

SP216 EUROPEAN POLITICS (2014)



(Aug. 19, 2014. A slipper lies near bloodstains on a street after recent shelling in the settlement of Makiivka, on the outskirts of Donetsk., Ukraine. Photographer: Maxim Shemetov/Reuters, from: <http://time.com/3154466/pictures-of-the-week-20/>)

Dr. Brendan Flynn
Room 316,
Floor 2,
Árus Moyola
E-mail: brendan.flynn@nuigalway.ie

INTRODUCTION

It is sometimes said that the European Politics is 'boring'. In the week in which I finalize this syllabus, we have seen the French government collapse over internal economic policy disagreements. We are also told that well over 2,000 people have died as war in the Ukraine slowly grows in savagery and menace. However these developments are best described, they are not boring! In fact, Europe's politics remains firmly in the headlines. A challenge is obviously how to make sense of it all? Moreover, what does 'Europe' mean in political terms? What is distinctively *European* about politics in Europe?

The question is not facetious. Many courses labeled 'European politics', are really just comparative political science courses, which happen to use European case studies. You are offered lectures on European voting systems or civil service typologies, and how these differ. It would be wonderful if we had time for such a tour. We do not. Moreover, in my view that is a comparative method which can easily end up being a rather shallow form of comparison by weighing like merely with like. What of African, American or Asian voting practices as well?

Instead, this course attempts to give you a basic introduction to what is a distinctively *European* politics. It is a politics where complex sub-regions of Europe need to be appreciated, and where in our time, major political questions concerning Europe, are being debated over, and tentatively answered.

Let me explain. It is part of the argument of this course that there is in fact no one, single, easily identifiable, political entity termed 'Europe'. For one thing the borders of what constitute Europe today, and in the past, are very unclear. Attempts to clarify such boundaries are often redolent of intolerance and prejudice. Nor can Europe just be a handy synonym for those states (all 27) who are members of the European Union. For example, *The Economist* news magazine, provocatively describes in its section on European news, reports from Turkey and Armenia. Are they European states and should we be studying them?

In fact, Europe is much too big in terms of political geography for generalizations to be of much use at a properly continental level. Historically, one of the central features of Europe has been relatively high levels of cultural and linguistic diversity, allied with extensive political or state fragmentation. In the 1500s Europe had perhaps over 500 state-like entities, and even by 1815 one could still count 57 such European 'states'. There has never been just one Europe but many. Studying European politics is then in part an exercise in debating boundaries, complexity and diversity, and becoming relaxed about the absence of a clear single 'Europe' to study.

Yet to make sense of Europe we also need to break it down to a meaningful level of analysis, and I advocate here identifying and explaining politics within distinct European sub-regions. I identify at least five: a distinctive formerly Communist central European region; a Balkan region; a Mediterranean region; a Nordic/Baltic region; and what can be termed a consociational region, which is a grouping of states, which are those relatively small west European states such as the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria, where distinctive power sharing practices have evolved to avoid ethnic, linguistic or religious conflict. My argument here is not that these states within each sub-region are all alike, but rather that they share some common history and political features. In this course we will not have time to study all of these. I will focus on the Balkans and also on Nordic Europe, and a general lecture will explore the 'Europe of the Regions' idea in more detail. One reason why I do this is to get a balance between covering diverse regions within Europe and doing so in depth.

What then of the Europe of the (formerly) great powers-Britain, Germany and France, if not Russia? They surely do not form cohesive regions in political geographic terms. So a different organising principle is required to make sense of them. The framing device that I use here is the concept of a distinctive European high politics. By that, I mean a politics of higher relationships between states and the balance of power and influence between them. The core question of high politics accounts has usually been the relative stability of states, and what dynamics are at play in their making and breaking. In fact the issue today, is not so much the balance of power between them in the classic, if staid, military-strategic sense, or even the economic perspective. Rather today the question is whether they have been profoundly transformed as societies and polities from their old conception as Europe's great powers? More widely still, what is in question is the stability of a European political system predicated upon nation states, some of whom are very old (Denmark, Iceland, Portugal) and apparently stable, and others which are very new (Kosovo, Slovenia, Macedonia) and perhaps not at all stable. High politics can be a rather old fashioned way of looking at how states relate to each other, but in the Europe of today its obvious the high politics question is not so much

which states are dominating, but rather whether or not there is fundamental continuity or change in the very pattern of state based politics in Europe. Two questions in particular will occupy us in this course.

First, there is the apparent continuation of nationalism as the primary organizing principle and logic of European states. It wasn't always thus of course, which begs the question will nationalism always be so vital to European politics in future? Is nationalism in decline in Europe? Has it become a redundant sociological and ideological phenomenon perhaps, or conversely is it resurgent? Might we speak of a 'new' nationalism across Europe, which seeks to reaffirm cultural distinctions and autonomies in new ways? More bluntly, can European nationalist sentiment be tamed through clever provisions for territorial autonomy, power sharing mechanisms, and a focus on cultural policies? Could this direction for European nationalism offer a benign future, or perhaps, will it be just as troubling as heretofore?

That question very much relates to another distinctively European political puzzle, namely the very open question of European integration. Since the 1950s European nation states have come together to share power and policy-making. The result has been the arcane, highly technical, if not opaque, structures of the European Economic Community (EEC). Those structures have now evolved since the 1990s into an European Union (EU). One question here is what forces, or who, is driving this process forwards, if indeed it is going forwards and not stalled? Moreover, where is the project of European integration headed? Is it aiming at the stealthy eclipse of the various European nation states, towards a confederation built with them, or towards a federal European superstate that might eventually rival the USA? Or is it more likely to collapse and fail as a project?

Those questions are real and pertinent even though some may dismiss them as exaggerated concerns. They are not. Indeed it is clear that apprehensions and confusions about the EU, and 'ever closer union', are widespread. It is also clear that national sentiment is a very live political force across Europe. Any analysis which can throw light on the phenomenon of European integration alongside continuing nationalism is to be urgently welcomed.

Finally this course will address another contemporary trend in European high politics where commentators have suggested severe challenges, if not dangers, might await Europe collectively. This is the return of Russia as an issue of concern and controversy: should we fear the Russians (again) or should we be wary of potentially dangerous scare mongering?

LECTURE VENUES, TIME AND DAY:

Monday 12-1, AM250, Modern Languages Building.
Monday 2-3, O'Flaherty Theatre.

TERM DATES SEMESTER I, 2014:

Teaching begins Tuesday September 9th for this course, but thereafter we meet on Mondays! This session on Tuesday the 9th at 12pm in AM250 will be a general organisation session for ALL 2nd year students (30mins), followed by a very general introduction by me about this course, SP216. All teaching for this course will end with the last class scheduled for Monday Nov.24th. A study week follows and then exams begin.

NOTE LECTURES BEGIN ON THE HOUR, ie. 12.00 not 12.10. And end at 12.50.

COURSE LEARNING OUTCOMES

This course is worth 5 ECTS credits.

At the end of this course you will have an appreciation of Europe's regional political dimension.

You will be introduced to a debate about European 'high politics'.

Basic factual and contextual material will be covered giving you an excellent grounding in the politics of some individual European states.

Students will be introduced to theoretical debates about nationalism in contemporary European politics and the nature of European integration.

Students will be encouraged to become practiced and adept at engaging with journal based academic research and integrating that into their understanding of the course and the subject.

CONTACT HOURS

I maintain regular office hours once a week, where students can come with questions on lecture material or see me about any problems on this course. I will advise you at the start of the course what these hours are. If there are more pressing problems you can e-mail [brendan.flynn@nuigalway.ie] me and I will reply within about 2-3 days.

COURSE ASSESSMENT (EXAM) AND MARKING

This will be advised to you in due course but will certainly involve an end of semester scheduled exam that will last TWO hours.

For 2BA1 students (the bulk of those taking this course) some 20% of your final mark will come from an essay you write in your general seminar for this course. It is very important to submit that paper in your seminar-failure to do so can easily undermine a decent exam performance. These general seminars are for 2BA1 students ONLY and NOT for visitors or for 2BA6 BA Social and Public Policy Students.

As regards 2BA6, BA Social and Public Policy students, you will also be expected to write an essay for me (and corrected by me). I will provide a special list of essay topics and rules and regulations for 2BA6 students in due course.

Every year one problem with exams for visiting students is the exam timetable. You should check with the exams office, in October, to find out the precise date of your SP216 exam, so as to make sure that you do not book a return flight that is too early and thus miss your exam. In these cases, I can make arrangements for visiting students to be examined by a long essay *instead* of the exam, however, this is subject to a strict deadline *before* the exams. My strong advice is that the exam is much better for students, as you do not really want to be writing another essay in November-you will be doing enough of those for other courses! This is just an option for those who have to leave in early December and would otherwise miss the exam. Details of this option, and a list of possible questions, will be posted on Blackboard early on in the semester.

COURSE SEMINARS (ONLY FOR 2BA1 STUDENTS)

All students, except visiting students and BA Social and Public Policy students, are expected to register with Michael Donnelly for their 2BA general seminar as soon as possible. In that seminar you will write ONE essays for this course (among THREE overall) and they will be worth a significant component of your final grade for this course-20%!. It is advised to get this essay done in the semester as soon as possible. Exam questions will *not* cover the same ground as questions set for essays.

COURSE EVALUATION BY STUDENTS

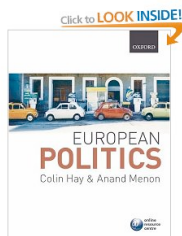
I will ensure that there is an opportunity on this course for you to assess it and provide constructive feedback towards the end of the semester.

COURSE TEXTBOOK

This year I will make use of two textbooks, as some students find it beneficial. These will be:



Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London:Pearson. This had been ordered with the library and in the University bookshop. It also available to buy as a paperback online via sellers such as Amazon.uk for around £38 or 48 Euro.



Hay, Colin and Anand Menon (eds.) (2007) *European Politics*. Oxford: OUP.

There are loads of copies in the library and second-hand. It is very far from ideal, and I will not use all of the chapters, nonetheless, I do think it can help, especially if a student feels they're 'sinking'.

DO I NEED TO BUY A TEXTBOOK AND WHY TWO TEXTBOOKS?

Strictly speaking, it is possible to do very well in this course without buying any textbook. In any event several copies shall be placed on 24hr loan, so you are not required to buy either, but I advise such if you feel you can either afford it, or really need a good background read on this subject. A lot of students tend to ignore the background material that a good textbook usually gives to a topic, so I always advise having access to a textbook. I list two books because the newer one is obviously much more up to date (published February 2012), but I'm mindful it may be delayed getting to the library and university bookshop, so the older one is there in case you can't get access to the new one. It works just a well for some topics. The exact reading from each is itemized below.

OTHER GENERAL TEXTS AND SOURCES

With a course like this you cannot just rely on the lectures to get by. You are going to have to do some additional reading, both to get a general overview and then to get more specialized and up to date information for specific topics. I also advise you to read alongside the lectures as they unfold. If you are a visitor from North America and feel your knowledge of all things European is poor, then reading one of these early on can help a great deal. The following are recommended as they offer either good simple introductions, very comprehensive surveys, or else report and analyse very up to date developments. Do not forget to look at them when revising for your exam.

*=Recommended

Other textbooks

Bale, Tim (2005) *European Politics: a Comparative Introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

320.3094 BAL

Gowland, David, Richard Dunphy and Charlotte Lythe (2006) *The European Mosaic*. Third Edition. Harlow: Pearson. 940.55 EUR (2nd ed.)

Histories

*Fulbrook, Mary (et al.) (2001) *Europe since 1945*. Oxford: OUP. 940.55 EUR.

*Judt, Tony (2005) *Postwar: a History of Europe since 1945*. 940.55 JUD

*Davies, Norman (1996) *Europe: a history*. Oxford: OUP. 940 DAV

Lewis, Paul G (1994) *Central Europe since 1945*. London: Longman. 943 LEW

*Mazower, Mark (1998) *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*. London: Penguin (one of the best 'reads' but very pessimistic)

More recent developments

*Heywood, Paul and Erik Jones (eds.) (2002) *Developments in West European politics 2*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave.. 320.94 DEV

*White Stephen, et al. (eds.) (2007) *Developments in Central and Eastern European politics 3* (4th Edition). (on order)

*Heywood, Paul (et al.) (2006) *Developments in European Politics*. 341.2422.

HOW TO READ FOR THIS COURSE

First let me be clear: **reading my lectures is not enough. It will get you maybe a pass**

grade. I do not want to read my own lecture notes back in the exam! Too many students think that taking a course like this means 'learning off the lecture notes'. I provide my notes to help you build a foundation from which you have to think about each topic for yourself. However, you cannot learn passively. You will only learn by thinking, reading and eventually writing about this subject yourself. Therefore you **MUST** read academic books and articles to get any sort of a decent grade on this course.

Moreover, you should always read a little *before* lectures, as this will help you get much more out of the lectures. They are designed to give some basic introduction but also to offer you a kind of provocative view or perspective on a particular question, which you are then free to agree with, disagree with, or refine, based on your academic reading and arguments.

In order to get a more detailed knowledge for the purposes of the exam, a comprehensive reading list is outlined for each topic (below). That list serves to bring you up to date with the latest developments and provides more detail for students who are keenly interested. Numerous different books and some articles are indicated, **but**

you are not expected to read them all. I have made the list long not to intimidate you, but to encourage those who are keen, and to allow for redundancy where some sources go missing or where they are borrowed by others when you go looking.

In most cases the reading list can be divided into 'classic introductory material' and then more detailed materials that explores theoretical views and/or recent developments. You will need to read a bit of both types of material, although it is a serious mistake to get lost in reading too many highly detailed technical articles for example and not read the basic and more introductory material. **Finally, material that is relevant for the exam is clearly indicated which will make your reading easier.**

PLEASE NOTE THAT IN SOME CASES I MAY ADD/DELETE ARTICLES OR OTHER SOURCES TO OR FROM THE LIST OF 'EXAM RELEVANT' MATERIAL. IF I DO SO I WILL STATE THIS IN LECTURES AND POST A NOTICE ON BLACKBOARD- PLEASE BE ALERT TO THIS POSSIBILITY.

NOTE, if you plan on reading articles from academic journals remember two things. *First*, you can in many cases 'find' these journal articles electronically, and download them as either Pdf files or simply otherwise read them on-line. To access journals that are held electronically, you need to use the "Journal Title" search function of the online Catalogue. See:

<http://www.library.nuigalway.ie/resources/journals/index.html>.

Some good electronic journals for this course, which are always worth checking out are: *German Politics, European Journal of Political Research, West European Politics, Comparative European Politics, European Union Politics, Eastern European Politics and Societies, Perspectives on European Politics and Society, Party Politics, and European Security.*

If the journal is not available electronically then you need to go to the journals' section of the library on Floor 1 and read it 'physically'.

Second, please remember that journal articles are usually difficult. Many students find them very hard to make any sense of, because they use so much jargon or are so detailed. If you are going to read them, you need to focus on getting the essential points from any article. It is very rare that you need to read the entire article in great depth and understand it all. Such articles are typically useful for providing different views and details. Above all do not get lost in reading countless articles or spend your money printing or photocopying them. Instead read just a select few on-line and set yourself a time-limit (say 1 hour) to extract the basic ideas and perspectives from them.

Reading newspapers and current affairs magazines can help with a course like this. Various 'quality' English language publications, such as *The Financial Times, The Irish Times, and The Economist*, all provide occasionally worthwhile up to date information and views. However, it is best to read widely among the quality press to guard against any bias, which you should remember they usually have.

LECTURE NOTES ON BLACKBOARD

Note that on this course lectures are held every Monday, but they are split, starting at

12pm and 2pm and lasting for one hour each. Each week I will cover a given topic, usually across both lectures. **As a result you need to attend both lectures!** There is little point attending one and missing the other. You simply will not understand the material if you do this.

Where will you find lecture notes? Nowadays I simply place them on Blackboard in the folder for this course. You will be automatically registered for Blackboard when you sign on for this course at registration.

Some students may believe that having the lecture notes means you do not have to attend my lectures. This is foolish because the lecture only works well when you are physically present to listen and absorb the material and think about it.

NOTE: There are *no* lecture notes for this course on the Q drive system.

USING THE INTERNET FOR THIS COURSE

The internet continues to grow as a tool for academic study. Using Google (especially the Google Scholar setting) or some other search engine can be an acceptable way of finding information on a particular topic. It is especially good for very recent developments, such as election results.

However, there are an awful lot of junk and paranoid conspiracy theory type sites as well. The real problem is that many sites are heavily biased and there is no quality control on the net. You end up reading propaganda, sometimes subtle but more often not, or else you just end up reading mere journalism, which can be useful but remember this is not a course in current affairs.

The internet usually lacks academic content suitable for undergraduates, and that is what you need to participate in this course. Our aim is to analyse and understand rather than just describe the latest happenings. There is also the phenomenon of on-line 'essay banks' where students can try and find a readymade essay on a topic for this course. Learning these off for the exam will unlikely get you much of a grade and trying to pass one off as your own paper is relatively easy for us to spot and check. The penalty for this is severe; a zero grade for definite, and possibly further penalties. So be very careful not to waste your time online and use web sources sparingly, including for anything you write.

Remember that as yet, the internet is never as worthwhile as a few hours spent simply reading a good book or article from the reading list. A good tip can be to try and search for research papers produced by institutes, think-tanks and organisations such as political parties or entities such as the EU, NATO, etc. If you find sites which you do find useful please bring them to my attention:
brendan.flynn@nuigalway.ie

COURSE STRUCTURE AND TIMETABLE 2014

Week 1/Tuesday Sept.9th: Course Introduction and Overview

Section A: A Europe of the Regions in Depth and Diversity

Week 2/Monday Sept 15th.:The Balkans: an introduction

Week 3/Monday Sept.22nd: Kosovo: a consociational cure-all?

Week 4/Monday Sept.29th: Nordic Europe: an introduction

Week 5/Monday Oct. 6th: Norway: the politics and economics of splendid isolation?

Week 6/Monday Oct. 13th:A Europe of sub-regions or lost nations? An introduction.

Week 7/Monday Oct. 20th: Regional Autonomies: the Scottish & the Basque cases compared.

Week 8: Oct. 27th BANK HOLIDAY -NO LECTURES THIS WEEK.

Section B-Europe's High Politics

Week 9/Monday Nov. 3rd: From Common Market to European Consociation?

Week 10/Nov.10th: Towards an EU Super-state, empire, stasis or collapse?

Week 11/Nov. 17th: Europe & Russia I

Week 12/Nov.24th: Europe & Russia II (first class)

Week 12/Nov.24th (second class): Revision/Exam details.

WEEK 1 (September 9th) Course Introduction and Overview

In these two lectures I introduce you to the main themes of European politics since the second world war. I discuss why studying European politics is relevant and what the main topical areas for study will be. I also go through this course outline in detail and explain the course.

SECTION A: A EUROPE OR THE REGIONS IN DEPTH AND DIVERSITY

Week 2/Sept.15th: The Balkans: an introduction



The Balkans have for well over 100 years intruded into the wider politics of Europe, although seldom in a welcome way. It is in the Balkans after all that the cataclysmic First World War was triggered, where the Cold war between Russia and American began in earnest, and finally here where the worst blood letting of the last decade occurred. It is also noteworthy that NATO fought its only 'real war' in this region in 1999 and it remains a potential area of tension between the USA, Russia and the emerging EU polity. Yet why does the Balkans today demand so much of the attention and concern of our governments? In this two lectures we examine two core questions: what are the general features of a Balkan style of politics and to what extent has the region been artificially been framed as 'backward' and 'oriental'? Secondly we will examine the question of why and how Yugoslavia broke apart the way it did from 1991 onwards.

Textbooks/ Introductory reading:

[Tocci, Nathalie. 'Greece, Turkey, Cyprus', pp.117-131 in Hay, Colin and Anand Menon \(eds.\) \(2007\) European Politics. Oxford: OUP](#)

Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London:Pearson. Chapters 12 and 13, especially pages 249-250 and pp.297-298.

The Balkans as an 'oriental' region.

Fleming, K. E. (2000) 'Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 4, pp. 1218-1233.

Todorova, Maria (1994) 'The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2, pp. 453-482.

Buchowski, Michał (2006) 'Social Thought & Commentary: The Specter of Orientalism in Europe: From Exotic Other to Stigmatized Brother', *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 79, No. 3, pp. 463-482.

Hammond, Andrew (2007) 'Typologies of the East: On Distinguishing Balkanism and Orientalism', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 29:2-3, 201-218.

The Break-up of Yugoslavia

Gagnon, V. P. (Chip) (2010) 'Yugoslavia in 1989 and after', *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, Vol. 38, No. 1, pp.23-39.

Weidmann, Nils B. (2011) 'Violence 'from above' or 'from below'? the Role of Ethnicity in Bosnia's Civil War', *The Journal of Politics*, Vol.73, No.4, pp. 1178-1190.

Hoare, Marko Attila (2010) 'Genocide in the Former Yugoslavia Before and After Communism', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 62, No.7, pp.1193-1214.

Dulić, Tomislav & Roland Kostić (2010) 'Yugoslavs in Arms: Guerrilla Tradition, Total Defence and the Ethnic Security Dilemma', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 62, No.7, pp.1051-1072.

Schlichte, Klaus (2009) 'Na krilima patriotizma--On the Wings of Patriotism: Delegated and Spin-Off Violence in Serbia', *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol.36, No.2, pp.310-326.

Marko, Joseph (2010) 'Processes of Ethnic Mobilization in the Former Yugoslav Republics Reconsidered', *Southeastern Europe*, Vol. 34, pp.1-15.

Deeper Background Reading

Glenny, M. (1999) *The Balkans, 1804-1999: Nationalism, war and the great powers*. 949.6 GLE.

Pavlowitch, S.K. (1999) *A history of the Balkans, 1804-1945*. 949.6 PAV

Benson, Leslie (2001) *Yugoslavia: a concise history*. New York: Palgrave. 949.7 BEN

Gagnon, V. P. (2004) *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*. 949.703 GAG (Chs.1-2)

Sekuli, D. and G. Massey, and R. Hodson (2006) 'Ethnic intolerance and ethnic conflict in the dissolution of Yugoslavia', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 5, pp. 797-827.

Week 3/Sept.22nd: Kosovo: a consociational cure-all?



The case of Kosovo affords us a much deeper look at Balkan politics. In particular Kosovo's status is not yet fully resolved. It has been declared an independent state, yet this is not recognized as widely as one might assume. For example several EU states do not recognize Kosovo as an independent state! Moreover, the status of Kosovo Serb minority is ambiguous. In theory Kosovo operates with a model consociational constitutional system. In practice, that model does not work so well on the ground in part because many Serb district refuse to co-operate with the Kosovo government and instead look to Belgrade for advice, leadership and indeed basic government services. In fact, Kosovo's consociationalism has been *de facto* imposed by the international community and remains fragile and unpopular. As Kosovo becomes more autonomous politically, how can it cope with such tensions-is it tied to the wider fate of Serbia, or should talk of partition be considered as a solution to Kosovo's problems?

Textbooks/ Introductory reading:

Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London:Pearson. Chapters 12 and 13, especially pages 249-250 and pp.297-298.

Kosovo's imposed Consociation.

Krasniqi, Gëzim (2012) 'Overlapping jurisdictions, disputed territory, unsettled state: the perplexing case of citizenship in Kosovo', *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 16, No.3-4, pp.353-366.
Lemay-Hébert, Nicolas (2012) 'Coerced transitions in Timor-Leste and Kosovo: managing competing objectives of institution-building and local empowerment', *Democratization*, Vol. 19, No.3, pp.465-485.
Brosig, Malte (2011) 'The interplay of international institutions in Kosovo between convergence, confusion and niche capabilities', *European Security*, Vol.20, No.2, pp.185-204.
Ker-Lindsay, James (2011) 'Principles and the Partition of Kosovo', *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, Vol. 23, No.2, pp.228-234
Economides, Spyros (2011) 'The making of a failed state: the case of Kosovo', *European View*, 10, pp.195–200
Yannis, Alexandros (2009) 'The politics and geopolitics of the status of Kosovo: the circle is never round', *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 9, No.1-2, pp.161-170.
Dursun-Ozkanca, Oya & Katy Crossley-Frolick (2012) 'Security sector reform in Kosovo: the complex division of labor between the EU and other multilateral institutions in building Kosovo's police force', *European Security*, Vol. 21, No.2, pp.236-256
Clewlow, Ade (2010) *Kosovo's Security Transition: A Critical Study into the Establishment of the Kosovo Security Force*. Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

Deeper Background Reading

- Mertus, Julie (1999) *Kosovo: how myths and truths started a war*. 949.71 MER
Malcolm, Noel (1998) *Kosovo: a short history*. 949.71 MAL
Waller, Michael and Kyril Drezoy (2001) *Kosovo: the politics of delusion*. London. Frank Cass. 949.7103 KOS
Weymouth, Tony (2001) *The Kosovo crisis : the last American war in Europe?* London: Reuters. 949.71 KOS
Tansey, Oisín (2009) 'Independence and Tutelage', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 20, No. 2, April, pp. 153-166.
Hoare, Marko Attila (2008) 'Review Article-The Price of Prejudice: the tradition of western failure in the Balkans', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.24, No.2, pp.310-316.

Week 4/Sept.29th: Nordic Europe: an introduction



The Nordic democracies are among the most successful and distinctive in Europe, and for this reason alone they merit serious study. However, it appears that political developments in Norway, Sweden, Denmark (Scandinavia proper) together with those in Finland and Iceland, suggest such distinctiveness is ending. Firstly traditional Nordic economic management models that were in crisis over the last decade, have been altered and moderated somewhat, yet with continuing notable achievements. There has also been some electoral instability. The once dominant social democratic parties in the region, appear to have suffered serious setbacks in Denmark, Finland and Sweden over various elections (in 2011 they were returned to power in Denmark after a long absence). More surprisingly, the once exceptionally high levels of tolerance and peace in Nordic states, now seem threatened by growing populist and anti-immigrant electoral support. In the realm of foreign policy all states face dramatic challenges, in particular as regards the new neighbouring Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) that were till 1991 part of the old USSR. Continued Swedish and Finnish neutrality as it was understood in the Cold war is now redundant and must be redefined in new ways. Finally the issue of membership of the European Union has proven bitterly divisive in all states, especially Denmark and Norway. Has then politics in the Nordic states, undergone a political transformation? In these lectures we shall focus on the unique five party system structure typically found in these countries and explore in more details two case studies; Iceland as something of an 'odd man out; within the region and how Nordic security policies are in a state of flux and adaptation.

Textbooks/ Introductory reading:

Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London:Pearson. Chapters 9 and 15, especially pages 194 and pp.338-346.

Iceland as a Nordic 'odd man out'.

Thorhallsson, Baldur and Christian Rebhan (2011) 'Iceland's Economic Crash and Integration Takeoff: An End to European Union Scepticism?', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp.53-73.

Hardarson, Ólafur Th. and Gunnar Helgi Kristinsson (2009) 'The parliamentary election in Iceland, April 2009', *Electoral Studies*, Vol.23, No.3, pp. 523-526.

Wade, Robert (2009) 'Iceland as Icarus', *Challenge*, Vol. 52, No. 3, May/June, pp. 5–33.

Bergmann, Eiríkur (2011) *Iceland and the EEA, 1994-2011*. Report No.7. Europautredningen/ Utvalget for utredning av Norges avtaler med EU. Available at: <http://www.europautredningen.no/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Rap7-island.pdf>

Arter, David (1999) *Scandinavian politics today*. Manchester: MUP. 320.948 ART. See especially pages 84-91 and pages 224-230.

Bailes, Alyson JK and Örvar Þ. Rafnsson (2012) 'Iceland and the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy: Challenge or Opportunity?', *Stjórnámál & stjórnsýsla* 1. tbl., 8. árg. 2012 (109-131), Available at: <http://skemman.is/stream/get/1946/12303/30679/1/a.2012.8.1.5.pdf>

Benediktsson, Einar (2011) 'At Crossroads: Iceland's Defense and Security Relations, 1940-2011', Discussion paper available at: <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/index.cfm/articles/Iceland-Defense-and-Security-Relations-1940-2011/2011/8/18>

Nordic Security Policies-continuity and change. Möller, Ulrika and Ulf Bjereld (2010) 'From Nordic neutrals to post-neutral Europeans: Differences in Finnish and Swedish policy transformation', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 45, No.4, pp.363–386.

Lödén, Hans (2012) 'Reaching a vanishing point? Reflections on the future of neutrality norms in Sweden and Finland', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 47, No.2, pp.271–284.

Archer, Clive (2010) 'The Stoltenberg Report and Nordic Security: Big Idea, Small Steps', pp.43- 73 in Hvidt, Nanna and Hans Mouritzen (Eds.) *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2010*. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, DIIS. Available: http://www.diis.dk/graphics/publications/books2010/yb2010/yb2010-danish-foreign-policy-yearbook_web.pdf

Rye Olsen, Gorm (2011) 'How Strong Is Europeanisation, Really? The Danish Defence Administration and the Opt-Out from the European Security and Defence Policy', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol.12, No.1, pp.13-28.

Græger, Nina and Kristin M. Haugevik (2009) *The revival of Atlanticism in NATO? Changing security identities in Britain, Norway and Denmark*. Norway: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). Available at: <http://english.nupi.no/Publikasjoner/Boeker-Rapporter/2009/The-revival-of-Atlanticism-in-NATO-Changing-security-identities-in-Britain-Norway-and-Denmark>

Agius, Christine (2011) *Transformed beyond recognition? The politics of post-neutrality*, *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 46, No.3, pp.370–395

Deeper Background Reading

Einhorn, Eric S. and John Logue. 'Scandinavia', pp.64-81 in Hay, Colin and Anand Menon (eds.) (2007) *European Politics*. Oxford: OUP.

Chapter 7, Elder, N. and L. Miles "The Nordic countries: peripheral Europeans?" in Gowland, D., (et al.) (2000) *The European Mosaic: contemporary politics, economics and culture*. 940.55 EUR.

David Arter. (1999) *Scandinavian politics today*. Manchester: MUP. 320.948 ART.

Sundberg, Jan (1999) 'The enduring Scandinavian party system', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol.22, No.3.

Kautto, Mikko and Jon Kvist (2002) 'Parallel Trends, Persistent Diversity: Nordic Welfare States in the European and Global Context', *Global Social Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp.189-208.

Ryner, J.M. (2007) 'The Nordic Model: Does It Exist? Can It Survive?', *New Political Economy*, Vol.12, No.1, pp.61-70.

Week 5/Oct.6th Norway: the politics and economics of splendid isolation?



In these lectures we extend our focus on Nordic Europe by examining the case of Norway in more detail. Here our interest is more on the politics of economic management and the extent to which Norway is a fascinating case of a small state thriving outside the EU and the Eurozone. Indeed Norway has become something of a poster-boy for many ideological factions within European politics; Euroskeptic and nationalist conservatives see in Norway proof that small European states cannot manage globalization on their own and need not lose their sovereignty to the seemingly all powerful EU. Some voices on the left see Norway as proof that statist control over natural resources (oil, gas, fish) provides a sound basis for more effective and equal patterns of economic and social progress. To what extent are both views simplifications of a more complex and nuanced Norwegian political reality? These lectures explain just how closely Norway is de facto integrated into a wider Europe, and moreover, the more opaque details of statist control over natural resources.

Textbooks/ Introductory reading:

Osterud, Oyvind (2005) 'Introduction: The peculiarities of Norway', *West European Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 705-21.

Norway's opaque integration with a wider Europe.

(2012) *Outside and Inside Norway's agreements with the European Union*. Official Norwegian Reports NOU 2012: 2 Chapter 1. Report by the EEA Review Committee, appointed on 7 January 2010 Submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 17 January 2012. Available at: http://www.regjeringen.no/pages/36798821/PDFS/NOU201220120002000EN_PDFS.pdf

Eliassen, Kjell A. and Nick Sitter (2003) 'Ever Closer Cooperation? The Limits of the 'Norwegian Method' of European Integration', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 125-144.

Egeberg, M., & Trondal, J. (1999). 'Differentiated Integration in Europe: The Case of EEA Country, Norway'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 133-142.

Foss, Torben, Thorolfur Matthiasson and Hanne Ulrichsen (eds) (2003) *Iceland, Norway and the EC Common Fisheries Policy. The potential of the reform - a springboard for Iceland and Norway?* Norsk Utenrikspolitisk Institutt: NUP. Available at: http://www.nupi.no/content/download/7155/76747/version/2/file/CFP+Raport_Tenketank+Europa.pdf

Maggetti, Martino & Fabrizio Gilardi (2011) 'The policy-making structure of European regulatory networks and the domestic adoption of standards', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 18, No. 6, pp. 830-847.

Wegge, Njord (2011) 'Small state, maritime great power? Norway's strategies for influencing the maritime policy of the European Union', *Marine Policy*, Vol. 35, pp. 335-342.

Plus check out: <http://www.eu-norway.org/> which is the website of Norway's official Mission to the EU and has information on the Norway EU and EEA relationships.

Norway as a Petro-State.

Listhaug, Ola (2005) 'Oil wealth dissatisfaction and political trust in Norway: A

resource curse?', *West European Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp.834-52.

Engen, Ole Andreas (2009) 'The Development of the Norwegian petroleum Innovation System: a Historical Overview', pp. 179-206 in Fagerberg, Jan, David Mowery, Bart Verspagen (2009). *Innovation, Path Dependency, and Policy: The Norwegian Case*. Oxford: OUP. 338.06409481 INN

Veggeland, Noralv (2012) 'Regulating Petroleum Industry and Revenues: What Does Norway Get Out of the Petroleum Industry?', *International Journal of Business and Management*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp.64-77.

Cappelen, Ådne and Lars Mjøset (2009) 'Can Norway Be a Role Model for Natural Resource Abundant Countries?' Research Paper No. 2009/23. UNU-WIDER. Available at: http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/working-papers/research-papers/2009/en_GB/rp2009-23/

Boye, François (2011) 'Oil revenues and macroeconomic volatility in Norway', *OPEC Energy Review*, Vol. 35, Issue 4, pp.334-366.

Curtis, Mark (2009) 'Norway's dirty little secrets', *The Guardian*, Thursday 24 September 2009. Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cif-green/2009/sep/24/norway-ethical-oil-environment-arms>

Harbo, Florentina (2008) *The European Gas and Oil Market: The Role of Norway*. Institut Français des Relations Internationales. Available at: www.ifri.org/downloads/harbo_1.pdf

Week 6/Oct. 13th: A Europe of sub-regions or lost nations? An introduction



The primary idiom of much politics throughout Europe since at least the middle of the 19th century has been that of nationalism, notwithstanding the role that socialism and liberalism have also played. Perhaps this is not so strange, given that the European nation state is a comparatively new 'invention' and few European states have a national territory whose population is exclusively 'national'. Indeed many conflicts and controversies inside and between European states in the

1990s seem to be still about competing national identities, disputed boundaries, and calls for regional autonomy or ethnic minority rights. To what extent then can we comparatively explain politics across Europe by looking at this ideology of nationalism? Is it the case that we are seeing in fact the end of the European nation state?

To help answer that question we will examine two conceptual debates and two case studies. The concepts relate to the very meaning and evolution of European nationalism and nation states, and related to this is the distinctive idea of a Europe of the Regions, which refers to the fact that below the existing nation state level, there is a great deal of political activity, identity and demand for autonomy within distinctive regions. Since the 1970s many European nation states have been devolving power from national capitals towards these regional governments. Where is this process heading towards-secession and the creation or new nation states, new quasi-federal types nation states, or some other type of hybrid state and national/regional identities. To answer these questions we look at developments in the Basque region of Spain and Scotland within the UK (for now!).

Textbooks and Introductory Reading

Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London:Pearson. Chapter 7.
Chapter 3 of Sakwa, R and A. Stevens (2000) *Contemporary Europe*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. 940.5 CON.

Chapter 4, Risse, Thomas (2002) "Nationalism and Collective Identities: Europe versus the Nation-State?", in Heywood, Paul and Erik Jones (eds.) (2002) *Developments in West European politics 2*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave. 320.94 DEV.

Chapter 11, Keating, Michael, "Territorial Politics and the New Regionalism" in Heywood, Paul and Erik Jones (eds.) (2002) *Developments in West European politics 2*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave. 320.94 DEV.

The Concept of a Europe of the Regions: redundant or revived?

Keating, Michael (2008) 'A Quarter Century of the Europe of the Regions', *Regional & Federal Studies*, Vol.18, No.5, pp.629-635.

Hepburn, Eve (2008) 'The Rise and Fall of a 'Europe of the Regions'', *Regional & Federal Studies*, Vol.18, No.5, pp.537-555.

Elias, Anwen (2008) 'Introduction: Whatever Happened to the Europe of the Regions?' Revisiting the Regional Dimension of European Politics, *Regional & Federal Studies*, Vol.18, No.5, pp.483-492.

Lecours, André (2012) 'Sub-state Nationalism in the Western World: Explaining Continued Appeal', *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 268-286.

Carter, Caitríona & Romain Pasquier (2010) 'Introduction: Studying Regions as 'Spaces for Politics': Re-thinking Territory and Strategic Action', *Regional & Federal Studies*, Vol. 20, No.3, pp.281-294.

Week 7/Oct. 20th: Regional Autonomies? Scottish And Basque Regional Politics Contrasted.



These lectures examine in detail the Scottish and Basque cases of regional autonomy. By the time we discuss this question Scotland will have voted in its Referendum on Independence! It will be fascinating to see what happens, and what impact the Scottish vote has on Spain where Catalans and Basque look to Scotland for inspiration. At one level both regions have a depth of autonomy that approaches Home Rule. Yet there are still significant demands for still more autonomy and even outright independence or secession. Scotland, now has a regional government dominated by the Scottish National Party, but if the referendum on independence is passed, this will bring to an end the United Kingdom as we know it. In any event, Scotland's *de facto* sovereignty and leadership over very many policy sectors continues to grow. The Basque case is different historically and as regards context; the violent struggle of ETA has no Scottish parallel and the failure to develop a workable peace process such as occurred in Northern Ireland weakens a sense of direction as to where a Basque national project can go. Moreover, Basque nationalism is arguably more complex, nuanced and fractured than even the Scottish case admits. In this light, while regional politics in Europe throws up demands for further autonomy and state reform, the extent to which such a politics is obviously secessionist is far from clear. Instead, the main implication to date appears to be a re-working of

the post-modern European nation state into an even more complex, decentralized, fractured entity with multiple levels of competing and co-operative quasi-federal authority and power sharing.

The Politics of Basque Regional Autonomy

Zabalo, Julen Iñaki Soto & Txoli Mateos (2012) 'The Right to Self-determination and Basque Nationalism: A Polyvalent Debate', *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 11, No.3, pp.318-340.

Molina, Fernando (2010) 'The historical dynamics of ethnic conflicts: confrontational nationalisms, democracy and the Basques in contemporary Spain', *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 16, No.2, pp.240–260.

Leonisio, Rafael (2012) 'Parliament on the Centre-Right, Government on the Left: Explaining Basque Exceptionalism', *Regional & Federal Studies*, Vol. 22, No.1, pp.45-60.

Kennedy, Paul (2012) 'From Unpopular Socialists to the Popular Party: The Spanish General Election of 2011', *West European Politics*, Vol. 35, No.3, pp.673-681.

Argomaniz, Javier (2011) 'Opinion Piece - Electoral Politics and ETA's ceasefire', *Journal of Terrorism Research*, Vol. 2, No.1. Available at: https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~cstpv/jtr/v2i1/jtr_2_1.pdf

Keating, M. and Z. Bray (2006) 'Renegotiating Sovereignty: Basque Nationalism and the Rise and Fall of the Ibarretxe Plan', *Ethnopolitics*, Vol.5, No.4, pp.347-364.

Jiménez Sánchez, José J. (2006) 'Nationalism and the Spanish Dilemma: The Basque Case', *Politics & Policy*, Vol.34, No.3, pp.532–555.

Muro, Diego (2005) 'Nationalism and nostalgia: the case of radical Basque nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 571-589.

Deeper Background Reading

Balfour, Sebastian and Alejandro Quiroga (eds.) (2007) *The reinvention of Spain: nation and identity since democracy*. Oxford: OUP. 946.083 BAL.

Mansvelt-Beck, J (2005) *Territory and terror: conflicting nationalisms in the Basque Country*. 320.5409466.

Douglass, William A. (1999) *Basque politics and nationalism on the eve of the millennium*. Reno: Basque Studies Program, University of Nevada. 320.5409466 BAS

Mees, Ludger (2004) 'Politics, economy, or culture? The rise and development of Basque nationalism in the light of social movement theory', *Theory and Society*, Vol.33, No. 3-4, pp.311-331.

The Politics of Scottish Regional Autonomy

Pittock, Murray (2012) 'Scottish sovereignty and the union of 1707: Then and Now', *National Identities*, Vol. 14, No.1, pp.11-21.

Keating, Michael (2011) Scotland and Independence. The Federal Idea Think Tank. Available at: <http://ideefederale.ca/wp/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Scotland.pdf>

Hassan, Gerry (2011) 'Anatomy of a Scottish Revolution: The Potential of Post-nationalist Scotland and the Future of the United Kingdom', *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 82, No. 3, pp.365-378.

Midwinter, Arthur (2012) 'Fiscal autonomy in Scotland: an assessment and critique', *Public Money & Management*, Vol.32, No.1, pp.49-52.

Docherty, Iain & Ronald MacDonald (2012) 'Debate: Scotland's fiscal options—a response to Midwinter', *Public Money & Management*, Vol.32, No.3, pp.161-163.

Malcolm Chalmers (2012) 'Kingdom's End?', *The RUSI Journal*, Vol. 157, No.3, pp.6-11

Deeper Background Reading

Keating, Michael (2009) *The Independence of Scotland: Self-government and the Shifting Politics of Union*. Oxford: OUP. 320.1509411 KEA

Hassan, Gerry (2009) *The modern SNP from protest to power*. Edinburgh: EUP. Online access through library.

SECTION B-EUROPE'S HIGH POLITICS

Week 9/Nov.3rd: From Common Market to European Consociation?



What can explain the curious and apparently successful impetus towards European integration? States such as Germany and France, once bitter enemies for most of the last century are now strategic partners in the building of a European Union. But does that mean such a project serves mainly their ends, or are the social forces furthering 'ever closer union' actually much more diverse and complex? Moreover can any one nation, or set of nations control and dominate European integration? In these lectures we examine the history of European integration in a more critical and analytical light. We ask a number of questions: was the process dominated by a Franco-German axis that remains dominant today? Was the process inevitable, or rather were their alternative venues and avenues for deep co-operation between European nations after the Second World-War? What lessons can we draw from the early history of European integration for today's era?

Textbooks and Introductory Reading

Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London:Pearson. Chapters 14, especially pages 305-308.

Dinan, Desmond. 'The European Integration Process', pp.151-167 in Hay, Colin and Anand Menon (eds.) (2007) *European Politics*. Oxford: OUP

Dedman, Martin, (1996) *The origins and development of the European Union, 1945-95: a history of European integration*. 341.24209045 DED (especially part 2)

Dinan, Desmond (1999) *Ever Closer Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 341.2422 DIN.

(See chapters 1-7, which provide one of the best succinct histories of the EU process).

Judt, Tony (2005) *Postwar: a History of Europe since 1945*. 940.55 JUD

Chapter 7 of Sakwa, R and A. Stevens (2000) *Contemporary Europe*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. 940.5 CON.

Beeridge, John (2000) "Chapter 4-Composition of an unfinished symphony: the European Union", in Gowland, D., et al. (2000) *The European Mosaic: contemporary politics, economics and culture*. 940.55 EUR

History of European Integration: why, what, who, how, and when?

Loth, Wilfried (2008) "Explaining European Integration: The contribution from Historians", *Journal of*

European Integration History, vol. 14 (2008), number 1, pp.9-26. Available at: http://www.eu-historians.eu/uploads/Dateien/jeih-27-2008_1.pdf

Jones, Erik (2010) 'The Economic Mythology of European Integration', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48. No. 1. pp. 89–109.

Lieshout, Robert H, Mathieu L.L. Segers and Anna M. van der Vleuten (2004) 'De Gaulle, Moravcsik, and the Choice for Europe: soft sources, weak evidence', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol.6, No.4, pp.89-139.

Laurent, Pierre-Henri (1972) 'The Diplomacy of the Rome Treaty, 1956-57', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 7, No. 3-4, pp. 209-220.

Vanke, J. (2001) 'An Impossible Union: Dutch Objections to the Fouchet Plan, 1959-62', *Cold War History*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp.95-112.

Segers, Mathieu (2012) 'Preparing Europe for the Unforeseen, 1958–63. De Gaulle, Monnet, and European Integration beyond the Cold War: From Co-operation to Discord in the Matter of the Future of the EEC', *The International History Review*, Vol. 34, No.2, pp.347-370.

van der Harst, Jan (2011) 'Chapter 7. The European Defence Community and NATO. A Classic Case of Franco-Dutch Controversy', pp.83-94 in Drent, Margriet Arjan van den Assem, Jaap de Wilde (eds.) **Nato's Retirement? Essays in Honour of Peter Volten**. Greenwood Paper 26. Groningen: The Centre of European Security Studies (CESS). Available at: <http://www.cess.org/publications/papers/view/?id=28>

Dietl, R. (2002) 'Une Déception Amoureuse'? Great Britain, the Continent and European Nuclear Cooperation, 1953-57', *Cold War History*, Vol.3, No.1, pp.29-66.

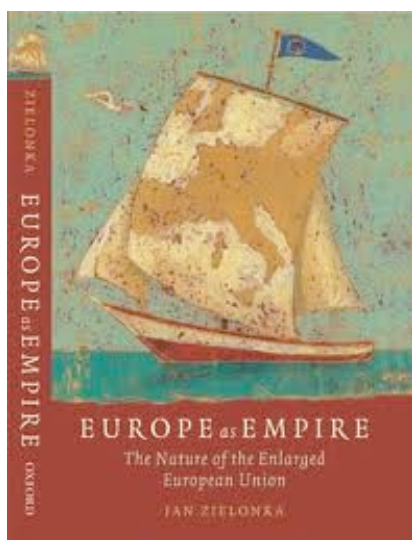
See also: "Johan Willem Beyen: a plan for a common market" http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/founding-fathers/pdf/johan_willem_beyen_en.pdf

Deeper Background Reading

Moravcsik, A. (1998) *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. 341.242 MOR (Chs.1 and 7).

Milward, Alan S. (2000) *The European rescue of the nation-state*. 337.142 MIL

Week 10/Nov. 10th: Towards an EU super-state, empire, stasis or collapse?



The EU is today a complex polity of close to 500 million Europeans and has recently expanded to 27 states in total, including several eastern European and some small Mediterranean states. Croatia will shortly join to become the 28th member state. Between the Single European Act (1987) and the Treaty of Nice (2001) there has been a continual process of rolling negotiations to further this integration, such that some now openly wonder, is Europe heading towards political unification through federation? Perhaps this question has

been in the back of some voters' minds with regard to Danish, Irish, Dutch and French voters' rejections of Treaties for 'more Europe'. Without question the big existential question for the EU is where it may be headed, or what is it to become? Might it be an open ended political process with no necessary end-state predetermined, and therefore not at all obviously a federalist enterprise? What form will or is the EU taking? Should we describe it as a confederation of states or an emerging novel federal super-state? The latter seems to be a popular enough fear, but is it accurate or even credible? For up close, European integration appears a quite fragile entity, if not actually being a case of the 'emperor's new clothes'. Institutionally EU bodies remain small and their budgets puny. Moreover, national differences within the EU political process appear as strong as ever, and it is national elites who seem to mostly control the institutional process in Brussels. Equally integration has suffered upsets and setbacks; poor and declining levels of popular support, and the phenomenon of 'euroscepticism', Successive rejections of referendums on EU treaties, suggest voters will not support indefinitely 'ever closer union', or even perhaps understand what they are being offered. Some academics have then suggested the EU has by default more or less reached a definitive confederal status quo. What are we to make of this grand effort at 'ever closer union' then? Is it a serious and realistic effort at creating a federal united states of Europe, or is it something entirely more modest, but no less significant for that? Given very recent developments which have involved yet another Treaty to ensure Fiscal Stability (or Austerity) and talk of impending Fiscal Union, it is important to consider to what extent is an emerging EU fiscal federalism evident? What are the differences in left-right ideologies of how to manage the Eurozone crisis and what implications do they have for the future? Is EU solidarity a meaningless sound-bite or an emerging norm? This lecture will also introduce students to an unusual academic perspective which interprets the EU as a type of post-modern 'empire' and what this type of perspective might reveal about the EU's limits and potential.

Textbooks and Introductory Reading

Crepez, Markus M.L and Jürg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London: Pearson. Chapter 9, especially pp.191-200.
 Chapters 11 and 21 in Hay, Colin and Anand Menon (eds.) (2007) *European Politics*. Oxford: OUP

The EU as an emerging fiscal federal union-how substantive a claim?

Mourlon-Druol, Emmanuel (2011) *The Euro Crisis A Historical Perspective*. Open Access publications from London School of Economics and Political Science <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/>, London School of Economics and Political Science.
 Chapter 10: the Future of the European Union: Montesquieu Versus Madison", pp.202-223 in Majone, Giandomenico (2005) *Dilemmas of European Integration: The Ambiguities and Pitfalls of Integration by Stealth*. Oxford: OUP.
 Dixon, Hugo (2011) 'Can Europe's Divided House Stand? Separating Fiscal and Monetary Union', *Foreign Affairs*, November-December, Vol.90, No.6, pp.74-82.
 Fuest, Clemens and Andreas Peichl (2012) European Fiscal Union: What Is It? Does It Work? And Are There Really 'No Alternatives?', *CESifo Forum*, Vol.13, No.1, pp.3-9. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/s/ces/ifofofor.html>
 Calmfors, Lars (2012) 'Can the Eurozone Develop into a Well-functioning Fiscal Union?' *CESifo Forum*, Vol.13, No.1, pp.10-17. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/s/ces/ifofofor.html> (see other articles in this special issue).
 Lannoo, Karel (2011) 'EU Federalism in Crisis', *CEPS Policy Brief*, No. 259, October 2011. Available at: www.ceps.eu/ceps/download/6498
 Magali Gravier (2011) 'Empire vs federation: which path for Europe?', *Journal of Political Power*, Vol.4, No.3, pp. 413-431.
 Alexander Nicoll (2011) 'Fiscal Union by Force', *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Vol.53, No.6, pp.17-36.
 Scicluna, Nicole (2012) 'EU Constitutionalism in Flux: Is the Eurozone Crisis Precipitating Centralisation or Diffusion?', *European Law Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 489-503.
 Young, Brigitte and Willi Semmler (2011) 'The European Sovereign Debt Crisis Is Germany to Blame?' *German Politics and Society*, Vol. 29, Issue 97, No. 1, pp.1-24.
 François Heisbourg (2012) 'In the Shadow of the Euro Crisis', *Survival: Global*

Politics and Strategy, Vol. 54, No.4, pp.25-32.

Hix, Simon (2011) 'Where is the EU going? Collapse, fiscal union, a supersized Switzerland or a new democratic politics', *Public Policy Research*, Vol. 18, No.2, pp 81–87.

Hallerberg, Mark (2011) 'Fiscal federalism reforms in the European Union and the Greek crisis', *European Union Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 127-142.

Steve McGiffen (2011): Bloodless Coup d'Etat: The European Union's Response to the Eurozone Crisis, *Socialism and Democracy*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp.25-43

Scharpf, Fritz W. (2011) *Monetary Union, Fiscal Crisis and the Preemption of Democracy*
MPIfG Discussion Paper 11/11, available at: http://www.mpifg.de/pu/mpifg_dp/dp11-11.pdf

Callinicos, Alex (2011) *The Crisis of Our Time*, available at: <http://zcommunications.org/the-crisis-of-our-time-by-alex-callinicos.pdf>.

But also check out the papers at this site: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/euroscope/euroscopeonlinespecialontheeuincrisis>

Especially see the papers by:

Holmes, Peter (2011) *Blundering Slowly to the Wrong Solution for the Wrong Problem*

Jörg Monar (2011)

Literature on Federalism and Confederalism

.Ziblatt, Daniel (2004) 'Rethinking the Origins of Federalism: Puzzle, Theory, and Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Europe', *World Politics*, Vol.57, No. 1, pp.70-98.

Rodden, Jonathan (2004) 'Comparative Federalism and Decentralization: On Meaning and Measurement', *Comparative Politics*, Vol.36, No. 4, pp.481-501.

Milward, Alan S. (2005) 'Review: The European Union as a Superstate', *The International History Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 90-105.

Elazar, Daniel (1998) 'The New Europe: a federal state or a confederation of states?', *Swiss Political Science Review*, Vol.4, No.4, pp.119-138.

Kelemen, R. Daniel (2003) 'The Structure And Dynamics of EU Federalism', *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1/2 , pp.184-208.

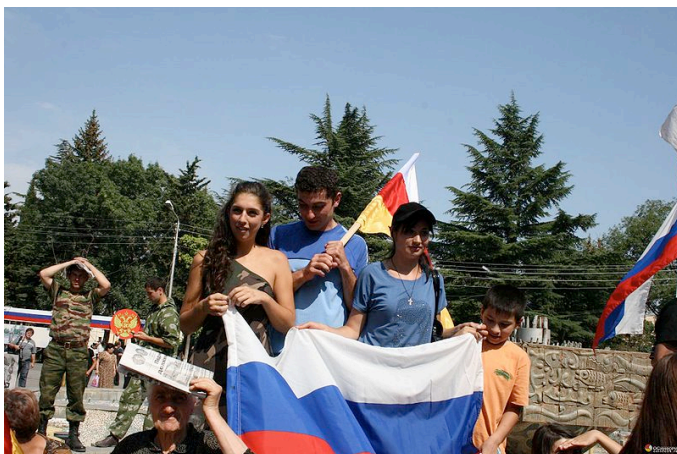
Blankart, Charles E. (2007) 'The European Union: Confederation, federation or association of compound states. A Hayekian approach to the theory of constitutions', *Constitutional Political Economy*, Vol.18, pp.99-106.

Deeper Reading

Chapter 4 and 6 in Chari and Kitinger (2006) *Understanding EU Policy-Making*. London: Pluto.

Chapter 5, F.W. Scharpf (1999) *Governing in Europe: effective and Democratic?* Oxford: OUP. 320.940949 SCH.

Week 11/Nov. 17th: Europe & Russia I



Russia has returned as a central problem in European high politics. This class will be obviously overshadowed by conflict in the Ukraine. There has been for some time a growing pessimism about the

character and content of Russia's foreign policies towards the EU and other European states. First, on at least one occasion, Russian energy companies have, literally, switched off the flow of natural gas to western Europe, raising fears about European energy security. More alarmingly, the Russian government has engaged in sharp rhetoric with those of Poland and especially Estonia, reminding those states of the historic novelty of their current borders, as well as the fact that ethnic Russian communities exist well outside 'mother' Russia. Indeed we will take time in these classes to explore the concept of Russia's 'near abroad', meaning those regions and states where ethnic Russian still reside, but also neighboring states where Russian perceives herself to have critical interests; these include Molodva, Belarus and most important of all, the Ukraine. This perspective is vital for Russians but remains poorly understood by many West Europeans. Indeed, from a Russian perspective much of conflict in Ukraine is about defending ethnic Russians and historic Russian lands from 'foreign aggression'. The cliché of a 'new Cold War' has been widely used, but the recent conflict in the Ukraine now pushes such fears into overdrive. Speculation of open war between Russia, the EU or NATO is bandied about (although Ukraine is a member of neither organisation). It has never mattered more to get it right about understanding Russia. How should we make sense then of Russian foreign policy under the Putin regime? Are we truly facing into another 'Cold War' or something much worse?

Introductory and textbook reading.

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White, Stephen (2007) 'Elite opinion and foreign policy in Post-Communist Russia', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol.8, No.2, pp.147-167.

Deeper Background Reading

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Shirayev, Eric (2010) *Russian government and politics*. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan 2010. 320.947 SHI

Kotz, David M. (2007) *Russia's path from Gorbachev to Putin: the demise of the Soviet system and the new Russia*. 338.947 KOT

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Week 12/Nov.24th

Europe & Russia II (first class)



In this final lecture we examine the extent to which Russia plays a bogeyman role as regards energy policy and the securitization of energy. Again the conflict in the Ukraine raises this issue, begging the question is the fighting really all about energy interests and geopolitics? The EU has scrambled to develop policy leadership on Energy security, yet there is a sense that much of the politics of European energy security is evolving more at the bilateral level. Unquestionably Russia plays a huge role in European energy supplies, but the extent to which Russia possesses or would use a so called 'energy weapon' against other European states is much less clear-cut. Has the agenda of energy security and Russia been over hyped, masking more mundane but no less troublesome feature of European's energy politics?

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Bilgin, Mert (2011) 'Energy security and Russia's gas strategy: The symbiotic relationship between the state and firms', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol.44, pp.119–127.

NOTE SECOND CLASS IS DEVOTED TO EXAM DETAILS AND COURSE REVISION.-ENDS-