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UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA  
SPRING 2020

EUS4944 – SEMINAR EU STUDIES: SECTION: 4EUS  
POS4931 – SPECIAL TOPICS: SECTION: 4087

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## EUROPEAN UNION IN CRISIS

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### Course Description

The European Union (EU) thrived as the world's most successful integration project as if its *modus operandi* has been its constant exposure to crises. Each crisis in the history of European integration was claimed by many as an indicator of the demise of the EU. Yet, each crisis helped the EU to make necessary adjustments to continue with the processes of widening (enlargement) and deepening (further integration) more than it contributed to its disintegration. Although the EU has never been short of existential anxiety, the multiple crises it faces today are uniquely challenging. The crises of Eurozone and migration have aggravated preexisting trends of polarization and fragmentation. The divisive force of Brexit and the rise of right-wing populism in combination with Euroskepticism bleak the future of the EU more than ever. This course is interested in a close reading of European integration process with an emphasis on actors' ability to manage crisis in various occasions to situate current events in perspective.

### Course Objectives

This course offers a critical and historical approach to the meaning and implication of the recent turmoil in the EU. This course will first establish the common occurrence of crises in the history of the EU. The unique challenges posed by each crisis will also be discussed at length because prevalence does not mean recurrence. The first part of this course will survey the origins of the EU by focusing on missed opportunities and failed projects. This way, students will have a broader understanding of the context in which the alternative tracks got vanished along the way. Some other themes of this course include the following: challenges to further integration in the EU, a constant fight over institutional change, crises concerning enlargement, the problem of democratic deficit, identity-related crises, economic crisis, refugee crisis, Brexit and the rise of populism. Looking at the integration project through the lens of crises will allow students learn about different perspectives on European integration in different member states, particularly in Germany, France, Britain, Greece, and Hungary. This course will help students draw lessons for the future from the past crises in the EU. Any student interested in Europe can easily comprehend the course material without prior knowledge of the subject and cross-registrants are welcome. Students who are on European Studies or European Union Studies are especially encouraged to enroll as the course provides a unique opportunity to learn about history, institutions, politics and policies of the European Union with a highly up-to-date and relevant set of readings and visual materials.

### Course Materials

The lectures will provide a basis for discussing the reading materials. The instructor will give lectures during the first half of each session. Students are expected to be attentive to the lectures and take notes to succeed in exams. The lectures will be followed by a discussion about the specifics of readings.

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### CLASS SCHEDULE:

T | Period 8-9 (3:00 PM- 4:55 PM)  
R | Period 9 (4:05 PM- 4:55 PM)

### CLASSROOM:

TURLINGTON HALL 2303

Instructor: ASLI BAYSAL

E-Mail: abaysal@ufl.edu

Office: Turlington Hall 3328

Office Hours: W | 9:00-12:00

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### Important Dates:

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01/06/2020

First Day of Classes

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02/20/2020 Thursday

First Mid-Term/ In-Class Exam

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04/02/2020 Thursday

Second Mid-Term/ In-Class Exam

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04/28/2020 8:00 pm

Submit your final papers to Canvas

### Quote of the Semester:

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"History is the best medicine for a sick mind, for in history you have a record of the infinite variety of human experience plainly set out for all to see, and in that record you can find for yourself and your country both examples and warnings: fine things to take as models, base things rotten through and through to avoid."

— The Roman historian Livy: The Early History of Rome

## Required Readings

There is one book required to be purchased. The following book provides a good selection of recent and easy-to-read articles written by well-known scholars on a variety of crises affecting the European integration project and it can be purchased from [University of Florida Campus Bookstore](#) or checked out from the front desk at Library West for two-hours (in-library use only).

*Desmond Dinan, Neill Nugent, William E. Paterson. [The European Union in Crisis](#). Macmillan Education: UK, 2017.*

This textbook will be hereinafter referred to as “EUC”. We will not use the entire textbook. The other required materials (journal articles, book chapters, videos, lecture slides) will be available online via Canvas. If you have problems accessing the required materials, please let me know as soon as possible so that I can contact either the library or the bookstore to make sure you have the materials for each of our sessions. In order to have off-campus access to library licensed articles you must authenticate yourself to the UF network. UF libraries recommend installing the ‘Virtual Private Network’ software for this purpose. If you connect from campus, another way suggested by our libraries is to search the article on Google Scholar, which “enables checking to see if access to full text has been licensed by the UF Libraries (and connecting to it if it does)”. Please familiarize yourself with various ways to access academic publications. This skill is also crucial to conduct successful research for your final papers. The instructor will use Canvas e-learning system to communicate with students. The page of the course will frequently be updated to include relevant visual materials, required and recommended readings.

## Course Requirements and Student Responsibilities

Attendance is required and necessary. Any unexcused absences will count against the attendance grade. Acceptable reasons stated on UF undergraduate catalog of 2019-2020 for absence from or failure to participate in class include “illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements, military obligation, severe weather conditions, religious holidays and participation in official university activities such as music performances, athletic competition or debate.” If possible, contact your instructor in advance via e-mail to inform about your absenteeism and if you have any official excuse letter to submit, please do it in a timely manner during office hours or after class.

Active Participation in class discussions is required. This includes asking and responding to questions, being able to summarize and criticize the reading material, citing relevant news on the issue, engaging in a meaningful and respectful conversation on the issues with fellow students and the instructor. The use of technology in the classroom is strictly limited to note taking and viewing the reading material. If a student fails to uphold to this principle (texting, video-streaming, browsing social media), the instructor will hold the right to secure a device-free environment for the entire semester because it is proven that “[screens generate distraction in a manner akin to second-hand smoke](#)”. Although the use of technology does not help the participation grade, it surely can hurt it.

Mid-Term Examinations will mainly assess your commitment to keep up with the weekly readings, lectures and class discussions. There are two closed-book mid-term examinations. The exams will start at the beginning of the class meeting and span the entire duration of the class. Please see the weekly schedule for exam coverage. The mid-term exam will include various types of questions: definitions, short answers, multiple choice, true/false and matching etc.

Final Paper Meeting: Each student will have a private meeting with the instructor to discuss his/her paper topic ideas. You should know your topic and be able to talk about a preliminary outline. Further guidelines will be provided throughout the semester. Please read this guideline carefully before your appointment. You do not have to submit me anything for this meeting. I am going to grade you based on our conversation. Please choose a topic that you are truly interested in. I don't want this assignment to be a burden on you. We won't have class on . . . , and a lecture on scholarly research will be given by Dr. Schwieder on . . . and he will answer all of your questions about how to write a research paper

Final Paper Presentation: Before submitting your final papers on April 28, you will present your paper in-class. Each of you will receive feedback from your peers and the instructor. Polishing your paper based on this feedback is essential to get a good grade on the final paper. Presentation dates will be assigned by the instructor. Presentations are going to be conducted in a conference panel format. Each presenter will have only 10 minutes to present and 5 minutes for Q&A.

Final Paper will constitute an important part of overall grade. Students will choose their final paper topics in consultation with the instructor. A detailed guideline will be provided during the semester through Canvas e-learning system. Final papers are going to be presented in-class and finalized papers are going to be submitted via e-mail to (abaysal@ufl.edu) on 28<sup>th</sup> of April at 8 pm and must be submitted to Turnitin on Canvas for plagiarism check. There is no need to submit a hard copy. You will receive a detailed feedback on Canvas.

### Preliminary Guideline for Final Paper

- a) Choose one crisis, disaster or political scandal that is or is not already covered in the syllabus. It is acceptable if the impact of the incident of your choice was limited to a specific policy area, sector or country. It can be a political, institutional, sectoral, or simply popular media based crisis. The incident should involve the EU as an actor- either as an affected or an affecting party. Some examples include:
  - Facebook's transfer of personal data from Europe to the US,
  - Volkswagen emissions scandal,
  - the Balkans War and European response,
  - the rejection of Annan Plan in Cyprus,
  - bombings in Spain and the UK following 9/11
- b) Identify the situation, values, interests and positions of several actors who manage these crises.
- c) Discuss how this particular crisis is framed by various actors: unfortunate incident/critical threat/ critical opportunity etc.
- d) If a specific remedy chosen to deal with the crisis, provide explanations as to how actors finally agreed on it.
- e) 10-12 paged analysis of a crisis (double-spaced)

### Missed exams and late assignments

If a student misses a mid-term exam and has an official excuse, the instructor will provide a make-up exam, however the format will be different. It will include three essay questions and the time limit will be 1 hour. If a student misses his/her presentation without an excuse, there is no make-up. In other cases, the presentation can be scheduled at a later time. If a student fails to meet the deadline for the submission of the final paper, he/she should approach the instructor immediately and ideally before the deadline.

### Academic Honesty

Academic dishonesty will NOT be tolerated. In the cases of plagiarism, cheating and other misconducts such as submitting a paper purchased from an outside source, the University policy will be followed. If you are having difficulties understanding the assignment or completing it, please come to my office hours so we can discuss. Further information on limitations can be found in UF Student Conduct and Honor code (<https://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/> )

### Policy on Students with Disabilities

The University of Florida is committed to providing academic accommodations for students with disabilities. Students with disabilities requesting accommodations should first register with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565, [www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/](http://www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/)) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, a student should present his/her accommodation letter to me supporting a request for accommodations. The University encourages students with disabilities to follow these procedures as early as possible within the semester.

## Grading and Assessment

Course requirements will be weighted in the following manner:	Grading Scale	
➤ Attendance.....: 10%	➤ 94% - 100% = A	➤ 74% - 76% = C
➤ Active Participation.....: 10%	➤ 90% - 93% = A-	➤ 70% - 73% = C-
➤ Mid-Term Exam I.....: 20%	➤ 87% - 89% = B+	➤ 67% - 69% = D+
➤ Midterm Exam II.....: 20%	➤ 84% - 86% = B	➤ 64% - 66% = D
➤ Final Paper Meeting.....: 5%	➤ 80% - 83% = B-	➤ 60% - 63% = D-
➤ Final Paper Presentation.....: 10%	➤ 77% - 79% = C+	➤ < 60% = F
➤ Final Paper.....: 25%		

PLEASE NOTE THAT DEPENDING ON THE LEVEL OF FAMILIARITY OF STUDENTS WITH THE COURSE MATERIAL, THE INSTRUCTOR CAN MAKE CHANGES TO THE READINGS OR THEIR ORGANIZATION IN THE SYLLABUS AS NEEDED THROUGHOUT THE SEMESTER. STUDENTS WILL BE INFORMED IN A TIMELY MANNER IN SUCH CASES.

## Course Schedule and Required Readings

### EUROPEAN UNION IN CRISIS

#### Week 1.1 ( 1/7 – T ) : Introduction to the Course

- Distribution of the syllabus, discussion of the course and requirements and screening of short videos on the EU
  - (1) No required readings for the first session.
  - (2) Recommended Reading: Dinan, Desmond. Europe Recast: A History of the European Union. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004.
  - (3) The links to the following videos are available in Module 1 on Canvas and the online version of the syllabus on Canvas.
    - a. Required Visual Material: [Europe: From WWII to Today's European Union](#) 24 min.
    - b. Suggested Visual Material: [Europe and the EU in crisis | DW Documentary](#) 25 min.

#### A. BASICS- THE EU AND CRISIS ANALYSIS

#### Week 1.2 ( 1/9 – R ) : Historical Introduction to the EU

- What is a crisis? Types of crises
  - (1) Journal Article: Boin, Arjen, Paul't Hart, and Allan McConnell. "Crisis Exploitation: Political and Policy Impacts Of Framing Contests." Journal of European Public Policy 16, no. 1 (2009): 81-106.

## B. EUROPEAN UNION: BORN OF CRISIS

### Week 2.1 ( 1/14 – T ) : Nation-State in Crisis: Europe in Post-World War II

- Nation-State as a problem for the future of the continent
- What kind of integration?: Intergovernmental, Supranational, Federal?
- Who is in? British Withdrawal from Negotiations for the European Coal and Steel Community
- The Choice of Supranationalism and Britain (Roots of Brexit)

- (1) Excerpt on the European Rescue of Nation State
- (2) Infographic #1

### Week 2.2 ( 1/16 – R ) : European Project in Crisis: Failed Projects of European Integration

- Too much too soon? Failed Projects of the European Defense Community and European Political Community
- Happy Medium or Lost Opportunities: European Economic Community and Euratom

- (1) EUC Chapter 2: Crises in EU History/ Desmond Dinan
- (2) Suggested Reading: Book Chapter: Milward, Alan. The European Rescue of the Nation State. London: Routledge, 2000. Chapter 1: History and Theory (pp.1-17)

## C. INSTITUTIONS IN CRISIS

### Week 3/1 ( 1/21 – T ) : Institutional Evolution of the EU

- The origins of the EU, and the chronology of the evolution of the EU
  - (1) EUC Chapter 1: A Multi-Dimensional Crisis/Desmond Dinan, Neill Nugent and William E. Paterson.
- The Evolution of the Legislature : Unicameral to bicameral legislature (The EP and the Council)
- The Evolution of the Executive : Bureaucratic to Political Executive ( The Commission and the European Council)
- The Empowerment of Judiciary : European Court of Justice: Exceeding Its Jurisdiction?
  - (2) EUC Chapter 9: The Crisis and the EU's Institutions, Political Actors, and Processes/Neill Nugent

### Week 3.2 ( 1/23 – R ) : Institutional Crises

- Empty Chair Crisis in the Council
- Introducing Direct Elections to the European Parliament: Why was it so difficult?
- Resignation of the Santer Commission

- (1) Excerpts with regards to these institutional crises will be available on Canvas under Module 3

## **Week 4.1 ( 1/28– T ) : Leadership Crisis of the EU**

- “Who do I call if I want to call Europe?” (Henry Kissinger, the former US Secretary of State)
  - Leadership by and contestation within the European Council; Spitzenkandidaten; Proliferation of Presidents and the War of Legitimacy
- (1) **EUC Chapter 11:** Germany and the Crisis: Asset or Liability/Simon Bulmer and William E. Paterson.
  - (2) **Visual Material:** [Who are you Mr President? Nigel Farage asks Van Rompuy](#)

### **D. DEMOCRACY IN CRISIS**

## **Week 4.2 ( 1/30 – R ) : EU’s Legitimacy Challenge in a Myriad of Crises and Democratic Deficit of the European Union**

- Democratic Deficit in the European Union: Is There a Democratic Deficit in the EU?
- “No Demos” thesis
- Crisis Conditions and Germany’s Informal EU Presidency

- (1) **EUC Chapter 10:** The Legitimacy Challenge/Christian Schweiger
- (2) **Journal Article:** Follesdal, A., & Hix, S. (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.

#### Suggested Readings

- (1) Majone, G. (1998). Europe’s ‘democratic deficit’: The question of standards. *European law journal*, 4(1), 5-28.
- (2) Moravcsik, A. (2002). Reassessing legitimacy in the European Union. *JCMS: journal of common market studies*, 40(4), 603-624.

## **Week 5.1 ( 2/4 – T ) : Decay of National Democracy?**

- Is it a crisis of democracy in general?
  - Who are the losers of European Integration?: National Parliaments in Crisis and Citizens’ Discontent
- (1) **Journal Article:** Mair, Peter. Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy. *New Left Review*, 42, 25-51.2006.

### **E. WIDENING THE EUROPEAN UNION: CRISES OF MEMBERSHIP**

## **Week 5.2 ( 2/6 – R ) : Who is In – Who is Out?**

- De Gaulle’s veto on the membership of Britain, Ireland, Norway, Denmark (Roots of Brexit)
- Norway’s rejection of EU membership (twice!)
- Spain, Portugal and Greece- Question of Eligibility – Democratic Criteria in the making
- Where does Europe end? : The Turkish case

- (1) **Book Chapter:** Cini, Michelle. *European Union Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2019. Chapter:18 – Enlargement -Ana E. Juncos and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Barrogan

## **Week 6.1 ( 2/11 – T ) : End of Cold War – Deepening vs. Widening? Post-Cold War -Crises of Enlargement**

- End of Cold War. Now What?
- Discussion points: Who is the winner? → Democracy? Free-Market Economy? Western Values? Copenhagen Criteria and Common Foreign and Security Policy
  - (1) Journal Article: Sjursen, Helene (2002). Why Expand?: The Question of Legitimacy and Justification in the EU's Enlargement policy. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 40(3), 491-513.
- Question of East Germany : separate state and separate accession treaty or a simple population change in Germany? - What were political and institutional implications of Reunification of Germany for the EC?
- Accession Negotiations with Central and Eastern European Countries
  - (1) A documentary based on actual video footage of leaders negotiating Central and Eastern European Enlargement will be screened in classroom.

### **F. EXITING THE EU?**

## **Week 6.2 ( 2/13 – R ) : Britain and the EU: Avoiding Crisis Through Exceptionalism**

- British Exceptions
  - (1) EU Chapter 5: The UK: Membership in Crisis/Lee McGowan and David Phinnemore

## **Week 7.1 ( 2/18 – T ) : Brexit Referendum and Brexit Negotiations and Implications for the Future**

- Brexit
- What kind of an impact will the Brexit have on the EU?
- Any followers?
  - (1) TBA on the recent events on Brexits. Excerpts will be under Module 7.
  - (2) Journal Article: Wahl, Peter. "Between Eurotopia and Nationalism: A Third Way for the Future of the EU." Globalizations 14, no. 1 (2017): 157-163.

## **Week 7.2 ( 2/20– R ) : FIRST MID-TERM**

- In-class examination: WEEK 1-2-3-4-5-6-7

## **Week 8.1 ( 2/25 – T ) : Hungary as an 'Illiberal Democracy' - Firing Hungary? Punishing Poland?**

- EU's democratic conditionality after enlargement: What if a member turns authoritarian?
  - (2) Journal Article: Müller, J. Werner (2015). Should the EU protect democracy and the rule of law inside member states? European Law Journal, 21(2), 141-160.
  - (3) Op-ed: Komárek, J. (2013, March 25). [The EU is more than a constraint on populist democracy. Verfblog.](#)
  - (4) Suggested Reading: Kelemen, R. D. (2015). [Europe's Other Democratic Deficit. In 22nd International Conference of Europeanists.](#)

## **Week 8.2 ( 2/27- R ) : Scholarly Writing**

- Dr. David Schwieder’s presentation on scholarly writing.
- Students are required to choose a time slot this week on Canvas to meet with the instructor to discuss their final paper ideas. This meeting will constitute 5% of your total grade for this course.
- No required readings for this session. Preparation for this meeting is essential. Guidelines will be provided to succeed in this meeting.

## **Week 9 : Spring Break**

### **G. ECONOMIC CRISIS**

## **Week 10.1 (3/10 – T ) : European Monetary Union and Eurozone/Euro in Crisis**

- Crisis of establishing an EMU
- Independent and Powerful European Central Bank and its critics
- Eurozone Crisis

(1) EUC Chapter 4: Playing for High Stakes: The Eurozone Crisis/Kenneth Dyson

## **Week 10.2 (3/12 – R ) : European Sovereign Debt Crisis and Grexit**

- The Greek withdrawal from the Eurozone?
- Bailout/Austerity Measures
- Fiscal Federalism?

(1) EUC Chapter 12: Greece: A Crisis in Two-Level Governance/Kevin Featherstone and Dimitris Papadimitriou

### **H. EUROPEAN MIGRANT CRISIS**

## **Week 11.1 ( 3/17 -- T ) : The European Migrant Crisis and Syrian Refugee Crisis**

- EUC Chapter 6: The European Migrant Crisis/Laurie Buonanno

## **Week 11.2 ( 3/19 – R ) : Refugee Crisis and the Relations with Turkey**

- Turkey: Still a Candidate? EU’s dilemma

(1) Kirisi, Kemal “Europe's Refugee/Migrant Crisis: Can 'Illiberal' Turkey Save 'Liberal Europe' While Helping Syrian Refugees?” European Policy Center, 19 February 2016.  
[http://aei.pitt.edu/72891/1/pub\\_6324\\_europe\\_s\\_refugee-migrant\\_crisis.pdf](http://aei.pitt.edu/72891/1/pub_6324_europe_s_refugee-migrant_crisis.pdf)



## I. SECURITY CRISES IN EUROPE

### Week 12.1 ( 3/24 – T ) : Yugoslav Wars and the European Response

- Europe's Uncommon Foreign Policy
- (1) Journal Article: Dover, Robert. "The EU and the Bosnian Civil War 1992–95: The Capabilities–Expectations Gap at the Heart of EU Foreign Policy." *European Security* 14, no. 3 (2005): 297-318.
- (2) I will likely to tell you to read 12.2 articles for this class because Ukrainian crisis requires more than an hour to cover.

### Week 12/2 ( 3/26 – R ) : Ukrainian Crisis and Relations with Russia

- Developments in Ukraine in 2013-2014 as the most pressing challenge for the CFSP
- (1) EUC Chapter 14: The European Union, Ukraine and the Unstable East./Wolfgang Seibel

### Week 13.1 ( 3/31 – T ) : 9/11, the Relations with the US and the EU as a Global Player and Terrorist Attacks in Europe

- The EU's strategic relations with Russia, US and China
- How Terrorism affect stability in the EU
- (1) Book Chapter: Ferreira-Pereira, Laura C., and Bruno Oliveira Martins, eds. *The European Union's Fight Against Terrorism: The CFSP and Beyond*. Routledge, 2016. Chapter 1.
- (1) EUC Chapter 15: The EU's Global Image/Amelia Hadfield

### Week 13.2 ( 4/2 – R ) : MID-TERM II

- In-class examination: WEEK 8-10-11-12-13

## J. EU AS A CRISIS MANAGER

### Week 14.1 ( 4/7 – T ) : Presentations (Panel I and Panel II)

### Week 14.2 ( 4/9 - R ) : Presentations (Panel III)

### Week 15.1 ( 4/14 – T ) : Presentations (Panel IV and Panel V)

### Week 15.2 (4/16 –R ) : Presentations (Panel VI)

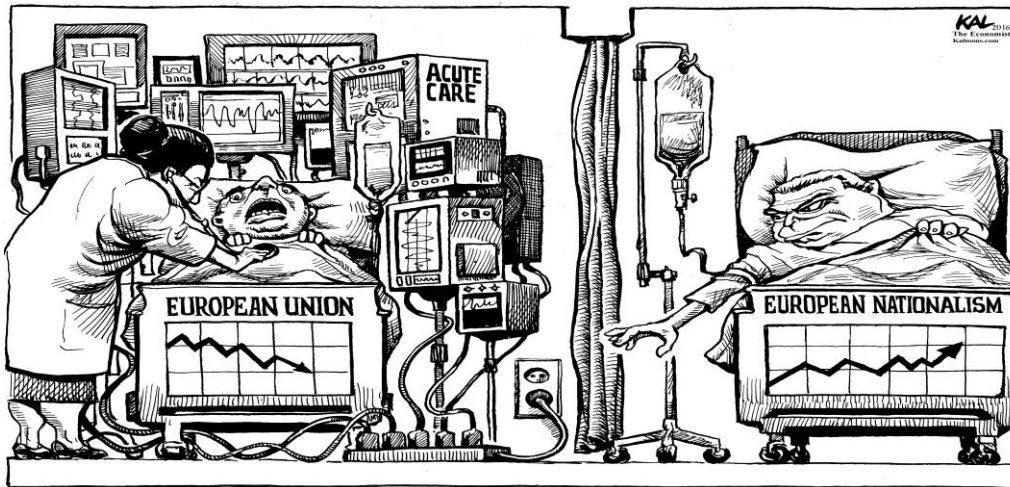
### Week 16.1 ( 4/21 – T ) : Presentations (Panel VII) and Recapitulations (THE MYTH OF) THE END OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

- **Recapitulation**
- EU in Turmoil: Refugees, Brexiters And Populists
- Will the EU survive the recent crises?
- What does the EU need to do in the future to survive?
- (1) EUC Chapter 18: *Conclusions: Crisis Without End?*/Desmond Dinan, Neill Nugent and William E. Paterson

Faculty Course Evaluation Period (April 11- 24)

Final Papers are due April 28 on Canvas

Final Grades available on May 7



First published in The Economist, U.K., May 7, 2016 | By Kal