**The Crisis of Europe - Spring 2019**

**EURO-UA\_983\_1\_002**

Meeting Times: Wednesdays 2-4:30PM

Office Hours: Wednesdays 10-12 and by appointment

Instructor: Hadas Aron

**Course Description**

In the past decade the countries of Europe, and the European Union as an organization, have been facing multiple challenges. The 2008 financial crisis hit multiple countries and generated a crisis in the shared Eurozone; Euroscepticism has given rise to populist movements throughout the continent; waves of migration were met with struggle and backlash; Western European countries have been threatened by terror; Russia is increasingly aggressive; and recently the US is increasingly indifferent and even hostile toward its European allies.

In this course we will attempt to evaluate the following questions: Do these challenges amount to a crisis? Is the integrity of the EU in danger? What can be done to face these multiple challenges?

The course explores the dimensions of the European crisis: sovereignty, democracy, economy, security, and culture. We will explore these questions in the EU, in its relationships, and in key individual cases such as Britain, Germany, Greece, Poland, and Hungary.

## Learning Goals

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

* Identify concepts learned in class - such as sovereignty, democracy, security, integration, populism - and the way they apply in the European context
* Engage in debate over the large questions Europe is currently facing: democracy, sovereignty, security, economy, and identity.
* Understand in-depth the history and politics of crisis processes in the main case studies presented in class: the UK, Germany, Greece, and Central- Eastern Europe.
* Critically evaluate contemporary events in Europe.
* Develop original arguments on contemporary events in Europe.

## Course Requirements

This course is a weekly seminar with an emphasis on discussion and writing. Attendance in class is mandatory. The students are responsible to complete the required readings and be prepared to discuss them in class.

* **Attendance in class, participation, readings (10%)**
* **Three** **Short Response Papers** 2 page papers that makes an argument in response to the reading questions in the syllabus. Paper should address the question using the reading materials for that week. A paper will be submitted *before* class discussion on the readings (for example a paper on Brexit will be submitted by 2PM on Wednesday April 10). You may submit a paper on weeks of your choosing as long as the first paper is submitted by February 27, the second by April 3; and the third by May 1.

To reiterate: the first response paper is due in class by February 27; The second response paper is due in class by April 3; The third response paper is due in class by May 1. **(20%)**

* **Collaborative Assignment**: Each group of students will be assigned an action taken in Europe. The students will present arguments for and against the action in class. For example: NATO expansion to Eastern Europe and the Baltics; The formation of the Eurozone. etc. The students will meet the instructor a week before their scheduled presentation to discuss resources and strategies for the assignment. The debate style presentations will be held in class on weeks 5-9 of the course. **(10%)**
* Two pages long **Project Proposal** that describes the student's research topic and the question they aim to explore, and identify potential sources they could use in answering that question. The Proposal is due in class on March 6. We will have individual meetings to discuss the project. **(10%)**
* 10 minute **presentation** of the research paper's topic. Presentations will take place on weeks 10-14 as necessary according to number of students in the class. Most of week 14 will be dedicated to presentations. **(15%)**
* **Final Paper**: A 15 page research paper. The paper will give students an opportunity to use the knowledge acquired in the course for the analysis of a case study of their choice. Students will choose a European country that was not discussed in depth in class. Students will form an original argument about the way European crisis processes played out in their country of choice **(35%)**

## Course Policies

**1. Academic integrity:** Intellectual integrity is the university’s most fundamental commitment. Plagiarism will be penalized to the fullest extent, without warning or exception. If you have any questions about documentation requirements, ask your instructor. For further information on NYU’s plagiarism policy, see: http://cas.nyu.edu/page/ug.academicintegrity

**2. Attendance:** You are permitted one absence from class without consultation; a second absence requires advance notice or a valid excuse, and might nevertheless be reflected in your grade; three absences will inevitably and substantially be reflected in your grade; no student with four absences will pass the course.This policy takes effect from the first meeting, regardless of when you begin attending the course; if you don’t enroll until the second week, you have used your one permitted absence. There are no make-up assignments in place of attendance.

**3. Laptops and Cell Phones:**  The use of cell phones during class is prohibited. Please use your laptop for class related purposes only**.**

**4. Writing:** Papers should be double-spaced, with one-inch margins and numbered pages, and submitted in a hard and/or electronic copies. All late papers are penalized at the rate of one grade per day: a B+ paper, for instance, submitted a day after it was due will receive a C+. A paper that is more than 72 hours late will receive an F.

**5. Religious holidays:** NYU works with students who miss class due to religious holidays. In order to receive this accommodation, please notify your recitation instructor during the first two weeks of the semester of upcoming absences. For details on NYU’s policy, see:

http://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance/policies-and-guidelines/university-calendar-policy-on-religious-holidays.html

**6. Students with disabilities:** To receive accommodations due to disability, students must be registered with the Moses Center; please present that registration to your recitation instructor no later than the second recitation meeting. Further information about the Moses Center can be found at www.ndyu.edu/csd.

**Class Overview**

**Week 1 January 30**

**Introduction: Where is Europe today? Will the current European order survive?**

Readings (21pp)

* Schmidt, V. A. (2017). Where is the European Union today? Will it survive? Can it thrive? Perspectives on Politics, 15(2), 495–502.8 pp
* Ash, Timothy Garton. “The Crisis of Europe: How the Union Came Together and Why It’s Falling Apart.” Foreign Affairs, 2012, 2–15.

**Week 2 February 6**

**Basic Concepts - Democracy, Sovereignty, State, Federalism**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* What is a nation state? In what way is Europe a group of nation states and in what way is it a supranational organization?

Readings (65 pp)

* Dahl, R. A. (1973). Polyarchy: Participation and opposition. Yale University Press. pp. 1-11
* Mann, M. (1993). “Nation-States in Europe and Other Continents: Diversifying, Developing, Not Dying,” Daedalus, Vol. 122, No. 3, Reconstructing Nations and States. pp.115-140
* Tilly, Charles. “Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990,” 1990.pp. 45-53; 67-95

**Week 3 February 13**

**The Liberal Order after WWII - Democracy, Economic Growth, and Security**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* What were the main characteristics of the liberal order formed after WWII? What was the logic behind these characteristics?
* What explains the post war consensus in Europe? What were the advantages of this consensus? What could be its disadvantages?

Readings (74pp)

* Ikenberry, G. J. (2011). Liberal Leviathan: The origins, crisis, and transformation of the American world order. Princeton University Press.159-169, 193-207 26pp
* McNamara, K. R. (1999a). Consensus and constraint: Ideas and capital mobility in European monetary integration. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 37(3), 455–476. 19 pp
* Haas, Ernst. “The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces,” 1950.pp. 3-31

**Week 4 February 20**

**EU Structure - Sovereignty and Democracy**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* Why did Europe fail to pass a constitution? What are the implications of this failure? How does Europe operate without one?
* Does Europe need a constitution? Why?
1. On Europe’s functional constitutionalism
2. Towards a constitutional theory of specialized
3. international regimes
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Readings (57pp)

* Habermas, Jürgen. “Why Europe Needs a Constitution.” Developing a Constitution for Europe 1 (2004): 19.17 pages
* Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. “Europe’s Blues: Theoretical Soul-Searching after the Rejection of the European Constitution.” PS: Political Science & Politics 39, no. 2 (2006): 247–250
* Moravcsik, A. (2008). The European constitutional settlement. World Economy, 31(1), 158–183.
* <https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies_en> Read and watch videos on: European Parliament; European Council; Council of the European Union; European Commission; Court of Justice of the European Union; European Central Bank

**Week 5 February 27**

*First response paper due in class by today*

**European Enlargement - Economy and identity in expanding Europe, and the Turkish case**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* Why did Europe decide to expand? Why to some places and not others?
* Is there a European identity? What is the European identity? Does European expansion change its fundamental identity and nature? In what ways?

Readings (91pp)

* Benhabib, S., & Isiksel, T. (2006). Ancient Battles, New Prejudices, and Future Perspectives: Turkey and the EU. Constellations, 13(2), 218–233.16pp
* Eder, K. (2005). Remembering national memories together: the formation of a transnational identity in Europe. European Identity and Collective Memory: The Cultural Effects on European Integration and Enlargement, 197–223.
* Lacey, J and Bauböck, R. (2017). Enlargement, Association, Accession–a Normative Account of Membership in a Union of States. *Journal of European Integration* 39 (5): 529–543.
* Dieter Fuchs & Hans-Dieter Klingemann (2002) Eastward Enlargement of the European Union and the Identity of Europe, West European Politics, 25:2, 19-54

**Week 6 March 6**

*Abstract for final presentation and paper due in class today*

**Europe's Economic Challenge -The Financial Crisis of 2008 and its aftermath in Europe**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* What is the main problem with Eurozone? What are some possible solutions?
* What are the most important implications of the Eurozone crisis (in economics, politics, culture, the future of the union etc)

Readings (73pp)

* Tooze, A. (2018). Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World. Eurozone. 25pp
* Stiglitz, J. (2016). The Euro: And its threat to the future of Europe. Penguin UK. Pp. 3-33
* Authers, J. (2012). Europe’s Financial Crisis: A Short Guide to How the Euro Fell Into Crisis and the Consequences for the World. Ft Press. pp. 95-112

**Week 7 March 13**

**Europe's Cultural Challenge -The migrant crisis, immigration, integration and assimilation**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* What are the economic arguments in the debate on immigration and what are the cultural? Can these arguments be separated from each other? Which are more compelling?
* What are the implications of immigration and the politics of immigration for the future of Europe in terms of identity, economy, and politics?

Readings (63pp)

* Michael S. Teitelbaum. "Europe's Migration Dilemmas" Foreign Affairs 9pp
* Soysal, Y. N. (2002). Changing citizenship in Europe: remarks on postnational membership and the national state. In Citizenship, nationality and migration in Europe (pp. 27–39). Routledge.pp17-29
* Greenhill, K. M. (2016). Open arms behind barred doors: fear, hypocrisy and policy schizophrenia in the European migration crisis. European Law Journal, 22(3), 317–332.15pp
* Dancygier, R. M. (2017). Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics. Princeton University Press.20pp
* Natalie Nougayrède. "Refugees aren’t the problem. Europe’s identity crisis is" 3pp <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/31/refugees-problem-europe-identity-crisis-migration>
* Douglass Murray "European Immigration: Nuns Out, Terrorists In"4pp <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/12148/europe-immigration-nuns-terrorists>

**Week 8 Spring break!**

**Week 9 March 27**

**European Security and Europe and Russia - Trade and Threat**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* Why did NATO expanded to the east in the early 2000s? What was the implications for the relationship between Europe and Russia? Examining it today, was it a good decision? In what ways?
* What characterized the relationship between Russia and Europe today?
* What are Europe’s main security challenges today? How does the structure of Europe influences the perception of security threats and security policy?

Readings (85pp)

* Mandelbaum, Michael. “Preserving the New Peace: The Case against NATO Expansion.” Foreign Affairs, 1995, 9–13.
* Mearsheimer, John J. “Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War.” International Security 15, no. 1 (1990): 50pp
* Neumann, Iver B. Russia and the Idea of Europe: A Study in Identity and International Relations. Routledge, 2013. Conclusions 16pp
* Key Security Challenges on Europe's Eastern Flank. Rand Publication 4pp
* Susi Dennison, Ulrike Esther Franke, & Paweł Zerka. The Nightmare of the Dark. ECFR Publication. 2018 11pp

**Week 10 April 3**

*Second response paper due in class by today*

**Europe's Political Challenge : The Rise of Populism**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* What is populism? How is it different from other political ideologies? How can you tell if a party or a politician are populist?
* What different populisms exist? How do they differ? What are the implications of the differences?
* What do we know about populist voters? What don’t we know about them? Why does it matter?
* What are the implications of the rise of populism to Europe’s politics and identity? And to the liberal order more broadly?

Readings (68 pp)

* Müller, J.-W. (2017). What is populism? Penguin UK. - What Populists Say. 17 pp
* Brubaker, R. (2017). Between nationalism and civilizationism: the European populist moment in comparative perspective. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 40(8), 1191–1226.
* Cas Mudde. "The problem with populism"Guardian <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/17/problem-populism-syriza-podemos-dark-side-europe> 3pp
* Ivarsflaten, E. (2008). What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe? Re-examining grievance mobilization models in seven successful cases. Comparative Political Studies, 41(1), 3–23.20pp

**Week 11 April 10**

**Great Britain - Brexit :Why and How?**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* Is Brexit the result of unique characteristics of Britain or is Euroscepticism similar (and may lead to similar outcomes) throughout the EU? What if anything did the Brexit vote reveal about Britain and about the EU?
* Who voted for Brexit? Why did they vote for it?

Readings (89pp)

* Oliver, T. (2017). A Europe of dropouts? Brexit and the question of European solidarity.12pp
* Zady Smith. "Fences - A Brexit Diary" New York Review of Books 9pp
* "Brexit Killing London as Financial Hub? Not Just Yet" WSJ 2 pp
* Gifford, C. (2010). The UK and the European Union: dimensions of sovereignty and the problem of Eurosceptic Britishness. Parliamentary Affairs, 63(2), 321–338.18pp
* Hobolt, S. B. (2016). The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent. Journal of European Public Policy, 23(9), 1259–1277.17 pp
* Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2016). Trump, Brexit, and the rise of populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash.31pp
* *Student Presentations*

**Week 12 April 17**

**Germany - From problem to problem solver (and back?)**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* What was the German question? Does it still matter in Germany and in Europe today? In what ways?
* What are the new concerns that some European countries have about Germany? Why?
* What are the biggest challenges Germany is facing today? Why are these the main challenges?

Readings (77pp)

* Kundnani, H. (2015). The paradox of German power. Oxford University Press, USA.1,5 33pp
* "Germany’s Europe-Shaking Political Crisis Over Migrants, Explained" NYT 4pp

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/03/world/europe/germany-political-crisis.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/03/world/europe/germany-political-crisis.html)

* Rafaela Dancygier. "The anti-Muslim AfD just scored big in Germany’s election. What does this mean for German Muslims?" Washington Post 3pp
* Jeffery, C., & Paterson, W. (2003). Germany and European integration: A shifting of tectonic plates. West European Politics, 26(4), 59–75.
* Bulmer, S. (2014). Germany and the Eurozone crisis: Between hegemony and domestic politics. West European Politics, 37(6), 1244–1263.
* *Student Presentations*

**Week 13 April 24**

**Greece - Debt and Eurozone crisis, social protest, and the future of the welfare state**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* What caused the Greek crisis?
* What are the implication of the crisis for Greece’s society and politics? What are the implications for Europe?

Readings (60pp)

* Mazower. "No Exit? Greece’s Ongoing Crisis." The Nation 21pp
* Who Protests in Greece 24pp
* Matsaganis, M. (2011). The welfare state and the crisis: the case of Greece. Journal of European Social Policy, 21(5), 501–512.
* Nicholas Sambanis, Anna Schultz and Elena Nikolova. “After the Greek financial crisis, Greeks are more mistrustful of others — especially non-Greeks.” Washington Post 2018
* **Note: this item is not on the website. Access directly from syllabus**. Greece Crisis Timeline: <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/greeces-debt-crisis-timeline>
* *Student Presentations*

**Week 14 May 1**

*Third response paper due in class by today*

**Central Europe - The rise of Eastern populism and democratic backslide**

Questions for discussion/response paper

* How does the populism of Central Europe different from the populism of Western Europe? And Southern Europe?
* What does the rise of populism in Hungary and Poland mean for liberalism and democracy in these countries? Are they no longer democracies? Are they not liberal? Why?
* What are the implications of the rise of populism in these countries to Europe’s politics and identity? And to the liberal order more broadly?

Readings (64pp)

* "Europe's civil war of sovereignty is tearing its soul apart". Economist: <https://www.economist.com/open-future/2018/07/18/europes-civil-war-of-sovereignty-is-tearing-its-soul-apart> 4pp
* Erlanger." In Eastern Europe, Populism Lives, Widening a Split in the E.U." NYT <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/28/world/europe/populism-eastern-europe.html> 3pp
* Jedlicki, Jerzy. “The Revolution of 1989: The Unbearable Burden of History.” Problems of Communism 39, no. 4 (1990): 39. 11pp
* Post-Communist Mafia State : The Case of Hungary Balint Magyar The State We Live Under 13pp
* Kitschelt, H. (2015). Analyzing the Dynamics of Post-Communist Party Systems: Some “Final Thoughts” on the EEPS Special Section. East European Politics and Societies, 29(1), 81–91. 11pp
* Pirro, A. L. P. (2015). The Populist Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe : Ideology, impact, and electoral performance. Routledge. Introduction 23pp
* *Student Presentations*

**Week 15 May 8**

Conclusions: Where is Europe today? Will the current European order survive?

*Student Presentations*