

Integration of Central and Eastern Europe into European Union and NATO

Syllabus

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I. Course outline

For most countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the integration to European Union and NATO (or the so called Euro-Atlantic structures) represented the foremost foreign policy goals since their emergence as independent, democratic and reforming states. At the same time, the perspective of membership, particularly in the EU, posed enormous challenges as to internal political, economic and social adaptation.

The course will intend to look broadly at the issues and challenges facing the countries of the region of Central and Eastern Europe on their way to the membership in both organizations, with a particular emphasis on the Czech Republic as a case study. It will give an overview of the accession processes, taking into account both the political dynamics of internal EU and NATO developments as well as problems arising from the internal developments in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It will tackle broad political issues at stake in connection with the accession, economic issues, and issues of international relations. The course will also aim at giving a comparative perspective of this phenomenon, comparing the positions and particularities of the individual countries.

Finally, the course will provide an overview of the countries' activities since their accession to the EU and NATO. Attention will be paid to how political positions have been evolving as a result of membership and, conversely, whether and how the arrival of new CEE member states has shifted the internal balance and politics of both organizations as a whole.

II. Requirements and assessment

Students are expected to participate actively in classes and discussions with knowledge of the assigned readings, as this will contribute to their final marks. During the semester each student will be required to give two 20-minute in-class presentations on topics related to the respective class. Most importantly, during the course students will write a final paper in the form of a structured and well-argued essay in the length of 3000 words. The overall mark will be calculated as follows:

1. Quality participation in classes – 20%
2. Individual presentation (with an opponent) – 30%
3. Final paper – 50%

III. Course policies

During the course, questions, comments and discussions will always be welcome (even if contradicting the tutor's opinions!). Participation in each and every class is not required, but missing over $\frac{1}{4}$ of them will impair the participation mark.

IV. Course structure

Bloc A: Principles and Architecture of the European Union and NATO

- Week 1: Introduction to the course: significance and principles of EU and NATO
- Week 2: Major institutions of EU and NATO, CEE representation
- Week 3: Behind the scenes: internal mechanisms, levels of governance, budget

Bloc B: From Paris/Washington to Lisbon/Strasbourg — History and Evolution

- Week 4: Origins of European & Transatlantic ideas, early developments
- Week 5: EC enlargements, creating of the EU and deeper integration
- Week 6: NATO expansion, post-Cold War transformation and reorientation
- Week 7: Way into EU/NATO: Cooperation and transition, accession process, negotiations

Bloc C: Europe's Functioning—Implications for the Central and Eastern Europe

- Week 8: Laws & legislation: typology/applicability/enforceability; justice & home affairs
- Week 9: European economy: single market, four freedoms, Euro-zone, policies
- Week 10: Europe in the world: EU CFSP, trade, aid, missions, other policies
- Week 11: Security in Europe: NATO-EU interaction, role of USA, missile defense
- Week 12: CEE roles in EU and NATO (small & big states, groups, presidency)

Week 13: Major current issues in Europe, topics of students' choice, wrap-up

V. Course readings

For every class, students will be required to read pieces of academic text (one or two chapters or papers) and make themselves acquainted with relevant documents or resources. Reading will—only as far as possible—be comprised in easily accessible readers (study packs) or based on books available from the AAU or the IIR library. Some documents and resources are downloadable or accessible online.

A. Books:

Students are recommended to get hold of a copy of the following book as they will find information from it very useful throughout the course. This book cannot substitute the week-by-week readings as indicated below but it provides substantial insight into the examined subject.

Schimmelfennig F., J. P. Olsen and A. Llesdal (eds.). *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

B. Online resources:

- Overarching websites:
 - o European Union: http://europa.eu/index_en.htm
 - o NATO <http://www.nato.int/>
- Reference
 - o European Parliament fact sheets (a comprehensive and authoritative official resource on the European Union, available online and printed)
Online version: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/facts/default_en.htm
 - o European treaties: http://europa.eu/abc/treaties/index_en.htm
 - o Central gateway to EU documents: http://europa.eu/documents/index_en.htm

- EU glossary: http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/index_en.htm
- NATO documents: <http://www.nato.int/docu/>
- European News
 - Online only: EurActiv (<http://euractiv.com>), EU Observer (<http://euobserver.com>), EUBusiness (<http://www.eubusiness.com>)
 - Printed and online: European Voice (<http://www.europeanvoice.com>), The Parliament (<http://www.eupolitix.com>)
- Selected European think-tanks
 - CZ: Institute of International Relations (<http://www.iir.cz/display.asp?lng=uk>), Association for International Affairs (<http://www.amo.cz/?lang=en>), Europeum (<http://www.europeum.org/index.php?&lang=en>), Prague Security Studies Institute (<http://www.pssi.cz/>), CESES (<http://www.ceses.cuni.cz/CESESENG-1.html>),
 - SK: Slovak Foreign Policy Association (<http://www.sfpa.sk/en/>)
 - PL: Center for Eastern Studies (<http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/eindex.htm>), Center for International Relations (<http://www.csm.org.pl/?l=en>)
 - EUR: European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR, www.ecfr.eu), Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS, <http://ceps.eu>), European Policy Centre (EPC, www.epc.eu), Brussels European and Global Economic Laboratory (BRUEGEL, www.bruegel.org), Centre for New Europe (CNE, www.cne.org), EUmap.org - Monitoring human rights and the rule of law in Europe (<http://www.eumap.org>)

C. Readings and resources by week:

Reading and resources considered required are marked by a dot, other materials with a dash. Reading lists for the individual weeks may be slightly changed or complemented during the course.

Chapters from Pinder & Usherwood, Bomberg (ed.) and McCormick, as well as (to be added shortly) O'Brennan & Cox, Albi and Howorth are available as PDF files for download from <http://www.snaidauf.info/public/aau/1/> (for full bibliographical data on these books see section D). Other readings are available online or contain a hint indicating how to access the source. Furthermore, by decision of the school, the readings may be compiled into readers and printed.

Week 1: Introduction to the course: significance and principles of EU and NATO

- Ash, Timothy G., "Today's European Union is 27 states in search of a story", The Guardian, 4 January 2007, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/story/0,,1982467,00.html> (PLEASE READ THIS FOR THE 1ST CLASS TO HAVE A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION)
- Otto von Habsburg on the Meaning of Europe (video): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EaCG0GBpE30>

Week 2: Major institutions of EU and NATO, CEE representation

- Bomberg (ed.), chapter 3: The EU's Institutions.
- McCormick, chapter 4: The Institutions of the EU.
- Institutions (europa.eu): http://europa.eu/institutions/index_en.htm
- Websites of the institutions

Week 3: Behind the scenes: internal mechanisms, levels of governance, budget

- Pinder & Usherwood, chapter 3: How the EU is governed.
- EU budget (europa.eu): http://ec.europa.eu/budget/index_en.htm
- Bomberg (ed.), chapter 4: Member States.
- McCormick, chapter 6: The EU and its citizens.
- Pinder & Usherwood, chapter 5: Agriculture, regions, budget.
- Protocol on the role of national parliaments (Treaty of Amsterdam)
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11997D/htm/11997D.html#0113010016>
- Protocol on the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality (Treaty of Amsterdam)
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11997D/htm/11997D.html#0105010010>

Week 4: Origins of European & Transatlantic ideas, early developments

- McCormick, chapter 2: The Idea of Europe.
- Pinder & Usherwood, chapter 2: How the EU was made.
- Pioneers of European Unity, <http://www.historiasiglo20.org/pioneers/> (see Aristide Briand, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, Jean Monnet)
- The North Atlantic Treaty (Article 5)
<http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/treaty.htm>
- Asmus, R. D. *Rebuilding the Atlantic Alliance*. Foreign Affairs, September/October 2003. <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20030901faessay82502/ronald-d-asmus/rebuilding-the-atlantic-alliance.html>
- Welcome to NATO. <http://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html>

Week 5: EC enlargements, creating of the EU and deeper integration

- McCormick, chapter 3: The Evolution of the EU.
- Bomberg (ed.), chapter 2: How did we get here?
- History (europa.eu): http://europa.eu/abc/history/index_en.htm
- Edward Heath on UK's accession to EEC
<http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/audio/discours/heath.mp3>
- University of Essex, *EU Enlargement* (presentation)
<http://courses.essex.ac.uk/gv/gv373/Lecture-20.ppt>
- *A Shift in Europe's Political Cultures?*, Euractiv.com, 6 July 2004.
- OECD, *EU Enlargement* http://www.oecd.org/document/43/0,3343,en_33638100_34612999_34898091_1_1_1_1,00.html
- Kurpas, S. *The Treaty of Lisbon – How much 'Constitution is left?* CEPS Policy Brief, 2007. http://shop.ceps.eu/downloadfree.php?item_id=1568

Week 6: NATO expansion, post-Cold War transformation and reorientation

- Albi: Membership of NATO and other international organizations, pp. 163-169.
- Howorth, chapter 9: Dilemmas of NATO Enlargement, pp. 181-202.
- Bugajski, J. *The Eastern Dimension of America's New European Allies*. Strategic Studies Institute, 2007.
<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB813.pdf>
- Howorth, chapter 1: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy, pp. 3-24.
- Asmus, R. D. *Europe's Eastern Promise: Rethinking NATO and EU Enlargement*. Foreign Affairs, January/February 2008.

Week 7: Way into EU/NATO: Cooperation and transition, accession process, negotiations

- Albi: Overview of the accession process, pp. 5-8.
- O'Brennan & Cox: The unfolding of eastern enlargement 1989-2004, pp. 11-52.
- Presidency conclusions, Copenhagen European Council 1993, section 7
<http://www.infoeuropa.ro/docs/copenhagen.pdf>
- Partnership for the accession of the Czech Republic (europa.eu)
<http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/e40107.htm>
- European Commission white paper: Preparation of the Associated Countries of Central and Eastern Europe for Integration into the Internal Market of the Union
http://aei.pitt.edu/1120/01/east_enlarg_wp_COM_95_163.pdf
- Center for Regional Development of the Czech Republic: Pre-Accession Programmes
<http://www.crr.cz/index.php?lset=199>

Week 8: Laws & legislation: typology/applicability/enforceability; justice & home affairs

- Brief factsheets:
 - Overview: European Union law <http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/OS/OS6.htm>
 - The direct effect of Community law and its primacy
<http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/114547.htm>
<http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/114548.htm>
 - Typology of legal instruments: <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/s90003.htm>
(see sections "Regulations", "Decisions" & "Directives")
 - Eur-Lex – process and players (includes process diagrams):
http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/droit_communautaire/droit_communautaire.htm
- Pinder & Usherwood, chapter 7: 'An Area of Freedom, Security and Justice'
- Summary of legislation (europa.eu): http://europa.eu/scadplus/scad_en.htm
- Area of freedom, security and justice (europa.eu)
http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/intro/fsj_intro_en.htm

Week 9: European economy: single market, four freedoms, Euro-zone, policies

- Bomberg (ed.), chapter 6: Economic and Related Policies.
- O'Brennan & Cox: Economic explanations of eastern enlargement, pp.132-152.
- Pinder & Usherwood, chapter 4: Single Market, Single Currency.
- EU policies (europa.eu): http://europa.eu/pol/index_en.htm
- Svejnar, J. *Czech Republic and Economic Transition in Eastern Europe*. Elsevier Science & Technology Book, 1995. Chapter 1: Introduction and Overview.
- Communication of the European Commission: A single market for 21st century Europe
http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2007/com2007_0724en01.pdf
- Faucompret, E., J. Konings and H. Vandenbussche. *The Integration of Central and Eastern Europe in the European Union: Trade and Labour Market Adjustment*. LICOS - Centre for Transition Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1998.
<http://www.econ.kuleuven.ac.be/licos/DP/DP1998/DP75%201998.pdf>

Week 10: Europe in the world: EU CFSP, trade, aid, missions, other policies

- Pinder & Usherwood, chapters 9-10: The EU and Europe; The EU and the World
- Annual report from the EU Council to the European Parliament on the main aspects and basic choices of the Common Foreign And Security Policy – 2007 (see

introductory remarks)

http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/EN_PESC.pdf

- *Values in European foreign policy*. EurActiv.com, 27 February 2005. <http://www.euractiv.com/en/opinion/values-european-foreign-policy/article-135957>
- EU in the world (europa.eu): http://ec.europa.eu/world/index_en.htm
- Factsheet: Common Foreign & Security Policy <http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/download/EX.3.CFSP.pdf>

Week 11: Security in Europe: NATO-EU interaction, role of USA, missile defense

- Bomberg (ed.), chapter 7: A Secure Europe?
- A Secure Europe in a Better World (European security strategy) <http://consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>
- Factsheet: European Security and Defense Policy <http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/download/EX.4.ESDP.pdf>
- *Future of anti-missile system hinges on Iran, says Hillary Clinton after talks with Czech counterpart*. Czech Radio, Radio Praha, 11 February 2009. <http://www.radio.cz/en/article/113154>
- Owen, H. and E. C. Meyer. *Central European Security*. Foreign Affairs, Summer 1989. <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19890601faessay5958/henry-owen-edward-c-meyer/central-european-security.html>

Week 12: CEE roles in EU and NATO (small & big states, groups, presidency)

- Visegrád Declaration of 2004 <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/download.php?ctag=download&docID=35>
- *Large and small Member States in the European Union: reinventing the balance*. Euractiv 19 May 2003. <http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/large-small-member-states-european-union-reinventing-balance/article-117682>
- Work Programme of the Czech EU Presidency (see the section on priorities, pp. v-viii) <http://www.eu2009.cz/scripts/file.php?id=6226&down=yes>
- *Is the Czech Republic the new "bad-boy" of the European Union?* Czech Radio, 25 May 2008. <http://www.radio.cz/en/article/102265>
- Vondra, A. *Foreign policy priorities of the CZ PRES*. Speech, 17 December 2008. <http://www.vlada.cz/en/evropske-zalezitosti/projevy/club-grande-europe--foreign-policy-priorities-of-the-cz-pres--remarks-by-alexandr-vondra-47265/>

Week 13: Major current issues in Europe, topics of students' choice, wrap-up

- Pinder & Usherwood, chapter 11: Much accomplished ... but what next?
- Bomberg (ed.), chapters 8,10: EU as a Global Actor; Constitutionalism and Democracy
- "Enlargement myths" (europa.eu): http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/questions_and_answers/myths_en.htm
- Social agenda: Opportunities, access and solidarity: towards a new social vision for 21st century Europe (communication of the European Commission) http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2007/com2007_0726en01.pdf
- Hamilton, D. et alia. *Alliance Reborn: An Atlantic Compact for the 21st Century*. US Atlantic Council, CSIS et al., February 2009. http://www.iris-france.org/docs/pdf/up_docs_bdd/20090203-182037.pdf

D. Recommended reading

1: European Union

- Baldwin, R. *The Economics of European Integration*, Second Edition McGraw-Hill/Irwin, 2006.
- Bomberg, E. (ed.). *The European Union: How Does it Work?* Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Brent, F. N. and A. Stubb. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, Third Edition. Lynne Rienner, 2003.
- Hix, S. *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Howorth, J. *Security and defence policy in the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- McCormick, J. *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Pinder, J. & S. Usherwood. *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Smith, M.E. *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: the institutionalization of cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Stirk, Peter M.R. and David Weigall (eds.). *The Origins and Development of European Integration. A Reader and Commentary*. London 1999.
- Wallace, H. and W. Wallace (eds.). *Policy-making in the European Union*, Oxford 2000.

2: EU Enlargement

- Albi, A. *EU Enlargement and the Constitutions of Central and Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Cremona, M. (ed.). *The Enlargement of the European Union*. Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Gabrisch H. & Rudiger Pohl. *EU Enlargement and Its Macroeconomic Effects in Eastern Europe: Currencies, Prices, Investment and Competitiveness*. Palgrave Macmillan, 1995.
- Mayhew, A. *Recreating Europe: The European Union's Policy Towards Central and Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Pridham, G. *Designing Democracy: EU Enlargement and Regime Change in Post-Communist Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Pusca, A. *European Union: Challenges and Promises of a New Enlargement*. International Debate Education Association, 2004.
- O'Brennan, J. and P. Cox. *The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union*. Taylor & Francis, 2006.
- Poole, P. A. *Europe Unites: The EU's Eastern Enlargement*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003.
- Schimmefennig F., J. P. Olsen & A. F. Llesdal (eds.). *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Sedelmeier, U. *Constructing the Path to Eastern Enlargement: The Uneven Policy Impact of EU Identity*. Manchester University Press, 2006.

3: NATO and international organizations

- Howorth, J. and J. T. Keeler (eds.). *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy*. MPS, 2004.
- Linden, R. H. (ed.). *Norms and Nannies: The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and Eastern European States*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002.

- Michta, A. A. *The Limits of Alliance: The U.S., NATO, and the EU in North and Central Europe*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2006.
- Szayna, T. S. *NATO's Further Enlargement*. RAND Corporation, 2001.
- Wade, J. *The Enlargement of the European Union and NATO: Ordering from the menu in Central Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

E. Additional reading:

- Bigo, D. Internal and External Aspects of Security. *European Security*, Vol. 15, No. 4.
- Carmin, J. and S. D. VanDeVeer. *EU Enlargement and the Environment: Institutional Change and Environmental Policy in Central and Eastern Europe*. Taylor & Francis, 2004.
- Dabrowski, M. P. and J. Rostowski. *The Eastern Enlargement of the EU*. Springer-Verlag New York, 2007.
- Duchene, F. *Jean Monnet. The First Statesman of Interdependence*. New York 1994.
- European Commission. *The Internal Market - Ten Years without Frontiers*. European Commission, 2003.
http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/10years/docs/workingdoc/workingdoc_en.pdf
- Everts, S. (et al.). *A European Way of War*. London: CER, 2004.
- Gardner, H. (ed.). *NATO and the European Union: new world, new Europe, new threats*. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.
- Gerbet, P. *La construction de l'Europe*. Paris 2007.
- Gillingham, J. *European Integration, 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy*. Cambridge 2003.
- Hughes, J., C. Gordon and G. Sasse. *Europeanization and Regionalisation in the EU's Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Kurpas, S. et al. *The Treaty of Lisbon: Implementing the Institutional Innovations*. CEPS, EPC & Egmont, 2007. http://shop.ceps.be/downloadfree.php?item_id=1554
- Machlup, F. *A History of Thought on Economic Integration*. London 1977.
- Milward, A. *The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-1951*. London 1984.
- Nugent, N. *The Government and Politics of the European Community*. Duke University Press, 1989.
- Pelkmans, J. *European Integration. Methods and Economic Analysis*. Financial Times, Prentice Hall, last edition, Part 2.
- Rifkin, J. *The European Dream*. Polity Press, 2004.
- Rosamond, B. *Theories of European Integration*. New York 2000.
- Sandholtz, W. and A. Stone (eds.). *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. Oxford 1998.
- Smith, H. *European Union Foreign Policy: What it is and What it Does*. London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2002.
- Spinelli, A. *The Eurocrats. Conflict and Crisis in the European Community*. Baltimore 1966.
- Stirk, Peter M.R. *A History of European Integration since 1914*. London 1996.
- Urwin, D. *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration Since 1945*. London 1995 (2nd edition).