

## **Enlarging Europe: The European Union and its Applicants**

**Political Science 359Y1Y**  
**Fall/Winter - 2016 - 2017**  
**Tuesday - 2 - 4 PM**

### **Instructor:**

**Robert C. Austin**  
**Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies**  
**Munk School of Global Affairs**  
**Room 128N**  
**416.946.8942**  
[robert.austin@utoronto.ca](mailto:robert.austin@utoronto.ca)

**Contact Hours: Tuesday - 12 - 2**

**Teaching Assistant: Lennart Maschmeyer -**  
[lennart.maschmeyer@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:lennart.maschmeyer@mail.utoronto.ca)

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

European integration is one of the most important and successful 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 as the Union's borders enlarge and it confronts new challenges. 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.

In addition to an introductory session, there are five 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 with a section on Cyprus, (v) Contemporary Challenges which looks at the key issues faced by the Union in 2015 - 2017.

## 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 2016** – You will be expected to write an opinion piece on an issue of central importance for the EU in 2016. 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) Take Home Test - **25%** – Last class end of First Term (**6 December 2016**).
- 3) 2<sup>nd</sup> term essay (3000 words) - 40% – This is a more classical research essay. It must be on topic discussed with us in advance. This can be done during office hours or via email. Due – **21 March 2017**.
- 4) Regular attendance and participation – **10%**.

**“Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism, please see Writing at the University of Toronto [\*The late penalty is 2% per day on all written assignments \(including weekends\).\*](http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources.”</a></b></p></div><div data-bbox=)**

## READINGS

### Textbooks

#### Course Texts:

The weekly readings listed below are available through the U of T Library 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 the following book:

Colin Hay and Anand Menon, *European Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007 or Michelle Cini’s *European Union Politics*.

\*\*\*\*\*

As historical knowledge of the region is critical, students are expected to purchase and 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.

As well, I suggest you also purchase Tony Judt (with Timothy Snyder), *Thinking the Twentieth Century*. It is an essential read for all of you.

### **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*.

Another excellent web site with loads of great articles for your research is the European Council on Foreign Relations: <http://www.ecfr.eu/>

### **COURSE OUTLINE:**

#### **First Term**

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

**Note: Readings marked with \* are highly recommended.**

1. Introductory class – Why Integrate?

\*Please read Chapter One and Tony of Judt's book *Postwar AND* a great piece on the contemporary issues in the EU by Andrew Moravcsik, "Europe After the Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, V. 91, No. 3. May/June 2012.

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 and the Roma in Central Europe- 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. Mittleuropa: 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 – The Roma in Central 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.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm>

<http://www.balkaninsight.com>

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

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

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://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/BA\\_951121\\_DaytonAgreement.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/BA_951121_DaytonAgreement.pdf)
  - 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 Study – Making a new constitution for Bosnia. Read “Bih after the elections – a tale of disillusioned optimism Denisa Sarajlić-Maglic” in Jacques Rupnik, Ed. The Western Balkans and the EU – The Hour of Europe. Chaillot Paper – June 2011. Available on – line.
4. The EU, Kosovo and Serbia.  
Readings TBA but students should familiarize themselves with the process of normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia.

6 December – Film Night – Take Home Test Due by email.

**Second Term**

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

1. Political and Economic Dimension

\*\*\*MUST Read: Marci Shore, “Reading Tony Judt in Wartime Ukraine,” The New Yorker, 11 August 2015. <http://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/reading-tony-judt-in-wartime-ukraine?intcid=mod-latest>

\*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.

\*HENRY E HALE, “25 Years After the USSR: What’s Gone Wrong?” Journal of Democracy. July 2016, Volume 27, Number 3.

2. European Neighborhood Policy and the Caucasus – Case study of Georgia’s EU Hopes.

\*Cherry Picking EU Conditionality: Selective Compliance in Georgia's Hybrid Regime by [Bolkvadze, Ketevan](#), Europe-Asia Studies, ISSN 0966-8136, 03/2016, Volume 68, Issue 3, p. 409

\* *The lightness of history in the Caucasus*, **THOMAS DE WAAL** 4 November

2010

Open Democracy.

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/thomas-de-waal/lightness-of-history-in-caucasus>

3. Case Study of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

\*Read: <https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/239-nagorno-karabakh-new-opening-or-more-peril.pdf>

4. The Eurasian Economic Union.

\*Read: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/central-asia/eurasian-economic-union-power-politics-and-trade>

#### **Section Four – Turkey: A permanent applicant? - 3 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.

\*Kinzer, Stephen. “Triumphant Turkey?” New York Review of Books. August 18, 2011.

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. Turkey after the Coup - Turkey's New Constitution and the EU. Read Aslan Amani, "Turkey's Growing Constitutional Conundrum" in Open Democracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/aslan-amani/turkeys-growing-constitutional-conundrum>
  3. Cyprus Case Study. Readings TBA.

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

### Section Five - Contemporary Challenges - 4 classes

#### Brexit, Greek Crisis, Monetary Union, Enlargement (or Enlargement Fatigue)

- 1) **Brexit:**  
[http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary\\_europe\\_seen\\_from\\_the\\_outside\\_the\\_british\\_view\\_7091](http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_europe_seen_from_the_outside_the_british_view_7091)
- 2) **Greek Crisis**  
Read [Journal of European Public Policy23\(1\)](#), Lessons from the Greek crisis January 2016, Volume23(Issue1)
- 3) **Enlargement and Enlargement Fatigue**  
See John O.Brennan, "On the Slow Train to Nowhere?' The European Union, Enlargement Fatigue and the Western Balkans." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 19, N. 2 (2014). Pp. 221- 242.

**Concluding Class: Film Night**