynchronous via Zoom**)

- Topics:
 - Overview of the field of international relations
 - Sovereignty and the idea of the state: why is the state the accepted starting point for any discussion of international security?
- Readings:
 - Required
 - Stephen Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," Foreign Policy Spring 1998, pp. 29-46.
 - Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," Foreign Policy November/December 2004.
 - Recommended
 - Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Theda Skocpol, eds., Bringing the State Back In (available on Canvas)

Week Two: Realism

Tuesday 31 August

- Topic:
 - Realism (fundamentals)
- Readings:
 - Required:
 - "[Political Realism in International Relations](#)," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy
 - Jack Donnelly, "The Realist Tradition" in Realism and International Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 6-42
 - Recommended:
 - Kenneth N. Waltz, "Structural Realism After the Cold War," International Security 25:1 (Summer 2000), pp. 5-41.

- Steve Chan, "On Different Types of International Relations Scholarship," *Journal of Peace Research* 39:6 (November 2002), pp. 747-756

Thursday 2 September

- Topic:
 - Realism (modern variants)
- Readings:
 - Randall Schweller, "The Progressiveness of Neo-classical Realism," in Elman and Elman (eds.) *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*
 - Ross Smith, Nicholas, "[Can Neoclassical Realism Become a Genuine Theory of International Relations?](#)" *The Journal of Politics* 80:2 (2018)
- Recommended:
 - Brian Schmidt, "Competing Realist Conceptions of Power," *Millennium – Journal of International Studies* 33:3 (2005), pp. 523-549

Week Three: Institutionalism

Tuesday 7 September

- Topic:
 - Institutionalism (foundations)
- Readings:
 - John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19:3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 5-49.
 - Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security* 20:1 (Summer 1995), pp. 39-51
- Recommended:
 - Robert Jervis, "Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate," *International Security* 24:1 (Summer 1999), pp. 42-63.

Thursday 9 September

- Topic:
 - The "New Institutionalism"
- Readings:
 - Required:
 - James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "[Elaborating the 'New Institutionalism'](#)," ARENA Working Paper 11 (March 2005)

- Robert Keohane and Orfeo Fioretos, "[Observations on the Promises and Pitfalls of Historical Institutionalism in International Relations](#)," in *International Politics and Institutions in Time* (2017).
- Recommended:
 - Lisa Martin and Beth Simmons, "[Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions](#)," *International Organization* 52:4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 729-757

Week Four: Constructivism

Tuesday 14 September

- Topic:
 - Constructivism (foundations)
- Readings:
 - Required
 - Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics", *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring, 1992) , pp. 391—425
 - Emmanuel Adler, "Imagined (security) communities: cognitive regions in international relations," *International Security*
 - Nicholas Onuf. 1998. "Constructivism: A Users "Manual," in Vendulka Kubalkova, Nicholas Onuf and Paul Kowert, eds. *International Relations in a Constructed World*, 58-78.
 - Recommended
 - Jeffrey T. Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics* 50:2 (January 1998), pp. 324-348
 - Michael Barnett, *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order* (Columbia, 1998), Introduction and Chapter One.
 - Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2001: 4, pp. 391-416.
 - John Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization* 52:4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 855-885.

Thursday 16 September – MIDTERM EXAM ONE

Week Five:

Tuesday 21 September

- Topic:
 - The general concept of 'human' security
- Readings:
 - Required:
 - Final Report of the Commission on Human Security (selected chapters)
 - Chapter One, ["Human Security Now"](#)
 - Chapter Two, ["People Caught Up in Violent Conflict"](#)
 - Chapter Five, ["Economic security—the power to choose among opportunities"](#)
 - Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* 26:2 (Fall 2001), pp. 87-102.
 - Kaldor, Mary. Human Security.
 - Introduction, pp 1-15
 - Chapter Seven, pp. 182-197
 - Sakiko Fukuda-Parr and Carol Messineo, ["Human Security: A critical review of the literature"](#) CRPD Working Paper (January 2012)
 - Recommended:
 - Des Gasper, "Securing Humanity: Situating 'Human Security' as Concept and Discourse," *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities* 6:2 (July 2005), pp. 221-245.
 - Review the [Commission on Human Security website](#)
 - Review the United Nations' [Human Security Unit \(HSU\) website](#)

Thursday 23 September

- Topic:
 - Economic security
- Readings:
 - Gasper, Des. 2015 "Human Security: From Definitions to Investigating a Discourse" *Routledge Handbook of Human Security*, pp. 28-42
 - Thomas O'Brien, "Food riots as representations of insecurity: examining the relationship between contentious politics and human security," *Conflict, Security, and Development* 12:1 (2012), pp. 31-49.

- Dharam Ghai, "[Economic Globalization, Institutional Change, and Human Security](#)," United Nations Research Institute for Social Development Discussion Paper 91 (November 1997).

Week Six:

Tuesday 28 September

- Topic:
 - Environmental security
- Readings:
 - "[What is Environmental Security?](#)" Institute for Environmental Security
 - Michael Renner, "[Introduction to the Concepts of Environmental Security and Environmental Conflict](#)"
 - A.H. Westing, "The Environmental Component of Comprehensive Security," Security Dialogue 20:2 (1989), pp. 129-134
 - [Climate Change and Conflict](#), Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety (Germany)
 - Executive Summary
 - Long-term Societal and Political Implications of Climate Change
 - Bangladesh case study
- Requirements:
 - Review the [Institute for Environmental Security website](#)

Thursday 30 September

- Topic:
 - Environmental security (continued)
- Readings:
 - Stern Report on the Economics of Climate Change (2008)
 - Read [Executive Summary](#)
 - Michael Renner, [The Anatomy of Resource Wars](#) (WorldWatch Institute, 2002), available at
 - Read pp. 5-47
 - Robert Keohane, Peter Hass, and Marc Levy, Institutions for the Earth
 - Chapter One: "The Effectiveness of International Environmental Institutions," pp. 3-24
 - Available on Canvas

- Stefano Bocchi, Stefano Peppino Disperati and Simone Rossi, "[Environmental Security: A Geographic Information System Analysis Approach—The Case of Kenya](#)," Environmental Management 37:2 (February 2006), pp. 186-199

Week Seven

Tuesday 5 October

- Topic:
 - Health security
- Readings:
 - Mely Caballero-Anthony, "The Way Forward: Human Security Beyond Discourse to Action," "The Way Forward: Human Security Beyond Discourse to Action," Health and Human Security: Moving from Concept to Action-Fourth Intellectual Dialogue on Building Asia's Tomorrow; (ed. Pamela J. Noda), Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2002, pp. 11-20.
 - Available at http://www.jcie.org/researchpdfs/HealthHumSec/health_summary.pdf
 - David Bosold and Sascha Werthes, "Human Security in Practice: Canadian and Japanese Experiences," International Politics and Society 1(2005), pp. 84-101.
 - Available at http://wageweb.wisc.edu/GGI_Seminar/CanadaJapan.pdf
 - Kanti Bajpai, "Human Security: Concept and Measurement," Kroc Institute (University of Notre Dame) Occasional Paper #19:OP:1
 - Available at http://www.conflictresolution.org/bin/Kanti_Bajpai-Human_Security_Concept_and_Measurement.pdf

Thursday 7 October

- Topic:
 - Security Sector Reform (SSR)
- Readings:
 - United Nations, Securing Peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General, January 2008, A/62/659-S/2008/39.
 - Available at <http://www.un.org/Docs/journal/asp/ws.asp?m=A/62/659>
 - Jackson, Paul, 2017. "Capacity Building and Security Sector Reform" The Palgrave Handbook of Security, Risk and Intelligence pp 281-296
- Recommended reading:
 - Eric Scheye and Gordon Peake, "To arrest insecurity: time for a revised security sector reform agenda," Conflict, Security & Development, Volume 5, Issue 3, 2005, Pages 295 – 327.

- Heinz Vetschera and Matthieu Damian, "Security sector reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The role of the international community," *International Peacekeeping*, 13:1 (2006) pp 28 – 42.
- Mark Sedra, "Security sector reform in Afghanistan: The slide towards expediency," *International Peacekeeping* 13:1 (2006), pp. 94-110.

Week Eight:

Tuesday 12 October – MIDTERM EXAM TWO

Thursday 14 October

- Topic:
 - Comprehensive Security in Europe: Underlying Concepts
- Readings:
 - Mary Kaldor, Mary Martin, and Sabine Selchow, "Human Security: A New Strategic Narrative for Europe," *International Affairs* 83:2 (March 2007), pp. 273-288.
 - Gunter Hauser and Franz Kernic (eds.) *European Security in Transition* (London: Ashgate, 2006)
 - Chapter One: Franz Kernic, "European Security in Transition: The European Security Architecture since the End of the Second World War – An Overview," pp. 5-22.
 - Available on Canvas
 - Simon Duke and Hanna Ojanen, "Bridging Internal and External Security: Lessons from the European Security and Defence Policy," *Journal of European Integration* 28:5 (2006), pp. 477-494.

Week Nine:

Tuesday 19 October

- Topics:
 - European expressions of comprehensive security: the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)
 - The OSCE's evolution and history
- Readings:
 - Hauser and Kernic (eds.) *European Security in Transition*
 - Chapter Two: Peter van Ham, "EU, NATO, OSCE: Interaction, Cooperation and Confrontation," pp. 23-38.

- Dunkerley, Craig G. "[Considering Security Amidst Strategic Change: The OSCE Experience.](#)" Middle East Policy 11, no. 3 (2004): 131-138.
- The OSCE in the Maintenance of Peace and Security: Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management, and Peaceful Settlement of Disputes
 - Selections TBD

Thursday 21 October

Topic:

- The OSCE's contemporary comprehensive security operations: the case of Ukraine

Readings:

- Stefan Lehne, [Reviving The OSCE: European Security And The Ukraine Crisis](#), Carnegie Europe (September 2015)
- OSCE website (Ukraine section) <http://www.osce.org/special-monitoring-mission-to-ukraine>

Requirements:

- Examine OSCE website
 - Relevant website sections to be announced in class

Recommended:

- "Comprehensive Security and New Challenges: Strengthening the OSCE" by Monika Wohlfeld and Fred Tanner (2021)

Week Ten:

Tuesday 26 October

- Topic:
 - European expressions of comprehensive security (II): the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Readings:
 - Pernille Rieker, "From Common Defence to Comprehensive Security: Towards the Europeanisation of French Foreign and Security Policy?," Norwegian Institute of International Affairs Working Paper 691 (2005), pp. 1-29.
 - Michael J. Brenner, "Europe's New Security Vocation," McNair Paper 66, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Defense University
 - Read Chapters 1-2 (pp. 1-39)

Thursday 28 October

- Topic:

- NATO in Theory
- Readings:
 - Mearsheimer JJ. (1990) Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War. *International Security* 15: 5-56.
 - Menon A and Walsh JI. (2011) Understanding NATO's Sustainability: The Limits of Institutional Theory. *Global Governance* 17: 81-94.
 - Gheciu A. (2005) Security institutions as agents of socialization? NATO and the 'new. *International Organization* 59: 973-1012.

Week Eleven:

Tuesday 2 November

- Topic:
 - NATO in practice since 9/11: The early Afghanistan experience
- Readings:
 - Giegerich B and Wallace W. (2004) [Not such a soft power: the external deployment of European forces](#). *Survival* 46: 163-182.
 - Daalder I. (2006) Global NATO. *Foreign Affairs* 85: 105-+.
 - Sperling, J. and Webber, M. (2009), [NATO: from Kosovo to Kabul](#). *International Affairs*, 85: 491–511.
 - Williams, M. J. 2011. "[Empire Lite Revisited: NATO, the Comprehensive Approach and State-building in Afghanistan](#)." *International Peacekeeping* (13533312) 18, no. 1: 64-78
 - Saideman SM and Auerswald DP. (2012) [Comparing Caveats: Understanding the Sources of National Restrictions upon NATO's Mission in Afghanistan](#). *International Studies Quarterly* 56: 67-84.

Thursday 4 November

- Topic:
 - NATO in practice since 2008: The Obama and Trump Years
- Readings:
 - Obama, B. (2007) "[Renewing American Leadership](#)" *Foreign Affairs* 86:4 (July-August 2007), pp. 2-16
 - Stent, Angela (2012), "[US-Russian Relations in the Second Obama Administration \(Links to an external site.\)Links to an external site.](#)," *Survival* 54:6 (November 2012), pp. 126-138.
 - Applebaum, Anne. "Obama and Europe." 94.5 *Foreign Aff.* 37, [ii] (2015)

Week Twelve:

Tuesday 9 November

- Topic:
 - European expressions of comprehensive security (III): the European Union (EU) External Action Service
- Readings:

Thursday 11 November

- Topic:
 - European expressions of comprehensive security (III): European Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) and the European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)
- Readings:
 - Hauser and Kernic (eds.) *European Security in Transition*
 - Chapter Three: Gunter Hauser, "The ESDP: The European Security Pillar," pp. 39-62.
 - Biscop, Sven (2010), "[From ESDP to CSDP: Time for Some Strategy](#)" *Diploweb.com*
- Optional:
 - Michael J. Brenner, "[Europe's New Security Vocation](#)," McNair Paper 66, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Defense University
 - Read Chapters 3-4 (pp. 40-80)
 - Richard G. Whitman, "NATO, the EU and ESDP: an emerging division of labour?" *Contemporary Security Policy* 25:3 (2004), pp. 430-451

Week Thirteen:

Tuesday 16 November

- Topic:
 - European expressions of comprehensive security (III): EU Battlegroups
- Readings:
 - "[The EU Battlegroups](#)," European Parliament Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union (Directorate B), Policy Department, 12 September 2006.
 - Barcikowska, Anna (2013) "[EU Battlegroups: Ready to Go?](#)" EUISS Security Brief, November 2013.
 - Reykers, YF (2017) "[EU Battlegroups: High Costs, No Benefits](#)" *Contemporary Security Policy* 38:3, 457-470.

Thursday 18 November

- Topic:
 - European comprehensive security operations in the recent past: Operations ARTEMIS and EUSEC RD CONGO
- Readings:
 - Aguilar, "[European Union Military Operations: The Use of Force in the Central African Republic, Chad, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo](#)," in *Guns & Roses: Comparative Civil-Military Relations in the Changing Security Environment* (Ratuva, Compel, and Aguilar, eds.) Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp. 257-276.
 - European Union External Action Service, "[Common Security and Defence Policy: EU Mission to provide advice and assistance for security sector reform in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the area of defence \(EUSEC RD CONGO\) Update: July 2015](#)"
 - Ryan C. Hendrickson, Jonathan R. Strand and Kyle L. Raney, "[Operation Artemis and Javier Solana: EU Prospects for a Stronger Common Foreign and Security Policy](#)," *Strategic Thought: The Canadian Military Journal* (Spring 2007)

Week Fourteen:

Tuesday 23 November

- Topic:
 - Contemporary European comprehensive security operations (continued): NATO/EU operations in Somalia, Libya and Ukraine
- Readings:
 - Vines A. (2010) [Rhetoric from Brussels and reality on the ground: the EU and security in Africa](#). *International Affairs* 86: 1091-+.
 - Zwolski K. (2012) [The EU as an international security actor after Lisbon: Finally a green light for a holistic approach?](#) *Cooperation and Conflict* 47: 68-87.
 - ISIS Europe (2013): [European Security Review: EUBAM Libya: Story of a Long-awaited CSDP Mission](#)
 - NATO Wales summit: [Official Summit Declaration](#)
 - Belkin, Paul "[NATO's Warsaw Summit: In Brief](#)" Congressional Research Service, November 14, 2016

Thursday 25 November – NO CLASS / THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY

Week Fifteen:

Tuesday 30 November

- Topic:
 - European Security since the Arab Spring, Brexit, and Trump
- Readings:
 - [“UK slated to lead EU military mission – after Brexit”](#) Politico Europe 4 July 2017
 - Rasmussen, AF (2011) [“NATO and the Arab Spring,”](#) New York Times
 - Hallams E and Schreer B. (2012) Towards a post-American' alliance? NATO burden-sharing after Libya. International Affairs 88: 313-327.
 - Kaufman, Joyce (2017). [“The US perspective on NATO under Trump: lessons of the past and prospects for the future.”](#) International Affairs 93 (2): 251-266.

Thursday 2 December

- Topic:
 - What Next for European Security?
- Readings:
 - Required:
 - Gheciu A and Paris R. (2011) NATO and the Challenge of Sustainable Peacebuilding. Global Governance 17: 75-79.
 - Noetzel T. (2012) More flexible, less coherent: NATO after Lisbon. Australian Journal of International Affairs 66: 20-33.
 - Biscop, Sven (2018) [“Letting Europe Go Its Own Way: The Case for Strategic Autonomy,”](#) Foreign Affairs 6 July 2018
 - [“Permanent Structured Cooperation: Factsheet”](#)
 - Recommended:
 - Mankoff J. (2012) The politics of US missile defence cooperation with Europe and Russia. International Affairs 88: 329-347.