

Enlarging Europe: The European Union and its Applicants

Political Science 359Y1Y

Fall/Winter – 2020-2021

Tuesday – 2 – 4 PM

VC 115

This course is dual delivery in the Fall Term. Lectures will be in person but also available on Zoom.

Instructor:

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

Teaching Assistant: TBA

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Despite the pessimism that sometimes surrounds 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 after the Second World War 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, Moldova, 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 - 2020. In addition to weekly readings, students will view a number of documentaries.

On Academic Integrity:

Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university, and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student's individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The University of Toronto's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>) outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- " Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- " Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- " Making up sources or facts.
- " Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment.

On tests and exams:

- " Using or possessing unauthorized aids.
- " Looking at someone else's answers during an exam or test.
- " Misrepresenting your identity.

In academic work:

- " Falsifying institutional documents or grades.
- " Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes.

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following procedures outlined in the *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information on academic integrity from your instructor or from other institutional resources (see <http://www.utoronto.ca/academicintegrity/resourcesforstudents.html>).

On Accommodation:

The University provides academic accommodations for students with disabilities in accordance with the terms of the Ontario Human Rights Code. This occurs through a collaborative process that acknowledges a collective obligation to develop an accessible learning environment that both meets the needs of students and preserves the essential academic requirements of the University's courses and programs.

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) 1st term essay (800 - 1000 words **MAXIMUM**) - **25%** - **Due 27 October 2020** – You will be expected to write an opinion piece on an issue of central importance for the EU in the period 2015-2020. 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 (**4 December 2020**). 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) 2nd 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 – **23 March 2021**.
- 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.

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.

*Daniel Chirot, Problematic Analogies and Forgotten Details of 1989, **East European Politics and Societies and Cultures**, Volume 28 Number 4, November 2014 657–663.

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.

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
 - ii. The Ohrid Framework Agreement – http://faq.macedonia.org/politics/framework_agreement.pdf
 - iii. Ahtisaari Proposal - 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.

Chivvas, Christopher. “The Dayton Dilemma.” *Survival* 52, no. 5 (October 2010): 47-74. https://journals-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/details/00396338/v52i0005/47_tdd.xml.

4. The EU, Kosovo and Serbia.

*Robert C. Austin, “A Word on Kosovo’s First Ten Years,” *Südosteuropa*. V. 66 (2018) no. 2.

Rossi, Michael. “Ending the impasse in Kosovo: partition, decentralization, or consociationalism?” *Nationalities Papers* 42, no. 5 (2014): 867–889.

8 December – Documentary Film – Take Home Test Due 8 December 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.

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

Ruffer, Ari. "Macedonia's Ohrid Framework Agreement Reexamined in Response to Internal and External Crises: Reason for Cautious Optimism on Europe's Southeastern Border." *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 55, no. 2 (2017): 457-498.

<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/cjtl55&i=464>.

Koukoudakis, George. "The Macedonian Question: An Identity-Based Conflict." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 29 no. 4 (2018): 3-18. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/717680>.

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_ooe.

Section Three - Former Soviet Union – Russia, Ukraine, the Caucasus and the EU - 5 classes

1. Political and Economic Dimension

*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 Donbas

Read:

Hauter, Jakob. "How the War Began: Conflict Escalation in the Donbas."
https://f54611c8-e9cf-4ce0-bcf2-1737869516c7.filesusr.com/ugd/ff1dca_1743f093afc04b1d8942efa0ff0f083a.pdf

Bildt, Carl. "Is Peace in Donbas Possible?" *ECFR*. October 12, 2017.
https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_is_peace_in_donbas_possible.

Olena Stiazhkina is a professor of history at Donetsk State University, who decided to leave the region with her family and move to Central Ukraine. Her diary of 2014 has been translated:
<https://www.eurozine.com/country-war-love/>

4 Case Study of Azerbaijan and Armenia – Explaining Nagorno-Karabagh.
*Read: <https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/239-nagorno-karabakh-new-opening-or-more-peril.pdf>

5. Case Study of Moldova and Transnistria.

Rogstad, Adrian. "The Next Crimea?" *Problems of Post-Communism* 65, no. 1 (2018): 9-64. https://resolver-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/resolve/10758216/v65i0001/49_tnc.xml.

Beyer, John and Stefan Wolff. "Linkage and leverage effects on Moldova's Transnistria problem." *East European Politics* 32, no. 3 (2016): 335-354.
https://resolver-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/resolve/21599165/v32i0003/335_laleomtp.xml.

*****February Reading Week 15 – 19 *****

15 February 2021 – 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 – 2 classes

- 1) 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.
- 2) Lingering Bilateral Disputes in the Balkans.
Read: Huzska, Beata. *The Power of Perspective: Why EU Membership Still Matters in the Western Balkans*. London: European Council on Foreign Relations, 2020.
https://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/the_power_of_perspective_why_eu_membership_still_matters_in_western_balkans.pdf.