



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

"But We Have To Do Something" : the drivers behind EU crisis management operations

Pohl, B.

Citation

Pohl, B. (2012, September 27). *"But We Have To Do Something" : the drivers behind EU crisis management operations*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/19885>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/19885>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/19885> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Pohl, Benjamin

Title: "But We Have To Do Something" : the drivers behind EU crisis management operations

Date: 2012-09-27

REFERENCES

- Abend, Lisa. 2009. "Spain's Withdrawal from Kosovo Angers Allies." *Time*, March 24, 2009.
- AFP. 2002. "Bosnian peacekeeping role a good test for EU: Germany." *Agence France Press*, December 17, 2002.
- . 2003. "Transatlantic strains over NATO-EU Bosnia handover." *Agence France Press*, June 3, 2003.
- . 2008a. "'Il faut laisser le Tchad tranquille", lance Sarkozy aux rebelles." *Agence France Presse*, February 5, 2008.
- . 2008b. "La France a acheminé des munitions à l'armée tchadienne." *Agence France Presse*, February 14, 2008.
- . 2008c. "Tchad: la France a "simplement choisi de soutenir un président légitime démocratiquement élu", selon M. Kouchner." *Agence France Presse*, February 8, 2008.
- . 2008d. "Tchad: Paris accuse le Soudan de vouloir "liquider" le régime Déby." *The Associated Press*, February 3, 2008.
- Aggestam, Lisbeth. 2004. *A European Foreign Policy? Role Conceptions and the Politics of Identity in Britain, France and Germany*. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press.
- Ahtisaari, Martti. 2007. "Press Conference by UN Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari following the High Level meeting held in Vienna, 10 March 2007."
- Air & Cosmos. 2008. "3700 hommes et 13 hélicoptères; Opération EUFOR TCHAD/RCA." *Air & Cosmos*, February 1, 2008.
- Albright, Madeleine K. 1998. "The right balance will secure NATO's future." *Financial Times*, December 7, 1998.
- Allison, Graham, and Philip Zelikow. 1999. *Essence of Decision. Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. 2nd edition ed. New York: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Almqvist, Jessica. 2009. "The Politics of Recognition, Kosovo and International Law." *Real Instituto Elcano Working Paper* (14).
- Althea. 2009a. "EUFOR Troop Strength in theatre, updated 18th March 2009."
- . 2009b. "EUFOR Troop Strength in theatre, updated 21st October 2009".
- Anderson, Stephanie B. 2008. *Crafting EU Security Policy: In Pursuit of a European Identity*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Anderson, Stephanie, and Thomas R. Seitz. 2006. "European Security and Defense Policy Demystified: Nation-Building and Identity in the European Union." *Armed Forces & Society* 33 (1):24-42.
- Andréani, Gilles. 2000. "Why Institutions Matter." *Survival* 42 (2):81-95.
- Aron, Raymond. 1968. *Paix et guerre entre les nations*. 6th edition ed. Paris: Calmann-Lévy.
- Art, Robert J. 2004. "Europe Hedges Its Security Bets." In *Balance of Power. Theory and Practice in the 21st Century*, ed. T. V. Paul, J. J. Wirtz and M. Fortmann. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

References

- . 2006. "Correspondence: Striking the Balance." *International Security* 30 (3):177-85.
- Ayangafac, Chrysantus. 2009. "Resolving the Chadian Political Epilepsy: An Assessment of Intervention Efforts." In *Situation Report*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.
- Bacia, Horst. 2007. "Tuerkei behindert EU-Einsatz." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (F.A.Z.)*, June 12, 2007.
- Bailes, Alyson J. K. 2008. "The EU and a "better world": what role for the European Security and Defence Policy?" *International Affairs* 84 (1):115-30.
- Bancroft, Ian. 2009. "Biden visit muddies Balkan waters." www.guardian.co.uk, 21 May 2009.
- Barley, Duncan. 2008. "Rebuilding Afghanistan's Security Forces. Security Sector Reform in Contested State-Building." *RUSI Journal* 153 (3):52-7.
- Batt, Judy. 2009. "Bosnia and Herzegovina: the international mission at a turning point." *FRIDE Policy Brief* 5.
- Bayart, Jean-François. 2008. "Obscénité franco-tchadienne, par Jean François Bayart." *Le Monde*, February 13, 2008.
- Bellamy, Alex J., and Nicholas J. Wheeler. 2008. "Humanitarian intervention in world politics." In *The Globalization of World Politics. An introduction to international relations*, ed. J. Baylis, S. Smith and P. Owens. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Berdal, Mats. 2004. "Bosnia." In *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, ed. D. M. Malone. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Berenskoetter, Felix, and Bastian Giegerich. 2010. "From NATO to ESDP: A Social Constructivist Analysis of German Adjustment after the End of the Cold War." *Security Studies* 19 (3):407-52.
- Berg, Patrick. 2009. "EUFOR Tchad/RCA: Die EU als Agent franzoesischer Interessen." In *Die EU als strategischer Akteur in der Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik? Eine systematische Bestandsaufnahme von ESVP-Missionen und -Operationen*, ed. M. Asseburg and R. Kempin. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.
- Berger, Thomas. 1998. *Cultures of Antimilitarism: National Security in Germany and Japan*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Bernard, Philippe, and Natalie Nougayrède. 2008a. "L'offensive des rebelles du Tchad embarasse la France." *Le Monde*, February 3, 2008.
- . 2008b. "Tchad: Paris avait décidé de ne pas intervenir." *Le Monde*, February 8, 2008.
- Beste, Ralf, and Alexander Szandar. 2004a. ""Soldaten als Politik-Ersatz"." *Der Spiegel*, September 13, 2004, 38-9.
- . 2004b. ""Wieder ein Pulverfass"." *Der Spiegel*, March 29, 2004.
- Beuret, Michel. 2008. "Tchad - Pourquoi Sarkozy a lâché Déby " *L'Hebdo*, February 7, 2008.
- Bickerton, Chris J. 2011. "Towards a Social Theory of EU Foreign and Security Policy." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49 (1):171-90.

References

- Bilefsky, Dan. 2007. "After 8 Year in Limbo, Frustrated Kosovo Awaits Its Future." *New York Times*, December 11, 2007.
- Biscop, Sven (ed.). 2009. "The Value of Power, the Power of Values: A Call for an EU Grand Strategy." *Egmont Papers* 33.
- Biscop, Sven, and Jo Coelmont. 2010. "A Strategy for CSDP. Europe's Ambitions as a Global Security Provider." *Egmont Paper* 37.
- Blair, Tony. 2001. "Speech by the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, at the Labour Party conference, October 2, 2001."
- Blechs Schmidt, Peter. 2008. "Polizeiimission in Afghanistan: Die Kunst des Ueberlebens." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, June 12, 2008.
- Blockmans, Steven, and Ramses A. Wessel. 2009. "The European Union and Crisis Management: Will the Lisbon Treaty Make the EU More Effective?" *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 14 (2):265-308.
- BMI. *Polizeiliche Aufbauhilfe in Afghanistan* 2010 [cited March 30, 2010. Available from http://www.bmi.bund.de/DE/Themen/Sicherheit/Afghanistan/Afghanistan_node.html].
- Boege, Friederike. 2009. "Zivile Polizei oder Paramilitaers?" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (F.A.Z.)*, March 10, 2009.
- Boisbouvier, Christophe 2008. "Sarkozy l'Africain." *Radio France Internationale*, May 8, 2008.
- Bono, Giovanna. 2010. "The European Union and 'Supervised Independence' of Kosovo: A Strategic Solution to the Kosovo/Serbia Conflict?" *European Foreign Affairs Review* 15:249-64.
- Bowman, Steven R. 2002. "Bosnia: U.S. Military Operations." In *CRS Issue Brief for Congress: Congressional Research Service*.
- . 2003. "Bosnia: U.S. Military Operations." In *CRS Issue Brief for Congress: Congressional Research Service*.
- Bretherton, Charlotte, and John Vogler. 2006. *The European Union as a global actor* 2nd ed. ed. London New York: Routledge.
- Brooks, Stephen G., and William C. Wohlforth. 2005. "Hard Times for Soft Balancing." *International Security* 30 (1):72-108.
- . 2006. "Correspondence: Striking the Balance. Brooks and Wohlforth Reply." *International Security* 30 (3):186-91.
- Brummer, Klaus. 2012. "The Reluctant Peacekeeper: Governmental Politics and Germany's Participation in EUFOR RD Congo." *Foreign Policy Analysis*.
- Buckley, Joanna. 2010. "Can the EU be more effective in Afghanistan? ." *Centre for European Reform Policy Brief*.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2005. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bundeskanzleramt. 2007. "Bundeskanzlerin Merkel in Afghanistan. 3 November, 2007." http://www.bundeskanzlerin.de/nn_700276/Content/DE/Reiseberichte/af-bk-in-afghanistan.html

References

- Bundestag, Deutscher. 2006. "Antrag [...] der Fraktion F.D.P.: Ausbildung der Polizeikraefte in Afghanistan forcieren. Drucksache 16/3648, November 29, 2006".
- . 2007a. "Antrag [...] der Fraktion BUENDNIS 90/DIE GRUENEN: Ohne Polizei und Justiz keine Sicherheit - Polizei und Justizaufbau in Afghanistan drastisch beschleunigen. Drucksache 16/6931, November 7, 2007".
- . 2007b. "Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Kleine Anfrage [...] der Fraktion DIE LINKE: Die Rolle der Feldjaeger der Bundeswehr bei der EU-Police-Mission Afghanistan. Drucksache 16/6589, October 9, 2007".
- . 2007c. "Stenographischer Bericht, 124. Sitzung. Berlin, Freitag, den 9. November 2007."
- . 2008a. "Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Kleine Anfrage [...] der Fraktion BUENDNIS 90 / DIE GRUENEN: Stand und Perspektiven des Polizeiaufbaus in Afghanistan. Drucksache 16/8143, March 7, 2008."
- . 2008b. "Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Kleine Anfrage [...] der Fraktion der FDP: Angekueundigtes zusaetzliches Engagement Deutschlands bei der Polizeiausbildung in Afghanistan. Drucksache 16/9764, June 25, 2008."
- . 2008c. "Wortprotokoll Innenausschuss, 81. Sitzung; "Polizeiaufbau in Afghanistan", December 15, 2008."
- Bures, Oldrich. 2007. "Wanted: A Mid-Range Theory of International Peacekeeping 1." *International Studies Review* 9 (3):407-36.
- Burg, Steven L., and Paul E. Shoup. 1999. *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*. London: M.E. Sharpe.
- Burns, R. Nicholas. 2005. "Unfinished Business in the Balkans. By R. Nicholas Burns, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, July 11, 2005."
- Burns, Robert. 2003. "Ambassador Sees End to Bosnia Peacekeeping." *Associated Press*, October 10, 2003.
- Bush, George W. 2002. "National Security Strategy of the United States of America."
- Busse, Nikolas. 2003. "Die Entfremdung vom wichtigsten Verbuendeten. Rot-Gruen und Amerika." In *Deutschland im Abseits? Rot-Gruene Aussenpolitik 1998-2003*, ed. H. W. Maull, S. Harnisch and C. Grund. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- . 2007a. ""Deutschland ist gescheitert"." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (F.A.Z.)*, January 22, 2007.
- . 2007b. "Rueckschlag fuer EU-Polizeimission in Afghanistan." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (F.A.Z.)*, September 13, 2007.
- . 2010. "EU und das Kosovo: Mit Sorgfalt pruefen." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (F.A.Z.)*, August 2, 2010.
- Caporaso, James A., Gary Marks, Andrew Moravcsik, and Mark A. Pollack. 1997. "Does the European Union Represent an n of 1?" *ECSA Review* X (3):1 - 5.
- Carlsnaes, Walter. 2008. "Actors, structures, and foreign policy analysis." In *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases*, ed. S. Smith, A. Hadfield and T. Dunne. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carstens, Peter. 2007. "Mit Blaulicht durch das Opiumfeld." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (F.A.Z.)* November 5, 2007.

References

- CGS. 2004. "Javier SOLANA, EU High Representative for the CFSP, appoints personal representative in Pristina, 29 March 2004."
- . 2005. "Summary note on the joint report by Javier Solana, EU High Representative for the CFSP, and Olli Rehn, EU Commissioner for Enlargement, on *the future EU Role and Contribution in Kosovo*, June 14, 2005."
- . 2007. "EU Council Secretariat Factsheet: Financing of ESDP operations."
- . 2008a. "CFSP budget report - state of play on 31 December 2007, 5230/08, January 11, 2008."
- . 2008b. "European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan. Police Strength, December 16, 2008."
- . 2008c. "European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan. Police Strength, July 21, 2008."
- . 2008d. "Javier Solana, EU High Representative for the CFSP, announces the start of EULEX Kosovo, S400/08, 5 December 2008."
- . 2008e. "Kosovo: Council establishes an EU Rule of Law Mission, appoints an EU Special Representative, 6613/08 (Presse 43), 16 February 2008."
- . 2008f. "Press Release. EUFOR suffers its first fatality, March 10, 2008." ed. E. Tchad/RCA: EUFOR Tchad/RCA.
- . 2009a. "CFSP budget report - state of play on 12 February 2009, 6482/09, February 13, 2009."
- . 2009b. "Factsheet: EU Military Operation in Eastern Chad and North Eastern Central African Republic (EUFOR Tchad/RCA)." http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/Final%20FACTSHEET%20EUFOR%20TCHAD-RCA%20version%209_EN.pdf (10/02/17).
- . 2009c. "Javier SOLANA, EU High Representative for the CFSP, welcomes EULEX full operational capability, S095/09, 6 April 2009."
- . 2010. "Factsheet on the EU Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan)." http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/missionPress/files/100426%20FACTSHEET%20EUPOL%20Afghanistan%20-%20version%2018_EN.pdf
- Chandler, David. 2000. *Bosnia. Faking Democracy After Dayton*. Second Edition ed. London: Pluto Press
- . 2003. "Rhetoric without responsibility: the attraction of 'ethical' foreign policy." *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 5 (3):295-316.
- Charbonneau, Bruno. 2010. "France." In *The International Politics of Mass Atrocities. The case of Darfur*, ed. D. R. Black and P. D. Williams. London: Routledge.
- Checkel, Jeffrey T. 1998. "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory." *World Politics* 50 (2):324-48.
- . 2008. "Constructivism and Foreign Policy." In *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases.*, ed. S. Smith, A. Hadfield and T. Dunne. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

References

- Checkel, Jeffrey T., and Andrew Moravcsik. 2001. "A Constructivist Research Program in EU Studies?" *European Union politics* 2 (2):219-49.
- Chirac, Jaques. 1999. "La France dans un monde multipolaire." *Politique étrangère* 64 (4):803-12.
- Christiansen, Thomas. 2006. "Out of the shadows: the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 8 (4):80-97.
- Clooney, George. 2006. "United Nations Security Council Address on Darfur." <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/georgeclooneyunitednations.htm>.
- Commission du Livre Blanc. 2008. "Défense et Sécurité Nationale. Le Livre Blanc." ed. C. d. L. B. s. l. D. e. l. S. Nationale. Paris: Odile Jacob / La documentation française.
- Cooper, Robert. 2004. *The Breaking of Nations. Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Atlantic Books.
- Council of the EU. 2002a. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2002/211/CFSP of 11 March 2002 on the appointment of the EU Special Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina".
- . 2002b. "General Affairs Council (GAC) Conclusions, February 19, 2002".
- . 2003. "Council Decision relating to the launch of the EU Military Operation in former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 18 March 2003."
- . 2004a. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2004/570/CFSP of 12 July 2004 on the European Union military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina."
- . 2004b. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2004/909/CFSP of 26 November 2004 on establishing an expert team with a view to a possible European Union integrated police, rule of law and civilian administration mission for Iraq".
- . 2005a. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2005/824/CFSP of 24 November 2005 on the European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH)."
- . 2005b. "EU-AFGHANISTAN JOINT DECLARATION. Committing to a new EU-Afghan Partnership. Strasbourg, 16 November 2005."
- . 2005c. "PRESS RELEASE, 2641st Council meeting, General Affairs and External Relations, External Relations Brussels, 21 February 2005."
- . 2006a. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2006/304/CFSP of 10 April 2006 on the establishment of an EU Planning Team (EUPT) regarding a possible EU crisis management operation in the field of rule of law and possible other areas in Kosovo".
- . 2006b. "Council Joint Action 2006/623/CFSP of 15 September 2006 on the establishment of a EU-team to contribute to the preparations of the establishment of a possible international civilian mission in Kosovo, including a European Union Special Representative component (ICM/EUSR Preparation Team)."
- . 2006c. "Report following the Joint EU Assessment Mission on the rule of law in Afghanistan between 10-21 September 2006, 13967/06 RESTREINT UE."
- . 2007a. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2007/369/CFSP of 30 May 2007 on the European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan)."

References

- . 2007b. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2007/677/CFSP of 15 October 2007 on the European Union military operation in the Republic of Chad and in the Central African Republic."
- . 2007c. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2007/749/CFSP of 19 November 2007 on the European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH)."
- . 2007d. "Operation ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina: EU confirms decision on transition. Brussels, 28 February 2007, 6896/07 (Presse 43)."
- . 2008a. "AGREEMENT between the European Union and the United States of America on the participation of the United States of America in the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo, EULEX Kosovo, October 25, 2008."
- . 2008b. "Council Conclusions on Afghanistan, 2870th EXTERNAL RELATIONS Council meeting, Brussels, 26 and 27 May 2008."
- . 2008c. "Council Conclusions on Kosovo, 2851st EXTERNAL RELATIONS Council meeting, Brussels, 18 February 2008."
- . 2008d. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2008/123/CFSP of 4 February 2008 appointing a European Union Special Representative in Kosovo."
- . 2008e. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2008/124/CFSP of 4 February 2008 on the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo, EULEX KOSOVO."
- . 2009. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2009/906/CFSP of 8 December 2009 on the European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH)."
- . 2010. "COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2010/279/CFSP of 18 May 2010 on the European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan)."
- Cousens, Elizabeth M., and Charles K. Cater. 2001. *Toward Peace in Bosnia: Implementing the Dayton Accords*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- d'Ersu, Laurent. 2008. "La France a permis à Idriss Déby de sauver son régime " *La Croix*, February 8, 2008.
- Daalder, Ivo. 2000. *Getting to Dayton. The Making of America's Bosnia Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Dempsey, Judy. 2002. "EU to deploy troops after deal with NATO." *Financial Times (FT.com)*, December 15, 2002.
- . 2003a. "Diplomatic Notebook - Transatlantic ties." *Financial Times (FT.com)*, February 25, 2003.
- . 2003b. "Operation in Macedonia will test European security policy." *Financial Times*, March 31, 2003.
- . 2003c. "US puts off EU takeover of Bosnia mission." *Financial Times*, June 4, 2003.
- . 2004. "US and EU in dispute on control of Bosnia force." *Financial Times*, March 9, 2004.
- . 2005. "For EU and NATO, a race for influence ; One result is uncertainty on security." *International Herald Tribune*, February 18, 2005.
- . 2006a. "Germans planning a Bosnia pullout. But some say move sends 'wrong signals'." *International Herald Tribune*, October 31, 2006.
- . 2006b. "Germany criticized for its training of Afghan police." *International Herald Tribune*, October 15, 2006.

References

- . 2007a. "German general to leave Afghan mission amid dispute." *International Herald Tribune*, September 11, 2007.
- . 2007b. "Letter from Germany: Bickering between NATO and EU hampers training of Afghan police." *International Herald Tribune*, August 23, 2007.
- . 2008a. "Europe lagging in effort to train Afghan Police." *International Herald Tribune*, May 28, 2008.
- . 2008b. "German general breaks silence on Afghanistan." *International Herald Tribune*, November 30, 2008.
- Der Spiegel. 2004. "Kosovo: Holkeri gibt auf." *Der Spiegel*, May 29, 2004.
- . 2008. "Zweifel am Kosovo-Einsatz." *Der Spiegel*, January 7, 2008.
- Didzoleit, Winfried , and Dirk Koch. 2003. "Die neue Unbefangenheit." *Der Spiegel*, July 21, 2003, 32.
- Dijkstra, Hylke. 2009. "Commission versus Council Secretariat: an Analysis of Bureaucratic Rivalry in European Foreign Policy." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 14 (3):431-50.
- . 2011. *The Role of the Council Secretariat and the European Commission in EU Foreign Policy*, Department of Political Science, Universiteit Maastricht, Maastricht.
- Dinan, Desmond. 2010. "Institutions and Governance: A New Treaty, a Newly Elected Parliament and a New Commission." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48 (1):95-118.
- Dobbins, James. 2005. "NATO Peacekeepers Need a Partner." *International Herald Tribune*, September 30, 2005.
- Dover, Rob. 2005. "The Prime Minister and the Core Executive: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Reading of UK Defence Policy Formulation." *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 7 (4):508-25.
- . 2007. *The Europeanization of British Defence Policy 1997 - 2005* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. "An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy." *The Journal of Political Economy* 65 (2):135-50.
- Doyle, M. W. 2008. "Liberalism and Foreign Policy." In *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases.* , ed. S. Smith, A. Hadfield and T. Dunne. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Doyle, Michael W. 1986. "Liberalism and World Politics." *The American Political Science Review* 80 (4):1151-69.
- Duchêne, François 1972. "Europe's role in World Peace." In *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead*, ed. R. Mayne. London: Fontana.
- Duffield, John S. 1999. "Political Culture and State Behavior: Why Germany Confounds Neorealism." *International Organization* 53 (4):765-803.
- Duke, Simon 2000. *The Elusive Quest for European Security: From EDC to CFSP*. Houndsmills: Macmillan Press.
- Dunham, Will. 2003. "Regional NATO chief says Bosnia stability fragile." *Reuters News*, September 18, 2003.
- Dunne, Tim. 2008. "Good citizen Europe." *International Affairs* 84 (1):13-28.

References

- Earley, Dermot. 2008. "Overseas Operations - EU mission to Chad & CAR: Irish soldiers deploying to Chad will continue our proud tradition." *The Irish Times*, February 21, 2008.
- Easterly, William. 2002. "The Cartel of Good Intentions: The Problem of Bureaucracy in Foreign Aid." *Policy Reform* 5 (4):223-50.
- ECJ. 2008. "C-91/05. ACTION for annulment under Article 230 EC, brought on 21 February 2005." European Court of Justice.
- Economides, Spyros, and James Ker-Lindsay. 2010. "Forging EU Foreign Policy Unity from Diversity: The 'Unique Case' of the Kosovo Status Talks." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 15:495-510.
- Economides, Spyros, and Paul Taylor. 2007. "Former Yugoslavia." In *United Nations Interventionism: 1991-2004*, ed. M. Berdal and S. Economides. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ehrhardt, Hans-Georg. 2008. "Assessing EUFOR Chad/CAR." *European Security Review* (42):1-4.
- Eichenberg, Richard C. 2003. "Trends: Having It Both Ways: European Defense Integration and the Commitment to NATO." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67 (4):627-59.
- Eide, Kai. 2004a. "Opinion. Kosovo: the way forward." *NATO Review* (4).
- . 2004b. "Report on the situation in Kosovo, July 15, 2004." Letter dated 17 November 2004 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2004/932.
- . 2005. "A comprehensive review of the situation in Kosovo, June 13, 2005." Letter dated 7 October 2005 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2005/635.
- EU. 2010. "Treaty on European Union." Official Journal of the European Union, C 83. Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
- EUPOL Afghanistan. 2009a. "Police Strength, February 3, 2009".
- . 2009b. "Police Strength, March 11, 2009".
- European Commission. 2003. "REPORT FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL on the preparedness of Bosnia and Herzegovina to negotiate a Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the European Union."
- European Council. 2002. "Copenhagen European Council, 12 and 13 December 2002, Presidency Conclusions".
- . 2003. "A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy."
- . 2007. "Brussels European Council, Presidency Conclusions, 14 December 2007."
- Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose, and Toby Helms. 2003. "US requests crisis talks over 'Euro army' threat to Nato role." *Telegraph* (www.telegraph.co.uk) October 17, 2003.
- F.A.Z. 2006. "Amerika erhoeht Druck auf Berlin." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung (F.A.Z.)*, November 19, 2006.
- . 2009. "Einsatz in Afghanistan: „Allmählich an der Leistungsgrenze.“" *faz.net*, July 3, 2009.

References

- Fearon, James D., and Alexander Wendt. 2002. "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View." In *Handbook of International Relations*, ed. W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. Simmons. London: Sage.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. 2001. "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (1):391-416.
- Fischer, Joschka. 2001. "'Die Antwort auf fast alle Fragen ist: Europa'. Interview mit Joschka Fischer." *Die Zeit*, March 15, 2001.
- Flottau, Renate, Olaf Ihlau, Alexander Szandar, and Andreas Ulrich. 2004. "Deutsche Soldaten: Die Hasen vom Amselfeld." *Der Spiegel*, May 3rd, 2005.
- Flottau, Renate, and Marion Kraske. 2004. "Sterben fuer das Vaterland." *Der Spiegel*, April 10, 2004.
- Forsberg, Tuomas. 2011. "Normative Power Europe, Once Again: A Conceptual Analysis of an Ideal Type." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49 (6):1183-204.
- Franco-British summit declaration. 2003. "Declaration on strengthening European cooperation in security and defence, Le Touquet, February 4, 2003."
- Friesendorf, Cornelius. 2009. "Gefahrliche Gemengelage. Polizei, Militaer und Probleme der Sicherheitssektorreform in Afghanistan." *HFSK Standpunkte (Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung)* (4/2009).
- Gabrielsen, Maria M. 2009. "Campaigning for Darfur: Can Western advocacy movements bring peace to Sudan?" In *3rd European Conference on African Studies, Leipzig, 4 - 7 June 2009*.
- GAO. 2008. "Afghanistan Security. Report to Congressional Committees, GAO, 08-661." ed. G. A. Office. Washington, D.C.
- Gaskarth, Jamie. 2010. "Identity and New Labour's Strategic Foreign Policy Thinking." In *British Foreign Policy. The New Labour Years*, ed. O. Daddow and J. Gaskarth. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gegout, Catherine. 2002. "The Quint." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (2):331-44.
- . 2005. "Cause and Consequences of the EU's Military Intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Realist Explanation." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10 (3):427-43.
- George, Alexander L., and Andrew Bennett. 2005. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- GFA. 1995. "The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina."
- Giegerich, Bastian. 2006. *European security and strategic culture: national responses to the EU's security and defence policy*. Edited by D. I. f. A.-u. Sicherheitspolitik. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Giegerich, Bastian, Darya Pushkina, and Adam Mount. 2006. "Towards a Strategic Partnership? The US and Russian Response to the European Security and Defence Policy." *Security Dialogue* 37 (3):385-407.
- Gnesotto, Nicole, ed. 2005. *EU security and defence policy. The first five years (1999-2004)*. Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies.

References

- Gourlay, Catriona. 2004. "EU operations update: past, present and future." *European Security Review* (19):3-6.
- Gow, James. 1997. *Triumph of the Lack of Will. International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Gowan, Richard. 2008. "A Predictable Crisis." *E!Sharp* (March-April 2008):43-5.
- Gray, Mark, and Alexander Stubb. 2001. "Keynote Article: The Treaty of Nice - Negotiating a Poisoned Chalice?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39 (s1):5-23.
- Grevi, Giovanni. 2009a. "ESDP institutions." In *European Security and Defence Policy. The First 10 Years (1999-2009)*, ed. G. Grevi, D. Helly and D. Keohane. Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies (EU ISS)
- . 2009b. "EULEX Kosovo. The EU rule-of-law mission in Kosovo (EULEX Kosovo)." In *European Security and Defence Policy. The First 10 Years (1999-2009)*, ed. G. Grevi, D. Helly and D. Keohane. Paris European Union Institute for Security Studies (EU ISS).
- Grevi, Giovanni, and Daniel Keohane. 2009. "ESDP resources " In *European Security and Defence Policy. The First 10 Years (1999-2009)*, ed. G. Grevi, D. Helly and D. Keohane. Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies (EU ISS)
- Grieco, Joseph M. 1996. "State interests and institutional rule trajectories: A neorealist interpretation of the Maastricht treaty and European economic and monetary union." *Security Studies* 5 (3):261 - 306.
- Grono, Nick. 2009. "Policing in Conflict States - Lessons from Afghanistan." In *Speech by Nick Grono, Deputy President of the International Crisis Group, to International Police Commissioners' Conference, in The Hague, 16 June 2009*.
- Gros-Verheyde, Nicolas. *Afrique - Tchad Soudan 2008* [cited February 22, 2010. Available from <http://bruxelles2.over-blog.com/categorie-10317901.html>.
- . *Entre l'OTAN et l'UE, Chypre sème le trouble. La Turquie met la pression 2011a* [cited April 11, 2011. Available from <http://www.bruxelles2.eu/defense-ue/defense-ue-droit-doctrine-politique/entre-lotan-et-lue-chypre-seme-le-trouble-la-turquie-met-la-pression.html>.
- . *La mission EUPOL Afghanistan a presque rempli son cadre d'effectif 2011b* [cited July 20, 2011. Available from <http://www.bruxelles2.eu/orient-asie/orient-afghanistan-pakistan/la-mission-eupol-afghanistan-a-presque-rempli-son-cadre-deffectif.html>.
- Gross, Eva. 2007a. "Civilian and Military Missions in the Western Balkans." In *Evaluating the EU's Crisis Missions in the Balkans*, ed. M. Emerson and E. Gross. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies.
- . 2007b. "Germany and European Security and Defence Cooperation: The Europeanization of National Crisis Management Policies?" *Security Dialogue* 38 (4):501-20.
- . 2009. "Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan: the EU's contribution." *EUISS Occasional Paper* 78.
- Gya, Giji. 2007. "EUPOL Afghanistan - an opportunity for whom?" *European Security Review* (33).

References

- Haber, Emily. 2009. "Primat der Stabilität: Der Pragmatismus aller beteiligten Parteien ebnete den Weg für den Aufbau rechtsstaatlicher Strukturen im Kosovo." *Internationale Politik* 64:83-9.
- Hamilton, Rebecca, and Chad Hazlett. 2007. "Not on Our Watch: The Emergence of the American Movement for Darfur." In *War in Darfur and the Search for Peace*, ed. A. d. Waal. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hancock, Stephanie. 2006. "UPDATE 3-U.N. considers international force for Chad." *Reuters*, May 11, 2006.
- Handy, Paul-Simon. 2007. "Chad: wading through a domestic political crisis in a turbulent region." In *Situation Report*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.
- . 2008. "Chad: Democratisation Challenges and Limits of International Intervention." *ARI* 59.
- Hanrieder, Wolfram F. . 1989. *Germany, America, Europe: Forty Years of German Foreign Policy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Harnisch, Sebastian. 2010. "Die Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik der Regierung Merkel. Eine liberale Analyse der Großen Koalition." *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* 3:59-83.
- Harnisch, Sebastian, and Bernhard Stahl. 2010. "Fractured Actorness and its Unintended Consequences: The EU's Kosovo Policy." In *Paper presented at the GARNET Conference "The EU in International Affairs", Brussels, 22-24 April 2010*.
- Hefter, Heinrich. 1951. "Vom Primat der Außenpolitik." *Historische Zeitschrift* 171 (1):1-20.
- Heise, Volker. 2005. "Militärische Integration in Europa." *SWP Studie* (26).
- . 2006. "ESVP in transatlantischer Perspektive. Mehr Unterschiede als Gemeinsamkeiten?" *Diskussionspapier* (8).
- Helly, Damien. 2009. "EUFOR Tchad/RCA. The EU military operation in the Republic of Chad and in the Central African Republic (Operation EUFOR Tchad/RCA)." In *European Security and Defence Policy. The First 10 Years (1999-2009)*, ed. G. Grevi, D. Helly and D. Keohane. Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies (EU ISS).
- Hempel, Carl G. 1965 [1948]. "The Function of General Laws in History." In *Aspects of Scientific Explanation and Other Essays in the Philosophy of Science*, ed. C. G. Hempel. New York: Free Press.
- Heumann, Hans-Dieter. 2005. "Multipolarität und "Europe puissance". Auf der Suche nach der Logik der französischen Außenpolitik." *Internationale Politik* 60 (4):116-23.
- Hill, Christopher. 1993. "The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe's International Role." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31 (3):305-28.
- Hill, Luke. 2003. "US, NATO may pull out from Bosnia next year." *Jane's Defence Weekly*, October 22, 2003
- Hilz, Wolfram. 2005. "Die Sicherheitspolitik des europäischen Führungstrios." *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* (38-39):15-22.

References

- Hoffmann, Stanley. 1966. "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe." *Daedalus* 95 (3):862-915.
- . 1982. "Reflections on the Nation State in Western Europe Today." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 21 (1):21-37.
- . 1990. "Correspondence. Back to the Future, Part II: International Relations Theory and Post-Cold War Europe." *International Security* 15 (2):191-2.
- Holm, Ulla. 2009. "Sarkozysm: New European and Foreign Policy in Old French Bottles?" *DIIS Working Paper* (30).
- Hoop Scheffer, Jaap de. 2007. "Keynote Speech by NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer in Berlin, Germany, 29 January 2007."
- Hopf, Ted. 2002. *Social Construction of International Politics. Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 & 1999*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- House of Commons, Foreign Affairs Committee. 2009. "Global Security: Afghanistan and Pakistan. Eighth Report of Session 2008-09. Report, together with formal minutes, oral and written evidence."
- House of Lords, European Union Committee. 2008. "Adapting the EU's approach to today's security challenges - the Review of the 2003 European Security Strategy. 31st Report of Session 2007-08, November 21, 2008."
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2000. "Britain, France and the European Defence Initiative." *Survival* 42 (2):33-55.
- . 2001. "European Defence and the Changing Politics of the European Union: Hanging Together or Hanging Separately?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39 (4):765-89.
- . 2003. "ESDP and NATO: Wedlock or Deadlock?" *Cooperation and Conflict* 38 (3):235-54.
- . 2007. *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Howorth, Jolyon, and Anand Menon. 2009. "Still Not Pushing Back: Why the European Union Is Not Balancing the United States." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53 (5):727-44.
- Hudson, Valerie M. 2008. "The history and evolution of foreign policy analysis." In *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases*, ed. S. Smith, A. Hadfield and T. Dunne. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hunter, Robert E. 2002a. *The European Security and Defense Policy. NATO's Companion or Competitor?*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- . 2002b. *The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion — or Competitor?* Monterrey, CA: Rand Corporation.
- Hyde-Price, Adrian. 2001. "Germany and the Kosovo war: Still a Civilian Power?" *German Politics* 10 (1):19 - 34.
- . 2004. "European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force " *European Security* 13 (4):323-43.
- . 2006. "'Normative' power Europe: a realist critique." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13 (2):217-34.
- . 2008. "A "tragic actor"? A realist perspective on "ethical power Europe"." *International Affairs* 84 (1):29-44.

References

- ICG. 2001. "No Early Exit: NATO's Continuing Challenge in Bosnia." In *ICG Balkans Report*. Sarajevo/Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- . 2004a. "Collapse in Kosovo." In *Europe Report*: International Crisis Group.
- . 2004b. "EUFOR: Changing Bosnia's Security Arrangements." In *Europe Briefing* Sarajevo/Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- . 2005. "Rebuilding the Afghan State: The European Union's Role." In *Asia Report*: International Crisis Group.
- . 2006a. "Kosovo Status: Delay is Risky." In *Europe Report*: International Crisis Group.
- . 2006b. "Tchad: Vers le Retour de la Guerre?" In *Rapport Afrique*. Nairobi/Bruxelles: International Crisis Group.
- . 2006c. "To Save Darfur." In *Africa Report*. Nairobi/Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- . 2007a. "Breaking the Kosovo Stalemate: Europe's Responsibility." In *Europe Report*: International Crisis Group.
- . 2007b. "Central African Republic: Anatomy of a Phantom State." In *Africa Report*, ed. ICG. Nairobi/Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- . 2007c. "Kosovo Countdown: A Blueprint for Transition." In *Europe Report*: International Crisis Group.
- . 2007d. "Kosovo: No good alternatives to the Ahtisaari plan." In *Europe Report*: International Crisis Group.
- . 2007e. "Reforming Afghanistan's Police." In *Asia Report*: International Crisis Group.
- . 2008a. "Chad: A New Conflict Resolution Framework." In *Africa Report* International Crisis Group.
- . 2008b. "Kosovo's First Month." In *Europe Briefing*: International Crisis Group.
- . 2008c. "Kosovo's Fragile Transition. Europe Report No. 196." International Crisis Group.
- . 2008d. "Policing in Afghanistan: Still Searching for a Strategy." In *Asia Briefing*. Kabul/Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- . 2009. "Serb Integration in Kosovo: Taking the Plunge. Europe Report No. 200, May 12, 2009", ed. I. C. Group.
- . 2010a. "Kosovo and Serbia after the ICJ Opinion." In *Europe Report*: International Crisis Group.
- . 2010b. "Reforming Afghanistan's Broken Judiciary." In *Asia Report*. Kabul/Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- . 2010c. "The Rule of Law in Independent Kosovo." In *Europe Report*: International Crisis Group.
- ICJ. 2007. "Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)." International Court of Justice.
- . 2010. "Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo." International Court of Justice.

References

- IISS. 2005. "Europe: Non-NATO." In *The Military Balance*, ed. IISS. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- . 2007. "Europe." In *The Military Balance*, ed. IISS. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- . 2008a. "EUFOR in Chad and CAR." *IISS Strategic Comments* 14 (4):1-2.
- . 2008b. "Europe." In *The Military Balance*, ed. IISS. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- . 2008c. "European Military Capabilities. Building Armed Forces for Modern Operations." International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- . 2009. "Chapter Three: Europe." In *The Military Balance*, ed. IISS. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- Ikenberry, John G. 2002. "Introduction." In *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power*, ed. J. G. Ikenberry. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- IPOS. 2003. "Transatlantische Beziehungen. Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen Bevölkerungsumfrage im Auftrag des Bundesverbandes deutscher Banken." Mannheim: Institut fuer praxisorientierte Sozialforschung (IPOS).
- Irondelle, Bastian. 2008. "European Foreign Policy: the End of French Europe?" *Journal of European Integration* 30 (1):153-68.
- ISG. 2008. "Press statement. First meeting of the International Steering Group (ISG) for Kosovo, 28 February 2008, Vienna, Austria."
- ISIS. 2010. "CSDP MAP. Mission Personnel." <http://www.csdpmap.eu/mission-personnel>: ISIS Europe.
- Islam, Shada, and Eva Gross. 2009. "Afghanistan: Europe's credibility test." *EPC Policy Brief*.
- Jessen-Petersen, Soren. 2004. "Interview. Soren Jessen-Petersen: Kosovo Protector." *NATO Review* (4).
- Johansson-Nogués, Elisabeth. 2008. "The Kosovo Juggling Act? Zapatero's delicate balance between Spanish constraints and European imperatives." In *Spain in Europe 2004-2008*, ed. E. Barbé. Bellaterra (Barcelona): Institut Universitari d'Estudis Europeus
- Jones, Seth G. 2007. *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jopp, Mathias. 1999. "European Defence Policy: The Debate on the Institutional Aspects." Berlin: Institut fuer Europaeische Politik (IEP)
- Judah, Tim. 2008. *Kosovo. What Everyone Needs To Know*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Juncos, Ana E. 2006. "Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Testing Ground for the ESDP?" *CFSP Forum* 4 (3):5-8.
- Jung, Franz Josef. 2006. "'Niederkämpfen allein reicht nicht.'" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (F.A.Z.)*, November 28, 2006.
- Kaim, Markus. 2007. *Die Europaeische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik. Praeferenzbildungs- und Aushandlungsprozesse in der Europaeischen Union (1990 - 2005)* Baden-Baden: Nomos.

References

- . 2008. "Germany, Afghanistan, and the future of NATO." *International Journal - John W. Holmes Issue on Canadian Foreign Policy: Canada-Germany Relations: Essays in Honour of Robert Spencer* 63 (3):607-23.
- Katzenstein, Peter, ed. 1996. *The culture of national security : norms and identity in world politics* New York: Columbia University Press.
- Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond borders : advocacy networks in international politics* Ithaka, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kempin, Ronja, and Stefan Steinicke. 2009. "EUPOL Afghanistan: Europas ziviles Engagement am Rande des Glaubwuerdigkeitsverlustes." In *Die EU als strategischer Akteur in der Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik? Eine systematische Bestandsaufnahme von ESVP-Missionen und -Operationen*, ed. M. Asseburg and R. Kempin. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.
- Keohane, Daniel. 2009. "ESDP and NATO." In *European Security and Defence Policy. The First 10 Years (1999-2009)*, ed. G. Grevi, D. Helly and D. Keohane. Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies.
- Keohane, Robert O., ed. 1986. *Neorealism and Its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ker-Lindsay, James. 2009a. "From autonomy to independence: the evolution of international thinking on Kosovo, 1998-2005." *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 11 (2):141-56.
- . 2009b. *Kosovo. The path to contested state-hood in the Balkans*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Kim, Julie. 2006. "Bosnia and the European Union Military Force (EUFOR): Post-NATO Peacekeeping." In *CRS Report for Congress: Congressional Research Service*.
- . 2008. "Bosnia and the European Union Military Force (EUFOR): Post-NATO Peacekeeping." In *CRS Report for Congress: Congressional Research Service*.
- Kim, Julie, and Steven Woehrel. 2008. "Kosovo and U.S. Policy: Background to Independence. CRS Report for Congress. Congressional Research Service, RL 31053, June 20, 2008." In *CRS Report for Congress: Congressional Research Service*.
- King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry. Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- King, Iain, and Whit Mason. 2006. *Peace at any Price: How the World Failed Kosovo*. Ithaka, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Klaiber, Klaus-Peter. 2007. "The European Union in Afghanistan: Lessons Learned." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 12 (1):7-11.
- Knaus, Gerald, and Felix Martin. 2003. "Lessons from Bosnia and Herzegovina: Travails of The European Raj " *Journal of Democracy* 14 (3):60-74.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias. 2004a. "Explaining Government Preferences for Institutional Change in EU Foreign and Security Policy." *International Organization* 58 (1):137-74.

References

- . 2004b. "International governance as new Raison d'etat? The case of the EU common foreign and security policy." *European Journal of International Relations* 10 (2):147-88.
- Koeth, Wolfgang. 2010. "State Building without a State: The EU's Dilemma in Defining its Relations with Kosovo." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 15:227-47.
- Koops, Joachim Alexander. 2011. *The European Union as an Integrative Power? Assessing the EU's 'Effective Multilateralism' towards NATO and the United Nations*. Brussels: Brussels University Press.
- Korski, Daniel. 2009. "Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge." *ECFR Policy Brief*.
- Kraske, Marion, and Alexander Szandar. 2004. "Kosovo. Zahnlose Tiger." *Der Spiegel*, June 28, 2004.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich. 2003. "The Monologue of "Science"." In *The Forum: Are Dialogue and Synthesis Possible in International Relations?* *International Studies Review* ed. G. Hellmann.
- . 2008. "Sociological Approaches." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, ed. C. Reus-Smit and D. Snidal. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Krotz, Ulrich, and Richard Maher. 2011. "International Relations Theory and the Rise of European Foreign and Security Policy." *World Politics* 63 (03):548-79.
- Kuhn, Thomas S. 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Second Edition, Enlarged ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Kupferschmidt, Frank. 2006. "Strategische Partnerschaft in der Bewaehrung: Die Zusammenarbeit von NATO und EU bei der Operation Althea." *SWP Studie* (7).
- Kydd, Andrew H. 2008. "Methodological Individualism and Rational Choice." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, ed. C. Reus-Smit and D. Snidal. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- La Croix. 2008. "Au Tchad, la Force européenne reste neutre." *La Croix*, June 19, 2008.
- Labour. 2010. "The Labour Party Manifesto 2010: A future fair for all."
- Lacey, Mark. 2006. "Family feud complicates revolt over Chad's leader." *New York Times*, April 20, 2006.
- Le Figaro. 2007. "Darfour : Kouchner veut aider les réfugiés " *Le Figaro*, May 30, 2007.
- Le Monde. 2008a. "Dans l'est du Tchad, premier incident armé entre Eufor et rebelles venus du Soudan." *Le Monde*, June 17, 2008.
- . 2008b. ""La France a apporté une aide militaire indirecte mais décisive au régime de Déby"." *Le Monde*, February 7, 2008.
- . 2008c. "Tchad: Idriss Déby estime que "la France a tenu ses engagements"." www.lemonde.fr, February 6, 2008.
- . 2008d. "Tchad: Paris avait décidé de ne pas intervenir." *Le Monde*, February 8, 2008.
- Leakey, David. 2006. "ESDP and Civil/Military Cooperation: Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2005." In *Securing Europe: Implementing the European Security Strategy*, ed. A. Deighton. Zuerich: Centre for Security Studies, ETH Zuerich.

References

- Legro, Jeffrey W., and Andrew Moravcsik. 1999. "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* 24 (2):5-55.
- Lieber, Keir A., and Gerard Alexander. 2006. "Correspondence: Striking the Balance. Lieber and Alexander Reply." *International Security* 30 (3):191-6.
- Lindstrom, Gustav. 2005. "EU-US burdensharing: who does what?" *EUISS Occasional Paper* 82.
- Linton, Leyla. 2006. "Clooney Urges U.N. Action on Darfur." *The Associated Press*, September 15, 2006.
- Lobjakas, Ahto. 2001. "EU: Laeken Summit Mired In Controversy Over Defense Policy." *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, December 14, 2001.
- Loewenstein, Stephan. 2008. "Interministerielle Entfremdung." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (F.A.Z.)*, December 3, 2008.
- Lundestad, Geir. 1990. *The American 'Empire'*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Maas, Citha. 2007. "Afghanistan: Staatsaufbau ohne Staat." *SWP Studie*.
- Macleod, Alex, and Catherine Voyer-Léger. 2004. "La France. D'une puissane moyenne à l'autre." *Revue Études internationales* XXXV (1):73-96.
- Major, Claudia. 2009. "Europe is what member states make of it" - An assessment of the influence of nation states on the European Security and Defence Policy. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham.
- Malcolm, Noel. 1996. *Bosnia. A Short History*. New York: New York University Press.
- Malici, Akan. 2006. "Germans as Venutians: The Culture of German Foreign Policy Behavior." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2 (1):37-62.
- Manners, Ian A. N. 2002. "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (2):235-58.
- . 2008. "The normative ethics of the European Union." *International Affairs* 84 (1):45-60.
- March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. 1998. "The institutional dynamics of international political orders." *International Organization* 52 (4):943-69.
- Marchal, Roland. *Understanding French policy toward Chad/Sudan? A difficult task* 2009 [cited. Available from <http://www.ssrc.org/>].
- Marlowe, Lara. 2009a. "France sees new opportunities to promote 'European defence'." *Irish Times*, March 6, 2009.
- . 2009b. "A life spent keeping the peace. The Saturday Interview: Lt. Gen Pat Nash." *Irish Times*, May 16, 2009.
- Matlary, Janne Haaland. 2009. *European Union security dynamics: in the new national interest*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mattelaer, Alexander. 2008. "The Strategic Planning of EU Military Operations - The Case of EUFOR TCHAD / RCA." *IES Working Paper*.
- Maull, Hanns W. 2000. "Germany and the use of force: still a 'civilian power'?" *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 42 (2):56 - 80.
- McDougall, James. *Sarkozy and Africa: big white chief's bad memory*. open Democracy, December 7, 2007 2007 [cited January 26, 2010. Available from http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/democracy_power/africa/sarkozy_africa].

References

- Mearsheimer, John J. 1990. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War." *International Security* 15 (1):5-56.
- . 1995. "A Realist Reply." *International Security* 20 (1):82-93.
- Menon, Anand. 2009. "Empowering paradise? The ESDP at ten." *International Affairs* 85 (2):227-46.
- Mérand, Frédéric. 2006. "Social Representations in the European Security and Defence Policy." *Cooperation and Conflict* 41 (2):131-52.
- . 2008. *European Defence Policy. Beyond the Nation State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merkel, Angela. 2007. ""Frieden und Demokratie sind nicht selbstverständlich". Interview with "Bild", 23 March 2007."
- Merlingen, Michael, and Rosa Ostrauskaite. 2005. "ESDP Police Missions: Meaning, Context and Operational Challenges." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10 (2):215-35.
- Merton, Robert K. 1957. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Meunier, Sophie. 2000. "The French Exception." *Foreign Affairs* 79 (4):104-16.
- Meyer, Christoph O. 2006. *The quest for a European strategic culture : changing norms on security and defence in the European Union*. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Meyer, Christoph O., and Eva Strickmann. 2011. "Solidifying Constructivism: How Material and Ideational Factors Interact in European Defence." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49 (1):61-81.
- MFA/MOI. 2007. "Antwort des Auswaertigen Amtes und des Bundesministeriums des Innern auf die Anfrage des Abgeordneten Winfried Nachtwei, Buendnis 90/Die Gruenen vom 23. Juli 2007." ed. F. O. F. H. Office: http://www.nachtwei.de/downloads/brief/20070814_aa-bmi_wn_eupol.pdf
- Michel, Leo. 2004. "NATO and the EU Stop the Minuet; it's Time to Tango!" *EuroFuture* (Winter 2004):88-91.
- . 2006. "NATO and the European Union: Improving Practical Cooperation. A Transatlantic Workshop organized by the Institute for National Strategic Studies in Partnership with the Ministry of Defence of Finland. Washington, DC, March 20-21, 2006."
- Miliband, David. 2009. ""Strong Britain in a Strong Europe". Speech by Rt Hon David Miliband, Foreign Secretary, at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, October 26, 2009."
- Missiroli, Antonio. 2002. "EU-NATO Cooperation in Crisis Management: No Turkish Delight for ESDP." *Security Dialogue* 33 (1):9-26.
- Mitzen, Jennifer. 2006. "Anchoring Europe's civilizing identity: habits, capabilities and ontological security." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13 (2):270-85.
- MoD, FRA. *Les éléments français au Tchad (EFT)*. Ministère de la Défense / Etats majors des armées 2010 [cited. Available from http://www.defense.gouv.fr/ema/operations_exterieures/tchad/dossier_de_reference/11_01_10_les_elements_francais_au_tchad_eft.

References

- Monaco, Annalisa. 2003. "Operation Concordia and Berlin Plus: NATO and the EU take stock." *Nato Notes* 5 (8):1-3.
- Moore, Patrick. 2004. "Balkan Report: March 5, 2004. Bosnia: 'Yankee Go Home'." *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, March 5, 2004.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1993. "Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31 (4):473-524.
- . 1997. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics." *International Organization* 51 (4):513-53.
- . 1998. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- . 1999. "'Is something rotten in the state of Denmark?' Constructivism and European integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6 (4):669-81.
- . 2008. "The New Liberalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, ed. C. Reus-Smit and D. Snidal. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Morgan, Patrick. 2007. "Security in International Politics: Traditional Approaches." In *Contemporary security studies*, ed. A. Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. 1978. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. 5th edition, revised ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- . [1948] 2006. "Six Principles of Political Realism." In *Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations* ed. P. Williams, D. M. Goldstein and J. M. Shafritz. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Morris, Nigel. 2009. "Bosnia is back on the brink of ethnic conflict, warns Hague. Shadow Foreign Secretary fears 'Europe's black hole' is slowly falling apart again." www.independent.co.uk, August 12, 2009.
- Moumoutzis, Kyriakos. 2011. "Still Fashionable Yet Useless? Addressing Problems with Research on the Europeanization of Foreign Policy." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 49 (3):1-23.
- Mulisch, Harry. 1996. *The Discovery of Heaven*. London: Penguin Books.
- Murray, Tonita. 2007. "Police-Building in Afghanistan: A Case Study of Civil Security Reform." *International Peacekeeping* 14 (1):108-26.
- Nash, Patrick. 2008. "Summary of remarks by Lt General Patrick Nash, Operation Commander EUFOR Tchad/RCA." http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/esdp/98479.pdf (10/02/17).
- NATO-EU. 2002. "EU-NATO Declaration on ESDP."
- NATO. 1999. "An Alliance for the 21st Century. Washington Summit Communiqué. Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington, D.C. on 24th April 1999."
- . 2003. "Final Communiqué. Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council held at NATO Headquarters, Brussels, On 4 December 2003."
- . 2004a. "Istanbul Summit Communiqué. Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council."

References

- . 2004b. "Press briefing by Mr. Robert Serry, Deputy Assistant Secretary General, Crisis Management and Operations, Operations Division, on the end of SFOR and the future of NATO's role in Bosnia-Herzegovina, November 24, 2004."
- Natsios, Andrew S. 2008. "Beyond Darfur." *Foreign Affairs* 87 (3):77-93.
- Noutcheva, Gergana. 2009. "Fake, partial and imposed compliance: the limits of the EU's normative power in the Western Balkans." *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (7):1065-84.
- Nowak, Agnieszka, ed. 2006. *Civilian Crisis Management: the EU Way*. Vol. 90. Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies.
- Nuland, Victoria. *Speech to Press Club and AmCham February 22, 2008* 2008 [cited]. Available from <http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/February/20080222183349eaifas0.5647394.html>.
- Oberlé, Thierry. 2008. "Ganascia : «Il faut revoir les missions de l'Eufor au Tchad»." *Le Figaro*, June 10, 2008.
- Ojanen, Hanna. 2006. "The EU and Nato: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44 (1):57-76.
- Oliver, Tim, and David Allen. 2006. "Foreign Policy." In *The Europeanization of British Politics*, ed. I. Bache and A. Jordan. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Orbie, Jan. 2006. "Review Essay. Civilian Power Europe." *Cooperation and Conflict* 41 (1):123-8.
- Owen, John M. . 2001. "Transnational Liberalism and U.S. Primacy." *International Security* 26 (3):117-52.
- Oxfam. 2008. "Mission incomplete: why civilians remain at risk in eastern Chad."
- Pape, Robert A. 2005. "Soft Balancing against the United States." *International Security* 30 (1):7-45.
- Paris, Roland. 1997. "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism." *International Security* 22 (2):54-89.
- Patten, Chris. 2007. "Kosovo's final chapter is still to be written." *Financial Times*, June 7, 2007, 15.
- Patton, Michael Quinn. 1990. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. 2nd edition ed. London: Sage.
- Peral, Luis. 2009. "EUPOL Afghanistan. The EU Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan)." In *European Security and Defence Policy. The First 10 Years (1999-2009)*, ed. G. Grevi, D. Helly and D. Keohane. Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies (EU ISS).
- Perito, Robert. 2009. "Afghanistan's Police: The Weak Link in Security Sector Reform." *USIP Special Report*.
- Peters, Dirk. 2010. *Constrained Balancing: The EU's Security Policy*. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Phytian, Mark. 2010. "From Asset to Liability: Blair, Brown and the 'Special Relationship'." In *British Foreign Policy. The New Labour Years*, ed. O. Daddow and J. Gaskarth. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ploch, Lauren. 2008. "Instability in Chad." In *CRS Report for Congress: Congressional Research Service*.

References

- Pond, Elisabeth. 1999. "Kosovo: Catalyst for Europe." *The Washington Quarterly* 22 (4):77-92.
- Pond, Elisabeth. 2009. "Serbia's Choice." *Survival* 51 (2):123-36.
- Popper, Karl. 1963. *Science: Conjectures and Refutations*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Posen, Barry R. 2006. "European Union Security and Defense Policy: Response to Unipolarity?" *Security Studies* 15 (2):149-86.
- Posen, Barry R. . 2004. "ESDP and the Structure of World Power." *Internationale Spectator* 39 (1):5-17.
- Power, Samantha. 2002. *"A problem from hell": America and the age of genocide* New York: Basic Books.
- Prelec, Marko. 2009. "Bosnia & Herzegovina: "Divide and Misrule"." *Transitions Online*, August 20, 2009.
- Prunier, Gérard. *Chad, the CAR and Darfur: dynamics of conflict*. open Democracy, April 17, 2007 [cited August 11, 2009. Available from www.opendemocracy.net.
- . *Chad: between Sudan's blitzkrieg and Darfur's war*. open Democracy, February 19, 2008 [cited August 11, 2009. Available from www.opendemocracy.net.
- PSC. 2004a. "Political and Security Committee Decision BiH/4/2004 of 19 October 2004 on the appointment of the Head of the EU Command Element at Naples for the European Union military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2004/821/CSFP) ".
- . 2004b. "POLITICAL AND SECURITY COMMITTEE DECISION BiH/5/2004 of 3 November 2004 amending Decision BiH/1/2004 on the acceptance of third States' contributions to the European Union military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Decision BiH/3/2004 on the setting-up of the Committee of Contributors for the European Union military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2004/822/CFSP)."
- Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "Diplomacy And Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games'." *International Organization* 42 (3):427-60.
- Rathbun, Brian. 2004. *Partisan Interventions. European Party Politics and Peace Enforcement in the Balkans*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- . 2010. "Is Anybody Not an (International Relations) Liberal?" *Security Studies* 19 (1):2-25.
- Reichard, Martin. 2006. *The EU-NATO Relationship. A Legal and Political Perspective*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Reuters. 2002. "Guarded welcome at NATO for EU Bosnia mission bid." *Reuters News*, December 18, 2002.
- . 2006. "Kosovo can win independence, says British diplomat." *Reuters*, February 6, 2006.
- . 2008a. "Déby dit qu'il pourrait gracier les six de l'Arche de Zoé." *Reuters*, February 6, 2008.
- . 2008b. "Tchad - Idriss Déby accuse l'EUFOR de "fermer des yeux"." *Reuters*, June 16, 2008.

References

- . 2008c. "Tchad - Paris dément à nouveau toute participation aux combats." *Reuters*, February 5, 2008.
- Rice, Condoleezza. 2000. "Promoting the National Interest." *Foreign Affairs* 79 (1):45-62.
- Richter, Solveig. 2009. "Rechtsstaatlichkeit foerdern, ohne Eigenstaatlichkeit zu staerken: Schafft die EULEX-Mission im Kosovo die Quadratur des Kreises?" In *Die EU als strategischer Akteur in der Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik? Eine systematische Bestandsaufnahme von ESVP-Missionen und -Operationen*, ed. M. Asseburg and R. Kempin. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.
- Risse, Thomas, Stephen Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds. 1999. *The power of human rights: international norms and domestic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robertson, George, George Papandreou, and Javier Solana. 2003. "Press Conference following the NATO-EU Meeting on June 3, 2003."
- Rohan, Albert. 2006. "Press Briefing by UN Deputy Special Envoy for the Future Status Process for Kosovo Albert Rohan in Pristina, 18 May."
- Romac, Denis. 2009. "L'UE perd la main en Bosnie." *Novi List*, October 13, 2009.
- Rosamond, Ben. 2000. *Theories of European Integration*. Houndsmills: Macmillan Press.
- Rudolf, Peter. 2005. "The Myth of the "German Way": German Foreign Policy and Transatlantic Relations." *Survival* 47 (1):133-52.
- Rupnik, Jacques. 2001. "Yugoslavia After Milosevic." *Survival* 43 (2):19-29.
- Rutten, Maartje, ed. 2001. *From St. Malo to Nice. European defence: core documents*. Vol. 47. Paris: WEU Institute for Security Studies.
- Rynning, Sten. 2011. "Realism and the Common Security and Defence Policy." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49 (1):23-42.
- Sabrow, Martin. 2009. "Warum Erich Mielke die Panzer nicht rollen liess." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, November 9, 2009.
- Sarkozy, Nicolas. 2007. "Conference de Presse de Monsieur Nicolas Sarkozy. Deuxième Sommet Union Européenne / Afrique. Samedi 8 Decembre 2007. Lisbon, Portugal."
- . 2008. "Discours devant le parlement sud-africaine, Le Cap (Afrique du Sud), Jeudi 28 février 2008."
- Schaefer, Michael. 2007. "ESDP: From Cologne to Berlin and beyond. Operations - Institutions - Capabilities. Closing remarks by Michael Schaefer (Political Director, German Federal Foreign Office), January 30, 2007".
- Schmidt, Peter. 2006. "'Freiwillige vor!' Bundeswehreininsatz im Kongo - zur Dialektik einer Fuehrungsrolle wider Willen." *Internationale Politik* 61 (11):68-77.
- Scholz, Juergen. *Polizeiaufbau Afghanistan: "Deutschland hat eine ganz wichtige Rolle"*. German Foreign Office (www.diplo.de) 2008 [cited March 30, 2010].
- Schoutheete, Philippe de. 2004. "La cohérence par la défense: Une autre lecture de la PESD." *EUISS Chaillot Papers* 71.
- Sebastian, Sofia. 2009. "No time to wind-down in Bosnia." *FRIDE Policy Brief* 17 (August 2009).

References

- . 2010. "Spanish Foreign Policy in the Balkans: Wasted Potential." *FRIDE Policy Brief* 28 (January 2010).
- Selden, Zachary. 2010. "Power is Always in Fashion: State-Centric Realism and the European Security and Defence Policy." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48 (2):397-416.
- Self, Robert. 2010. *British Foreign & Defence Policy since 1945. Challenges & dilemmas in a changing world*. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sénat français. 2009. "Rapport d'information: Les opérations extérieures sous le contrôle du Parlement."
- UNITED STATES SENATE. 2003. SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS. *THE SUCCESSOR STATES TO PRE-1991 YUGOSLAVIA: PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION. JUNE 25, 2003. ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION. JUNE 25, 2003.*
- Silber, Laura, and Allan Little. 1995. *The Death of Yugoslavia*. London: Penguin.
- Singer, J. David. 1961. "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations." *World Politics* 14 (1):77-92.
- Sjursen, Helene. 2006. "The EU as a normative power: how can this be?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 13 (2):235-51.
- Smith, Hazel. 2002. *European Union Foreign Policy: what it is and what it does*. London: Pluto Press.
- Smith, Michael E. 2004. *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy. The Institutionalization of Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2011. "A liberal grand strategy in a realist world? Power, purpose and the EU's changing global role." *Journal of European Public Policy* 18 (2):144-63.
- Smith, Steve, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne. 2008. *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Solana, Javier. 2004. "Enhancing the EU contribution in Kosovo, 17 February 2004."
- . 2008. "Das Leid nicht tatenlos hinnehmen. Warum der Einsatz im Tschad wichtig ist - fuer die Menschen im Tschad und fuer die in Oesterreich." *Die Presse*, January 29, 2008.
- . 2009. "Chad mission shows EU is effective in giving stability." *The Irish Times*, March 13, 2009.
- Solana, Javier, and Olli Rehn. 2005a. "Summary note on the joint report by Javier Solana, EU High Representative for the CFSP, and Olli Rehn, EU Commissioner for Enlargement, on the *future EU Role and Contribution in Kosovo*, 9 December 2005".
- . 2005b. "Summary note on the joint report by Javier Solana, EU High Representative for the CFSP, and Olli Rehn, EU Commissioner for Enlargement, on the *future EU Role and Contribution in Kosovo*, 14 June 2005".
- Spiegel Online. 2007. "Balkan Conundrum. Europe, Washington Divided over Kosovo's Future." *Spiegel Online International*, February 7, 2007.

References

- . 2008. "The World from Berlin: Is the EU Chad Mission a Camouflage for French Interests?" *Spiegel Online*, January 29, 2008.
- Spoerl, Gerhard. 2007. "Der unmögliche Auftrag." *Der Spiegel*, December 10, 2007.
- Stahl, B., H. Boeckle, J. Nadoll, and A. Johannesdottir. 2004. "Understanding the Atlanticist-Europeanist Divide in the CFSP: Comparing Denmark, France, Germany and the Netherlands." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9:417-41.
- Steinmeier, Frank-Walter, and Wolfgang Schaeuble. 2008. "'Mehr Polizisten fuer Kabul" - Artikel von Bundesinnenminister Schaeuble und Baudesaussenminister Steinmeier." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung (F.A.Z.)*, February 25, 2008.
- Stromvik, Maria. 2005. *To Act as a Union. Explaining the Development of the EU's Collective Foreign Policy*. Lund: Lund University.
- Tabeau, Ewa, and Jakub Bijak. 2005. "War-related Deaths in the 1992–1995 Armed conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina: a critique of previous estimates and recent results." *European Journal of Population* (21):187–215.
- Tartter, Jean R. . 1988. "National Security: The French Military Role in Chad." In *Country Study: Chad*, ed. T. Collelo. Washington: Library of Congress.
- Taylor, Claire. 2006. "European Security and Defence Policy: Developments Since 2003." *House of Commons Library Research Paper* 06 (32).
- The Economist. 1999. "Survey Europe. The ageing alliance." *The Economist*, October 21, 1999.
- . 2005. "Charlemagne: Back to Bosnia. The European Union's biggest military operation, in a place of previous foreign-policy failure." *The Economist*, March 17, 2005.
- . 2007. "Charlemagne: Berlin Minus." *The Economist*, February 8, 2007.
- . 2008a. "Charlemagne: Colonial baggage. The lessons of Europe's muddle over its military mission to Chad." *The Economist*, February 7, 2008.
- . 2008b. "A regime saved, for the moment. For France and the UN, better the devil they know than the rebels they don't." *The Economist*, February 7, 2008.
- . 2008c. "The state of NATO. A ray of light in the dark defile." *The Economist*, March 27, 2008.
- . 2009. "NATO and Russia. War games." *The Economist*, October 29, 2009.
- . 2010. "France's president. Super Nicolas, saviour of the universe." *The Economist*, May 27, 2010.
- . 2011. "France's war president: Sarkozy relaunched. Will a popular Libyan adventure restore the president's fortunes?" *The Economist*, March 24, 2011.
- Thomson, Alistair. 2008. "Tchad - Déby réclame le déploiement urgent de l'EUFOR." *Reuters* February 7, 2008.
- Thruelsen, Peter Dahl. 2010. "Striking the Right Balance: How to Rebuild the Afghan National Police." *International Peacekeeping* 17 (1):80-92.
- Thucydides. [410 BC] 2006. "The Peloponnesian War and the Melian Debate." In *Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations*, ed. P. Williams, D. M. Goldstein and J. M. Shafritz. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

References

- Tkalec, Maritta. 2008. "Frankreichs Tschad-Mission." *Berliner Zeitung*, January 29, 2008.
- Toje, Asle. 2008. "The Consensus Expectations Gap: Explaining Europe's Ineffective Foreign Policy." *Security Dialogue* 39 (1):121-41.
- Tonra, Ben. 2003. "Constructing the CFSP: The Utility of a Cognitive Approach." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41 (4):731-56.
- Toshev, Adrian, and Gregory Cheikhameguyaz. 2005. "The European Union and the Final Status for Kosovo." *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 80 (1):273-304.
- Traynor, Ian. 2008. "Kosovo's Unending Endgame." *E!Sharp* May-June 2008:18-20.
- Tubiana, Jérôme. 2008. "The Chad-Sudan Proxy War and the 'Darfurization' of Chad: Myths and Reality." *Sudan Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA) Working Paper* 12.
- Tull, Denis M. 2008. "Tschad-Krise und die Operation EUFOR Tschad/ZAR." *SWP-Aktuell* (15).
- Tweede Kamer. 2008. "Debat over de artikel 100-brief Tsjaad. TK 69 4822-31, March 27, 2008."
- UNSC. 1999. "United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) of 10 June 1999."
- . 2006. "Security Council 5519th Meeting (AM), 31 August 2006, S/PV.5519".
- . 2007a. "Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America: draft resolution, S/2007/437, 17 July 2007".
- . 2007b. "United Nations Security Council Resolution 1778 (2007) of 25 September 2007."
- . 2008a. "Statement by the President of the Security Council, 26 November, 2008."
- . 2008b. "Statement by the President of the Security Council, February 4, 2008."
- . 2009. "United Nations Security Council Resolution 1861 (2009) of 14 January 2009."
- UNSG. 2006a. "Report of the Secretary-General on Chad and the Central African Republic pursuant to paragraphs 9 (d) and 13 of Security Council resolution 1706 (2006), 22 December 2006."
- . 2006b. "Report of the Secretary-General on Darfur, 28 July 2006."
- . 2007a. "Letter dated 26 March 2007 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (Report of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Kosovo's Future Status)."
- . 2007b. "Report of the Secretary-General on Chad and the Central African Republic, 23 February 2007."
- . 2007c. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad, 17 December 2007."
- . 2008a. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, 3 January 2008."
- . 2008b. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, 12 June 2008."

References

- . 2008c. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, 24 November 2008."
- . 2008d. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad, 4 December 2008."
- . 2008e. "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad, 8 July 2008."
- Urgence Darfour. *Acte d'engagement pour le Darfour* 2007a [cited January 29, 2010. Available from http://www.urgencedarfou.info/modules/CmodsDownload/upload/Actes/acte_engagement.pdf.
- . *Génocide au Darfour : les politiques s'engagent enfin !* 2007b [cited January 29, 2010. Available from http://www.urgencedarfou.info/index.php?module=Pagesetter&func=view_pub&tid=10002&pid=24.
- Villepin, Dominique de. 2002. "Le choix de la volonté." *Le Figaro*, September 9, 2002.
- Vincent, Hugué. 2008. "Tchad Déby, l'allié insoumis." *L'Express*, February 14, 2008.
- Vorsamer, Barbara. 2009. "Afghanistan: Deutsches Desaster. "Nur Doofe wollen zur Polizei"." www.sueddeutsche.de, December 9, 2009.
- Waal, Alex de. 2007a. "Darfur and the failure of the responsibility to protect." *International Affairs* 83 (6):1039-54.
- . 2007b. "Sudan: The Turbulent State." In *War in Darfur and the Search for Peace*, ed. A. d. Waal. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 2008. "Making Sense of Chad." www.ssrc.org (Social Science Research Council Weblogs).
- Waever, Ole. 1996. "European Security Identities." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (1):103-32.
- Wall, Stephen. 2008. *A Stranger in Europe. Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wallace, William. 1994. *Regional Integration: The West European Experience*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.
- Walt, Stephen M. 1987. *The Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- . 1998. "International relations: One world, many theories." *Foreign Policy* (110):29-46.
- . 2005a. "THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THEORY AND POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (1):23-48.
- . 2005b. *Taming American Power: The Global Response to US Primacy* New York: Norton.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- . 1997. "Evaluating Theories." *The American Political Science Review* 91 (4):913-7.
- Ward, Josh. 2008. "The World from Berlin. Is the EU Chad Mission a Camouflage for French Interests?" *Spiegel online*, January 29, 2008.

References

- Weaver, R. Kent. 1986. "The Politics of Blame Avoidance." *Journal of Public Policy* 6 (4):371-98.
- Webber, Mark. 2009. "The Kosovo war: a recapitulation." *International Affairs* 85 (3):447-59.
- Weiss, Robert. 1994. *Learning from Strangers. The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Weller, Marc. 2008. "Negotiating the final status of Kosovo." *EUISS Chaillot Paper* (114).
- Wendt, Alexander 1998. "On constitution and causation in International Relations." *Review of International Studies* 24 (5):101-18.
- Wernicke, Christian. 2004. "Bosnien. Europas zweite Chance." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, December 1, 2004.
- Wet, Erika de. 2009. "The Governance of Kosovo: Security Council Resolution 1244 and the Establishment and Functioning of EULEX." *The American Journal of International Law* 103 (1):83-96.
- WEU. 2008. "The European Union Mission in Chad: EUFOR Tchad/RCA. Report submitted on behalf of the Defence Committee by René Rouquet, Rapporteur (France, Socialist Group) and Ruhi Acikgöz, co-Rapporteur (Turkey). Document A/2007, June 4th 2008."
- Wight, Colin. 2002. "Philosophy of Science and International Relations." In *Handbook of International Relations*, ed. W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. Simmons. London: Sage.
- Wilder, Andrew. 2007. "Cops or Robbers? The Struggle to Reform the Afghan National Police " *AREU Issue Paper Series*.
- Willigen, Niels van. 2009. Building Sustainable Institutions? The results of international administration in Bosnia & Herzegovina and Kosovo: 1995-2008, Institute of Political Science, Universiteit Leiden, Leiden.
- Withington, Thomas. 2008. "Grounded. The International Community's Betrayal of UNAMID. A Joint NGO Report." Joint NGO Report (36 NGOs).
- Witney, Nick. 2008. "Re-energising Europe's Security and Defence Policy." *ECFR Policy Paper*.
- Woehrel, Steven. 2005. "Kosovo's Future Status and U.S. Policy. CRS Report for Congress. Congressional Research Service, RS 21721, January 27, 2005." In *CRS Report for Congress: Congressional Research Service*.
- . 2010. "Kosovo: Current Issues and U.S. Policy. CRS Report for Congress. Congressional Research Service, RL 21721, April 12, 2010." In *CRS Report for Congress: Congressional Research Service*.
- Wohlforth, William C. 1999. "The stability of a unipolar world." *International Security* 24 (1):5-41.
- Wolfers, Arnold. 1962. *Discord and Collaboration: Essays in International Politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Wood, Nicholas. 2006. "Kosovo may be next to split from Serbia " *International Herald Tribune*, June 12, 2006.
- Woodbridge, Jamie. 2002. "Ready and willing to take charge in the Balkans?" *European Security Review* (14):3-4.

References

Youngs, Richard. 2004. "Normative Dynamics and Strategic Interests in the EU's External Identity." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42 (2):415-35.