

PS381 The European Union and its Challenges

Seminar Leader: [Dr. Elena B. Stavrevska](#)

Course Times: Mon and Wed, 17:30 – 19:00

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Office Hours: Mon, 15:30 – 17:30

Course Description

Often praised as the most successful peace endeavor in modern times, the European integration project that started in the aftermath of World War II has catalyzed unprecedented widening and deepening of cooperation among sovereign states. In recent years, however, not only has the pace of integration slowed down, but the EU has also been faced with multiple internal and external challenges, including Brexit, the rise of populism, the immigration ‘crisis’, enlargement fatigue, terrorist threats, and conflicts in its immediate neighborhood. This course examines the origins and evolution of the EU, the different theoretical approaches to understanding European integration, the main political institutions and decision-making bodies within the Union, and its key policies and related internal and external challenges. Particular attention will be paid to EU's foreign, security, enlargement, and trade policies. Put in the context of broader theoretical debates regarding the EU, each topic will be analyzed through specific empirical case studies and current developments. Additionally, students will have an opportunity to get better acquainted with EU's policy- and decision-making dynamics through a simulation exercise of Council of Ministers negotiations. By the end of the course, students will have foundational knowledge and skills needed for a comprehensive analysis and understanding of the politics and challenges of the EU.

Objectives

The course aims to:

- provide students with basic knowledge of European integration processes, institutions and approaches to study them;
- introduce students to a wide spectrum of policy areas by examining the internal and external challenges with which the European Union is faced;
- equip them with the conceptual tools to analyze EU policies and decisions;
- equip them with the cognitive skills to critically engage with this domain;
- provide them with an opportunity to research a number of case studies and policy areas.

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course, the students will be able to:

- develop a critical understanding of the challenges facing the EU;
- understand governance dynamics within the EU;
- situate EU political and economic developments in a broader, global context;
- construct viable arguments and present them in an effective way, both orally and in writing;
- gather, organize and use evidence from different sources;
- work independently and demonstrate initiative and self-organization;
- collaborate with others in achieving common goals.

Requirements

Attendance

Students' attendance AND active participation is critical in this course. Attendance at ALL classes is expected. More than two absences (that is absences from two sessions of 90 minutes) in a semester will significantly affect the participation grade for the course. Please consult the Student Handbook for regulations governing periods of illness or leaves of absence.

Students are expected to be on time, attend classes, be attentive in class, be respectful towards their classmates and the instructor, raise questions, provide critical and constructive commentary on the assigned readings, and actively engage in classroom discussions. Repeated tardiness and/or use of phones during classes will affect the participation grade.

Assessment

Students will be assessed based on their class participation and their written assignments.

The class participation includes:

- general contribution to classroom discussions and raising questions regarding the readings, both in class and in writing where assigned,
- preparation and involvement in a simulation exercise.

Students are required to carefully keep track of the course assignments, as they differ from week to week. All students are required to do all the readings and come to class prepared. Students' participation will be assessed based on both their active engagement in group-based activities and their individual contribution in the classroom.

In week 7, students will take part in an exercise simulating a meeting of the Council of the European Union, specifically a meeting of EU interior ministers discussing a refugee quota system. Students will receive detailed instructions for the simulation in week 3 and each of them will be assigned a country to represent. It is a responsibility of the student to individually research and prepare to represent the country's views as accurate as possible.

Team Presentations

Divided in teams of two, students are expected to present during one of the sessions marked for team presentations weeks 12-14. The 15-minute presentation is supposed to provide a brief historical context of the relationship in question, briefly summarize the readings, compare and contrast them, and raise discussion questions.

Writing Assignments

The students will have two writing assignments:

1. **Mid-term position paper (2,000 words), worth 25% of the final grade, due by Sunday, March 18, 23:59**
 - The mid-term position paper is an individual writing assignment.
 - Each student is expected to prepare a paper on the position of the country that they represent in the refugee quota negotiations simulation exercise.

- The paper should provide: (1) an overview and a brief history of the issue, (2) the country's position and key areas of concern, (3) the different alternatives and outcomes, and (4) recommendations.
 - The position paper should be approximately 2,000 words ($\pm 10\%$, including page numbers), using a 12-point font, single-space, 1-inch margins, and page numbers.
2. **Final research essay (3,500 words), worth 35% of the final grade (5% - outline; 30% - final essay), due by Sunday, May 20, 23:59**
- The final research essay is an individual writing assignment, which is due at the end of completion week.
 - Each student is expected to choose a topic closely related to those covered in the course materials.
 - The essay should provide a clear argument or thesis, supported by relevant literature and evidence from the course materials and further individual research.
 - Students are required to send to the instructor a two-page outline of their final essay summarizing: (1) the topic and the main argument, (2) the structure of the essay, and (3) the type of sources and evidence that will be used. Outlines are worth 5% of the overall grade and are due by Sunday, May 6, 23:59. Students will receive feedback on them in the course of week 14.
 - The final essays, worth 30% of the overall grade, should be approximately 3,500 words ($\pm 10\%$, including page numbers), using a 12-point font, single-space, 1-inch margins.

Policy on Late Submission of Papers

Written assignments that are up to 24 hours late will be downgraded one full grade (from B+ to C+, for example). As per the Student Handbook, instructors are not obliged to accept essays that are more than 24 hours late. Where the instructor agrees to accept a late essay, it must be submitted within four weeks of the deadline and cannot receive a grade of higher than C. Thereafter, the student will receive a failing grade for the assignment.

Grade Breakdown

- Active participation in class discussions and simulation exercise – 25%
- Presentation (in teams of two students) – 15%
- Mid-term position paper (2,000 words) – 25%
- Final research essay (3,500 words) – 35%

Schedule

Spring 2018 classes start on Monday, January 29 and run until Friday, May 18 with spring break planned from March 26 – April 2, 2018. Completion week is from May 14-18. Students are required to be on campus during completion week.

There are no textbooks or readers for this course. All readings are made available through Google Classroom. Students are responsible to check Google Classroom on weekly basis in order to download and read course materials regularly. The instructor reserves the right to change any reading listed below depending on students' feedback on the degree of difficulty of assigned readings, as well as students' expressed interests throughout the semester.

Week 1: Introduction and History of European Integration

Monday, January 29

Discussion on course structure, syllabus, and assignments.

- Ash, Timothy Garton. 2012. "The Crisis of Europe: How the Union Came Together and Why it's Falling Apart." *Foreign Affairs* 91(5): 144–164.

Wednesday, January 31

- Urwin, Derek W. 2009. "The European Community: From 1945 to 1985." In Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borraran (eds.) *European Union Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 15–31.
- Phinnemore, David. 2009. "The European Union: Establishment and Development." In: Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borraran (eds.) *European Union Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 32–47.

Week 2: EU Institutions

Monday, February 5

- Egeberg, Morten. 2009. "The European Commission." In Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borraran (eds.) *European Union Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 125–140.

Wednesday, February 7

- Lewis, Jeffrey. 2009. "The Council of the European Union." In Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borraran (eds.) *European Union Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 141–161.
- Scully, Roger. 2009. "The European Parliament." In: Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borraran (eds.) *European Union Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 162–175.

Week 3: Theoretical Approaches to European Integration

Monday, February 12

- Niemann, Arne, and Philippe C. Schmitter. 2009. "Neofunctionalism." In: Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (eds.) *European Integration Theory*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 45–66.

Wednesday, February 14

- Moravcsik, Andrew, and Frank Schimmelfennig. 2009. "Liberal Intergovernmentalism." In: Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (eds.) *European Integration Theory*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 67–88.

Week 4: The Eurozone Challenge

Monday, February 19

- Verdun, Amy. 2009. "Economic and Monetary Union." In Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borraran (eds.) *European Union Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 324–339.
- Arestis, Philip, and Malcolm Sawyer. 2011. "The Design Faults of the Economic and Monetary Union." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 19(1): 21–32.

Wednesday, February 21

- Streeck, Wolfgang, and Lea Elsasser. 2016. "Monetary Disunion: The Domestic Politics of Euroland." *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(1): 1–24.

- Giannone, Diego. 2015. "Suspending Democracy? The Governance of the EU's Political and Economic Crisis as a Process of Neoliberal Restructuring." In: Kyriakos N. Demetriou (ed.) *The European Union in Crisis: Explorations in Representation and Democratic Legitimacy*. New York: Springer, 101–119.

Week 5: Democratic Deficit and Legitimacy Challenge

Monday, February 26

- Follesdal, Andreas, and Simon Hix. 2006. "Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44(3): 533–562.

Wednesday, February 28

- Schmidt, Vivien A. 2013. "Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output and 'Throughput'." *Political Studies* 61(1): 2–22.
- Nicolaïdis, Kalypso. 2013. "European Democracy and its Crisis." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(2): 351–369.

Week 6: Democratic Backsliding Within & The Immigration 'Crisis'

Monday, March 5

- Krastev, Ivan. 2007. "Is East-Central Europe Backsliding? The Strange Death of Liberal Consensus." *Journal of Democracy* 18(4): 56–63.
- Orbán, Viktor. 2014. "Full text of Viktor Orbán's speech at Băile Tuşnad (Tusnádfürdő) of 26 July 2014." *The Budapest Beacon*. Available at: <https://budapestbeacon.com/full-text-of-viktor-orbans-speech-at-baile-tusnad-tusnadfurdo-of-26-july-2014/> (accessed: January 8, 2018).

Wednesday, March 7

- Berend, Ivan T. 2017. "The Immigration Crisis and its Explosive Consequences." In: *The Contemporary Crisis of the European Union: Prospects for the Future*. Abingdon: Routledge, 131–153.
- Rajaram, Prem Kumar. 2015. "Beyond Crisis: Rethinking the Population Movements at Europe's Border." *FocaalBlog*. 19 October. Available at: www.focaalblog.com/2015/10/19/prem-kumar-rajaram-beyond-crisis (accessed: January 8, 2018).

Week 7: The Immigration 'Crisis' & Democratic Backsliding Within

Monday, March 12

Refugee quota negotiations simulation. No additional readings.

Wednesday, March 14

- Kelemen, R. Daniel. 2017. "Europe's Other Democratic Deficit: National Authoritarianism in Europe's Democratic Union." *Government and Opposition* 52(2): 211–238.
- Dawson, James, and Seán Hanley. 2016. "The Fading Mirage of the 'Liberal Consensus'." *Journal of Democracy* 27(1): 20–34.

Mid-term assignments due by Sunday, March 18, 23:59.

Week 8: The Brexit Challenge

Monday, March 19

- Usherwood, Simon. 2015. "Britain and Europe: A Model of Permanent Crisis." In: Kyriakos N. Demetriou (ed.) *The European Union in Crisis: Explorations in Representation and Democratic Legitimacy*. New York: Springer, 3–14.

Wednesday, March 21

- Hopkin, Jonathan. 2017. "When Polanyi Met Farage: Market Fundamentalism, Economic Nationalism, and Britain's Exit from the European Union." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9(3): 465–478.
- Oliver, Tim. 2016. "European and International Views of Brexit." *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(9): 1321–1328.

Spring break (March 26–30)

Week 9: No classes

Week 10: Enlargement Challenges

Monday, April 9

- Berend, Ivan T. 2017. "Suicidal Enlargement of the European Union?" In: *The Contemporary Crisis of the European Union: Prospects for the Future*. Abingdon: Routledge, 64–87.
- Bruszt, Laszlo, and Visnja Vukov. 2017. "Making States for the Single Market: European Integration and the Reshaping of Economic States in the Southern and Eastern Peripheries of Europe." *West European Politics* 40(4): 663–687.

Wednesday, April 11

- Aydin-Düzgit, Senem, and E. Fuat Keyman. 2013. "EU-Turkey Relations and the Stagnation of Turkish Democracy." *Global Turkey in Europe*. Stiftung Mercator-IAI-IPC Working Paper 02, available at: http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/GTE_WP_02.pdf (accessed: January 8, 2018).
- Belloni, Roberto. 2016. "The European Union Blowback? Euroscepticism and its Consequences in the Western Balkans." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 10(4): 530–547.

Week 11: Security Challenges

Monday, April 16

- European Union. 2016. "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe." *A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy*, 13–51.

Wednesday, April 18

- O'Brien, Peter. 2016. "Counter-terrorism in Europe: The Elusive Search for Order." *European Security* 25(3): 366–384.
- Huysmans, Jef. 2000. "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38 (5): 751–777.

Week 12: EU in the World: Values and Partners

Monday, April 23

- Manners, Ian. 2002. "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(2): 235–258.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. 2016. "Normative Empire Europe: The European Union, its Borderlands, and the 'Arab Spring'." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54(2): 215–232.

Wednesday, April 25

- Risse, Thomas. 2016 "The Transatlantic Security Community: Erosion from Within?" In: Riccardo Alcaro, John Peterson, and Ettore Greco (eds.), *The West and the Global Power Shift: Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 21–42.
- Shapiro, Jeremy, and Rina Pardijs. 2017. *The Transatlantic Meaning of Donald Trump: A US-EU Power Audit*. European Council on Foreign Relations, 1–13.

*Team presentation. The team should send the final slides to the instructor by Wednesday at noon.

Week 13: EU in the World: Trade and Postcoloniality

Monday, April 30

- Gibb, Richard. 2010. "Post-Lomé: The European Union and the South." *Third World Quarterly* 21(3): 457–481.

Wednesday, May 2

- Meunier, Sophie, and Kalypso Nicolaïdis. 2006. "The European Union as a Conflicted Trade Power." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(6): 906–925.
- García, María. 2015. "The European Union and Latin America: 'Transformative Power Europe' versus the Realities of Economic Interests." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 28(4): 621–640.

*Team presentation. The team should send the final slides to the instructor by Wednesday at noon.

Assignment for all students: Prepare a two-page outline of your final essay summarizing: (1) the topic and the main argument, (2) the structure of the essay, and (3) the type of sources and evidence that will be used. Outlines are due by Sunday, May 6, 23:59.

Week 14: EU in the World: Relations with Russia and China

Monday, May 7

- Berend, Ivan T. 2017. "The Russian Challenge: The EU's Security and Energy Independence." In: *The Contemporary Crisis of the European Union: Prospects for the Future*. Abingdon: Routledge, 117–130.
- Nitoiu, Cristian. 2016. "Russia and the EU's Quest for Status: The Path to Conflict in the Post-Soviet Space." *Global Affairs* 2(2): 143–153.

*Team presentation. The team should send the final slides to the instructor by Monday at noon.

Wednesday, May 9

- Maher, Richard. 2016. "The Elusive EU-China Strategic Partnership." *International Affairs* 92(4): 959–976.
- Casarini, Nicola. 2017. "A New Era for EU-China Relations? How They Are Forging Ahead Without the United States." *Foreign Affairs*, 6 June.

*Team presentation. The team should send the final slides to the instructor by Wednesday at noon.

Students receive feedback on their outlines. Consultations are to take place in the course of week 14.

Completion Week (May 14–18): The Way Forward

Monday, May 14 (make up class for April 4)

- Schmitter, Philippe C. 2012. "European Disintegration? A Way Forward." *Journal of Democracy* 23 (4): 39–46.
- Democracy in Europe Movement 2025. 2016. *DiEM25 Manifesto: The EU will be Democratised. Or it will Disintegrate!*
- European Commission. 2017. *White Paper on the Future of Europe: Reflections and Scenarios for the EU27 by 2025*, 15–27.

Final essays due by Sunday, May 20, 23:59.