



Fall 2014

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“THE EU AS A SECURITY ACTOR”

Instructor:

Dr. Ariane Chebel d’Appollonia

arianecd@rutgers.edu

SPAA, 111 Washington Street, Suite 334

Office hours: after class on Wednesday, by appointment

Meeting Time: Wednesday from 2:00 PM to 4:40 PM

Location: CON 445

Major Assignments (in-class presentation, paper, readings):

Each student will have to make an oral presentation (of about 15 minutes). There are 16 subjects listed for the oral presentation. Students will be asked to present on one of these subjects in any given week.

Each student will have to write a research paper of about 20 pages (approximately 4,500 words, double space) with a bibliography. The research paper can be based on the oral presentation. It is due on December 14. Late papers will be penalized.

All the students are expected to come to each class session prepared to discuss the required readings. The recommended readings are listed for the convenience of those who wish to pursue a particular topic in more depth, especially for the purpose of the in-class presentation.

Grading:

Student grades will be based on the oral presentation (30%) and the final research paper (50%). Regular attendance, careful reading, and active participation (based on required readings) are also taken into account (20%).

Course description:

As a security community, the EU has to deal with internal safety, external threats, and new forms of transnational threats. This new configuration of challenges explains the creation of a new security strategy, planned mutual defense and new EU tools involving emergency preparedness, a solidarity clause for the protection against terrorism, and military and civil crisis management.

Correspondingly, there has therefore been a blurring of the distinction between external and internal security as a consequence of a growing set of transnational risks, and the merging of internal safety and external instruments of crisis management. As a result, this trend has led to the emergence of a new type of security identity in the EU.

The purpose of this course is to address the issues raised by the expansive notion of EU security from both a theoretical and an empirical perspective. The first section of the course includes the presentation of the main concepts, followed by a global overview of the main EU security structures, policies, and agents. The second section is devoted to various empirical case studies such as the European security policy in Europe as well as in other parts of the world; the economic aspects of EU security; Europe's human security policy; terrorist threats and counterterrorism; and biological threats. The third section seeks to provide a critical evaluation of the various EU security structures and agents, as well as the effective role of the EU as a regional/international security actor.

- MAIN CONCEPTS, KEY STRUCTURES -

1. Introduction – Sept 3

- ▶ Presentation of the main topics
- ▶ Selection of the oral presentations

2. EU institutions, the decision-making process, and pillarization – Sept 10

- ▶ Presentation of the European institutions
- ▶ Intergovernmental cooperation
- ▶ EU supranationalism
- ▶ Evolution of the European decision-making process
- ▶ Who is in charge of security?

Required readings:

- Rosamond, Ben. "Conceptualizing the EU Model of Governance in World Politics," pp. 1-22 in Report published by the University of Warwick, 2005.
- Webber, Mark, Stuart Croft, Jolyon Howorth, Terry Terriff and Elke Krahmman. "The Governance of European Security", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 3-26. January 2004.
- James Sperling and Mark Webber, « Security Governance in Europe : A Return to the System », *European Security*, 23 (2), pp. 126-144, 2014.

Suggested readings:

- Olsen, Johan P., "Reforming European Institutions of Governance," pp. 45-65 in J.H.H.Weiler (et. al.), *Integration in an Expanding European Union: Reassessing the Fundamentals*. Blackwell Publishing. Oxford, UK. 2003.
- Duke, Simon and Hanna Ojanen. "Bridging Internal and External Security: Lessons from the European Security and Defence Policy." *European Integration*, Vol. 28, No. 5, pp. 477-494. December 2006.
- Bigo, Didier. "Internal and External Securitization in Europe," pp. 142-168 in Kelstrup, Morten and Michael C. Williams, *International Relations Theory and European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*, Routledge. New York, NY. 2000.

3. EU notion of security – Sept 17

- ▶ Security community
- ▶ EU security governance
- ▶ Internal and external threats
- ▶ Internal and external non-territorial security

Required readings:

- Rhinard, Mark, Arjen Boin, and Magnus Ekengren. “Protecting the Union: Analysing an Emerging Policy Space.” *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 28, No. 5, pp. 405-421. December 2006.
- George Christou, “The EU’s Human Security Discourse: Where Are We Now?”, *European Security*, 23 (3), pp. 364-381, 2014.
- Michael Smith, *European Foreign Policy as a Field Research: An Historical and Conceptual Overview*, 2009.

Suggested readings:

- Williams, Michael C., “Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics.” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 4, pp. 511-531. 2003.
- Balzacq, Thierry. “The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context.” *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 171-201. June 2005.
- Thomas Risse, “Identity Matters: Exploring the Ambivalence of EU Foreign Policy”, 2012.

4. CFSP – Sept 24

- ▶ Origins and evolution of the Common Foreign and Security Policy
- ▶ Current issues and challenges

→ **Subject for oral presentation:** Presentation and evaluation of the 2003 European Security Strategy (ESS)

Required readings:

- Larsen, Henrik. “A Distinct FPA for Europe? Towards a Comprehensive Framework for Analyzing the Foreign Policy of EU Member States.” *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 15, pp. 537-566. 2009.
- Caroline Ritter, *The EU’s Foreign Policy Ambivalence*, 2013.
- Benjamin Pohl, “The Logic Underpinning EU Crisis Management Operations”, *European Security*, 22 (3), pp. 307-325, 2013.

Suggested readings:

- Cornish, Paul. “European Security: The End of Architecture and the New NATO.” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 72, No. 4, pp. 751-769. October, 1996.
- Crowe, Brian. “A Common European Foreign Policy after Iraq?” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 79, No. 3, pp. 533-546. May, 2003.

- Smith, Michael. "The Framing of European Foreign and Security Policy: Towards a Post-Modern Policy Framework?" *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 46, No. 5, pp. 596-615. September 2009.

5. ESDP – Oct 1

- ▶ Evolution of the European Security and Defense Policy
- ▶ EU military interventions

→ **Subject for oral presentation:** EU and NATO since the 1990s

Required readings:

- Larsen, Henrik. "The EU: A Global Military Actor?" *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 37, No. 3, pp. 283-302. September 2002.
- Giegerich, Bastian and William Wallace. "Not Such a Soft Power: The External Deployment of European Forces." *Survival*, Vol. 46. Summer 2004.
- Fabian Breur, "Between Intergovernmentalism and Socialization: The Brusselization of ESDP", *EUI Working paper*, 2010.

Suggested readings:

- Smith, Michael. "Between 'Soft Power' and a Hard Place: European Union Foreign and Security Policy between the Islamic World and the United States." *International Politics*, Vol. 46, No. 5, pp. 596-615. September 2009.
- Alyson J.K Bailes, « The EU and a 'Better World' : What Role for the ESDP ? » *International Affairs*, 84 (1), pp. 115-130, 2008.
- Ibryamova, Nouray V. and Roger E. Kanet. "NATO, the EU and European Security," pp. 99-122 in Hensel, Howard M. (ed.), *The United States and Europe: Policy Imperatives in a Globalizing World*. Ashgate Publishers. London, UK. 2003.

6. Security structures and agents – Oct 8

- ▶ Emergency and crisis management mechanisms
- ▶ New practices of security actors and agencies

→ **Subject for oral presentation:** Critical evaluation of the EU's security toolkit

Required readings:

- Stetter, Stephan. "Cross-Pillar Politics: Functional Unity and Institutional Fragmentation of EU Foreign Policies." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 720-739. August 2004.
- Wagner, W., "Why the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy Will Remain Intergovernmental: A Rationalist Institutional Choice Analysis of European Crisis Management Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 576-595. August 2003.
- Jean F. Crombois, "The ENP and EU Actions in Conflict management: Comparing Between Eastern Europe and the Maghreb", *Perspectives*, 16 (2), pp. 29-52, 2008.

Suggested readings:

- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. "Explaining Government Preferences for Institutional Change in EU Foreign and Security Policy." *International Organization*, Vol. 58, No. 1, pp.137-174. Winter, 2004.
- Cheng, Yu-Chin. "Regional Aid to Global Disaster: Review of EU Rapid Reaction Mechanism." *Journal of US-China Public Administration*, Vol. 5, No. 6, pp. 52-56. 2008.

- CASE STUDIES -**7. Security and conflict prevention – Oct 15**

- ▶ The Barcelona process
- ▶ The EU's governance of non-EU actors
- ▶ Sanctions policy

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) The EU and the other Europe; b) the EU and Africa

Required readings:

- Frederking, Brian. "Constructing Post-Cold War Collective Security." *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 3, pp. 363-378. August, 2003.
- Laure Delcour, "The EU as a Security Provider in the Eastern Neighbourhood?" *European Security*, 19 (4), pp. 535-549, 2010
- Nicole Koenig, "Between Conflict management and Role Conflict: The EU in the Libyan Crisis", *European Security*, 23 (3), pp. 250-269, 2014.

Suggested readings:

- Olsen, G.R., "Promoting Democracy, Preventing Conflict: The European Union and Africa." *International Politics*, Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 311-328. September 2002.
- Linklater, A., "A European Civilizing Process?" pp. 367-387 in Hill, C., and M. Smith (eds.), *International Relations and the European Union*. Oxford University Press. Oxford, UK. 2005.
- Dimier, Véronique and Mike McGeever. "Diplomats Without a Flag: The Institutionalization of the Delegations of the Commission in African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 483-505. August 2006.

8. Economic aspects of security – Oct 23

- ▶ Energy security
- ▶ Development aid and security

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) The securitization of the development aid; b) The EU-Russia energy issue

Required readings:

- Meunier, Sophie, and Kalypso Nicolaïdis. "The European Union as a Conflicted Trade

Power.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 6. pp. 906-925. 2006

- Stiftung, Friedrich Ebert (ed.), “Civilian Perspective or Security Perspective? European Development Policy Confronting New Challenges in Foreign and Security Policy.” Report of the International Conference, Berlin. 2004.

- Stephanie Anderson and John Williams, *The Securitization of Development Policy or the Developmentalization of Security Policy?*, 2011.

Suggested readings:

- Bretherton, Charlotte and John Vogler. “The EU as an Economic Power and Trade Actor.” pp. 62-88 in Bretherton, Charlotte and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*. Second Edition. Routledge. New York, NY. 2006.

- Hurt, Stephen R., “Co-operation and Coercion? The Cotonou Agreement between the European Union and ACP States and the End of the Lomé Convention.” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 161-176. February 2003.

- Forsberg, Tuomas. “The EU–Russia Security Partnership: Why the Opportunity was Missed” *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 9, pp. 247–267. 2004.

9. EU human security policy and human rights – Oct 30

- ▶ Democracy and security
- ▶ EU human security
- ▶ ECHO (EC Humanitarian Aid Office)

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** EU humanitarian interventions

Required readings:

- Groenleer and van Shaik, “United We Stand? The EU’s International Actorness in the Cases of the International Criminal Court and the Kyoto Protocol.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 5, pp. 969-998. 2007.

- Andrea Ellner, “Regional Security in a Global Context: A Critical reappraisal of European Approaches to Security”, *European Security*, 17 (1), 2008.

- K.Revelas, “The EU: A Peace Actor in the Making? Reflections based on the ESDP Crisis Management Operations in Africa”, *Review of European Studies*, 5 (3), 2013.

Suggested readings:

- Fisher, David. “Humanitarian Intervention.” pp. 101-117 in Reed, Charles and David Ryall (eds.), *The Price of Peace: Just war in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, UK. 2007.

- J.H Matlary, “Much Ado about Little: The EU and Human Security”, *International Affairs*, 83 (1), pp. 131-143, 2008.

- Youngs, Richard. “Normative Dynamics and Strategic Interests in the EU’s External Identity.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 415-435. June 2004.

10. Immigration and Security – Nov 6

- ▶ The perception of immigration as a threat
- ▶ The securitization of immigration policy

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) The impact of border escalation; b) Securitization and the retreat from multiculturalism in Europe

Required readings:

- Huysmans, Jef. “The EU and the Securitization of Migration.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 5, pp. 751-777. December 2000.
- Faist, Thomas. “Extension du Domaine de la Lutte: International Migration and Security Before and After 9/11.” *International Migration Review*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 7-14. 2002.
- Sarah Leonard, “EU Border Security and Migration into the EU: FRONTEX and Securitization through Practices”, *European Security*, 19 (2), pp. 231-254, 2010.

Suggested readings:

- Boswell, Christina. “The ‘External Dimension’ of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy.” *International Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 3, pp. 619-38. 2003.
- Fekete, Liz. “Anti-Muslim Racism and the European Security-State.” *Race Class*, Vol. 46, No.1, pp. 3-29. 2004.
- R.Hernandez et al., “Bringing EU Migration Cooperation to the Eastern Neighborhood”, *EUI Working Papers*, pp. 1-23, 2012.

11. Terrorism and Counterterrorism in Europe – Nov 13

- ▶ The fight against terrorism before and after 9/11
- ▶ The EU counterterrorism framework

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) The emergence of the “enemy within” in Europe; b) Europe’s response to Radical Islam

Required readings:

- Gruszczak, Arthur. “Networked Security Governance: Reflections on the EU’s Counterterrorism Approach.” *Journal of Global Change and Governance*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp.1-23. 2008.
- Guild, Elspeth. “The Uses and Abuses of Counter-Terrorism Policies in Europe: The Case of the Terrorist Lists.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 1, pp.173-193. January 2008.
- Jorg Monar, “EU Internal Security Governance: The Case of Counter-Terrorism”, *European Security*, 23 (2), pp. 195-209, 2014.

Suggested readings:

- Lodge, Juliet. “EU Homeland Security: Citizens or Suspects?” *European Integration*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 253–279. September 2004.
- Taarnby, Michael. “Recruitment of Islamist Terrorists in Europe.” Research Report Funded by the Danish Ministry of Justice. January 2005.
- G.R Olsen, “Fighting Terrorism in Africa by Proxy: The USA and the EU in Somalia and Mali”, *European Security*, 23 (3), pp. 290-306, 2014.

12. Environment, bio-threats and other health issues – Nov 20

- ▶ Health and security

- ▶ EU instruments to address climate change
- ▶ EU internal and international actions

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** a) Presentation and evaluation of the Health Security Program; b) EU biological non-proliferation activities

Required readings:

- Youde, Jeremy. "Who's Afraid of a Chicken? Securitization and Avian Flu." *Democracy and Security*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 148-169. May 2008.
- Ekengren, Magnus, Nina Matzén, Mark Rhinard, and Monica Svantesson. "Solidarity or Sovereignty? EU Cooperation in Civil Protection." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 28, No. 5, pp. 457-476. December 2006.
- Kamil Zwolski and Christian Kaunert, « The EU and Climate Security : A Case of Successful Norm Entrepreneurship », *European Security*, 20 (1), 2011.

Suggested readings:

- Baggott, Rob. "The BSE Crisis." pp. 61-78 in Gray, Pat and Paul't Hart (eds.), *Public Policy Disasters in Western Europe*. Routledge. New York, NY. 1998.
 - Tegnell, A., (et. al.), "The European Commission's Task Force On Bioterrorism." *Emerging Infectious Diseases*, Vol. 9, No. 10. October 2003.
- URL <http://www.cdc.gov/ncidod/EID/vol9no10/03-0368.htm>

No class on November 26

- CRITICAL EVALUATION -

13. EU Security governance – Dec 3

- ▶ EU security polity
- ▶ Internal assessment of the European security management

→ **Subject for oral presentation:** Security, legitimacy and democratic accountability

Required readings:

- Sandra Lavenex et al, "Modes of External Governance: A Cross national and Cross Sectoral Comparison", pp. 1-25, 2009.
- Kirchner, Emil J., "The Challenge of European Union Security Governance." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 5, pp. 947-968. December 2006.
- Tanja Borzel, "The Transformative Power of Europe Reloaded: The Limits of External Europeanization", *KFG Working Paper*, pp. 1-31, 2010.

Suggested readings:

- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. "The Democratic Deficit of EU Foreign and Security Policy." *The International Spectator*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 61-73. October 2002.
- Zwolski. "The EU as a Security Actor: Moving Beyond the Second Pillar." *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, Vol. 5, No. 1. 2009.

- Toje, Asle. "The Consensus Expectations Gap: Explaining Europe's Ineffective Foreign Policy." *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 39, No. 1. pp. 121-141. 2008.
- Salmon, Trevor. "European Security and Defence Policy: Built on Rocks or Sand?" *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 10, pp. 359-379. 2005.

14. EU 'actorness' – Dec 19

- ▶ External assessment of the EU's impact on international security
- ▶ Critical evaluation of EU 'actorness'
- ▶ EU, actor or structure?

→ **Subject for oral presentation:** The EU and the US, Venus v. Mars?

Required readings:

- Waever, Ole. "The EU as a Security Actor: Reflections From a Pessimistic Constructivist on Post-Sovereign Security Order." pp. 250-294 in Kelstrup, Morten and Michael C. Williams. *International Relations Theory and European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*. Routledge. New York, NY. 2000.
- Jolyon Howorth, "The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48 (3), pp. 455-474, 2010.
- Kamil Zwolski, "The EU as an International Security Actor After Lisbon: Finally a Green Light for a Holistic Approach?" *Cooperation and Conflict*, 47 (2), pp. 68-87, 2012

Suggested readings:

- Joenniemi, Pertti. "Towards a European Union of Post-Security?" *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 42, No. 1, pp. 127-148. March 2007.
- Hill, Christopher. "The Future of the EU as a Global Actor." pp. 3-20 in Foradori, Paolo. *Managing a MultiLevel Foreign Policy: The EU in International Affairs*. Lexington Books. Landham, MD. 2007.
- Chaban, Natalia, Ole Elgstrom, and Martin Holland. "The EU as Others See It." *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 245-266. Summer 2006.

- Bibliography -

Books (to start with):

- Bretherton, Charlotte and John Vogler. The European Union as a Global Actor. Second Edition. Routledge. New York, NY. 2006.
- Hill, Christopher and Michael Smith (eds.), International Relations and the European Union. Oxford University Press. New York, NY. 2005.
- Kelstrup, Morten and Michael C. Williams. International Relations Theory and European Integration: Power, Security, and Community. Routledge. New York, NY. 2000.
- Knodt, Michèle and Sebastiaan Princen (eds.), Understanding the European Union's External Relations. Routledge/ ECPR Studies in European Political Science. London, UK and New York, NY. 2003.
- McCormick, John. Understanding the European Union. 4th edition. Palgrave/ Westview Press. Boulder, CO. 2008.

- Smith, Karen Elizabeth, European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World. Second Edition. Polity Press. Cambridge, UK. 2008.
- Smith, Michael E., Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, UK. 2003.
- Wallace, William, Helen Wallace, and Mark Pollack (eds.), Policy-Making in the European Union. 5th edition. Oxford University Press. New York, NY. 2005.

Books on Specific Topics:

- Brauch, H.G. (et. al.), Security and Environment in the Mediterranean: Conceptualizing Security and Environmental Conflicts. Springer Verlag. New York, NY. 2003.
- Grant, Wyn, Duncan Matthews and Peter Newell. The Effectiveness of European Union Environmental Policy. St. Martin's Press. New York, NY. 2000.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. Multi-level Governance and European Integration. Rowman & Littlefield. Lanham, MD. 2001.
- Howorth, Jolyon and John T.S. Keeler (eds.), Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy. Palgrave Macmillan. New York, NY. 2004.
- Hunter, Robert E., The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion or Competitor? RAND Corporation. Santa Monica, CA. 2002.
- Huysman, Jef. The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU. Routledge. London, UK. 2006.
- Jacoby, Wade. The Enlargement of the European Union and NATO. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, UK. 2004.
- Kagan, Robert. Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order. Atlantic Books. London, UK. 2003.
- Knill, Christopher and Andrea Lenschow (eds.), Implementing EU Environmental Policy: New Directions and Old Problems. Manchester University Press. Manchester, UK. 2000.
- Liefverink, Duncan and Andrew J. Jordan (eds.), Environmental Policy in Europe. Routledge. New York, NY. 2004.
- McCormick, John. The European Super Power. Palgrave Macmillan. Basingstoke, UK. 2007.
- Meunier, Sophie. Trading Voices: The European Union in International Commercial Negotiations. Princeton University Press. Princeton, NJ. 2005.
- Pollack, Mark A., and Gregory C. Shaffer (eds.), Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy. Rowman & Littlefield. Lanham, MD. 2001.
- Richardson, Jeremy (ed.), European Union: Power and Policy-Making. 3rd edition. Routledge. New York, NY. 2006.
- Scharpf, Fritz W., Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic? Oxford University Press. New York, NY. 1999.
- Schmidt, V.A., Democracy in Europe. Oxford University Press. Oxford, UK. 2006.
- Sloan, Stanley R. and General John Shalikashvili. NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered. Rowman & Littlefield. Lanham, MD. 2002.
- Van Ham, P. and S. Medvedev. Mapping European Security after Kosovo. Manchester University Press. Manchester, UK. 2002.

Articles and Chapters in Edited Volumes

- Bretherton, Charlotte and John Vogler. "Nature of the Beast: The Identity and Roles of the EU." pp. 37-61 in Bretherton, Charlotte and John Vogler. The European Union as a Global Actor. Routledge. New York, NY. 2006.

- Ginsberg, Roy H., "Conceptualizing the European Union as an International Actor: Narrowing the Theoretical Capability-Expectations Gap." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 3, pp. 429-54. 1999.
- Hill, Christopher. "Renationalizing or Regrouping? EU Foreign Policy Since 11 September 2001." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 1, pp. 143-63. 2004.
- Jorgensen, Knud Erik. "Making CFSP Work." ch. 10 in Peterson, John and Michael Shackleton (eds.), The Institutions of the European Union. Oxford University Press. New York, NY. 2002.
- Keohane, Robert. "Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States." *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 743-765. 2002.
- Lenschow, A. "Environmental Policy." in Wallace, William, Helen Wallace, and Mark A. Pollack. Policy-Making in the European Union. 5th edition. Oxford University Press. Oxford, UK. 2005.
- Lucarelli, S., "Europe's Response to the Yugoslav Imbroglio." in Jorgensen, K.E. (ed.), European Approaches to the Crisis Management. Kluwer Law. The Hague. 1997.
- Manners, Ian. "Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 182-99. 2006.
- Peterson, John and Michael E. Smith. "The EU as a Global Actor." ch. 10 in Bomberg Elizabeth and Alexander Stubb, eds., The European Union: How Does It Work? Oxford University Press. Oxford, UK. 2003.
- Sapir (et. al.), "Economic Governance in the European Union." Ch. 6 in Sapir (et. al.)(eds.), An Agenda for Growing Europe: The Sapir Report. Oxford University Press. New York, NY. 2004.
- Sjurgen, Helene (ed.), special issue on "What Kind of Power? European Foreign Policy in Perspective." *Journal of European Public Policy*, March 2006.
- Smith, Michael E., "Institutionalization, Policy Adaptation and European Foreign Policy Cooperation." *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 95-136. 2004.
- Smith, Michael E., "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*, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 740-58. 2004.
- Tonra, Ben. "Conceptualizing the European Union's Global Role." pp. 117-30 in Cini, Michelle and Angela K. Bourne (eds.), Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies. Palgrave Macmillan. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK. 2006.
- Woolcock, Stephen. "Trade Policy." pp. 377-99 in Wallace, William, Helen Wallace, and Mark A. Pollack (eds.), Policy-Making in the European Union. Oxford University Press. Oxford, UK. 2005.