

SP216 EUROPEAN POLITICS (2016)



Without question one of the main political developments of 2016 was 'Brexit'. We try to make sense of it in week 4 of this course.

Dr. Brendan Flynn

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

INTRODUCTION

It is sometimes said that the European Politics is 'boring'. In the past year we have seen Britain vote to leave the EU, although it is unclear exactly when or how. In the Ukraine, almost 10,000 people have died and over 1 million people have been displaced, as a war of sorts involving Russia sputters onwards without resolution. These developments are certainly not boring! In fact, Europe's politics remains firmly in the headlines. A challenge is obviously how to make sense of it all? Moreover, what does 'Europe' mean in political terms? What is distinctively European about politics in Europe?

The question is not facetious. Many courses labeled 'European politics', are really just comparative political science courses, which happen to use European case studies. You are offered lectures on European voting systems or civil service typologies, and how these differ. It would be wonderful if we had time for such a tour. We do not.

Moreover, in my view that is a comparative method which can easily end up being a rather shallow form of comparison by weighing like merely with like. What of African, American or Asian voting practices as well?

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

Let me explain. It is part of the argument of this course that there is in fact no one, single, easily identifiable, political entity termed 'Europe'. For one thing the borders of what constitute Europe today, and in the past, are very unclear. Attempts to clarify such boundaries are often redolent of intolerance and prejudice. Nor can Europe just be a handy synonym for those states (all 28, soon to be 27) who are members of the European Union. For example, The Economist news magazine, provocatively describes in its section on European news, reports from Turkey and Armenia. Are they European states and should we be studying them?

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

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

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

To give students a good overview, three distinct two hour lectures will be offered on Britain/Brexit, Germany and France. From there we turn to examine two other issues.

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

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

Those questions are real and pertinent even though some may dismiss them as exaggerated concerns. Indeed it is clear that apprehensions and confusions about the EU, and 'ever closer union', are widespread. It was part of the Brexit story. It is also clear that national sentiment is a very live political force across Europe. Any analysis that can throw light on the phenomenon of European integration alongside continuing nationalism is then to be urgently welcomed. Finally this course will address another contemporary trend in European high politics where commentators have suggested dangers await Europe collectively. This is the return of Russia as an issue of concern and controversy: should we fear the Russians (again) or should we be wary of potentially dangerous scare mongering?

LECTURE VENUES, TIME AND DAY:

Monday 12-1, O'Flaherty Theatre.

Monday 2-3, O'Flaherty Theatre.

TERM DATES SEMESTER 1, 2016:

An introductory class will be held on Wednesdays September 7th. Thereafter we meet on Mondays! All teaching for this course will end with the last class scheduled for Monday Nov.21st. A study week follows and then exams begin.

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

COURSE LEARNING OUTCOMES

This course is worth 5 ECTS credits.

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

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

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

Students will be introduced to theoretical debates about nationalism in contemporary

European politics and the nature of European integration.

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

CONTACT HOURS

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

COURSE ASSESSMENT (EXAM) AND MARKING

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

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

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

NOTE: Visiting students (JYA or Erasmus, etc.) are NOT required to attend any seminars (see below) or write papers for this module. You will be assessed 100% on your final exam and attendance at lectures is what is required.

Exceptionally, if there are problems for Visiting students with the exam timetable in December, I may be able to facilitate you, but you should contact me about this directly. The assumption and advice is that the exam in December is the best way to be assessed for this course.

COURSE SEMINARS (ONLY FOR 2BA1 STUDENTS)

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

COURSE EVALUATION BY STUDENTS

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

COURSE TEXTBOOK

I will make use of two textbooks, as some students find it beneficial. Both are in the library! These will be:

Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2013) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London:Pearson. It also available to buy as a paperback online via sellers such as Amazon.uk for around £38 or 48 Euro and there should be some second hand copies available.

Hay, Colin and Anand Menon (eds.) (2007) *European Politics*. Oxford: OUP. There are loads of copies in the library and second-hand. It is very far from ideal, and I will not use all of the chapters, nonetheless, I do think it can help,

especially if a student feels they're 'sinking'.

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

Strictly speaking, it is possible to do very well in this course without buying a textbook. In any event several copies shall be placed on 24hr loan, so you are not required to buy either, but I advise it if you feel you can either afford it, or if you think you really need a good background read on this subject. A lot of students tend to ignore the background material that a good textbook usually gives to a topic, so I always advise having access to a textbook. I list two books because the newer one is obviously much more up to date (published 2013), but the older one is there in case you can't get access to the new one. It works just as well for some topics. In truth all textbooks date really quickly but for background material they are useful. The exact reading from each is itemized below.

OTHER GENERAL TEXTS AND SOURCES

With a course like this you cannot just rely on the lectures to get by. You are going to have to do some additional reading, both to get a general overview and then to get more specialized and up to date information for specific topics. I also advise you to read alongside the lectures as they unfold. If you are a visitor from North America and feel your knowledge of all things European is poor, then reading one of these early on can help a great deal.

*=Recommended

Other textbooks

Bale, Tim (2005) *European Politics: a Comparative Introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 320.3094 BAL

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

Histories

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

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

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

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

More recent developments

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

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

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

HOW TO READ FOR THIS COURSE

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

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

In order to get a more detailed knowledge for the purposes of the exam, a comprehensive reading list is outlined for each topic (below). That list serves to bring you up to date with the latest developments and provides more detail for students who are keenly interested. Numerous different books and some articles are indicated, but you are not expected to read them all. I have made the list long not to intimidate you, but to encourage those who are keen, and to allow for redundancy where some sources go missing or where they are loaned out when you go looking.

My weekly reading lists are divided into 'basic introductory material' which is exactly what it says and these are usually sourced in the textbooks. You should read this material first. Then I identify a key article (or sometimes 2 articles) that I am indicating I regard as very important. They are more academically demanding but in many cases they will be exam relevant. Then I list more academic journal articles, which you should try to browse and I also list some books for deeper reading. To prepare a topic you need to blend together these different sets of readings.

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

NOTE, if you plan on reading articles from academic journals remember two things.

First, you can in many cases 'find' these journal articles electronically on Blackboard, and download them as either Pdf files or simply otherwise read them online. If the article is not on Blackboard you can access journals that are held electronically, you need to use the "Journal Title" search function of the online Catalogue. See:
<http://www.library.nuigalway.ie/resources/journals/index.html>.

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

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

LECTURE NOTES ON BLACKBOARD

Note that on this course lectures are held every Monday, but they are split, starting at 12pm and 2pm and lasting for one hour each. Each week I will cover a given topic, usually across both lectures. As a result you need to attend both lectures! There is little point attending one and missing the other. You simply will not understand the material if you do this.

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

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

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

USING THE INTERNET FOR THIS COURSE

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

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

brendan.flynn@nuigalway.ie

COURSE STRUCTURE AND TIMETABLE 2016

Week 1/Wednesday Sept.7th: Course Introduction and Overview: 12pm at AM250

Section A: A Europe of Regions and Nations?

Week 2/Monday Sept 12th: The Balkans & Kosovo

Week 3/Monday Sept.19th: Nordic Europe & Iceland.

Week 4/Monday Sept.26th: Britain and Understanding Brexit.

Week 5/Monday Oct. 3rd: The French Exception.

Week 6/Monday Oct. 10th: The New or Old German Question?

Week 7/Monday Oct. 17th: European Nationalism as Secessionism or autonomy? The Scottish, Basque and Catalan cases compared.

Section B-Europe's High Politics

Week 8: Monday Oct.24th. The historical roots of an ever closer union? What European Integration in the 1950s and 1960s can teach us today.

Week 9 Oct 31st BANK HOLIDAY -NO LECTURES THIS WEEK.

Week 10/Nov.9th: Is the EU a super-state, or empire, facing collapse?

Week 11/Nov.14th: The Politics of Russia's "Near Abroad".

Week 12/Nov.21st: Europe & Russia's energy politics: doomed to conflict or co-operation? (first-class)

Week 12/Nov.21st (second class): Revision/Exam details.

Week 13/ Nov, 28th Study Week-no lectures.

WEEK 1 (September 7th) Course Introduction and Overview

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

SECTION A: A EUROPE OF REGIONS and NATIONS

WEEK 2/SEPT.12TH: THE BALKANS AND THE CASE OF KOSOVO



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

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

Textbooks/ Introductory reading:

Tocci, Nathalie. 'Greece, Turkey, Cyprus', pp.117-131 in Hay, Colin and Anand Menon (eds.) (2007) *European Politics*. Oxford: OUP. 320.094 EUR
 Crepez, Markus M.L and Jürg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London: Pearson. Chapters 12 and 13, especially pages 249-257 and in Ch.13 on Power Sharing, pp.291-298. 320.94 CRE

Key readings

*Malešević, Siniša (2012) 'Did Wars Make Nation-States in the Balkans?: Nationalisms, Wars and States in the 19th and early 20th Century South East Europe?', *Journal of*

Historical Sociology, Vol. 25 No. 3, pp.299-330.

AND

*Bargués-Pedreny, Pol. "From promoting to de-emphasizing 'ethnicity': rethinking the endless supervision of Kosovo." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 10, no. 2 (2016): 222-240.

Other relevant and recent articles on the Balkans as an 'oriental' region.

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

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

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

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

Other relevant and recent articles on the Break-up of Yugoslavia

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

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

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

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

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

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

Behrends, Jan Claas. "War, violence, and the military during late socialism and transition. Five case studies on the USSR, Russia, and Yugoslavia." *Nationalities Papers ahead-of-print* (2015): 1-15.

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

Books for more detailed reading on the break up of Yugoslavia

Bieber, Florian and Armina Galijaš (eds.) (2014) *Debating the end of Yugoslavia*.

Farnham, Surrey, UK ; Burlington, VT : Ashgate. 949.703072 DEB (especially useful are chapters by Gagnon and Vladislavljević)

Koinova, Maria (2013) *Ethnonationalist conflict in postcommunist states : varieties of governance in Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Kosovo*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. 305.8009496 KOI

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

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

Glaurdić, Josip. (2011) *The hour of Europe: Western powers and the breakup of Yugoslavia*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 949.703 GLA

Other relevant and recent articles on Kosovo's imposed Consociation.

Lončar, Jelena. "State-building and local resistance in Kosovo: Minority exclusion through inclusive legislation." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* (2016).

Lemay-Hébert, Nicolas, and Syed Mansoob Murshed. "Rentier Statebuilding in a Post-Conflict Economy: The Case of Kosovo." *Development and Change* 47, no. 3 (2016): 517-541.

Economides, Spyros, and James Ker-Lindsay. "'Pre-Accession Europeanization': The Case of Serbia and Kosovo." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* (2015). 53, no. 5 (2015): 1027-1044.

Jolicœur, Pierre, and Frederic Labarre. "The Kosovo Model: A (Bad) Precedent for Conflict Management in the Caucasus?." *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 13, no. 3 (2014): 41.

Belloni, Roberto, and Francesco Strazzari. "Corruption in post-conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo: a deal among friends." *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 5 (2014): 855-871.

Krasniqi, Gëzim (2012) 'Overlapping jurisdictions, disputed territory, unsettled state: the perplexing case of citizenship in Kosovo', *Citizenship Studies*, Vol.16, No.3-4, pp.353-366.

Brosig, Malte (2011) 'The interplay of international institutions in Kosovo between convergence, confusion and niche capabilities', *European Security*, Vol.20, No.2, pp.185-204.

Ker-Lindsay, James (2011) 'Principles and the Partition of Kosovo', *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, Vol. 23, No.2, pp.228-234

Books for deeper reading-Kosovo.

Hehir, Aidan (2010) *Kosovo, intervention and state building: the international community and the transition to independence*. London; New York: Routledge 949.71 KOS

Malcolm, Noel (1998) *Kosovo: a short history*. 949.71 MAL

WEEK 3/SEPT.19TH: NORDIC EUROPE AND THE CASE OF ICELAND



The Nordic democracies are among the most successful and distinctive in Europe, and for this reason alone they merit serious study. However, it appears that political developments in Norway, Sweden, Denmark (Scandinavia proper) together with those in Finland and Iceland, suggest such distinctiveness is ending. Firstly traditional Nordic economic management models that were in crisis over the last decade, have been altered. Their welfare states have been pared back and the role of the state in directing or owning key economic forces is less evident, although the state remains still in the mix of public policies. There has also been some electoral instability. The once dominant Nordic social democratic parties appear to have suffered serious setbacks in Denmark, Finland and Sweden over various elections, although at diverse levels of vote share and government participation, they remain important. More surprisingly, the once exceptionally high levels of tolerance and peace in Nordic states now seem threatened by growing populist and anti-immigrant electoral support. In the realm of foreign policy all states face dramatic challenges, in particular as regards the new neighbouring Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) that were till

1991 part of the old USSR. Continued Swedish and Finnish neutrality as it was understood in the Cold war is being redefined in new ways. Finally the issue of membership of the European Union has proven bitterly divisive in all states, especially Denmark and Norway. Has then politics in the Nordic states, undergone a political transformation? In these lectures we shall focus on the unique five party system structure typically found in these countries and explore in more details two case studies; Iceland as something of an 'odd man out; within the region and how Nordic security policies are in a state of flux and adaptation.

Textbooks/ Introductory reading:

Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London: Pearson. Chapters 9 and 15, especially pages 194 and pp.338-346. 320.94 CRE
Einhorn, Eric S. and John Logue. 'Scandinavia', pp.64-81 in Hay, Colin and Anand Menon (eds.) (2007) *European Politics*. Oxford: OUP. 320.094 EUR

Key readings

*Gumundur Jónsson (2014) 'Iceland and the Nordic Model of Consensus Democracy', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 39:4, 510-528.

AND

*Etzold, Tobias ; Opitz, Christian ; Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik -SWP- Deutsches Institut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit (Ed.): *Between military non-alignment and integration: Finland and Sweden in search of a new security strategy*. Berlin, 2015 (SWP Comments 25/2015).

Other relevant and recent articles on Nordic party politics and elections

Kosiara-Pedersen, Karina. "Tremors, no earthquake: the 2015 Danish parliamentary election." *West European Politics* 39, no. 4 (2016): 870-878.
Arter, David. "A 'Pivotal Centre Party' Calls the Shots: The 2015 Finnish General Election." *West European Politics* 38, no. 6 (2015): 1345-1353.
Aylott, Nicholas, and Niklas Bolin. "Polarising Pluralism: The Swedish Parliamentary Election of September 2014." *West European Politics* 38, no. 3 (2015): 730-740.
Allern, Elin Haugsgjerd, and Rune Karlsen. "A Turn to the Right: The Norwegian Parliamentary Election of September 2013." *West European Politics* 37, no. 3 (2014): 653-663.

Other relevant and recent articles on Iceland

Erlingsson, Gissur Ó. Jonas Linde and Richard Öhrvall Distrust in Utopia? Public Perceptions of Corruption and Political Support in Iceland before and after the Financial Crisis of 2008. *Government and Opposition* (in press, but on Blackboard)
Hallgrímsdóttir, Helga Kristín, and Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly. "Contentious politics, grassroots mobilization and the Icesave dispute Why Iceland did not "play nicely"." *Acta Sociologica* 58, no. 1 (2015): 79-93.
Erlingsson, Gissur Ó., Jonas Linde, and Richard Öhrvall. "Distrust in Utopia? Public Perceptions of Corruption and Political Support in Iceland before and after the Financial Crisis of 2008." *Government and Opposition* (2015): 1-27.
Bergmann, Eiríkur. "Populism in Iceland: Has the Progressive Party turned populist?." *Stjórnmal og Stjórnarsýsla* 11, no. 1 (2015): 33.
Thorhallsson, Baldur. "Europe: Iceland Prefers Partial Engagement In European Integration." (2014). <http://ams.hi.is/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/WhitePaper1.pdf>
Thorhallsson, Baldur and Christian Rebhan (2011) 'Iceland's Economic Crash and Integration Takeoff: An End to European Union Scepticism?', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp.53-73.
Hardarson, Ólafur Th. and Gunnar Helgi Kristinsson (2009) 'The parliamentary election in Iceland, April 2009', *Electoral Studies*, Vol.23, No.3, pp. 523-526.
Wade, Robert (2009) 'Iceland as Icarus', *Challenge*, Vol. 52, No. 3, May/June, pp. 5-33.
Bergmann, Eiríkur (2011) *Iceland and the EEA, 1994-2011*. Report No.7.

Europautredningen/ Utvalget for utredning av Norges avtaler med EU. Available at:
<http://www.europautredningen.no/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Rap7-island.pdf>

Bailes, Alyson JK and Örvar Þ. Rafnsson (2012) 'Iceland and the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy: Challenge or Opportunity?', *Stjórnmal & stjórnsýsla* 1. tbl., 8. árg. 2012 (109-131), Available at:

<http://skemman.is/stream/get/1946/12303/30679/1/a.2012.8.1.5.pdf>

Benediktsson, Einar (2011) 'At Crossroads: Iceland's Defense and Security Relations, 1940-2011', Discussion paper available at:

<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/index.cfm/articles/Iceland's-Defense-and-Security-Relations-1940-2011/2011/8/18>

Other relevant and recent articles on Nordic Security Policies-continuity and change.

Fiskvik, Jannicke. (2016) *Nordic Security: Moving towards NATO?*. ETH-Zürich (Apri).
<http://dx.doi.org/10.3929/ethz-a-010681998>

Nordenman, Magnus. "On the Transatlantic Edge: Nordic Security after the Afghan War and the Ukraine Crisis." *The RUSI Journal* 159, no. 3 (2014): 46-52.

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

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

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

Græger, Nina and Kristin M. Haugevik (2009) *The revival of Atlanticism in NATO? Changing security identities in Britain, Norway and Denmark*. Norway: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). Available at:

<http://english.nupi.no/Publikasjoner/Boeker-Rapporter/2009/The-revival-of-Atlanticism-in-NATO-Changing-security-identities-in-Britain-Norway-and-Denmark>

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

Books for deeper reading

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

Durrenberger, E. Paul and Gisli Palsson (eds.) (2015) *Gambling debt: Iceland's rise and fall in the global economy*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 336.34094912 GAM

WEEK 4/SEPT.26TH BRITAIN AND UNDERSTANDING BREXIT



Although Britain has sometimes been portrayed as an atypical European state, in fact British politics features many similarities with the Nordic states: a monarchical system that evolved towards class based party democracy. In the same way, Britain's euroscepticism may be less unique than is imagined, raising the question of whether the British vote to leave the EU will be the first of others? In any event we must strive to explain how such a dramatic outcome came about. Should we explain Brexit as arising from a gap between elites and voters, or as a function of internal party political rows between elites over Europe, or is it a revolt of the losers of globalisation against 'openness'? Equally, although at this stage we can only speculate, these lectures will allow us the opportunity to examine possible models for how Britain could leave the EU—the so-called distinction between a 'soft' and 'hard' Brexit. The former invokes how Norway manages to formally stay out of the EU but retains very close association and full trade access while also being obliged to grant free movement to EU citizens, whereas the latter, suggests a future where Britain could have much more limited free trade access without much free movement, following the recent precedent of a Canadian Economic and Trade Agreement negotiated with the EU, but not yet in force.

Textbooks/ Introductory reading:

Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London: Pearson. 320.94 CRE (See pp. 148-154 on Referenda, and pp.136-138 on Referenda and British constitutional provisions, pp.305-329 provides a succinct overview of the European Union, and pp. 332-337 introduces you to the concept of 'Globalization') See Ch.4 by Ben Rosamond on 'Britain' and especially his discussion of the relationship with Europe (pp.59-61) in Hay & Menon (2007) 320.094 EUR

Key Reading

*Calhoun, Craig (2016) 'Brexit Is a Mutiny Against the Cosmopolitan Elite', *New Perspective Quarterly*, Volume 33, Issue 3 July 2016 Pages 50-58.

Other relevant and recent articles Explaining Brexit

Matthijs, Matthias. "Britain and Europe: The End of the Affair?." *Current History* 113, no. 761 (2014): 91

Inglehart, Ronald F and Pippa Norris (2016) 'Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash'. *Harvard, Kennedy School of Government, Faculty Research Working Paper Series*, Paper for the roundtable on "Rage against the Machine: Populist Politics in the U.S., Europe and Latin America", September 2016, annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia.

Goodwin, Matthew J., and Oliver Heath. "The 2016 Referendum, Brexit and the Left Behind: An Aggregate-level Analysis of the Result." *The Political Quarterly* (2016). (article in press, on Blackboard)

Henderson, Ailsa, Charlie Jeffery, Robert Lineira, Roger Scully, Daniel Wincott And Richard Wyn Jones (2016) 'England, Englishness and Brexit', *The Political Quarterly*,

Vol. 87, No. 2, April–June, pp. 187–199.

Michalis Lianos (2016) Brexit: should refusal (or even plates-mashing) be a sociological category?, *European Societies*, 18:4, 291–294.

Curtice, John. "Brexit: Behind the Referendum." *Political Insight* 7, no. 2 (2016): 4–7.

Qvortrup, Matt. "Referendums on Membership and European Integration 1972–2015." *The Political Quarterly* 87, no. 1 (2016): 61–68.

Usherwood, Simon. "Did Ukip win the referendum?" *Political Insight* 7, no. 2 (2016): 27–29.

Startin, Nicholas. "Have we reached a tipping point? The mainstreaming of Euroscepticism in the UK." *International Political Science Review* 36, no. 3 (2015): 311–323.

Lynch, Philip, and Richard Whitaker. "Where There is Discord, Can They Bring Harmony? Managing Intra-party Dissent on European Integration in the Conservative Party." *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 15, no. 3 (2013): 317–339.

Meijers, Maurits J. "Contagious Euroscepticism The impact of Eurosceptic support on mainstream party positions on European integration." *Party Politics* (2015): 1354068815601787.

Seaton, Jean. "Brexit and the Media." *The Political Quarterly* (2016). (article in press, on Blackboard).

Other relevant and recent articles on British's options for post-Brexit EU relations

Whitman, Richard G. (2016) *Soft or hard Brexit?* 15 July 2016, European Policy Centre, Chatham House, http://www.epc.eu/pub_details.php?cat_id=4&pub_id=6837

Freedman, Lawrence (2016) *Brexit and the Law of Unintended Consequences*, Survival, 58:3, 7–12,

Moloney, Niamh (2016) 'Financial services, the EU, and Brexit: an uncertain future for the city?' *German Law Journal*, 17. pp. 75–82

Dhingra, Swati and Sampson, Thomas (2016) *Life after Brexit : what are the UK's options outside the European union?* CEP BREXIT Analysis, CEPBREXIT01. London School of Economics and Political Science, CEP, London, UK.

Fossum, John Erik. "Norwegian Reflections on Brexit." *The Political Quarterly* (2016). (article in press, on Blackboard).

Outside and Inside Norway's agreements with the European Union. Official Norwegian Reports NOU 2012: 2 Chapter 1. Report by the EEA Review Committee, appointed on 7 January 2010 Submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 17 January 2012.

Available at:

http://www.regjeringen.no/pages/36798821/PDFS/NOU201220120002000EN_PDFS.pdf

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

Books for deeper reading on Britain and the European Union

Jones, Alistair (2007) *Britain and the European Union*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 327.4104 JON

Turner, John (2000) *The Tories and Europe*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press. 327.4104 TUR

Leconte, Cécile (2010) *Understanding Euroscepticism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 341.2422 LEC

WEEK 5/MONDAY OCT. 3RD: THE FRENCH EXCEPTION.



It has been sometimes claimed that the French political system is 'exceptional', at least within Europe. What this has usually boiled down to are a series of claims based on the institutions of the post-war French state, which is divided into a so called 4th Republic (between 1946-1958) and the current 5th Republic, whose constitution was shaped by De Gaulle during a period of crisis in the late 1950s. The resulting Constitution created a strong executive presidential system, which built upon a much deeper historical French state tradition which goes at least back to Napoleon (if not much further to Colbert). This French state tradition has stressed centralisation of power in Paris, both in the hands of a strong President, but also influence is vested in a unique civil service led by an elite corps of technical experts. The question today is the extent to which these allegedly exceptional features continue to be as salient or to what extent has France's system of government become more like everywhere else in Europe?

Basic and Introductory Reading

On French 'semi-presidentialism' see pages 118-125 in Crepaz and Steiner (2013), 8th edition. [320.94 CRE](#)

On French politics generally see Chapter 2 by Robert Elgie, pp.17-29 in Hay & Menon (2007) [320.094 EUR](#)

Key article(s):

*Elgie, Robert. (2013) "The French presidency under Nicolas Sarkozy." (2013): 19-34 in Cole, Alistair, Sophie Meunier and Vincent Tiberj (eds.), *Developments in French Politics 5*, London: Palgrave, 2013, [320.94409045 DEV](#) (and chapter is on Blackboard)

Other relevant and recent articles

Cole, Alistair. "Not saying, not doing: Convergences, contingencies and causal mechanisms of state reform and decentralisation in Hollande's France." *French Politics* 12, no. 2 (2014): 104-135.

Chatriot, Alain. "The political history of administration: Forms of the state in France in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." *The Tocqueville Review/La revue Tocqueville* 33, no. 2 (2012): 19-42.

Cole, Alistair. "The French state and its territorial challenges." *Public Administration* 90, no. 2 (2012): 335-350.

Meunier, Sophie. "The French Exception." *Foreign Affairs* (2000): 104-116.

Gaffney, John. "Book Review: The End of the French Exception? Decline and Revival of the 'French Model'." *French Studies* 66, no. 1 (2012): 129-130.

Dupuy, Claire, and Julie Pollard. "A dethroned king? The limits of state infrastructural power in France." *Public Administration* 92, no. 2 (2014): 359-374.
 Passarelli, Gianluca (2010) 'The government in two semi-presidential systems: France and Portugal in a comparative perspective', *French Politics*, 8: 402.

Books for more detailed reading.

Chabal, Emile (ed.) (2015) *France since the 1970s: history, politics and memory in an age of uncertainty*. London, UK; New York, NY, USA : Bloomsbury Academic. 944.083 FRA (Chapters 1 and 2 most relevant for developments in French party politics.)
 Cole, Alistair, Sophie Meunier, Vincent Tiberj (eds.) (2013) *Developments in French politics* 5. Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. 320.94409045 DEV (Chapter 2 already suggested as key reading but a few other chapters may be worth a look if you have time)
 Gaffney, John (2010) *Political leadership in France from Charles de Gaulle to Nicholas Sarkozy*. Basingstoke England ; New York : Palgrave Macmillan. 944.083 GAF

WEEK 6/MONDAY OCT. 10TH: THE NEW OR OLD GERMAN QUESTION?



(From a Dutch News magazine in 2013, the title means something like 'The New German Question: Europe's reluctant leader without thanks')

Is the new German question the same as the old one: should we fear a resurgent Germany that will dominate a wider Europe? Today that is simply not plausible as regards military domination. However, Germany's economic and political influence is such that it clearly makes her among the most powerful European states. Yet is this power the same thing as domination? In fact as much as there has been renewed debate about alleged German hegemony over Europe (mostly associated with the Eurozone crisis and the policies of austerity) there has also been discussion about Germany as a 'reluctant power', unwilling and disinterested in showing leadership. This is especially the case as regards military and security issues, such as the conflict in the Ukraine. Germany today then faces a paradoxical situation: strident leadership within an EU context will be often viewed as evidence of German 'hegemony' and yet retreating to a more modest role will earn judgements of German indifference and failure to show responsibility. As much as we might fear then German domination of a wider Europe, as worrying could be the possibility of a Germany less strategically interested in Europe, in preference to a more unilateral and wider global role.

Basic and Introductory Reading

Chapter 1 on Germany by John Bendix in Hay & Menon (2007) 320.094 EUR
 See also pages 157-158 on German Federalism in Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London: Pearson. 320.94 CRE
 Colvin, Sarah (ed) (2014) *Routledge handbook of German politics & culture*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge 943.088 ROU (Chapters 5 and 21 most relevant).

Key article(s):

*Art, David. "The German rescue of the Eurozone: How Germany is getting the Europe it always wanted." *Political Science Quarterly* 130, no. 2 (2015): 181-212.

*Gros, Daniel. "The End of German Hegemony". *CEPS Commentary*, 16 October 2015." (2015).

*Lees, Charlie (2014) "The Fall of the Berlin Wall-25 years on", *Political Insight*, 5(2), pp.4-7.

Other relevant and recent articles

Kundnani, Hans. "Leaving The West Behind: Germany Looks East." *Foreign Aff.* 94 (2015): 108.

Forsberg, Tuomas (2016) 'From Ostpolitik to 'frostopolitik'? Merkel, Putin and German foreign policy towards Russia', *International Affairs*, 92(1) pp.21-42

Krotz, Ulrich, and Richard Maher. "Europe's crises and the EU's 'big three'." *West European Politics* 39, no. 5 (2016): 1053-1072.

Meiers, Franz-Josef. "The stress test of German leadership." *Survival* 57, no. 2 (2015): 47-55.

Arzheimer, Kai. "The AfD: Finally a Successful Right-Wing Populist Eurosceptic Party for Germany?." *West European Politics* 38, no. 3 (2015): 535-556.

Galpin, Charlotte. "Has Germany" Fallen Out Of Love" With Europe?: The Eurozone Crisis and the "Normalization" of Germany's European Identity." *German Politics and Society* 33, no. 1/2 (2015): 25.

Young, Brigitte, and Willi Semmler. "The European sovereign debt crisis: Is Germany to blame?." *German Politics & Society* 29, no. 1 (2011): 1-24.

Steinberg, Federico, and Mattias Vermeiren. "Germany's institutional power and the EMU regime after the crisis: towards a Germanized euro area?." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, no. 2 (2016): 388-407.

Dullien, Sebastian, and Ulrike Guérot. "The long shadow of ordoliberalism: Germany's approach to the euro crisis." *European Council on Foreign Relations Policy Brief* 22 (2012).

Van Esch, Femke AWJ. "Exploring the Keynesian-Ordoliberal Divide. Flexibility and Convergence in French and German Leaders' Economic Ideas During the Euro-Crisis." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 22, no. 3 (2014): 288-302.

Bulmer, Simon, and William E. Paterson. "Germany as the EU's reluctant hegemon? Of economic strength and political constraints." *Journal of European Public Policy* 20, no. 10 (2013): 1387-1405.

Books for more detailed reading.

Crawford, Beverly. *Power and German foreign policy: embedded hegemony in Europe*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan 2007. 327.43 CRA

Anderson, Jeffrey J; Eric Langenbacher (eds.) *From the Bonn to the Berlin Republic : Germany at the twentieth anniversary of unification*. New York: Berghahn Books 2010. 943.088 FRO

WEEK 7/MONDAY OCT. 17TH: EUROPEAN NATIONALISM AS SECESSIONISM OR AUTONOMY? THE SCOTTISH, BASQUE AND CATALAN CASES COMPARED.



The primary idiom of much politics throughout Europe since at least the middle of the 19th century has been that of nationalism, notwithstanding the role that socialism and liberalism have also played. Perhaps this is not so strange, given that the European nation state is a comparatively new 'invention' and few European states have a national territory whose population is exclusively 'national'. Indeed many conflicts and controversies inside and between European states are still about competing national identities, disputed boundaries, and calls for regional autonomy or ethnic minority rights. To what extent then can we comparatively explain politics across Europe by looking at this ideology of nationalism? Is it the case that we are seeing in fact the end of the European nation state? Since the 1970s many European nation states have been devolving power from national capitals towards these regional governments. Where is this process heading towards-secession and the creation of new nation states, or new quasi-federal types nation states, or some other type of hybrid state and national/regional identities. To answer these questions we examine in detail the Scottish and Basque cases of regional autonomy.

Scotland of course voted 'no' to independence in its Referendum of 2014, while Catalonia has attempted in 2015 to hold a non-recognised referendum on leaving Spain. In these classes we will try to make sense of these events. At one level both regions have a depth of autonomy that approaches Home Rule. Yet demands for still more autonomy and even outright independence or secession continue, even after apparent set-backs. In any event, Scotland's *de facto* sovereignty and leadership over very many policy sectors continues to grow. The Basque case is different historically and as regards context; the violent struggle of ETA has no Scottish parallel and the failure to develop a workable peace process such as occurred in Northern Ireland weakens a sense of direction as to where a Basque national project can go. Moreover, Basque nationalism is arguably more complex, nuanced and fractured than even the Scottish case admits. In this light, while regional politics in Europe throws up demands for further autonomy and state reform, the extent to which such a politics is obviously secessionist is far from clear. Instead, the main trend to date appears to be a re-working of the post-modern European nation state into an even more complex, decentralized, fractured entity, with multiple levels of competing and co-operative quasi-federal authority and power sharing

Textbooks and Introductory Reading

Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed.

London:Pearson. Chapter 7. 320.94 CRE

Chapter 3 of Sakwa, R and A. Stevens (2000) *Contemporary Europe*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. 940.5 CON.

Chapter 4, Risse, Thomas (2002) "Nationalism and Collective Identities: Europe versus

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

Key reading(s)

*McEwen, Nicola. "Disunited Kingdom: Will Brexit spark the disintegration of the UK?." *Political Insight* 7, no. 2 (2016): 22-23.

*Martí, David, and Daniel Cetrà. "The 2015 Catalan election: a de facto referendum on independence?." *Regional & Federal Studies* 26, no. 1 (2016): 107-119.

Journal articles on sub-state nationalism and secessionism

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

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

Journal articles on the Basque and Catalan Case

Griffiths, Ryan D., Pablo Guillen Alvarez, and Ferran Martinez i Coma. "Between the sword and the wall: Spain's limited options for Catalan secessionism." *Nations and Nationalism* 21, no. 1 (2015): 43-61

Muñoz, Jordi, and Raül Tormos. "Economic expectations and support for secession in Catalonia: between causality and rationalization." *European Political Science Review* 7, no. 02 (2015): 315-341.

Gillespie, Richard (2015) Between Accommodation and Contestation: The Political Evolution of Basque and Catalan Nationalism, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 21:1, 3-23

Mees, Ludger (2015) Nationalist Politics at the Crossroads: The Basque Nationalist Party and the Challenge of Sovereignty (1998-2014), *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 21:1, 44-62

Elias, Anwen (2015) Catalan Independence and the Challenge of Credibility: The Causes and Consequences of Catalan Nationalist Parties 'Strategic Behavior', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 21:1, 83-103

Rius-Ulldemolins, Joaquim, and Mariano M. Zamorano. "Federalism, Cultural Policies, and Identity Pluralism: Cooperation and Conflict in the Spanish Quasi-Federal System." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 45, no. 2 (2015): 167-188.

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

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

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

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

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

Books for Deeper Background Reading on Catalan and Basque Nationalism

Gillespie, Richard (ed.) (2015) *Contesting Spain?: the dynamics of nationalist movements in Catalonia and the Basque Country*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY : Routledge. 320.5409466 CON. (Chapters by Elias and Mees most useful)

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

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

Country. [320.5409466](#).

Journal articles on Scottish Regional Autonomy or Independence

- Anderson, Paul. "The 2016 Scottish Parliament election: a nationalist minority, a Conservative comeback and a Labour collapse." *Regional & Federal Studies* (2016): 1-14.
- Cairney, Paul. "The Scottish independence referendum: what are the implications of a No Vote?." *The Political Quarterly* 86, no. 2 (2015): 186-191.
- Keating, Michael. "The European Dimension to Scottish Constitutional Change." *The Political Quarterly* 86, no. 2 (2015): 201-208.
- Keating, Michael. "The Scottish Independence Referendum and After." *Revista d'estudis autonòmics i federals* 21 (2015): 73-98.
<http://www.raco.cat/index.php/REAF/article/viewFile/292400/380934>
- Pittock, Murray (2012) 'Scottish sovereignty and the union of 1707: Then and Now', *National Identities*, Vol. 14, No.1, pp.11-21.
- Hassan, Gerry (2011) 'Anatomy of a Scottish Revolution: The Potential of Post-nationalist Scotland and the Future of the United Kingdom', *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 82, No. 3, pp.365-378.
- Midwinter, Arthur (2012) 'Fiscal autonomy in Scotland: an assessment and critique', *Public Money & Management*, Vol.32, No.1, pp.49-52.
- Docherty, Iain & Ronald MacDonald (2012) 'Debate: Scotland's fiscal options—a response to Midwinter', *Public Money & Management*, Vol.32, No.3, pp.161-163.
- Chalmers, Malcolm (2012) 'Kingdom's End?', *The RUSI Journal*, Vol.157, No.3, pp.6-11.

Books for Deeper Background Reading on Scottish Nationalism

- Keating, Michael (2011) *Scotland and Independence*. The Federal Idea Think Tank. Available at: <http://ideefederale.ca/wp/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Scotland.pdf>
- Keating, Michael (2009) *The Independence of Scotland: Self-government and the Shifting Politics of Union*. Oxford: OUP. [320.1509411](#) KEA
- Hassan, Gerry (2009) *The modern SNP from protest to power*. Edinburgh: EUP. Online access through library.

SECTION B-EUROPE'S HIGH POLITICS

WEEK 8: MONDAY OCT.24TH. THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF AN EVER CLOSER UNION-WHAT CAN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN THE 1950S AND 1960S TEACH US TODAY?



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

Textbooks and Introductory Reading

Crepez, Markus M.L and Jürg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London: Pearson. 320.94 CRE Chapters 14, especially pages 305-308.
 Dinan, Desmond. 'The European Integration Process', pp.151-167 in Hay, Colin and Anand Menon (eds.) (2007) *European Politics*. Oxford: OUP
 Dedman, Martin, (1996) The origins and development of the European Union, 1945-95: a history of European integration. 341.24209045 DED (especially part 2)
 Dinan, Desmond (1999) *Ever Closer Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 341.2422 DIN. (See chapters 1-7, which provide one of the best succinct histories of the EU process).

Key reading:

*Patel, Kiran Klaus (2013) 'Provincialising European union: Co-operation and Integration in Europe in a Historical Perspective.', *Contemporary European History*, 22, pp 649-673.

Journal articles on the early history of European Integration

Loth, Wilfried (2008) "Explaining European Integration: The contribution from Historians", *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 14 (2008), number 1, pp.9-26. Available at: http://www.eu-historians.eu/uploads/Dateien/jeih-27-2008_1.pdf
 Jones, Erik (2010) 'The Economic Mythology of European Integration', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48. No. 1. pp. 89-109.
 Lieshout, Robert H, Mathieu L.L. Segers and Anna M. van der Vleuten (2004) 'De Gaulle, Moravcsik, and the Choice for Europe: soft sources, weak evidence', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol.6, No.4, pp.89-139.
 Laurent, Pierre-Henri (1972) 'The Diplomacy of the Rome Treaty, 1956-57', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 7, No. 3-4, pp. 209-220.
 Vanke, J. (2001) 'An Impossible Union: Dutch Objections to the Fouchet Plan, 1959-62', *Cold War History*, Vol.2, No. 1, pp.95-112.
 Segers, Mathieu (2012) 'Preparing Europe for the Unforeseen, 1958-63. De Gaulle, Monnet, and European Integration beyond the Cold War: From Co-operation to Discord in the Matter of the Future of the EEC', *The International History Review*, Vol. 34, No.2, pp.347-370.
 Fleischer, Björn. "Negotiating the European Defence Community." *European Political Science* 12, no. 1 (2013): 64-74.
 Dwan, Renata. "Jean Monnet and the European Defence Community, 1950-54." *Cold War History* 1, no. 3 (2001): 141-160.
 Dietl, R. (2002) 'Une Déception Amoureuse'? Great Britain, the Continent and European Nuclear Cooperation, 1953-57', *Cold War History*, Vol.3, No.1, pp.29-66.
 See also: "Johan Willem Beyen: a plan for a common market" http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/founding-fathers/pdf/johan_willem_beyen_en.pdf
 Butler, Stuart A. "The Struggle for Power: Britain and Euratom 1955-63." *The International History Review* 36, no. 2 (2014): 324-341.

Books for Deeper Background Reading

Giauque, Jeffrey Glen. (2002) *Grand designs and visions of unity: the Atlantic powers and the reorganization of Western Europe, 1955-1963*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. [327.09409045 GIA](#) (Chapters 1, 3 and 5 most relevant)

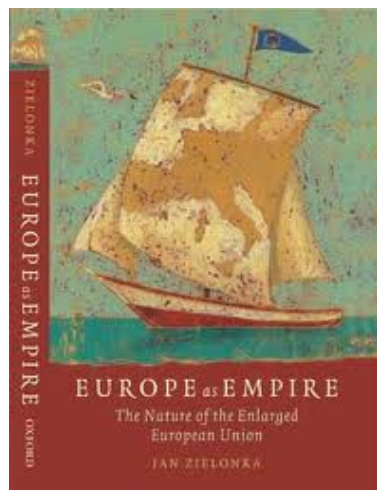
van der Harst, Jan (2011) 'Chapter 7. The European Defence Community and NATO. A Classic Case of Franco-Dutch Controversy', pp.83-94 in Drent, Margriet Arjan van den Assem, Jaap de Wilde (eds.) *Nato's Retirement? Essays in Honour of Peter Volten*. Greenwood Paper 26. Groningen: The Centre of European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

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

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

Week 9 Oct 31st BANK HOLIDAY -NO LECTURES THIS WEEK.

WEEK 10/NOV.9TH: IS THE EU A SUPER-STATE, OR AN EMPIRE, FACING IMMIENT COLLAPSE?



The EU is today a complex polity of close to 500 million Europeans and has recently expanded to 28 states in total, including several eastern European and some small Mediterranean states (although with Brexit this will drop to 27 states!). Between the Single European Act (1987) and the Treaty of Nice (2001) there has been a continual process of rolling negotiations to further this integration, such that some academics and voters have wondered is Europe heading towards federation? Perhaps this question has been in the back of some voters' minds with regard to Danish, Irish, Dutch and French voters' rejections of Treaties for 'more Europe'. Without question the big existential question for the EU is where it may be headed, or what is it to become? Might it be an open ended political process with no necessary end-state predetermined, and therefore not at all obviously a federalist enterprise? What form will or is the EU taking? Should we describe it as a confederation of states or an emerging novel federal super-state? The latter seems to be a popular enough fear, but is it accurate or even credible? In fact, up close, European integration appears a quite fragile entity, if not actually being a case of the 'emperor's new clothes'. Institutionally EU bodies remain small and their budgets puny. Moreover, national differences within the EU political process appear as strong as ever, and it is national elites who seem to mostly control the institutional process in Brussels. Equally integration has suffered upsets and setbacks; Brexit, poor and declining levels of popular support, and a mainstreaming of 'euroscepticism' in many states. Successive rejections of referendums on EU treaties, suggest voters will not support indefinitely 'ever closer union', or even perhaps they do not understand what they are being offered. This lecture will introduce students to two debates: an unusual academic perspective that interprets the EU as a type of post-modern 'empire'. Also discussed are what this

perspective reveals about the EU's limits and potential. Secondly we examine the possibility of an EU system collapse and break-up, especially relevant post-Brexit.

Textbooks and Introductory Reading

Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed.
London: Pearson. 320.94 CRE Chapter 9, especially pp.191-200.
Chapters 11 and 21 in Hay, Colin and Anand Menon (eds.) (2007) *European Politics*.
Oxford: OUP. 320.094 EUR

Key Readings:

*Webber, Douglas (2014) 'How likely is it that the European Union will disintegrate? A critical analysis of competing theoretical perspectives', *European Journal of International Relations*, 2014, Vol. 20(2) 341-365.

AND

*Gravier, Magali. "Imperial Governance: Governing Inwards or Outwards?." *Geopolitics* 20, no. 4 (2015): 814-835.

Journal articles on Understanding the EU as Empire.

Zielonka, Jan (2013) 'The International System in Europe: Westphalian Anarchy or Medieval Chaos?', *Journal of European Integration*, 35:1, 1-18
Zielonka, Jan. "America and Europe: two contrasting or parallel empires?." *Journal of Political Power* 4, no. 3 (2011): 337-354.
Zielonka, Jan. "The EU as an international actor: unique or ordinary?." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 16, no. 3 (2011): 281-301.
Zielonka, Jan. "Europe as a global actor: empire by example?." *International Affairs* 84, no. 3 (2008): 471-484.
Colomer, Josep M. "The Building of the American and European Empires" *Journal of Political Power* Vol. 4 Iss. 3 (2011): 437-453.
Colomer, Josep M. "Bringing the Empire Back In" *Journal of Globalization, Competitiveness and Governability* Vol. 2 Iss. 1 (2008): 48-58.
Marks, Gary. "Europe and its empires: from Rome to the European Union." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 50, no. 1 (2012): 1-20.
Hansen, Peo, and Stefan Jonsson. "Imperial origins of European integration and the case of Eurafrica: A reply to Gary Marks' 'Europe and Its Empires'." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 50, no. 6 (2012): 1028-1041.
Gravier, Magali. "Stable core, shifting periphery?: the European Union as an emerging inwards-outwards governing empire." (2015). *EUI Working Papers, RSCAS 2015/39* Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies BORDERLANDS Project
Gravier, Magali (2011) 'Empire vs federation: which path for Europe?', *Journal of Political Power*, Vol.4, No.3, pp.413-431.
Dimitrova, Bohdana (2012): Imperial re-bordering of Europe: the case of the European Neighbourhood Policy, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 25:2, 249-267
Pänke, Julian. "The Fallout of the EU's Normative Imperialism in the Eastern Neighborhood." *Problems of Post-Communism* 62, no. 6 (2015): 350-363.
Sepos, Angelos (2013) Imperial power Europe? The EU's relations with the ACP countries, *Journal of Political Power*, 6:2, 261-287
Zaiotti, Ruben. "The Hybrid Continent: Tensions and Resilience in Europe's Neoterritorial Model." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* ahead-of-print (2014): 1-18.

Journal articles on Federalism/Confederalism and EU Collapse

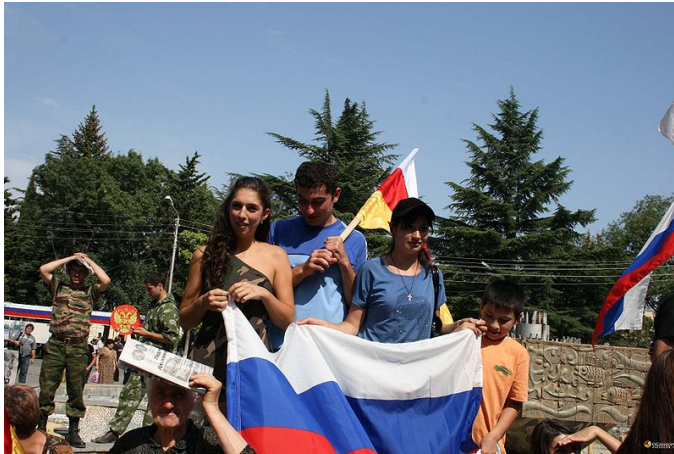
Milward, Alan S. (2005) 'Review: The European Union as a Superstate', *The International History Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 90-105.
Hix, Simon (2011) 'Where is the EU going? Collapse, fiscal union, a supersized Switzerland or a new democratic politics', *Public Policy Research*, Vol. 18, No.2, pp 81-87.

Books for Deeper Reading on the EU

Behr, Hartmut (ed.) (2015) *Revisiting the European Union as an empire*. 341.2422 REV (Introduction and chapter 3 most useful)

Zielonka, Jan (2006) *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union*. OUP, Oxford.

WEEK 11/NOV.14TH: THE POLITICS OF RUSSIA'S "NEAR ABROAD".



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

Introductory and textbook reading.

Crepez, Markus M.L and Júrg Steiner (2012) *European Democracies*, 8th ed. London:Pearson. 320.94 CRE Chapter 11, especially pages 243-246.

Key reading:

*Götz, Elias. "Russia, the west, and the Ukraine crisis: three contending perspectives." *Contemporary Politics* (2016): 1-18.

Journal Articles on the Ukraine Crisis.

- Bukkvol1 Tor (2016) Why Putin went to war: ideology, interests and decisionmaking in the Russian use of force in Crimea and Donbas, *Contemporary Politics*, 22:3, 267-282
- Katchanovski, Ivan (2016): The Separatist War in Donbas: A Violent Break-up of Ukraine? , *European Politics and Society* (in press but on Blackboard)
- Wade, Robert Hunter. "The Ukraine crisis is not what it seems." *Le Monde diplomatique* English edition (2015).
- Tsygankov, Andrei (2015) 'Vladimir Putin's last stand: the sources of Russia's Ukraine policy', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 31:4, 279-303
- Haukkala, Hiski. "From cooperative to contested Europe? The conflict in Ukraine as a culmination of a long-term crisis in EU-Russia relations." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 23, no. 1 (2015): 25-40.
- Babayan, Nelli (2015) 'The return of the empire? Russia's counteraction to transatlantic democracy promotion in its near abroad', *Democratization*, 22:3, 438-458.

Books on Russia and the Ukraine Conflict

- Menon, Rajan and Eugene B. Rumer (2015) *Conflict in Ukraine: the unwinding of the post-Cold War order*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press. 947.7086 MEN
- Allison, Roy (2014) *Russia, the West, and military intervention*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 327.4701821 ALL
- Wilson, Andrew (2014) *Ukraine crisis: what it means for the West*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 947.7086 WIL

Journal Articles on Russia's Near Abroad.

- Babayan, Nelli. "The return of the empire? Russia's counteraction to transatlantic democracy promotion in its near abroad." *Democratization* 22, no. 3 (2015): 438-458.
- Way, Lucan A. "The limits of autocracy promotion: The case of Russia in the 'near abroad'." *European Journal of Political Research* (2015).
- Tolstrup, Jakob. "Black knights and elections in authoritarian regimes: Why and how Russia supports authoritarian incumbents in post-Soviet states." *European Journal of Political Research* (2015).
- Kuchins, Andrew C. & Igor A. Zevelev (2012) Russian Foreign Policy: Continuity in Change, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol.35, No.1, pp.147-161.
- Tudoroiu, Theodor (2012) 'The European Union, Russia, and the Future of the Transnistrian Frozen Conflict', *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp.135-161.
- Borzel, Tanja A. (2011) 'When Europe hits...beyond its borders: Europeanization and the near abroad', *Comparative European Politics*, Vol. 9, No.4/5, pp. 394-413.
- Diener, Alexander and Joshua Hagen (2011) 'Geopolitics of the Kaliningrad Exclave and Enclave: Russian and EU Perspectives', *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol.52, No. 4, pp. 567-592.
- Maness, Ryan & Brandon Valeriano (2012) 'Russia and the Near Abroad: Applying a Risk Barometer for War', *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol.25, No.2, pp.125-148.
- Tsyppkin, Mikhail (2012) 'Russia, America and missile defense', *Defense & Security Analysis*, Vol.28, No.1, pp.55-64.
- Blank, Stephen (2011) 'Russia's Geo-economic Future; The Security Implications of Russia's Political and Economic Structure', *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol.24, No.3, pp.351-395.
- Hanson, Stephen E. (2007) 'The Uncertain Future of Russia's Weak State Authoritarianism', *East European Politics & Societies*, Vol. 21, pp.67-81.
- White, Stephen (2007) 'Elite opinion and foreign policy in Post-Communist Russia', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol.8, No.2, pp.147-167.

Books for Deeper Background Reading on Russian Foreign Policy.

- David R. Marples (2011) *Russia in the twentieth century the quest for stability*. Harlow, England; New York: Longman. Online Access through library.

Shirayev, Eric (2010) *Russian government and politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2010. 320.947 SHI
 Kotz, David M. (2007) *Russia's path from Gorbachev to Putin: the demise of the Soviet system and the new Russia*. 338.947 KOT

WEEK 12/NOV.21ST: EUROPE & RUSSIA'S ENERGY POLICY: DOOMED TO CONFLICT OR CO-OPERATION? (FIRST-CLASS)



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

Key reading

*Stulberg, Adam N. (2015) Out of Gas?: Russia, Ukraine, Europe, and the Changing Geopolitics of Natural Gas, *Problems of Post-Communism*, 62:2, 112-130

Journal articles on Russian-EU energy politics.

Casier, Tom (2016) From logic of competition to conflict: understanding the dynamics of EU-Russia relations, *Contemporary Politics*, 22:3,
 Casier, Tom. "Great Game or Great Confusion: The Geopolitical Understanding of EU-Russia Energy Relations." *Geopolitics* (2016): 1-16.
 Mišik, Matúš, and Veronika Prachárová. "Before 'Independence' Arrived: Interdependence in Energy Relations between Lithuania and Russia." *Geopolitics* (2016): 1-26.
 Kim, Younkyoo, and Stephen Blank. "The New Great Game of Caspian energy in 2013-14: 'Turk Stream', Russia and Turkey." *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 18, no. 1 (2016): 37-55.
 Skalamera, Morena, and Andreas Goldthau. "Russia: Playing Hardball or Bidding Farewell to Europe?." Debunking the myths of Eurasia's new geopolitics of gas. Belfer Center Geopolitics of Energy Project Discussion Paper (2016-03) (2016).
 Goldthau, Andreas. "Assessing Nord Stream 2: regulation, geopolitics & energy security in the EU, Central Eastern Europe & the UK." (2016).
 Richter, Philipp M., and Franziska Holz. "All quiet on the eastern front? Disruption scenarios of Russian natural gas supply to Europe." *Energy Policy* 80 (2015): 177-189.

Casier, Tom (2011): The Rise of Energy to the Top of the EU-Russia Agenda: From Interdependence to Dependence?, *Geopolitics*, Vol.16, No.3, pp. 536-552

Smith Stegen, Karen (2011) Deconstructing the ‘‘energy weapon’’: Russia’s threat to Europe as case study, *Energy Policy*, Vol. 39, pp. 6505-6513.

Schmidt-Felzmann, Anke (2011) 'EU Member States' Energy Relations with Russia: Conflicting Approaches to Securing Natural Gas Supplies', *Geopolitics*, Vol. 16, No.3, pp.574-599.

Casier, Tom (2011) 'Russia's Energy Leverage over the EU: Myth or Reality?', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol.12, No.4, pp.493-508.

Kropatcheva, Elena (2011) 'Playing Both Ends Against the Middle: Russia's Geopolitical Energy Games with the EU and Ukraine', *Geopolitics*, Vol.16, No.3, pp.553-573.

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

Books for deeper reading

Perovic, Jeronim, Robert W. Orttung and Andreas Wenger (2009) *Russian Energy Power and Foreign Relations: Implications for conflict and Co-operation*. London: Routledge. 333.790947 RUS.

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

ENDS