



## HS/PO 344 EUROPE: THE DYNAMICS OF INTEGRATION

IES Abroad Freiburg  
European Union Program Syllabus

**SEMESTER:** Spring/Fall

**DESCRIPTION:**

Today's EU is the result of a long development of European integration. The idea itself can be traced back to the 14th century, but only developed political momentum after WW I and was finally put into place after WW II. Keeping the peace and Economic prosperity among European countries were driving factors of the idea from the beginning. The establishment of the EEC in 1957 thus far kept this promise and provided Europe with over 55 years of peace and increasing prosperity, first in the western parts and after 1989 extending it step by step to all of Europe. This course will examine the dynamics of this ever-deeper and wider integration and discuss the idea of a European "Manifest Destiny".

**CREDITS:** 3

**CONTACT HOURS:** 40

**LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION:** English

**INSTRUCTOR:** Thomas Staub

**PREREQUISITES:** At least one course in International Politics OR Post-WWII European History is required

**ADDITIONAL COST:** None

**METHOD OF PRESENTATION:**

Lectures, activities, discussions and short student presentations on the relevant subjects.

**REQUIRED WORK AND FORM OF ASSESSMENT:**

- Midterm Exam - 20%
- Final Exam - 25%
- Essays (2) – 20%
- Presentations (2) – 10%
- Participation in class - 10%
- Homework – 15%

**Course Participation**

Participation grade is not a grade that reflects attendance. It solely reflects a student's activity in the class room, on Moodle and the student's homework as well as group projects. 30% of the participation grade is given after session 10, the reminding participation grade is given after session 20. Participation grades are commented and students are encouraged to discuss these with the instructor. The use of mobile devices (smart devices) during class carry a penalty of up to 30 points on the overall participation grade. The instructor may indicate the use of mobile devices during class for special purposes.

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| <b>A</b> | <b>Excellent participation</b><br>The student's contributions reflect an active reading of the assigned bibliography. Skillfully synthesizes the main ideas of the readings and raises questions about the applications and implications of the material. Demonstrates, through questions and comments, that he or she has been capable of relating the main ideas in the readings to the other information discussed in the course, and with his or her own life experience. The student makes informed judgments about the readings and other ideas discussed in class, providing evidence and reasons. He/she respectfully states his/her reactions about other classmates' opinions, and is capable of contributing to the inquiry spiral with other questions. |
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|          | The student gets fully involved in the completion of the class activities.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <b>B</b> | <b>Very good participation</b><br>The student's contributions show that the assigned materials are usually read. Most of the time the main ideas are identified, even though sometimes it seems that applications and implications of the information read were not properly reflected upon. The student is able to construct over others' contributions, but sometimes seems to interrupt the shared construction to go over tangents. He/she is respectful of others' ideas. Regularly involved in the activities but occasionally loses concentration or energy. |
| <b>C</b> | <b>Regular participation</b><br>The participant evidences a regular reading of the bibliography, but in a superficial way. He/she tries to construct over others' ideas, but commonly provides comments that indicate lack of preparation about the material. Frequently, contributions are shallow or unarticulated with the discussion in hand.                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <b>F</b> | <b>Insufficient participation</b><br>Consistently, the participant reads in a shallow way or does not read at all. Does not participate in an informed way, and shows lack of interest in constructing over others' ideas.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |

### Midterm Exam

The midterm exam is a written test that consists of three parts. First part is a take home essay on a central question (30points), second part are 20 multiple choice questions (40 points) and the final part is a mind map outlining the setup of one specific idea of European integration. The multiple choice questions are based on the assigned reading and the mind map is reflected through the discussed documents.

### Final Exam

The final exam consists of one essay question and ten short answer questions. One mandatory essay question will be on the overall topic of the course and the short answer questions cover the materials discussed in the readings. Focus is the second part of the course.

### Essays

Each student has to write two 5 pages essays (double spaced). One essay is written on one of the documents outlining either a European idea or a politician's vision for the future of the EU. The second essay focuses on the accession of one of the countries joining the EU since 1973. Further detail will be provided in class and on Moodle.

### Homework

Homework is graded at the end of the semester based on two requirements, quantity and quality. First, each student is expected to submit a total of 10 homework items. Second, the instructor will randomly grade three homework items per student (2 reading discussions and 1 assignment). Three parts for quality and one part for quantity will form the homework grade.

### Presentations

For the first presentation, each student has to present one document with significance to European History (list of documents will be provided during the second session).

Each presentation consists of the following parts:

1. Historical context of the document
2. Who is the author?
3. Brief summary of the document
4. Historical significance of the document

The second presentation is a POSTER PRESENTATION outlining the accession process of the country covered by the student in their second essay. Each student is expected to outline the specific challenges faced by both the accession country as well as the EU member states during accession negotiations. A catch-phrase describing the accession process is expected.



For each presentation: The presentation shall not last longer than 5 to 10 min, and an entry of the content in the respective Moodle glossary is required (ppt or picture of poster).

#### **LEARNING OUTCOMES:**

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

- Argue the idea of European integration from its beginnings and the various fields of integration.
- Map out plans for European integration in sketches (institutional architecture)
- Differentiate between deeper and wider integration.
- Distinguish between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism within the European integration context
- Compare various countries with regard to their accession processes into the EU
- Apply the classroom content outside of class during personal and field study travel
- Utilize sources for written assignments

#### **USE OF TECHNOLOGY**

The inappropriate use of technology during class will impact negatively on the overall participation grade. The instructor may indicate the use of mobile devices during class for special purposes.

Cell phones are to be switched off.

#### **ATTENDANCE POLICY:**

All IES courses require attendance and participation. Attendance is mandatory per IES Abroad policy. Any unexcused absence will incur a penalty on your final course grade (1 absence - 1%, 2nd absence -2%, 3rd absence – 3%). Any student who has more than three (3) unexcused absences will receive an “F” as the final grade in the course. Any student who misses more than 25% of a course, whether the absences are excused or are unexcused, will receive an “F” as the final grade in the course. Absences due to sickness, religious observances, and family emergencies may be excusable at the discretion of the Center Director. In the case of an excused absence, it is the student’s responsibility to inform the Academic Dean of the absence with an Official Excused Absence Form, as well as any other relevant documentation (e.g. a doctor’s note), and to keep a record thereof. The absence form must be turned in as soon as possible before the class, in the case of a planned absence, or immediately upon return to the Center, in the case of an unplanned absence, in order for the absence to be considered excused. It is also the student’s responsibility to inform the professor of the missed class. Students can collect and submit the Official Excused Absence Form from the office of the Academic Dean. . Student participation in the meetings of course-related trips are mandatory and not attending the meetings will count as an unexcused absence for respective Integrative Seminar.

#### **ACADEMIC INTEGRITY CODE:**

Regardless of the quality of work, plagiarism is punishable with a ‘failing grade’ in the class. Plagiarism may be broadly defined as “copying of materials from sources, without acknowledging having done so, claiming other’s ideas as one’s own without proper reference to them, and buying materials such as essays/exams.

TESTS, QUIZZES, OR PRESENTATIONS MISSED DURING UNEXCUSED ABSENCES CANNOT BE MADE UP!

ASSIGNMENTS NOT HANDED IN ON THE DUE DATE WILL BE SUBJECT TO A 3% PENALTY PER DAY POST-DUE DATE (with the exception of students who have an excused absence).

#### **IES GUIDELINES FOR VIRTUAL LEARNING AND INSTRUCTION**

Class discussions, both in the classroom and online, may be recorded to provide an educational resource for students in the class. Your instructor will inform you before recording starts. Reasonable requests from students to deactivate their cameras during recording will be considered by instructors. Class recordings will be kept on the Moodle class site and will only be available to students in the class. The recordings will no longer be available to students when the semester ends. Students are prohibited from recording classes or from distributing class recordings. Any recordings made will be used only for educational purposes within the class, unless explicit, written permission has been granted by the students.

**CONTENT:**

| Week                              | Content                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Assignments                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
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| <b>Part I – Ever Deeper Union</b> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>1</b>                          | <b>Introduction: The Quest for a European “Manifest Destiny”</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manifest Destiny</li> <li>• Definitions of Europe</li> <li>• Idea of Europe</li> </ul>                                                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Document</u>: John O’Sullivan: The Great Nation of Futurity (Nov 1839)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>2</b>                          | <b>War, peace treaties and European unity</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace of Westphalia</li> <li>• Congress of Vienna</li> <li>• Treaty of Versailles</li> <li>• The end of WW II</li> <li>• Globalized world 1913</li> </ul>            | <u>Required Reading</u> : Peter Stirk: Integration and Disintegration before 1945, Ch. 1.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>3</b>                          | <b>European Ideas: From 1306 to 1950</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• William Penn and others</li> <li>• Paneuropa-Union</li> <li>• European Federal Union</li> <li>• Wartime ideas</li> <li>• Zurich Speech</li> <li>• Schuman Plan</li> </ul> | <u>Required Reading</u> : Anthony Pagden, The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union, Introduction. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Document I</u>: William Penn: An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe, by the establishment of a European Dyet, Parliament, or Estates (1693)</li> <li>• <u>Document II</u>: European Movement (1923)</li> <li>• <u>Document III</u>: Briand’s plan for a Federal Union (1930)</li> <li>• <u>Document IV</u>: Wartime ideas for integration (1940s)</li> <li>• <u>Document V</u>: The Zurich Speech (1946)</li> <li>• <u>Document VI</u>: The Schuman Plan (1950)</li> </ul> |
| <b>Local Field Trip</b>           | <b>Freiburg: The Austrians, the French and the 2nd Reich</b> <p>Excursion to Freiburg with focus on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vauban fortress</li> <li>• Siegesdenkmal</li> <li>• Quaker Barracks</li> </ul>                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

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| 4 | <b>What kind of Union?</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Theories on European Integration</li> <li>The German Question</li> <li>The Marshall Plan</li> <li>OEEC</li> <li>Treaty of Brussels</li> <li>Council of Europe</li> <li>EUF</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                     | <b>Required Reading:</b> Mark Gilbert, European Integration – A Concise History, Ch. 2, Ideal of European Unity & Ch. 3 (excerpt on German Question)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 5 | <b>Europe of Communities</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>European Coal and Steel Community</li> <li>Western European Union</li> <li>European Economic Community</li> <li>Beyond the EC: EFTA, COMECON, OECD, OSCE, NATO, Warsaw Pact</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                  | <b>Required Reading:</b> Mark Gilbert, Ch. 3, The Europe of the six & Ch. 4 From Messina to Rome <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Document I:</u> Treaty of Paris (1951)</li> <li><u>Document II:</u> Pleven Plan (EDC, 1953)</li> <li><u>Document III:</u> Treaties of Rome (1957)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 6 | <b>Vision of European Unity I – Furthering Integration</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Hague Summit</li> <li>Kohl's Speech</li> <li>Joschka Fischer's Speech</li> <li>Barroso's State of the Union Address (2012)</li> <li>Macron's Speech on new initiative for Europe (2017)</li> <li>Olaf Scholz's Speech 2022</li> <li>French-German Friendship Treaty</li> <li>Charter of Fundamental Rights</li> </ul> | <b>Required Reading:</b> Mark Gilbert, Ch. 5, In the Shadow of the General & Ch. 6, Weathering the Storm <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Document I:</u> The Hague Summit (1969)</li> <li><u>Document II:</u> Chancellor Kohl's Speech (1996)</li> <li><u>Document III:</u> Joschka Fischer's Speech (2000)</li> <li><u>Document IV:</u> Barroso's State of the Union Address (2012)</li> <li><u>Document V:</u> Macron's Speech on new initiative for Europe (2017)</li> <li><u>Document VI:</u> Olaf Scholz's Speech on Europe (2022)</li> <li><u>Document VII:</u> French-German Friendship Treaty (1963)</li> <li><u>Document VIII:</u> Charter of Fundamental Rights (2010)</li> </ul> |
| 7 | <b>Vision of European Unity II – Questioning Integration</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fouchet Plan</li> <li>Empty Chair Crisis / BBQ</li> <li>Stagflation</li> <li>Thatcher's Bruges Speech</li> <li>Cameron's Speech</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                              | <b>Required Reading:</b> Mark Gilbert, Ch. 7, Consolidation and Innovation & Ch. 8, The 1992 Initiative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Document I:</u> Fouchet Plan (1961)</li> <li><u>Document II:</u> Thatcher's Bruges Speech (1988)</li> <li><u>Document III:</u> Cameron's Speech (2013)</li> <li><u>Document IV:</u> Orban's Speech (2017)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

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|                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Orban's Speech</li> <li>Kaczynski's Speech (2021)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Document V</u>: Kaczynski's Speech (2021) in Polish only</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 8                                | <b>Towards Union</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Single European Act</li> <li>Treaty on European Union</li> <li>Amsterdam Treaty</li> <li>Nice Treaty</li> <li>Lisbon Treaty</li> </ul> <b>Essay I due</b>              | <u>Required Reading</u> : Mark Gilbert, Ch. 9, The Maastrich Compromise, Ch. 10, Euphoria? & Ch. 11, The challenge of the political                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 9                                | <b>Midterm Exam</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Part II: Ever wider Union</b> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 10                               | <b>The Question of Enlargement: The struggle for enlargement</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Application Process</li> <li>The first applicants</li> <li>Talks during the 1960s</li> <li>The 1973 enlargement</li> </ul> | <u>Required Reading</u> : Johnny Laursen, The Experience of Enlargement, p. 269 – 290 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Country I</u>: Great Britain</li> <li><u>Country II</u>: Ireland</li> <li><u>Country III</u>: Denmark</li> </ul>                                                                                                      |
| 11                               | <b>Southern and Northern Enlargements</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Greek application</li> <li>Portuguese and Spanish applications</li> <li>Northern enlargement</li> </ul>                                           | <u>Required Reading</u> : Johnny Laursen, The Experience of Enlargement, p. 291 – 304 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Country IV</u>: Greece</li> <li><u>Country V</u>: Spain</li> <li><u>Country VI</u>: Portugal</li> <li><u>Country VII</u>: Austria</li> <li><u>Country VIII</u>: Finland</li> <li><u>Country IX</u>: Sweden</li> </ul> |
| 12                               | <b>Eastern Enlargement: Preparing Enlargement</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>PHARE</li> <li>Copenhagen Criteria</li> </ul>                                                                                             | <u>Required Reading</u> : John O'Brennan, The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, Ch. 2. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Document</u>: Copenhagen declaration</li> <li><u>Country X</u>: Poland</li> <li><u>Country XI</u>: Hungary</li> <li><u>Country XII</u>: Czechia</li> <li><u>Country XIII</u>: Slovakia</li> </ul>           |
| 13                               | <b>Eastern Enlargement: Negotiating Enlargement</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Negotiation Process</li> <li>Eastern Enlargement</li> </ul>                                                                             | <u>Required Reading</u> : John O'Brennan, The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, Ch. 3 and 4. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Country XIV</u>: One Baltic State</li> <li><u>Country XV</u>: Malta</li> <li><u>Country XVI</u>: Cyprus</li> <li><u>Country XVII</u>: Bulgaria</li> </ul>                                             |

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| 14 | <b>Future Enlargements: The Western Balkan</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A short history of the Western Balkan</li> <li>Assessing the situation: When can enlargement be expected</li> <li>Role of current member states in the Western Balkan enlargement</li> </ul> <b>Essay II due</b> | <b>Required Reading:</b> Corina Stratulat, Ioannis Armakolas, James Ker-Lindsay, Rosa Balfour, The National Politics of EU Enlargement in the Western Balkans. London: Routledge. 2019. Introduction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Document</u>: EU Commission Report</li> <li><u>Country XVIII</u>: Slovenia</li> <li><u>Country XIX</u>: Croatia</li> </ul> |
| 15 | <b>Exit Procedure: The case of Brexit</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Exit Procedure: How does Article 50 work?</li> <li>Procedure versus Reality: Is it working?</li> <li>The effects of Brexit on the UK and the EU</li> <li>Who is next?</li> </ul>                                      | <b>Required Reading:</b> Owen Parker, Simon Bulmer, 2021 BREXIT Supplement to Politics in the European Union, 5 <sup>th</sup> Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2021. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Document</u>: Article 50, TFEU and May's Brexit Letter</li> </ul>                                                                                 |
| 16 | <b>EU's Neighborhood Policy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Various levels of Partnership</li> <li>European Economic Area</li> <li>Eastern Neighborhood Policy</li> <li>Union of the Mediterranean</li> <li>Enlargement as a Foreign Policy Instrument</li> </ul>                           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>See Moodle</u></li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 17 | <b>Russia and the EU</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Russia, Ukraine and "Sphere of Influence" - a return of the Russian Empire?</li> <li>Eurasian Union and SCO</li> <li>Alternatives? For whom?</li> </ul>                                                                                | <b>Required Reading:</b> Tatiana Romanova, Maxine David (eds.), The Routledge Handbook of EU-Russia Relations: Structures, Actors, Issues. London: Routledge. 2021. Chapter 1.                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 18 | <b>Conclusion – A European “Manifest Destiny”?</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deeper, wider or less integration? A final assessment</li> <li>Is there a “European Manifest Destiny”?</li> </ul>                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 19 | <b>FINAL EXAM</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

#### COURSE RELATED TRIPS:

- Franco-German History Trip: Alsace, France– 1 day

During the first course related trip you will visit two significant historical and cultural landmarks in Franco-German history. You will have guided tours and learn about how age-old controversies and catastrophes in the heartland of Europe are represented, the role of memorials in constructing a European identity, and the challenges of overcoming centuries of conflict and rivalry.

- Germany in Europe: Then and Now Trip: Berlin, Germany – 5 days

During the course-related trip to Berlin, you will continue to learn about the past and present of German culture, economy and politics of Germany. Historically this capital is a crucial place if one wants to understand the importance

German politics has for the dynamics of European integration. In Berlin you will learn about the fall of the Berlin Wall, the reunification of Europe after the end of the Cold War, the challenges that emerged during the process of post-communist transition and about Germany's hegemonic position within the EU.

- EU Parliament Trip: Strasbourg, France – 1 day

During this one-day trip, which is thematically linked to the EU Institutions trip you will visit the European Parliament in session in Strasbourg, France. There you will attend the parliamentary session and meet a Member of European Parliament who will discuss current events and elaborate on the workings of the European Parliament.

- EU Institutions Trip: Brussels, Belgium and Paris, France – 7 days

This course related trip will take you first to Brussels, the EU's institutional power center. In Brussels you will have the opportunity to meet with not only EU officials but also representatives of national delegations to the EU, think tanks and NGOs, as well as academic experts. The EU institutions you will visit include the European Commission, the Council of the EU and the European Council and you will have a chance to discuss with those actors who draft, shape and finally take decisions in the European Union. You will continue to have first-hand experience of the EU by visiting various agencies, institutions, and museums in Paris, you will meet French academic experts to discuss French culture, economy, politics and society.

- EU Funds in the Region Trip: South Baden, Germany– 1 day

This day trip will start with a meeting where an expert from the region will introduce you to EU's agricultural and structural funds and their implementation with examples from the region. Following the meeting you will visit a family farm that is typical for South Baden.

- EU Member States Trip - 7 days

Students choose 1 out of the three following course related trip options, e.g.:

- 1) Stockholm, Sweden; Warsaw, Poland/Prague, Czechia
- 2) Rome, Italy; Budapest, Hungary
- 3) Athens, Greece; Sofia, Bulgaria/Bucharest, Romania

The destinations may vary according to the topicality and nature of challenges of the EU and its integration process. The member states of the EU are still characterized by different state structures, economic ideologies and cultural identities. This last course-related trip gives you the opportunity to choose between three different trip options. On these trips, you will learn about the current challenges of European integration. Experiencing the particularities and cultural diversity of these societies is essential in order to understand the variation in terms of domestic debates and national preferences when it comes to such important issues like, for instance, immigration, macroeconomic integration as well as European security.

#### REQUIRED READINGS:

- Corina Stratulat, Ioannis Armakolas, James Ker-Lindsay, Rosa Balfour, *The National Politics of EU Enlargement in the Western Balkans*. London: Routledge. 2019.
- Gilbert, Mark. *European Integration: A Concise History*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group 2020<sup>2</sup>.
- Ikonomou, Haakon, Andry, Aurélie and Byberg Rebekka (eds.). *European Enlargement across Rounds and Beyond Borders*. Abingdon: Routledge 2017.
- Laursen, Johnny. "The Enlargement of the European Community, 1950 – 95" In Loth, Wilfried (ed.). *Experiencing Europe: 50 years of European Construction 1957 – 2007*. Baden-Baden: Nomos 2009. P. 269 – 304.
- O'Brennan, John. *The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union*. Abingdon: Routledge 2006.
- Owen Parker, Simon Bulmer, *2021 BREXIT Supplement to Politics in the European Union*, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2021.
- Pagden, Anthony (ed.). *The idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002.
- Stirk, Peter. "Integration and Disintegration before 1945." In Desmond, Dinan (ed.). *Origins and Evolution of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006. P. 31 – 54.
- Tatiana Romanova, Maxine David (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Russia Relations: Structures, Actors, Issues*. London: Routledge. 2021.

#### RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Amato, Giuliano (ed. et al). The history of the European Union: constructing utopia. Oxford: Hart, 2019.
- Anderson, Jeffrey. The Federal Republic at Twenty: Of Blind Spots and Peripheral Visions. In *German Politics and Society*, Issue 95 Vol. 28, No. 2 Summer 2010. P. 17 – 33.
- Austin, Robert. Making and remaking the Balkans: nations and states since 1878. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019.
- Aybak, Tunc. "Russia and Turkey: An Ascendant Strategic Partnership in the Black Sea Neighbourhood." In Henderson, Karen and Weaver, Carol. *The Black Sea Region and EU Policy: The Challenge of Divergent Agendas*. Farnham: Ashgate Publ. 2010. P. 107 – 118.
- Berend, Ivan T. "The History of European Integration: A new perspective." New York: Routledge 2016.
- Bozo, Frédéric and Wenkel, Christian (eds.). *France and the German question, 1945-1990*. New York: Berghahn, 2019.
- Cichocki, Marek. "European Neighbourhood Policy or Neighbourhood Policies?" In Henderson, Karen and Weaver, Carol. *The Black Sea Region and EU Policy: The Challenge of Divergent Agendas*. Farnham: Ashgate Publ. 2010. P. 9 – 28.
- DeBardeleben, Joan (ed.). *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement: Finding a Place for Neighbours*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2008.
- Dedman, Martin. *The Origins and Development of European Union 1945 – 2008*. Abingdon: Routledge 2010 (2nd edition).
- Dinan, Desmond. *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publ. 2004.
- Edward Lucas. *The New Cold War. The Future of Russia and the Threat to the West*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2008.
- Elvert, Jürgen. "A fool's game or a comedy of errors?" In Kaiser, Wolfram and Elvert, Jürgen (eds.). *European Union Enlargement: A comparative History*. London: Routledge 2005. P. 189 – 208.
- Faraldo, José, Gulinska-Jurgiel, Paulina and Domnitz, Christian (eds.). *Europe in the Eastern Bloc: Imaginations and Discourses (1945 – 1991)*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag 2008.
- Galpin, Charlotte. *The Euro crisis and European identities: political and media discourse in Germany, Ireland and Poland*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Griller, Stefan and Ziller, Jacques (eds.). *The Lisbon Treaty. EU Constitutionalism without a Constitutional Treaty?* Wien: Springer Verlag 2008.
- Heisenberg, Dorothee. "From the Single Market to the Single Currency." In Desmond, Dinan (ed.). *Origins and Evolution of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006. P. 233 – 252.
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