



Summer Semester 2017
Brussels Study Abroad Program

CAS IR 415/GRS IR 709

The European Union in the 21st Century: Challenges and Prospects



Tereza Novotná, Ph.D.
Institute for European Studies, Université libre de Bruxelles
Email: Tereza.Novotna@ulb.ac.be
Cell phone: +32-488-998-902 (in case of emergency)
Office hours: after each class and upon appointment

The European Union in the 21st Century: Challenges and Prospects

What is the European Union (EU) and how did it come into existence? How does it work and who runs it? How can we explain it? Given the external challenges in the South and East of the EU's borders as well as numerous crises from within, what are the Union's future prospects? Can it survive as one bloc, and even further enlarge, or will it dissolve after one (or more) EU Member States will secede? What is the EU's global standing and how does the EU conduct its foreign policy? What is the shape and future of the transatlantic relationship?

During eight weeks, the course will focus on these questions and will guide students to provide their own answers. The course will consist of an intensive week before the internship period commences and several weekly sessions during the internship weeks. The course will look at: 1) history and theories of European integration; 2) EU institutions and functioning of the EU; 3) EU foreign policy, enlargement and transatlantic relations; 4) Brexit and other current challenges that the EU faces; 5) questions of European identity, culture, public opinion and future prospects. In addition, the course will include a role-playing exercise in order to give students a flavor of how EU negotiations and relations among EU Member States and institutions work in practice. To make the best use of its location in Brussels, the course will be complemented by several site visits around the Brussels EU quarter and organizations.

COURSE READINGS

Students will have readings assigned from a textbook below. Students are required to prepare and read the selected chapters for each class:

Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán: *European Union Politics, Fifth Edition* (please do not use previous editions!), March 2016, ISBN: 9780198708933

Available as a paperback in BU Bookstore (Barnes & Noble) as well as online at OUP website: <https://global.oup.com/ushe/product/european-union-politics-9780198708933?cc=cz&lang=en&>

or at Amazon:

<https://www.amazon.com/European-Union-Politics-Michelle-Cini/dp/0198708939>

In addition, if students wish to complement their reading with another textbook (which is available as an e-book), they may purchase John McCormick: *European Union Politics, 2nd edition* (please do not use previous editions!), March 2015, ISBN 9781137453402 <https://he.palgrave.com/page/detail/?sf1=barcode&st1=9781137453402>

If requested, the specific chapters that will be required for each session can be provided by the instructor in a scanned version. However, to make the course run more smoothly and be ready from day one, students are encouraged to purchase the textbook in advance before coming to Brussels.

There will be other compulsory texts marked with ** that will be available online or will be provided. In addition, there will be recommended texts listed for each session. Students are encouraged to see these texts; however, they are not required to read them and will not be evaluated on these additional readings.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Each session will involve lecture by the instructor as well as discussion of the topic and readings in a seminar form. Students are expected to come prepared and do all the required readings. Moreover, the course will involve student presentations (see below), a mid-term quiz (see below), a simulation (see below) and final paper (memo; see below).

Class participation (10%)

Attendance is mandatory. If you need to miss a class for religious or medical reasons, please contact me and/or the program supervisor in advance of the session.

Participation includes knowledge and discussion of the required readings as well as current events. Participation credit is given based upon the degree to which a student contributes to discussions in the class and responds to questions. Students who rarely or never speak will receive no participation credit.

Student presentations (20%)

Students will be required to introduce 2-3 EU Member States in 10-15min presentations (i.e. 5min per EU Member State). EU Member States as well as the time slots will be distributed at the beginning of the course. Students may use PowerPoint or other media, but they have to stick to the allotted time. Each presentation should include the basic information about each EU Member State's relationship with the EU (e.g. date of the EU accession, the key policy areas and priorities that the Member State is interested in, the key strengths and weaknesses, redlines, etc.). Grading will be based on the quality and creativity of the presentation and materials.

Midterm quiz (25%)

This quiz will review the material covered in the first intensive week and week 2 (i.e. history, institutions, theories, foreign policy). It will consist of short questions to identify key terms and concepts and will require short answers.

Simulation/a role-playing exercise (20%)

Each student will be assigned a role (an EU Member State or EU institution) earlier in the course. During the week 4, students will be provided with a scenario for the simulation that will take place in the week 7 and which will also represent the situation that the students will discuss in their final papers (see below). Students will be asked to prepare a draft position paper (memo) representing the main issues and interests of the assigned Member State/Institution vis-à-vis the scenario presented. During the simulation, students can draw on these draft memos. The goal of the role playing exercise will be to react to the scenario and come up with a solution within a simulated EU negotiation. Students will be graded on their creativity, but also on their capability to represent the interests of the assigned Member State/Institution and their negotiation skills (and skills to reach a solution if applicable). Students will need to come up with a formal joint statement at the end of the simulation. The student representing an EU institution will be in charge of drafting this statement.

For examples of various Council Conclusions, see:

The European Council conclusions website:

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/european-council/conclusions/>

The Foreign Affairs Council website, e.g.:

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/fac/2017/04/03/>

Final papers (expanded memos) (25%)

Before the role playing exercise, each student will be assigned an EU Member State or EU institution (see above). Students will be asked to prepare a draft position paper representing the main issues and interests of the assigned Member State/Institution vis-à-vis the scenario presented. During the simulation, students can draw on these draft memos. After the simulation, students will have an additional week to revise their initial drafts and expand their position papers (memos) into a research paper that will examine and discuss the situation that was presented in the scenario during the role-playing exercise, will reflect their experience from the simulation and will discuss the ways in which the EU can approach the issue. The paper can be written from a position of a single or more EU Member States, an EU institution or a mixture of these, or from an independent perspective. However, the students should demonstrate their knowledge of how the EU works and how it can solve (or not) a crisis. Students may expand on a solution that emerged at the end of the simulation, or they can propose another solution that did not win the day during the simulation, or they can come up with an entirely new approach. Nevertheless, the paper should always justify why this specific solution is the most appropriate for the situation and how it can be implemented. Students can also propose a series of policy recommendations rather than a single solution.

Students are not required to submit the draft memos (before the simulation), but they can do so if they wish to have a feedback. Nonetheless, students are required to **submit their final papers by July 14th, 2016 at 5pm Brussels time**. If students complete their final papers early, they can hand them in during the last class on July 10th. However, all final papers are due on the date above and must be submitted by email to Tereza.Novotna@ulb.ac.be.

There is no specific structure that these papers should follow. However, make sure that they are 5 to 10 pages long.

ACADEMIC CONDUCT

It is every student's responsibility to read the Boston University statement on plagiarism, which is available in the Academic Conduct Code. Students are advised that the penalty against students on a Boston University program for cheating on examinations or for plagiarism may be "...expulsion from the program or the University or such other penalty as may be recommended by the Committee on Student Academic Conduct, subject to approval by the Dean." You can view the entire Academic Conduct Code here: <http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>

DISABILITY ACCOMMODATION STATEMENT

If you are a student with a disability or believe you might have a disability that requires accommodations, please contact the Office for Disability Services (ODS) at 617-353-3658 to coordinate any reasonable accommodation requests. For more information, please see <http://www.bu.edu/disability>. In accordance with Boston University's Academic Conduct Code (<http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>), any student who is caught giving or receiving assistance on an exam or assignment or copies and restates works and ideas of others in any oral or written work (printed or electronic) without citing the appropriate source will receive an F on that exam or assignment. Avoid plagiarism! Do not quote verbatim from an Italian language text without citing the reference. A first occurrence is discussed with the faculty member, the student(s) in question and the Director of Undergraduate Studies in the Department of Romance Studies. A second occurrence will be referred to the Dean's Office and may result in expulsion from Boston University.

ADDITIONAL SOURCES

Make a good use of your stay in Brussels and sign up for events and conferences held at these (and other) think tanks and organizations. You can also consult their websites for various publications and other sources of information:

CEPS: <https://www.ceps.eu/>

EPC: <http://epc.eu/index.php>

GMF Brussels: <http://www.gmfus.org/topic/european-union>

Carnegie Europe: <http://carnegieeurope.eu/>

EUROPEUM Brussels Office: <http://www.europeum.org/en/brussels-office>

Egmont : <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/>

Bruegel : <http://bruegel.org/>

SWP Brussels : <http://www.swp-berlin.org/en/brussels/about-us.html>

Friends of Europe: <http://www.friendsofeurope.org/>

Europe-Asia Centre: <http://www.eu-asiacentre.eu/index.php>

EIAS: <http://www.eias.org/>

During the course, students are encouraged to follow the latest news from Europe/EU by reading some of these websites and publications:

Politico Europe <http://www.politico.eu>

Euractiv www.euractiv.com

EU observer <http://www.euobserver.com/>

Euronews <http://www.euronews.com/>

BBC online www.bbc.co.uk/europe

Economist Charlemagne blog <http://www.economist.com/blogs/charlemagne>

Financial Times www.ft.com

SAIS Center for Transatlantic Relations 'must read'

<http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/publications/must-reads/today>

Depending on their linguistic skills, students can follow media in other languages than English, such as *F.A.Z.*, *Le Monde* and *El Pais*. The Belgian newspapers (*Le soir*, *L'Echo* and *La libre Belgique*) also often include news from and about Europe/EU. The websites of various EU institutions also provide a large number of useful material, see links below.

INTENSIVE WEEK 1

Monday, May 22nd, 1pm-4:30pm:

Part I: Introduction and Overview of the Course

** Cini et al., *European Union Politics*, pp. 1-7 (chapter 1)

Part II: The Beginnings of European Integration

** Cini et al., *European Union Politics*, pp. 11-29 (chapter 2)

Recommended readings:

McCormick J., *European Union Politics*, pp. 40-56 (chapter 3)

Hoffmann, S., 'Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation State and the Case of Western Europe, *Daedalus*, Vol. 95 no. 3, pp. 862-915

For those interested in a more in-depth historical context of European integration, please read: Desmond Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, 2nd edition (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave/St Martin's Press) (2014).

Tuesday, May 23rd, 1pm-5:30pm:

The Historical Developments of European Integration

** Cini et al., *European Union Politics*, pp. 30-50 (chapter 3)

Recommended readings:

McCormick J., *European Union Politics*, pp. 89-121 (chapters 6-7)

For those interested in a more in-depth historical context of European integration, please read: Desmond Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, 2nd edition (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave/St Martin's Press) (2014).

Wednesday, May 24th, 1pm-6pm: The Key EU Decision-Making Institutions I: The Council and the European Commission

** Cini et al., *European Union Politics*, pp. 123-154 (chapters 9-10)

Please consult the websites of individual EU institutions.

** Council: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/home/>

** European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/index_en

Recommended readings:

McCormick J., *European Union Politics*, pp. 157-191 (chapters 10-11)

Dinan, D., 'Governance and Institutions: Implementing the Lisbon Treaty in the Shadow

of the Euro crisis' *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 49 s1, (2011), pp. 103-121

Dinan, D. 'Governance and Institutions: A More Political Commission', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 54, pp. 101–116 (2016). doi: 10.1111/jcms.12427.

Tommel, I. 'The Presidents of the European Commission: Transactional or Transforming Leaders', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 51 no.4, (2013) pp. 789-805

Thursday, May 25th, 1:30pm-6pm: The Key EU Decision-Making Institutions I: The European Parliament and the Court of Justice of the EU

** Cini et al., *European Union Politics*, pp. 155-178 (chapters 11-12)

Please consult the websites of individual EU institutions.

** European Parliament: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/portal/en>

** Court of Justice of the EU: http://curia.europa.eu/jcms/jcms/j_6/

Recommended readings:

McCormick J., *European Union Politics*, pp. 192-224 (chapters 12-13) + pp. 241-256 (chapter 15)

Dinan, D., 'Governance and Institutions: The Unrelenting Rise of the European Parliament', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 52 No.s 1 (2014), pp. 109-124

Dinan, D. 'Governance and Institutions: the Year of the Spitzenkandidaten', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 53 s1 (2015), pp. 93-107

Friday, May 26th, 1pm-5pm: Other EU Institutions, Bodies and Policies: the European External Action Service and EU Foreign Policy Machinery & European Central Bank

** Cini et al., *European Union Politics*, pp. 241-254 (chapter 17)

Additional required reading:

** Novotna, T., 'Federica Mogherini and Her First Year as HRVP', *Europeum Policy Brief*, December 2015. <http://www.europeum.org/en/articles/detail/152/federica-mogherini-and-her-first-year-as-hrvp>

Please consult the websites of individual EU institutions.

** European External Action Service: http://eeas.europa.eu/index_en.htm

** European Central Bank <https://www.ecb.europa.eu/home/html/index.en.html>

Recommended readings:

McCormick J., *European Union Politics*, pp. 391-401 (chapter 24)

Novotná T., Not a Leap but a Step in the Right Direction: Mogherini's Structural and Personnel Reform of the EU's Diplomatic Service, Brussels Monitor No. 1, Europeum, 22 March 2016 <http://europeum.org/en/articles/detail/566/not-a-leap-but-a-step-in-the-right-direction-mogherini-s-structural-and-personnel-reform-of-the-eu-s-diplomatic-service>

INTERNSHIP WEEKS

Week 2, Monday, May 29th, 1pm-4:30pm: Theorizing the European Integration

** Cini et al., *European Union Politics*, pp. 51-122 (chapters 4-8)

Recommended readings:

McCormick J., *European Union Politics*, pp. 11-39 (chapters 1-2)

Bickerton, C. J, D. Hodson and U. Puetter (2015a), 'The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era', *JCMS Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 53 No. 4, pp. 703-722

Schimmelfenning, F. 'What's the News in "New Intergovernmentalism"? A Critique of Bickerton, Hodson and Puetter', *JCMS*, Vol. 53 No. 4, (2015), pp. 723-730.

Week 3, Monday, June 5th, 1pm-2:30pm:

Midterm Quiz!!

Week 4, Monday, June 12th, 1pm-4:30pm: The EU Facing the Internal and External Crises: Brexit and Other Challenges

** Cini et al., *European Union Politics*, pp. 281-294 (chapter 20) + pp. 365-379 (chapter 26)

Additional required reading:

** Hobolt S. (2016) The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 23, No. 9, pp. 1259-1277

** Oliver, T. (2017) Fifty Shades of Brexit: Britain's EU Referendum and its Implications for Europe and Britain, *The International Spectator*, 52, No. 1, pp. 1-11.

** May T., The government's negotiating objectives for exiting the EU (PM 'Brexit' speech), <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/the-governments-negotiating-objectives-for-exiting-the-eu-pm-speech> and PM's Letter triggering Article 50 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prime-ministers-letter-to-donald-tusk-triggering-article-50>

** EU guidelines following the United Kingdom's notification under Article 50 TEU, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/european-council/2017/04/29/>

Please consult the websites of the Commission's 'Brexit Task Force' and British Government on the latest developments in the Brexit negotiations and DG Home and EEAS on migration crisis. Please follow press and media for latest news on the topics.

** Brexit Task Force: https://ec.europa.eu/info/departments/taskforce-article-50-negotiations-united-kingdom_en

** Brexit Department (British Government): <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-exiting-the-european-union>

** DG Home: <http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/>

** EEAS: https://eeas.europa.eu/csdp-missions-operations/eunavfor-med_en and https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/9880/factsheets-migration_en

Recommended readings:

Dinan D., Nugent N. and W. Paterson (Eds.), *The European Union in Crisis*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2017 (particularly chapter 5 on Brexit, chapter 6 on migration crisis and chapter 12 on 'Grexit')

Brexit

Korski D., Why we lost the Brexit vote: Behind the scenes of the flawed campaign to keep the UK in the EU, *Politico.eu* (20 October 2016), <http://www.politico.eu/article/why-we-lost-the-brexit-vote-former-uk-prime-minister-david-cameron/>

Copsey, N. and T. Haughton, 'Farewell Britannia? "Issue Capture" and the Politics of David Cameron's 2013 EU Referendum Pledge', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52 s1, pp. 74-89 (2014)

Eurocrisis and Grexit

Matthijs, M. and M. Blyth (eds) *The Future of the Euro* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press) (2015)

<https://www.sais-jhu.edu/sites/default/files/Chapter%201%20-%20Introduction.pdf>

Hall, P. 'The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis', *German Politics*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (2012) pp. 355-371

Hodson, D. 'The Eurozone in 2012: 'Whatever It Takes to Preserve the Euro'?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 51 s 2, (2013), pp. 183-200

Marsh, D. 'Faltering Ambitions and Unrequited Hopes: The Battle for the Euro Intensifies', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 49 s1, (2011), pp. 45-55

Migration Crisis

Monar, J. 'Justice and Home Affairs', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 53 no. s1, (2015) pp. 128-143

Monar, J. Justice and Home Affairs. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 54 (2016), pp. 134-149

Week 5, Monday, June 19th, 1pm-4:30pm: Opportunities and Challenges for Transatlantic Relations

** Cini et al., *European Union Politics*, pp. 214-226 (chapter 15)

Additional required reading:

** Hamilton, D., 'Transatlantic Challenges: Ukraine, TTIP and the Struggle to be Strategic', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52 no. s1, (2014) pp. 25-39

** Brattberg E., Lessons for Europe From One Hundred Days of Trump, Carnegie (28 April 2017), <http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/04/28/lessons-for-europe-from-one-hundred-days-of-trump-pub-68807>

** Mogherini F., Remarks by HRVP Federica Mogherini at the public event at the Atlantic Council (13 February 2017), https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/20470/remarks-high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-public-event-conversation-he_fr (video: <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/events/webcasts/a-conversation-with-h-e-federica-mogherini>)

Please consult the website of the EU Delegation to the US which provides useful information on transatlantic relations. In addition, please have a look at DG TRADE and the US Trade Representative websites on TTIP negotiations.

**EU Delegation to Washington: <http://www.euintheus.org/>

**DG TRADE: <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/in-focus/ttip/>

**USTR: <https://ustr.gov/ttip>

Recommended readings:

Novotna T., Will Donald Trump shoot down TTIP or rebrand it as the 'Trump Trade and Investment Partnership'? USApp-The LSE US Centre blog, 20 January 2017, <http://bit.ly/2iYfVzO>
Schmidt V., Britain-out and Trump-in: a discursive institutionalist analysis of the British referendum on the EU and the US presidential election, *Review of International Political Economy*, 24:2 (2017), 248-269

Novotna T., Four Reasons Why TTIP May Fail and Why It Will be Europe's Fault in: *New Challenges, New Voices: Next Generation Viewpoints on Transatlantic Relations*. Tim Oliver (Ed.). Dahrendorf Forum Special Report. LSE IDEAS London, 2016
<http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/New-Challenges,-New-Voices.pdf>

Weeks 6: No EU Course (replaced by Internship Course)

Week 7: Monday July 3rd, 1pm-6pm (!): Role Playing Exercise

Week 8: Monday, July 10th, 1pm-4pm (!): From Populism to European Identity: What Future for the EU?

ATTENTION!! Friday, July 13th at 5pm: the final papers are due!

Final papers can be handed in during the last class on July 10th but must be submitted by email at Tereza.Novotna@ulb.ac.be by Friday, July 13th

** Cini et al., *European Union Politics*, pp. 339-364 (chapters 24-25) + pp. 380-390 (chapter 27)

Additional required reading:

**Schmidt, V. 'Re-Envisaging the European Union: Identity, Democracy and Economy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol 47 s1 (2009), pp. 17-42.

** Moravcsik A., Europe Is Still a Superpower. And it's going to remain one for decades to come. *Foreign Policy* (13 April 2017), <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/13/europe-is-still-a-superpower/>

Recommended readings:

Hooghe. L. and G. Marks, 'A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus', *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 39 no.1, (2009) pp. 1-23

Schmidt, V. 'Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output and "Throughput"', *Political Studies*, vol. 61 no.1 (2013), pp. 2-22

Tsoukalis, L. 'The JCMS Annual Review Lecture: The Shattering of Illusions – And What Next?'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 49 s. 1 (2011), pp. 19-44

Webber, D. 'How likely is it that the European Union will disintegrate? A critical analysis of competing theoretical perspectives', *European Journal of IR* vol. 20 no. 2 (2014), pp.341-365.