

Enlarging Europe: The European Union and its Applicants
Political Science 359Y
2010 - 2011
Tuesdays – 6 – 8 PM

Robert C. Austin
Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies
Munk School of Global Affairs
Room 128N
416.946.8942
robert.austin@utoronto.ca

Preliminary 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. Of particular focus this year will be the impact of the enlargement to Bulgaria and Romania on the Western Balkans.

Issues between the EU and Ukraine and Russia will also be studied, as will the relationship between the Union and its Southern Rim (North Africa and the Middle East). Security issues, related to NATO integration and operations, will also be covered. In addition to an introductory session, there are six sections: (i) Underdeveloped Latecomers, (ii) Central Europe, (iii) The Balkans and Eastern Europe, (iv) Turkey and the Mediterranean Area, (v) Boundaries, Identities and NATO and (vi) The Contemporary EU.

GRADING SCHEME

There are four components to the grade for the course:

1st term essay (1000 words) - 25% - Due 26 October 2010 – This is an essay that should be designed as an opinion piece on an issue of central importance for the EU. We will discuss the format in detail in class. Students are encouraged to familiarize themselves with this style of essay.

In-class Test 20% – Last class end of First term. Short answer questions – identify and explain the significance.

2nd term essay (3000 words) - 45% – Due TBA. This is a more classical research essay. It must be on an approved topic discussed with me in advance.

Regular attendance and participation – 10%.

Late penalty is 2% per day.

READINGS

Textbooks:

Course Texts:

In addition to the weekly readings, students are advised to 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 (although not necessarily buy) 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 WEB-SITES:

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

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

Delegation of the European Commission to Canada: <http://www.delcan.cec.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, the *International Herald Tribune* is good. An excellent on-line news source is for Europe is: www.bbcnews.com. For Southeastern Europe use www.setimes.com and www.balkaninsight.com

COURSE OUTLINE:

14, 21, and 28 September

Introduction – Institutions of the European Union and European Integration: History and Theoretical Perspectives (3 classes)

1) Introductory class – The Need to Integrate

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

2) Please read Chapters 2 and 3 of Cini, *European Union Politics*.

3) Institutions of the European Union.
Read Chapters 9, 10 and 11 of Cini, *European Union Politics*.

Section One

October 5 and 12

Underdeveloped Latecomers – Integration issues with Spain and Greece (2 classes)

1) Robert M. Fishman. "Shaping, not making, democracy: the European Union and the post-authoritarian political transformations of Spain and Portugal" in Sebastian Royo & Paul Christopher Manuel, eds. Spain and Portugal in the European Union: the First Fifteen Years. London: Frank Cass, 2003.

Richard B. Finnegan. "Ireland: Brussels and the Celtic Tiger" in Eleanor E. Zeff & Ellen B. Pirro, eds. The European Union and the Member States: Cooperation, Coordination and Compromise. Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishing, 2001.

Christos Markou, George Nakos & Nikolaos Zahariadis. "Greece: A European Paradox" in Eleanor E. Zeff & Ellen B. Pirro, eds. The European Union and the Member States: Cooperation, Coordination and Compromise. Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishing, 2001.

2) Wishlade, F. "EU Cohesion Policy: Facts, Figures, and Issues" in Liesbet Hooghe, ed. Cohesion Policy and European Integration. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Sebastian Royo. "The 2004 enlargement: Iberian lessons for post-communist Europe" in Sebastian Royo & Paul Christopher Manuel, eds. Spain and Portugal in the European Union: the First Fifteen Years. London: Frank Cass, 2003.

Section 2

October 19, 26 and 2 November.

Central Europe – The second round latecomers: A Qualitatively different integration process (3 classes)

1) From cooperation to negotiation

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.

Barbara Lippert. "From Pre-accession to EU-membership – Implementing Transformation and Integration" in Barbara Lippert & Peter Becker, eds. Towards EU

Membership: Transformation and Integration in Poland and the Czech Republic. Bonn: Europa Union Verlag, 1998.

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.

Besseney Williams, Margit. "European Integration and Minority Rights: The Case of Hungary and Its Neighbors" in Ronald H. Linden, ed. *Norms and Nannies: The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and East European States*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002; pp. 227-258.

3) Impact of enlargement

Preston Keat. "Penalizing the Reformers: Polish Steel and European Integration." Communist and Post-communist Studies Vol. 33, #2 (June 2000); pp. 201-221.

Beate Sissenich. "The Diffusion of EU Social and Employment Legislation in Poland and Hungary" in Ronald Linden, ed. Norms and Nannies: The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and East European States. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2002.

Section Three – The Balkans

November 9, 16, 23 and 30.

The Balkans – A measure of Union's effectiveness (4 classes)

General: For Balkans and EU issues please use the following websites:
www.setimes.com

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

They have a wide variety of reports on Southeastern Europe.

Students must read the following report:

http://www.cls-sofia.org/uploaded/1144743373_report.pdf

1) The Legacy of communism in the Balkans and the origins of the Balkan Wars.

2) 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

3) 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.

J. C. Sharman. "Agrarian Politics in Eastern Europe in the Shadow of EU Accession" European Union Politics Vol. 4, #4 (2003); pp. 447-471.

4) Re-building Multiethnicity in the Balkans – Dayton, Ohrid and Ahtisaari Agreements. Case study readings to be assigned.

December 7 – In-Class Test

Second Term

11 January – Special Topic Discussion

January 18 and 25.

Former Soviet Union – Russia, Ukraine and the EU (2 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.

February 1 and 8

Section 4 –Turkey: A permanent applicant? (2 classes)

1) Internal Politics

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.

Bahar Rumelili. "Liminality and Perpetuation of Conflicts: Turkish-Greek Relations in the Context of Community-Building by the EU." *European Journal of International Relations* Vol. 9, #2 (2003); pp. 213-248.

Students should read the report *Turkey in Europe – Breaking the Vicious Circle* by the Independent Commission on Turkey – 2009.

<http://www.independentcommissiononturkey.org/>

Section 5 – Boundaries, Identities and NATO

February 15

Europe's boundaries (1 class)

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 21 - 25 Reading Week*****

March 1

European Identities and Enlargement (1 class)

Peter A. Kraus. "Cultural Pluralism and European Polity-Building: Neither Westphalia nor Cosmopolis." *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 41, #4 (September 2003); pp. 665-86)

Z. Sabic & M. Brglez. "The National Identity of Post-Communist Small States in the Process of Accession to the European Union: The Case of Slovenia" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* Vol. 35, #1 (March 2002); pp. 67-84.

Marcin Zaborowski & Kerry Longhurst. "America's Protégé in the East? The Emergence of Poland as a Regional Leader" *International Affairs* Vol. 79, #5 (October 2003); pp. 1009-1028.

Browning, Christopher. "The Internal/External Security Paradox and the Reconstruction of Boundaries in the Baltic: The Case of Kaliningrad." *Alternatives* Vol. 28, #5 (November/December 2003); pp. 545-581.

8 and 15 March

NATO enlargement (2 classes)

1) 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.

2) Future considerations

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.

Section 6 – The Contemporary EU 22 and 29 March

Foreign Policy, Treaties and Enlargement (fatigue).

The last 2 weeks of the course will be devoted to issues facing the EU.

Readings TBA from contemporary media.

April 5

Concluding session (1 class)

Social Event