



# HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION 2022-2025 Reina Zenelaj (Shehi)

*Course offered in the framework of the Jean Monnet Module “EU Integration of Western Balkans: Patterns and Issues” (WB-EU Path Module)*

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# Brief Course Description

This course offers a comprehensive introduction to the historical evolution of the European Union (EU), from its philosophical and cultural roots to its institutional development and contemporary challenges. Students will explore the idea of "Europe"—as a geographical space, political project, and cultural identity—and trace how the EU emerged in the aftermath of World War II as a response to conflict, division, and the desire for lasting peace and prosperity.

Through historical analysis and critical debate, the course examines the motivations behind European integration, the key actors and treaties that shaped the EU, and the evolving nature of sovereignty, identity, and democracy in the European context. Special attention will be given to the unique nature of the EU as a supranational organization and its ongoing relevance on the global stage.



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# Relevance to EU Studies

- Understanding the historical foundations of the European Union is essential for any serious study of EU politics, law, economy, or international relations. The EU is not simply a product of treaties and institutions are the result of centuries of ideas, conflicts, and cooperation that shaped Europe's modern identity.
- This course situates the EU within the broader history of European statehood, empire, war, and peace. It highlights how Europe's geography, political values, and collective memory influence today's debates over enlargement, governance, and legitimacy. By exploring both the origins and evolving meaning of "Europe," students gain a critical framework to understand the EU's structure, aims, and limits.
- The course also addresses the EU's global significance, from its partnership with the United States to its role in international diplomacy, development, and environmental leadership.



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# Learning Outcomes

- Students will learn about the transformation from pro-European ideas to the current structures and perspectives of EU
- Students will critically reflect upon union's historical political and economic integration processes.
- Students will be able to collect and interpret data based on recent historical documents
- Students will be able to critically present and judge public debates on EU values, identity, democratization deficits and continuous challenges.
- Students will discuss histories of integration and disintegration (case of Brexit)



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# Topics

- Introduction
  - The new postwar economic and political world order: Europe before European Integration
  - The Idea of a united Europe
  - Integration process: Economic Optimism and Political Power
  - Common Agricultural Policy
- 
- Social Policy
  - Regionalization versus globalization
  - Opportunities and Challenges of Enlargement
  - A history of Crisis
  - The rise of anti-EU populist nationalism
  - International Environment and Socio-Economic Achievements



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# Lecture Notes



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# TOPIC 1

## Introduction

“The contribution which an organized and living Europe can bring to civilization is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations.... A united Europe was not achieved [in the interwar period] and we had war.



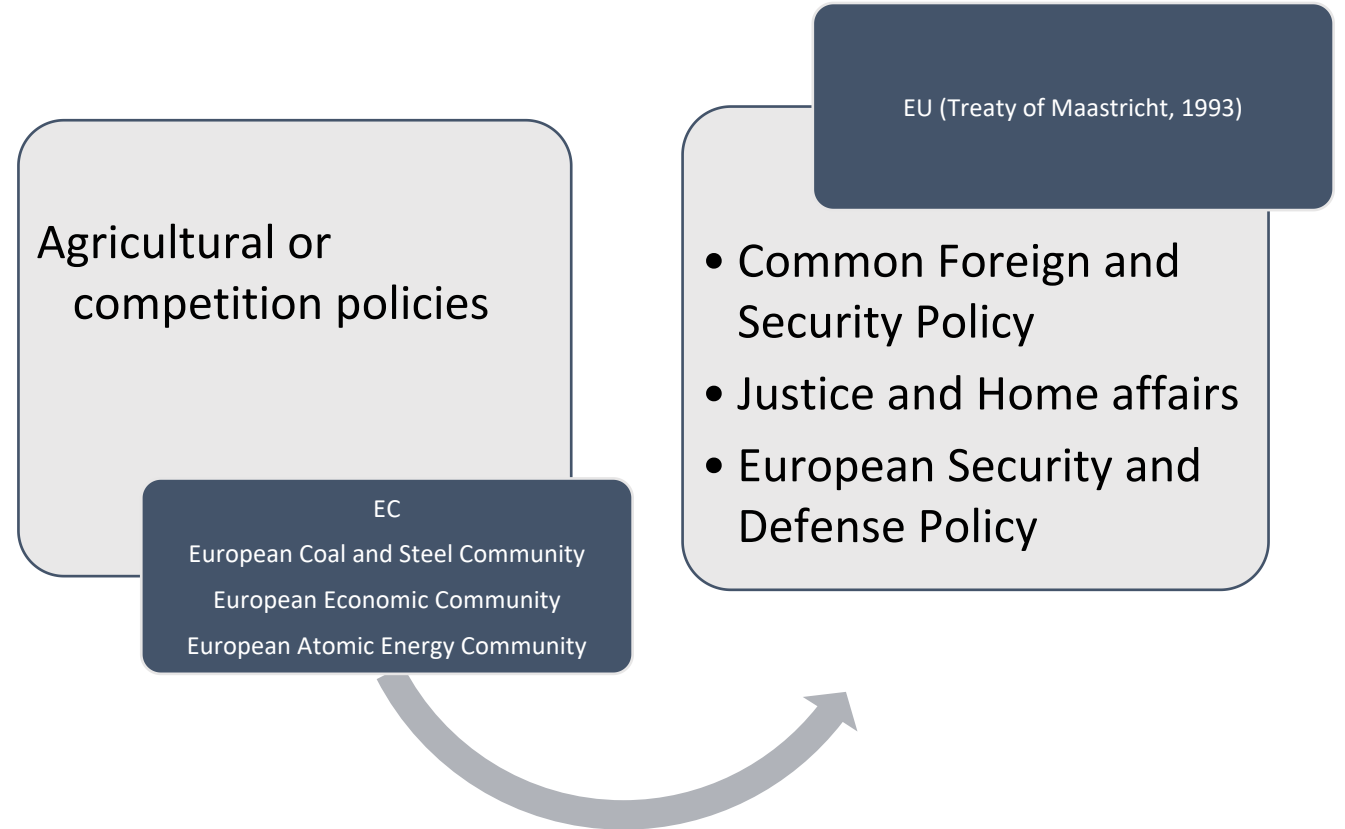
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- How could Europe break the cycle of violence to which it seemed doomed to repeat?

Evolution of  
integration in  
Europe is not an  
act of coercion.  
States decide for  
themselves  
whether and  
when to join.



# What is EUROPE

## Geographic

- Turkey – Sick man of Europe, not Asia
- Ottoman's (East) European orientation- empire- Serbia to Iraq and from Romania to Egypt and Arabian Peninsula

Russia- Ural Mountains?



# Political- cultural term

“Locating Europe on a map is a test of political values. Where we look depends upon what we are looking for.”

The real demarcation between Europe and Asia is no chain of mountains, no natural frontier, but a system of beliefs and ideas which we call Western Civilization.

“Europe is a spiritual conception.”

Churchill

“The beginning of Europe was a political conception; but even more, it was a moral idea

Jean Monnet, one of the

EU’s “founding fathers





What is not EU?

- X State
- X Federation
- X International organization
- X Government
- X Territory



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# Is EUROPE- EU?

Morocco's application in 1987  
X- not a European State

Turkey – accession negotiation  
since 1963



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# What is EU ?

- Key terms Integration & Customs union
- Not all agree on what precisely integration mean and how far it should proceed
- What about its political dimension?- European External Action Service



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# What is EU ?

- A grouping of 27 states?
  - – What about its social dimension such as labor policies
  - What about its cultural dimension – the Cultural Capital of Europe
- A partnership?
- “ a unique economic and political partnership between 27 democratic European countries.. (designed to promote) peace prosperity and freedom?
- interest based? EU can only accept- cannot

Symbol



# What is EU ?

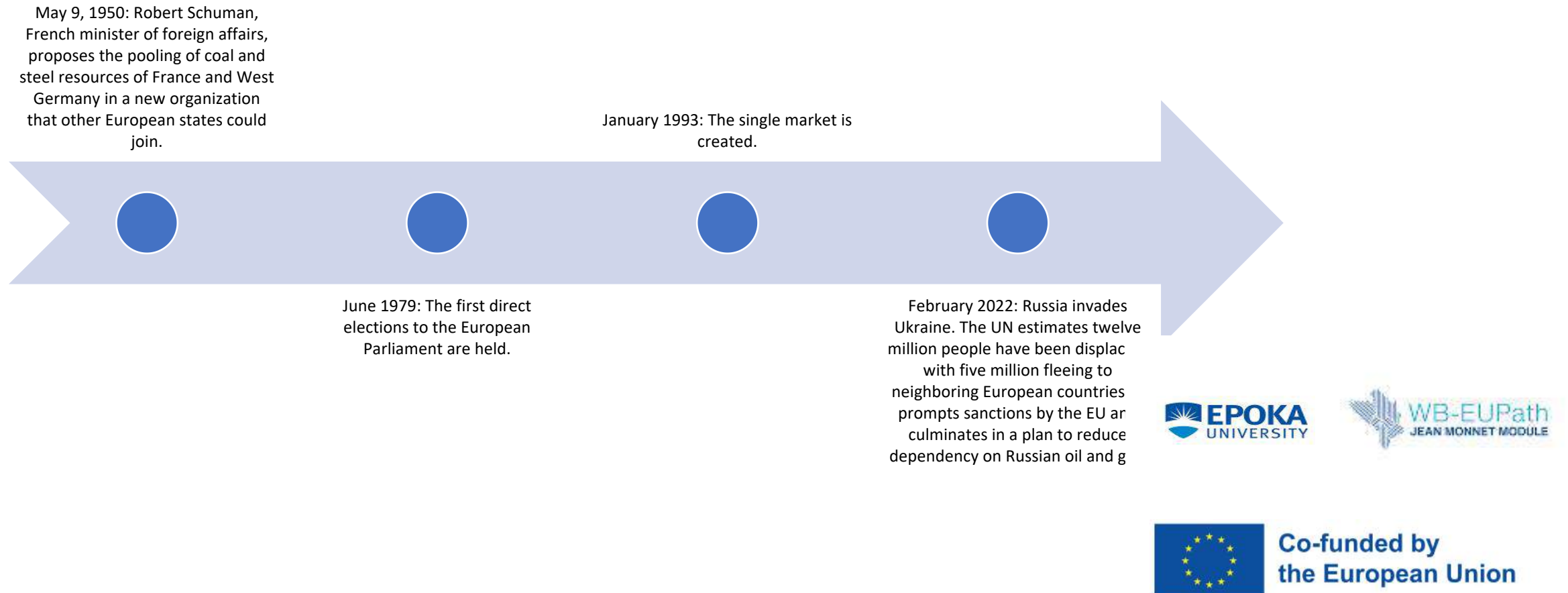
- “The EU is a family of democratic European countries, committed to working together for peace and prosperity.... [It is a unique organization whose] member states have set up common institutions to which they delegate some of their sovereignty so that decisions on specific matters of joint interest can be made democratically at European level.”

provided by  
the European Delegation to Albania



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# Timeline of Key Dates in European Integration





# EU vis a vis US

United in diversity

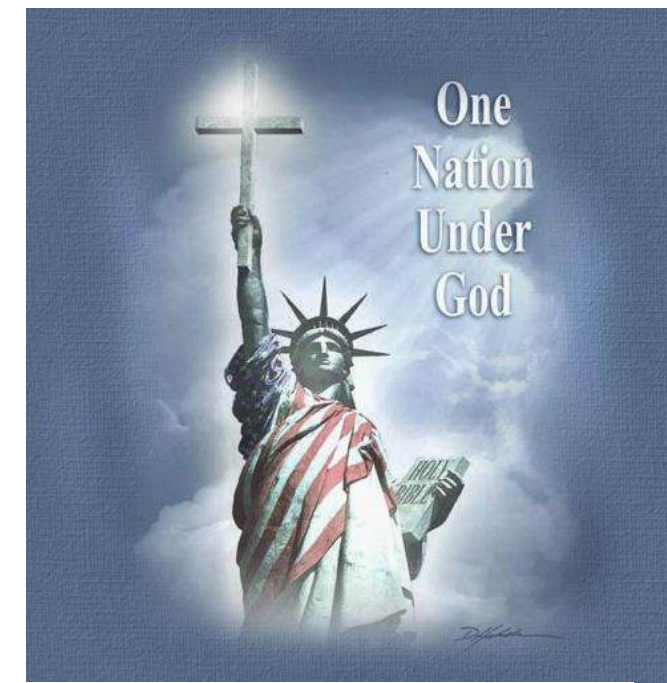
Rule of law

Diversity is the end itself

One nation under God

Melting pot

Diversity a means to an end



What is A European- The New York Times



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# What do European want from EU

## PLENTY OR POWER?

- 1) to enhance Europe's political weight and safeguard peace and security of European citizens
- 2) to foster economic *growth and social welfare*
- *Can it accomplish both tasks?*



## TOPIC 2

The new postwar economic and political world order: EUROPE BEFORE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION



- How much is EU integration a personal issue?



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## « prix planchers » pour les agriculteurs, une proposition portée depuis longtemps par le RN



JOHANNA GERON / REUTERS

A l'occasion de sa deuxième journée au Salon de l'agriculture, lundi 26 février, le président du Rassemblement national a fait volte-face sur l'instauration de « prix planchers » sur les produits agricoles, une proposition pourtant portée depuis plus d'une décennie par son parti.

**JM** Les pays membres de l'UE prêts à assouplir la PAC sous la pression des agriculteurs

Comment l'agriculture en France s'est métamorphosée en 150 ans



AFP

Joe Biden évoque un accord des Israéliens pour suspendre leurs opérations militaires à Gaza pendant le ramadan



GONZALO FUENTES / REUTERS

• **LIVE** Macron dit que l'envoi de troupes occidentales en Ukraine ne peut « être exclu », même s'il n'y a pas actuellement de consensus

Google Translate



TRIBU  
Benjamin E

**JM** « Les mêmes : l'affaiblissement de l'Etat déversent à sur la justice Benjamin Blanchet, tribunal judiciaire de la décision du Conseil pluralisme à la télé sur CNews, reçue à déconce

3 min de

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# 'Path dependence' - Renewal of the past in the present?



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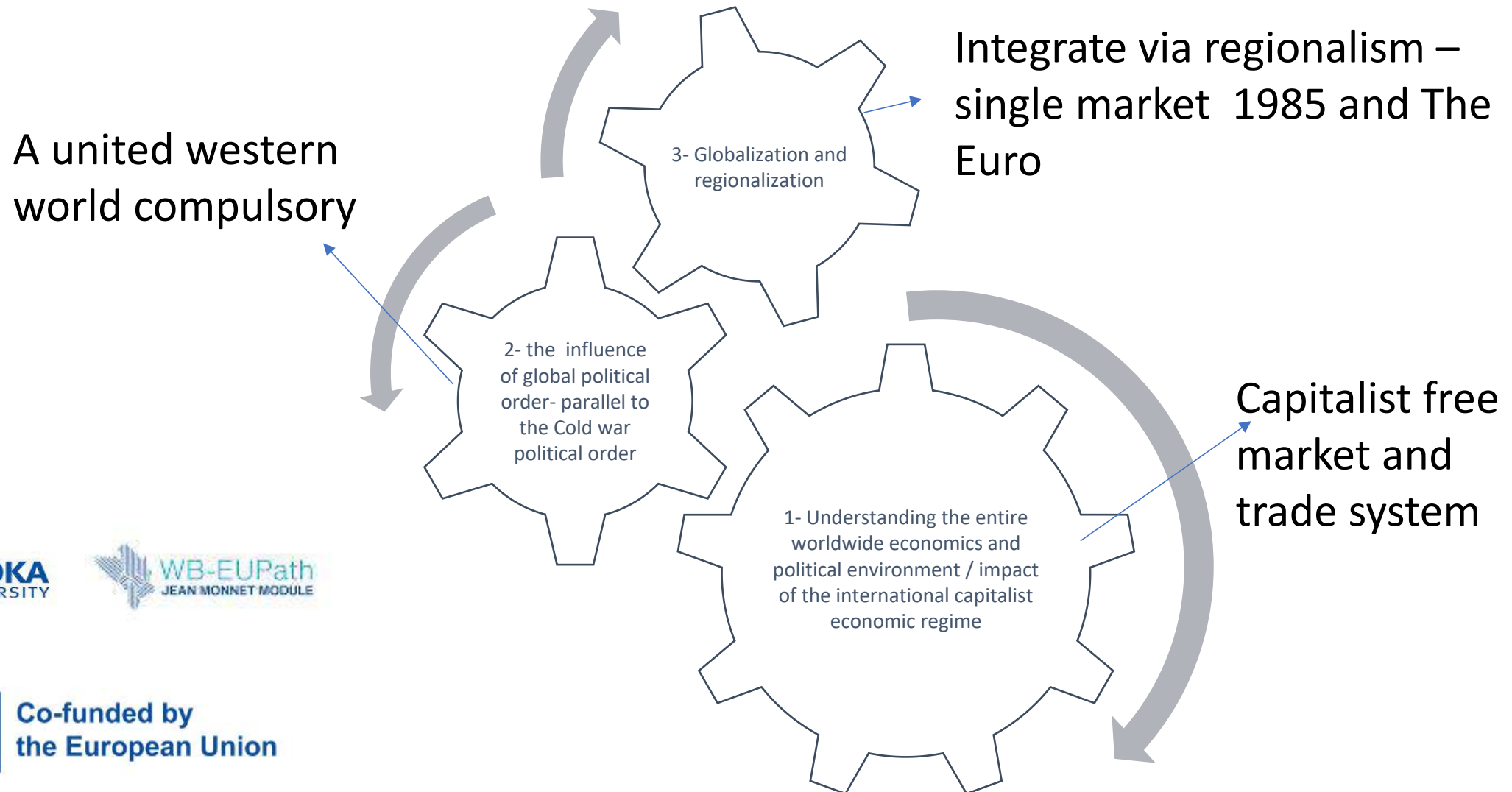


“Europe will be forged in crisis, and will be the sum of the solutions adopted for those crises” Jean Monnet, one of the founding fathers of EU



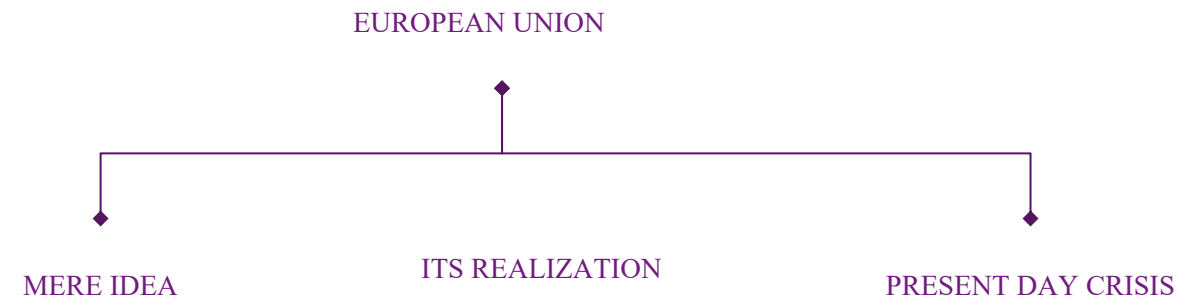
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# How to approach history of European Integration?



# European Union

Idealist dreamers & calculating, pragmatist  
integrationist politicians



# Post War Economic Order

Revolutionary wars

Ethnic cleansing

Civil war

Uncontrollable criminal activities

Famine

“Hungry nations” New York Times , April 1945  
“ Have 11-12 million tons of wheat instead of the 20 million, needed”

– population deficit of 110-120 million





## Savage Continent: Europe in the Immediate Aftermath of World WAR II

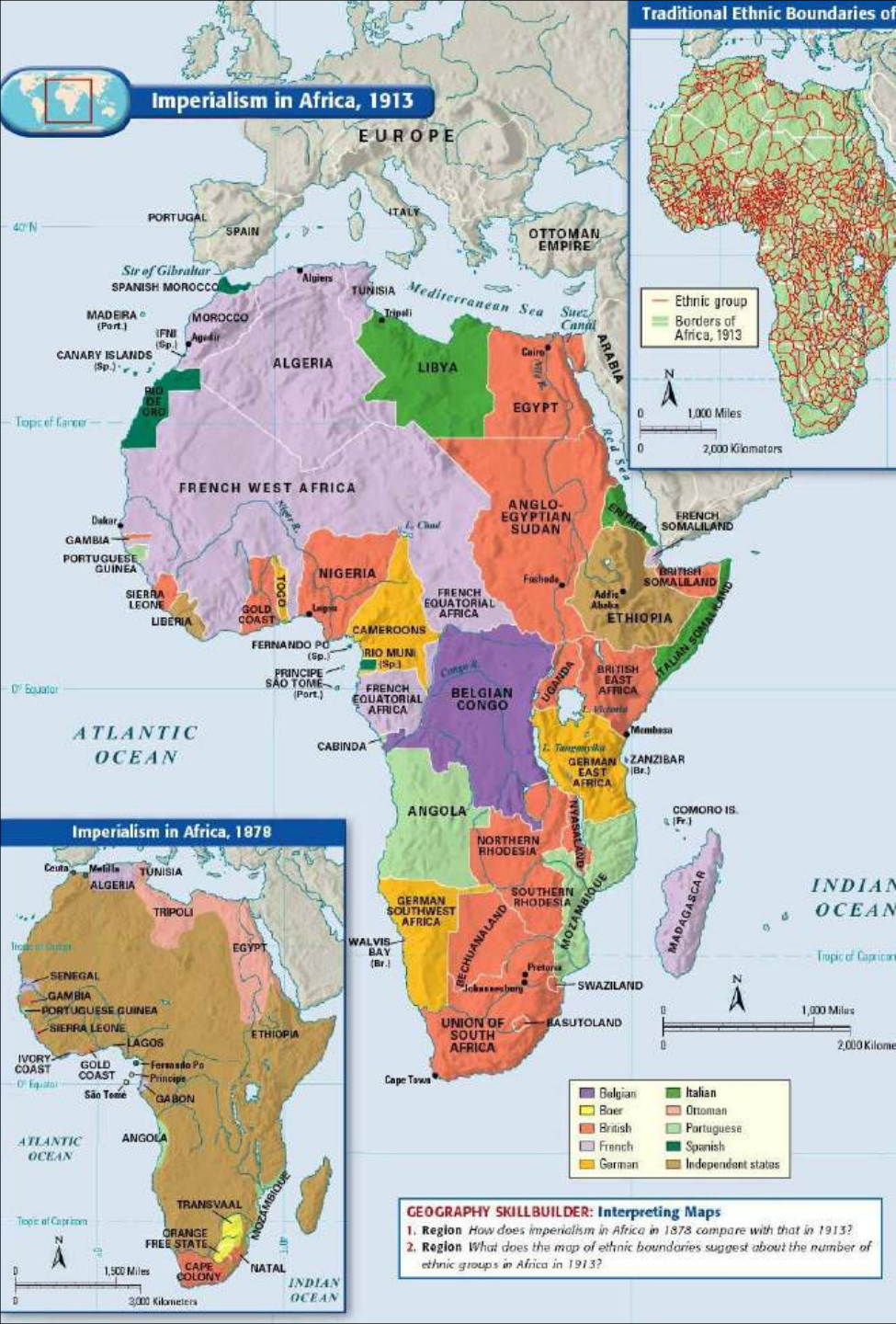
*Imagine a world without institutions. There are no governments... no school or universities... no access to any information whatsoever... There are no banks, because money no longer has any worth. There are no shops, because no one has anything to sell... Law and order are virtually non-existent because there is no police force and no judiciary.. Men with weapons roam the streets, taking what they want and threatening anyone who gets in their way. Women of all classes and ages prostitute themselves for food and protection”*

*Table 1.1* Drop in per capita GDP (in 1990 USD): the postwar years compared to 1938<sup>5</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>Denmark</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Holland</i>	<i>Britain</i>	<i>US</i>
1938	3,583	5,544	4,424	5,129	3,244	5,122	5,938	6,134
1945	1,736	4,874	2,549	4,326	1,880	2,621	6,737	11,722
1946	1,969	5,577	3,818	2,503	2,448	4,348	6,440	9,207
1947	2,181	5,806	4,099	2,763	2,856	4,357	6,306	8,896

in Western Europe had returned to their prewar (1938) economic levels by 1948..





# The spectacular Collapse of colonial empires

Colonies in Asia- impact of Japanese occupation

Colonies in Africa- well armed national liberation movements

Case of India - British colonial empires - in a half decade it lost territorial gains it had assumed over the previous 400 years

150 new independent countries emerged

# TARIFFS- AS BARGAINING WEAPONS

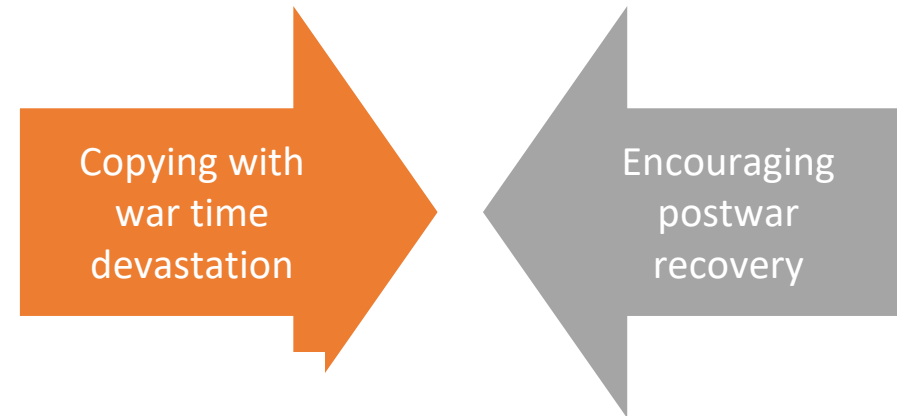
Harsh Protectionism and nationalist economic isolation

Defensive tariffs \_ 57% of the value of imported goods (case of US)

Germany- high tariffs on finished industrial and agricultural products

By 1910, only Britain, the Netherlands and Denmark had preserved the free trade system- which turned to protectionism also after WWI

Import quota



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Inter war years

Catastrophic Great Depression

Counterproductive economic periods


Ultrnationalist policies

And two world wars

Forced industrialization economic regime vs traditional liberal capitalist world economic system

In Eastern Europe- growth performances were similar (51 % and 42%)

*Table 1.2* Economic growth measured by GDP per capita before and after World War I (in 1990 USD)<sup>9</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Western Europe</i>	<i>Southern Europe</i>	<i>Eastern Europe</i>
1870	2,110 57%	1,111 63%	1,030 66%
1913	3,704 100%	1,753 100%	1,557 100%
1938	4,719 127% 	1,931 110%	2,083 142%

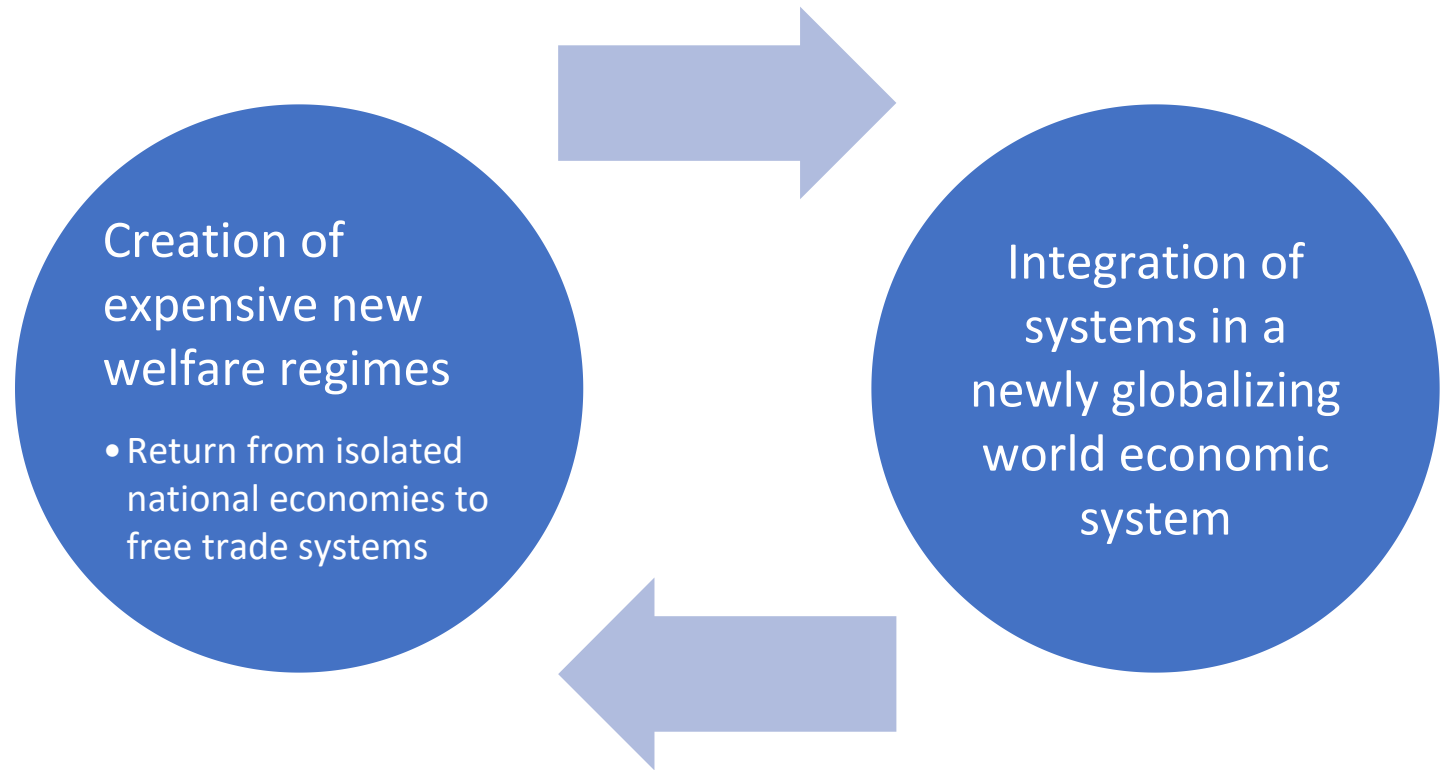
# Scholar Expectations...

- *When this war comes to an end. . . . We shall have to face a difficult reconversion period during which current goods cannot be produced and layoffs may be great. . . . The final conclusion to be drawn from our experience at the end of the last war is inescapable. . . . Were the war to end suddenly in the next 6 months . . . there would be ushered in the greatest period of unemployment and industrial dislocation which any economy has ever faced* When this war comes to an end. . . . We shall have to face a difficult reconversion period during which current goods cannot be produced and layoffs may be great. . . . The final conclusion to be drawn from our experience at the end of the last war is inescapable. . . . Were the war to end suddenly in the next 6 months . . . there would be ushered in the greatest period of unemployment and industrial dislocation which any economy has ever faced



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# Transformation Process



- Marshall Plan – 1.8% of American GDP between 1948-1952- to rebuild and modernize



# HOW?





## Welfare capitalism – From Sweden to Britain and rest of Western Europe

- Sweden- solidarity a central demand and a requirement
- Churchill's war time coalition Beveridge report ( 1942) – eliminate the “5 giant evils”
  - - want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness.
  - Main reform
  - Clement Atlee Labor Government post 1945
  - - care for people “ from the cradle to the grave”

# Free social and health services, free schooling at all levels, full employment, stable prices, and an increased average income

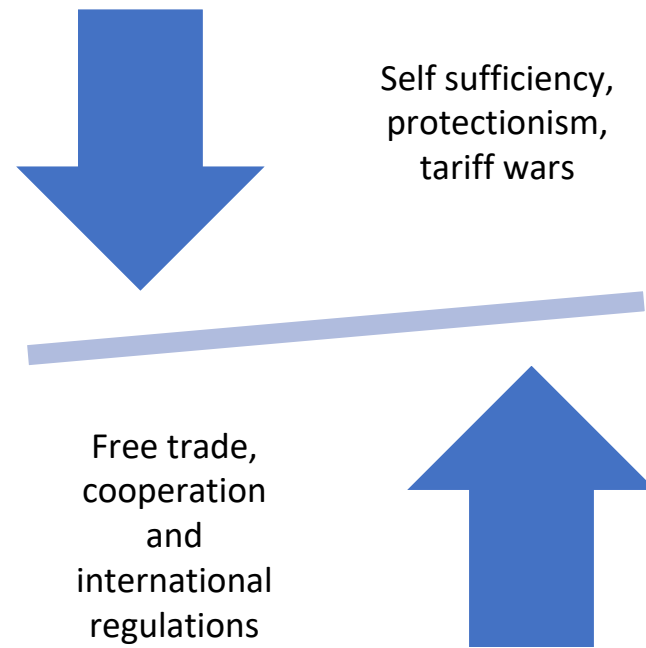
- French Constitution of 1946- “Every worker may participate through his delegates in the collective determination of working conditions. . . . These committees . . . were involved with social welfare programs within the company.”
- Germany- soziale marktwirtschaft
- *Wohnungsbaugesetz* to build 1.8 million new apartments in six years to offer affordable housing.



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# From social Cooperation- National Cooperation “a determination not to repeat the mistakes”



US – virtual  
leader of  
world new  
monetary  
order

A coordinated  
and  
cooperative  
international  
regime

July 1944- 44 nations-  
Bretton Woods

**International  
Monetary Fund**

1- Stable exchange  
rates and convertible  
currencies

2- voting rights based  
on contributions

- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development – WORLD BANK

- to give loans for reconstruction and assist development projects

Addressing war  
destructions

- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), Geneva, 1947 – 23 countries – 70 countries ( 80% of world trade ) in less than half decade

- eliminate economic nationalism



- Key data: tariff level in 1947 – 22%

- In 1999- 5%



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# Truman to the US Congress

## 12 March 1947

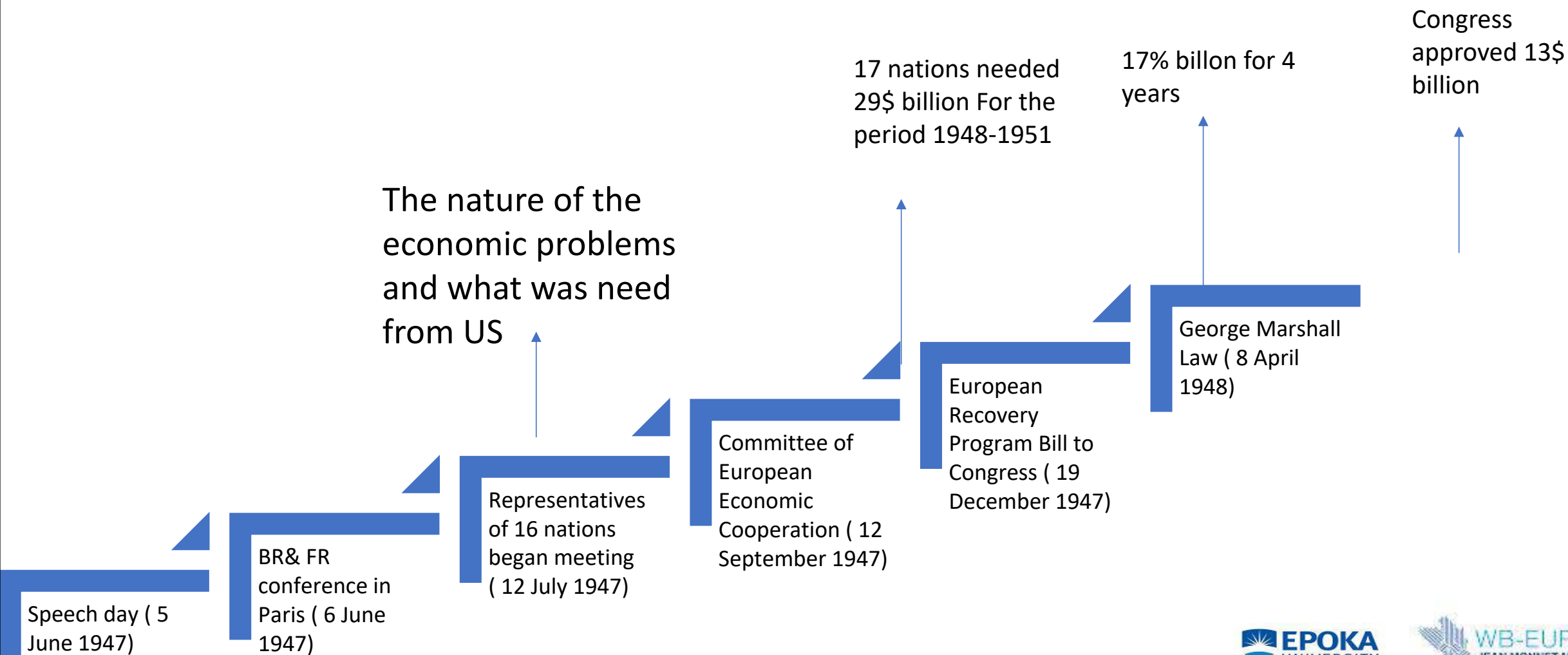
- “The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive”
- Economic aid- economic stability and orderly political processes

# American Interest & World interests

- *In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines and railroads was correctly estimated, but . . . this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy. . . . Longstanding commercial ties, private institutions, banks, insurance companies and shipping companies disappeared, through loss of capital, absorption through nationalization or by simple destruction. . . . Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products – principally from America – are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help. . . . The modern system of the division of labor upon which the exchange of products is based is in danger of breaking down. . . . It is already evident that . . . the United States Government. . . [has to assist] the European world on its way to recovery. . . . It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program*
- *George Marshall, speech at Harvard University , 5 June 1947*



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# Marshall Plan “ the first lesson in economic cooperation”

- Organization for European Economic Cooperation ( 1948) – work out the reconstruction plans and distribute the uses of American aid
- Formed the European Payment Union - July 1950 – from bilateral to multilateral payment trades



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1- A personal Note on European Union

2- Presentation: Historical Event/  
Law/ Process/ from 1919- 1950)

Time: 10 minutes each

## Assignment



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# The Idea of a united Europe

“Every great historical event began as a utopia and ended as areality”

Topic 3



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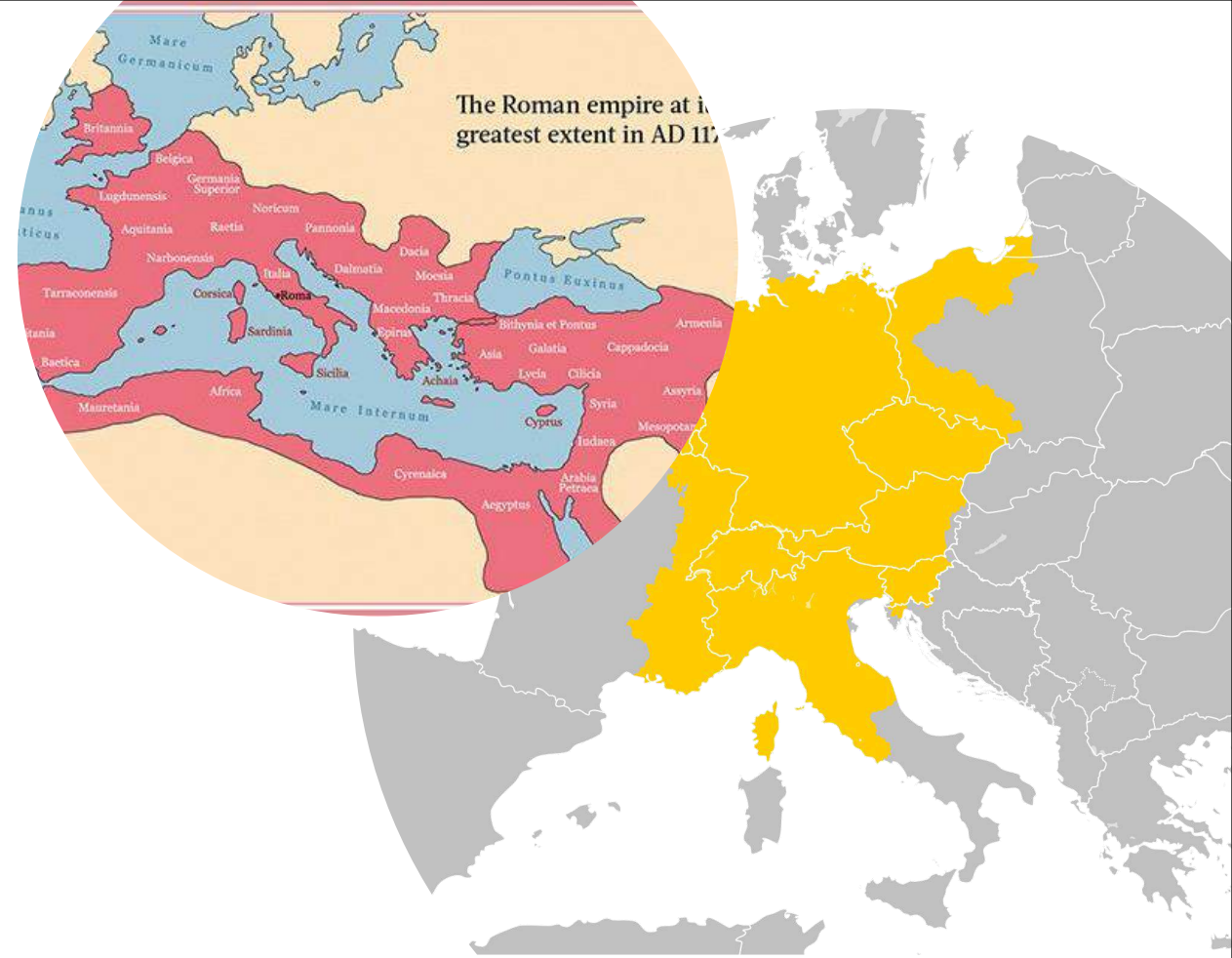
# A concept of Unity- a good soil

## Roman Empire

- Western Part up to Britain, most of south Europe and borderline of river danube in the east, Modern Day Croatia and Transylvanian region of Romania

## Holy Roman Empire / Christendom

- Togetherness of Western Europe until 19<sup>th</sup> Century



# Philosophical origins

- A prince believes he will become greater through the ruin of a neighboring state. On the contrary! The condition of Europe is such that states depend on each other: France has need of the wealth of Poland and Muscovy. . . . Europe is a state composed of several provinces” Montesquieu
- “Christian Europe could be regarded as a single republic divided in several states.” Voltaire
- Europe was “virtually one great state, having the same basis in general law.” A traveler in it “never felt himself quite abroad.” Edmund Burke



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# Political Activism

- the idea of uniting the continent of Europe, this time with Paris rather than Rome as its center.
- a born leader and conqueror who wanted to both liberate and occupy Europe
- *I saw the Emperor – this world-soul – riding out of the city on reconnaissance. It is indeed a wonderful sensation to see such an individual, who, concentrated here at a single point . . . reaches out over the world and masters it . . . such advances as occurred from Thursday to Monday are only possible for this extraordinary man, whom it is impossible not to admire.  
( From a German Philosopher)*



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- 1) A physical empire
- 2) Customs union
- 3) The continental system
- 4) Legal system of Napoleonic code

- Europe thus divided into nationalities . . . peace between States would have become easier: the United States of Europe would become a possibility. . . . I wished to found a European system, a European Code of Laws, a European judiciary: there would be but one people in Europe.

- Claude Henri and Saint-Simon and Augustin Thierry wrote a long essay about the idea of a European parliamentary federation in 1814 (socialists in France)
- “About the Everlasting Peace Between the Nations,” published in May 1831, Polish thinker Wojciech Jastrzębowski’
- the Italian politician Giuseppe Mazzini called for the creation of a federation of European republics (1843)
- seven peace conferences – in Paris, London, Brussels and Edinburgh, among other cities – were organized in Europe between 1843 and 1853

in 1867 (18 years later)

- Viktor Hugo & the Italian freedom fighter Giuseppe Garibaldi, the British philosopher-economist John Stuart Mill, and the Russian revolutionary anarchist Mikhail Bakunin at a congress of the League of **Peace and Freedom in Geneva**.
- Bakunin stated “that in order to achieve the triumph of liberty, justice and peace in the international relations of Europe, and to render civil war impossible among the various peoples which make up the European family. only a single course lies open: **to constitute the United States of Europe**”



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1<sup>st</sup> practical program for unification  
“The future of Europe in Economic,  
Political and Social Terms”(1885)

1. economic and monetary policy
2. -introduction of customs union
3. -a common currency to unify Europe

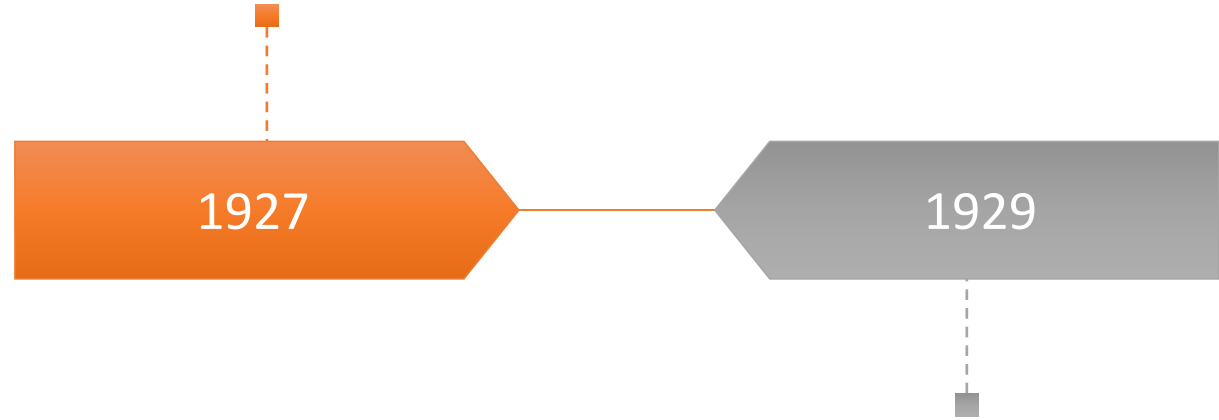


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# 1923 ( after WW1)- Pan-European movement, Kalergi

- 1<sup>st</sup> Pan European Congress in Vienna, 1926
  - Among participants:
  - Albert Einstein
  - Thomas Mann
  - Franz Werfel
  - Sigmund Freud
  - Benedetto Croce
- Two imminent dangers
  - 1- Europe's policy is heading for a new war
  - 2- unification against the danger posed by communist Russia
  - "the small states of Eastern Europe, Scandinavia and the Balkans nor disarmed Germany would then be able to repel the Russian rush. Against this danger there is only one salvation: the European union."

French Committee for European  
Cooperation , 1927 ( Emil Borel,  
head of the Radical Party)- 20  
countries followed



Aristide Briand ( French PM)- 1929  
proposed the Federation of  
European Nations at the League of  
Nations focusing more on the  
economic cooperation.



# Why didn't it happen then?

- PEOPLE WERE SLOW TO LEARN
- BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR II



- Elimination of nation- states

- Ventotene Manifesto, 1941  
(Altiero Spinelli, a political prisoner of Mussolini)- the draft treaty establishing the EU
- The question which must first be resolved . . . is that of the abolition of the division of Europe into national, sovereign states. . . . The general spirit today is . . . a federal reorganization of Europe. . . . The multiple problems which poison international life on the continent . . . would find easy solution in the European federation . . . the single conceivable guarantee . . . of peaceful cooperation.

# Against the deification of nation- states

- a divine entity, an organism that has to consider only its own existence . . . without the least regard for the damage this might cause to others. The absolute sovereignty of national states has given each the desire to dominate”



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# Manifestos issued by Italian, French, Belgian, Dutch and German wartime resistance organizations

On 20 May 1944 they agreed upon a federalist program, announcing in their Geneva Declaration:

The peoples of Europe are united in the resistance to Nazi oppression. This common struggle has created among them solidarity and unity. . . . During the lifetime of one generation Europe has been twice the centre of a world conflict whose chief cause was the existence of thirty sovereign States in Europe. It is the most urgent task to end this international anarchy by creating a European Federal Union



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# British Perspective (1930s-1940s)

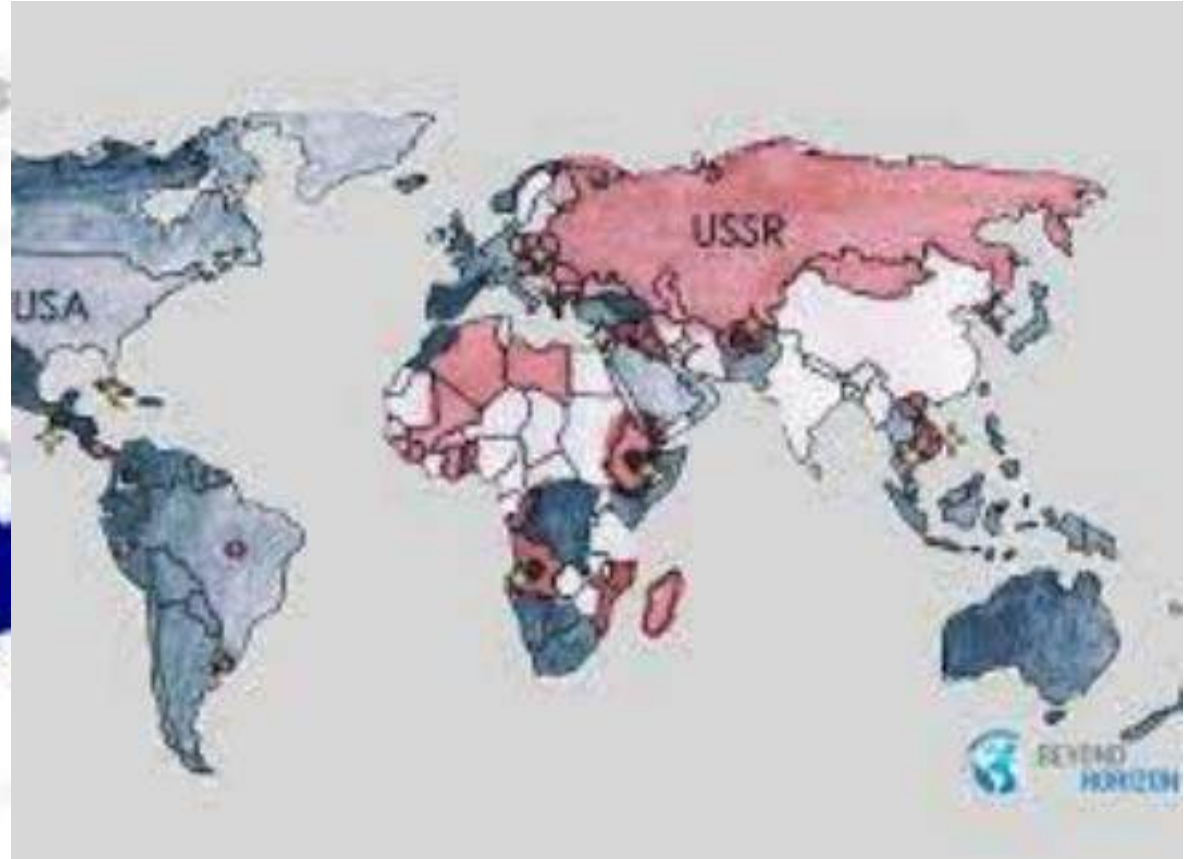
- Clement Atlee, the head of the Labor Party (and the postwar prime minister) “Europe must federate or perish.”
- William Beveridge published a study entitled “Peace by Federation?” ( Master of University College, Oxford)
- Churchill, 9 May 1938 – Why not the European States of Europe?  
(21 October 1942, a letter to his foreign secretary)

*Hard as it is to say now... I look forward to a United States of Europe, in which the barriers between the nations will be greatly minimised and unrestricted travel will be possible.*

**In favor of the federalist idea.** -He initiated the Council of Europe in 1948— ‘founders of EU’



# Why?







A matter of well calculated interests

an alliance together against Hitler and Stalin

we are with Europe, but not of it. We are linked, but not comprised. We are interested and associated, but not absorbed. . . . Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America . . . must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe and must champion its right to live.



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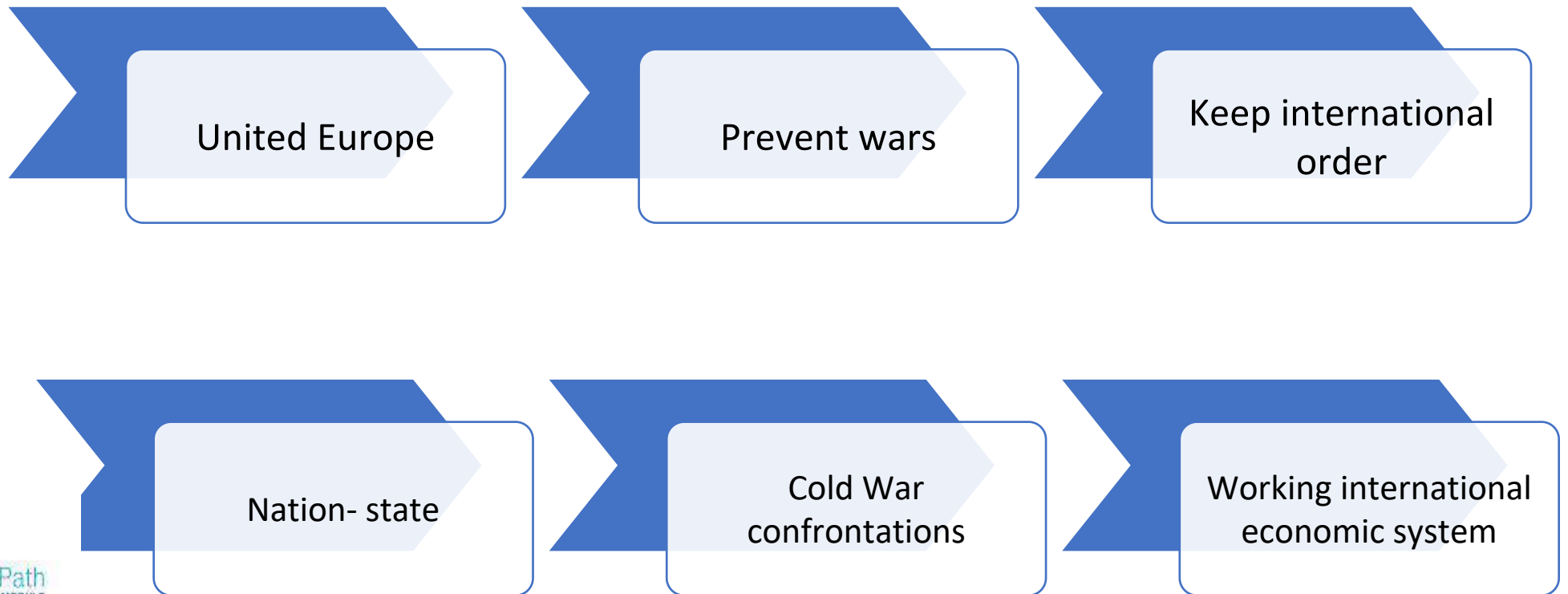


- “Everyone knows that [the Empire and Commonwealth] stands first in all of our thoughts. First, there is the Empire and the Commonwealth, secondly, the fraternal association of the English-speaking world; and thirdly the revival of united Europe.” (June, 1950)



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# Why a united Europe?



# The American Plan- a context b.w. Speeches & economic reconstruction Diplomacy & strong conditionality

- Marshall Plan
- - an economic federation in 3-4 years
- Strict requirements to the aid
- 1-3 months of the aid , 60% of trade in aid-recipient countries must be liberalized
- 1959- 89% of total trade must be liberalized
- Multilateral payment system that eliminated exchange control and made currencies convertible

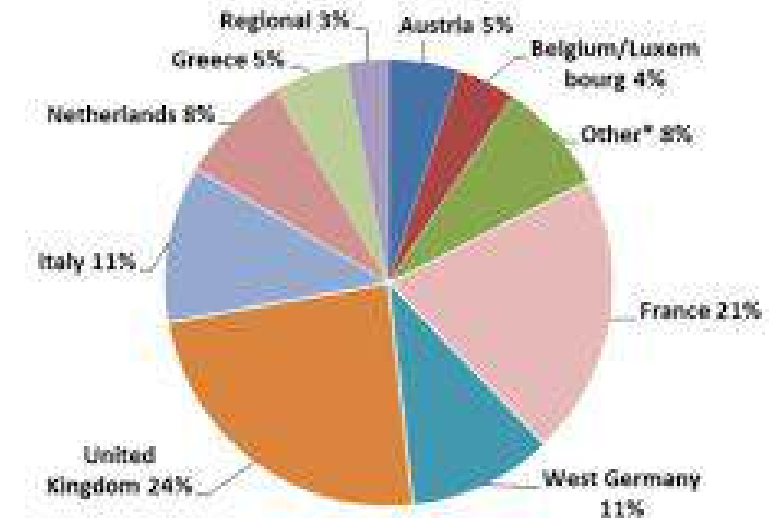


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“there was no hope for progress of a compartmentalized Europe and that in a postwar world Europe’s future would be dim unless there was close cooperation among the Marshall Plan countries. Speaking personally, I thought that union would first come along economic lines and that some degree of political union was certain to follow” Paul Hoffman, administrator of Marshall Plan

# Marshall plan and economic sovereignty

- “denationalized group” had to analyze all the national plans for using the American aid, evaluate them, and make the final decision upon the aid’s allocation.
- No West European common market, which was supposed to be the start of the federative reorganization of Europe.






# Further Plans for Integration

- if Britain joined, “the Market could become the basis for a true political federation.”  
Kennedy
- “only Britain . . . has the long experience, the ancient institutions, and the over-all political maturity for leading Europe into a new era”
- France – In favor of Britain against the German domination
- Germany – in favor of Britain against the French domination



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A close-up photograph of a red pushpin with a silver metal pin, stuck into a map. The map shows various colored lines and text, but it is out of focus. Other pushpins in blue and yellow are visible in the background.

# BR position- the three Monroes”

- France and Britain, with their vast colonial possessions . . . could, if they acted together, be as powerful as either the Soviet Union or the United States. . . [and] occupy in the world a place equivalent to that of Russia and of the United States
- Against Schuman plan – instead
- “a Customs Union with a number of primary producing countries with a wide diversity of unexploited resources”

# Official declarations

- *Britain herself is unwilling to join such a union for fear of losing her independence outside Europe. . . . [Britain is] the nerve center of a world-wide Commonwealth . . . [and] we in Britain are closer to our kinsmen in Australia and New Zealand . . . than we are in Europe. . . . The economies of the Commonwealth countries are complementary to that of Britain to a degree which those of Western Europe could never equa*



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# France- the alternative leader of the US plan

- *Our American friends appear to have an extremely simplistic conception of the unity of Europe . . . ignoring the seriousness of the problem faced by the European states, particularly France, a power having worldwide responsibilities. . . . The French Union and the construction of a Federal European state were mutually exclusive*



# Why against



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Identity of  
Colonial Power

German  
Question



# What worries the French?

- “that American imperialism will swallow up some of our colonies.”
- “The decision about Germany’s western frontiers would have far-reaching repercussion on French international policy. . . . [If] Germany was permitted to retain those areas [the Ruhr, the Rheinland, and Saarland] as part of a strong central Germany . . . France might be obliged to orient her policy toward Russia.”



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# What changed?



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- A financial crisis in France 1947
- Germany – a lost case for France
- “ we know that we have to join in the control of Germany and reorganization of Western Europe , but please don’t force us to do so at the point of a gun”/

# US interests



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1. Rebuilding  
Germany

2. Incorporation  
of West European  
Community



# Topic 4

## Integration process: Economic Optimism and Political Power



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# Control Germany by Integration not occupation

- A combination of idealistic speech and Realpolitik - Schuman declaration - **9 May 1950**
- **A Franco- German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe**
- – **Position of Germany: was not fooled by French, yet priority was to attain sovereignty with equal rights.**
  - German interest- depend on good relationship with occupying American, British, French powers!!
  - Collaborated with the West against the Soviets — “Chancellor of the Allies”





- Fr- subordinate to America's interest
- Ge- subordinate to Franc security interest

# European Coal and Steel Community - "Towards a Federal Government of Europe."

- Supranational principles - basic industries were taken from national authorities' control and put under supranational control and management

4 institutions - : (1) a High Authority headed by Jean Monnet and composed of independent appointees, (2) **a common assembly** with delegate members from the member countries' national parliaments, (3) **a special governing council** composed of national ministers and (4) a European Court of Justice to adjudicate among debating members if needed



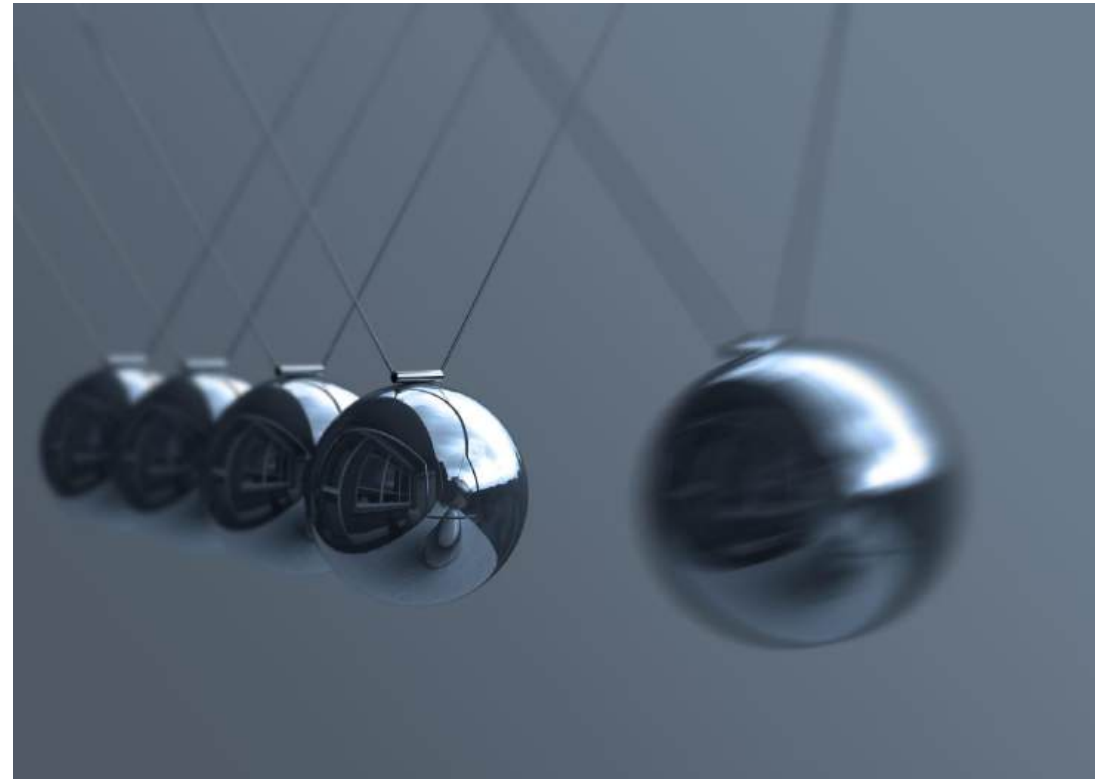
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# What has it offered? What has it achieved?



- A solution to the German Question but not a good structure for integration.
- Structurally not enough to build a Western Europe
- National price controls and subsidies remained in place
- Steel tariffs only harmonized, not eliminated
- Not a real common market
- Unable to make technological or organizational changes



# How to proceed?- sectoral integration concept



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- Monnet- sector by sector integration
- Nuclear energy sector
- Agriculture
- Transportatio
- why= creation of an independent energy base for the country and a common market for French agricultural products
- Need of integration as a French interest *par excellence*.





# Benelux- a deeper and more complex integration

- Benelux customs union in 1948– a united customs union instead of gradual sectoral integration.
- The idea Supported by Italy and Germany- to regain equal status in Europe
- Next Proposal – ( May, 1952 – Paris )

European Defense Community under a European Political Authority





# Several integration attempts

- Draft treaty proposal , September 1953
  - 1st attempt headed by the Belgian Paul Henri Spaak - the establishment of a supranational European Community with a common market for goods, capital and persons, governed by a bicameral parliament and a powerful executive council - vetoed by FR parliament
- 2nd attempt the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Beyen - 1955 memorandum - “create a supranational community with the task of bringing about the economic integration of Europe in the general sense, reaching economic union by going through a customs union as a first stage.



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# Rome, 25 March 1957 two treaties

Turning point Rome Treaty from sectoral to a union.

- Agreement to establish an intergovernmental committee
- 1- European Economic Community
- 2- European Atomic Energy Committee
- 248 articles
- 4 annexes
- 13 protocols
- 4 conventions
- 9 declarations





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- Explicitly goal : gradual abolishment of tariffs and other trade restrictions among member countries in 12 years  
– Realized in ten years.
- Free movement of goods not realized at this stage
- In 1968, It unified external tariffs at the exterior borders of the community
- Declared the elimination of restrictions on the free movement of labor and capital



## Achievements- New community



### 1) Increase of trade volumes

- The trade of goods among the member countries dramatically increased by 61/2 during the 1950s and 1960s. Trade expansion was much bigger than at any time before in history. By 1973, some of the member countries increased their exports by 10–15 times compared to the prewar years
- both exports and imports among the member countries reached nearly 75 percent



# Achievements

## 2) a # trade structure

different countries produced different parts of the same industrial products that were assembled at the last stage

France & Britain Concorde airplane in 1969

French and German The Airbus program



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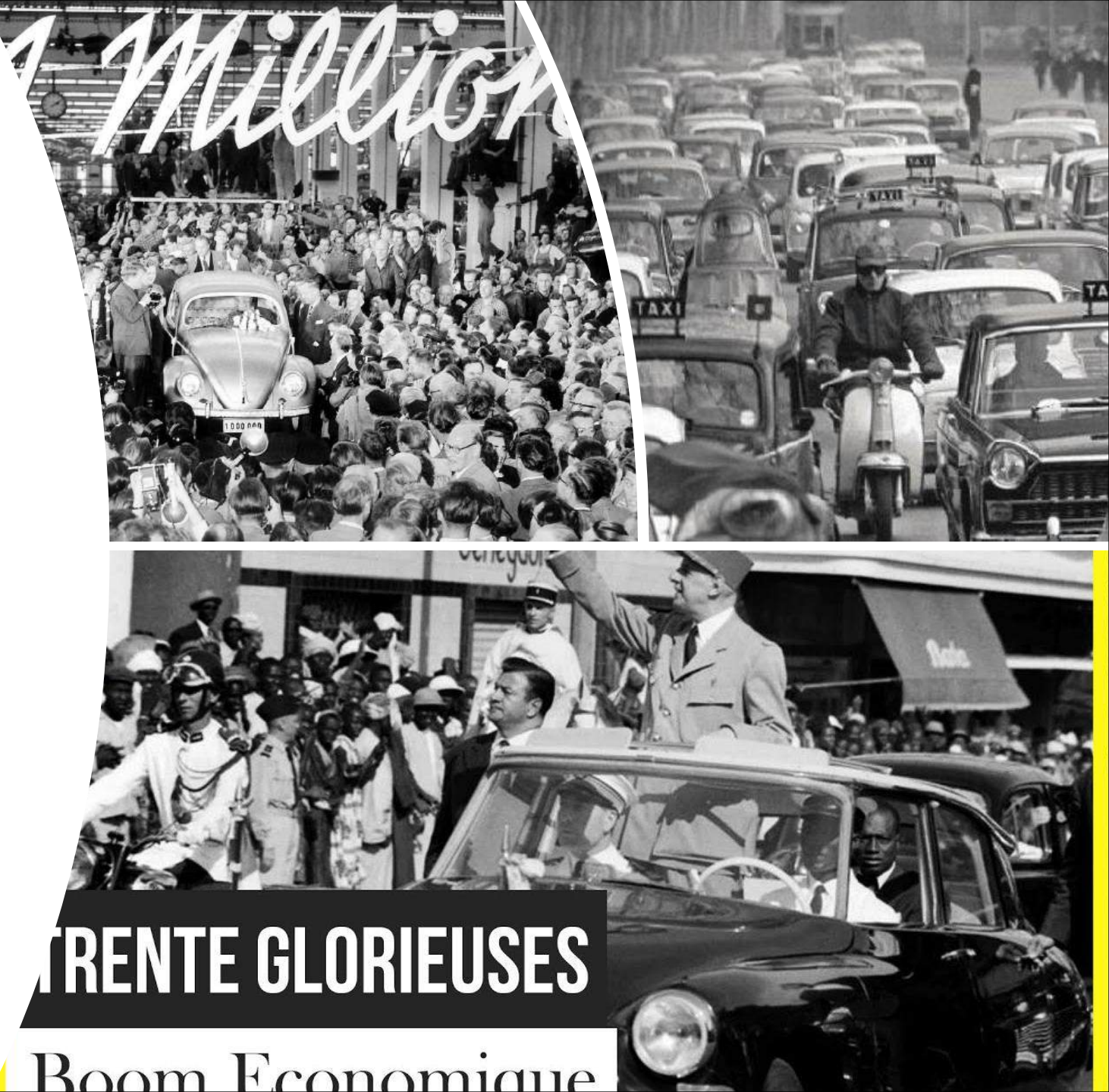


# Achievements

- 3) A new division of Labor - productivity and economic growth
- the member countries of the EEC increased their growth by three to four times of the interwar decades growth rate – hence the *German wirtschaftswunder*, the French *Trente Glorieuses*, and the *Italian miracolo economico*



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- 4) Economic model based on technology imports from the US
- important technological novelties
- Electronic revolution
- Service revolution
- Optimism filled in the air
- **Walter Hallstein, President of the EEC Commission, 1959**
- **The forgotten founding father**
- **<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qvVK3E7zryl>**

# Citizens' living standards reached new heights.

- In 1950, a German or French citizen spent 43–45 % of their income on food and basic supplies; by 1971, this share had dropped to 27 %.
- In 1950, only 20 % of French households owned a car; by 1972, already 60 % had purchased one. In the early 1970s, 60–80 percent of households became mechanized.
- People spent 44 % of their income on health, entertainment, culture and home goods – nearly twice as much as in 1950



1st crisis- interpreting between economic data & expectations of the treaty

- # perceptions- # and incomplete market integration
- France the key opponent of integration - time of de Charles de Gaulle
- His proposals
- Europe des Patries - a cooperative political alliance
- A confederation based on Franco- German Partnership
- Against benelux proposal for communities own income sources- automatic taxation



# Empty chair crisis - Luxembourg Compromise

- Qualified majority system
- “if [at] any stage, a member state felt that its national interest might be threatened, the voting would simply switch back to unanimity.”
- **Europe until mid 1980s- a history of stagnation and stagflation**



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# The History of Common Agricultural Policy

## Topic 5

# Integration so far...

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1957 Treaty of Rome

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EEC

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EUROATOM (community  
for nuclear energy)



# PRIOR NEGOTIATIONS FOR AN AGRICULTURAL INTEGRATION

World wide scale negotiations on the creation of a supranational World Food Board

1946

1950

1 round of negotiations in 1950 between France and Netherlands for the Creation of a European Agricultural Community - between the 'Black Pool' and 'Green Pool' - ended in 1955

# Key dynamics of EU's CAP

2 most prominent changes in the external environment affecting the European Union (EU) and its agriculture over the life of the CAP

(i) the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 leading to the unification of Germany and the enlargement of the EU to include the Central and Eastern European countries (CEE); and

(ii) the regulatory capture of agriculture within the legislative framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO), following the conclusion in 1994 of the Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture (AoA).



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The major internal changes have been the successive enlargements of the EU and the reforms to the voting procedures.

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Lisbon Treaty, which came into force in 2009, extended the role of the European Parliament under the ordinary legislative procedure when regulating the CAP.



Until 1980s, Cap dominated



By 2000, it took up half of the EU's budget.

# What drives CAP

- The focus of agricultural policy tends to shift from 'simply' supporting farmers to paying farmers for the delivery of environmental and other non-market goods and services, and towards more general rural development.



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# Why was an agricultural policy needed?

- Two contradicting consequences ( a driver of major change but with high consequences)
- As the major economic sector is agriculture and most of the population live and work in rural areas- early stages of economic development
- In these circumstances, farming tends to be taxed (as the largest and most productive sector of the economy) and food consumption tends to be subsidized
- major socio-economic transition from a predominantly agrarian and rural society to an urban, commercial and industrial economy
- This transition is typically accompanied by a fall in the relative earnings in agriculture compared with those elsewhere





# Political consequence

- When incomes from farming decline relative to opportunities in other sectors, farmers look for **non-market sources** of income such as government support, either because returns to investment in lobbying activities are larger than in market activities, or because willingness to vote for/support politicians is strong
- For similar reasons governments are more likely to support sectors with a comparative disadvantage than sectors with a comparative advantage. These explanations are consistent with observations of **agricultural protection** being countercyclical to market conditions

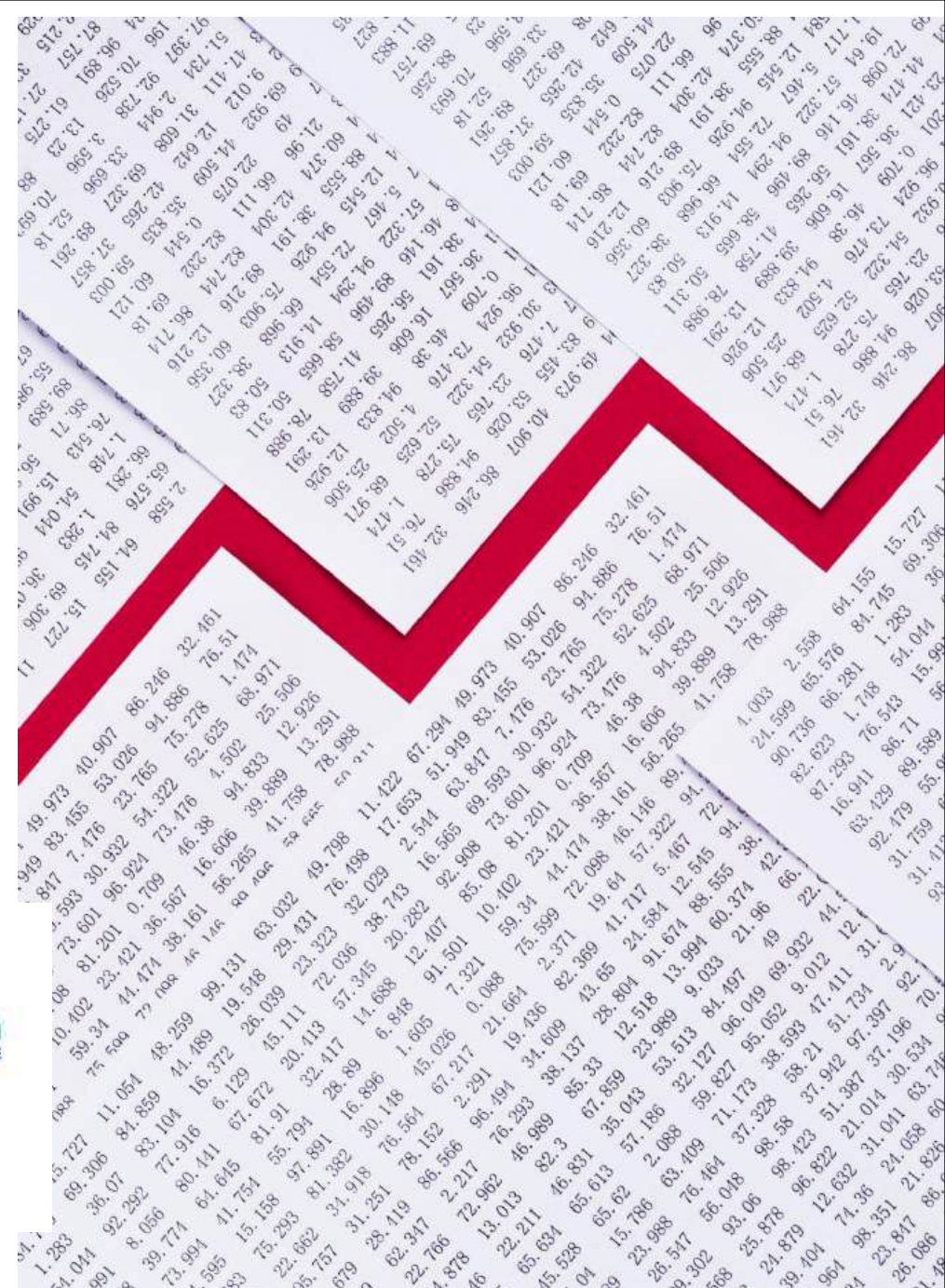


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# Political economic explanation

- Exports will be subsidized less (or taxed more) than imports because of differences in demand and supply elasticities.
- The distortions (deadweight costs) and transfer costs of policy intervention typically increase with the commodity's trade balance, i.e., when net exports increase. Another factor is the differential effect on government border tax revenues. Therefore protection of the sector in many countries is found to increase with decreases in their agricultural trade surplus





- It is clear that economic development cannot happen without both R&D and restructuring, perhaps the more so in agriculture (at least in the early stages of development).
- as incomes grow and the demand for food becomes more price inelastic, so expansion in food supplies, fuelled by R&D, results in a falling real price of food to the benefit of consumers at the expense of farmers (at least to the extent that farmers cannot exit the industry for better incomes elsewhere in the economy).

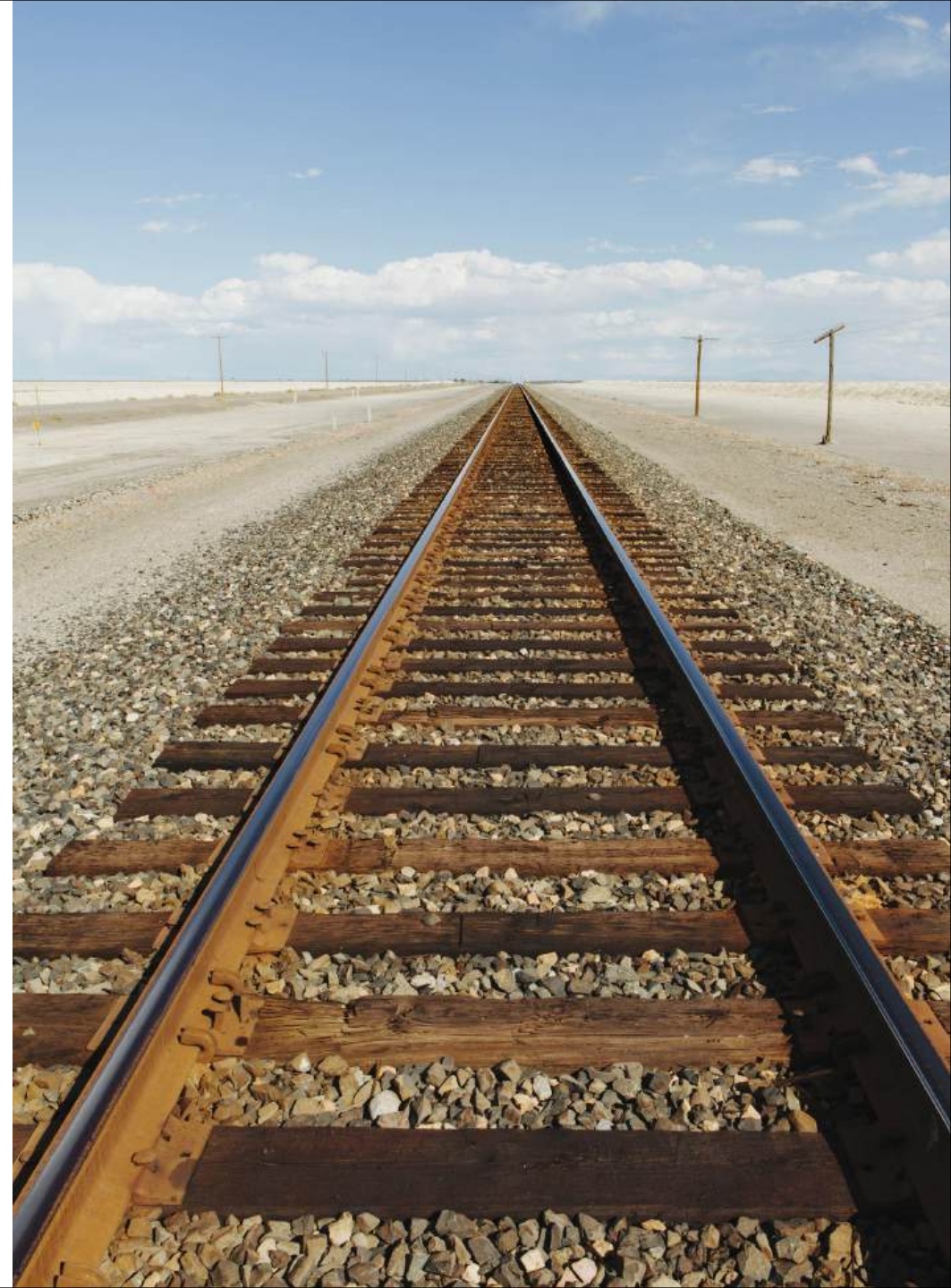


# A history of CAP- evolved from Member states' previous agricultural policies

- INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION
- NEW WORLD- GRAIN PRODUCTION IN USA
- SHIFT FROM LAND- INTENSIVE PRODUCTS INTO LABOUR INTENSIVE ACTIVITIES ( LIVESTOCK AND MANUFACTURING)



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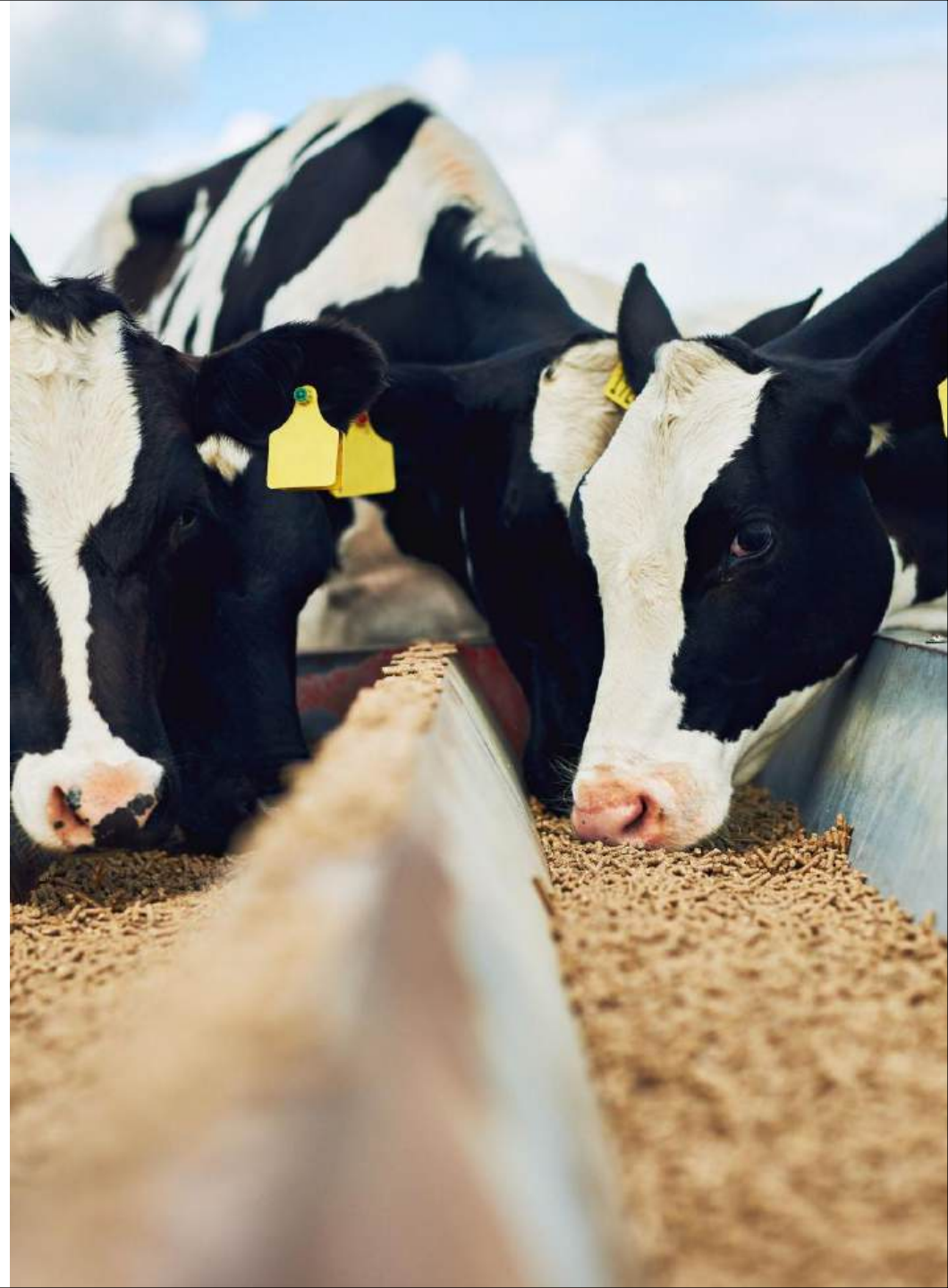


# Member countries specific positions

- Netherland and Denmark= increased exports – put pressure to other EUROPEAN FARM MARKETS
- Germany reacted by raising tariffs on imported grains to protect their own markets
- Rationalization of British Agriculture- fewer and larger farms instead of taxing imports



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# Great Depression of the 1930s and WW 2

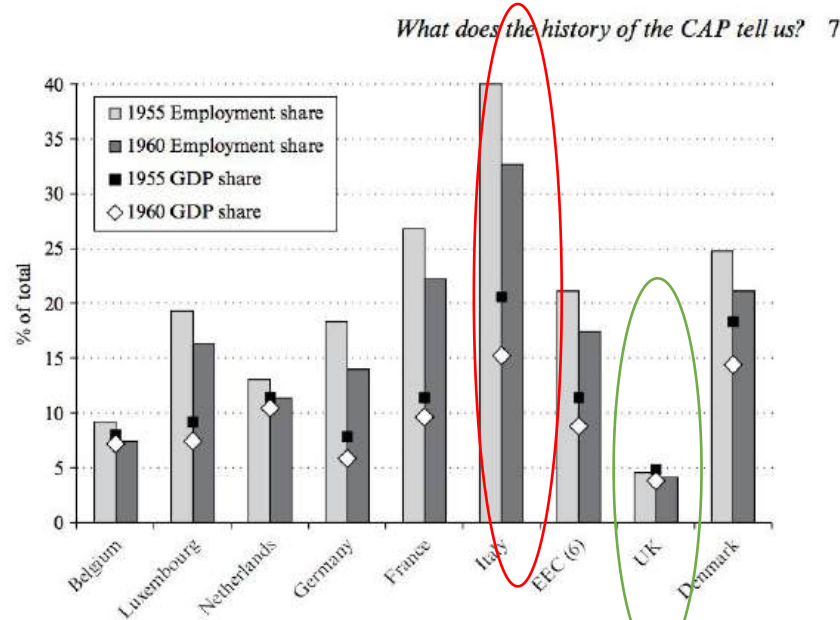
Protectionist trade and tariffs

WW 2 ended depression- the cure hardly better than the disease



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Source: OECD, *Agricultural Statistics 1955-1968* (OECD, 1969)

most of Europe, the share of GDP generated in farming was substantially below the share of employment, indicating a substantial **income gap** between incomes in farming and other sectors of the economy.

## IMPORTANCE OF FARMING IN WESTERN EUROPE IN 1950S



# AGRICULTURAL POLICY IN EUROPE AFTER WW 2 - Birth of CAP

- 1-either through tariff protection (especially in Germany),
- 2-through subsidies (as in the UK).

The aims were to raise agricultural output to secure food supplies following the experiences of the war, and also to secure farm incomes and employment following demobilization.



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# Inclusion of agriculture within the Treaty of Rome was essential both economically and politically

- **Economically**, the formation of a common market and customs union required the inclusion of agriculture and food, importance of food in both production and consumption patterns of the time.
- **Politically**, the essential compromise between German and French national interests required that France, as the predominant agricultural producer within the EEC, gain remunerative Community agricultural markets to offset the competitiveness of German industry in a common market.



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## CAP (Articles 38 to 47), with the objectives set out in Article 39(1):

- (a) to increase agricultural productivity by promoting technical progress and by ensuring the rational development of agricultural production and the optimum utilisation of the factors of production, in particular labour;
- (b) to ensure a fair standard of living for the agricultural community, in particular by increasing the individual earnings of persons engaged in agriculture; (c) to stabilise markets;
- (d) to assure the availability of supplies; and,
- (e) to ensure that supplies reach consumers at reasonable prices.



# Stresa Conference, 1958- 1st action



- The Stresa Conference was then convened in 1958 by Sicco Mansholt (the Dutch vicepresident of the Commission responsible for agriculture) to establish how these objectives could be met.
- centrally fixed prices would disconnect both producers and consumers from market forces,
- that agriculture should be supported through guaranteed prices rather than direct aids to farmers.

# Common Principles (1960)

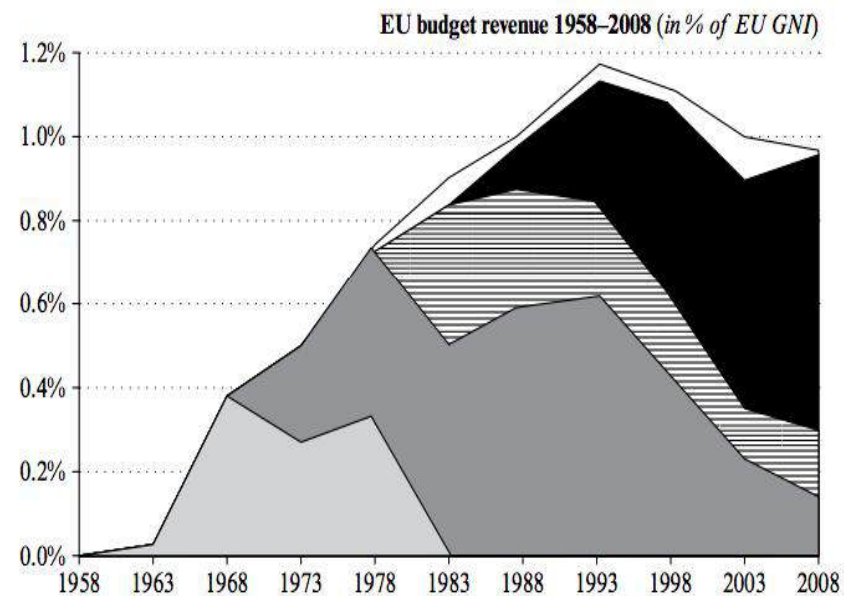
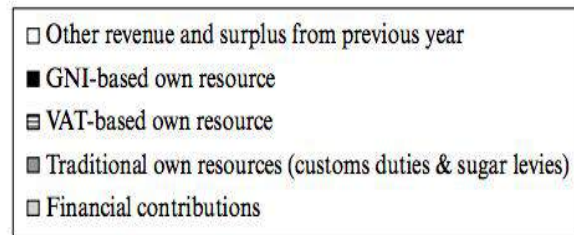


- ratified by the Council of Ministers in 1962 (at least for cereals, pig meat, eggs, poultry meat, fruit and vegetables, and wine, with other products added later following interim measures to assist market unity).
- **The European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF)** was established to finance the operations of the CAP (a Guarantee Section for prices and a Guidance Section for structural measures)



# Institutional Transformation- As this system of own resources came into effect, the European Parliament was given more budgetary power

- By 1967–68 the EEC prices had become common within the original six Member States and the common border variable levy was in place.
- Until 1968, the EEC budget had been funded through interim financial contributions from each Member State, to be progressively replaced with the Community's 'own resources' –
  - a combination of receipts from the common customs duties including, importantly, those from the variable levies, and also (from 1978) a transfer from each Member State based on value added tax (VAT).
- European Commission proposes a certain level of common price- the Council of Ministers determines
- Commissioner for Agriculture with an independent administration - has an autonomous subsystem dealing with CAP



Note: GNI – Gross National Income.

Source: European Commission, *Reforming the Budget, Changing Europe* (available at [http://ec.europa.eu/budget/reform2008/history/history1957\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/budget/reform2008/history/history1957_en.htm)).

Figure 1.2 EU budget revenue, 1958–2008

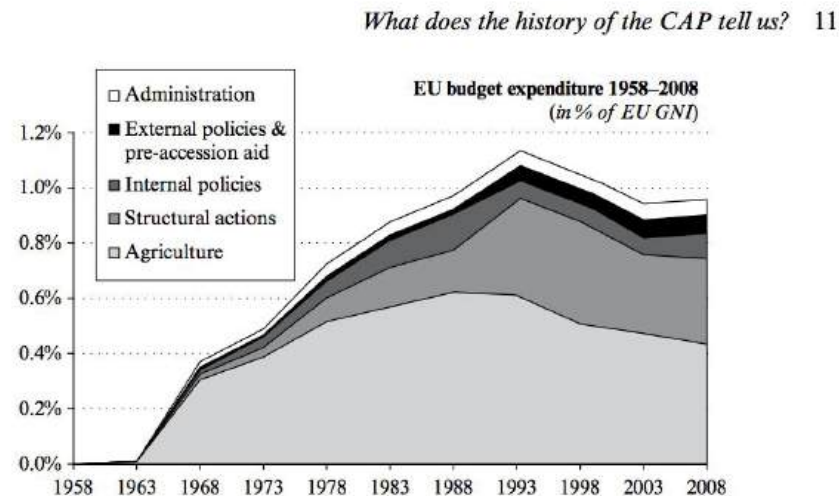
Once directly elected (as from 1979) the European Parliament's position and legitimacy as the final budget authority was strengthened.

In consequence, the annual budgetary process between it and the Council became increasingly difficult



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20th century general picture- average agricultural income lacked behind average income in society as a whole



Note: GNI – Gross National Income.

Source: European Commission, *Reforming the Budget, Changing Europe* (available at [http://ec.europa.eu/budget/reform2008/history/history1957\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/budget/reform2008/history/history1957_en.htm)).

Figure 1.3 EU budget spending, 1958–2008

The original Treaty of 177 pages contained only five on agriculture and Article 43 concerning a common agricultural policy occupied less than one page—**although the eventual CAP was to consume more than two-thirds of the EEC budget by the late 1970s.**



Following the failure of the EDC the word 'federalism' was never mentioned

- The EEC's Commission had no national equivalent, being much more than a neutral bureaucratic executive. Indeed, it was initially regarded by many as the 'engine' of the EEC and 'an ever closer union'.
- The nine-man Commission to run the EEC with Professor Walter Hallstein as its first President, was different from the ECSC's High Authority in a number of respects



- common prices, protection and subsidies within 'Little Europe'.
- Beyen could not allow Benelux to be excluded, as while there was some substance in Walter Lippman's colourful description in 1962 of the EEC as 'a bargain between French agriculture and German industry' the reality was more complex.

In 1957 the Netherlands supplied more agricultural products to Germany than France, and imported more German vehicles and machinery than the French.

# Milward's thesis of economic integration?

- It took EU leaders several decades, but they eventually realized that because most agricultural decisions are made at the EU level, environmental activities would produce the best results if they were also coordinated by EU institutions. But can competence in environmental activities be as extensive as competence in agricultural affairs?





# The Role of Agriculture in the EU Budget

- Historical Importance:**

- Agriculture once made up **nearly 70%** of the EU budget in the 1970s.

- Current Share:**

- In **2023**, agriculture accounts for **28.9%** of the EU budget.
- Despite the decline, it remains the **largest single expense item**.

- Reasons for the Decline:**

- Expansion of the EU's responsibilities into **other policy areas**.
- Reforms aimed at **efficiency** in spending.
- Increased emphasis on **rural development**.

- Shift in Focus:**

- As agriculture funding decreased, **regional development** funding increased.
- By 2023, regional development and cohesion policy make up **24.8%** of the EU budget.

- Indirect Support to Farmers:**

- Farmers benefit from **rural development** programs.
- Though direct agricultural subsidies have decreased, investments in **living conditions and infrastructure** in rural areas support farming communities.

- Key Takeaway:**

- The EU has shifted from direct agricultural support to a **broader rural development approach**, still aiming to improve farmer livelihoods.



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# Social Policy

## Topic 6



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# Social Dimension of European Integration

## History of European Integration



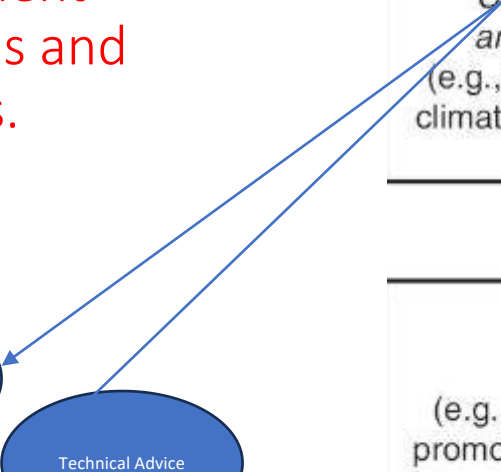
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**DG REGIO**  
to increase the EU's  
economic  
performance by  
reducing disparities  
in development  
among regions and  
countries.



## OBJECTIVES

*Convergence*  
(e.g., worker  
retraining)

*Regional  
Competitiveness  
and Employment*  
(e.g., pollution cleanup;  
climate neutral policies)

*Territorial  
Cooperation*  
(e.g., development and  
promotion of cross-border  
tourist facilities)

## INSTRUMENTS

European Social Fund  
Plus  
European Regional  
Development Fund

Just Transition Fund  
European Regional  
Development Fund

European Regional  
Development Fund

## ELIGIBILITY

84 regions with less  
than 75% of  
EU's GDP per capita

168 regions not covered  
by convergence  
objective

States with less than  
90% of EU average  
income

## Key outputs over the years



**Monitoring convergence in the European Union: Looking backwards to move forward – Upward convergence through crises**



**Exploring the social challenges of low carbon energy policies in Europe**



**Distributional impacts of climate policies in Europe**

- Cooperation
- Peace and stability



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# Treaty of Rome (1957) – Treaty of Lisbon ( 2009)

Voluntary  
association

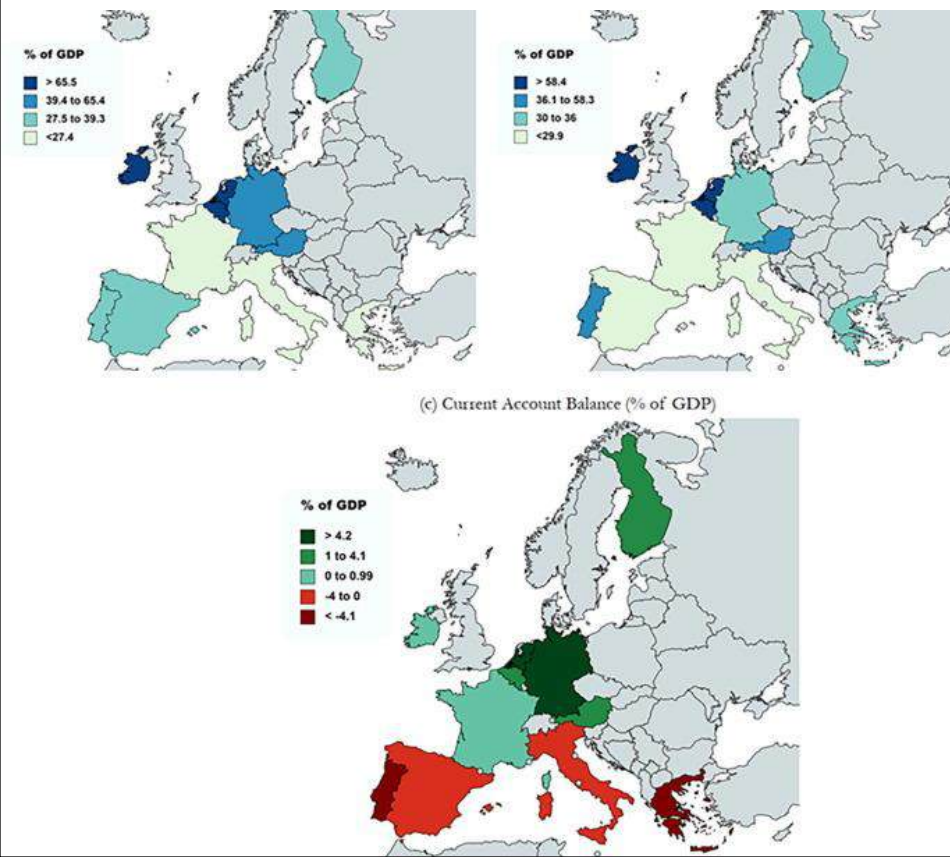
solidarity

Through social  
policy

# Why it is important? - 1

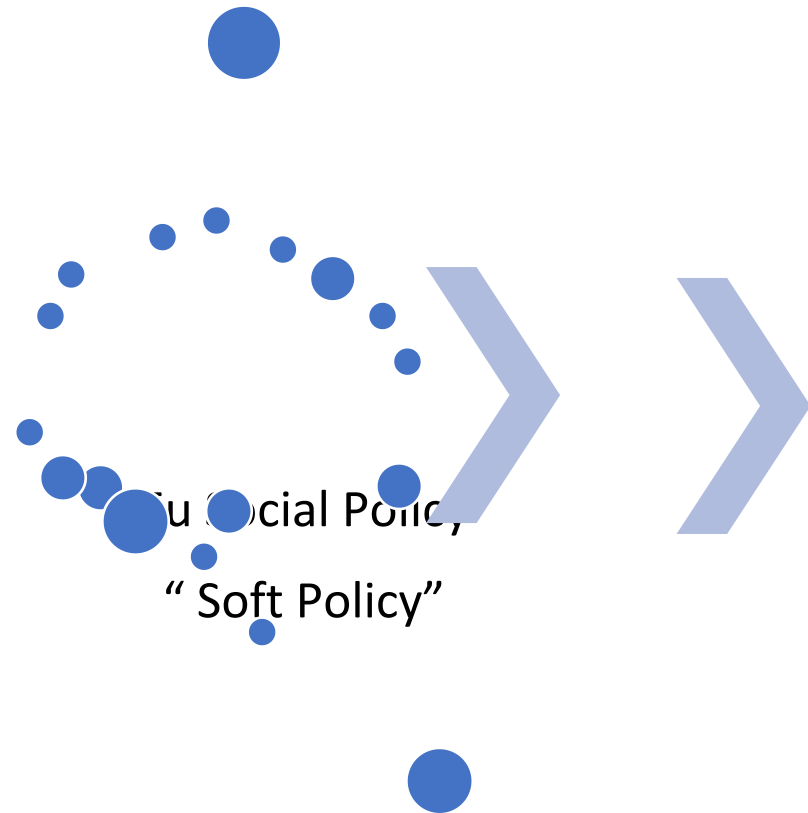


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- Financial economic crisis = North / South division ( Spain, Greece, Portugal, Italy)
- Can countries survive the EU social model under budgt constraints and fiscal austerity?
- While national welfare was tied to market-failing in years past, European welfare is tied to market-building

# Why it is important? -2



- Social Europe to fully understand the European integration construct

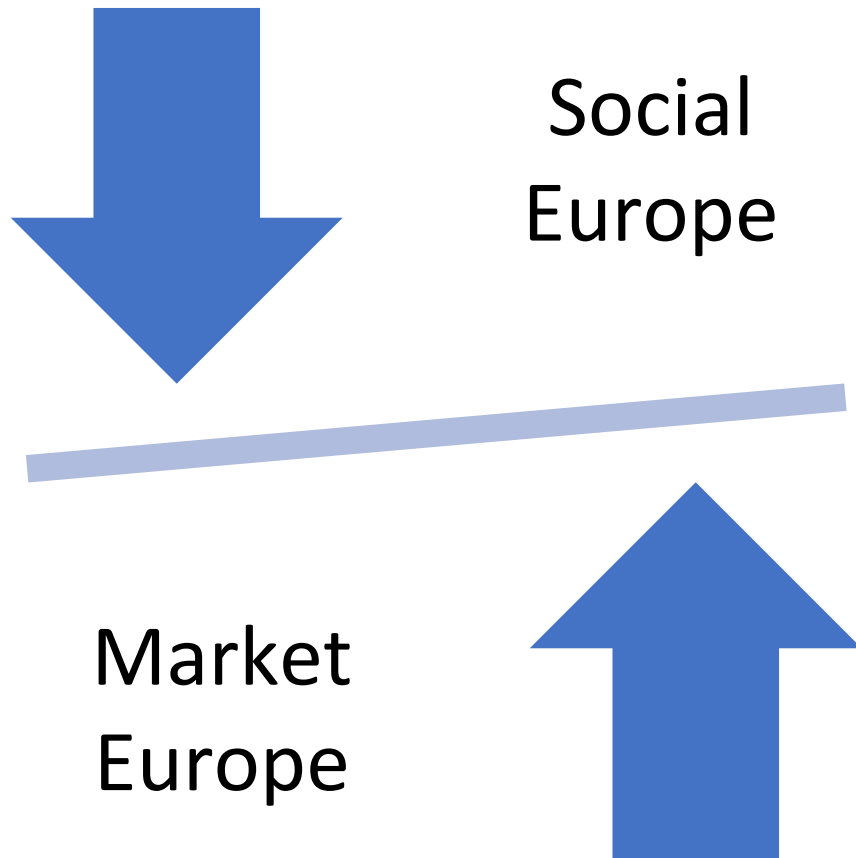
# EU VALUES



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- equality between men and women ; tolerance, respect for minorities ; non-discrimination ; human rights and dignity ; justice ; and solidarity
- Art. 2 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU)
  - a) sustainable development
  - b) social market economy
  - c) equality between men and women
  - d) solidarity between generations
  - e) promotion of children's rights
  - f) promotion of economic, social and territorial cohesion
  - g) promotion of social justice and social protection
  - h) combating social exclusion and discrimination
  - i) the linked goals of full employment and social progress



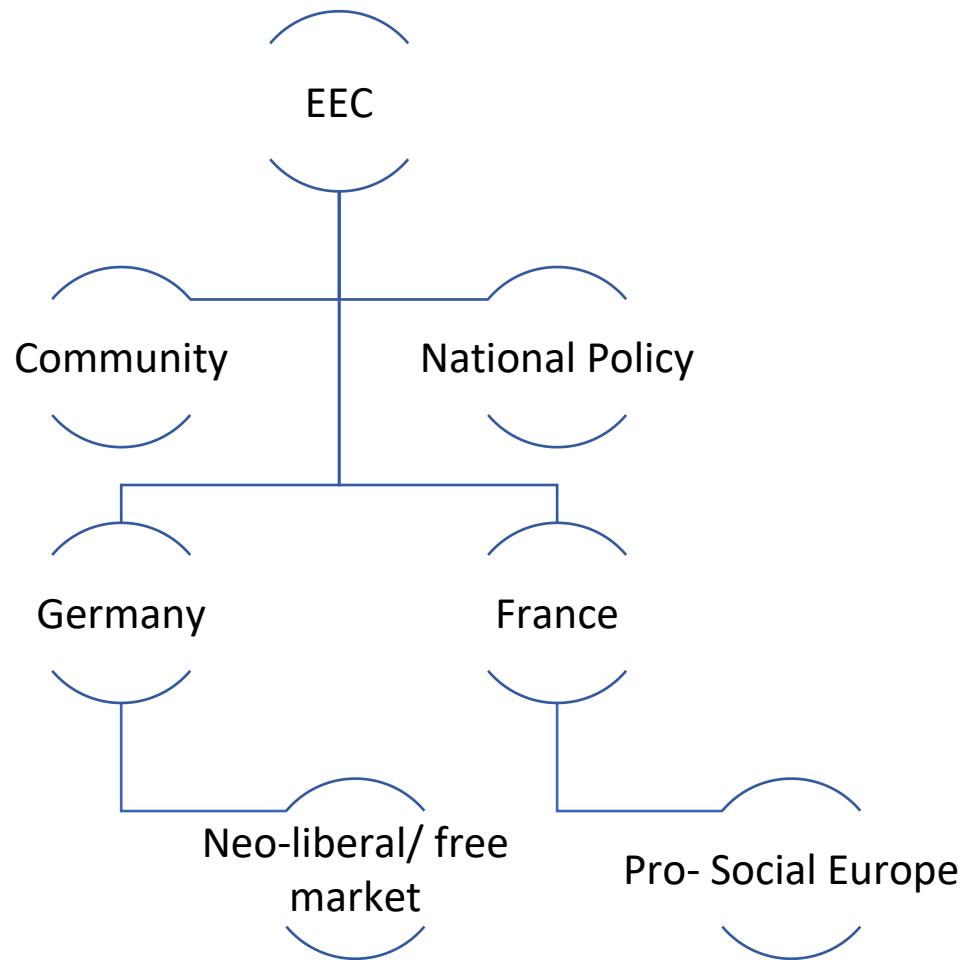


?



# Historical Perspectives The Treaty of Rome

- Social policy- under the control of the MS
- And EEC- limited intervention in the policy area
- Opposition to Europeanize social policy ( Germany versus France)



- Fear: costs of the community's social policy and its effects on growth, employment and competitive of the MS's and EUs in general.

# Early Treaty Provisions

## Social Provisions

Part 3, title 3, chapter 1 & 2 ( art. 117-123)

- More like a guidance for MS to reconstruct their national economies

## European Social Fund

Chapter 2

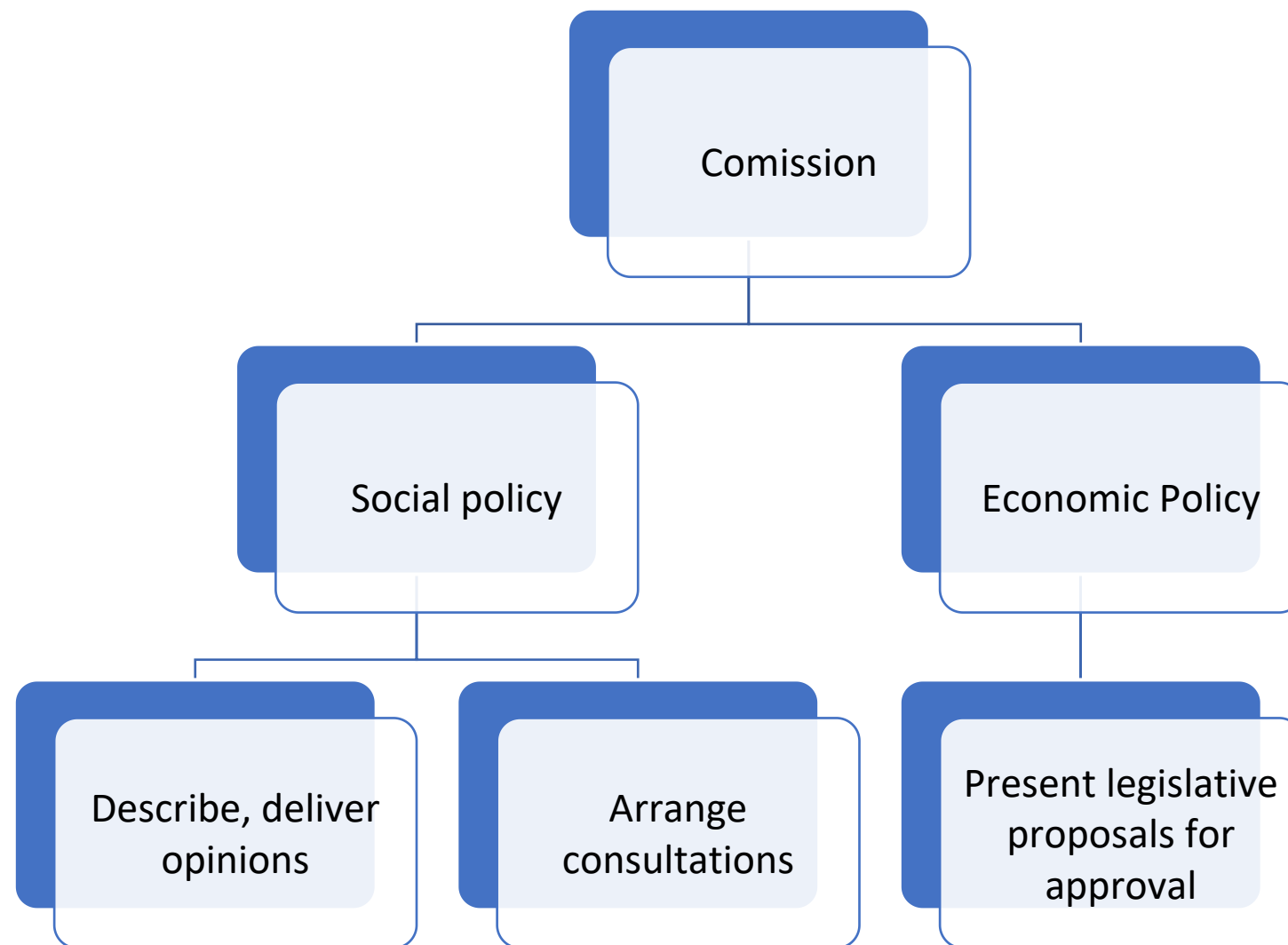
## Common Vocational Training Policy

Art . 119- equal pay for both gender and equivalence b.w. paid holiday schemes in MS countries



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# 1958-1972




- 2 important legislations
- Social security and free movement of persons.
- 1972- key momentum\_ Paris Summit

Economic  
health ( growth)

Quality life of  
its citizens



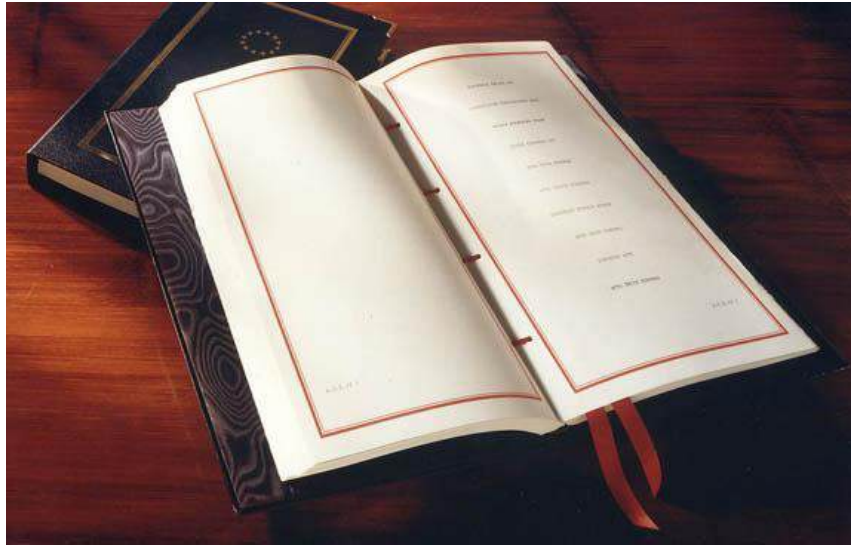


# 1st social Action Program – January 1974

- *“attached as much importance to vigorous action in the social fields as to the achievement of the Economic and Monetary Union.”*
- (a) promote and provide for a full and better employment in the Community
- (b) to provide for improvement of living and working conditions of the citizens in the Community and
- (c) to help increase the participation of workers in industry in the Community.

## European Regional Development Fund ( 1975)

Focus on Regional disparities and redress regional imbalances.



## Enlargement with UK, Denmark and Ireland ( 1973)

- Single European Act ( SEA) 1986
- *In order to promote its overall harmonious development, the Community shall develop and pursue its actions leading to the strengthening of its economic and social cohesion. In particular, the Community shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least favored regions, including rural areas.*

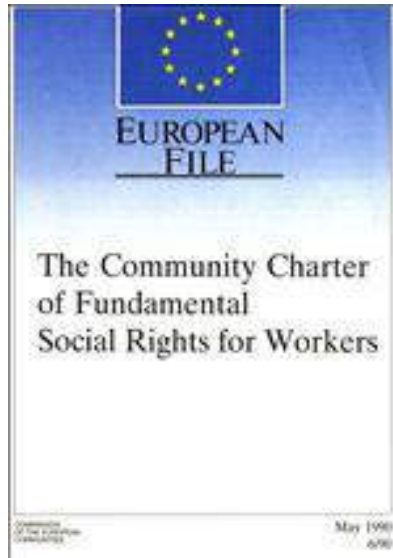


- *Thatcher's government opposed and exercised opting- out rights from refraining to make it as part of its national law,*

# Community Social Policy Initiatives 1989-2009



1989 Charter of Fundamental social rights



- a) health and safety ; b) gender equality ; c) collective bargaining ;  
d) social security ; e) social exclusion and f) the rights of workers  
to fully participate in the management of their companies.



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# European Social Policies

- European Education Policy
- contributing to a certain extent to the harmonization of the European educational systems.
- through innovation, closeness between citizens and businesses, programs and exchange studies (Erasmus), and linkage knowledge and practices



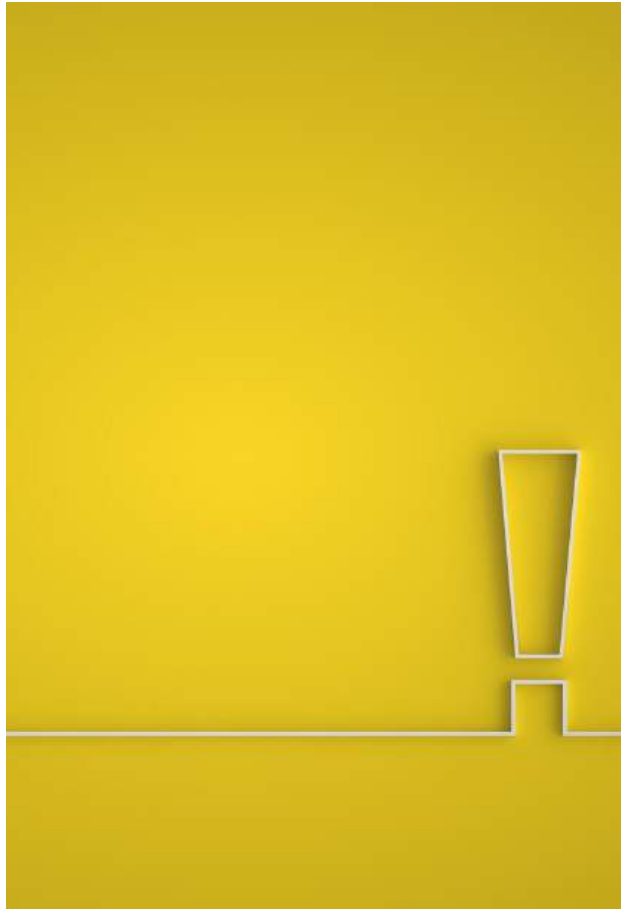


# European Public Health Policy

- *"the Community can now adopt measures aimed at ensuring (rather than merely contributing to) a high level of human protection."*
- cancer ; the prevention of drug dependence ; prevention of Aids and other communicable diseases ; rare diseases ; injury prevention and pollution-related diseases



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# European Consumer Policy

- never a priority policy area due to the disparate national approaches, technical standards and product regulations of the MS.
- Its main objective was to complement MS national consumer policies rather than replace them, and also encourage them to collaborate in the area of consumer policy.
- *the free market approach per se was not sufficient enough to ensure high consumer standards-  
Enlargement with UK & Denmark*





# Promoting a European Cultural Identity

- “contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common European cultural heritage to the fore.”



## Promoting EU Employment Policy

- It engaged the MS to cooperate in seeking solution for their respective unemployment problems while acknowledging that they were primarily responsible for the creation of employment in their territories



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# Treaty of Lisbon

- EU Social Policy is an area of shared competence between the Union and its MS
- **competences in areas such as education and health remain in the hands of the MS and National Governments**
- A combination of qualified majority voting and unanimity rules will be used in making decisions in the area of social policy

# Social Europe & Vs. A market Europe



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Inter-  
governmentalist  
versus federalist  
approach



New internal and  
external crisis



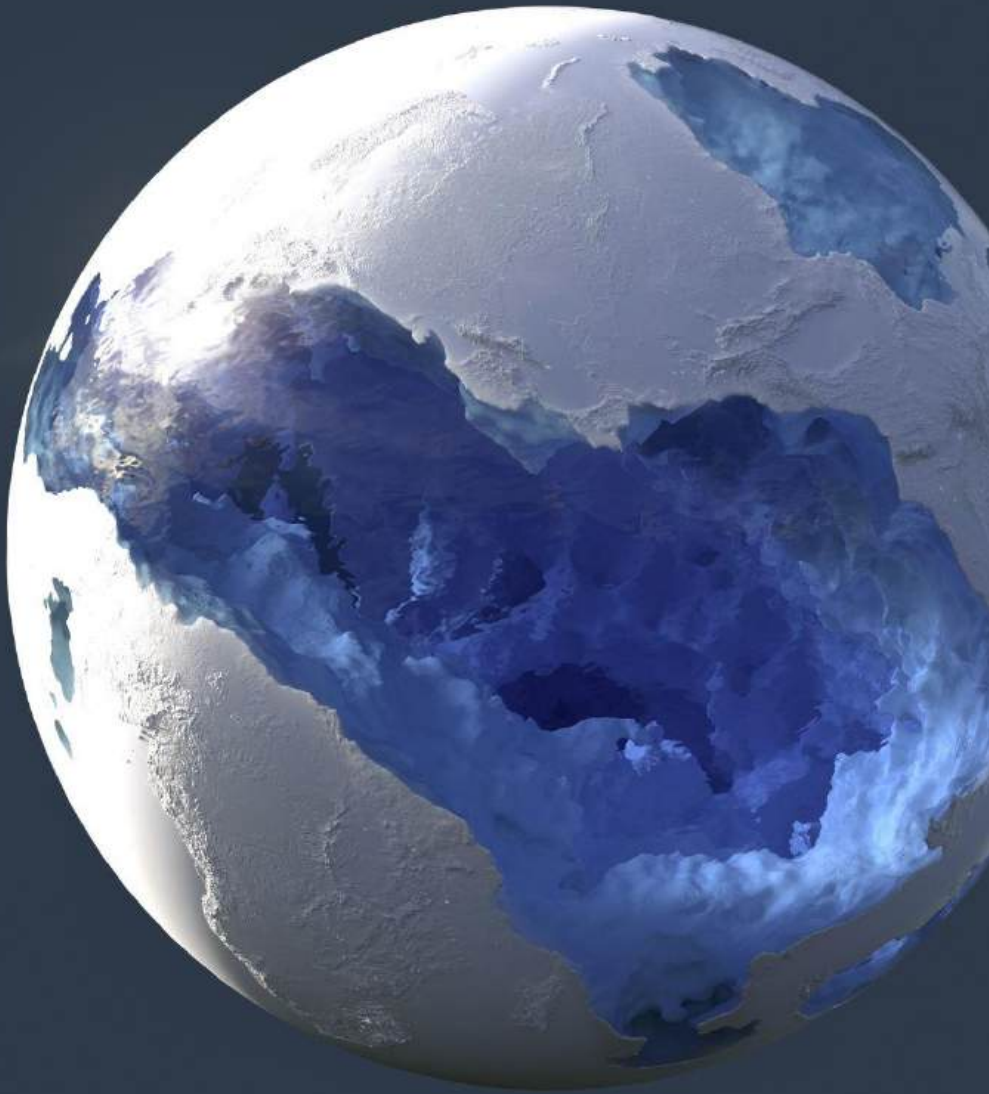
# Regionalization versus Globalization

Topic 7



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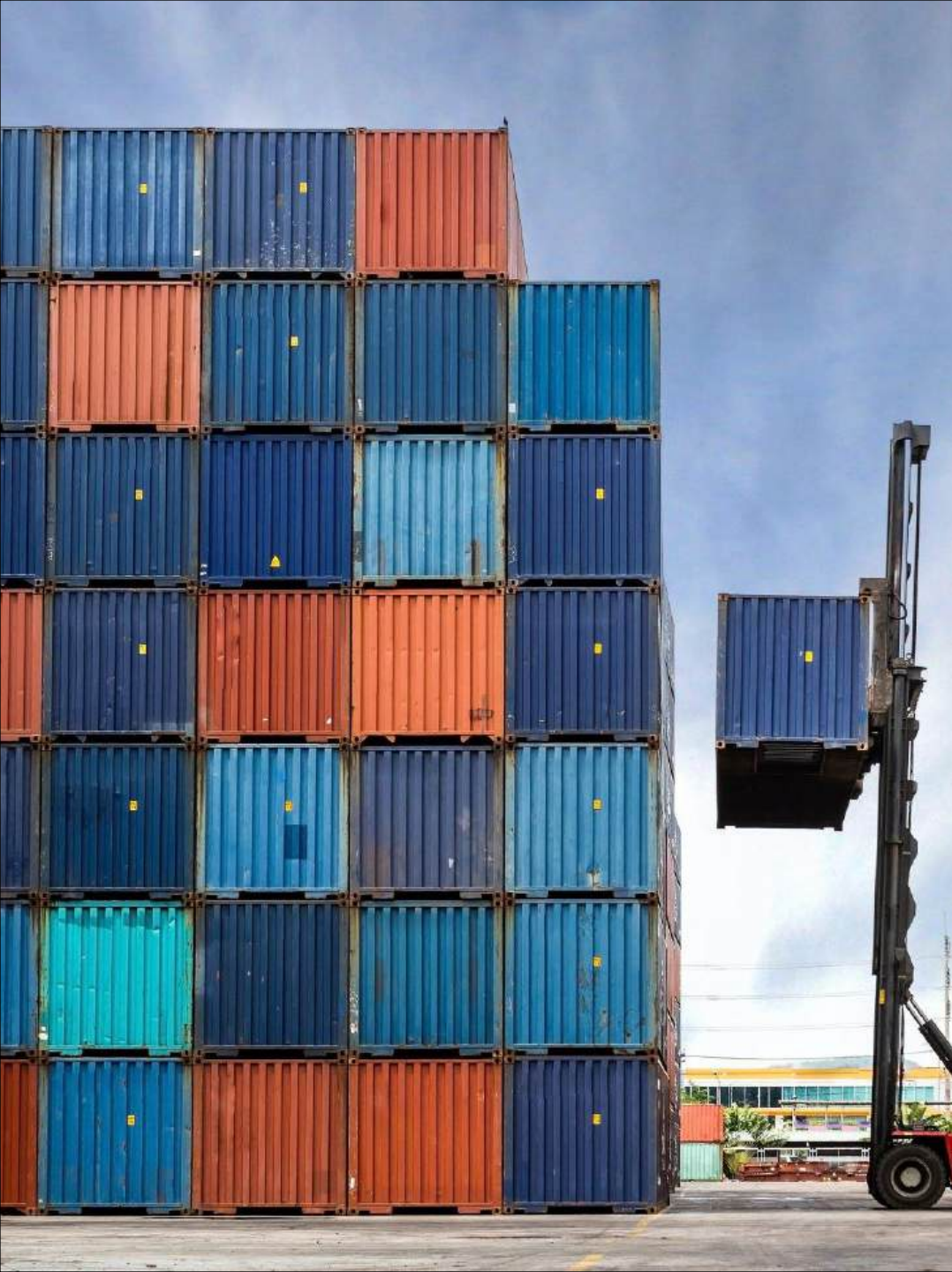
- A period of stagnation between mid 1960s & mid 1980s.
- " first globalization"
- " free world- a crucial Western interest
- A dramatic quantitative change in worldwide economic interactions – a qualitative change in the international division of labor



# Key actors of the globalized world economy

- **Multinational companies**
- 7000 multinationals ( 1970)- 80000 (2006)
- *The nation state become an unnatural, even dysfunctional unit for organizing human activity and managing economic endeavor in a borderless world.*
- *In this brave new borderless world, there remains a role- albeit a diminished one- for government. And that is to educate the workforce, to protect the environment; and build a safe and comfortable social infrastructure.*





# Global production- fundamentally changed

- Container ports ( 1%-1966) – 90% in 1980
- BY 2013- 90% of global trade- seaborne and companies were shipping 700 milion containers every year
- Global trade – \$1.7 trillion in 1973- \$5.8 trillion by the end of 1990s.
- People could travel to 50 countries without a visa(970)- 100 countries by 2019



# Neoliberal theory and policy

- “market fundamentalism” & an ideological “counter revolution”
- Against welfare states
- Friedman’s receipt for ideal economy flat rate (16% for taxation)
- Decrease of state expenditure
- All round privatization of state functions
- A return to policies that make the individual (not the state) responsible for education , health care and pensions

# American & British model

- Closed the fixed exchange rate of Bretton Woods in 1971 & abolished capital control
- G7 agreed to cope with uneven competition.
- IMF and world bank- assisted with spreading this sytem to developing countries
- Washington consensus – this policy framework was mandatory as a condition for IMF assistance



# An existential danger for Europe

- American & Asia – huge parts of the European markets
- Western Europe- the extensive development model – **domestic labour input and American technology imports**
- From 1970s on, Europe had to face increasing competition partly from US and Japan, but also from the rising low-wage “Small Asian Tigers”



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# EUROPEAN INFERIORITY IN EUROPE

- US- computers, American Ford Company
- Japan- EP's analysis found that 9/10 video recorders sold in Western Europe came from Japan
- Traditional & labor intensive textile, clothing and leather- small Asian Tigers



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# Europe lost ground to international competition

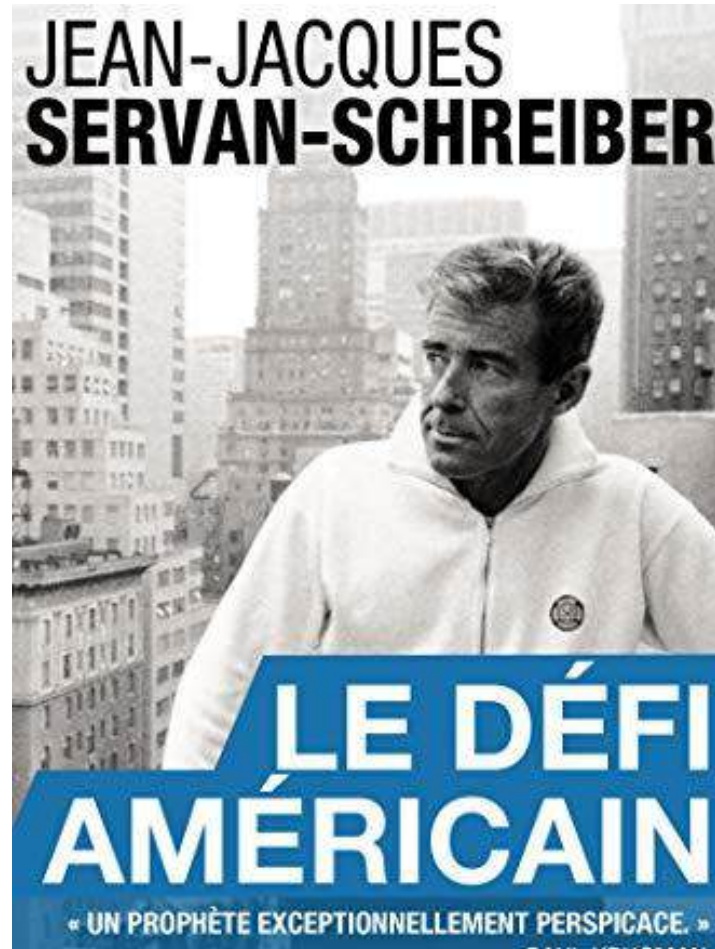
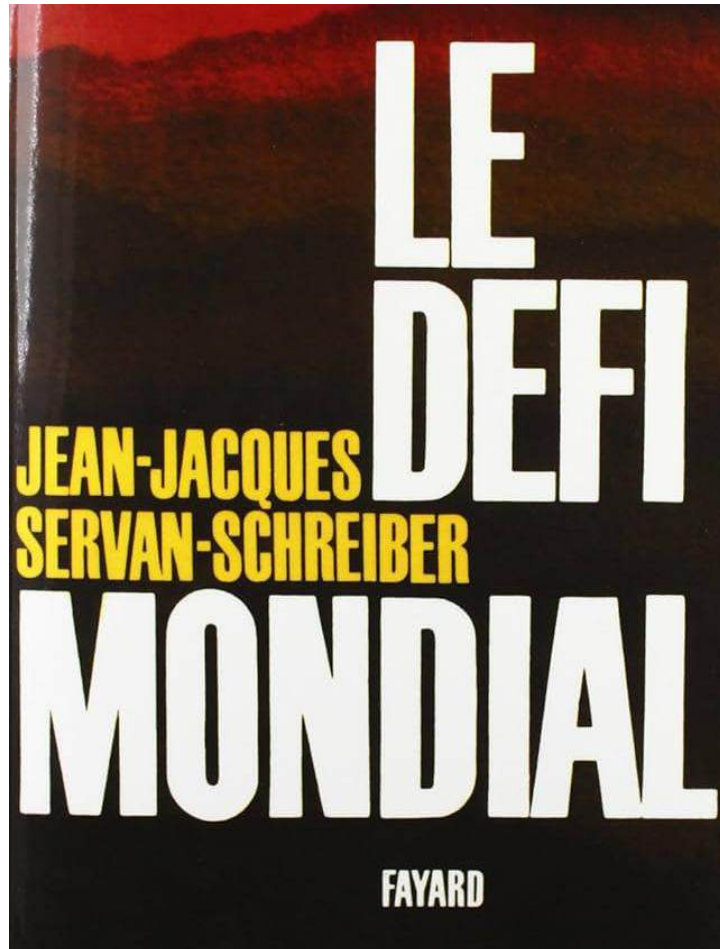


## European Commission reported in 1986

All in all, the European Business community found itself inadequately equipped to cope with. The high technology threat from the US and Japan and the low end technology threat from the newly industrializing countries.



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- 1973 European Commission prepared and accepted an Action program.
- Nothing happened

Le defi Americain ( the American Challenge) - 1967 to 1980 Le defi mondiale ( the Worldwide challenge)

\* The American subsidiary network in Europe as the second largest industrial force of the world , second only to American industry in America.

# Why – 4 July 1976 Independence day – Interdependence day

- The deficit in our balance of payment is matched by a mounting deficit in our balance of influence” Nixon
- “Americans no longer dominate in that world despite our giant size, are ever more aware that interdependence with the other industrial nations in economics, and with the Soviet Union in nuclear stability is more and more a two way street.”
- Shifts in US policy – Johnson “Great Society” domestic plans
- Nixon & Kissinger – détente and breakups between Soviet Union and China

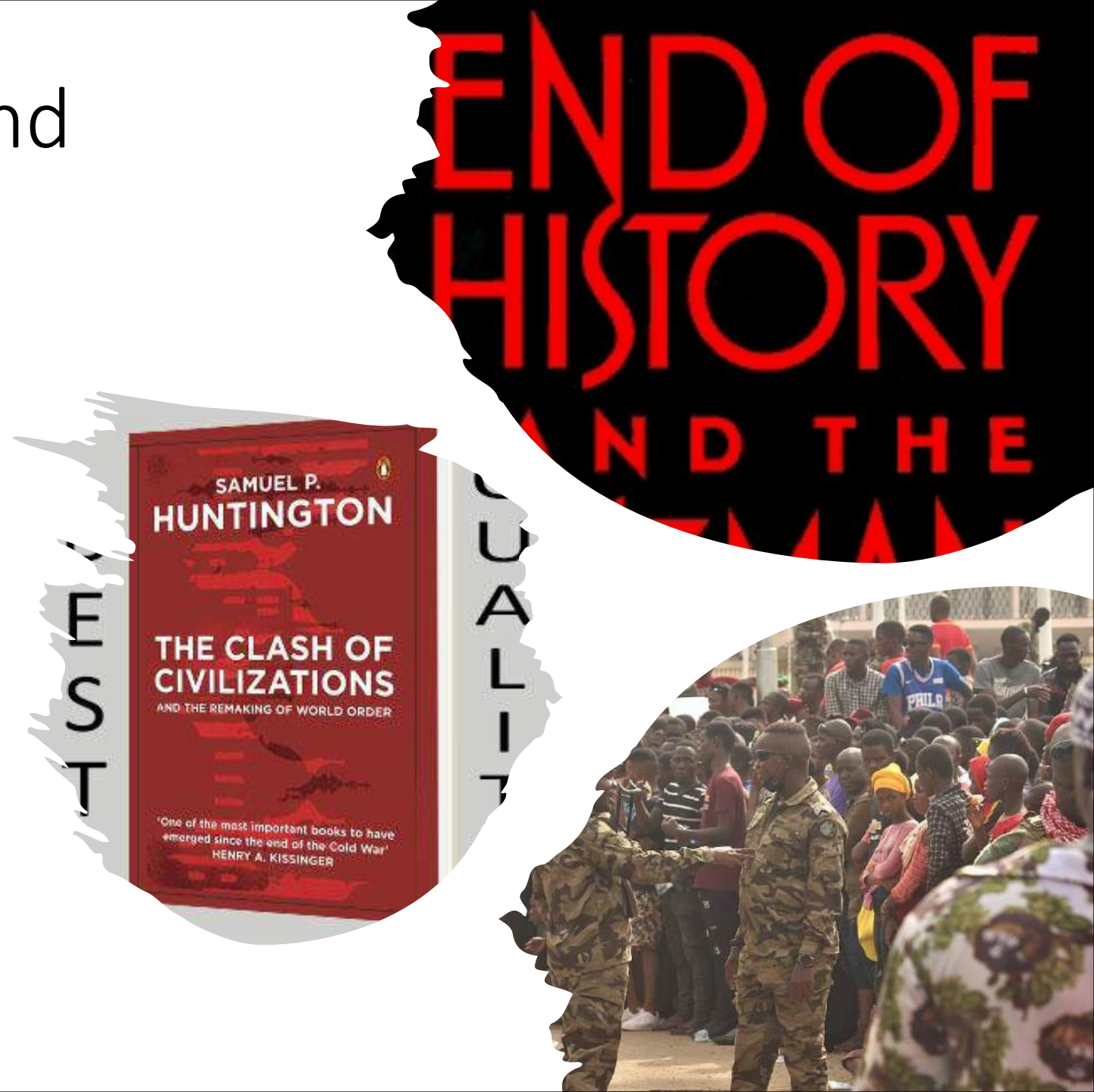


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# Lack of hegemony and global governance

- Civil wars, coups and regime changes – end of colonial empires- in sub-Saharan Africa , 80 coups succeeded and another 108 failed.
- End of the Soviet Union – 28 new sovereign states emerged during the 1990s
- The belief of end of the universalization of Western liberal democracy (Fukuyama)- “challenger civilization” (Huntington)

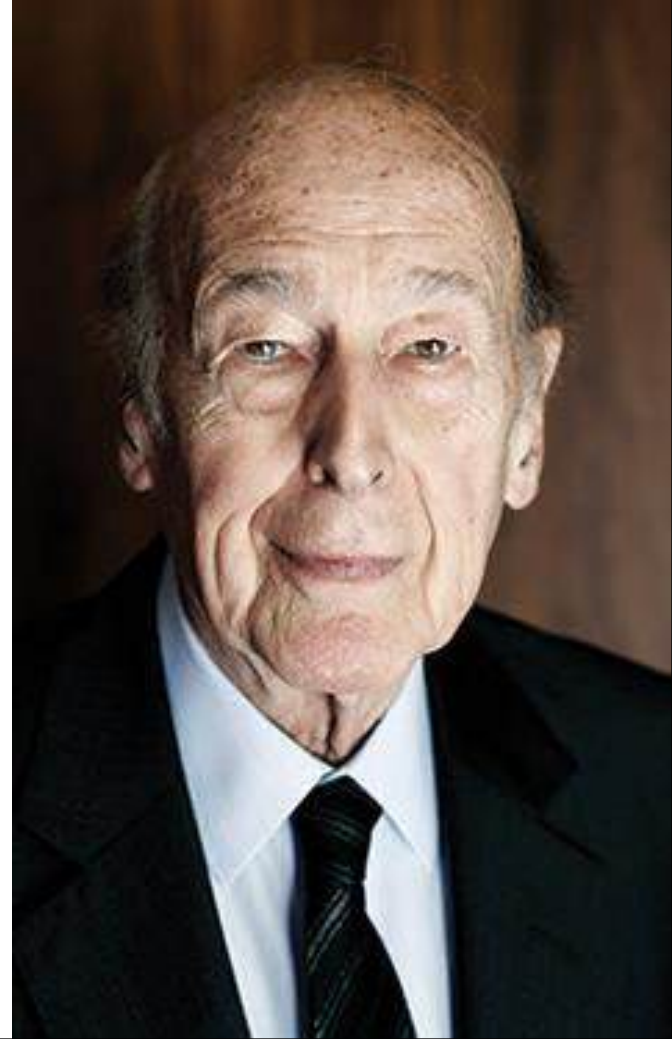






## Concerted European Policy

- June 1957- Schmidt and D'estaing idea of G5 + North America and Japan to replace American hegemony – ***meetings without decisions***
- Failure of nation states to cope with new circumstances.
- National champion strategies ended in crisis (Wayne Sandholtz- 1992 book High-Tech Europe for the Aerospace industry)



# Big corporations for European cooperation

“Dissatisfaction with the national route of European policy making,”

1-In January 1979 , an expert group that included representatives of big business issued a report advocating that the European Community should exploit its comparative advantage “by dominating its potential internal market (which presupposes completion of the common market and monetary union) . . . [and] internationalizing capital

2- In the 1980s, the giant multinational company Philips published booklet advocating the proper unification of the European market. –’ today: the European Community home market”

3- In February 1984, the top industrialists of the Roundtable worked out a long list of required concrete measures to “unblock the workings of the European Community.”

4- In 1984, the French Chamber of Commerce and Industry – together with other institutions and the representatives from 200 leading European industrialists – **organized a campaign for a new “Eurodynamism” and a break with the “Eurosclerosis” of national politicians**



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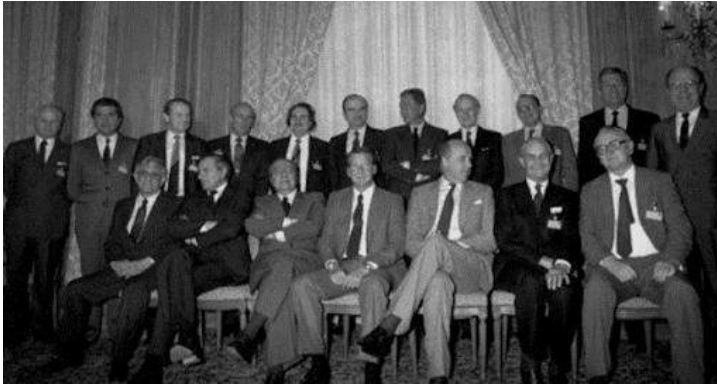
CCI DE FRANCE



- In the 1980s, the European Defense Industries Group, **the representatives of the military industry**, started also lobbying against Article 223 of the Treaty of Rome. That article left defense industrial matters **outside the Community's jurisdiction and in the hands of the nation-st**



- it was unbelievable to put together the words "Europe" and "armaments." It was a taboo. . .
- **huge lobbying networks** in Brussels. By 1985, already 654 registered interest organizations were working in Brussels. By 2009, 15,000–20,000 similar organizations had offices and direct contacts with the EU administration



# Dekker's plan "Europe 1990"

- all the required steps –
- the elimination of border formalities
- open public-procurement markets,
- harmonized technical standards and
- fiscal harmonization – **for unifying the Community's market**



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Dekker's plan "was viewed by many as the precursor to the Cockfield White Paper, the [Commission's] document that outlined the Single Market or the 1992 program issued six months later



# Mitterrand-Kohl-Delors ( and Spinelli) and the single Europe act

- Spinelli's "Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union"

*"The Union shall have exclusive competence to complete, safeguard and develop the free movement of persons, services, goods and capital within its territory. . . . This liberalization process shall take place based on detailed and binding programmes and timetables laid down by the legislative authority in accordance with the procedures for adopting laws. . . . The Union must attain: within a period of two years . . . the free movement of persons and goods; this implies in particular the abolition of personal checks at internal frontiers, within a period of five years . . . the free movement of services, including banking and all forms of insurance, within a period of 10 years . . . the free movement of capital*



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# White Paper, “Completing the Internal Market,”

After a few months in office, in June 1985, Jacques Delors presented a White Paper, “Completing the Internal Market,”

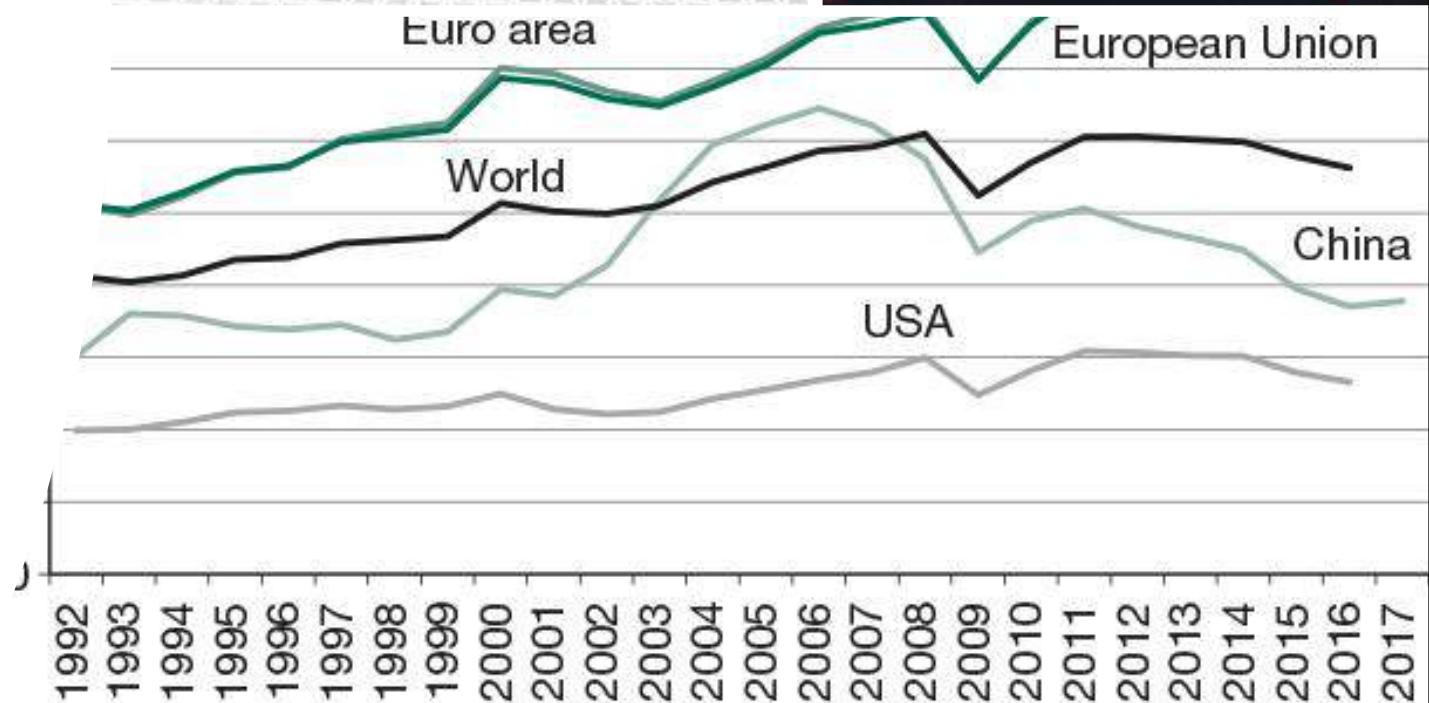
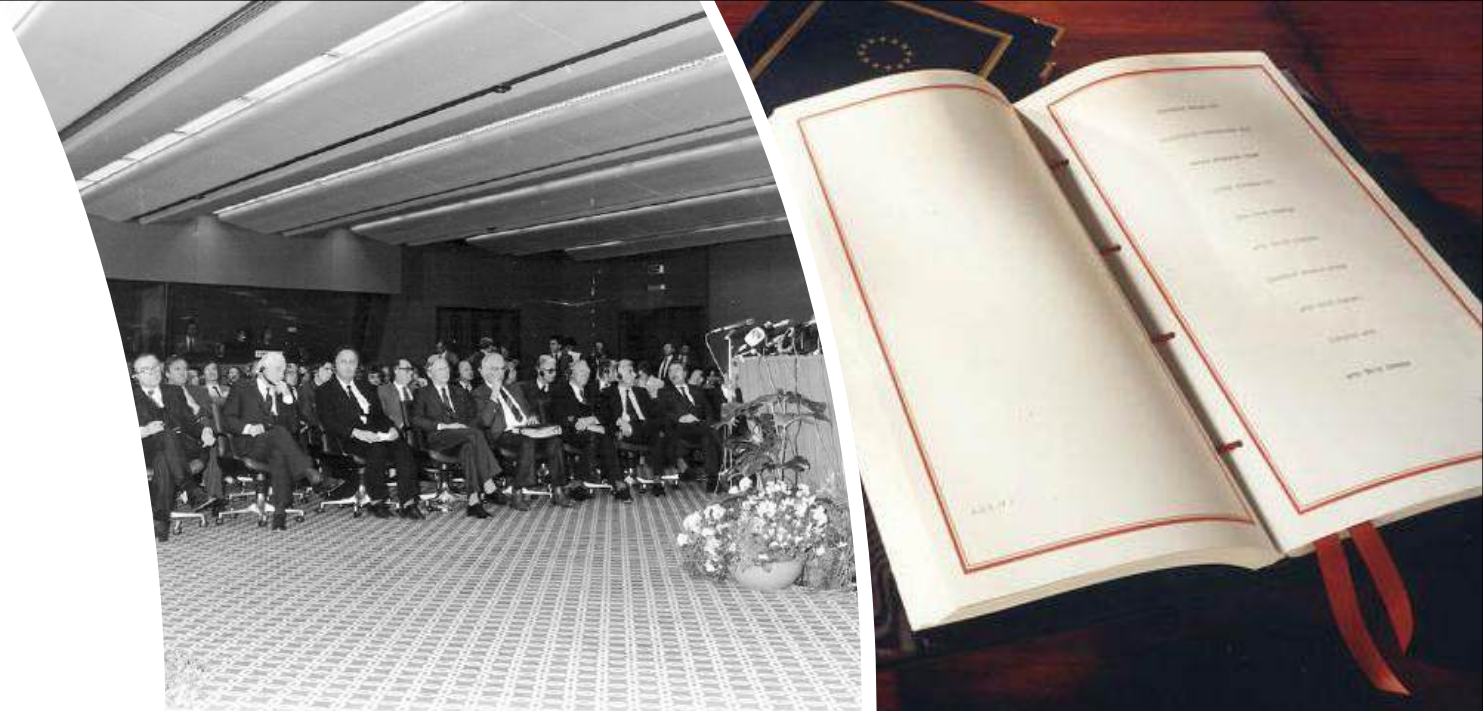
During the recession [of the 1970s, non-tariff barriers] multiplied as each Member State endeavored to protect what it thought was its short-term interests. . . . Member States also increasingly sought to protect national markets and industries through the use of public funds to aid and maintain non-viable companies o the European Council in Mila





# Regionalization: the answer to globalization

1- Single European Act – 1 July  
1987



# What was achieved?



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- Europe started to regain its competitiveness and international stature
- A thoroughly integrated, centralized European market
- a streamlined standard of products and a legal and regulatory system.
- In 1985, there were 700; but by 1988, there were 1,336. The Market Access Advisory Committee and the Market Access Working Group assisted in this preparatory work by "bringing together all relevant stakeholders [in a] partnership between the Commission, EU Member States and EU business



## Market Access Partnership Structures







- The Single-Europe project ended the restrictions on capital movement. The goal was “the establishment of a Community-wide integrated financial system”
- **The European Central Bank** reported that the impact of regional integration in Europe increased direct investment in a range between 28 percent and 83 percent, while the incremental effect of Euro-area membership ranged between 21 percent and 44 percent
- Single Banking Licence/ Single Passport 1989

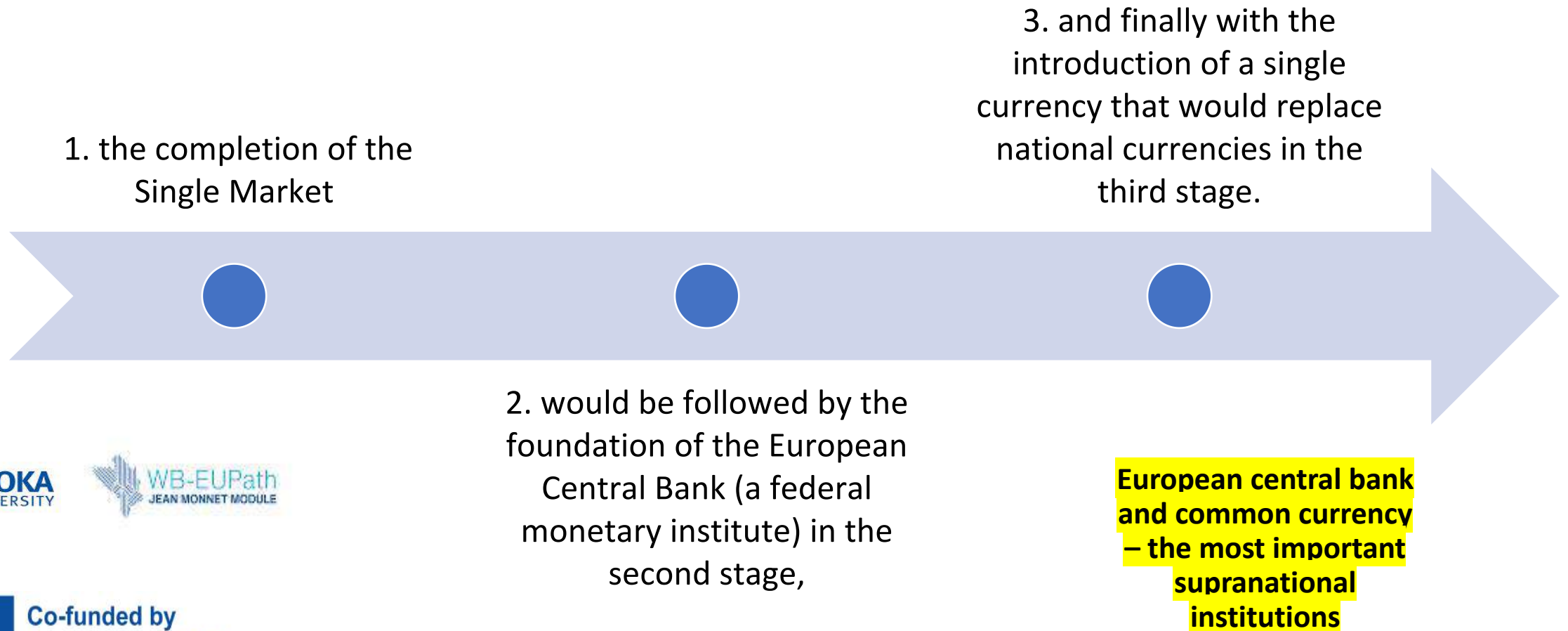


# Europe started to become "Europeanized."



- As Eurostat reported in 2012, 72 percent of total inward foreign direct investments during the 1990s were intra-EU flows
- Regional value-chain contributions to global output became the highest – nearly 30 percent – in the European Community.<sup>107</sup> In the US and East Asia, this share is only 16 percent and 10 percent, respectively.
- The European Strategic Programme for Research and Development (ESPRIT) launched in 1985 with 750 million Euro
- The free movement of people became possible also in **1985**, with the Schengen Agreement

# The most ambitious plan for EU Federation.

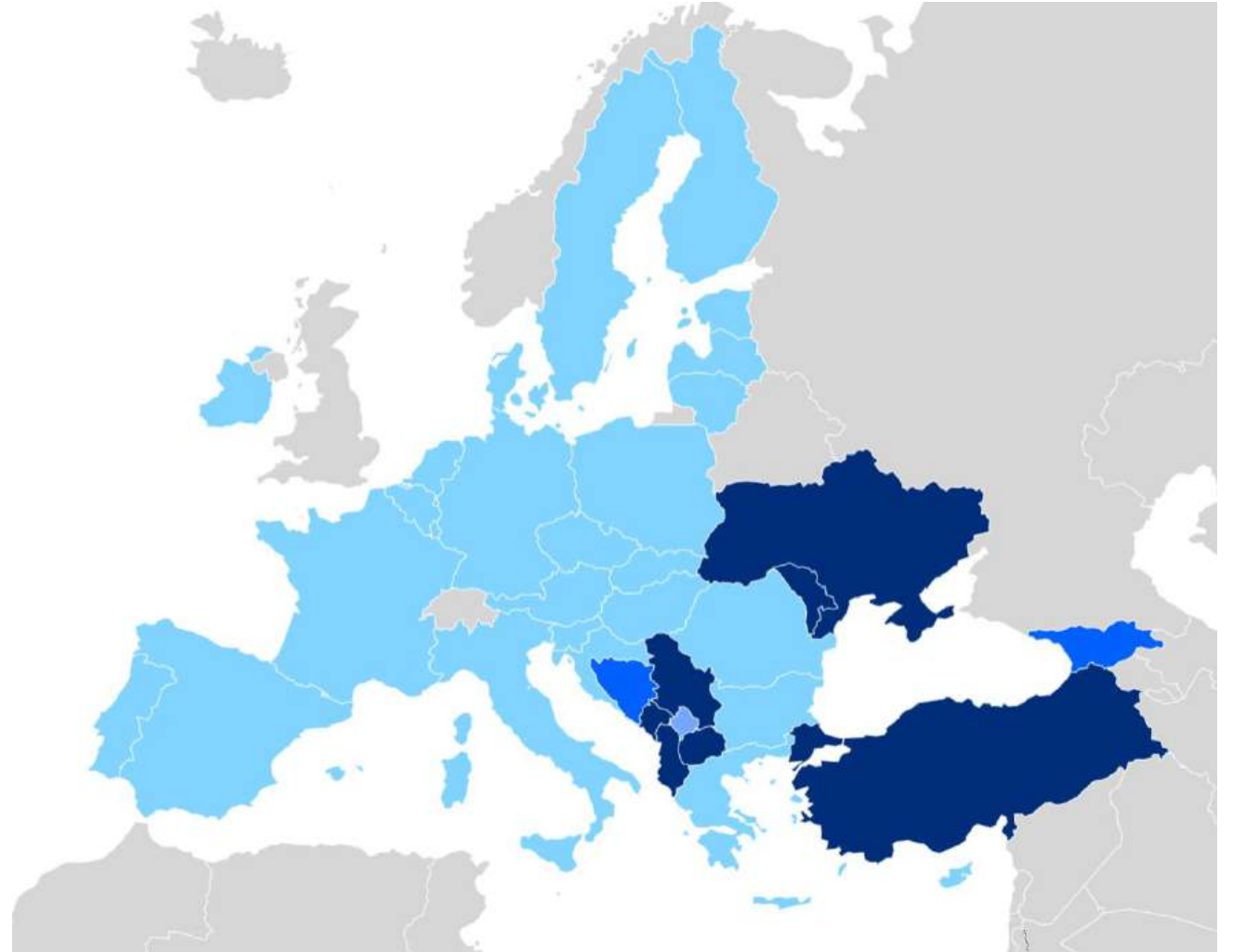


# ENLARGEMENT

## Topic 7



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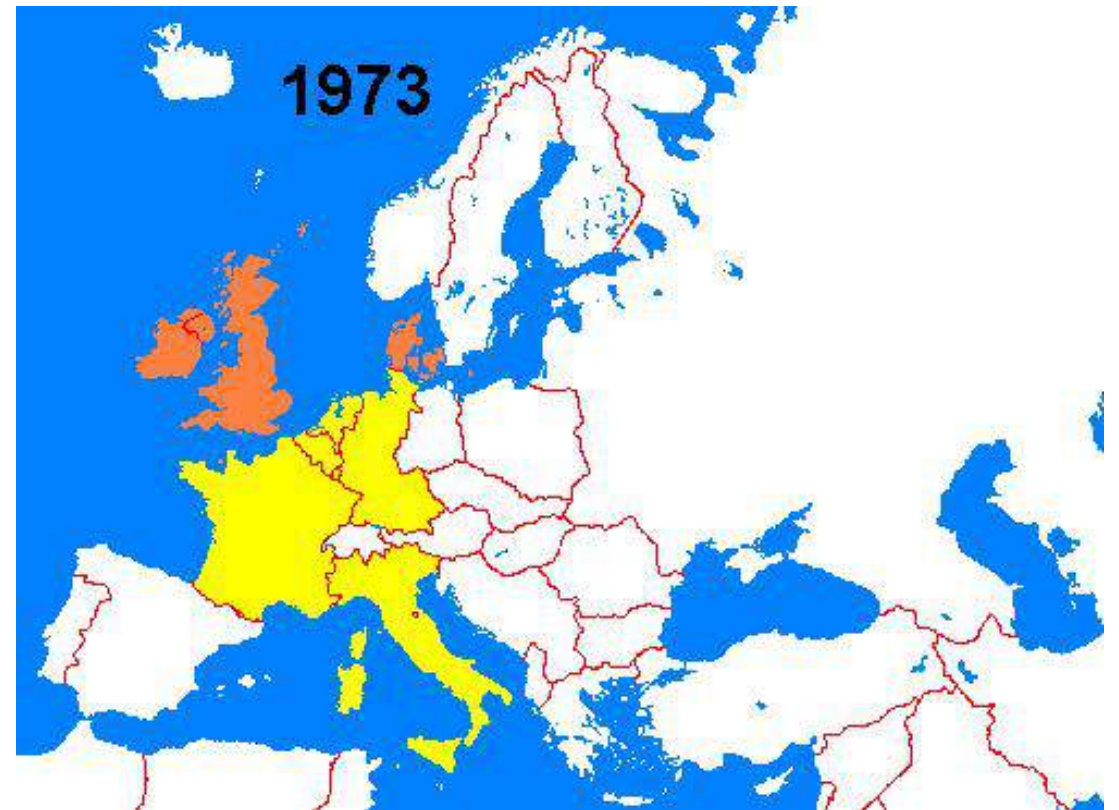
From the founding days of the European Coal and Steel Community (" ECSC") in 1952, European integration has been designed as an open access model.

At least in principle, every European State has the right to join.

According to Article 98 of the European Coal and Steel Community Treaty of April 18, 1951," **Any European State may request to accede to [the Coal and Steel Community].**"



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## Benefits for the EU

Enlargement also benefits the EU, as it means

- increased prosperity and opportunities for European citizens and businesses
- a stronger voice on the world stage
- more cultural diversity
- the promotion of democracy, rule of law, and human rights
- an investment in peace and security in Europe

# Historical Context



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- Started with 6 countries in 1957 (Treaty of Rome).
- Major waves:
  - 1973: UK, Ireland, Denmark
  - 1980s: Greece, Spain, Portugal
  - 1995: Austria, Finland, Sweden
  - 2004–2013: Eastern Europe + Croatia
- **Copenhagen Criteria (1993)** introduced political, economic, and institutional requirements.

# First Enlargement

**The First Enlargement of the European Economic Community (EEC) refers to the accession of three countries: the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark on 1 January 1973.**

**Norway was also involved in negotiations but ultimately did not join due to a referendum rejection.**

## Country

**United Kingdom**

**Ireland**

**Denmark**

## Motivation for Joining

To gain access to the Common Market after economic stagnation in the 1960s.

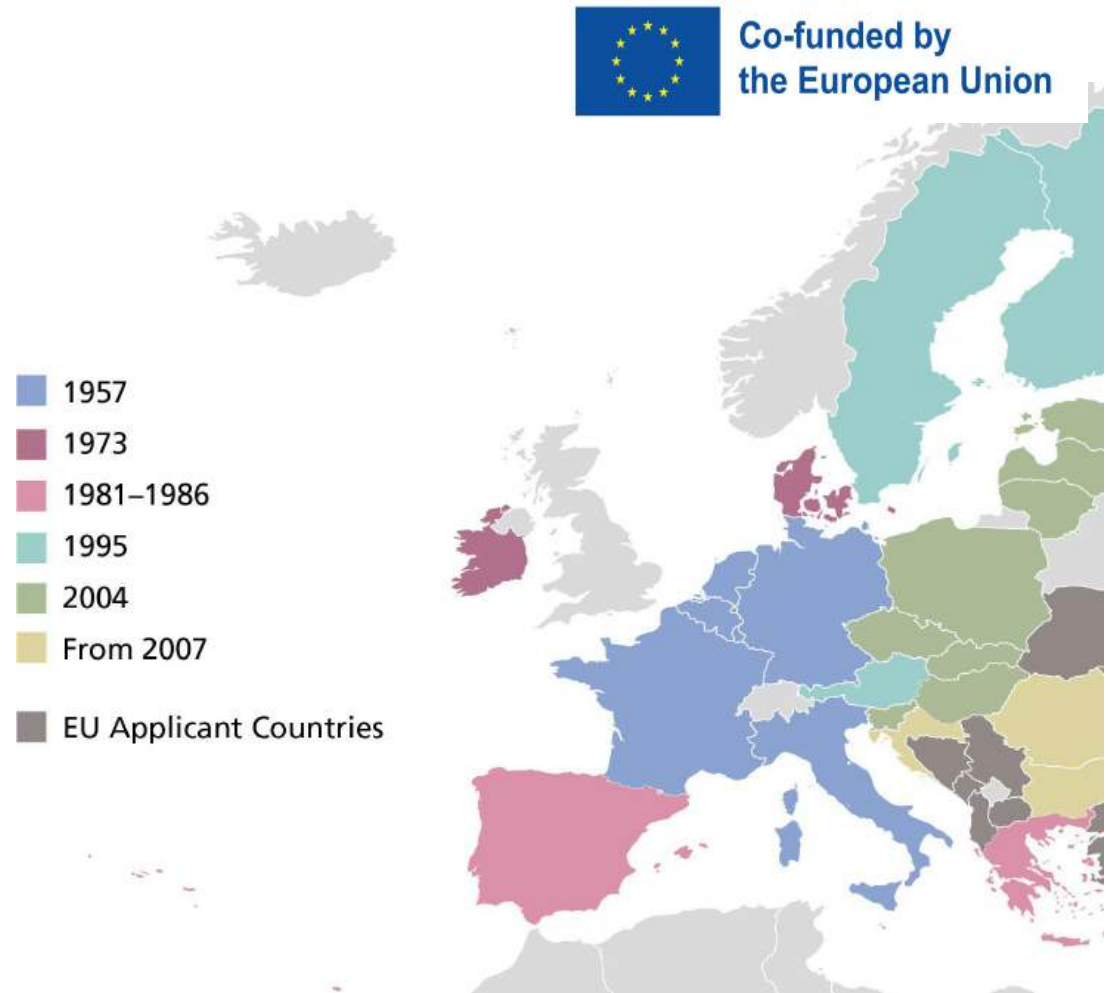
Economically dependent on the UK and eager to diversify and modernize its economy.

Strong economic ties with the UK and interest in participating in European integration.



# Challenges of First Enlargement

- **Economic Integration:** Integrating the economies of Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom with existing member states required significant adjustments in policies and regulations.
- **Political Resistance:** There was political resistance within existing member states and the new entrants, including concerns over sovereignty and the implications of deeper integration.
- **Institutional Adaptation:** The EEC institutions needed restructuring to accommodate new members, which involved complex negotiations and legal adjustments.
- **Referenda and Ratifications:** Ratification processes, including national referenda, posed uncertainties. Norway, for instance, rejected membership in a referendum, complicating the enlargement process.



# Hague Summit 1969

The Hague Summit of December 1969 was a turning point in the history of the EC since it indicated the willingness of the Six to relaunch European integration.

1. Completion - Direct funding of the EEC from its 'own resources' (revenue from agricultural import levies and a proportion of VAT payments) rather than from states' annual 'membership fee'.
2. Deepening
3. Enlargement



# Treaty of Accession 1972

Was the international agreement which provided for the accession of Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the United Kingdom to the European Communities. The treaty of accession is signed by the member states and the acceding country.

Once accession negotiations have come to a close. Accession is not however automatic as the Treaty has to be ratified by the Member States and the acceding country.





# The effect of the first wave



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**Economic Expansion:** It integrated Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom, significantly boosting the economic strength and diversity of the EEC.

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**Political Impact:** It marked the start of the EEC's transformation into a more influential political entity, influencing European and global politics.

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**Geopolitical Significance:** The inclusion of the UK, a major global player, enhanced the EEC's geopolitical presence and strategic importance.

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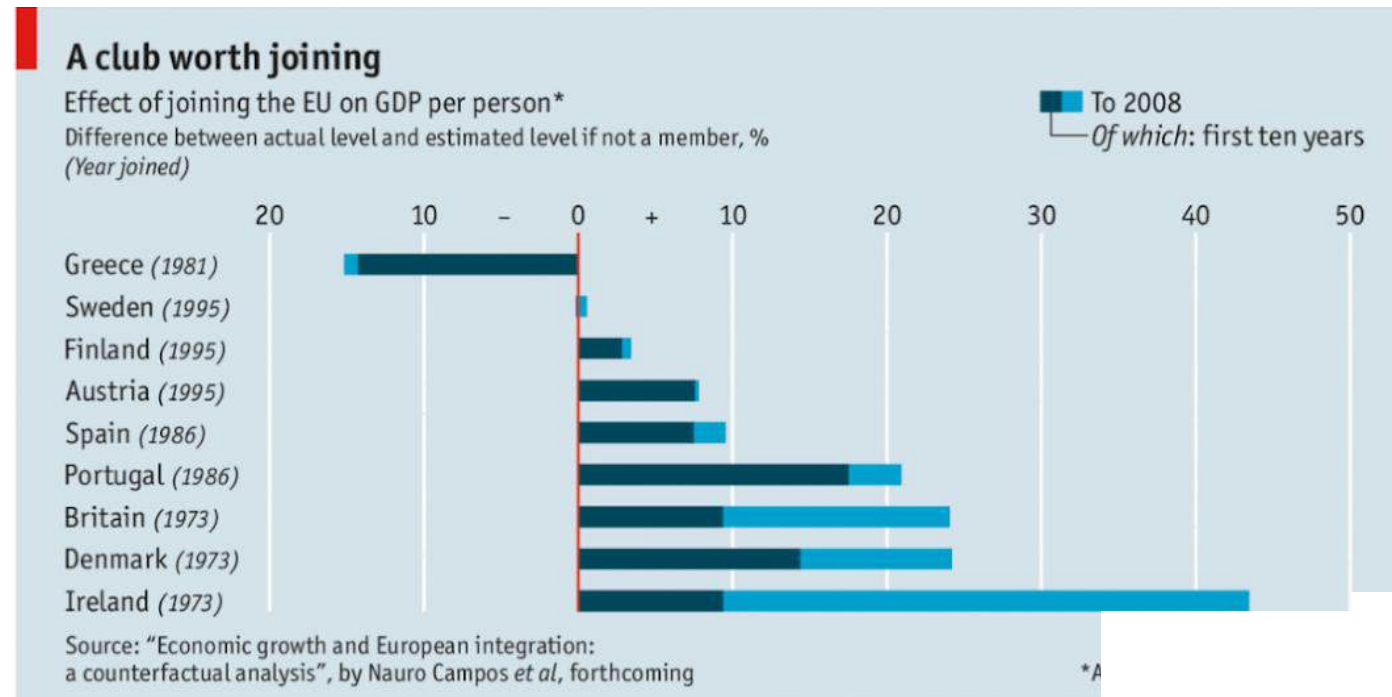
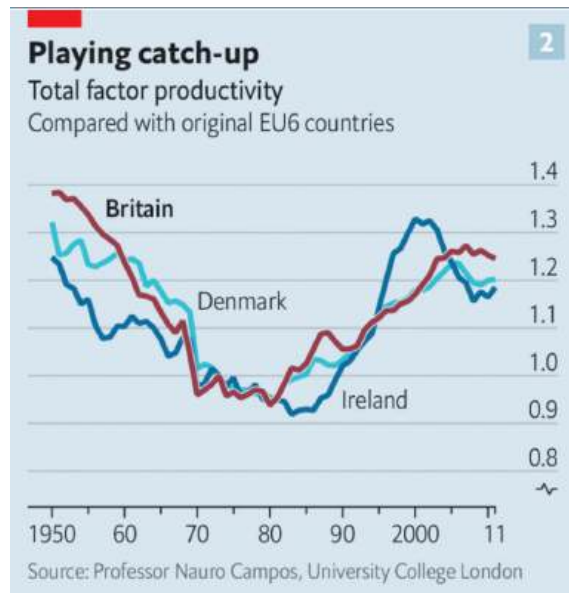
**Precedent for Future Enlargements:** It set a framework for future enlargements, demonstrating the feasibility and benefits of expanding the community

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Indeed, the protracted enlargement process, which effectively lasted from 1961 until 1973, set out the framework within which future applicants had to operate, both in terms of the negotiations process and the extent of the domestic adjustments needed to meet the requirements of membership.

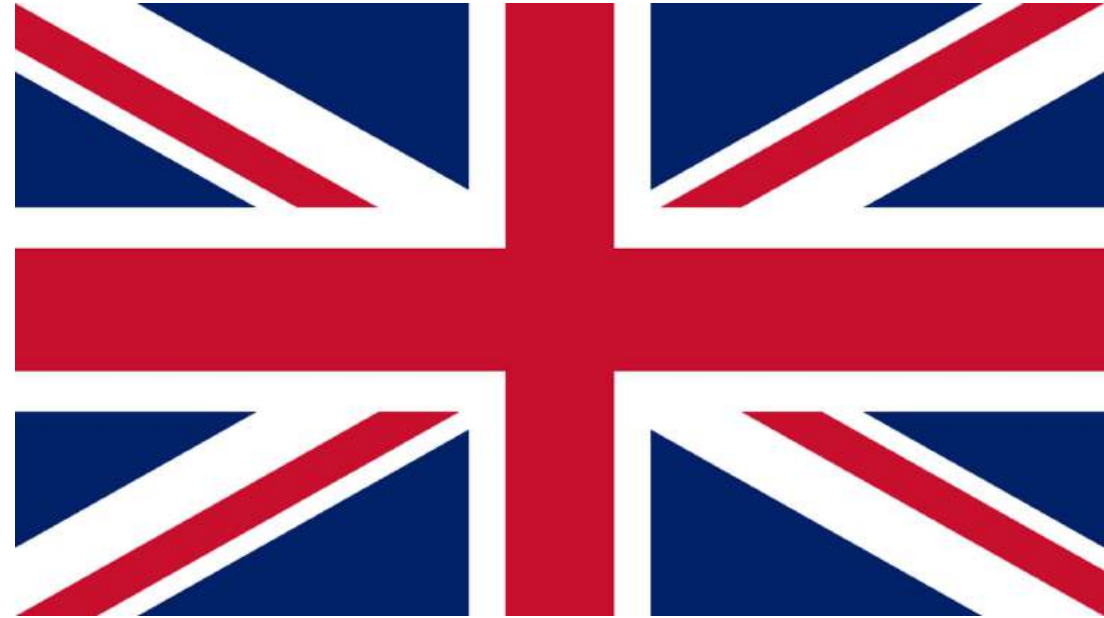


With the accession of the countries in 1973: Population increased by 33%  
The area of the EU members increased by 25%  
The total GDP of the member states increased by 32%



# The British Perspective

- As in 1961–63, the French were determined to preserve their position of leadership within the EEC. The French did not want the Community to break up.
- Their diplomacy was based on the need to preserve the Community of Six while barring Britain.
- Although France succeeded in excluding Britain in the short term, in the longer term the French had to adjust their stance to enlargement in order to retain influence.
- Historically been sceptical of European Integration for two reasons: Global foreign policy (US-Commonwealth) and Intergovernmentalism.
- More engaged in establishing the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1960 as an alternative to the EEC with other six OEEC members.
- Failed to succeed over the EC.



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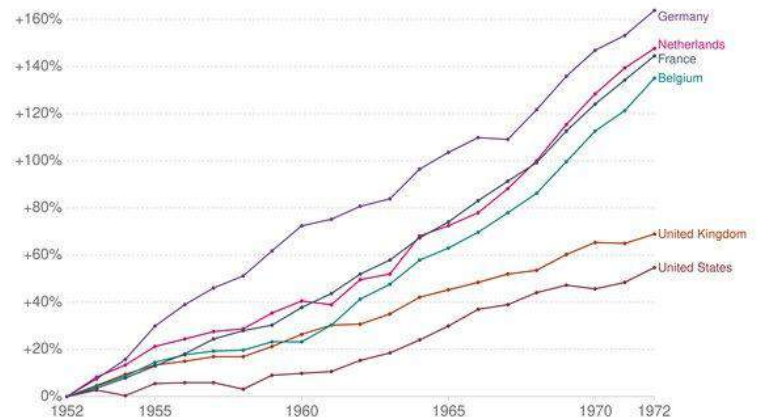
# Political Context

- The UK had two applications: 1961-1967
- *Vetoed* by De Gaulle, doubting the UK's commitment to European integration and concerned about the *US influence*.
- Requirement of compromises (CAP) and the disrupt the Franco-German axis. *Deepening* rather than *enlargement*.
- The Labor party (Harold Wilson) strong *Eurosceptic* vs. The Conservative party (Edward Heath) *pro-European*.
- Internal opposition.
- PM Macmillan: the large and rapidly growing industrial markets of the Six, creating an alternative to the Anglo-American relationship as a basis for Britain's international role, the gradual decline of the Commonwealth as a political asset.
- *Cold War ?*
- Georges Pompidou-lift the veto on enlargement negotiations at The Hague summit (May-June 1971). FP focus.



### Change in GDP per capita, 1952 to 1972

GDP per capita adjusted for price changes over time (inflation) and price differences between countries – it is measured in international-\$ in 2011 prices.



Source: Maddison Project Database (2018)

Note: These series are adjusted for price differences between countries using multiple benchmark years, and are therefore suitable for cross-country comparisons of income levels at different points in time.

OurWorldInData.org/economic-growth • CC BY

## 2. Economic Context

- The UK's per capita GDP relative to the EU founding members' declined steadily from 1945 to 1972.
- 1950- the difference in per capita GDP between the UK and EU6 was 28%. 7 years later-Treaty of Rome- 15%.
- 1961- the difference in per capita GDP between UK and EU6 reached 10%.
- The UK applied in 1969, per capita GDP was 2% below the EU6 average.
- High Inflation, slow growth, industrial strife.
- Need for modernisation and diversification.
- A larger, rapidly growing common market.





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Aligning economic policies with EEC (CAP).

Significant adjustments of agricultural and trade policies.

Currency and financial policy involved a substantial economic landscape and policy harmonization.

Integrating the UK's economy into the EEC's common market posed challenges related to regulatory alignment and ensuring fair competition.

Budgetary implications were significant, as the inclusion of the UK necessitated adjustments to the EEC's financial framework to accommodate new funding needs and economic support measures

# 3. Accession

- Accession was agreed under Edward Heath - pledged to "negotiate the right terms" for entry, and who drew on the support of a pro-European faction of Labour MPs.
- Ideologically driven, Heath said Britain's accession to the Common Market marked a degree of European unity "for which people have longed for centuries."
- Negotiations of 1970 led to the accession of the UK in January 1st, 1973.



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# The Danish Perspective

- The desire to become part of an open European economy, rather than support for federalism.
- Restore its economy by the early 1960s.
- Confined to the economic sphere without involvement in political and security issues.
- Positive about Churchill's project to create the Council of Europe (1949).
- Opposed any transfer of national security matters to the Council.



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# Political/Economic Developments



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- Exports to Germany experienced growth, while exports to the UK were limited due to its protectionist measures.
- *The late 1950s dilemma*
- Following the UK application on 1961-1967 (vetoed by De Gaulle).
- PM Jens Otto Krag expressed his solidarity with the UK, although Western Germany exports were growing and the Danish farmers in favour of joining the EEC regardless of the route the UK would choose.
- The majority of Danish political parties supported Danish membership of European economic integration.
- The Liberals/Conservatives-supporters of joining the EEC; even more federalist sentiments were observed in a small party - the Centre Democrats.
- Euroscepticism historically prevailed on the political left, represented by the Socialist People's Party, which at that time did not enjoy great political influence.
- The Social Democratic Party- Eurosceptic left and the right, highlighting the Nordic integration projects as an alternative.
- Significant internal political debate regarding EEC membership.



# The Irish Perspective

- Ireland's agriculturally based economy was choked by its dependence on the UK market, and the country suffered from poverty, mass unemployment and emigration.
- Doubts about the economic capacity and neutrality.
- Policy of protectionism, which saw restrictions imposed on imports, certainly wasn't very appealing to a European community with free trade at its heart.
- Ireland continued to press for EEC membership but hopes were crushed in 1963 when then French President, General Charles de Gaulle, made it clear that France didn't want Britain to join the community.
- His stand brought an abrupt end to negotiations with all applicant countries and it was to be another decade before Ireland became a member of the EEC.



# Accession

- A second application in 1967, then 1969 George Pompidou, promised not to stand in the way of British and Irish membership.
- Fresh negotiations began and on January 22, 1972, the Treaty of Accession was signed.
- A referendum held in May 1972 confirmed Ireland's entry into the European community with 83 per cent of voters supporting membership.
- Ireland's membership of the European Economic Community (EEC) which was to evolve into the European Union, officially began on January 1, 1973.



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# 2-nd wave of EU enlargement: An intensive negotiation process

- 01-01-1986
- **Third enlargement**
- Spain and Portugal join the EEC. The number of Member States is now 12.
- Greece:
- Historical Overview:
- **1959:** Greece became the first country to invoke **Article 238** of the Treaty of Rome for association with the EEC.
- **1961: Athens Agreement** signed, granting Greece Associate Member status.
- **1962: Association Agreement** came into force, providing for:
  - A **22-year transition** to a **customs union**.
  - A **12-year timeline** for the **free movement** of people, services, and capital.
- Establishment of an **Association Council** and **Joint Parliamentary Committee**.
- Article 72 acknowledged **future full accession**.
- **1967:** Military coup led to **dictatorship** and **suspension** of most association activities.
- **1974:** Fall of the regime and **restoration of democracy** (24 July); **monarchy abolished** (June 1973).
- 01-01-1981
- **Second enlargement**
- Membership of the EEC reaches double figures when Greece joins.



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## Impact of accession:

- Introduced a **Mediterranean, Balkan, Orthodox** element to the EEC.
- Shifted the EEC's **center of gravity southwards**.
- Highlighted **economic disparities** due to Greece's **underdeveloped economy** and **geographic isolation** (no shared borders with EEC states).



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# Economic Issues

- On **29 January 1976**, the European Commission gave a cautious opinion on Greece's application to join the EEC.
  - The Commission noted **Greece's underdeveloped economy and agriculture** compared to the nine EEC Member States.
  - A **long transitional period** was recommended to help Greece adapt and integrate.
  - The Commission proposed a **pre-accession phase** due to:
    - Economic disparities.
    - Political risks linked to the **Greece–Turkey conflict over Cyprus**.
  - Greece's government, led by **Konstantinos Karamanlis**, pushed for **rapid accession**, emphasizing its commitment to democracy and acceptance of the **Community acquis**.
- 
- Greece had existing strong trade ties with the EEC:
  - **50% of exports** went to EEC countries.
  - **40% of imports** came from the EEC.
  - Over **240,000 Greek workers** were already in the EEC.



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# CONCERNS/ FEARS/ RISKS



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- Key economic concerns raised:
- **GDP was 50% below** the EEC average.
- **Higher unemployment** than EEC countries.
- **26% of Greek workers** in agriculture vs. **8% in the EEC**.
- Certain Greek agricultural products (e.g., **olive oil, wine, fruits**) would **compete with surplus products** from Italy and France.
- The Commission proposed a **7–8 year transitional period**.
- Fears among EEC members included:
- Influx of **cheap Greek labor**.
- Competition from the **Greek merchant fleet**.
- Risks for Greece:
- **Small/medium businesses** could fail due to competition.
- **Trade deficit** with the EEC could worsen.
- **Industrial restructuring** would be challenging.

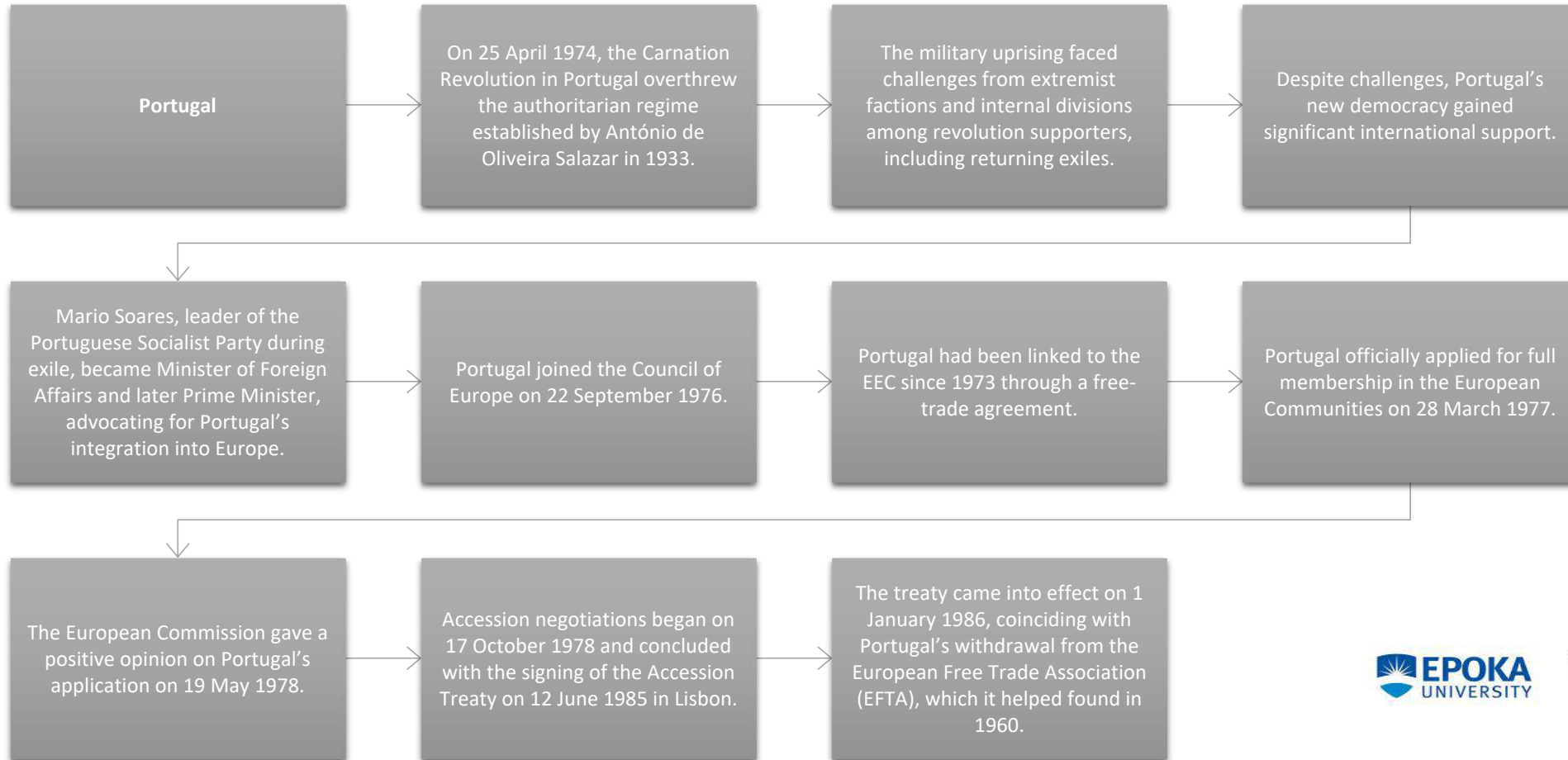
# Membership support – France & Germany

- France supported Greece's EEC application primarily for **political reasons**.
- President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing prioritized **strengthening Greece's democratic regime**.
- France saw Greek accession as symbolically affirming **Hellenic ties to European and Western civilization**.
- West Germany supported the application mainly for **economic reasons**.
- Germany was Greece's **leading trade partner** and aimed to **enhance economic ties** through accession.
- The **European Commission** recommended a **pre-accession probationary period** due to concerns.
- **German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher** and **Dutch Foreign Minister Max van der Stoep** opposed the delay.
- They persuaded other EEC members to approve the application without the Commission's conditions.
- On **9 February 1976**, the **Council of Ministers** approved Greece's application **without a probationary period**.



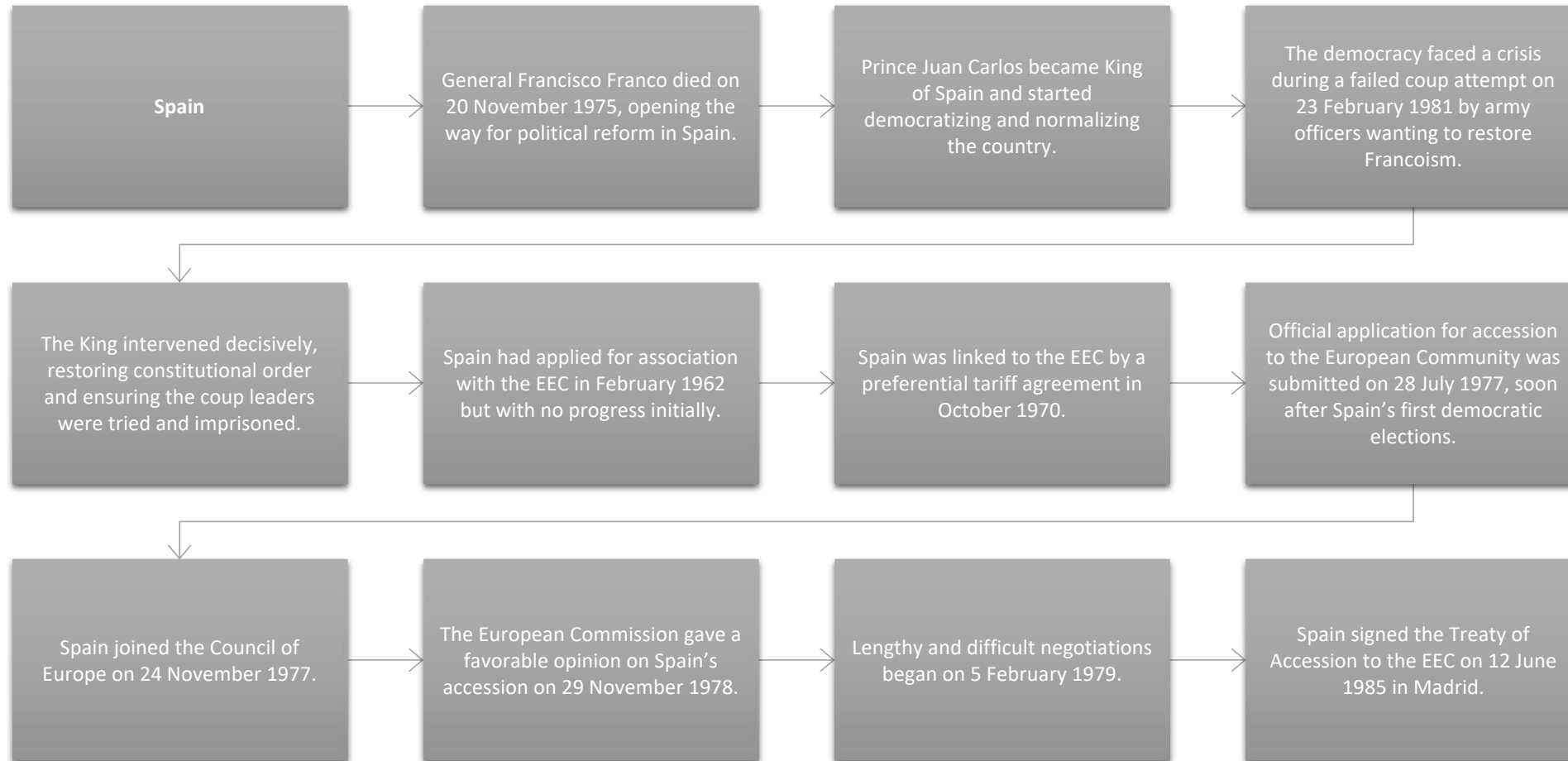
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# PORTUGAL





# SPAIN

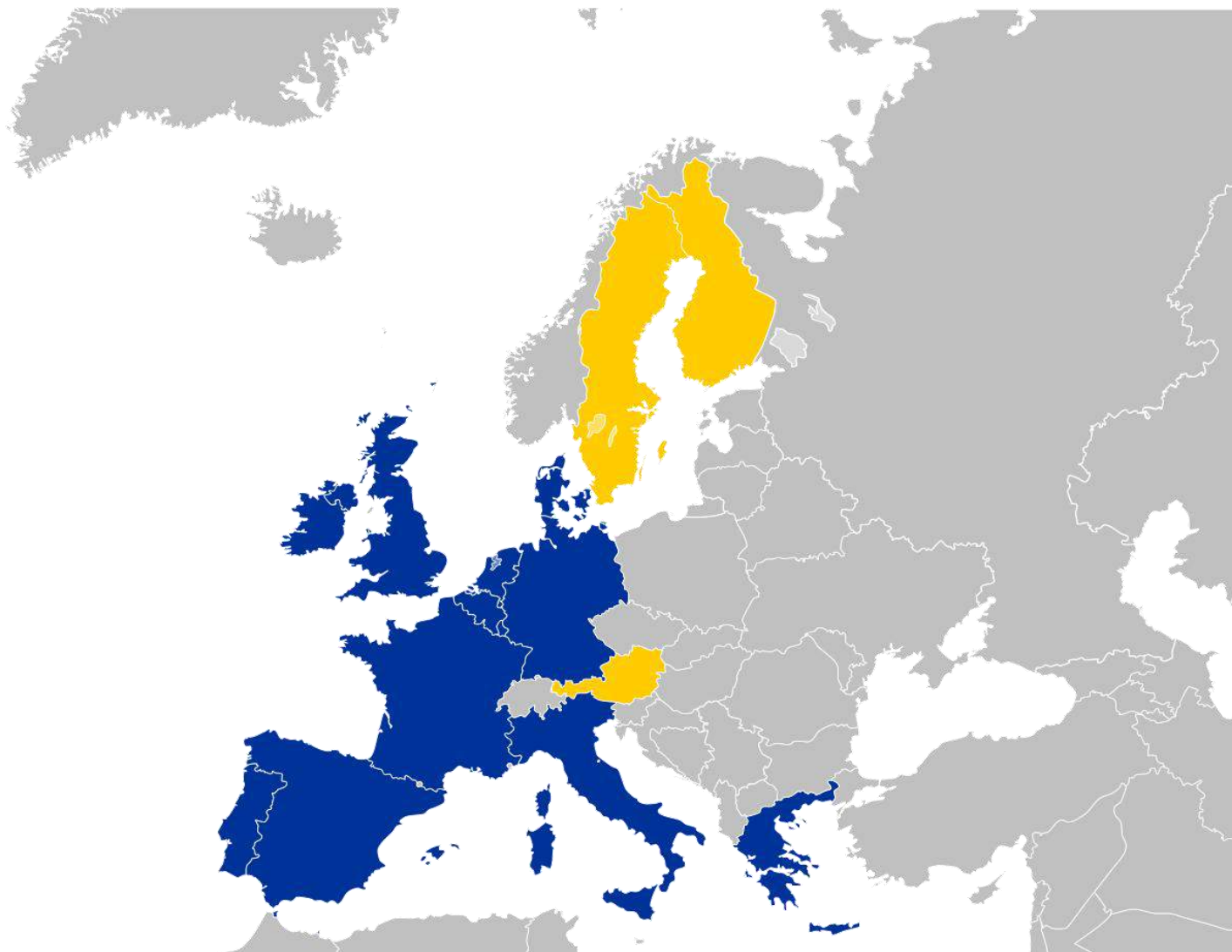


# Reservations expressed by France and other Member States



- Negotiations with Spain and Portugal were difficult due to economic concerns from some EEC Member States.
- Several Member States felt their economic interests were threatened by Southern European products.
- France and Italy were especially worried about Spain's accession amid an economic recession.
- They feared Spanish agricultural produce would flood the European market, already facing surplus production.
- In 1977, nearly half of Spain's exports were already going to the European Common Market.
- The Nine feared that Spanish and Portuguese membership would increase regional disparities within the Community.
- There were concerns that free movement of workers would lead many unemployed Spanish and Portuguese citizens to migrate to neighboring countries for work.

The third  
wave of  
Enlargement of  
the European  
Union: Austria,  
Finland s  
Sweden (1995)



Country	Political & Economic Context Before EU Membership
Austria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Joined OEEC (1948), Council of Europe (1956), EFTA (1960)</li> <li>• Free trade deal with EEC (1972)</li> <li>• Declared neutrality in 1955 but stayed active in European cooperation</li> <li>• Applied to join the EU in 1989</li> </ul>
Finland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neutral during the Cold War; bordered the USSR</li> <li>• Joined EFTA (1961), trade deal with EEC (1973)</li> <li>• After the USSR's collapse, moved toward EU</li> <li>• Applied for membership in 1992</li> </ul>
Sweden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neutral and democratic, with strong welfare and environmental policies</li> <li>• EFTA member since 1960, EEC trade deal in 1973</li> <li>• Applied for EU membership in 1991</li> </ul>



# Why they wanted to join EU?

Austria	Finland	Sweden
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Deepen trade and political integration</li><li>• Influence EU decisions</li><li>• Maintain neutrality but gain full access</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Ensure economic recovery after early-90s recession</li><li>• Move West after Soviet collapse</li><li>• Secure regional aid and agricultural support</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Protect social and environmental policies</li><li>• Gain voice in shaping EU rules</li><li>• Boost economic competitiveness</li></ul>

## Shared Goals:

- Access to the EU Single Market
- A say in EU decision-making
- Economic stability and political relevance in a new Europe



# The Negotiation Process (1963–1964)

Talks began in February 1963. Negotiations were smooth but faced challenges in key areas.

## Main Issues:

- Agriculture: Higher national subsidies than EU norms
- Regional aid: Wanted support for wealthier but remote areas (e.g., Lapland, Alps)
- Budget: Sweden wanted progressive contributions
- Fishing: Norway (not Sweden) refused EU fishing rules — eventually opted out

## EU Position:

- Required acceptance of the full EU legal framework (**acquis communautaire**)
- Limited special treatment
- Wanted quick conclusion to avoid delay in enlargement

## Referendums:

- Austria: 66.6% Yes (June 1994)
- Finland: 56.9% Yes (October 1994)
- Sweden: 52.2% Yes (November 1994)
- Norway: 52.2% No — did not join

# Impact of the 1995 Enlargement

## To the EU:

- Gained 3 stable, wealthy democracies
- Boosted legitimacy in Northern & Central Europe
- Strengthened environmental and social policies
- Set the stage for future enlargements

## To the New Members:

- Full access to the EU Single Market
- Voice in EU decision-making and programs (e.g., Erasmus)
- Economic recovery and modernization
- Joined without giving up neutrality

## Legacy:

- Smooth, successful enlargement
- Opened EU to neutral states
- Prepared the Union for Eastern expansion (2004)



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## The Fourth Enlargement

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*WELKOM IN EUROPA, BLIJF HIER TOT IK DOODGA!*



# General Information



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- The fifth enlargement of the European Union (EU) is a significant chapter in the history of the EU, marking the largest single expansion in terms of the number of countries and population.
- It was driven by the EU's commitment to fostering stability, democracy, and economic development across Europe, particularly in post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe.
- The Eastern enlargement sparked off heated discussions within the EU, which continued throughout the accession process and demonstrated various approaches to the EU enlargement as such.
- Italy, the Benelux countries and Germany constituted the camp of optimists, being very enthusiastic about integration.
- The United Kingdom and Denmark also supported the enlargement but for different reasons.



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# Goals of the Enlargement



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- Promoting Stability and Democracy:
  - The enlargement aimed to support the transition of former Communist countries to stable democracies and market economies.
- Economic Integration:
  - Integrating these countries into the EU's single market to promote economic growth, development, and cohesion across the continent.
- Enhancing Security:
  - Strengthening the EU's political and economic stability, thereby enhancing security in the region.
- Reuniting Europe:
  - Overcoming the Cold War's division of Europe by bringing Eastern and Western Europe together under a common framework of cooperation and shared values.

## Priorities in EU's Enlargement Negotiations

- Liberalizing economic and agricultural sectors.
- Reforming the judicial system and the police and combating corruption;
- Applying rules on food safety.
- Combating organized crime, economic and financial crime, drug trafficking and trafficking in women, while upholding children's rights.
- Upholding minority rights.
- Improving and protecting the environment, particularly in terms of waste management and the safety of nuclear power stations.



# Challenges Faced by the European Union



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## • 1. Economic Integration

- Redistribution of Funds: The EU had to allocate substantial structural and cohesion funds to help the new member states develop their infrastructure and economies, leading to concerns among existing members about budgetary constraints.

## • 2. Governance and Rule of Law

- Monitoring Compliance: Ensuring that new members adhered to EU standards on governance and the rule of law required ongoing monitoring and, in some cases, corrective actions.
- Democratic Backsliding: Post-accession concerns emerged regarding democratic backsliding in countries like Hungary and Poland, necessitating EU intervention and dialogue.

# Challenges Faced by the European Union



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- **Political and Institutional Adaptation**

**Institutional Overhaul:** Adjustments were needed in EU institutions to accommodate the new members, including changes to the European Parliament's composition and voting rules in the Council of the European Union.

**Decision-Making Efficiency:** The increase in member states from 15 to 25 raised concerns about the efficiency of the EU's decision-making processes and potential legislative gridlock.

- **Social Integration and Cohesion**

**Labor Market Integration:** The free movement of workers led to fears in existing member states about job competition, wage suppression, and social tensions due to increased migration from new member states.



# Institutional changes

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- The composition of the European Commission expanded from 20 to 30 members with the arrival of 10 commissioners from the acceding countries.
- With the inclusion of new member states, the Council of the EU adjusted its voting system to accommodate the expanded membership.
- EP: The final breakdown of seats to be filled in the European elections in June 2004 was calculated on the basis of the Declaration on the Enlargement of the European Union in the Treaty of Nice.



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# Challenges administering the acquis for candidates



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Despite transitional arrangements, the Acquis fundamentally reshaped their governance structures and policy decisions.

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Significant challenges were posed by political and administrative obstacles, especially for governments with fragmented support or lacking a parliamentary majority.

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The Comprehensive Monitoring Report highlighted numerous deficiencies across various policy domains, from professional qualifications to food safety and fiscal aids.

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Despite shortcomings, accession proceeded, with the understanding that pressure to comply with the Acquis would persist post-membership.



# Challenges faced by Candidate countries



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- **1. Economic Transition and Reform**
  - Poland: Faced the challenge of modernizing its agricultural sector and aligning it with the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Poland also had to attract foreign direct investment and modernize its industrial base.
  - Hungary: Needed to reform its public sector and reduce government deficits to meet the Maastricht criteria for economic convergence.
  - Czech Republic: Focused on privatizing state-owned enterprises and reforming its financial sector to align with EU norms.
- **2. Governance and Institutional Capacity**
  - Slovakia: Had to strengthen its legal framework and improve transparency in government operations to meet EU standards.

- **3. Public Support and Perception**

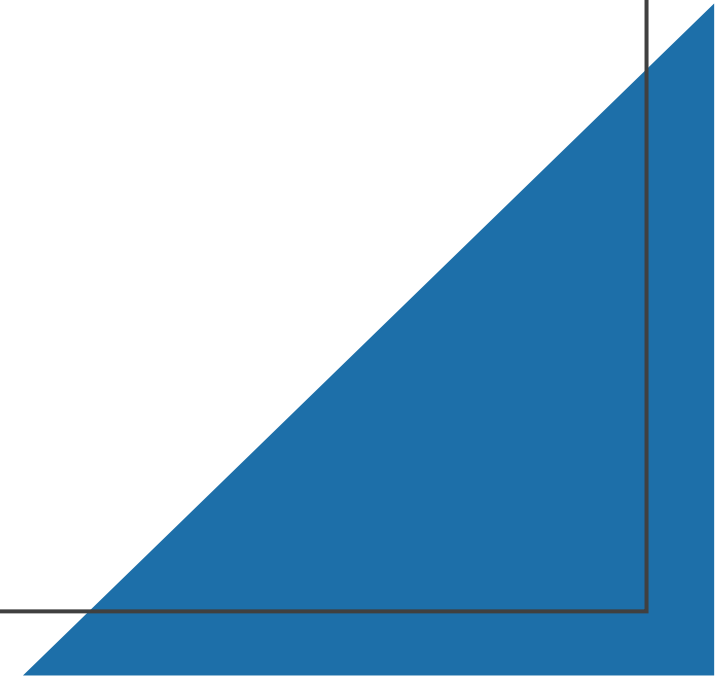
- Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania: These Baltic states had to manage public expectations regarding economic benefits and social changes resulting from EU membership. They also needed to address concerns about national identity and sovereignty.
- Cyprus: Faced unique challenges due to the ongoing division of the island. Accession negotiations included specific conditions related to resolving the Cyprus conflict.

- **4. Social and Cultural Adjustments**

- Malta: Being the smallest EU member state, Malta had to adapt its legal and regulatory frameworks to align with the EU while preserving its cultural and historical identity.
- Slovenia: Successfully transitioned from a former Yugoslav republic to an EU member but had to focus on regional development and reducing economic disparities within the country.



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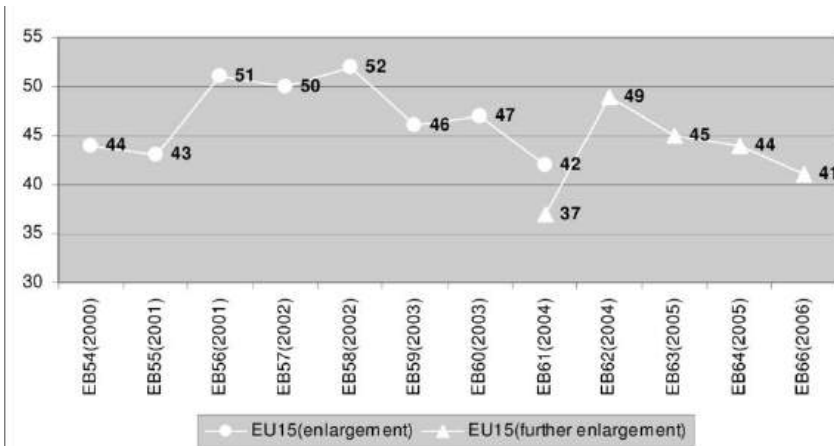
# Cultural Diversity and Identity

Some nations, despite backlash for distancing from Moscow and moving towards Brussels, were drawn to the EU's political, economic, and sociocultural appeal.

While the Central and Eastern European countries try to motivate EU membership by “returning to Europe” by throwing their “eastern” identity, the European Union emerges with the argument “one of us” for the Central and Eastern European countries.

Central and Eastern European countries were concerned about the impact of EU membership on national identity and culture in the candidacy process.

A research on the results of the 2004 enlargement reveals that there are shared concerns under the fields; the functioning of the EU (65%), employment (56%), **cultural differences (54%)** and security (50%). (Eurobarometer, 2009: 30).





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# Scepticism

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- In the pre-2004 EU states, skepticism about or opposition to enlargement was evident through the rise of leaders and parties critical of European integration.
- Fear of competition from low-wage countries.
- Concerns about immigrants entering the job market amidst existing unemployment.
- Apprehension over increased crime and various forms of trafficking.
- Regions benefiting from Structural Funds worried about allocation to new, needy Member States.
- Enlargement increases heterogeneity, posing challenges for effective economic and political integration.



# European Memory

More than 50 years after the end of World War II, Holocaust memory was officially established by the European Union (EU) as a central frame of reference for an emerging pan-European memory culture.

## Holocaust Memory vs. Gulag Memory Debate

The European Parliament passed a resolution in 2009 on 'European conscience and totalitarianism,' institutionalizing a shift from an anti-fascist consensus to a broader anti-totalitarian view of modern European history.



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# A history of Crisis

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Topic 8



# A Europe of Crises

*"People only accept change when they are faced with necessity and only recognize necessity when a crisis is upon them."*

*Jean Monnet, architect of the European Union*



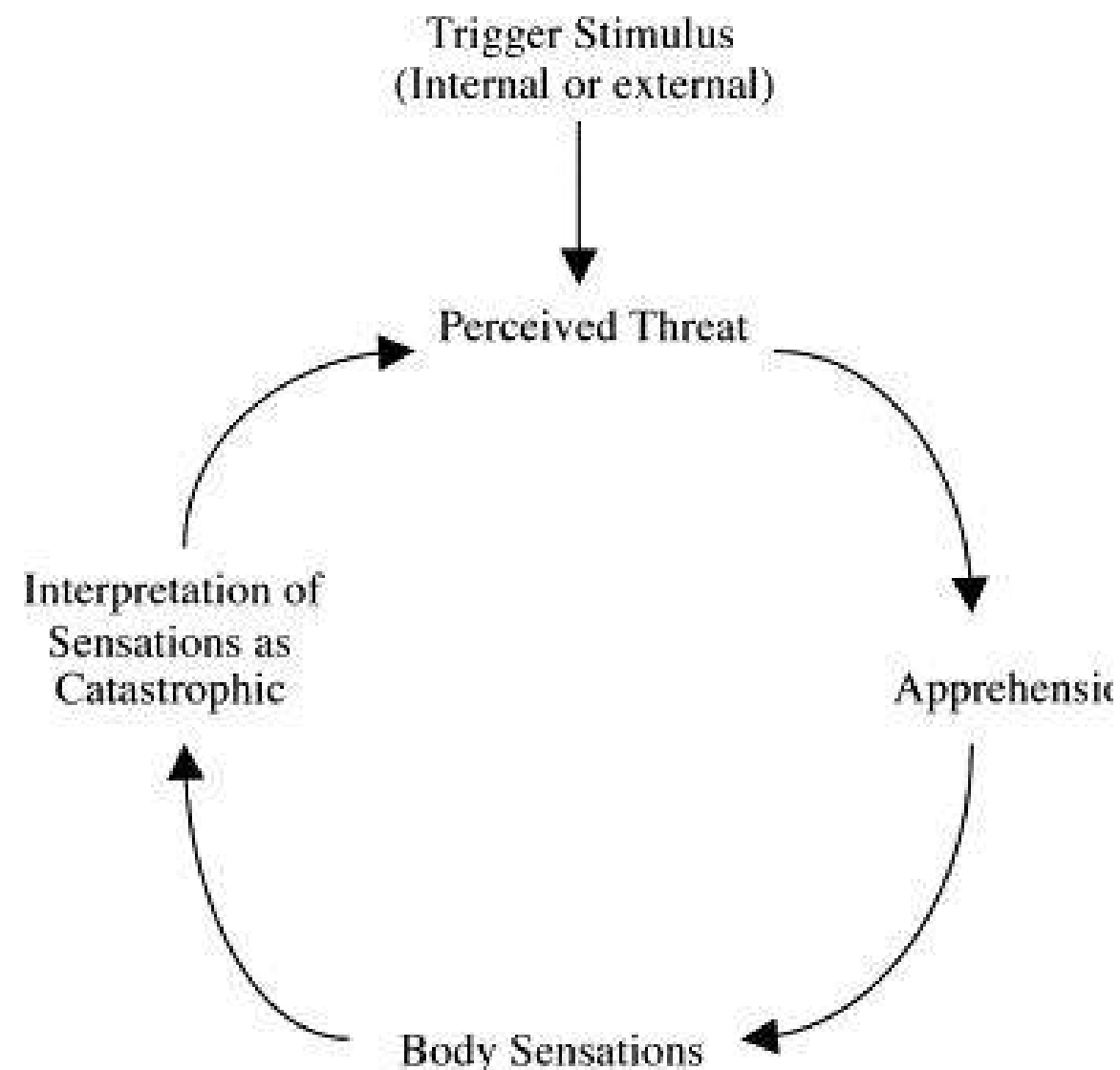
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- why is the EU often portrayed as an idealistic project that is stumbling from crisis to crisis?
- An Economist article quipped that “Europe’s model of change has long been based on lurch then muddle” (The Economist 2012)
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ds5FVrT5udw>



# the “end of Europe”

- **integrational panic**
- **existential crisis** - the “end of Europe” is at hand.



# Doomsday scenarios

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1. certain key member states are on the verge of leaving the EU
2. the European economy is on the brink of collapse
3. a cornerstone policy of EU integration – the Euro, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the common market, Schengen – is about to be thrown out.



# Role of Media

- 1965 Empty Chair crisis to the 1999 Commission resignation crisis right up through the Greek debt and refugee crises of 2015
- **internal in origin** –the 2005 constitutional crisis
- **external in origin** such as the 2003 EU crisis over Iraq
- – they are typically negatively portrayed in the international media



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# How is the region today?



- Despite this dark cloud hanging over Europe's image, the region is today arguably stronger, wealthier, and more integrated than ever.
- Its member states continue to sign new treaties
- solidifying new levels of integration in a wide spectrum of policy areas, from foreign policy to finance to internal security.

The membership of the EU continues to grow with countries to the east – Ukraine, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Turkey – formally seeking to become candidates or members.



## The Diplomatic Service of the European Union

- representing more than half a billion European citizens to the world
- Politically, economically, diplomatically, and even militarily, the EU as a whole is a global actor of influence.
- Increasingly, decision makers have realized that integration through the institutional structure of the EU is indispensable, and indeed, have even taken it for granted.



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# Visible disagreements within Europe.

- Perennially in the middle of its evolution, with no clearly defined end goal.
- argue over what future is best.

policies, budgets, and treaties, and sometimes do not find common ground.

cannot speak with one voice when it comes to the important foreign policy decisions that really matter in global politics.

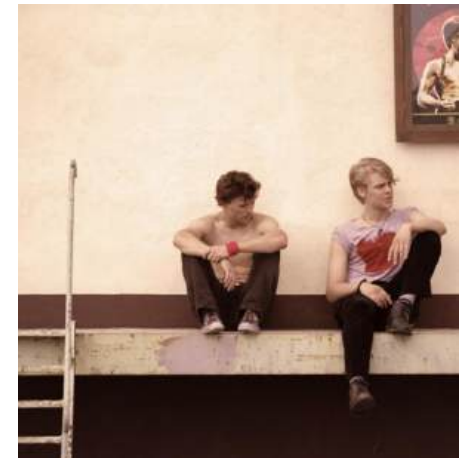
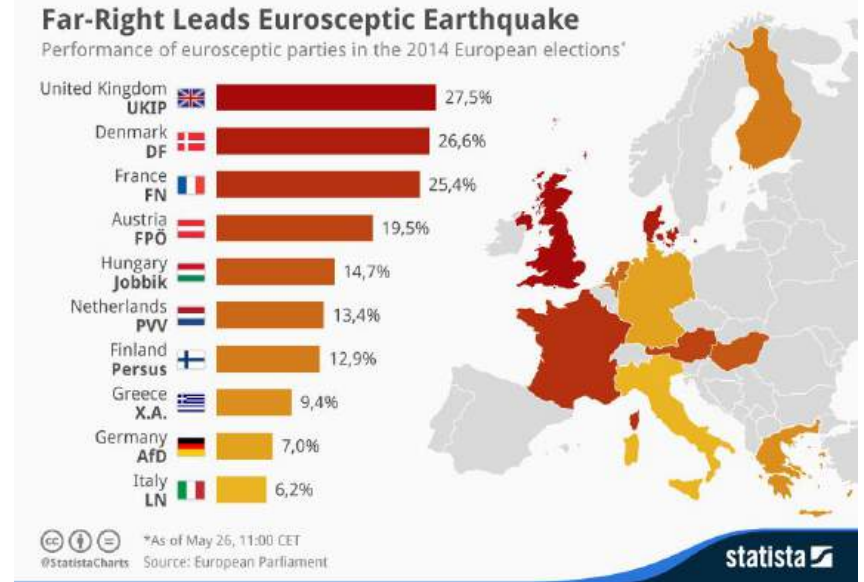
They do not yet agree on how far integration should ultimately go.



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# visible disagreements within Europe.

- At the societal level, especially after the height of the **2010–12 Eurozone crisis**, there are those with a greater sense of **disillusionment with Europe**.
- **Extremist parties and groups** have radicalized more citizens



# EU's government has never shut down.

- disproportionate and severely amplified during times of crisis
- Europeans against each other and driving elites to “play with fire” as they determine the future of Europe.
- As compared to US- no polarization of political parties & disagreement among 27 members states



---

## When looking at the historical record, how can we recognize when an event constituted an existential crisis?

- The collapse of the European defense and political communities in the 1950s,
- Charles de Gaulle's vetoes of UK membership in the 1960s,
- the 1965 Empty Chair crisis,
- the failures of the precursors to the European Monetary System
- the September 1992 "Black Wednesday" crisis, among others.



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# The 1950s

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- at this early stage after World War II, when expectations were high that there would be a dramatic transformation of some kind, any failure to achieve far-reaching agreement presented a crisis in the attainment of these goals.
- Ultimately, even though it was the French prime minister, René Plevén, who proposed the EDC, the French parliament rejected it (319 to 264) on August 30, 1954, deeming it a threat to national sovereignty and fearing the re-militarization of Germany so soon after World War II.
- Many in the European political elite saw the collapse of the European defense and political communities in the 1950s as an existential crisis for the ECSC.



- 
- 1965-Luxembourg crisis – de Gaulle politics – if a state deemed the issue of vital importance- unanimity can be applied
  - Enlargement\_ BR application- FR veto 1961, May 1967 - “ Black Monday” – a crisis for both European integration and transatlantic alliance - American interference in European affairs- a desire in Brussels to isolate France
  - 1973 – first round of enlargement ( BR, Denmark and Ireland)

# 1970s & 1980s



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‘Euro scelerosis – Euro pessimism’

Exogenous oil shock – embargo at the port of Rotterdam ( arab- israeli war) – European monetary system

British budgetary crisis – BR was contributing more than it was getting. – Bloody British Question – discussions about a two speed Europe

Extreme pesimism “ Economist Caricature “Capax imperii nisi imperasset. (It seemed capable of being a power, until it tried to be one.) – Single market program

# The 1990s

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- 1992-Black Wednesday ' British government' withdrew from the Exchange Rate mechanism – currency crisis with a devaluation of local money. Response- flexibility by widening the band of fluctuation and not sticking to fixed rate.
- War in Yugoslavia- intense discussions on common foreign and security policy



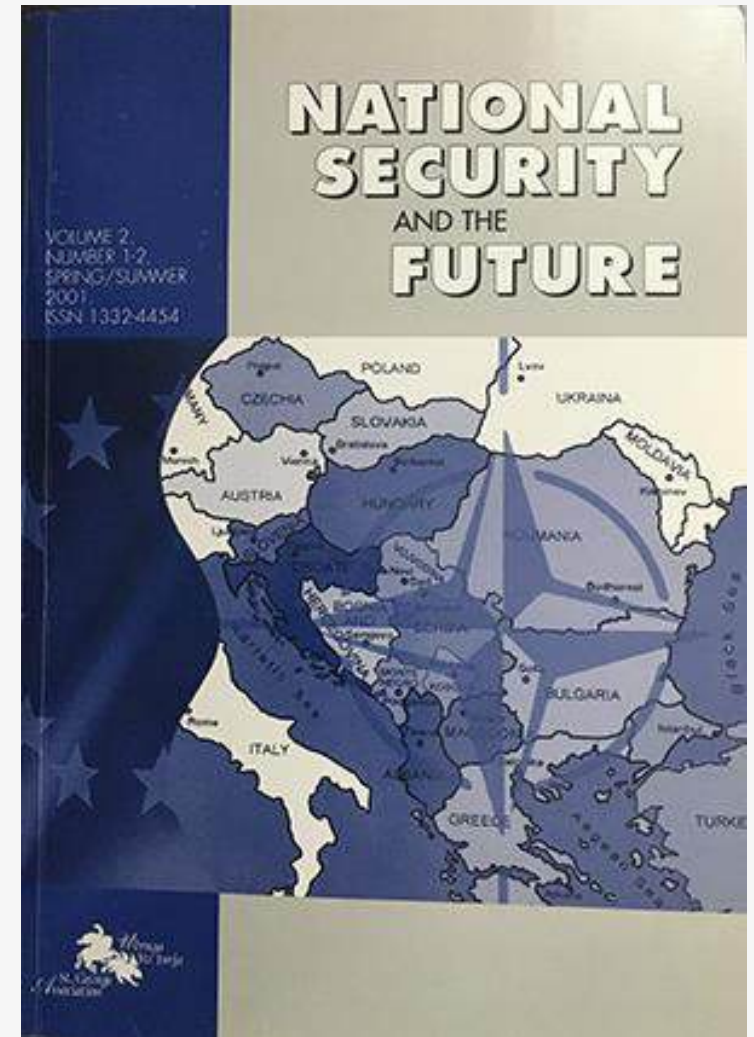
- 1970- European Political Cooperation – ( FR, GE, IT, BENELUX) – EURO- ARAB DIALOGUE AND CONFERENCE FOR SECURITY COOPERATION – A VENUE FOR Expression
- After cold war- 1992 Maastricht treaty – Petersberg tasks

# Petersberg tasks

- These tasks were set out in the Petersberg Declaration adopted at the Ministerial Council of the Western European Union (WEU) in June 1992. On that occasion, the WEU member countries declared their readiness to make available to the WEU, but also to NATO and the EU, military units from the whole spectrum of their conventional armed forces.
- From then on, they have covered:
  - humanitarian and rescue tasks;
  - conflict prevention and peace-keeping tasks;
  - tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking;
  - joint disarmament operations;
  - military advice and assistance tasks;
  - post-conflict stabilisation tasks.



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## Rise to the Challengers-anti-EU populist nationalism

- Political discourse appealing to **“the people” vs. “the elites”**
- Simplifies complex issues into emotional, often divisive narratives
- Populism highlights challenges in advanced liberal democracies
- Historically rooted from 19th-century US agrarian movements to modern Europe



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- **Populism on the Rise in Europe**
- Populist forces growing across Europe (North, South, East, West)
- Increasing use of **anti-EU rhetoric** to gain support
- Crisis context: Global financial crisis (2008) + European sovereign debt crisis (2010)
- Mainstream parties adopting some populist rhetoric, but with limited success





#### Causes:

- **Economic grievances:** Effects of globalization and austerity policies post-2008 financial crisis.
- **Immigration concerns:** Fear over cultural identity and security.
- **Sovereignty issues:** Opposition to perceived loss of national control to Brussels.
- **Political disillusionment:** Distrust in traditional parties and EU institutions.



- **Key Features:**
- Use of **simplistic rhetoric** targeting elites and “Brussels bureaucracy.”
- Promotes **national pride** and sometimes xenophobic or exclusionary policies.
- Appeals to voters feeling left behind by economic and social changes.



## Impact on the EU:

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Challenges EU **integration efforts** and policymaking.

---

Influences **national elections**, bringing populist parties to power or prominence.

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Raises debates about the **future direction** of European cooperation.

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## Examples:

- Parties like **Fidesz (Hungary)**, **Lega (Italy)**, **National Rally (France)**, **Alternative for Germany (AfD)**.
- Brexit as a major manifestation of anti-EU populism.

## Had the Most Success in Europe

Most recent national election results of right-wing populist parties in selected European countries

■ Parliamentary election\* ■ Presidential election\*\*





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- Europe's "challengers", or populist parties, are increasingly influencing the continent's foreign policy.
- They differ significantly, with their divergences largely rooted in their contrasting histories, strategies and domestic interests.
- However, they also exhibit a broadly common set of instincts which challenge the vision of Europe and the world that has long dominated the foreign policy of traditional parties.
- Mainstream parties will have to adapt to these parties to establish coalitions for European sovereignty in the future.



# Key European Union achievements and tangible benefits

- freedom for its citizens to live, study or work anywhere in the EU
- prosperity thanks to the world's biggest single market and a common currency
- growth thanks to the world's largest trade bloc
- protection of citizens' fundamental, digital, social, economic and other rights
- border-free travel thanks to the Schengen area

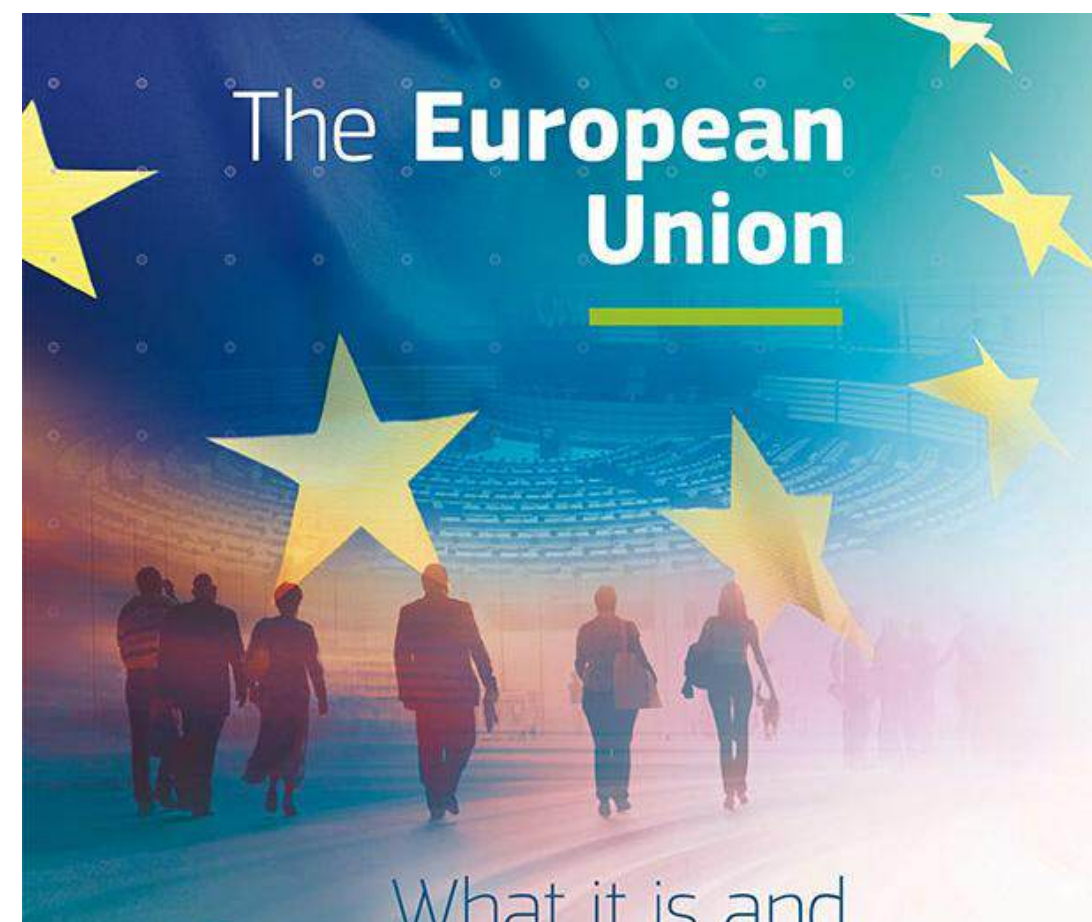


# Concluding slide



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- pioneer in fighting climate change, protecting the environment and securing sustainable energy
- protection of citizens' health from local and global health threats and by ensuring food safety
- support and solidarity in times of need due to natural disasters, economic crises, or a pandemic
- peace in the EU and stability for over 70 years
- expansion and unity thanks to the EU's enlargement
- aid and development assistance for millions of people worldwide.





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# Assignment Sample

The EU in your country





## ARDA – IPARD 2 funds assisting Divjaka`s farmers investments in agriculture



 **EPOKA**  
UNIVERSITY

 **WB-EUPath**  
JEAN MONNET MODULE



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Worked: Vanesa BULI

# Introduction:

- **Agriculture** is one of the **main sectors** of the Albanian economy
- **23%** of the country's GDP
- Employment-----to around **43%** of the total employe<sup>1</sup>
- **Significant challenges**-----need for **economic development** and **job creation** in rural areas
- Albanian agribusinesses ----- deal with ***stronger regional*** and ***international competition*** and ***increasing quality*** requirements
- Necessity to **mobilize all relevant actors**-----directly or indirectly affecting the agricultural and rural sector.

- **Problems facing agriculture in Albania :**

- migration from rural areas
- very limited size of holdings (average of 1.2 ha – compared to 14 ha in the EU)
- poor marketing of products
- underdeveloped irrigation and drainage systems
- low levels of technology
- weak organisation of farmers and low level of development in the processing industry.

- The long-term political objective of why EU gives **funds** to the Albanian agribusiness sector is to prepare the said sector in meeting the requirements of the **acquis communautaire process** (integration process), thus effortlessly accommodating Albania in its new future position of increasing the **European integrity** by delivering to the union in any particular area including agriculture.

- EU employs many ***Pre- accession assistance*** mechanisms as: ***IPARD II*** program for facilitating Albania's agriculture.



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# What is ARDA (AZHBR)?



- Created on **30.12.2008** on the basis of **V.K.M. No. 1443** “On the creation, organization and operation of the Agency for Agricultural and Rural Development (ARDA).
- Institution accredited for the administration of **funds** from the **EU**.
- Is focused on the development of a **sustainable Agriculture** and the **diversification of the Rural economy**, through **grants** obtained from the State Budget **(25%)**, the European Union **(75%)**, the World Bank and the Swedish Government.
- **ARDA**- responsible for the management and control of the future **IPARD II** programme.

# What is IPARD 2?

## EU4 Rural Areas



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- IPARD is an **EU** and **state budget** funded program to support agriculture in Albania.
- Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA II) **2014 – 2020**.
- Albanian farmers and agribusinesses have access to **71 million EUR** funded by the EU for the period 2014-2020 - which will be complemented with **23 million EUR** by the Albanian Government - making altogether **94 million EUR** of funding available for investment in agriculture and rural development.
- **Core objective: Fostering employment by creating new and maintaining the existing jobs through the development of business activities.----- Developing the rural areas**



- **IPARD** offers **Grants** to farmers based on the **application projects** they make.
- Applications must be for **investments** that the program supports, within the terms, rules and criteria of the application, according to each call for applications by the Albanian state based on the National Scheme for each particular year.

### MEASURE 1

- Investments in Physical Assets of Agricultural Holdings with a minimum of 10,000 EURO and a maximum of 500,000 EURO.

### MEASURE 3

- Investments in Physical Assets Concerning Processing and Marketing of Agricultural, livestock and Fishery Products with a minimum of 25,000 EURO and a maximum of 2,000,000 EURO.

### MEASURE 7

- Farm Diversification and Business Development with a minimum of 10,000 EURO, maximum 400,000 EURO.



# IPARD 3?



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- IPARD III is the new financial assistance program offered by EU for **2021-2027**.
- IPARD-III was presented with **new Financing Measures**, compared to the 3
- IPARD III enables Albanian farmers and agribusinesses to have access to **112 million EUR funded by the EU** for the period 2021-2027 - which will be complemented with **58 million EUR** by the Albanian Government - making altogether **170 million EUR** of funding available for investment in agriculture and rural development.

- The following measures are included in the IPARD III programme of Albania:

- ~~•~~ **measure 1 (M1)** – Investments in physical assets of agricultural holdings,
- ~~•~~ **measure 3 (M3)** – Investments in physical assets concerning processing and marketing of agricultural and fishery products,
- **measure 4 (M4)** – Agri-environment - climate and organic farming measure,
- **measure 5 (M5)** – Implementation of local development strategies – LEADER approach,
- ~~•~~ **measure 6 (M6)** – Investments in rural public infrastructure,
- **measure 7 (M7)** – Farm diversification and business development,
- **measure 9 (M9)** – Technical Assistance,
- **measure 10 (M10)** – Advisory services,
- **measure 11 (M11)** – Establishment and protection of forests.

# IPARD 3 ?



- The third phase of the programme was anticipated to begin in 2023 in Albania, however, the European Commission took an extreme measure as they decided to **temporarily suspend the programme** of agricultural support, based on **suspensions of corruption in the distribution of grants**, referred by the European anti-fraud office (**OLAF**).
- If suspicions come true, Albania **risks** not continuing with the IPARD III phase

# Why Divjaka?

- Agriculture is by far the **most important activity** in the region.
- Farms' working capital is very poor: consists of manual tools and methods, a small kit for irrigation, some animals, a small cowshed and one or two wells. Machinery is extremely rare.



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- Obstacles in agriculture for Divjaka :
- **1) The availability of irrigable land**, as only half of the farmland is located on the irrigable plain.
- **2) The installation of an irrigation system** requires an investment that includes at least **digging a well and purchasing a pump.**
- Moreover, cash crops necessitate **large payments** in advance for **seeds, chemicals and hiring machinery**. The harvest is not always certain: many wells often dry up when the summer dry period begins early.
- **3) Lack of professional skills.**

# Divjaka farmers qualified as winners of grants in:

- 2017- No data about how many from Divjaka

- 2018- ?

- 2019- ~~412~~ winners of grants for the 2019 national measures

- 2020- ~~117~~ winners of grants for the 2020 national measures

- 2021- ~~111~~ winners of grants for the 2021 national measures

- 2022- ~~465~~ winners of grants for the 2022 national measures

- 2023- ~~59~~ winners of grants for the 2023 national measures

- 2024- ~~402~~ winners of grants for the 2024 national measures

- (Note\* Each year's national measures differ from one another based on the conduct of the National Scheme for that year)
- (Note2\* These data are taken from the grant's winners lists from the National Scheme for each year mentioned)



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# 2018: The year of big investments

## Concluded contracts between ARDA and the recipients of grants (Divjaka farmers)

- **2018- 123** winners of the grants for the following 2018 national measures (3; 11; 38; 27; 5; 25; 14; 4; 1; 16; 2; 17; 13; 6; 9; 15; 31; 26; 7; 8; 42; 41; 43; 28; 18; 10; 37; 30) + **9** particular winners of the grants in the form of big investments for the following 2018 national measures (12;34;22)
- **9** *concluded contracts* and **8** *rejected applications* for funding big investments
- **M12-** Construction of solar greenhouses for the cultivation of tomatoes, cucumbers and peppers- **7 winners of the grants for this measure**
- **M22-** Processing lines/ machinery equipment for fruits- vegetables, olive oil and wine.- **1 winner of the grant for this measure.- 200 000 000 leke**
- **M34-** Construction of facilities for animal breeding, poultry raising facilities, as well as machinery and equipment for the mechanization of work processes on livestock farms.- **1 winner of the grant for this measure.- 123 077 730 leke**
- (Note\* 52 national measures from the 2018 National Scheme)

# 2018: M12 grant winner

## Particular case

- **Recipient of grant:** Gentian Buli
- **Measure 1 of IPARD II:** Investments in Physical Assets of Agricultural Holdings with a minimum of 10,000 EURO and a maximum of 500,000 EURO.
- **Measure:** 12: Construction of solar greenhouses for the cultivation of tomatoes, cucumbers and peppers.
- **Investment:** Construction of a solar greenhouse with a drip irrigation system, with an area of 5,208 square meters, 3 m high in Divjaka, Divjaka Municipality, with thermal plasma to provide an optimal environment for the cultivation of tomatoes, peppers and cucumbers.
- **Total investment accepted :** 107 180 000 leke
- **The % of Support:** 50% of the total investment
- **Grant:** 53 590 000 leke



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# Criteria for receiving this grant for this measure (12) :



- **Everyone** could apply for this grant
- **No quotas**
- Applications will be conducted with files in **ARDA main offices**.
- Construction on an area of not less than **0.2 ha** and not more than **1 ha**.
- The financing amount shall be **50%** of the total value of the tax invoices of the completed investment, but not more than:
- **15 000 000 lekë** per dunam for greenhouses with a side height of not less than **4 m**, including drip irrigation.
- **13 000 000 lekë** per dunam for greenhouses with a side height of not less than **2.8 m**, including drip irrigation.
- (Note\* 1 dunam= 1000 square meters)

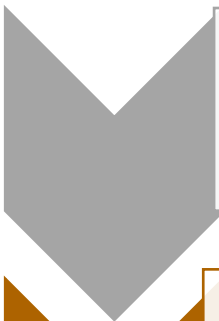


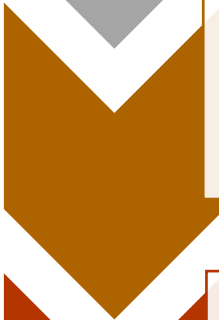
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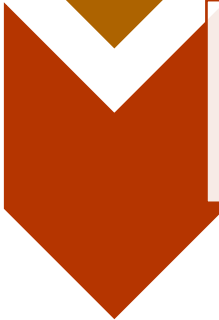
# Obligations of the recipient:



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- 
- 1) Do not alienate, rent or give away the investment object of this contract as long as it is in force.
  - 2) Do not change the purpose of the investment object of this contract as long as it is in force.

- 
- 3) Do not change the location of the investment object of this contract.
  - 4) Keep the original documentation of the object of this contract as long as the contract is in force.

- 
- 5) Carry out accounting operations/ keeping of accounts/ accounting data according to the requirements of national legislation and the needs of the services of ARDA and the ministry for as long as this contract is in force.
  - 6) Pay property tax, tax liabilities, health contributions, pension and disability insurance, as well as obligations required by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development for the period that this Contract is in force.
  - 7) Place in a clearly visible place, the information poster indicating that the investment has been financed by AZHBR.



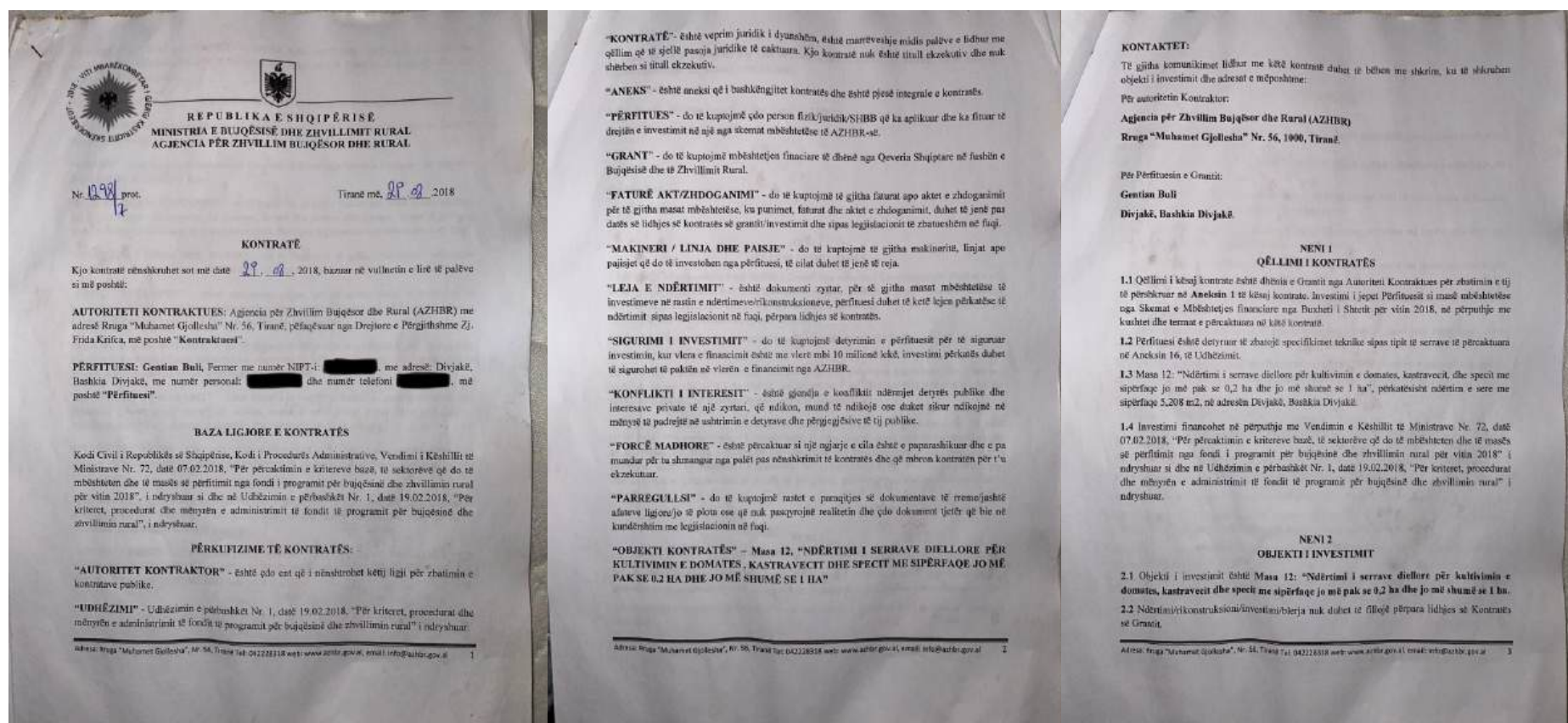
**(Note\* If these obligations are not respected the contract will get terminated and the grant will be given back to ARDA)**

# The contract (photos):



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## • 13 pages contract- standard

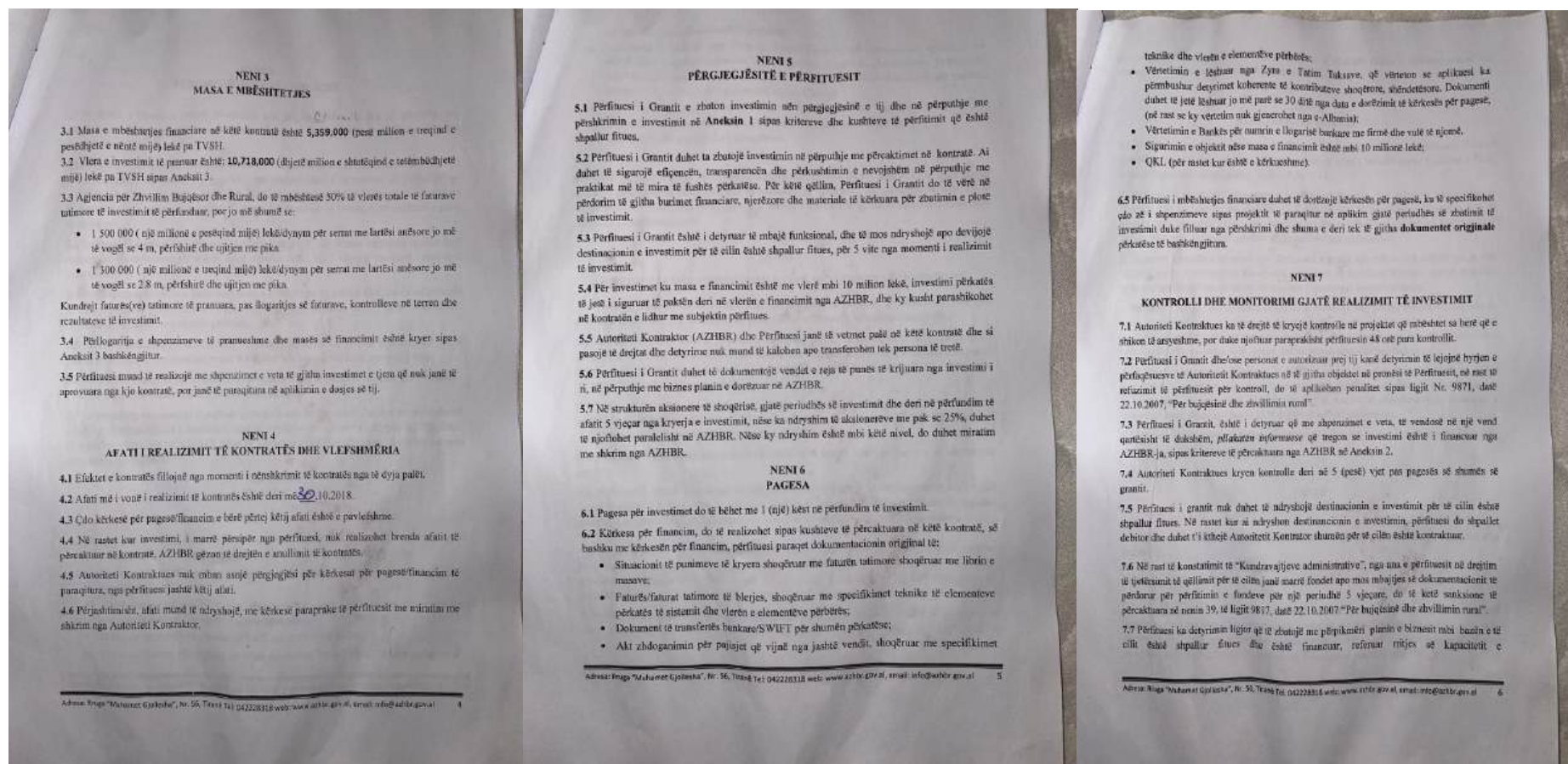




# The contract (photos):



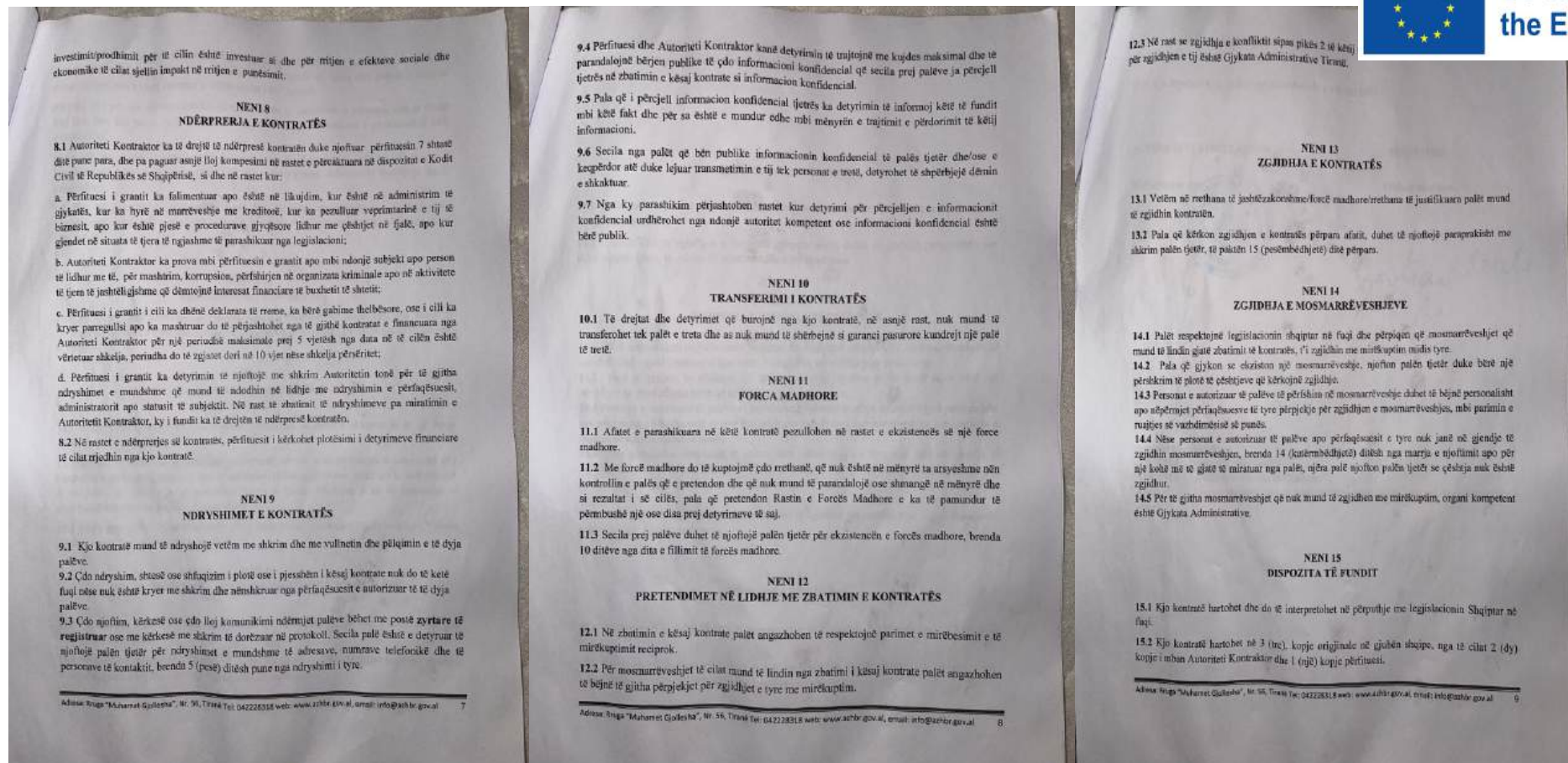
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# The contract (photos):

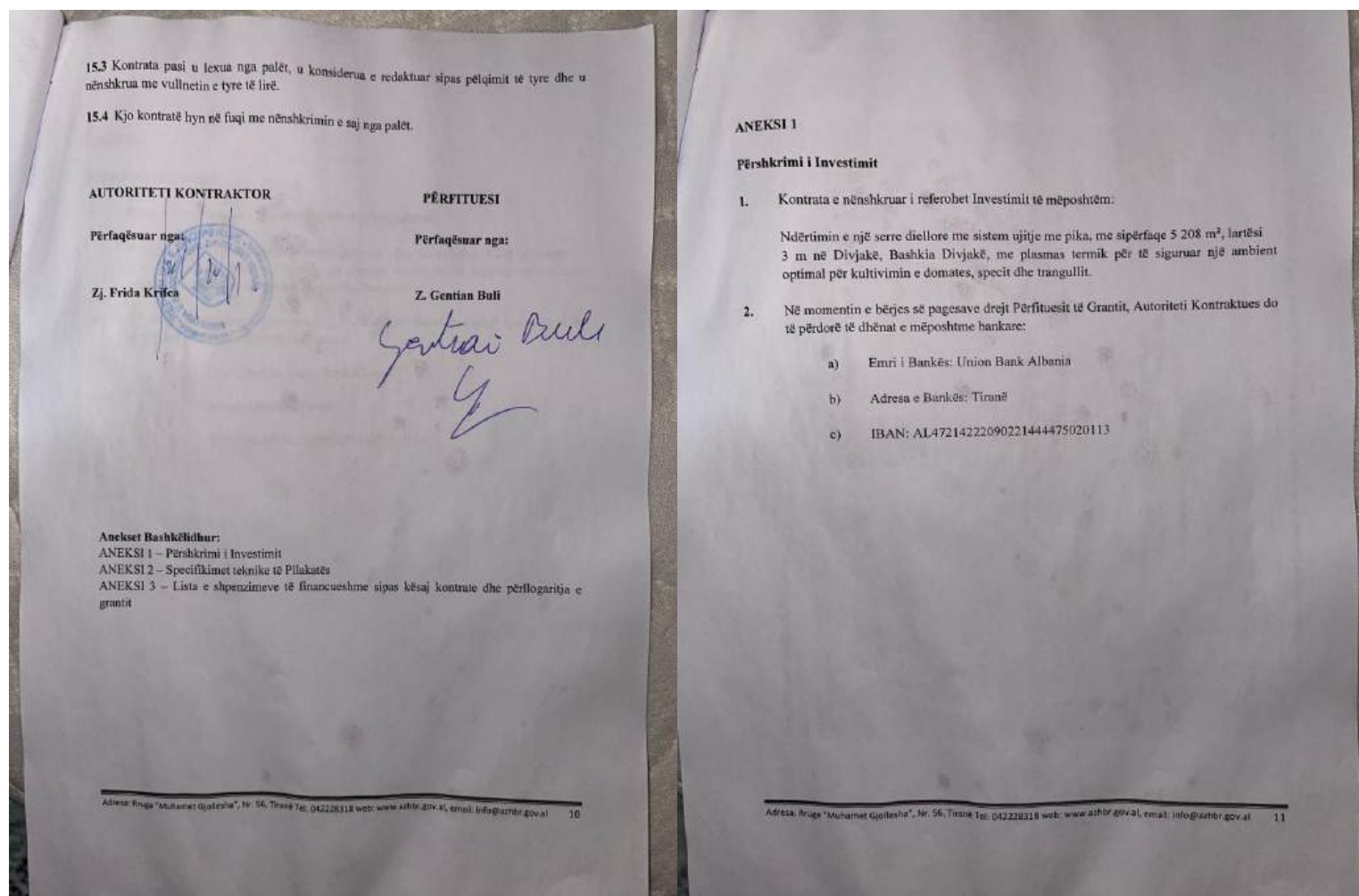


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# The contract (photos):

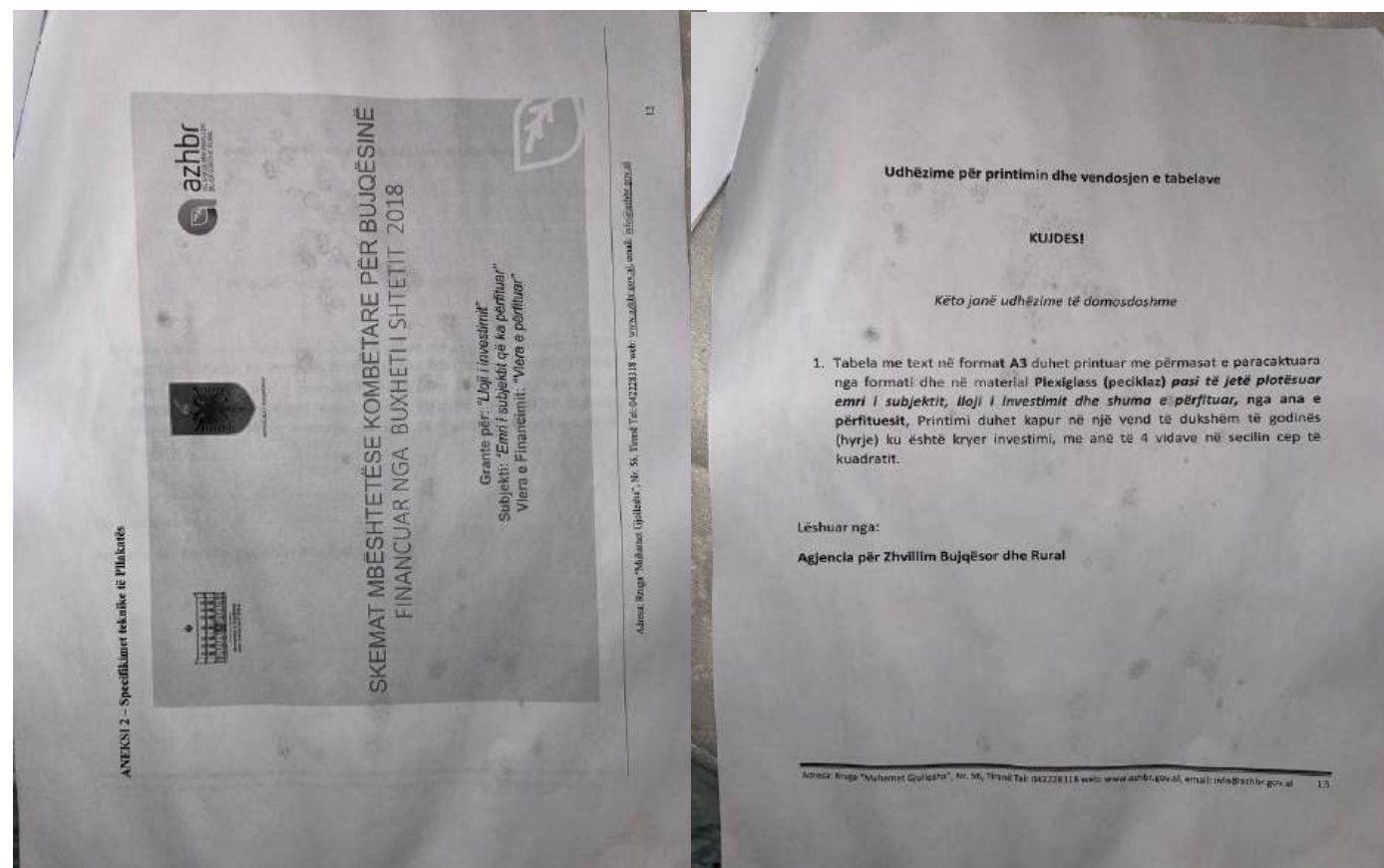


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# The contract (photos):



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# Photos of the greenhouse:





# Photos of the greenhouse:



## Other investments:

- **From 305 investments that were published in the official site of ARDA-6 of them belonged to farmers from Divjaka.**
- Recipient of grant: Eriona Kokoneshi
- Measure: 3: Investments in processing and marketing of agricultural products
- Sector: M3: Wine
- Location: Divjake, Fier
- Total investment : 89,274.02 Euro
- The % of Support: 50%
- Grant: 44,545.17 Euro



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# Other investments:

## *Concern about the funds*

## (Scandal: Abuse of funds)

- Recipient of grant: Eriona Kokoneshi----- (Wife of the prior mayor of Divjaka: Mr Fredi Kokoneshi)
- Measure: 3: Investments in processing and marketing of agricultural products
- Sector: M3: Wine
- Location: Divjake, Fier
- Total investment : 89,274.02 Euro
- The % of Support: 50%
- Grant: 44,545.17 Euro----- (Application for the grant when he was still in position)

# Outcomes of the financing of these investments:

- Farmers of Divjaka----- **application of alternative agricultural technologies**.-----Installed computer equipment-----time and amount of plant nutrition is controlled.
- **Increased daily wages** for Divjaka's agricultural employees---- **2500-3000** leke per day from 1000 leke per day---  
-Citation: "I'm happy, I come to work with my husband."-----fostered employment.
- **Full-time employment** of Divjaka's agricultural employees in big agricultural businesses that receive grants.
- **EX:** Establishment and support with grants of businesses as ``**Agrodivjaka**``-----ensuring the creation of a **stable market** for Divjaka's agricultural products.
- **EX:** Thanks to the support from the National Scheme, **BioBes sh.p.k** has become the leading exporter of medicinal plants to the EU.-----BioBes sh.p.k collaborates closely with small family farms (there are about 400 families).
- **Ongoing problems:**
  - ``Direct support for farmers in Albania, **18 times lower** than in the region``
  - "I didn't have **accurate information**, so I had no idea I could apply for these grants"
  - "a lot of **documentation** was required" and it was difficult to understand
  - **Mismanagement** on the distribution of funds
  - **Suspension** of **IPARD 3** program 



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# Thank you!



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# Sample 2

## **The MAPCULT Project in Përmet as a Reflection of European Union Rural Development Policies**



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**The MAPCULT Project in Përmet as a Reflection of European Union  
Rural Development Policies**

Presented by: Orgena Taraboshi



# Introduction

- **Content:**
- EU priority: strong, sustainable rural areas.
- Rural development = beyond agriculture
- Albania's EU path: rural development is a key challenge.
- Problem: cannabis cultivation in vulnerable regions.
- Solution: sustainable alternatives like MAPCULT.



# European Union Rural Development Principles

- **Part of CAP Pillar II.**
- **Goals:**
  - Diversify rural economies.
  - Promote environmental sustainability.
  - Strengthen local communities.
  - Foster innovation and entrepreneurship.
- LEADER method: bottom-up, local-driven projects.
- IPARD: EU support for candidate countries like Albania.



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## Përmet's Context: Challenges and Cannabis Cultivation



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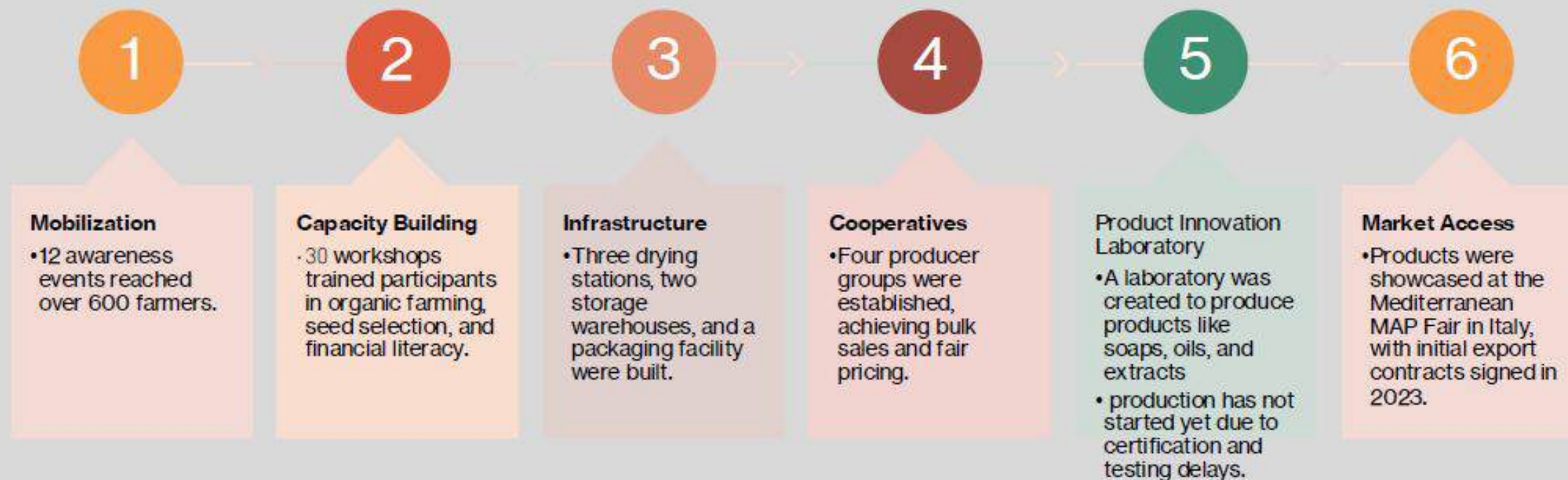


# EU's Intervention: Funding and Implementation

- MAPCULT funded under Grant Contract 2021/425-790.
- Total project value: **€2,956,989.**
- Implemented by the Municipality of Përmet and the Urban Research Institute.
- **EU's role extended beyond funding**



# Local Implementation





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## Understanding the tangible benefits for farmers involved in MAPCULT



### 1. Cultivation Process

Farmers harvest 10–15 kg of dried medicinal and aromatic plants (MAPs) per day during peak seasons.



### 2. Product Collection & Processing

Bio Bes, a key company, collects and processes MAPs from farmers. They ensure that quality standards are met for both local and international markets.

Bio Bes buys MAPs at a rate of 300 ALL per kg for high-quality crops.



### 3. Cooperative System

Farmers join 4 cooperatives to consolidate their harvests, ensuring better pricing power and access to larger markets.

The cooperatives help manage bulk sales, set fair prices, and meet EU export criteria.



### 4. Market Linkages

MAPs are sold to European buyers through contracts facilitated by Bio Bes and cooperatives.

Products are showcased at trade fairs like the Mediterranean MAP Fair (Italy, 2023)



# Achievements



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Families earn between 400,000 and 1 million ALL yearly from MAPs.

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---

60% reduction in cannabis cultivation in target zones.

---

---

40% of new cooperative members are women.

---

---

Përmet serves as a model for similar projects in Gjirokastër and Tepelenë.

---



# Remaining Challenges



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Only 35% of producers can sell directly – most rely on intermediaries who reduce profits by up to 25%.



Road quality in rural Përmet hinders transport, especially during winter.



Political turnover at municipal level risks disrupting continuity.





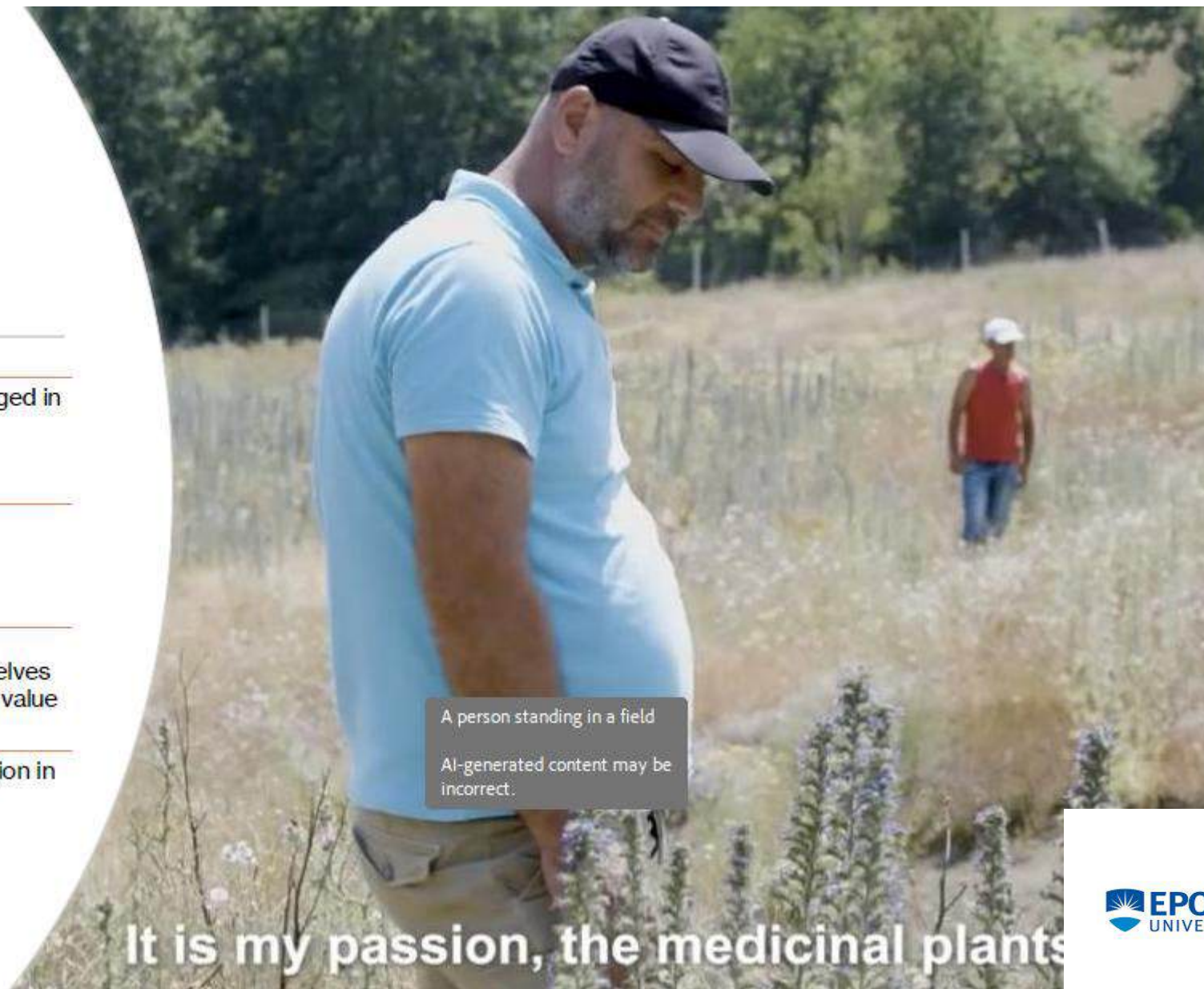
# Përmet as a Success Story

In 2023, the share of young people engaged in legal agriculture rose by 27%.

Women now manage two of the MAP cooperatives.

What changed is not only crops, but confidence: farmers no longer see themselves as victims of geography, but as agents of value creation.

This is the bottom-up change that EU vision in action.



A person standing in a field

AI-generated content may be incorrect.

It is my passion, the medicinal plants



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# Community Voices



1

"Voices from the field capture the project's depth. One participant said, 'We used to hide what we grew – now we display it at trade fairs.'

2

Local leaders report a 15% decline in youth outmigration. NGOs note reduced pesticide use and better land stewardship.

3

These aren't abstract outcomes – they're daily lived improvements in safety, pride, and prospects."





## Conclusion: MAPCULT & the European Vision for Rural Albania

- MAPCULT transformed Përmet through legal farming, strong cooperatives, and new skills, turning risk into opportunity and isolation into growth.
- It reflects the EU's rural development vision, where integration brings real support, local ownership, and lasting change in candidate countries.



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# Metrics



## PIR 370 HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION 2024

Elective | Spring 2024-2025 | Dr. Reina Shehi | Undergraduate

ECTS	STUDENTS	CLASS AVERAGE	ATTENDANCE RATE
6	6	3.17 / 4.00	99.02

## PIR 370 HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION 2023

Elective | Spring 2023-2024 | Dr. Reina Shehi | Undergraduate

ECTS	STUDENTS	CLASS AVERAGE	ATTENDANCE RATE
6	9	2.67 / 4.00	83.11

[Syllabus](#) [Students](#) [Attendance](#) [Grade Book](#) [Attendance](#)

## PIR 370 HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION 2022 / PIR

Elective | Spring 2022-2023 | Dr. Reina Shehi | Undergraduate

ECTS	STUDENTS	CLASS AVERAGE	ATTENDANCE RATE
6	9	2.44 / 4.00	84.38

[Syllabus](#) [Students](#) [Attendance](#) [Grade Book](#) [Attendance](#)

# Course Evaluation Spring 2025



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**EPOKA UNIVERSITY**

**Reina Shehi-PIR 370**

NOTE: Students that are exempted from attendances are excluded in survey result calculation!

No:	Question	Result
1	The outline and objectives of the course were presented clearly in the syllabus.	3.88
2	The textbook and/or reading materials were helpful for understanding the subject matter.	3.63
3	The course increased my knowledge and interest in the subject matter.	3.50
4	The methods of teaching in this course were appropriate.	3.25
5	The instructor was well prepared for the lectures.	3.88
6	The instructor demonstrated concern regarding my progress.	3.63
7	The instructor was available to give help outside the class.	3.88
8	The instructor came to class on time.	3.75
9	The instructor attended the classes regularly.	3.75
10	The instructor made appropriate use of course materials (textbook, supplements, etc.) to subject matter.	3.88
11	The instructor used the language of instruction effectively.	3.50
12	The instructor graded my work fairly.	3.50
13	The instructor had effective dialogue with the students during the class.	3.63
14	The instructor engaged and motivated the class very well.	3.25



Note: Students that are exempted from attendances are excluded in survey result calculation!

25 records



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No.	Question
1	The outline and objectives of the course were presented clearly in the syllabus.
2	The instructor was well prepared for the lectures.
3	The instructor was available to give help outside the class.
4	The instructor made appropriate use of course materials (textbook, supplements, etc.) to subject matter.
5	The instructor came to class on time.
6	The instructor attended the classes regularly.
7	The textbook and/or reading materials were helpful for understanding the subject matter.
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12	The instructor graded my work fairly.
13	The methods of teaching in this course were appropriate.
14	The instructor engaged and motivated the class very well.

## Course Evaluation Spring 2023



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No.	Question	
1	The textbook and/or reading materials were helpful for understanding the subject matter.	3.89
2	The course increased my knowledge and interest in the subject matter.	3.78
3	The methods of teaching in this course were appropriate.	3.78
4	The instructor attended the classes regularly.	3.78
5	The instructor made appropriate use of course materials (textbook, supplements, etc.) to subject matter.	3.78
6	The instructor used the language of instruction effectively.	3.78
7	The instructor had effective dialogue with the students during the class.	3.78
8	The outline and objectives of the course were presented clearly in the syllabus.	3.67
9	The instructor came to class on time.	3.67
10	The instructor was well prepared for the lectures.	3.56
11	The instructor was available to give help outside the class.	3.56
12	The instructor demonstrated concern regarding my progress.	3.44
13	The instructor engaged and motivated the class very well.	3.44
14	The instructor graded my work fairly.	3.22



# Main textbooks



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- Milward, Alan S., me asistencë nga George Brennan dhe Federico Romero. *The European Rescue of the Nation- State*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London & New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Berend, Ivan T. *The Economics and Politics of European Integration: Populism, Nationalism and the History of the EU*. Routledge, 2021.
- Ludlow, N. Piers. "Hard- won but vital: EU enlargement in historical perspective". Në *The Crisis of EU Enlargement*, LSE IDEAS, Special Report SR018, nëntor 2013, f. 12- 18.
- **Dedman, Martin J.** *The Origins & Development of the European Union 1945- 2008: A History of European Integration*. 2nd edition. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2010.
- **Zahariadis, Nikolaos.** *The European Union in the 21st Century*. First Edition. CQ Press / SAGE, Thousand Oaks, California, 2023. ISBN 978-1608710232.