

Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung
Center for European Integration Studies
Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

**European Integration and
South Eastern Europe**

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**A Core Curriculum
for European Studies
in South Eastern
Europe**

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A Core Curriculum for European Studies in South Eastern Europe

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1. The Network of European Studies in South Eastern Europe

The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, launched in 1999, aims at transforming the region, which was for so long characterized by ethnic nationalism, war, and animosity, into an integral part of a united Europe. This European perspective for the region is to be pursued by different means, including the improvement of the regional infrastructure, promoting investment, building a democratic and civil society as well as securing a peaceful interethnic co-existence. In designing the common European future for the region, one element, namely education, is of crucial importance. Stability through education will certainly prove to be a key factor for achieving lasting peace and prosperity in the region. Bringing the younger generation closer to common European values and institutions helps not only to overcome the centuries old tradition of interethnic rivalry, but also to raise new European minded elites able to successfully pursue the region's integration into the Euro-Atlantic institutions.

For the better understanding of how our continent might become a truly united Europe, how the European institutions function, what the future of European integration and the place of the new democracies, including those from South Eastern Europe, is in this new European landscape, one specific interdisciplinary study programme is gaining more and more importance and popularity throughout the academic world – European Studies. Helping to develop or upgrade European Studies programmes in South Eastern Europe is vital to the success of the stability through education strategies.

The Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI) at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn – together with a number of partners from South Eastern Europe – has created a Network uniting all the major universities from this region, which are offering or intending to offer European Studies programmes. Many of them are assisted by partner universities from Germany and other EU countries already having considerable experience in the field of European Studies and who are willing to share this experience with their partners in the region.

The Network of European Studies in South Eastern Europe was inaugurated at a conference in Sofia on 28/29 January 2000. Since then, a number of conferences and workshops were organized, among them the traditional annual conference taking place in different cities of the region (so far Sofia, Cluj, Thessaloniki, and Belgrade), enjoying considerable publicity, resonance, and high attendance by politics, media, and science. Prominent political representatives address the conferences. The annual conferences assemble almost forty universities and institutes from South Eastern and Western Europe. The workshops are meetings where different working groups engage to make progress on specific projects. Thus, the curriculum working group discussed and finalized the curriculum at meetings in Zagreb and Tirana. Additionally, these conferences and workshops include a special policy session dealing with the current state of the European perspective and the stabilization of the region.

II. The core curriculum – an introduction

1. The raison d'être

One of the main goals of the Network of European Studies in South Eastern Europe was to design a core curriculum that is specifically geared to the needs of the existing or newly emerging European Studies programmes in South Eastern Europe. Naturally, a European Studies curriculum for South Eastern Europe can and should build on experience already augmented at many West European universities, such as the experience gained in the multidisciplinary, international European Master programme at the Center for European Integration Studies, Bonn. We do not start from zero. However, the core curriculum presented here is guided by the idea that it is not sufficient simply to adopt successful programmes already implemented at West European universities. Rather, the region needs specifically tailored programmes taking into account the turbulent past of the region, the lack of democratic traditions and a civil society, the poor state of academic affairs and the emerging clear perspective of integration into the Euro-Atlantic institutions for South Eastern Europe. Courses on the history of the region

(not of individual countries or nations), on the Stabilization and Association Process of the EU for South Eastern Europe, on the Stability Pact and regional cooperation or on EU and NATO crisis management in the region will draw the link between Europe as a whole and the region. In many instances, these courses have proven to be the most interesting to the students in the region.

Thus, the purpose of this curriculum is to assist educating future generations of students in the region in order to help them not only to gain in-depth knowledge about the European process but also to internalize European values during their studies. Thus, such European Studies programmes will educate urgently needed European-minded young leaders of tomorrow for the region who are well equipped to contribute effectively to the European future of the region – in diplomacy and administrations, in media, in business, in science and research.

This curriculum can serve as a model either to be fully adopted by individual European Studies programmes in the region or to be partially adopted according to academic needs and prerequisites. Of course, local particularities such as the expertise of the professors in place need to be observed. Also, there might be an interest to give the European Studies programme a distinct profile by concentrating on certain areas of the integration process such as economics, law or politics. In this case, those parts of the curriculum presented here, which are of most interest for the local needs might be found most interesting.

This curriculum is based on the assumption that a European Studies programme, in general, should be an interdisciplinary undertaking, dealing with all aspects of European politics, law, economics, history and culture. Geographically, it should cover the whole of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, taking a look at all the Euro-Atlantic institutions in place. However, a specific focus should be on the European Union as well as its relevance to South Eastern Europe.

2. Basic characteristics

Based on its experience, the Network of European Studies in South Eastern Europe proposes a European Studies programme that consists of a full-fledged, four semester M.A. programme. The students should hold a graduate degree, preferably in subjects such as political science, economics, law, history or sociology in order already to have a basic background. Concerning the option of a post-graduate programme we deem the preconditions not existing at present in the region (although our proposed core curriculum could be easily adopted). An M.A. programme would offer the best opportunities to gain substantial knowledge in this area of immensely growing significance for the region. Such a four semester programme is also compatible with most programmes in Western Europe, thus laying the groundwork for an effective cooperation with partner universities and even an eventual degree recognition at West European universities.

The programme should be policy-oriented as well as sufficiently practical. The number of students should be strictly limited in order to have small, intensive courses. It should, given the necessary funding, oblige the students to spend one semester abroad, especially in European Studies programmes in Western Europe, and it should motivate each student to spend an internship in a West European institution like EU institutions, national parliaments, international corporations etc. Ideally, a European Studies programme in South Eastern Europe would have a partner programme in Western Europe in order to exchange students for one semester (like Cluj-Münster, Plovdiv-Aachen, Rouse/Giurgiu-Chemnitz). Degree recognition would be very much facilitated.

We strongly recommend to make excellent English proficiency a basic prerequisite for every student accepted in a European Studies programme in the region, not only because English is the lingua franca of the modern world but also because students will be confronted with English literature and also with English speaking visiting lecturers throughout their studies. This English proficiency should be sufficiently tested in advance (TOEFL etc.). At many universities in the region it might be advisable to have some additional English courses, maybe concentrating on specific vocabulary on

European integration. The programme itself might be taught in the native language, but should also contain at least some courses in English. However, if a European Studies programme aspires to become a Regional European Studies Center, thus drawing staff and students from several countries in the region and beyond, the programme will have to be taught in English.

Each European Studies programme should focus on further developing language skills, especially in German and French. Here again, local particularities might be observed, as some countries of the region have young people with very good proficiency e.g. in Italian. Fully equipped language laboratories and well-educated language teachers are strongly advisable. Thus, each student should at the end of his studies be fluent not only in English, but also in another major European language, preferably German or French. This corresponds with the recommendations of the European Commission urging that every EU citizen should be familiar with two major European languages in addition to his mother tongue. Desirable would also be to offer courses teaching the languages of the region in order to increase understanding and knowledge about one another.

The curriculum is divided into fundamental and specialized courses, as many programmes all over Europe do, based on good experience. Fundamental courses should cover those topics most basic to and crucial in the programme; specialized courses should have a more narrow focus, with fewer hours taught. They might be selected according to local prerequisites. They might also change over time as new topics come up and older ones disappear in the course of the European integration process. Thus, this scheme allows for a maximum of flexibility according to changing needs. Not all the courses need to be taught by local staff; if expertise is lacking, a “flying faculty” with external lecturers who regularly visit the programme to teach these courses might be established. Co-teaching might then be a good means to raise local staff who will be able to teach these courses in the long run. Another means is to start a consistent programme of “train the trainers” with a West European partner.

It might be wise to incorporate a Summer School in the course of the studies. This Summer School might cover the more specific, current topics on

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European integration. It could also cover those topics where local expertise is lacking, thus making it possible to include in the curricula courses that cannot at present be taught by the local staff. Summer Schools might be organized together with a West European partner who could send some teaching staff for these maybe one or two weeks. It would expose the students to some external views on major topics of European integration and also help to further educate the domestic staff.

It should be possible for the students to acquire credits for each of the courses they pass. This would also facilitate the recognition of courses when studying abroad. At the end of the programme each student will have to write a thesis of substantial academic quality. The topic, which will be chosen by the student in cooperation with the academic advisor, should be policy and practically oriented. The thesis should be handed in at the end of the fourth semester.

Especially for newly designed programmes on European Studies, it might be recommendable to have some kind of evaluation after a founding phase of maybe two years in order to draw a balance, correct some failures and set new priorities. As the European integration process itself is proceeding, it would also offer the possibility to design some parts of the curriculum anew according to newly arisen needs. This evaluation might best be undertaken by a group of advisors from other West European programmes, having some experience in how to organize such Studies and not being part of the local establishment.

Finally, this core curriculum does not prescribe a certain amount of hours per semester or course. It only presents those courses which we presume are most vital. It is up to the users to decide.

3. The genesis of the core curriculum

The following deliberations are the result of extensive discussions among the participants of the Working Group Curriculum of the Network of European Studies which is headed by Dr. Emil Mintchev and Dr. Rafael Biermann (ZEI). It was discussed with representatives, inter alia, from the European Studies programmes in Bonn/Germany, Chemnitz/Germany,

Cluj/Romania, Limerick /Ireland, Plovdiv/Bulgaria, Podgorica/Montenegro, Rouse/Bulgaria, Sarajevo/Bosnia and Herzegovina, Tirana/Albania and Zagreb/Croatia.

Already during the drafting phase, the curriculum had a profound impact on some of the European Studies programmes in the region. In fall 2001, ZEI established a “flying faculty”, comprising a group of distinguished scholars for European Studies, which has started teaching intensive courses throughout the region. Thus, experience has been gained concerning the validity of the courses for the students of the region. In addition, many of the ideas presented here were imported into a curriculum designed for a new MA programme on European Studies (“Bulgarian-Romanian Interuniversity Center for European Studies”, BRIE) which has been established in Rouse between the University of Rouse and the Academy of Economics of Bukarest/Giurgiu, with the assistance of ZEI, the University of Chemnitz and the Viadrina, funded by the German Rector’s Conference. It will be the first truly Regional European Studies Center in South Eastern Europe. Furthermore, the evolving MA on European and South East European Studies in Podgorica has adopted most of this curriculum for its own programme in thorough discussions with the authors.

A distinguished group of experts, scholars at the Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI) and Senior Fellows of ZEI, from all the disciplines which are relevant for an interdisciplinary European Studies programme – history, economics, law and political science – has contributed to this edition by writing the syllabuses and the lists of fundamental literature for each course: Dr. Rafael Biermann, Dr. Matthias Brückner, Dr. Jan Fidrmuc, Dr. habil. Stefan Fröhlich, Prof. Dr. Jürgen von Hagen, Prof. Dr. Armin Heinen, Dr. Hubert Iral, Dr. Krzysztof Jaros, Prof. Dr. Ludger Kühnhardt, Dr. Franz-Josef Meiers, Dr. Emil Mintchev and Dr. Peter Zervakis*. It is a truly interdisciplinary undertaking, also among the departments of ZEI. The list of basic literature for each course might also be helpful for establishing or upgrading libraries in the region.

* Dr. Peter Zervakis wishes to express his gratitude for co-laboring with Jared Sonnicksen in this project.

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Thus, this core curriculum is based on a comprehensive endeavor, pooling some of the best researchers in the field of European Studies to the benefit of the region. The curriculum was first presented to the public at the Fourth Annual Conference of the Network in Belgrade on 24/25 January 2002.

Rafael Biermann / Emil Mintchev

III. Course programme

Each semester embraces fundamental and specialized courses. All are obligatory. The fundamental courses are covering the following modules:

- History
- Economics
- Politics
- Law
- Language

1. First Semester

1.1 Fundamental Courses

- History of European integration
- Microeconomic Principles of European Integration
- The institutions and the policy-making process of the European Union
- Introduction to International Law
- German/French (I)

1.2 Specialized Courses

- The nation state building process in the Balkans up to World War I
- Civil society and European values
- Comparative European politics
- Europe in a globalized, multi-polar world
- English in politics, economics and law

2. Second Semester

2.1 Fundamental Courses

- European history (1789 – 1945)
- Introduction to European Macroeconomics
- European political thought
- The Law of the European Union (I)
- German/French (II)

2.2 Specialized Courses

- Balkan history in the 20th century
- Enlargement of the European Union
- International crisis management in the Balkans since the 1990s
- Regional cooperation in South Eastern Europe – a comparative approach
- Institutional developments in the EU since the Treaty of Maastricht

3. *Third Semester*

Semester abroad at West European partner universities, preferably at European Studies programmes (minimum requirement: two courses with exams which are recognized at home)

4. *Fourth Semester*

4.1 Fundamental Courses

- Cold War history (1945 – 1989 and beyond)
- Monetary and fiscal integration in the European Union
- The functioning of the Euro-Atlantic institutions
- The Law of the European Union (II)
- Justice and Home Affairs Policy of the EU

4.2 Specialized Courses

- The dissolution of former Yugoslavia and beyond
- The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe
- The EU Stabilization and Association Process for the “Western Balkans”
- From CFSP to ESDP
- ‘Finalité Européenne’: Options for the Future

IV. Individual course descriptions

1. First semester

1.1 Fundamental courses

History of European integration

Course description: The course is essential for laying a foundation of basic knowledge of where the European Union comes from and how it evolved. It is advisable to work mainly chronologically, presenting and analyzing the main chapters of the history of the European Union, including the Schuman Plan of 1950, the European Community for Coal and Steel, the Treaties of Rome, and all the major initiatives for an ever closer and ever wider union up to the present. Discussing the “Monnet method”, this should also include major initiatives which failed, like the European Defense Community of 1954 and its consequences. The motives of the founding fathers of the Union and the European Movement, rooted in the experience of World War I and II, especially the peace project of German-French reconciliation, and the motives for integration throughout the history of the Union deserve specific attention. A look at the quite different, evolving perceptions of individual EU members – especially of the “motors” Germany and France, but also e.g. of the Southern or the Northern members – of what the Union is and should be is also necessary. However, the process of decision-making, the shape and working mechanisms of the EU institutions, the intergovernmental conferences as well as the Economic and Monetary Union should be left primarily to the other courses. This course should provide the overview which will help students to get a basic orientation for the next semesters of in-depth study.

Selected bibliography:

Bache, Jan / George, Stephen: Politics in the European Union, Oxford 2001.

Bainbridge, Timothy: The Penguin Companion to European Union, 2nd edition, London 1998.

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- Dedman, Martin: *The Origins and Development of the European Union, 1945-95: A History of European Integration*, London / New York 1996.
- George, Stephen / Backe, Jan: *Politics in the European Union*, Oxford 2001.
- Gillingham, John: *Coal, Steel, and the Rebirth of Europe 1945-1955. The Germans and French from Ruhr Conflict to Economic Community*, Cambridge 1991.
- Kirt, Romain: *Die Europäische Union und ihre Krisen*, Baden-Baden 2001.
- Klausen, Jytte / Tilly, Louise (eds.): *European Integration in Social and Historical Perspective*, Lanham, Maryland 1997.
- Lacquer, Walter: *Europe in our time*, New York 1992.
- Loth, Winfried: *Der Weg nach Europa. Geschichte der europäischen Integration 1939 – 1997*, 2nd edition, Göttingen 1997.
- Lipgens, Walter: *A history of European integration*, Oxford / New York 1982.
- Lundestad, Geir: *„Empire“ by Integration. The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997*, Oxford 1998.
- Middlemas, Keith: *Orchestrating Europe. The Informal Politics of the European Union 1973-1995*, London 1995.
- Seeler, Hans-Joachim: *Die Europäische Einigung und das Gleichgewicht der Mächte. Der historische Weg der Europäischen Staaten zur Einheit*, 2nd edition, Baden-Baden 1995.
- Stirk, Peter M. R. / Weigall, David (eds.): *The Origins and Development of European Integration: A Reader and Commentary*, London / New York 1999.
- Thiel, Elke: *Die Europäische Union. Von der Integration der Märkte zu gemeinsamen Politiken*, Opladen 1998.
- Ungerer, Horst: *A Concise History of European Monetary Integration: From EPU to EMU*, Westport, Conn. 1997.
- Urwin, Derek W.: *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945*, London / New York 1995.
- Weidenfeld, Werner (ed.): *Europa-Handbuch*, Bonn 1999.
- Zorgbibe, C.: *Histoire de la construction européenne*, Paris 1997.

Microeconomic Principles of European Integration

Course description: The objective of this course is to make students familiar with the microeconomic principles of European integration. The course starts by presenting basic economic data of the European Union countries. Following that, mobility of capital and labor and the principles of the European internal market will be investigated. Then, basic trade theory will be explained in order to understand the main economic principles of integration. Focusing on Europe, we analyze in more detail multilateral and regional trade liberalization, external trade policies and the removal of non-tariff trade barriers. Then, the structure of the European internal market will be presented. Afterwards, competition theory and policy as well as regulatory policies as main fields of European economic policy will be analyzed. Common agricultural policies will follow. Finally, the budget of the European Union will be studied to see the financial implications of integration.

Selected bibliography:

Molle, Willem: *The Economics of European Integration*, 3^d edition, Aldershot 1997.

Swann, Dennis: *European Economic Integration*, Cheltenham 2000.

Swann, Dennis: *The Economics of Europe*, 9th edition, New York 2000.

The institutions and the policy making process of the European Union

Course description: The European Union now possesses many of the attributes of modern political systems; therefore, applying general theories and methods of political science may help to better understand how the EU works. Each of the main processes in the EU political system – the executive, legislative and judicial branches, public opinion, interest groups and political parties are introduced and explained as key political science issues. However, this course will emphasize the *sui generis* character of this complex, multi-level governance system. Concerning the three “pillars” of the EU (European Community, Common Foreign and Security Policy, Justice and Home Affairs), the course will also address the question of the supranational vs. intergovernmental nature of the EU and illustrate the Union’s distinctive decision-making process among the primary institutions:

especially European Council, European Parliament and the EU Commission.

Selected bibliography:

Archer, C.: The European Union. Structure and Process, London 2000.

Banchoff, Thomas / Smith, Mitchell P. (eds.): Legitimacy and the European Union. The Contested Polity, London / New York 1999.

Bellamy, Richard / Warleigh, Alex (eds.): Citizenship and Governance in the European Union, London 2001.

Chrysochoou, Dimitris: Theorizing European Integration, London 2001.

European Commission: The Institutions and Bodies of the European Union: Who's Who in the European Union? What difference will the Treaty of Nice make? Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Community, 2001.

Hartmann, Jürgen: Das politische System der Europäischen Union, Frankfurt / New York 2001.

Hayes-Renshaw, Fiona / Wallace, Helen (eds.): The Council of Ministers, London 1996.

Hix, Simon: The Political System of the European Union, London 1999.

Höreth, Marcus: The European Commission's White Paper on Governance: A 'Tool-Kit' for closing the legitimacy gap of EU policy-making?, Discussion Paper C 94 / 2002, Bonn (Center for European Integration Studies).

Höreth, Marcus: The European Commission's White Paper on Governance: A 'Tool-Kit' for closing the legitimacy gap of EU policy-making?, Discussion Paper C 94 / 2002, Bonn (Center for European Integration Studies).

Jachtenfuchs, Markus / Kohler-Koch, Beate (eds.): Europäische Integration, 2nd edition, Opladen 2002.

Johansson, Karl Magnus / Zervakis, Peter (eds.): European Political Parties: between Cooperation and Integration, Baden-Baden 2002.

Kreppel, Amie: The European Parliament and Supranational Party System: A Study in Institutional Development, Cambridge 2002.

Miller, Vaughn: The Treaty of Nice and the Future of Europe Debate, London: House of Commons (Research Paper 01/49), 2001.

Moussis, Nicolas: Manuel de l'Union européenne: institutions et politiques, Rixensart 1996.

Nugent, Neill (ed.): *At the Heart of the Union*. Studies of the European Commission, 1997.

Richardson, Jeremy J. (ed.): *European Union: Power and Policy Making*, 2nd edition, London 2001.

Scharpf, Fritz W.: *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?*, Oxford 1999.

Tsibelis, George / Money, Jeannette: *Bicameralism*, Cambridge 1997.

Wallace, Helen / Wallace, William (eds.): *Policy-making in the European Union*, 4th edition, Oxford 2000.

Weidenfeld, Werner (ed.): *Europa-Handbuch*. Bonn 1999.

Wessels, Wolfgang / Maurer, Andreas / Mittag, Jürgen (eds.): *Fifteen into One? The European Union and its Member States*, Manchester 2001.

Introduction to International Law

Course description: Law, especially International Law has always played an important role in the relations among peoples and among states. In modern times International Law is more and more structured along the function of a means to settle and/or to prevent conflicts. This is clearly demonstrated in the different corpuses or kinds of International Law, the Treaties, Charters, and Declarations, e.g. the Treaties of the Community, the Charter of the United Nations, the European Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.

Understanding the general reasoning for creating those legal acts, explaining their crucial character and introducing the main corpuses, especially the UN Charter, should be the main focus of the course. The course will examine the basics of International Law by looking at both the law of war and the economic law, and concentrate on well-known test-cases of international law: e.g. the NATO air campaign in Kosovo 1999 and its repercussions for the institute of 'humanitarian intervention' and the role of the UN Security Council, the prosecution of accused war criminals by the International Criminal Court in The Hague since the Dayton Peace Accords, and also the economic rules of trade as exemplified in the UN Sales Convention.

Selected bibliography:

Brownlie, Ian: International Law and the Use of Force by the States, Oxford 2001.

Busse, Christian: Die völkerrechtliche Einordnung der EU, Cologne 1999.

Cassese, Antonio: International Law, Oxford 2001.

Graf Vitzthum, Wolfgang (ed.): Völkerrecht, Berlin 2001.

Ipsen, Knut: Völkerrecht, 4th edition, Munich 1999.

Kluwer, Chris: United Nations Sanctions and International Law 2001.

Müller, Jörg-Paul / Wildhaber, Luzius: Praxis des Völkerrechts, Bern 2001.

Müller, Erwin / Schneider, Patricia / Haase, Jana: Humanitäres Völkerrecht: politische, rechtliche und strafgerichtliche Dimension, Baden-Baden 2000.

Potyka, Georg: Rechtsetzung und Entscheidung im Völkerrecht, Wien 2000.

Schweigman, David: The Authority of the Security Council under Chapter VII of the UN-Charter: legal limits and the role of the International Court of Justice, The Hague / Boston 2001.

Seidl-Hoheveldern, Ignaz / Loibl, Georg: Das Recht der Internationalen Organisationen einschließlich der Supranationalen Gemeinschaften, 6th edition, Cologne 1996.

German/French (I)

Besides English, German and French are the main working languages of the EU. Many important monographies and texts dealing with European Studies are also published in German and French. Teaching in German and French may enrich the programmes offered. Both languages have a long tradition of being quite common throughout the region. To bring the German and French language skills to an advanced level should, therefore, be one of the tasks of a European Studies programme in South Eastern Europe, also in order to allow for studying in Germany, Austria or France in the third semester, as proposed, in a European Studies programme well established over years in Western Europe. Students might opt for one of these languages if both are offered or learn the one which the university is able to offer and which is most appropriate for the country concerned. Of

course, in some countries of the region also another language might well be offered, like Italian. However, the paramount importance of languages in today's Europe should be adequately reflected in the curriculum. The major, indeed ambitious, goal should be to enable the students to go abroad in the third semester and have sufficient language skills for studying e.g. at a German or French European Studies programme, including listening to lectures, writing papers and communicating with fellow students. Basic language proficiency when starting such a course might be therefore recommendable.

Selected bibliography:

Alain de Schlichting: *Le Francais juridique*, Ismanning 2002.

Dictionnaire d`economie et de sciences sociales, Berlin 1993.

Haensch, Günther / Desportes, Yvon: *Wirtschaftsterminologie*, Ismanning 2002.

Jung, Lothar: *Fachsprache Deutsch – Rechtswissenschaft*, Ismanning 2002.

1.2 Specialized courses

The nation state building process in the Balkans up to World War I

Course description: Due to different factors, the nation state building process in the Balkans started later than in Western Europe and took a different course due to the specific features of the region – ethnic and religious heterogeneity, historic rivalries among the different ethnic groups, cultural and economic backwardness etc. The whole process was, to a great extent, influenced by the Great European Power' games in the region. During the 19th century several nation states were established on the territory of the Ottoman Empire – Greece, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria and, only in 1912, Albania. With the First World War and its aftermath the nation state building process in the Balkans was stopped before reaching its completion, with grave implications for the decades to come.

Selected bibliography:

Glenny, Misha: *The Balkans 1804 – 1999. Nationalism, War and the Great Powers*, London 1999.

Hatschikjan, Magarditsch / Troebst, Stefan (eds.): *Südosteuropa. Ein Handbuch. Gesellschaft, Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*, München 1999.

Judah, Tim: *The Serbs. History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, New Heaven/London 1997.

Malcolm, Noel: *Kosovo: a short history*, London / New York 1998.

Malcolm, Noel: *Bosnia: a short history*, London / New York 1994.

Stavrianos, L. S.: *The Balkans since 1453*, London 2000.

Todorova, Maria: *Imagining the Balkans*, New York, Oxford 1997.

Vickers, Miranda: *Between Serb and Albanian: a history of Kosovo*. London, 1998.

Civil society and European values

Course description: During the age of totalitarian dictatorships, freedom and democracy stood as unchallenged intellectual and moral alternatives. Since the end of totalitarianism, the limits of freedom and the preconditions to maintain their roots have been intensively debated. The necessary dia-

logue among civilizations, especially with the Islamic one, has added new dimensions to the rather eternal question of personal responsibility for the public good and well being.

This course will connect the search for new social and political orientations with a reflection about European and universal Western values in the light of the search for a stronger role for civil societies in today's world. It will reflect the conditions of personal and social commitment with the circumstances that define a democratic society and its institutional make-up.

Selected bibliography:

Almond, Gabriel / Verba, Sidney (eds.): *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, London 1995.

Baier-Allen, Susanne / Cucic, Ljubomir (eds.): *The Challenges of Pluriculturalism in Europe*, Baden-Baden 2000.

Bellah, Robert N. et al. (eds.): *The Good Society*, New York 1992.

Dunn, John: *Interpreting Political Responsibility*, Cambridge 1990.

El Hassan bin Talal: *Continuity, innovation, change*, Amman 2001.

Fukuyama, Francis: *Trust. The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*, New York / London 1995.

Sandel, Michael: *Liberalism and the limits of justice*, Cambridge 1982.

Comparative European Politics

Course description: What are the central issues in comparative European politics? Why and how do we compare the political systems and institutions in European countries? In order to address these questions this course will explore the strategies and different methods of comparative research in political science, using topical examples. Given the end of the East-West conflict in Europe, this course will take a truly pan-European survey of contemporary European politics, examining the political experiences of nations from all across Europe. The course will include comparative studies of the major institutions, decision and policy making processes, of the policies and interests, social-economic and cultural fabrics, histories and value systems of the different European countries.

Selected bibliography:

Almond, Gabriel / Dalton, Russel J. / Powell, G. Bingham: European Politics Today, New York 1998.

Beyme, Klaus von: Der Vergleich in der Politikwissenschaft. Munich / Zürich 1988.

Eatwell, Roger (ed.): European Political Cultures: Conflict of Convergence, London 1997.

Ersson, Svante / Lane, Jan: European Politics: An Introduction, Lanham / Walnut Creek, Cal. 1996.

Ismayr, Wolfgang (ed.): Die politischen Systeme Westeuropas, 2nd edition, Opladen 1999.

Ismayr, Wolfgang (ed.): Die politischen Systeme Osteuropas, Opladen 2001.

Jones, Charles: An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy, London 1997.

Kirt, Romain / Waschkuhn, Arno (eds.): Die Rolle der Kleinstaaten in Europa, Baden-Baden 2001.

Landman, Todd: Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics. An Introduction, London / New York 2000.

Naßmacher, Hiltrud: Vergleichende Politikforschung. Eine Einführung in Probleme und Methoden, Opladen 1991.

Putnam, Robert D. et al.: Making Democracy Work, Princeton, New Jersey 1994.

Seiler, Daniel-Louis: La vie politique des Européens. Paris 1998.

Weidenfeld, Werner / Wolfgang Wessels (eds.): Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration, Bonn 1980-2001.

Widmaier, Andrea Gawrich / Becker, Ute: Regierungssysteme Zentral- und Osteuropas. Ein einführendes Lehrbuch, Opladen 1999.

Europe in a globalized, multi-polar world

Course description: Globalization has generated opportunities for people, groups and countries. Human indicators such as literacy, school enrolment, infant mortality, and life expectancy have enormously improved in the last decades. At the same time, the economic restructuring, liberalization, tech-

nological changes and fierce competition, both in the markets for goods and capital, services and labor, that went with globalization, have contributed to increased impoverishment, inequalities, work insecurity, weakening of institutions and social support systems, and erosion of established identities (some argue even states) and values. Thus, the course will have to discuss and analyze the main features of globalization, its chances and main risks for Europe.

Specifically, it will have to focus on the EU in this globalizing world. Over the years, the EU has, at last, acquired a more distinct international identity and has emerged as a significant worldwide force to be reckoned with, playing a number of roles. The most important one is in the field of economics where it has become a global actor of equal rank with the US, both in terms of trade and monetary policy. Its performance, formal and otherwise, on the world stage is impressively varied for a body that is not a state. The course will have to survey selected areas of EU external activity, revealing the global nature of the Union's external relations. It also allows a glimpse at its global reach and at the way the Union is continuously attempting to prioritize, as well as to define and balance its international partnerships.

Selected bibliography:

Anderson, Peter / Wiessala, Georg / Williams, Christopher (eds.): *New Europe in Transition*, London 2000.

Archer, C.: *The European Union. Structure and Process*, London 2000.

Beck, Ulrich: *Was ist Globalisierung?*, Frankfurt / Main 1998.

Bertelsmann-Stiftung (ed): *Enhancing the EU as an International Security Actor*, Gütersloh 2000.

Eade, John (ed): *Living the Global City*, London 1996.

Fröhlich, Stefan: *Die EU als globaler Akteur*, in: Ronge, Frank (ed.), *In welcher Verfassung ist Europa – Welche Verfassung für Europa*, Baden-Baden 2001.

Griswold, Daniel: *The Blessings and Challenges of Globalisation*, in: *The World and I*, Vol. 15, 9/2000.

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Nuscheler, Franz (ed.): Entwicklung und Frieden im 21. Jahrhundert, Bonn 2000.

Peterson, John / Sjursen, Helene (eds.), A Common Foreign and Security Policy for Europe, London / New York 2000.

Piening, Christopher: Global Europe. The EU in World Affairs, London 1997.

Soros, George: The Crisis of Global Capitalism, New York 1998.

Streeten, Paul: Globalisation. Threat or Opportunity? Copenhagen 2001.

Tetzlaff, Rainer (ed.): Weltkulturen unter Globalisierungsdruck, Bonn 2000.

Waters, Malcolm: Globalisation, London 1995.

English in politics, economics and law

English is going to be the language of European Studies teaching in South Eastern Europe. This means that good English language proficiency is a prerequisite for admission in any European Studies programme. Additional skills like fluency in the specialized terminology and vocabulary in such fields as politics, economics and law are essential for every graduate of these programmes. To achieve this goal during the study period a specialized language course should be offered.

Selected bibliography:

Basis for Business. New Edition, Berlin 1996.

Cullen, William / Lehniger, Doris: B for Business. A complete English course for students of Business Studies, Ismanning 2002.

Skills for Business English, Lower Intermediate, Intermediate and Advanced, Ismanning 2002.

The Multimedia Business English Course, Ismanning 2002.

2. Second semester

2.1 Fundamental courses

European history 1789 - 1945

Course description: The meaning of Europe as an historical identity has been very much debated in historiography. At least five different interpretations are to be distinguished: Europe as an area of common culture (main focus on ancient history [Greece, Rome] and the high middle ages), Europe as an area of specific dynamic (middle ages, modern times), Europe as an area of inter-state strife (modern history), Europe being molded by its special path to modernity (1750-1970), Europe as space of experience beginning in the 1960s.

The course should at the very beginning offer a survey of the different interpretations of European identity (see above). Following this, the European process of modernization and related crises should be the central point of discussion. Historians have carved out that the opponents to modernity under European circumstances were "endogenous". Out of this resulted a multitude of inner revolutions, wars as well as broad spectra of "isms" (liberalism, conservatism, socialism, communism etc.). Surely, European societies found other solutions to the problem of modernization than the USA and Japan. At the same time the process of modernization effectuated an ever-growing disparity between the European states being reduced only with the perfection of modernization in the 1950s and 1960s.

It is a good idea to combine a systematic and a more chronological approach while conceptualizing the course. The following disposition might be of help:

At first, historiographic theses regarding the problem of European identity could be covered, including Europe as an area of common culture; Europe as an area of specific cultural dynamic; Europe, space of strife; Europe's path to modernity; Europe as an experience space of the 1960s; and conclude with some deliberations on why we have so many difficulties in defining Europe. Afterwards, the development and structure of European modernity could be analyzed, including the peculiarities of European soci-

ety; processes of modernization; inner-European paths of modernization; and divergence and rapprochement of European societies. Finally, the phases of European history, 1789-1945, should be dealt with: First, the time of revolutions (including the crises of transition, the development of a European space of communication, and the birth of the "Isms"); second, the nation-building process and imperialism (nation-building by delimiting new borders; nation-building as a process of forced integration; and imperialism); and third, the end of the bourgeois era and the beginning of classical modernity (the crises of classical modernity; the causes of the First World War; the rupture of continuity in the 1920s; democracy, fascism and national socialism; and Europe's difficult path through modernity).

Selected bibliography:

Blanning, Timothy C. W. (ed.): The short Oxford history of Europe, Oxford 2000.

Charle, Christophe: La Crise des sociétés impériales. Allemagne, France. Grande-Davies, Norman: Europe. A history, Oxford 1996.

Dülmen, Richard van (ed.): Fischer Lexikon Geschichte, Frankfurt 1990.

Fehrenbach, Elisabeth: Vom Ancien Regime zum Wiener Kongreß, 4th edition (Oldenbourg – Grundriss der Geschichte, Vol. 12), München 2001.

Gabriel, Karl: Christentum zwischen Tradition und Postmoderne, Freiburg 1994.

Gall, Lothar: Europa auf dem Weg in die Moderne, 1850-1890, 3rd edition (Oldenbourg – Grundriss der Geschichte, Vol. 14), München 1997.

Hildebrand, Klaus: Das Dritte Reich, 5th edition (Oldenbourg – Grundriss der Geschichte, Vol. 17), München 1995.

Hobsbawm, Eric: Age of extremes. The short twentieth century, 1914-1991, London 1995.

Hobsbawm, Eric: Nations and nationalism since 1789. Programme, myth, reality, Cambridge 1995.

Hobsbawm, Eric: The age of capital, 1848-1875, London 1995.

Hobsbawm, Eric: The age of empire, 1875-1914, London 1989.

Hobsbawm, Eric: The age of revolution. Europe 1789-1848, London 1995.

Kaelble, Hartmut: A social history of Western Europe, 1880-1980, Dublin 1989.

Kaelble, Hartmut: Europäer über Europa, Frankfurt 2001.

Kühnhardt, Ludger: Von der ewigen Suche nach Frieden. Immanuel Kants Vision und Europas Wirklichkeit, Bonn 1996.

Langewiesche, Dieter: Europa zwischen Restauration und Revolution, 1815-1849, 3rd edition (Oldenbourg – Grundriss der Geschichte, Vol. 13), München 1993.

Mazower, Mark: Dark Continent. Europe's Twentieth Century, London 1999.

Möller, Horst: Europa zwischen den Weltkriegen (Oldenbourg – Grundriss der Geschichte, Vol. 21), München 2002.

Romano, Sergio: An outline of European history from 1789 to 1989, Oxford 1998.

Schmidt-Gernig, Alexander: Gibt es eine ‚europäische Identität‘? Konzeptionelle Überlegungen zum Zusammenhang transnationaler Erfahrungsräume, kollektiver Identitäten und öffentlicher Diskurse in Westeuropa seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, in: Schulze, Hagen: Phoenix Europa. Die Moderne. Von 1740 bis heute, Berlin 1998.

Schöllgen, Gregor: Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus; 4th edition (Oldenbourg – Grundriss der Geschichte, Vol. 15), München 2000.

Schulze, Winfried: Einführung in die Neuere Geschichte, Stuttgart 1996.

Therborn, Goran: European modernity and beyond. The trajectory of European societies, 1945-2000, London 1995.

Introduction to Macroeconomics

Course description: The objective of the course is to provide the students with a solid foundation in macroeconomic theory and policy from a European perspective. The course will start by presenting the standard neoclassical model of the economy. Optimal consumer choices of consumption, work effort, investment, and savings will be examined and discussed in the context of this model. The concepts of unemployment and inflation, and the roles of monetary and fiscal policies will be analyzed. Particular attention will be given to the process of economic growth and its implications for economic development. The course will conclude by contrasting the neoclassical model with the Keynesian model.

Selected bibliography:

- Barro, Robert J.: Macroeconomics, 5th edition, Cambridge, MA 1995.
- Barro, Robert J. / Grilli, Vittorio: European Macroeconomics, Houndsmills 1994.
- Barro, Robert J. / Sala-i-Martin, Xavier: Economic Growth, New York 1995.
- Burda, Michael / Wyplosz, Charles: Macroeconomics: a European Text, 2nd edition, Oxford 1997.
- Romer, David: Advanced Macroeconomics, New York 1996.

European political thought

Course description: Since the days of ancient European history, fundamental questions concerning the notion of man, the relationship between freedom and authority, the meaning of values and norms for the conduct of public life and the relationship between conflicting goals of politics have challenged thinkers. Their answers to specific questions of how to organize a public realm have been influenced either by theoretical presuppositions or were contingent on historical circumstances. Questions of power and on the role of institutions have been continuous aspects in the history of political thought in Europe. Though most political philosophers are connected to certain historical epochs – such as Aristotle and Plato to ancient history, Aquinas to medieval, Machiavelli to early modern, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu and Rousseau to the history of enlightenment, Karl Marx and Max Weber to modern social developments – their reasoning has often been of a rather universal nature.

Thus, this course will have to give an overview over the main lines of political thought in the history of the European continent. It will exemplify the most fundamental concepts in the light of the leading thinkers. It will systematize epochs and patterns of thought in the light of their relevance for the search for political and theoretical orientation in today's world of post communism and postmodernism.

The following disposition might be helpful: ancient Greece (Plato, Aristotle) and universal theories in Roman history (Stoa, Cicero, Roman state theory and law); Christian state theory (the church fathers, St. Augustine);

from Scholastics to Renaissance (Aquinas, Dante, Ockham and nominalism); theories of sovereignty (Marsilius of Padua, Conciliar theories, Cusanus); early modern absolutism and republicanism (Machiavelli); protestant state theory and the right to resistance (Luther, Calvin); antiroyalist tendencies (Jean Bodin); sovereignty and international law (Pufendorf, Althusius, Grotius, de Vitorio); the utopians (Moore, Bacon, Campanella); the rational state of power (Hobbes); natural law and enlightenment (Locke); theories of separation of power (Montesquieu) and *volonté générale* (Rousseau); the political anthropology of Immanuel Kant; American thought on revolution and democracy; philosophy of world spirit (Hegel); liberalism and utilitarianism (Mill and Bentham); Marx and Marxism; theories of crisis (Nietzsche, Darwin, Spengler); explicative sociology and critical rationalism (Weber, Aron, Popper); fascism and national socialism; existential radicalism, personalism, new beginnings in democratic theory; beyond the totalitarian age: on the conditions to maintain freedom.

Selected bibliography:

Bracher, Karl Dietrich: *The Age of Ideologies. A history of political thought in the twentieth century*, London 1985.

Dunn, John (ed.): *Democracy. The Unfinished Journey*, Oxford 1993.

Dunn, John: *Western political thought in the face of its future*, Cambridge 1993.

Kühnhardt, Ludger: *Zukunftsdenker. Bewährte Ideen politischer Ordnung für das dritte Jahrtausend*, Baden-Baden 1999.

Sabine, George H. / Thorson, Thomas L.: *A History of Political Theory*, Hinsdale, Illinois 1973.

Stromberg, Roland N.: *European intellectual history since 1789*, London 1986.

The Law of the European Union (I)

Course description: Before the Community could come into being, its foundations had to be created: the ‘European Treaties’. From the Community’s beginning until today, the Treaties grew up to be one of the central pillars on which the Community is based. But they are also the cornerstones of orientation if the integration process is – as experienced again and

again – vacillating between stagnation and progress. Thus, the aim of part I of this course will be to introduce and explain the system of the ‘Treaties’, starting at the time of the European Community for Coal and Steel and the Treaties of Rome and proceeding up to the present state of affairs of a growing EU – from Rome to Nice and beyond.

This part of the course will mainly deal with the legal foundation for the main actors of the Union: the Council, the Parliament and the Commission. A delineation of their competencies, their ‘legal power’ and their ‘behavior’ in the different legislative processes should be the focus of this course.

Selected bibliography:

Bernitz, Ulf / Nergelius, Joakim (eds.): The general principles of Community Law, The Hague 2000.

Borchardt, Klaus-Dieter: The ABC of Community Law, Luxembourg 2000.

Brylant: Traite de Maastricht: Genese, analyse, commentaires, 1993.

Dutheil De la Rochere, Jaqueline: Droit Communautaire Matériel, Paris 2001.

Frederico, G.: Democracy and constitutionalism in the European Union, Oxford 2000.

Hartley, Thomas: The Foundations of European Community Law, 4th edition, Oxford 1998.

Koenig, Christian / Pechstein, Matthias: Die Europäische Union, 2nd edition, Tübingen 1998.

Lynch, Philip: Reforming the European Union – from Maastricht to Amsterdam, Harlow 2000.

Oppermann, Thomas: Europarecht, 2nd edition, Munich 1999.

Sidjanski, Dusan: The federal future of Europe: from the European Community to the European Union, Michigan 2000.

Snyder, Francis: The Europeanisation of Law: The Legal Effects of European Integration (European University Institute), Oxford / Portland, Or. 2000.

Steiner, Josephine / Woods, Lorna: Textbook on EC Law, 7th edition, London 2000.

Streinz, Rudolf: Europarecht, 6th edition, 2001.

Weiler, Joseph: Creation of the European Union and its relation to the ECC treaties, Fiesole 1989.

German/French (II)

This course should be regarded as a continuation and extension of the first course German or French. It should deepen the knowledge especially in advanced vocabulary needed to study European Studies abroad in the next semester. It should also enable students to be able to listen to lecturers from abroad at their home university and to read scientific literature in these languages relevant for the Studies.

Selected bibliography:

Alain de Schlichting: Le Francais juridique, Ismanning 2002.

Dictionnaire d'economie et de sciences sociales, Berlin 1993.

Haensch, Günther / Desportes, Yvon: Wirtschaftsterminologie, Ismanning 2002.

Jung, Lothar: Fachsprache Deutsch - Rechtswissenschaft, Ismanning 2002.

2.2 Specialized courses

Balkan history in the 20th century

Course description: The course will provide the picture of a century full of conflict and suffering for the whole region: from the Balkan wars 1912/13 through the First World War 1914 – 1918 and the unresolved questions of nation building up to the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, then the new alliances and the Second World War which divided the region into spheres of influence of the two super-powers and finally imposed communism all over the region, with the exception of Greece and Turkey. The Balkan type of communism was much more brutal and almost led to a total isolation of the region from the mainstream of European development. The collapse of communism in the region coincided with the collapse of former Yugoslavia and led to the re-institution of the nation state building process with the creation of new independent states like Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also to four bloody wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Selected bibliography:

Banac, Ivo: *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*, Ithaca, N. Y. 1984.

Glenny, Misha: *The Balkans 1804 – 1999. Nationalism, War and the Great Powers*, London 1999.

Hatschikjan, Magarditsch / Troebst, Stefan (eds.): *Südosteuropa. Ein Handbuch. Gesellschaft, Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*. München 1999.

Judah, Tim: *The Serbs. History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, New Haven and London 1997.

Malcolm, Noel: *Bosnia. A short history*, London 1994.

Malcolm, Noel: *Kosovo. A short history*, London 1998.

Melcic, Dunja (ed.): *Der Jugoslawien-Krieg. Handbuch zu Vorgeschichte, Verlauf und Konsequenzen*, Opladen / Wiesbaden 1999.

Ramet, Sabrina P.: *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962 – 1991*, Bloomington, Indianapolis 1992.

Rusinow, Dennison: *The Yugoslav Experiment*, London 1977.

Sundhaussen, Holm: Geschichte Jugoslawiens 1918 bis 1980, Stuttgart 1982.

Todorova, Maria: Imagining the Balkans, New York, Oxford 1997.

Woodward, Susan: Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and dissolution after the Cold War, Washington 1995.

Enlargement of the European Union

Course description: The course might be divided into four parts. In the first part the arguments in favor of EU enlargement to Central and South Eastern Europe – introducing democracy and prosperity, transferring stability to a troubled region and creating a pan-European economic, social and security space – are presented. The second part deals with the candidates, their transformation and reform progress: the Baltic states, the Czech republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, the SEE countries, Cyprus and Malta, and the latest candidate – Turkey. The third part might be dedicated to the history of the process of EU Enlargement. It should start with some remarks about the previous enlargement rounds and then cover the Europe agreements, the Copenhagen criteria and the „White paper“ from 1995, the invitations of the Luxembourg and the Helsinki summit, and the negotiation process with the European Commission itself. The costs and benefits of EU enlargement will be discussed in the last part of the course. Who is going to pay, how much and what might the accession countries receive in return, what are the specific interests of individual countries? This part should cover the economic, the political and the security dimension of enlargement, but also the transformation of Europe into a global player.

Selected bibliography:

Algiers, Frank / Jamming, Josef / Rum berg, Dirk (eds.): Managing Security in Europe. The EU and the Challenge of Enlargement, Gütersloh 1996.

Bertelsmann Foundation (ed.): Central Eastern Europe and the European Union. Problems and Prospects of Integration, Gütersloh 1995.

Bertelsmann Foundation (ed.): Costs, Benefits and Chances of the Eastern Enlargement for the EU, Gütersloh 1998.

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- Dabrowski, Marek / Rostowski, Jacek (ed.): *The Eastern Enlargement of the EU*, Boston 2001.
- Funck, Bernard / Pizzati, Lodovico (ed.): *Labor Employment and Social Policies in the EU Enlargement Process: Changing Perspectives and Policy Options*, Washington 2001.
- Gabrisch, Hubert / Pohl, Rüdiger (eds.): *EU Enlargement and Its Macroeconomic Effect in Eastern Europe: Currencies, Prices, Investment, and Competitiveness*, New York 1999.
- Gros, Daniel / Steinherr, Alfred: *Winds of Change. Economic Transition in Central East Europe*, New York 1995.
- Kaiser, Karl / Brüning, Martin (eds.): *East Central Europe and the EU. Problems of Integration*, Bonn 1996.
- Lippert, Barbara / Schneider, Heinrich (eds.): *Monitoring Association and Beyond: The EU and the Visegrad States*, Bonn 1995.
- Lippert, Barbara / Becker, Peter (ed.): *Towards EU Membership. Transformation and Integration in Poland and the Czech Republic*, Bonn 1998.
- Ludlow, Peter et al. (eds.): *Preparing for Membership. The Eastward and Southern Enlargement of the EU* (Centre for European Policy Studies), Brussels 1996.
- Mair, Peter / Zielonka, Jan (ed.): *The Enlarged European Union: Unity and Diversity*, Portland 2002.
- Monar, Jörg: *EU Justice and Home Affairs and the Eastward Enlargement*, ZEI Discussion Paper C 91/2001, Bonn (Center for European Integration Studies).
- Neuhold, Hanspeter / Havlik, Peter / Suppan, Arnold (eds.): *Political and Economic Transformation in East Central Europe*. Boulder 1994.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development: *Migration Policies and EU Enlargement: The Case of Central and Eastern Europe*, Paris 2001.
- Weidenfeld, Werner (ed.): *A New Ostpolitik – Strategies for a United Europe*, Gütersloh 1997.
- Weidenfeld, Werner (ed.): *Central Eastern Europe on the Way into the EU*, Gütersloh 1996.

See also the Commission of the European Communities, DG Enlargement: Annual Reports, Summary Reports, Progress Reports concerning the economic reform and the economic situation in Central and Eastern Europe and the progress in the enlargement (www.europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement).

International crisis management in the Balkans since the 1990s

Course description: International actors already had a profound impact on the fate of the Balkans since the Berlin Congress of 1878, throughout the Balkan Wars, and up to 1945. It might be wise to take first a look at the interests and policies of the major European nations at that time. In comparison, the international crisis management in the Balkans, which started anew in 1991 with the attempt of the European Community to “save” Yugoslavia and to prevent Slovenia and Croatia from declaring their independence should then be the focal point of the seminar. Of course, this international engagement has to be analyzed in close connection both with the disintegration of former Yugoslavia and its repercussions as well as the evolving crisis management capacities of the United Nations, NATO, EC/EU and the CSCE/OSCE throughout the 1990s, which evolved primarily in response to serious deficiencies uncovered during the diverse crisis management efforts in the region. Thus, the successive crises in the region (Slovenia 1991, Croatia 1991/2, Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992 - 1995, Kosovo 1998/9, Macedonia 2001) should be dealt with consecutively, thereby looking at the policies of the relevant international actors, at converging and diverging interests and motives, at reasons for acting and for not acting, at evolving attitudes and capacities, at the instruments being employed (from observer missions and peace conferences to embargoes and air strikes), at the interaction with the local actors, and at the effects, successes as well as failures, of international crisis management in the Balkans up to the present.

Selected bibliography:

Biermann, Rafael (ed.): *Deutsche Konfliktbewältigung auf dem Balkan. Erfahrungen und Lehren aus dem Einsatz*, Baden-Baden 2002.

- Clewing, Konrad / Reuter, Jens: Der Kosovo-Konflikt. Ursachen – Akteure – Verlauf, München 2000.
- Daalder, Ivo H. / O'Hanlon, Michael E.: Winning Ugly. NATO's War to Save Kosovo, Washington D.C. 2000.
- Eisermann, Daniel: Der lange Weg nach Dayton. Die westliche Politik und der Krieg im ehemaligen Jugoslawien 1991 bis 1995, Baden-Baden 2000.
- Giersch, Carsten: Konfliktregulierung in Jugoslawien 1991-1995. Die Rolle von OSZE, EU, UNO und NATO, Baden-Baden 1998.
- Gow, James: Triumph of the Lack of Will. International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War, London 1997.
- Libal, Michael: Limits of Persuasion. Germany and the Yugoslav Crisis, 1991-1992, Westport 1997.
- Mahncke, Dieter (ed.): Old Frontiers – New Frontiers. The Challenge of Kosovo and its Implications for the European Union, Vienna 2001.
- Meier, Viktor: Wie Jugoslawien verspielt wurde, München 1995.
- Mockaitis, Thomas R.: The Former Yugoslavia, in Mockaitis, Thomas R.: Peace Operations and intrastate conflict: the sword or the olive branch? Westport, Conn. 1999, chapter 4.
- Paulsen, Thomas: Die Jugoslawienpolitik der USA 1989-1994, Baden-Baden 1995.
- Scherff, Dyrk: Die Fähigkeit der Europäischen Union zum aktiven Krisenmanagement: Lehren aus den Vermittlungsbemühungen 1991/92, in: Südosteuropa, 7-8 / 1998, pp. 298-333.
- Troebst, Stefan: Conflict in Kosovo: Failure of Prevention? An Analytic Documentation, 1992-1998, Flensburg 1998.
- Woodward, Susan: Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War, Washington 1995.

Regional cooperation in South Eastern Europe – a comparative approach

Course description: The course will try to portray the history, the present state of affairs and the perspectives of regional cooperation in South Eastern Europe. This includes the political, economic, security and cultural dimension of the process. It will cover the main multilateral forums, the South East European Cooperation Process (SEECP), including the South

East European Defense Ministerials (SEDM) and also the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) and the multilateral initiatives within the framework of the Stability Pact. A comparison with other regional cooperation forums such as the Baltic Sea cooperation, the cooperation among the three Baltic states, the Visegrad group, the Central European Initiative and others is advisable in order to demonstrate the modest stage at which the regional cooperation in SEE still is. Such a course will point out the utmost significance of regional cooperation in today's Europe for more prosperity and more stability in the region, and it will help to disperse some anxieties still existing about resurrecting some former Yugoslavian structures.

Selected bibliography:

There are still almost no monographies published on the topic. However, especially the Stability Pact has produced some very interesting, comprehensive papers, including:

European Commission, DG External Relations, Directorate Western Balkans: Regional Strategy Paper 2002-2006. CARDS Assistance programme for the Western Balkans (http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see/docs/cards/sp02_06.pdf)

European Investment Bank: Basic Infrastructure Investments in South-Eastern Europe. Regional Project Review, March 2000.

OECD and United Kingdom: Country Fact Sheets. A Summary of the Current State of the Investment and Business Environment and Key Policy Reform Priorities in South East Europe, prepared under the Investment Compact of the Stability Pact, 15 June 2000.

The World Bank: The Road to Stability and Prosperity in South Eastern Europe: A Regional Strategy paper, March 1, 2000 (www.seerecon.org/RegionalInitiatives/wbrs.pdf)

Please consult in addition the following internet addresses for further reading material:

www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see (European Commission, DG External Relations, Directorate Western Balkans)

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www.stabilitypact.org (Office of the Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact)

www.unece.org/seci/sec_ind.htm (U.S. South East European Cooperation Initiative)

www.seerecon.org (Economic Reconstruction and Development in South East Europe, joint Homepage of World Bank and European Commission)

www.eib.org/pub/news/btf/info.htm (Balkan Task Force, European Investment Bank)

www.tirsproject.org (Transport Infrastructure Regional Study, European Commission et al.)

www.mvp.hr/mvprh-www-eng/5-multilateral/seecp/index.html (South East European Cooperation Process, Homepage of the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with links to others)

www.bsec.gov.tr/index_tablef.htm (Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation)

Institutional developments in the EU since the Treaty of Maastricht

Course description: The aim of the course is to analyse the intergovernmental conferences (IGCs) of the 1990s, a central but also most ambiguous instrument of European diplomacy towards reforming, deepening, and enlarging the Community, now the Union. The course will take a special look at the process of institutional reform following the Treaty of Maastricht, taking into account the parallel process of Eastern enlargement and the pressures mounting. The course will have a three-fold approach: firstly, by focusing on the process and mechanisms of constitutional change in the past and present that brought a more advanced pre-federal system than most people realize; secondly, by evaluating the reforms decided upon in Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice and beyond. And thirdly, by looking at the Post-Nice-Process and the ongoing debate on constitutional reform, federalization, and democratization.

Selected bibliography:

Bourgeois, Jacques H. J. et al. (eds.): *La communauté européenne et les accords mixtes : quelles perspectives?*, Brussels 1997.

- Banchoff, Thomas / Smith, Mitchell P. (eds.): *Legitimacy and the European Union. The Contested Polity*, London / New York 1999.
- Bond, Martyn / Feus, Kim (eds.): *The Treaty of Nice Explained*, London 2001.
- Chrysochoou, Dimitris N.: *Democracy in the European Union*, London / New York 2000.
- Chrysochoou, Dimitris N.: *Theorizing European Integration*, London 2001.
- Cullen, Peter / Zervakis, Peter (eds.): *The Post-Nice Constitutional Debate*, Baden-Baden 2002.
- Das Vertragswerk von Nizza und die Verfassungsdiskussion in der Europäischen Union, in: *Integration*, 2/2001 (special edition).
- Duff, Andrew / Pinder, John / Pryce, Roy (eds.): *Maastricht and Beyond. Building the European Union*, London / New York 1994.
- Dyson, Kenneth H. F. / Featherstone, Kevin: *The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating Economic and Monetary Union*, Oxford 1999.
- European Commission (ed.): *European Governance. A White Paper*, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Community, 2001.
- Föllesdal, Andreas / Koslowski, Peter (eds.): *Democracy and the European Union*, Berlin / New York 1997.
- Fischer, Klemens H.: *Der Vertrag von Nizza. Text und Kommentar*, Baden-Baden / Zürich 2001.
- Hayward, Jack (ed.): *Elitism, Populism, and European Politics*, Oxford 1996.
- Höreth, Marcus: *Die Europäische Union im Legitimationstrilemma. Zur Rechtfertigung des Regierens jenseits der Staatlichkeit*, Baden-Baden 1999.
- Höreth, Marcus: *The European Commission's White Paper on Governance: A 'Tool-Kit' for closing the legitimacy gap of EU policy-making?*, Discussion Paper C 94 / 2002, Bonn (Center for European Integration Studies).
- Jopp, Mathias / Maurer, Andreas / Schmuck, Otto (eds.): *Die Europäische Union nach Amsterdam. Analysen und Stellungnahmen zum neuen EU-Vertrag*, *Analysen zur Europapolitik* No. 13, Bonn 1998 (Institut für Europäische Politik).

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Jopp, Mathias / Schmuck, Otto (eds.): Die Reform der Europäischen Union. Analysen – Positionen – Dokumente zur Regierungskonferenz 1996/97, Analysen zur Europapolitik No. 11, Bonn 1996 (Institut für Europäische Politik).

Maurer, Andreas / Wessels, Wolfgang (eds.): National Parliaments on their Ways to Europe: Losers or Latecomers? Baden-Baden 2001.

Miller, Vaughn: The Treaty of Nice and the Future of Europe Debate, London: House of Commons (Research Paper 01/49), 2001.

Monar, Jörg et al. (eds.): The Maastricht Treaty on European Union: Legal Complexity and Political Dynamic, Brussels 1993.

Monar, Jörg / Wessels, Wolfgang (eds.): The European Union after the Treaty of Amsterdam, New York 2001.

Mouton, Jean-Denis / Stein, Torsten (eds.): Ver une nouvelle Constitution pour l'Union européenne? La Conference intergouvernementale de 1996, Cologne 1997.

Tonra, Ben (ed.): Amsterdam: What the Treaty Means, Dublin 1997.

Weidenfeld, Werner (ed.): Amsterdam in der Analyse. Strategien für Europa, Gütersloh 1998.

Weidenfeld, Werner (ed.): Nizza in der Analyse: Strategien für Europa, Gütersloh 2001.

Wessels, Wolfgang / Engel, Christian (ed.): The European Union in the 1990s – Ever closer and larger?, Bonn 1993.

Westlake, Martin (ed.): The European Union beyond Amsterdam. New concepts of European integration, London / New York 1998.

3. Third semester

(Studies abroad)

4. Fourth semester

4.1 Fundamental courses

Cold War history (1945 – 1989 and beyond)

Course description: This course will have to analyze three different phases of European history since 1945: the period of bloc confrontation in Europe, starting from the post war conferences in Yalta and Potsdam; the peaceful revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe during 1989/90 and the dissolution both of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact in 1991; and the evolution of the new European landscape up to the present. The first phase will have to look at the origins of the Cold War (developments in the four German occupation zones, Marshall Plan, Truman doctrine, Berlin blockade, communist takeovers in Prague etc.), the founding phase of NATO, the Warsaw Pact and the European Communities until 1955, the hot phase of the Cold War with its crises especially in Cuba and Berlin, including the nuclear doctrines and the arms race on both sides, the years of détente and arms control from the early 1960s up to 1979, the new phase of tension following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and NATO's double track decision, and the Gorbachev years since 1985. The second phase will start with the first semi-democratic elections in Poland in early 1989, cover German unification and end with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in 1991. Finally, the course would try to focus on the main developments to the present: the transformation process in Central and Eastern Europe, the opening of the Euro-Atlantic institutions and their internal adaptations, and the developments in the Balkans, in the Caucasus, in Russia and Ukraine.

The course should give an overview, look at the different motives and interests of the state actors, including the domestic settings, discuss the Euro-Atlantic organizations involved and their evolving structures and tasks, and should point out the major motivating factors for the watershed events in

1989/90. Documents published in the last years about this period might offer fresh insights into policy formulation especially in Washington and Moscow.

Selected bibliography:

Ash, Timothy Garton: *We the People. The Revolution of '89*, Cambridge 1990.

Biermann, Rafael: *Zwischen Kreml und Kanzleramt. Wie Moskau mit der deutschen Einheit rang*, Paderborn 1997.

Bracher, Karl Dietrich: *Die Krise Europas*, Frankfurt 1993.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew: *The Grand Chessboard. American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, Wash. D.C. 1997.

Gaddis, John Lewis: *Strategies of Containment. A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy*, Oxford 1982.

Gasteyger, Curt: *Europa zwischen Einigung und Spaltung*, Bonn 1991.

Gompert, David C. / Larrabee, Stephen L.: *America and Europe: A Partnership for a New Era*, Cambridge 1997.

Hopf, Ted: *Understandings of Russian Foreign Policy*, Penn State Univ. Press, 1999. Jones, Robert A.: *The Soviet Concept of 'Limited Sovereignty' from Lenin to Gorbachev*, London 1990.

Kaplan, Lawrence S.: *The United States and NATO. The Formative Years*, Lexington, Kentucky, 1984.

Kühnhardt, Ludger: *Revolutionszeiten. Das Umbruchsjahr 1989 im geschichtlichen Zusammenhang*, München 1994.

Lukic, Reneo / Lynch, Allen: *Europe from the Balkans to the Urals. The Disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union*, Oxford 1996.

Mandelbaum, Michael: *The dawn of peace in Europe*, New York 1996.

Nation, R. Craig: *Black Earth, Red Star: A History of Soviet Security Policy, 1917-1991*, Ithaca, N.A. 1992.

Prins, Gwyn (ed.): *Spring in Winter: The 1989 Revolutions*, Manchester 1990.

Shevtsova, Lilia: *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality*, Washington 1999.

Yost, David S.: *NATO Transformed. The Alliance's New Roles in International Security*, Wash., D.C. 1998.

Zelikow, Philip / Rice, Condoleezza: *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, Harvard 1999.

Monetary and Fiscal Integration in the EU

Course description: The process of economic and monetary integration has dominated economic and political developments in Europe over the past decade, culminating in the introduction of the Single Market in 1992 and the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) in 1999. The objective of this course is to familiarize the students with the main issues pertaining to the process of economic and monetary integration. The course will cover the following topics: theory of optimum currency areas; exchange rates and European Monetary System; monetary union; fiscal policy in a monetary union; costs and benefits of EU and EMU enlargement; alternative monetary arrangements for accession candidate countries; and overview of historical phases of integration and regression.

Selected Bibliography:

Baldwin, Richard E.: *Towards an Integrated Europe* (Centre for Economic Policy Research, CEPR), London 1994.

Baldwin, Richard E. / Francois, J. / Portes, R.: *The Costs and Benefits of Eastern Enlargement: The Impact on the EU and Central Europe*, in: *Economic Policy*, April 1997, pp. 125-170.

Buti, Marco / Sapir, Andre (eds.): *Economic Policy in EMU*, Oxford 1998.

De Grauwe, Paul: *The Economics of Monetary Integration*, 4th edition, Oxford 2000.

Eijffinger, Sylvester C. / de Haan, Jakob: *European Monetary and Fiscal Policy*, Oxford 2000.

Fidrmuc, Jan / Horvath, Julius / Fidrmuc, Jarko: *Stability of Monetary Unions: Lessons from the Break-up of Czechoslovakia*, in: *Journal of Comparative Economics* 4 / 1999, pp. 753-781.

Fidrmuc, Jan / Mundschenk, Susanne / Traistaru, Iulia / von Hagen, Jürgen (forthcoming): *European Union Enlargement: Economic Consequences and Perspectives for the European Union*, in: *European Transition Report*, World Economic Forum, Davos 2002.

Pelkmans, Jacques: *European Economic Integration: Methods and Economic Analysis*, Longman Group 2001.

Pentecost, Eric J. / Poeck, Andre Van: *European Monetary Integration: Past, Present, and Future*, Northampton, MA 2001.

Rose, Andrew K.: *One Money, One Market: Estimating the Effect of Common Currencies on Trade*, in: *Economic Policy: A European Forum*, April 2000, pp. 7-45.

Torres, Francisco / Giavazzi, Francesco (eds.): *Adjustment and Growth in the European Monetary Union*, Cambridge, UK, 1993.

Ungerer, Horst: *A Concise History of European Monetary Integration: From EPU to EMU*, Westport, Conn. 1997.

The functioning of the Euro-Atlantic institutions

Course description: The course will provide an overview of the role and function of the four main Euro-Atlantic institutions: NATO, the WEU, the OSCE/CSCE, and the Council of Europe (the EU is dealt with in the other courses). Particular attention is being paid to how these institutions adapted to the fundamentally changed political and security environment in Europe after the end of the East-West conflict – concerning tasks and structures. In addition, it should be analyzed how successfully they contributed to the establishment of an interlocking web of institutions to create an undivided, secure and democratic Europe based on the principles of the rule of law and the protection of human rights.

The course will look at the policies and strategies NATO employed to achieve its principal goal during the Cold War, the containment of the Soviet military threat. With the end of the Cold War, the Alliance came under growing pressure to justify its continued existence as its main *raison d'être* – containing the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization – disappeared. The course will pay particular attention to NATO's efforts to adapt to the new security tasks in post Cold War Europe, namely stability transfer to Central and Eastern Europe and peace-keeping and peace-enforcement missions on behalf of the United Nations and the OSCE. It also discusses the debate within the Alliance about a new "transatlantic bargain", meaning the strengthening of the European pillar within the Alli-

ance, with the declared aim to assume greater responsibilities and burdens in crisis prevention and conflict management in and for Europe.

The Western European Union (WEU), the only purely European security organization, lived entirely in NATO's shadow until the end of the Cold War. Since the 1980s, it has been reinvigorated, with the members quarreling about whether the WEU should become the military arm of the EU or the European pillar of NATO. With the decision of the European Union to develop the Common European Security and Defense Policy this quarrel has been decided; most of the functions of the WEU have been transferred to the EU. The course will look at the history of the Brussels Treaty (1948-) and the WEU (1954-), analyze the differing aspirations of key EC/EU members as concerns the future of the WEU since the 1980s, look at its peace-keeping missions under the 'Petersberg tasks' in the wars of former Yugoslavia and analyze its transformation in the framework of ESDP.

The OSCE is a product of the East West conflict. The course should look at the history of that organization starting with the Helsinki Accord of 1975 and at its evolution in all three 'baskets'. After the end of the Cold War, the mission and the institutional composition of the CSCE changed fundamentally, being institutionalized and at the same time assuming new tasks. This process, beginning with the Charter of Paris in 1990, should be at the center of attention. The course will look at the ability of the OSCE/CSCE to develop into an organization with the primary task of crisis prevention in a Europe from Vancouver to Vladivostok, including its missions on the Balkans.

The Council of Europe, set up in May 1949, is mainly concerned with the promotion of the rule of law and human rights. With the end of the Cold War, it integrated new members from Central and Eastern Europe. The course will analyse the programs the Council of Europe adopted to promote cooperation and assistance for the new member states. The course will also address the Council's policies to further its main principles of the rule of law and respect of human rights in a wider Europe.

Selected Bibliography:

1. NATO

Blackwill, Robert D.: *The Future of Transatlantic Relations* (Council on Foreign Relations), 1999.

Brenner, Michael (ed): *NATO and Collective Security*, Houndsmills 1998.

Eisenhower, Susan (ed): *NATO at Fifty: Perspectives on the Future of the Transatlantic Alliance* (Center for Political and Strategic Studies), 1999.

Goldgeier, James N.: *Not Whether but When. The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO* (The Brookings Institutions) Washington, D.C. 1999.

Gordon, Philip H. (ed): *NATO's Transformation*, Lanham et al. 1997.

Gompert, David C. / Larrabee, Stephen F. (eds): *America and Europe, A Partnership in a New Era*, Cambridge 1997.

Haglund, David (ed): *Will NATO go east? The debate over enlarging the Atlantic Alliance*, London 1996.

Henderson, Sir Nicholas: *The Birth of NATO*, Bolder, Co. 1983.

Ireland, Timothy P.: *Creating the Entangling Alliance: The Origins of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, Westport, CN 1981.

Ismay, Lord: *The First Five Years 1949-1954*, Utrecht 1954.

Kaplan, Lawrence A.: *The Long Entanglement. NATO's First Fifty Years*, 1999.

Kaplan, Lawrence A.: *The United States and NATO: The Formative Years*, Lexington, Ky 1984.

Sloan, Stanley R.: *NATO's Future Toward a New Transatlantic Bargain*, 1985.

Wiebes, Cees / Zeeman, Bert: *The Pentagon Negotiations March 1948: the Launching of the North Atlantic Treaty*, in: *International Affairs* (London), Summer 1983, pp. 351-364.

Yost, David S.: *NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Role in International Security* (United States Institute of Peace), 1999.

2. WEU

Bloed, Arie / Wessels, Rmes A.: *The Changing Function of WEU. Introduction and Basic Documents*, Dordrecht 1994.

van Eekelen, Willem Frederik: *Debating European Security, 1948-1998* (Center for European Policy Studies), Brussels 1998.

Jopp, Mathias et al (eds): *Integration and Security in Western Europe. Inside the European Pillar*, Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford 1991.

Regelsberger, Elfriede et al (eds), *Foreign Policy of the European Union. From EPC to CFSP and Beyond*, Boulder, London 1997.

Tsakaloyannis, Panos (ed), *The Reactivation of the Western European Union. The Effects on the EC and its Institutions* (European Institute of Public Administration) Maastricht 1985.

Tsakaloyannis, Panos: *The European Union as a Security Community. Problems and Prospects*, Baden-Baden 1996.

3. CSCE/OSCE

Cuthbertson, Ian M. (ed), *Redefining the CSCE. Challenges and Opportunities in the New Europe*, Boulder, Co. 1992.

Heraclides, Alexis: *Helsinki-II and its Aftermath. The Making of the CSCE into an International Organization*, London / New York, 1993.

Maresca, John J.: *To Helsinki. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1973-1975*, Durham, NC 1985.

Peters, Ingo (ed): *New Security Challenges: The Adaptation of Institutions. Reforming the UN, NATO, CSCE and EU since 1989*, Münster 1996.

See also the OSCE Yearbooks of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg, Germany

4. Council of Europe

Bauer, Hans-Joachim: *Der Europarat nach der Zeitenwende 1989-1999*, Münster 2001.

van Ek, J. A. et al (eds): *Threshold 1990: Council of Europe*, Cambridge, 1998.

Holtz, Uwe: *50 Jahre Europarat*, Baden-Baden 2000.

The Law of the European Union (II)

Course description: Not less important than the ‘Treaties’ themselves in the ‘European Law sphere’ are the processes of decision-making in general and of legislation in specific. Thus, the first section of Part II of the course on European Law will deal with the different approaches in defining the contents and aims of Community law and in explaining the often long running negotiations to find ‘acceptable’ results.

The other section will explain in more detail the legal foundation provided in the EC Treaty by selecting some major issues of European Community law. The focus should be on the economic rules contained in the EC Treaty which are of fundamental importance for the functioning of the internal market and the basic liberties. ECJ ruling will be incorporated.

Selected bibliography:

Emmert, Frank: *European Law: Cases*, The Hague 2000.

Favret, Jean-Marc: *L’essentiel de l’Union européenne et du droit communautaire* 3rd edition, Paris 2001.

Heineken, Armin / Bremen, Christian: *Die Europäische Union als Rechts- und Verfassungsraum: Zukünftige Aufgaben und Gegenwart*, St. Augustin 2001.

Hummer, Valdemar / Simma, Bruno / Vedder, Christoph: *Europarecht in Fällen*, 3rd edition, Baden-Baden 1999.

Kiikeri, Markku: *Comparative legal reasoning and European law*, Dordrecht 2001.

Kirchner, Emil-Josep: *Decision-making in the European Council the Council presidency and the European Integration*, Manchester 1992.

Lasok, K.P.E. / Lasok, Dominik: *Laws and institutions of the European Union*, 7th edition, London 2001.

Van Raepenbusch, Sean: *Droit institutionnel de l’Union et des Communautés européennes*, 3rd edition, Bruxelles, 2001.

Justice and Home Affairs Policy of the EU

Course description: With the Treaty of Amsterdam, the development of EU policies in Justice and Home Affairs was transformed into a fundamental treaty objective. The goals have been defined by the Treaty to develop the EU as an “area of freedom, security and justice.” During the Finnish EU presidency in 1999, a new impulse was given to speed up the development of relevant concepts and instruments. The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington of September 11, 2001 have increased the awareness to organize the security for Union citizens in a consistent, effective and speedy way. A European arrest warrant and a EU definition of terrorism demonstrated quick reactions to the new challenges of security. The fundamental question remains a political one: shall ‘Justice and Home Affairs’ remain an intergovernmental prerogative or shall they be incorporated – and up to which extent – into the supranational structure of the EU?

The course will study the issues of internal security and its relation to the norm of freedom in the light of conceptual differences and the potential for enhanced coordination as envisaged by the Nice Treaty, not the least in light of EU enlargement. This will include: immigration and asylum; visa policy; police and customs cooperation; fight against organized crime; judicial cooperation; the charter of fundamental rights; and, last not least, the Schengen agreement and its implications.

Selected bibliography:

Achermann, Albert et al. (ed.): Schengen und die Folgen: der Abbau der Grenzkontrollen in Europa, Bern / München / Wien 1995.

Bieber, Roland (ed.): Justice and Home Affairs in the European Union. The Development of the Third Pillar, Brussels 1995.

Boer, Monica den / Wallace, William: Justice and Home Affairs, in: Wallace, Helen / Wallace, William (eds.): Policy-making in the European Union, 4th edition, Oxford 2000.

Bunyan, Tony (ed.): From Trevi to Maastricht (1976 – 1993). 60 Reports and Documents on Policing, Immigration and Asylum, London 1997.

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Cordesman, Anthony: A new transatlantic strategy for terrorism and asymmetric warfare, Occasional Papers of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Washington, D.C. 2001.

Cullen, David / Monar, Jörg / Myers, Philip: Cooperation in Justice and Home Affairs: An Evaluation of the Third Pillar in Practice, Brussels 1996.

Hall, Ben / Bhatt, Ashish: Policing Europe: EU Justice and Home Affairs Co-operation, London 1999.

Hrbley, Vendelin: Les accords de Schengen: origine, fonctionnement, avenir, Bruxelles 1998.

Joubert, Chantal / Bevers, Hans: Schengen Investigated: A Comparative Interpretation of the Schengen Provision on International Police Cooperation in the Light of the European Convention on Human Rights, The Hague / Boston 1996.

Key Texts on Justice and Home Affairs in the European Union, London 1997.

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (ed.): Die Terroranschläge vom 11. September und ihre Folgen. Eine Handreichung, St. Augustin 2001.

Lodge, Juliet: Justice and Home Affairs (Centre for European Studies), Hull 1995.

Monar, Jörg / Morgan, Roger (eds.): The Third Pillar of the European Union: Cooperation in the Fields of Justice and Home Affairs, Brussels 1994.

Peers, Steve: EU Justice and Home Affairs Law, Harlow et al. 2000.

Taschner, Hans Claudius: Schengen: Die Übereinkommen zum Abbau der Personenkontrollen an den Binnengrenzen von EU-Staaten, Baden-Baden 1997.

Thiel, Elke: Das Engagement der EU nach dem 11. September. Katalysator der Integration und für die Euro-Atlantische Partnerschaft? SWP-Aktuell 26, December 2001, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin.

See also the Homepage of the DG Justice and Home Affairs of the EU Commission: (www.europa.eu.int/comm/justice_home/index_en.htm) and also the special information on the Homepage of the Council of the European Union (www.consilium.eu.int/jai/home.asp?lang=en.htm)

4.2 Specialized courses

The dissolution of former Yugoslavia and beyond

Course description: To deal with this complex and controversial issue, it is advisable to take at first a look at the history of the First and the Second Yugoslavia: the differing concepts concerning a South Slavic unification before 1918, the reasons for the failure of the ‘Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes’, the differing policies of the Yugoslav peoples towards the occupation powers during both World Wars, the intra-war decision making on the future shape of Yugoslavia, and Tito’s concept and policies to uphold an inter-ethnic equilibrium during his rule. The dissolution process itself might be dealt with by looking at different factors which proved decisive for the dissolution process: the constitutional dimension (the 1974 constitution and the status of the Autonomous Provinces, the widening gap between the protagonists of centralism versus federalism/confederalism); the political dimension (democratization and European orientation in Slovenia, later Croatia, versus resurgence of Serb nationalism instrumentalized by Milosevic); the socio-economic dimension (the economic collapse with its social and political repercussions); the military dimension (especially the role of the People’s Army, the Territorial Defense Forces, the police and the paramilitary forces); the historical dimension (especially the campaigns reviving memories of the past for present purposes). The decisive years 1986 to 1989, including the Kosovo issue, should receive sufficient attention. In addition, individual personalities, differing national concepts and perceptions, and also the striking contrast with developments in the other parts of Europe deserve to be discussed. A purely national approach to the topic should be avoided, as well as a primary reliance on domestic literature.

Selected bibliography:

Bennett, Christopher: *Yugoslavia’s Bloody Collapse*, London 1995.

Bremer, Thomas / Popov, Nebojsa / Stobbe, Heinz-Günther (eds.): *The road to war in Serbia. Trauma and catharsis*, Budapest 2000.

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- Clewing, Konrad / Reuter, Jens: Der Kosovo-Konflikt. Ursachen, Akteure, Verlauf, München 2000.
- Daalder, Ivo H. / O'Hanlon, Michael E.: Winning Ugly. NATO's War to Save Kosovo, Washington, D.C. 2000.
- Holbrooke, Richard: To end a war, New York 1998.
- Judah, Tim: The Serbs. History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia, New Haven/London 1997.
- Malcolm, Noel: Bosnia. A short history, London 1994.
- Malcolm, Noel: Kosovo. A short history, London 1998.
- Meier, Victor: Wie Jugoslawien verspielt wurde, München 1999.
- Melcic, Dunja (ed.): Der Jugoslawien-Krieg. Handbuch zu Vorgeschichte, Verlauf und Konsequenzen, Opladen/Wiesbaden 1999.
- Mintchev, Emil: South Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 21st century, New dangers, new strategies, new perspectives, Discussion Paper C82 / 2001 (Center for European Integration Studies).
- Naimark, Norman M.: Fires of hatred. Ethnic cleansing in twentieth-century Europe, Cambridge 2001.
- Rüb, Matthias: Der letzte Diktator. Slobodan Milosevic, Wien 2001.
- Sundhaussen, Holm: Geschichte Jugoslawiens 1918 bis 1980, Stuttgart 1982.
- Sundhaussen, Holm: Ethnonationalismus in Aktion: Bemerkungen zum Ende Jugoslawiens, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft, 20/1994, pp. 402-423.
- Silber Laura / Little, Allen: The death of Yugoslavia, London 1995.
- Triantaphyllou, Dimitrios (ed.): What Status for Kosovo? Chaillot Papers 50 / October 2001, Paris (Institute for Security Studies of the Western European Union).
- Woodward, Susan: Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and dissolution after the Cold War, Washington 1995.
- Yannis, Alexandros: Kosovo under International Administration: An unfinished conflict, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Athens 2001.

The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe

Course description: Since the Stability Pact is in its scope and format unique, determining to a good extent the future of the whole region, with relevance concerning structural conflict prevention far beyond the region, it deserves a separate course. Main topics of the course should be: the concept of conflict prevention in theory and practice, an evaluation of the predecessors of the Stability Pact and their 'rivals' (Royaumont Process, South East European Cooperation Process, EU Regional Approach); the founding phase of the Stability Pact in early 1999, closely connected with the Kosovo war and the ESDP initiative of the EU; the interests and motives of the different actors involved; the structure and the working procedures of the Pact; the evolution, the results and the deficits up to the present.

Selected bibliography:

Biermann, Rafael: The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe – potential, problems and perspectives, Discussion Paper C56 / 1999, Bonn (Center for European Integration Studies).

Biermann, Rafael: Südosteuropa am Scheidepunkt? Der Stabilitätspakt, das Ende der Milosevic-Ära und die neu aufbrechende „albanische Frage“, in Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (ed.): Jahrbuch Internationale Politik 1999/2000, Berlin 2002.

Cortright, David (ed.): The Price of Peace. Incentives and International Conflict Prevention, New York 1997.

Ehrhart, Hans-Georg: Preventive Diplomacy or Neglected Initiative: The Royaumont Process and the Stabilization of Southeastern Europe, in: Ehrhart, Hans-Georg / Schnabel, Albrecht (eds): The South East European Challenge: Ethnic Conflict and the International Response, Baden-Baden 1999, pp. 177-195.

Emerson, Michael: On the Forming and Reforming of the Stability Pacts: From the Balkans to the Caucasus, CEPS Policy Brief No. 4 / May 2001, Brussels (Center for European Policy Studies).

Jentleson, Bruce (ed.): Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized. Preventive Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War World, New York 2000.

Mintchev, Emil: Europe und die Probleme des Balkans. Ein Jahr Stabilitätspakt für Südosteuropa, in *Internationale Politik*, 8 / 2000, pp. 53-58.

Ramirez-Cárdenas Diaz, Juan-Diego: The Stability Pact, in: Mahncke, Dieter (ed.): *Old Frontiers – New Frontiers. The Challenge of Kosovo and its Implications for the European Union*, Bern 2001, pp. 175-199.

Vukadinovic, N.: Les enjeux de la stabilisation et de la reconstruction des Balkans, in: *Politique étrangère*, 1/2000.

Welfens, Paul J. J.: *Stabilizing and Integrating the Balkans*, Berlin / Heidelberg, New York 2001.

See also the Homepage of the Office of the Coordinator of the Stability Pact (www.stabilitypact.org).

The EU Stabilization and Association Process for the ‘Western Balkans’

Course description: This course, which is closely linked both to the Stability Pact and the Enlargement course, will gain significance over the years to come, as the SAA process is presumed to be the core instrument of the Stability Pact, a tool of the EU for drawing the region – the new “potential candidates” – nearer to the EU, with a perspective of full membership. Thus, the course might concentrate on the rationale for opening the European Union after the Kosovo war also to the ‘Western Balkans’ (a term used in the DG External Relations of the EU Commission), including the strongly dissenting views among the EU governments at that time; the evolution of the SAA process since 1999; the instruments of the process (SAA agreements, CARDS programme, trade liberalization); the state of affairs for each individual country of the region; and the future perspectives of the process.

Selected bibliography:

Altmann, Franz-Lothar: Die Balkanpolitik der EU – Regionalansatz und Prinzip der Konditionalität, in: *Südosteuropa*, 10-11/1998, pp. 505-513.

Biermann, Rafael: Die europäische Perspektive für den westlichen Balkan. Die EU im Zwiespalt, in: *Osteuropa*, 8/2001, pp. 922-937.

Biermann, Rafael: The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe – potential, problems and perspectives, Discussion Paper C56 / 1999, Bonn (Center for European Integration Studies).

Friis, L. / Murphy, Anna: Negotiation in a Time of Crisis: The EU's Response to the Military Conflict in Kosovo, revised version of a paper presented at the Colloquium "The EU as a Negotiated Order", Burleigh Court, Loughborough University, 22/23 October 1999.

Landesverteidigungsakademie Wien (ed.): Zur Problematik der Stabilisierung des Westbalkans, Studien und Berichte zur Sicherheitspolitik, 6 / 2000, Vienna.

Spinant, Daniela: Implications for the Enlargement Process, in: Dieter Mahncke (ed.): The Challenge of Kosovo and its Implications for the European Union, Bern 2001, pp. 249-268.

Varwick, Johannes: The Kosovo crisis and the European Union: The Stability Pact and its Consequences for EU Enlargement, in: Krause, Joachim / Spillmann, K. R. (ed.): Kosovo: Lessons Learned for International Cooperative Security, Bern 2000.

Wittkowsky, Andreas: Südosteuropa und die Europäische Union: Stabilität durch Integration?, in: Südosteuropa, 3/2000, pp. 157-174.

See also the Homepage of the DG External Relations of the European Commission (www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations).

From CFSP to ESDP

Course description: When the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) was established with the Maastricht Treaty, it was a response to the growing deficiencies experienced with the informal foreign policy coordination as part of the European Political Cooperation already established in 1970, and it was in answer to a range of internal and external challenges the EU faced. Internally, the completion of the Single Market and the drive towards EMU necessitated corresponding moves towards a Political Union, of which CFSP was a central element. Externally, Europe was expected to use its economic weight to achieve more political influence and ensure stability around its borders. In addition, the peaceful revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe as well as the dissolution processes both in the Soviet

Union and in Yugoslavia called for a more coherent EU policy towards the new neighbors in the East and the potentially destabilizing effects of the dissolution processes in the Soviet Union and the Balkans.

Thus, the course examines, based on a look at European Political Cooperation since 1970, the development of CFSP since Maastricht, its major weaknesses (especially as revealed in the EU attempts to mediate in the dissolution process of former Yugoslavia) and its gaining momentum since the Amsterdam Treaty and the Kosovo war which catalyzed the drive to an impressive set of decisions taken by the EU since the Cologne and Helsinki summits in 1999 towards a European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP). The implications of the global coalition against terrorism, formed after the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, will also have to be analyzed.

Selected bibliography:

Fröhlich, Stefan: Der Ausbau der Europäischen Verteidigungsidentität zwischen WEU und NATO, Discussion Paper C19 / 1998, Bonn (Center for European Integration Studies).

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‘Finalité Européenne’: Options for the Future

Course description: This course will look into the manifold concepts and notions of a Political Union which could lead to a ‘final political quality’ of the European integration process. It will reflect about the parameters of the most recent debates in the context of the processes of institutional reforms in the EU (Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice, post-Laeken) and it will analyze the dilemmas and implications of the possible options for a ‘finalité européenne’.

Based on the frustrations with the results of the Nice Treaty, after a series of public presentations by leading European politicians on the “future of Europe” and in the light of the positive experiences with the Convention that drafted the ‘Charter for Basic Human Rights of the EU’ in 2000, the EU Summit in Laeken (December 2001) installed a new Convention which is about to prepare options and consensual parameters for a European constitution. It might be promulgated in the further process of EU institutional reforms before or parallel to the next EU enlargement in 2004. The course will have to take this ongoing process into account and also have to discuss the positions of the future new member states on the perspectives for European integration.

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Das **Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung (ZEI)** wurde 1995 als selbständig arbeitende, interdisziplinäre Forschungseinrichtung an der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn gegründet. In Forschung, Lehre und Politikberatung sowie im Dialog zwischen Wissenschaft und Praxis beteiligt sich das ZEI an der Lösung bisher unbewältigter Probleme der europäischen Einigung und der Gestaltung der Rolle Europas in der Welt. Weitere Informationen finden Sie auf unserer Homepage im Internet: <http://www.zei.de>.

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