# PS 306 The European Union: Its Institutions, Laws, and Citizens

Seminar Leader: Berit Ebert Email: b.ebert@bard.berlin.edu Office Hours: Before class on Monday and by appointment.

## **Course Description**

Brexit, the rise of populist movements, and a growing suspicion towards international organizations do not seem to offer a promising future for the European Union. Nevertheless, the concept of the European Union's supranationality offers a unique history of international collaboration that was developed with clear goals by founding members.

This course will examine this early context of the former European Community for Steel and Coal —the forerunner of the Union—and the bloc's painstaking integration. It will also analyze the institutions that have developed over the more than 70-year history and major cases tried in the European Court of Justice (CJEU) that have shaped the Union's political advancements. We will discuss the European Union's "democracy deficit" and delve into slightly more theoretical deliberations by looking at political processes, including the recent European electoral-law reform, as well as court cases that will lend insight into how the European Union's citizens used—or tried to use—established mechanisms to advocate for their interests. We will also engage with original EU policy documents and court decisions to provide with the skills of analyzing and interpreting them.

Finally, the course will provide an understanding of the Union's characteristics in comparison with those of the nation-state and of traditional international organizations, enabling a clearer judgement regarding the future of the European project as well as a keener evaluation of broader political processes. The importance of civic engagement as a component of politics will be key in thinking about our own future and about how to shape our lives.

Please note that this syllabus is work in progress. We can make changes according to the particular interests of the group.

## Requirements

## Academic Integrity

Bard College Berlin maintains the staunchest regard for academic integrity and expects good academic practice from students in their studies. Students failing to meet expected standards of academic integrity will be dealt with under the Code of Student Conduct, Section 14.3 (Academic Misconduct) in the Student Handbook.

## <u>Attendance</u>

Attendance at all classes is a crucial part of the education offered by Bard College Berlin. One absence will not affect the participation grade or require documentation. If you must miss class for religious observance, an athletic trip, or an official extra-curricular event, please let me know at the beginning of the semester so those absences can be excused. If you become seriously ill or if a personal family emergency will cause you to miss more than two classes, please let me know as soon as possible.

Bard College Berlin does not offer credit for any course in which a student has missed more than 30% of classes, regardless of the reasons for the absences, whether excused or unexcused.

The full Bard College Berlin attendance policy can be found in the Student Handbook, Section 2.8.

SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR FALL 2020: If you need to begin your semester remotely due to travel restrictions caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, I will offer an additional online version via zoom and hold the session again at a time that suits both our schedules. We will agree on a time with those of you who are affected by the special circumstances. Please note that you must refrain from in-person attendance if you are feeling ill.

#### <u>Assessment</u>

<u>CLASS PARTICIPATION</u>: Each week, you are required to participate in a discussion about the readings. We will engage in conversation, responding to each other, and add additional information or thoughts about the topic. Discussion and participation are a major emphasis in this course. It will be your responsibility to come to class ready, having read the texts assigned and willing to take part in group knowledge-building. Your participation grade for this class will be primarily based upon small group-work and activities in class. This grade will also reflect your level of investment in classroom discussion. You will also be working in small groups for in-depth discussion and present the results to the whole class afterwards. I will provide you with a provisional participation grade at two check points during the semester (week 4 and week 10). (2 x 15% = 30 % of grade)

<u>ORAL PRESENTATION</u>: When, during the second half of the semester (weeks 9-13), we will work on the "democracy deficit" and court decisions you will be asked to present either on one of the democracy-deficit theories or one judgement. You will choose one text/judgment of the CJEU and present a short power point (4-8 slides) summarizing the key elements of the text/judgment. This presentation will serve as a basis for our discussion in class. You should address the topic, the historical context, and any other informational aspects you deem to be meaningful to the decision. The presentation should contain a final slide with a bibliography that evidences the works you consulted to prepare the presentation. The length of your presentation should be circa 10 minutes. (10% of grade)

<u>MID-SEMESTER ESSAY</u>: In your mid-semester essay (1,500-2,000 words), you must demonstrate your understanding of theoretical concepts of EU integration by comparing two schools of thought focusing on why states opt for international coordination. This paper should include a bibliography of articles or monographs you consulted. Your mid-semester essay will be due on Friday, October 16, 2020, at 2:00 pm. Please hand in your essay via email. (20 % of grade)

<u>END-OF-SEMESTER-ESSAY</u>: In your end-of semester essay, you will show that you are able to assess the advantages and disadvantages of the theoretical concepts of the democracy deficit and contextualize them within the political reality (4,000-5,000 words). You will be given a theoretical model that has not been discussed in class and will be asked to assess its benefits as a theory by

applying the knowledge we will have gained in class, for example about the electoral law reform and the court decisions. A bibliography of articles or monographs you consulted must be included at the end of the essay. We will discuss the essays in greater detail during class.

The topic of the end of semester essay will be given to you in week 11; a first draft is due in week 13; and the final essay is due on the Tuesday of completion week via email. You are encouraged to form writing groups to discuss your drafts with each other. (40% of grade)

Both in discussions as well as in your essays you will be working with theoretical concepts, EU policy documents, and judgments of the CJEU. In your analysis, be sure to think about:

- the purpose of the document / the judicial question the court was approached with
- important information and facts used by the author/the judges
- the main point(s) of view and assumptions presented / the rationale and reasoning leading to a judgment
- the historical, political, and cultural context
- your response or opinion (Do you agree or disagree with the author? Reasons for your agreement or disagreement?)
- your personal experiences that give insight into the topic
- the facts, ideas, and points of view from the different readings

Papers should be sent to me via email and as a printout on the due day. Please submit your documents in Microsoft Word ".doc" or ".docx" file. They must be double-spaced, size 12, standard margins and have proper Modern Language Association citations.

## Cell Phones and Notebooks

Cell phone beeping and laptop tapping can disturb interaction, dialogue, and concentration of the whole class. Cell phones must be shut off upon entrance to the classroom; texting is not allowed. If you need to text or call, you must ask for permission to step out of the class. Laptops and notebooks are permitted when we need them for research in class; otherwise they are to remain closed. (Students with disabilities will be granted exceptions.)

#### <u>Assignments</u>

<u>MID-TERM ESSAY</u>: 1,500-2,000 words. Due on Friday, October 16, 2020, at 2:00 pm. <u>END-OF-SEMESTER-ESSAY</u>: 4,000-5,000 words. Due on Tuesday, December 15, at 2:00 pm.

## Policy on Late Submission of Papers

Essays that are up to 24 hours late will be downgraded up to one full grade (from A+ to B+, for example). Papers submitted five days past the deadline will not be accepted unless there is a valid excuse. (FYI: I know all the tricks because I have used them.) In the case of a late submission, the essay must be submitted within two weeks of the deadline. Thereafter, the student will receive a failing grade for the assignment. Grades and comments will be returned to students in a timely fashion. Students are encouraged to make an appointment to discuss essay assignments, feedback or class progress during my office hours or on an individual basis at any stage in the semester. We can coordinate an appointment either via email or phone.

Grade Breakdown

You receive mid- and end-of-semester grades for your seminar work. Grades for this course will be determined through a number of assignments. Recognizing that different kinds of assignments cater to the strengths of different students, I provide a range of opportunities for you to show what you've learned. The percentage grade allotted to each essay or examination, other assignments, and classroom participation breaks down as follows:

Seminar Preparation and Participation (week 1-7)	15 % of final grade
Seminar Preparation and Participation (week 8-15)	15 % of final grade
Oral presentation	10 % of final grade
Mid-semester essay	20 % of final grade
End of semester essay	40 % of final grade

## Schedule

Fall classes start on Monday, August 31, and runs until Friday, December 11, with fall break planned from October 19 – 25. Completion week is from December 14 - 18. Students are required to be on campus during completion week.

Week 1 August 31 European Federalists, the Interwar Period, and the World after World War II	Students will become familiar with class procedures, introduce themselves, and learn about my motives for teaching this course. Together, we acquire a sense of the concepts of European integration in the interwar period, the motives for coordination amongst states, and the definition of the term integration. A closer look at federalist movements and their historical contexts beginning in the 1920s will be key in understanding the Schuman Plan, the document announcing the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951. <u>Readings:</u> - Coudenhove-Kalergi: <i>Pan-Europa</i> (Preface); Vienna 1923, p. 10-14.
	<ul> <li>Briand, Aristide: Memorandum on the Organization of a Regime of European Federal Union, 1930.</li> <li><u>Churchill, Winston: United States of Europe</u>, University of Zurich, September 19, 1946.</li> <li>Additional videos (in class):         <ul> <li>Churchill, Winston: Europe Unite:</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Churchill, Winston: Europe Unite: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zv8bGoiRmGo</li> <li>Churchill, Winston: The United States of Europe: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y5o2WF5K9Go</li> </ul>

Week 2 September 7 "A Revolutionary Leap into the Unknown": The Schuman Declaration and the Concept of Supranationality	<ul> <li>We will look at the factors that led to the concept and the rationale of Jean Monnet, who is nowadays associated with the concept of suprantionality. This will lead to an overview of the economic situation in Europe after the war and the defining features of supranationality – which was a new concept in international politics. Embedded in the historical context of the 1940s, international organizations of the 1940s will be introduced. We will discuss the rationale of the founding of the many international institutions of 1940s. The United Nations, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Organization for European Economic Cooperation, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Council of Europe, the European Convention of Human Rights, and the World Health Organization, among others. We will elaborate on the economic and political situations that laid the foundation for new dynamics of international cooperation at the time. First discussions about current paths to isolation and nationalisms will be possible.</li> <li>Readings: <ul> <li>Judt, Tony: A Grand Illusion? An Essay on Europe, 2011, p.3-44.</li> <li>Monnet, Jean: Memoirs, 1978, p.318-336.</li> </ul> </li> <li>Haas, Ernst B.: The Uniting of Europe (The Nature of Supranationality), Notre Dame 2004, p. 32-59.</li> <li>The Schuman Declaration, May 9, 1950.</li> <li>Merkel, Angela: For Europe to survive, its economy needs to survive, Interview, The Guardian, July 6, 2020.</li> </ul> <li>Additional Videos in Class: <ul> <li>Interview with Jacques-René Rabier, aide to Jean Monnet, present at Schuman's press conference on 9 May 1950.</li> </ul> </li>
Week 3 September 14 Why Do States Collaborate? (Part 1): Functionalism, Neo-Functionalism and the Beginnings of the European Communities	<ul> <li>Jean Monnet: Founding Father of the European Union.</li> <li>This is the first session in the class covering integration theory, and first answer will be given to one of the key questions of this course: Why do states collaborate? Why do they give up sovereignty? This question is not only important in the context of the 1950s but constantly present in current international political debate, for example concerning the pandemic, climate change, and migration. When discussing these matters, we will learn about the features and purposes of a good theory. How do theories help to answer our key questions? Students will hear a short lecture on the developments of the European Community leading to the Union we live in today, including the development of the treaties and respective reforms leading to the treaty of Lisbon (2009).</li> <li>Readings:         <ul> <li>Mitrany, David: A Working Peace System, Chicago 1966.</li> <li>Haas, Ernst B.: International integration: the European and the universal process, International Organization. 1961, vol. 15 (issue 03), p.366-392.</li> <li>Haas, Ernst B.: The Uniting of Europe (The Expansive Logic of Sector Integration), Notre Dame 2004, p. 283-317.</li> <li>Voluntary additional reading: Schmitter, Philippe: A Revised Theory of European Integration; in: Lindberg and Scheingold (eds): Regional Integration: Theory and Research, Cambridge 1971, p.232-64.</li> <li>Voluntary additional background: Treaty Establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, 1951. (Not part of the reader. Print outs will be provided on our reserve shelf.)</li> </ul></li></ul>

Week 4 September 21 Why Do States Collaborate? (Part 2): Liberal Intergovernmentalis m and the Nation-State	<ul> <li>We will be identifying the main objectives of liberal intergovernmentalism, the actors and the policy fields the concept can be applied to. We will also compare intergovernmentalism and functionalism shedding light on the various levels of EU policy making and the actors involved. In doing so, the class will also delve into the different kinds of European law – primary and secondary law as well as the law-making process that is so decisive for the Union's uniqueness in comparison with other international organizations.</li> <li><u>Readings:</u></li> <li>Moravcsik, Andrew: <i>Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach</i>, Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 31, No. 4, December 1993.</li> <li>We will devote some time of this session to discuss requirements for the mid-semester and end of semester essays.</li> <li>Check point 1 for participation grades.</li> </ul>
Week 5 September 28 EU Institutions: The Commission, the European Council, the Council of Ministers, and the Court of Justice of the European Union	<ul> <li>Having dealt with the reasons for integration, we will move on to find out how integration took place. Which political institutions were founded and why? How do they function today? Which mandates do they have?</li> <li><u>Readings</u> <ul> <li>Dinan, Desmond: <i>Ever Closer Union</i> (The Commission), London 2010, p.171-204.</li> <li>Dinan, Desmond: <i>Ever Closer Union</i> (The European Council and the Council of Ministers), London 2010, p. 205-234. (also on our reserved-shelf)</li> <li>Pollack, Mark A.: <i>The Engines of European Union Integration</i>, New York 2003, p. 155-202.</li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 5 February 1963, <i>N.V. Algemene Transport- en Expeditie Onderneming Van Gend &amp; Loos</i></li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 15 July 1964, <i>Flaminio Costa v E.N.E.L.</i></li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Week 6 October 5 <b>"Of the people, by the</b> <b>people, for the</b> <b>people": Democracy</b> <b>and the Nation State</b>	Often, democracies are associated with relatively free and open elections. However, democracy involves more than elections, namely the will of the people and participation: "Democracy" comes from the Greek words "demos", meaning people, and "katos" meaning power. In order to understand the European Parliament and the concept of the EU democracy deficit, we will first work to understand what an ideal concept of democracy could be and ask if it exists at all. We will answer the following questions: What is democracy? Why democracy? What are direct and representative democracies and what are their advantages and disadvantages? How do the countries you come from deal with the question of democracy? We will start our conversation with the <i>Kopfstandmethode</i> (headstand method), i.e. addressing the question "What is democracy; in: <i>On Democracy</i> , New Haven 1998, p. 35-80. Lincoln, Abraham, <i>Gettysburg Address</i> , 19 November 1863. Obama, Barack: <i>Notre Dame Commencement Address</i> , 17 May 2009. The essay question for your mid-semester essay will be distributed and we will also address any further questions about essay requirements.

Week 7 October 12 <b>"For the People?" –</b> <b>The European</b> <b>Parliament and the</b> <b>Reform of the</b> <b>Electoral Law</b>	<ul> <li>Until 1979, the European Parliament was composed of members appointed by and from national parliaments. The first direct elections took place in 1979. However, the European Parliament is different than parliaments in nation states. You will learn how and why that is and evaluate the 2015 approach to reform the electoral law aiming at more democracy in the Union. We work with original documents.</li> <li><u>Readings:</u> <ul> <li>European Parliament resolution of 11 November 2015 on the Reform of the Electoral law of the European Union (2015/2035(INL))</li> <li>Council Decision (EU, Euratom) 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 Amending the Act Concerning the Election of the members of the European Parliament by Direct Universal Suffrage, Annexed to Council Decision 76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976</li> <li>Leinen, Jo: <i>Parliament Mulls '1st Steps' to Reform EU Elections before 2019</i>, Interview, 20 October 2015</li> </ul> </li> <li>Your <u>MID-SEMESTER ESSAY</u> is due on Friday, October 16, 2020, at 2:00 pm. Please send your essay to me via email (b.ebert@bard.berlin.edu)</li> </ul>
October 19 -25	Fall Break
Week 8 October 26 <b>Conversation with Gallerist Rudolf Zwirner</b>	Rudolf Zwirner experienced World War II and, later, was a key figure in Germany's art world. He is will give a first-hand account of post-War Germany and its art market reflecting on why Germany pursued a certain way as opposed to other countries like Britain and France. What we analyze from a point of view defined by political science, Rudolf Zwirner will explain from the perspective of the visual arts. This conversation will also underline the value interdisciplinary thought. <i>In case personal presence will not be possible due to infection rates, this conversation will take place online via zoom. If Rudolf Zwirner will have to cancel this class, we will watch the movie One Two Three (1961).</i>
Week 9 November 2 The Democracy Deficit (Part 1): Constitutionalism versus Democracy?	Whereas integration theory explains the reasons for international collaboration, theories centering around the so-called "democracy deficit" of the EU focus on the EU institutions' (lack of) accountability to the people. Together, we will identify their main arguments in weeks 9-10. These theoretical frameworks will enable you to also think further about your own countries' political systems and the various ways of addressing the will of the people in a political system. We will apply these concepts in our analysis of the EU gender policy later in the semester. You will have to read the texts before class so that we can engage in discussion in order to define the main features of each theory.
	<ul> <li><u>Readings:</u></li> <li>Habermas, Jürgen: <i>Why Europe Needs A Constitution</i>; in: Eriksen, Erik Oddvar (et.al): <i>Developing a Constitution for Europe</i>, p.19-34.</li> <li>Grimm, Dieter: <i>The Democratic Costs of Constitutionalism</i>: The European Case; in: European Law Journal, Vol. 21, No. 4, July 2015, p.460–473.</li> <li><u>Additional voluntary reading</u>: Weiler, Joseph: <i>Human Rights, Constitutionalism</i> <i>and Integration</i>; in: Eriksen, Erik Oddvar (et.al): <i>Developing a Constitution for</i> <i>Europe</i>, p.59-68.</li> <li><u>Additional voluntary reading</u>: Scharpf, Fritz: <i>De-Constitutionalisation and</i> <i>Majority Rule: A Democratic Vision for Europe</i>; European Law Journal, 2017 (23), p. 315–334.</li> </ul>

Week 10 November 9 The Democracy Deficit (Part 2): "Who is Without Sin Cast the First Stone"	<ul> <li><u>Readings:</u></li> <li>Majone, Giandomenico: <i>The European Union Post-Brexit: Static or Dynamic Adaptation?</i>, European Law Journal, Vol. 23, No. 1-2, August 2017, pp. 9–27.</li> <li>Zweifel, Thomas: <i>Who is without Sin Cast the First Stone: the EU's Democratic Deficit in Comparison</i>, Journal of European Public Policy, 2002 / 01 Vol. 9; Iss. 5.</li> <li><u>Additional voluntary reading</u>: Moravcsik, Andrew: <i>In Defense of the "Democratic Deficit": Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union</i>, Center for European Studies Working Paper No. 92.</li> <li>Check point 2 for participation grades.</li> </ul>
Week 11 November 16 <b>Citizens and the Law</b> (Part 1): Equal Pay, Part-Time Work, and Social Policy	<ul> <li>Equal pay for men and women has a long history in the EU shaping its law until today, leading into various policy areas, including the access to work and social policies. In weeks 11-13, we will elaborate on how the European Court of Justice evaluated equal pay and the accompanying policies and what role citizens played in advancing it. You will collect data on civil society movements, non-governmental institutions, and historical and political environments. In order to understand as many policy measures as possible, we will look at the Court decisions in small groups and present the results in class. I will provide you with a short bibliography with online links leading you directly to the documents we will deal with.</li> <li>European Feminism in the Seventies, in: Hoskyns, Catherine: Integrating Gender, New York 1996, p. 25-42.</li> <li>The Adaption of Article 119 on Equal Pay, in: Hoskyns, Catherine: Integrating Gender, New York 1996, p. 43-59.</li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 15 June 1978, Gabrielle Defrenne v Société anonyme belge de navigation aérienne Sabena</li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 25 May 1971. Gabrielle Defrenne v Belgian State</li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 13 May 1986, Bilka -Kaufhaus GmbH v Karin Weber von Hartz (equal pay for part-time work)</li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 17 May 1990, Douglas Harvey Barber v Guardian Royal Exchange Assurance Group (retirement pensions and social policy)</li> </ul>

Week 12 November 23 Citizens and the Law (Part 2): Equal Opportunities - Access to Employment, Quotas, Parental Leave, and Childcare	<ul> <li><u>Readings:</u></li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 11 January 2000, <i>Tanja Kreil v Bundesrepublik Deutschland</i> (access to employment, limitation of access by women to military posts in the Bundeswehr).</li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 17 October 1995, <i>Eckhard Kalanke v Freie Hansestadt Bremen</i> (quotas).</li> <li>Commission of the European Communities: <i>Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on the interpretation of the judgment of the Court of Justice on 17 October 1995 in Case C-450/93, Kalanke v Freie Hansestadt Bremen, 27 March 1996.</i></li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 12 July 1984. <i>Ulrich Hofmann v Barmer Ersatzkasse</i> (parental leave).</li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 19 March 2002. <i>H. Lommers v Minister van Landbouw, Natuurbeheer en Visserij</i> (nursery places).</li> <li>Von der Leyen, Ursula: <i>A Union that Strives for More. My Agenda for Europe</i>, 2020.</li> </ul>
Week 13 November 30	<ul> <li><u>Readings:</u></li> <li>Ebert, Berit/Fradinger, Moira: <i>Gender Dissidence in the 21st Century</i> (Unpublished Manuscript – not to be quoted without permission.)</li> </ul>
Citizens and the Law (Part 3): A Movement Towards Human Rights?	<ul> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 30 April 1996, <i>P v S and Cornwall County Council.</i></li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 7 January 2004, <i>K.B. v National Health Service Pensions Agency and Secretary of State for</i> <i>Health.</i></li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 17 February 1998, <i>Lisa Jacqueline Grant v South-West Trains Ltd.</i> (Refusal of travel concessions to cohabitees of the same sex)</li> <li>Court of Justice of the European Union: Judgment of the Court of 5 June 2018, <i>Relu Adrian Coman, Robert Clabourn Hamilton, Asociația Accept v Inspectoratul General pentru Imigrări, Ministerul Afacerilor Interne, Consiliu Național pentru <i>Combaterea Discriminării.</i></i></li> <li>European Commission: <i>Final Report 2015-2019 on the List of actions to advance LGBTI equality</i>, 2020.</li> </ul>
Week 14 December 7 Conversation with the two Representatives of the Magnus Hirschfeld Institute	Magnus Hirschfeld founded the Scientific Humanitarian Committee in Berlin, which advocated for the decriminalization of gay relations in Europe. The committee had the support of figures as well-known as Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Hermann Hesse, August Bebel, and Leo Tolstoy. Hirschfeld joined the League for the Protection of Mothers and supported the legalization of abortion in 1905. Since 1992, the Magnus-Hirschfeld Gesellschaft (Magnus Hirschfeld Society) has functioned as a research center. A discussion with two of their representatives will give us an idea of Hirschfeld's thinking on individual rights and self-determination that can be compared to the human rights momentum we are experiencing today.
	Online course evaluation forms to be completed in class.
Week 15 / Completion Week December 14	Your <u>END OF SEMESTER ESSAY</u> is due on Tuesday, December 15, 2020, at 2:00 pm. Please send your essay to me via email (b.ebert@bard.berlin.edu)

Scheduled class times will be available online under the relevant course heading: <u>https://berlin.bard.edu/academics/courses/</u>

Please ensure that your course schedule takes account of federal holidays. <u>Classes missed due to</u> <u>federal holidays will not be rescheduled</u>. Classes missed due to conferences or due to illness (of the professor) are rescheduled.

# Library and Book Purchase Policies

Texts we work with are provided in the course reader. You will receive a list of policy documents and judgments by the European Court of Justice and the respective online sources. This list is also included in the reader but I will be happy to also send it to you via email so that you can work directly with the links.

Copies of Desmond: Ever Closer Union (2010) and Tony Judt: A Grand Illusion? An Essay on Europe (2011) will be on the reserved shelf so that you can access the basics concerning the structure of the European Union (DInan) any time on campus.