

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

**Department of Political Science  
POL359H1  
Winter Term – 2022  
Tuesday – 2 – 4 PM  
VC215**

### **Instructor:**

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

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

Despite the pessimism that sometimes surrounds the European Union (EU) today, European integration remains one of the most important and successful political experiments in recent history and many states continue to seek membership. This course looks briefly 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 process of integration in candidate countries and potential candidates. Of particular significance is the role of the EU in re-building multiethnic societies and the impact of enlargement on democratization. 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. In terms of geography, the course will cover the efforts related to South-Eastern Europe (the Balkans), as well as Turkey, Ukraine, Moldova and the Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia). Students will have the chance to work with original peace treaties alongside academic articles, documentaries and mainstream media.

### **On Academic Integrity:**

*“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>”.*

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/resourcesfor\\_students.html](http://www.utoronto.ca/academicintegrity/resourcesfor_students.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 participation and different styles of writing. One of the key objectives of the course is to develop different writing skills and the ability to write for different audiences.

- 1) Each week (starting with week 2), students will contribute their reflections, insights, experiences, and analysis to a discussion thread on Quercus about the week's readings. In addition, students may reply to others' contributions as the thread develops. Posts do not need to be long, but they should be thoughtful and demonstrate that you are deeply engaged with the ideas presented in the readings. Posts will be marked on the degree to which they engage the week's material in a clear, creative, and analytically productive fashion. There are 11 weeks for discussion; I will count the 10 highest marks. **25%**
  
- 2) OP-ED: (800 - 1000 words **MAXIMUM**) - **30%** - **Due 8 February 2022 – 5 PM** – You will be expected to write an opinion piece on an issue of central importance now for the regions we are studying. 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. Run your topics by me. **Submit papers to me via email in docx format with name in file, no title pages and word count on first page.**
  
- 3) Final Take Home Essay (2500 words Maximum exclusive of references) - **35%** – **DUE 5 April 2022 – 5 PM** – This will be a big picture question about the enlargement process in general which will allow you to reflect on the EU's role in the regions we have studied. Responses will be based on the course readings and films. **Submit papers to me via email in docx format with name in file, no title pages and word count (exclusive of references) on first page.**
  
- 4) Regular attendance and participation – **10%**.

*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. 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. Staying engaged with the news as it relates to the region of study is essential. It is worth noting that every week I will be posting what I think are interesting things to look at for our discussions.

As to texts, students can get my book on the Balkans which is available for free through the Library system or purchase through the U of T Bookstore.

Robert C Austin, *Making and Re-Making the Balkans – Nations and States since 1878*.  
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019.

Link for e-copy:

[https://www.campusebookstore.com/integration/AccessCodes/default.aspx?bookseller\\_id=96&Course=STG+ERE+1170HF+eBOOK+MAKING+AND+RE+MAKING+THE+BALKANS&frame=YES&t=permalink](https://www.campusebookstore.com/integration/AccessCodes/default.aspx?bookseller_id=96&Course=STG+ERE+1170HF+eBOOK+MAKING+AND+RE+MAKING+THE+BALKANS&frame=YES&t=permalink)

### **Helpful Websites:**

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

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

### **Newspapers and others:**

Students will also benefit from following the mainstream media in Europe. The best source for European issues is the *Financial Times*. 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*.

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

Other sites of interest:

International Crisis Group - <https://www.crisisgroup.org/>

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace - <https://carnegieendowment.org/>

Open Democracy - <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/>

European Stability Initiative - <https://esiweb.org/>

Politico: <https://www.politico.eu/>

EU Observer: <https://euobserver.com/>

Deutsche Welle: [www.dw.com](http://www.dw.com)

### **COURSE OUTLINE:**

#### **Module One: 1 class**

#### **European Integration: History and Theoretical Perspectives**

##### **1. Introductory class – Why Integrate?**

\*Olivier Costa, Nathalie Brack, “A Political System Forged By History,” in *How the EU Really Works* (London: Routledge, 2019), 18.

#### **Module Two: 4 classes**

## The Balkans

Big Question: What are the main challenges to the integration of the remaining Balkan states?

General: For Balkans and EU issues please use the following website for good media background and analysis:

<http://www.balkaninsight.com>

1. 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.

\*TRANSITION TO WHAT? Western Balkans democracies in a state of illiberal equilibrium.

<https://sbunker.net/uploads/sbunker.net/files/2020/December/04/Transition-to-what-Western-Balkans-democracies-in-a-state-of-iliberal-equilibrium1607078207.pdf>

\*Woelk, J. (2018). From Enlargement Perspective to “Waiting for Godot”? Has the EU Lost Its Transformative Power in the Balkans? In *Highs and Lows of European Integration* (pp. 27–47). Springer International Publishing.

[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-93626-0\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-93626-0_3)

**Watch:** An Unfinished Project: EU Enlargement in the Balkans. A documentary film by the Bertelsmann Foundation.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gZ9X7s2-VK0>

Case study readings to be assigned. Students will need to familiarize themselves with the peace treaties that govern Bosnia, North Macedonia and Kosovo.

- 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 – [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MK\\_010813\\_Framework%20Agreement%20%28Ohrid%20Agreement%29.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MK_010813_Framework%20Agreement%20%28Ohrid%20Agreement%29.pdf)
- iii. Ahtisaari Proposal – [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/1DC6B184D02567D1852572AA00716AF7-Full\\_Report.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/1DC6B184D02567D1852572AA00716AF7-Full_Report.pdf)

2. Case Study – Making a new constitution for Bosnia.

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](https://journals-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/details/00396338/v52i0005/47_tdd.xml).

3. The EU, Kosovo and Serbia.

\*Austin, R. C. (2018). A Word on Kosovo's First Ten Years. *Südost-Europa*, 66(2), 272–281. <https://doi.org/10.1515/soeu-2018-0019>

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

4. Case Study of Greek-Macedonian Name Issue and its Resolution.

\* 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](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/717680).

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

\*Nimetz, M. (2020). The Macedonian "Name" Dispute: The Macedonian Question-Resolved? *Nationalities Papers*, 48(2), 205–214. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.10>

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>.

**Module Three – 4 classes**

**European Neighborhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership – Ukraine, the Caucasus, Moldova and the EU**

**BIG QUESTION; HOW EFFECTIVE HAS THE EU BEEN IN TRANSFORMING THESE STATES.**

1. Ukraine

- \*European Commission's "Eastern Partnership Policy Beyond 2020".  
[https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/1\\_en\\_act\\_part1\\_v6.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/1_en_act_part1_v6.pdf)
- \*Kuzio, T. (2010). Nationalism, identity and civil society in Ukraine: Understanding the Orange Revolution. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 43(3), 285–296. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.postcomstud.2010.07.001>
- \*Hale, H. E. (2016). 25 Years After The USSR: What's Gone Wrong? *Journal of Democracy*, 27(3), 24–35. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2016.0035>
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
3. Case Study of Armenia and Azerbaijan
- \*Vasilyan, S. (2017). "Swinging on a Pendulum": Armenia in the Eurasian Economic Union and With the European Union. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 64(1), 32–46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2016.1163230>
- \*Van Gils, E. (2018). Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy Strategies and the European Union: Successful Resistance and Pursued Influence. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 70(5), 738–758. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2018.1479733>
4. Case Study of Moldova.
- \*Baar, Vladimir and Daniel Jakubek, "Divided National Identity in Moldova," *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics*, Vol. 11, Issue 1, (2017) 58-92. - <https://login.library.utoronto.ca/index.php?url=http://www.cceol.com/search/journal-detail?id=1938>
- \*"Moldova Faces 'Existential' Population Crisis," Tim Judah - Jan. 16, 2020. BIRN - <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/01/16/moldova-faces-existential-population-crisis/>
- Watch: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/video/2021/mar/09/is-moldova-ready-to-embrace-an-unmarried-childfree-president-europes-baby-bust-video>

**Module Four - 2 classes**  
**Turkey: A permanent applicant?**

BIG QUESTION: WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF TURKEY'S 20 YEAR AKP RULE ON EU MEMBERSHIP AND DEMOCRACY?

1. History and Internal Politics

\*Mathew Davies (2013) The legacy of Atatürk: the limits of conditionality in Turkish European Union membership negotiations, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 67:4,511-525, DOI: 10.1080/10357718.2013.806027 To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2013.806027>

\*Candar, C. (2000). Atatürk's Ambiguous Legacy. *The Wilson Quarterly (Washington)*, 24(4), 88–96.

2. Turkey after the Coup - Turkey's New Constitution and the EU.

\*Aslan Amani, "Turkey's Growing Constitutional Conundrum" in *Open Democracy*.  
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/aslan-amani/turkeys-growing-constitutional-conundrum>

\*Rogenhofer, J. M. (2018). Antidemocratic Populism in Turkey after the July 2016 Coup Attempt. *Populism (Leiden, Netherlands)*, 1(2), 116–145.  
<https://doi.org/10.1163/25888072-00001010>