

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

**Political Science 359Y1Y**

**Fall/Winter – 2019-2020**

**Tuesday – 2 – 4 PM**

### **Instructor:**

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**Contact Hours: Tuesday – 12 – 2 or by appointment.**

**Teaching Assistant: TBA**

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

Despite the pessimism that sometimes surround the European Union today, European integration remains 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. It also examines the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and the Eastern Partnership (EaP) that works with states that are likely to remain outside the Union but seek enhanced cooperation.

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. The course also includes a module on the challenges posed by populism to the integration project.

In addition to an introductory session that examines the antecedents and theory behind European integration, there are five distinct sections: (i) Central Europe plus Bulgaria and Romania, (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 - 2019. In addition to weekly readings, students will view a number of documentaries.

## GRADING SCHEME

There are four components to the grade for the course that combine an exam, participation and different styles of writing. One of the key objectives of the course is to develop different writing skills.

- 1) 1<sup>st</sup> term essay (800 - 1000 words **MAXIMUM**) - **25%** - **Due 29 October 2019** – 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*, *Financial Times* or other leading newspapers.
- 2) Take Home Test - **25%** – Last class end of First Term (**3 December 2019**). The take home test answers in 2000-2500 words a question related to a key theme of the first term. This is a more classic research essay. The question will be posted on Quercus two weeks prior to the deadline for submission.
- 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 – **24 March 2020**.
- 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 <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>.”**

*The late penalty is 2% per day on all written assignments (including weekends).*

## READINGS

### Textbooks

#### Course Texts:

The weekly readings listed below are available through the U of T Library database. There is no reading package. 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 site.

As to texts, students could purchase the following book for a better understanding of how the European Union works:

Colin Hay and Anand Menon, *European Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007  
or Michelle Cini's *European Union Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

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As historical knowledge of the region is critical for success in the class, 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.

### **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*. Students will enjoy the course more if they read the *Financial Times* Weekend Edition. 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. 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- Case Study of the Hungarians in Central Europe

\*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 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 - 6 classes**

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

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

<http://www.balkaninsight.com>

### 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).

\*Grimm, Sonja and Mathis, Okka Lou. “Democratization via aid? The European Union’s democracy promotion in the Western Balkans 1994–2010,” European Union Politics, 3/2018, Volume 19, Issue 1, pp. 163 – 184.

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.

2. The EU and Re-building Multiethnic Societies in the Balkans – Dayton (1995), Ohrid (2001) and Ahtisaari (2008) Agreements

\*Robert Austin, “Are We There Yet? The Quest for Stability and Democracy in the Balkans,” in J. L. Black, Michael Johns, and Alanda D. Theriault, Eds. *The New World Disorder: Challenges and Threats in an Uncertain World*. Rowman & Littlefield: 2019.

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\\_Dayton\\_Agreement.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/BA_951121_Dayton_Agreement.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.  
\*Robert C. Austin, “A Word on Kosovo’s First Ten Years,” *Südosteuropa*. V. 66 (2018) no. 2.

**3 December – Documentary Film – Take Home Test Due by email by 5 PM**

**Second Term**

**Section Two - Balkans Continued**

5. Case Study of Greek-Macedonian Name Issue.

\* Koukoudakis, George. "The Macedonian Question: An Identity-Based Conflict." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, vol. 29 no. 4, 2018, pp. 3-18. *Project MUSE*, [muse.jhu.edu/article/717680](http://muse.jhu.edu/article/717680).

\*Robert C Austin, *Making and Remaking the Balkans, Nations and States Since 1878*. Chapter 5.

6. Case Study of Reconciliation Efforts in the Western Balkans.

\*Bernhard, Michael, Krzysztof Jasiewicz, Jelena Subotić, Michael Bernhard, Krzysztof Jasiewicz, and Jelena Subotić. 2015. "Out of Eastern Europe: Legacies of

Violence and the Challenge of Multiple Transitions." *East European Politics & Societies and Cultures* 29 (2): 409-419. doi:10.1177/0888325415569763.  
[http://resolver.scholarsportal.info/resolve/08883254/v29i0002/409\\_oocce](http://resolver.scholarsportal.info/resolve/08883254/v29i0002/409_oocce).

### 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 – Explaining Nagorno-Karabagh.

\*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>

\*\*\*\*\*February Reading Week 17 – 21 \*\*\*\*\*

**17 February – LAST DAY TO DROP Y SECTION COURSES.**

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

### 1. History and Internal Politics

\*For some context, 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.

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. Read the report from the International Crisis Group:  
<https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/divided-cyprus-coming-to-terms-on-an-imperfect-reality.pdf>

## Section Five - Contemporary Challenges – 3 classes

Brexit, Greek Crisis, Migration Crisis, Enlargement Fatigue and the challenge of Populism.

In the remaining weeks of the class we will examine issues of contemporary significance for the EU. This will include viewing a number of BBC documentaries.

- 1) The Challenge of Brexit:  
[http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary\\_europe\\_seen\\_from\\_the\\_outside\\_the\\_british\\_view\\_70911](http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_europe_seen_from_the_outside_the_british_view_70911).



We will also screen a BBC documentary.

2) Greek Crisis

Read [Journal of European Public Policy23\(1\)](#), Lessons from the Greek crisis  
January 2016, Volume23 (Issue1)

We will also screen a BBC documentary.

3) Populism in Central Europe.

Read Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes, “Imitation and its Discontents” *Journal of Democracy*. July 2018, Volume 29, Number 3.

Read Joanna Fomina, Jacek Kucharczyk “Populism and Protest in Poland,”  
*Journal of Democracy*, Volume 27, Number 4, October 2016, pp. 58-68.