

## Enlarging Europe: The European Union and its Applicants

**Political Science 359Y1Y**  
**Fall/Winter - 2012 - 2013**  
**Thursdays - 6 - 8 PM**

**Robert C. Austin**  
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**Contact Hours: Thursdays 4 - 6 pm**

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

European integration is one of the most important political experiments in recent history. This course looks at the historical impetus for European integration and to the recent trends in this process, as well as its future prospects. It will examine the consequences of enlargement and deeper integration for the internal dynamics of the Union. However, the emphasis is on the impact that integration and the prospects of integration have on the potential member states and the countries bordering the Union.

The course provides a brief overview of the salient issues in the past enlargement rounds, furnishing the context for the study of current and future integration efforts. Readings will cover the recent rounds (2004 and 2007) of enlargement to the Central and East European countries, continuing with efforts related to South-Eastern Europe (the Balkans), as well as Turkey. Issues between the EU, Ukraine, Russia and the Caucasus will also be studied. Security issues, related to NATO integration and operations, will also be covered along with the emerging Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU.

In addition to an introductory session, there are six distinct sections: (i) Central Europe plus Romania and Bulgaria, (ii) The Balkans, (iii) The former USSR - Russia, Ukraine and the Caucasus (iv) Turkey and the Mediterranean Area, (v) Immigration, Identities, NATO and CFSP, (vi) Contemporary Challenges which looks at the key challenges faced by the Union in 2011 - 2012.

## GRADING SCHEME

There are four components to the grade for the course:

- 1) 1<sup>st</sup> term essay (800 - 1000 words) - **25%** - **Due 25 October 2012** – You will be expected to write an opinion piece on an issue of central importance for the EU in 2012. We will discuss the format in detail in class. Students are encouraged to familiarize themselves with this style of essay by regularly reading similar pieces in the *New York Times* or other leading newspapers.
- 2) In-class test - **25%** – Last class end of First Term (**NOVEMBER 29th**). The test will be composed of a short answer “identify and explain” question section and one short essay. Each section is one hour in length.
- 3) 2<sup>nd</sup> term essay (2500 words) - **40%** – This is a more classical research essay. It must be on topic discussed with me in advance. This can be done during office hours or via email. **Due – 21 March 2013.**
- 4) Regular attendance and participation – **10%**.

*The late penalty is 2% per day on all written assignments.*

## READINGS

### Textbooks

#### **Course Texts:**

The weekly readings listed below are available through the U of T’s article database. Students are not expected to read every article, but this list should serve as guidance for your major research paper. I have marked any priority readings with an asterisk. Additional readings from contemporary media and think tanks will be posted weekly on the course’s Blackboard site.

As to texts, students should purchase one of the following books:

Michael J. Baun, *A Wider Europe – The Process and Politics of European Union Enlargement*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.

*or*

Michelle Cini, Ed. *European Union Politics*. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

*or*

Neill Nugent, Ed. *European Union Enlargement*. New York: Palgrave, 2004.

As knowledge of the history of the region is critical, students are encouraged to read Tony Judt, *Postwar – A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: Penguin, 2005. Chapters 1 and 2 along with 18 through 24 are highly recommended for students.

#### **Helpful Websites:**

EU Enlargement Web-site: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/index.htm>

EU Official Site: <http://www.europa.eu.int>

European Union Studies Association: <http://www.eustudies.org/home.html>

### **Newspapers:**

Students will also benefit from following the mainstream media in Europe. The best source for European issues is the *Financial Times* as well as the *International Herald Tribune*. An excellent and current on-line news source is for Europe *BBC News*. The *Economist* also has an excellent blog on EU affairs, *Charlemagne's Notebook*. For an economics and finance focus, read the *Brussels Blog*.

### **COURSE OUTLINE:**

#### **First Term**

#### **Introduction – European Integration: History and Theoretical Perspectives - 3 classes**

1. Introductory class – Why Integrate?

\*Please read Chapter One and Tony of Judt's book *Postwar*.

2. Theories of Integration

Heather Grabbe (2006) *The EU's Transformative Power*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Lucan A. Way and Steven Levitsky, 'Linkage, Leverage, and the Post-Communist Divide', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol.21, no.1 (February 2007), pp.48-66.

Antoanneta Dimitrova and Geoffrey Pridham, 'International Actors and Democracy Promotion in Central and Eastern Europe: The Integration Model and Its Limits', *Democratization*, vol.11, no.5 (December 2004), pp.91-112.

3. Institutions of the European Union

\*Read Chapters 9, 10 and 11 of Cini, *European Union Politics*.

#### **Section One - Central Europe plus Bulgaria and Romania - 4 classes**

1. From Cooperation to Negotiation

\*Daniel Chirot, What Happened in Eastern Europe in 1989. Praxis International 10:3/4 October 1990 & January 1991.

Alan Mayhew. Recreating Europe: The European Union's Policy towards Central and Eastern Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. (Ch. 1: From the overthrow of Soviet domination to integration with the European Union; pp. 3-20)

Valerie Bunce. "The Visegrad Group: Regional Cooperation and European Integration in Post-Communist Europe" in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed. Mitteleuropa: Between Europe and Germany. Providence & Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997.

\*Gati, Charles.: East-Central Europe: The Morning After. Foreign Affairs; Winter 1990/1991; Vol. 69, 5; pp. 129-145.

Heather Grabbe. "European Union Conditionality and the Acquis Communautaire." International Political Science Review, Vol. 23, #3 (2002); pp. 249-268.

2. Minority Issues

\*Jerry Z Muller, "Us and Them – The Enduring Power of Ethnic Nationalism." *Foreign Affairs*. March/April 2008.

Kymlicka, Will and Magda Opalski eds., *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported? Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe*, "Introduction". Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 13-105.

\*Michael Johns. " 'Do As I Say, Not As I Do': The European Union, Eastern Europe and Minority Rights" East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 17, #4 (2003); pp. 682-699.

Nida M. Gelazis. "The effects of EU conditionality on citizenship policies and the protection of national minorities in the Baltic states" in Vello Pettai and Jan Zielonka, eds. The Road to the European Union, Vol. 2: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.

3. Bulgaria and Romania

Geoffrey Pridham. 'The Case of Romania During Accession', Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, vol.23, no.2 (June 2007), pp.233-258.

Ivan Krastev. "The Strange Death of the Liberal Consensus." Journal of Democracy 18(4) 2007; pp. 56-63.

4. Case Study – The Roma in Europe

Maria Spirova and Darlene Budd, The EU Accession Process and the Roma Minorities in New and Soon-to-be Member States. Comparative European Politics, 2008, 6, (81-101)

## Section Two – The Balkans - 4 classes

General: For Balkans and EU issues please use the following websites:

<http://www.setimes.com>

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm>

<http://www.balkaninsight.com>

<http://balkans.courriers.info/>

Students must read the following report:

The Balkans in Europe's Future.

[http://www.cls-sofia.org/uploaded/1144743373\\_report.pdf](http://www.cls-sofia.org/uploaded/1144743373_report.pdf)

### 1. The Legacy of Communism in the Balkans and the Origins of the Balkan Wars

\*Abramowitz, Morton L. and Heather Hurlburt. "Can the EU Hack the Balkans?" Foreign Affairs Vol. 81, #5 (September-October 2002); pp. 2-

Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. "Of Dark Sides and Twilight Zones: Enlarging to the Balkans" East European Politics and Societies Vol. 17, # 1 (2003); pp. 83-90.

Dimitris Papadimitriou. "The EU's Strategy in the Post-Communist Balkans." Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, Vol. 1, #3 (September 2001); pp. 69-94

Lykke Friis and Anna Murphy (2000): " "Turbo-charged Negotiations': the EU and the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe" Journal of European Public Policy 7(5): 767-86.

Ailish M. Johnson. "Albania's relations with the EU: On the Road to Europe?" Journal of South Eastern Europe and the Balkans, Vol. 3, #2 (2001); pp. 171-92.

### 2. The EU and Re-building Multiethnic Societies in the Balkans – Dayton, Ohrid and Ahtisaari Agreements

Case study readings to be assigned. Students will work with the original treaties.

- i. The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina - [http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content\\_id=380](http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content_id=380)
- ii. The Ohrid Framework Agreement – [http://faq.macedonia.org/politics/framework\\_agreement.pdf](http://faq.macedonia.org/politics/framework_agreement.pdf)
- iii. Ahtisaari Proposal - [http://www.unosek.org/docref/Comprehensive\\_proposal-english.pdf](http://www.unosek.org/docref/Comprehensive_proposal-english.pdf)

### 3. Case Studies – Building Multi-ethnicity in Mostar (Bosnia) and Mitrovica (Kosovo)

Larissa Vetter. "The Power of Administrative Categories: Emerging Notions of Citizenship in the Divided City of Mostar." Ethnopolitics 6(2): 2007.

4. Balkans Today  
Readings TBA

## **Second Term**

### **Section Three - Former Soviet Union – Russia, Ukraine, the Caucasus and the EU - 3 classes**

1. Political and Economic Dimension

\*Margo Light, Stephen White, John Lowenhardt, 'A wider Europe: the view from Moscow and Kyiv', International Affairs, vol.76, no.1 (January 2000), p.77-88.

Protsyk, Oleh. "Domestic Political Institutions in Ukraine and Russia and their responses to EU enlargement." Communist and Post-Communist Studies Vol. 36, #4 (December 2003); pp. 427-442.

\*Taras Kuzio, 'Europe or Eurasia? National Identity, Transformation and Ukrainian Foreign Policy' in Jennifer Moroney, Taras Kuzio and Mikhail Molchanov (eds.), Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives (Westport, CO: Praeger, 2002), pp.197-226.

2. Security dimension

\*Flemming Splidsboel-Hansen. "Explaining Russian Endorsement of the CFSP and the ESDP" Security Dialogue Vol. 33, #4 (2002); pp. 443-456.

Vladimir Baranovsky, 'Russian Views on NATO and the EU' in Anatol Lieven and Dmitri Trenin, eds., Ambivalent Neighbors: The EU, NATO and the Price of Membership. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003.

Alexander J. Motyl, "Ukraine, Europe, and Russia: Exclusion or Dependence?" in Anatol Lieven and Dmitri Trenin, eds., Ambivalent Neighbors: The EU, NATO and the Price of Membership. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003.

Warkotsch, A 2006, 'The European Union and Democracy Promotion in Bad Neighbourhoods: The Case of Central Asia,' European Foreign Affairs Review, vol. 11, pp.509-525.

3. The EU and the Caucasus – Case studies of Georgia and Azerbaijan

Readings TBA.

## Section Four – Turkey: A permanent applicant? - 2 classes

### 1. History and Internal Politics

\*Students should read the report Turkey in Europe – Breaking the Vicious Circle by the Independent Commission on Turkey – 2009.  
<http://www.independentcommissiononturkey.org/>

Muftuler-Bac, Meltem. “Turkey in the EU’s Enlargement Process: Obstacles and Changes.” Mediterranean Politics Vol. 7, #2 (Summer 2002); pp. 79-95.

Kubicek, Paul. “The Earthquake, the European Union and Political Reform in Turkey.” Mediterranean Politics Vol. 7, #1 (Spring 2002); pp. 1-18.

Saban Taniyici. “Transformation of Political Islam in Turkey: Islamist Welfare Party’s Pro-EU Turn” Party Politics Vol. 9, #4 (2003); pp. 463-483.

Cizre, Umut. “Problems of democratic governance of civil-military relations in Turkey and the European Union enlargement zone.” European Journal of Political Research Vol. 43, #1 (January 2004); pp. 107-125.

\*Stephen Kinzer, “Will Turkey Make It?”, The New York Review of Books. V. 51, No. 12. 15 July 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_. Crescent and Star: Turkey Between Two Worlds. (New York, 2002)

### 2. External/Security Dimension

\*Oguzlu, H. Tarik. “Turkey and the European Union: The Security Dimension” Contemporary Security Policy Vol. 23, # 3 (December 2002); pp. 61-82.

Meltem Muftuler-Bac. “Turkey’s Role in the EU’s Security and Foreign Policies” Security Dialogue, Vol. 31, #4 (2000); pp. 489-502.

## Section Five – Immigration, Identities, NATO and CFSP/ESDP - 4 classes

### 1. Europe’s Boundaries

\*Mungiu-Pippindi, Alina. “Beyond the New Borders.” Journal of Democracy Vol. 15, #1 (January 2004) pp. 48-62.

Kris Pollet. “The European Union and Migratory Pressure from the Mediterranean and Central and Eastern Europe” in Marc Maresceau and Erwan Lannon, eds. The EU’s Enlargement and Mediterranean Strategies. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Elena Jileva. "Visa and Free Movement of Labour: The Uneven Imposition of the EU Acquis on the Accession States" Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies Vol. 28, #4 (October 2002); pp. 683-700.

\*\*\*\*\*February 20 – 24 - Reading Week\*\*\*\*\*

2. The Perpetual Challenge of Immigration

\*Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka Canadian Multiculturalism: Global Anxieties and Local Debates. British Journal of Canadian Studies. 2010. V. 3.

\*Randall Hansen, The poverty of postnationalism: citizenship, immigration, and the new Europe.

Elke Winter, Trajectories of Multiculturalism in Germany, the Netherlands and Canada: In Search of Common Patterns. Government and Opposition. V. 45, N. 2. 2010.

Lars von Tonne, Multicultural Misunderstandings: Impressions from a Canadian debate and a few lessons for Germany. International Journal. Summer 2008.

Victoria M. Esses, Ulrich Wagner, Carina Wolf, Matthias Preiser, Christopher J. Wilbur, Perceptions of national identity and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration in Canada and Germany. International Journal of Intercultural Relations. V. 30 – 2006.

3. NATO Enlargement in Central Europe

Andrew A. Michta. "Conclusion: Making Pieces Fit" in Michta, ed. America's New Allies: Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in NATO. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 1999.

\*Lukes, Igor. "Central Europe has Joined NATO: The Continuing Search for a More Perfect Habsburg Empire." SAIS Review Vol. 19, #2 (Summer/Fall 1999); pp. 47-59.

\*Zoltan Barany. "NATO Expansion, Round Two: Making Matters Worse" Security Studies, Vol. 11, #3 (Spring 2002); pp.; 123-157.

Mark Kramer. "NATO, the Baltic States and Russia: A Framework for Sustainable Enlargement" International Affairs Vol. 78, #4 (2002); pp. 731-756.

Philipp Borinski. "NATO Towards Double Enlargement: The Case of the Balkans" European Integration, Vol. 24, #2 (2002); pp. 113-136.

4. Towards a Workable Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

Introduction and case study of the European Rule of Law Mission (EULEX) in Kosovo.



**Section Six – Contemporary Challenges - 2 classes**

1. The European Monetary Union

\*Read Chapter 20 of Cini, *European Union Politics*.

Henry Farrel and John Quiggin. "How to save the euro – and the EU." Foreign Affairs.  
May/June 2011.

2. TBA

**April 5<sup>th</sup> - Concluding session - 1 class**