

אירופה במשבר

1031.3821.01

האיחוד האירופי אפשר שגשוג כלכלי ובטחון למדינות אירופה מאז הוקם ב-1958. אולם בשנים האחרונות שרויה היבשת במשבר רב-ממדי אשר מאיים לפורר את שתוף הפעולה בין המדינות, לפגוע ביציבות הכלכלית, ולערער את הביטחון. בין הממדים העיקריים של המשבר ניתן למנות את המשבר הכלכלי, משבר ההגירה, משבר הדמוקרטיה ועליית תנועות ימין קיצוני, משבר הקורונה, פרישת בריטניה מהאיחוד האירופי (ברקסיט) והחשש לפרישה של מדינות נוספות, והאתגר הביטחוני מול רוסיה. האם האיחוד האירופי, מוסדותיו ומדיניותו הם חלק מהבעיה או חלק מהפתרון לסוגיות אלו? האם אירופה תמשיך ליהנות מביטחון ושגשוג בעשורים הקרובים או שמא אנו נמצאים לפתחה של תקופה חדשה המזכירה ימים אפלים יותר בתולדות אירופה?

סוג קורס והיקף: שיעור בחירה 3 ש"ס.

פגישות השיעור: יום ד' 45: 15-20: 18 בניין נפתלי חדר 108.

פגישה ראשונה ב-19 במרץ, אחרונה ב-2 ביולי. לא יתקיימו פגישות ב-16-9 באפריל (פסח), וב-30 באפריל (יום הזיכרון).

שעות הקבלה בתיאום מראש.

ספרי קריאה עיקריים בקורס:

Cini, Michelle and Nieves Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (eds.) (2022), *European Union Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 7th edition.

Dinan, Desmond, Neill Nugent and William E. Paterson (2017), *The European Union in Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Zimmermann, Hubert and Andreas Dür (eds.) (2021), *Key Controversies in European Integration* (London: Bloomsbury) 3rd edition.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tau/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=6939589>

חובות הסטודנט ושיטת קביעת הציון:

חובת נוכחות והשתתפות פעילה

מפגשי הקורס יתקיימו בכיתה. השיעורים יוקלטו בזום, אך אין להצטרף לפגישות בזום. באופן חריג, פגישה 4, אשר מתקיימת בערב יום השואה, תתחיל ב-15: 18, תסתיים בשעה 19: 00, ותתקיים בזום בלבד, ותעסוק בהנחיות לכתיבת עבודה מסכמת. פגישה 5 תתקיים בזום בלבד.

בהתאם למתווה תשפ"ה, לסטודנטים/ות בקבוצות חרבות ברזל B, C או G ניתן פטור מנוכחות והשתתפות פעילה בפגישות הקורס. לפי רצונם, סטודנטים אלו יוכלו להשתתף בפגישות באמצעות זום, **בתאום מראש בלבד**.

לגבי יתר הסטודנטים/ות, חובת השתתפות פעילה: חובה להשתתף בפגישה 7, ובלפחות 70% מכלל הפגישות (כולל פגישות 5 ו-7, אך לא כולל פגישה 4 שבה אין חובת נוכחות). בנוסף, במהלך כל הפגישות (למעט פגישות 4 ו-7) הסטודנטים/ות יתבקשו לענות על שאלות באופן מקוון, באמצעות הטלפון החכם או המחשב נייד שלהם. באחריות הסטודנטים/ות לעשות כל שידרש על מנת לקיים תקשורת אינטרנט באיכות גבוהה בטלפון/מחשב במהלך כל פגישה ולענות על השאלות באופן ענייני.

ציון ההשתתפות הפעילה בכל פגישה יחושב כשיעור השאלות שנענו מתוך סך השאלות באותה הפגישה (ללא קשר לנכונות התשובות). לצורך זה החידון בסוף כל פגישה ישוקלל כשתי שאלות. ציון ההשתתפות הפעילה בסוף הקורס יחושב כממוצע בין 7 הפגישות עם ציוני ההשתתפות הגבוהים ביותר.

בוחר בקיאות

בחלק ב' של פגישה 7 יתקיים בכיתה בוחר בקיאות על חומר הקורס נכון לאותו מועד. בהתאם למתווה תשפ"ה, לסטודנטים/ות בקבוצות חרבות ברזל B, C או G ניתן פטור מבחון הבקיאות. לפי רצונם, סטודנטים אלו יוכלו להבחן אם יגיעו לפגישה 7 (אין צורך בתאום מראש).

שיטת חישוב הציון בקורס

בהתאם למתווה תשפ"ה, סטודנטים/ות בקבוצות חרבות ברזל B, C או G, הציון בקורס יתבסס על עבודת גמר בסופו בלבד (ראו הנחיות בהמשך). סטודנטים/ות שיבחרו בכך, הציון בקורס יחושב כמו עבור יתר הסטודנטים/ות (סטודנטים שהגישו את בוחר הבקיאות יראו כמי שבחרו לכלול אותו בחישוב הציון הסופי בקורס).

לגבי יתר הסטודנטים/ות: הציון בקורס יקבע על פי ציון עבודת הגמר (50%), ציון ההשתתפות הפעילה (30%), וציון בוחר הבקיאות (20%).

על פי החלטת סגן הרקטור אסורה נוכחותם בשיעור של מי שאינם רשומים/ות לקורס.

תכנית הקורס וקריאה מומלצת

מטבעה של כל תכנית שהיא כפופה לשינויים ויש לעקוב אחר הודעות הנמסרות בכיתה, באמצעות moodle או במזכירות המחלקה. התכנית להלן מפרטת את המקורות הבסיסיים לקריאה לפני כל שיעור. בסוף הסילבוס תמצאו רשימות קריאה נוספת לכל פגישה.

פגישה 1 (19 במרץ) – מבוא: קיצור תולדות האיחוד האירופי ומוסדותיו עד 2001

קריאה בסיסית:

Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2022), chapters 2-3.

פגישה 2 (26 במרץ) – מבוא: קיצור תולדות האיחוד האירופי, מוסדותיו ומשבריו לאחר 2001

קריאה בסיסית:

Dinan, Nugent and Paterson (2017), chapter 2.

Ferrara, Federico Maria and Hanspeter Kriesi (2022), "Crisis Pressures and European Integration", *Journal of European Public Policy* 29(9): 1351-1373.

Jones, Erik, R. Daniel Kelemen and Sophie Meunier (2016), "Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration", *Comparative Political Studies* 49(7): 1010-1034.

פגישה 3 (2 באפריל) – משבר ההגירה

קריאה בסיסית:

Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2022), chapter 21.

Dinan, Nugent and Paterson (2017), chapter 6.

Freedman, Jane (2021), "Immigration, Refugees and Responses", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 59(s1): 92-102.

פגישה 4 (23 באפריל) תהיה קצרה (45 דקות) בשל ערב יום השואה, תתקיים בזום בלבד, ותעסוק בהנחיות לכתיבת עבודה מסכמת.

פגישה 5 (7 במאי, בזום בלבד) – המשבר הכלכלי

קריאה בסיסית:

Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2022), chapters 22, 25.

Sadeh, Tal (2019), "How did the Euro Area Survive the Crisis?", *West European Politics* 42(1): 201-226.

Zimmermann and Dür (2021), chapter 7.

פגישה 6 (14 במאי) – רוסיה והאתגר הביטחוני

קריאה בסיסית:

Casier, Tom (2018), "The Different Faces of Power in European Union-Russia Relations", *Cooperation and Conflict* 53(1): 101-117.
Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2022), chapter 19.
Neumann, Iver B. (2016), "Russia's Europe, 1991–2016: Inferiority to Superiority", *International Affairs* 92(6): 1381-1399.

פגישה 7 (21 במאי) – מדיניות הביטחון באיחוד האירופי בצל האיום הרוסי

חלק א' (18: 15-19: 45): סמינר על הניטרליות האוסטרית והביטחון באירופה, בשיתוף עם תכנית התעודה בלימודי האיחוד האירופי, והאגודה הישראלית לחקר האינטגרציה האירופית.

מרצה אורח:

Prof. Dr. Heinz Gärtner, Department of Political Science at the University of Vienna, "Seventy years of Austrian Neutrality, 1955-2025: What comes next?"

חלק ב' (20: 00-20: 45): בוחן בקיאות על החומר של פגישות 1-3, 5-6 בכיתה.

הנוכחות בפגישה ספציפית זו חובה (ראו לעיל בעניין חובת הנוכחות בקורס)! אין להיעדר ללא אישור מיוחד מהמרצה.

פגישה 8 (28 במאי) – משבר הקורונה

קריאה בסיסית:

Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2022), chapter 28.

Brooks, Eleanor, Anniek de Ruijter and Scott L. Greer (2021), "The European Union Confronts COVID-19: Another European Rescue of the Nation-State?", in Scott L. Greer, Elizabeth J. King, Elize Massard da Fonseca and André Peralta-Santos (eds.), *Coronavirus Politics: The Comparative Politics and Policy of COVID-19* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press) 235-248.

Deruelle, Thibaud and Isabelle Engeli (2021), "The COVID-19 Crisis and the Rise of the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC)", *West European Politics* 44(5-6): 1376-1400.

Schelkle, Waltraud (2021), "Fiscal Integration in an Experimental Union: How Path-Breaking Was the EU's Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic?", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 59(s1): 44-55.

פגישה 9 (4 ביוני) – משבר הזהות האירופית

קריאה בסיסית:

Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2022), chapter 15.

Katsanidou, Alexia, Ann-Kathrin Reinl and Christina Eder (2022), "Together We Stand? Transnational Solidarity in the EU in Times of Crises", *European Union Politics* 23(1): 66-78.

Zimmermann and Dür (2021), chapter 5.

פגישות 10-11 (11-18 ביוני) – משבר הדמוקרטיה

קריאה בסיסית:

Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2022), chapter 9.

<https://www.foundationsofeuropeanpolitics.com/project/chapter1/>

Nicoli, Francesco (2020), "Democratic Deficit and Its Counter-Movements: The Eurocentric–Euro sceptic Divide in Times of Functional Legitimacy", in Marco Baldassari, Emanuele Castelli, Matteo Truffeli, and Giovanni Vezzani (eds.), *Anti-Europeanism: Critical Perspectives Towards the European Union* (Cham: Springer) 13-29 [Figures 1 and 2].

Zimmermann and Dür (2021), chapter 3.

פגישה 12 (25 ביוני) – פרישת בריטניה

קריאה בסיסית:

Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2022), chapter 27.

Menon, Anand and John-Paul Salter (2017), "Brexit – Initial Reflections", *International Affairs* 92(6): 1297-1318.

Zimmermann and Dür (2021), chapter 13.

פגישה 13 (2 ביולי) – סיכום: האיחוד האירופי לאן?

קריאה בסיסית:

Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2022), chapter 29.

Jones, Erik, R. Daniel Kelemen and Sophie Meunier (2021), "Failing forward? Crises and patterns of European integration", *Journal of European Public Policy* 28(10): 1519-1536.

הנחיות לכתיבת עבודת גמר

- יש לבחור את נושא העבודה מתוך סילבוס הקורס: העבודה תציין בעמוד הראשון לאיזו פגישה היא מתייחסת. אין צורך לתאם זאת עם המרצה.
- על העבודה להציג טענה חד משמעית בתבנית "משתנה א' מעלה (או מוריד, או משנה את הסוג של) משתנה ב'". הגדירו היטב את המשתנים, וחישבו כיצד ניתן להבחין כשהם עולים (או יורדים, או משנים סיווג). אפשר שאחד המשתנים יהיה דיכוטומי, אך לא שניהם. מותר בהחלט לסייג את הטענה (לפרט באילו תנאים הטענה היא כך ובאילו תנאים הטענה היא אחרת) אך אין לערפל את הטענה. יש להציג את הטענה במשפט אחד או שניים בראשית העבודה. העבודה אמורה להציג ידע שנרכש בקורס ולכן: (1) לפחות אחד המשתנים האלו צריך לשקף ידע זה, ולנבוע מספרות הקורס. (2) אין לבחור בטענה טריוויאלית שהתשובה עליה ידוע מראש (למשל טענה שהיא למעשה ההגדרה של המשתנה התלוי). (3) יש לכתוב על דברים שהתרחשו בעבר. אין לכתוב על ההווה או העתיד.
- בס"י את עבודתך על לפחות 10 פריטים מחומר הקריאה (הבסיסית והנוספת) של הפגישה. אין להתבסס על ספרות אחרת.
- היקף העבודה 2,000-2,500 מילים. רשימה ביבליוגרפית, והערות שוליים לא יובאו במניין מילים זה (הערות שוליים וכן כל מילה מעבר ל-2,500 לא יקראו). עבודות עם פחות מ-2,000 מילים לא יבדקו, או הציון עליהן יופחת.
- לעבודה טובה ישנה טענה ברורה ושיטה עקבית לתמיכת הטענה. אפשר להסתפק במבוא ושני פרקים. בגלל קוצר היריעה אין צורך בפרק סיכום. את המסקנות יש להציג במבוא, יחד עם הטענה המרכזית ושיטת תמיכת הטענה (שיטה אשר מכתיבה את סדר הפרקים).
- מאפיינים שיעלו את הציון על העבודה: (1) טענה חדשה וברורה עם משתנים מוגדרים היטב כאמור לעיל, הנתמכת בצורה שיטתית. (2) התבססות על חומר רב מהסילבוס של הקורס. (3) ארגון וסדר.
- מאפיינים שיורידו את ציון העבודה: (1) אזכור סתמי של עובדות, מאמרים ותיאוריות אשר אינם מסייעים לתמוך את הטענה. (2) סתירות פנימיות בתשובה. (3) הסתמכות על מקורות ללא ציון המקור. (4) העתקת קטעים ממקור כלשהו (בין שהמקור צוין או לא). קראו את המקור, חשבו, וכתבו בלשונכם. עבודה שתורכב כאוסף של ציטוטים מהמקורות (העתק-הדבק), ללא התנסחות עצמית, תזכה לציון נמוך מאוד ואף נכשל, גם אם מבחינות אחרות היא טובה. (5) עבודה שניכר שיכולתם לכתוב גם מבלי שלמדתם בקורס הזה, רק מידיעות/דעות אישיות ו/או מידע מכלי התקשורת, תקבל ציון נמוך מאוד, אפילו אם מכל בחינה אחרת תהיה עבודה טובה מאוד.
- על כל תלמיד/ה לכתוב את העבודה לבד/ה. לא ניתן להגיש עבודות בזוגות או בקבוצות.
- על פי תקנון הפקולטה המועד האחרון להגשת העבודה הוא 17 באוגוסט 2025.
- את העבודות יש להגיש באופן אלקטרוני בלבד לכתובת talj8810@gmail.com על פי ההנחיות הבאות (אי הקפדה על הנחיות אלו עלול להביא לפסילת העבודה):
- יש להגיש את הקובץ בפורמט DOC או DOCX ; לא PDF.
- שורת הנושא בהודעת הדואר האלקטרוני שאליה תצרפו את הקובץ צריכה להיות בדיוק בנוסח הבא (בעברית): שם משפחה, שם פרטי, תעודת זהות (כך: ישראלי ישראל, 123456789).
- אישור קבלה יישלח בהודעה חוזרת; על התלמיד/ה מוטלת האחריות לוודא קבלת הקובץ.
- מומלץ להקדים ולהגיש את העבודה על מנת שלא להיחשף לסיכון של אירועים בלתי צפויים אשר עלולים לגרום לאיחור, כולל כשלי חומרה ותוכנה ותקשורת. אלו באחריות התלמיד/ה בלבד.

קריאה נוספת

פגישה 1 – מבוא: קיצור תולדות האיחוד האירופי ומוסדותיו עד 2001

De Vries, Catherine E. (2023), "How Foundational Narratives Shape European Union Politics", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 61(4): 867-881.

פגישה 3 – משבר ההגירה

Bachleitner, Kathrin and Alexander Betts (2024), "The EU's Normative Dissensus on Migration: How National Identities Shaped Responses to the European Refugee Crisis", *Journal of European Integration*.

Baracani, Elena and Virginia Sarotto (2023), "The European Commission's Role in EU-Turkey Migration: Political Leadership Through Strategic Framing", *West European Politics* 46(3): 573-599.

Claassen, Christopher (2024), "Immigration and Public Support for Political Systems in Europe", *Perspectives on Politics* 22(1): 153-167.

Di Mauro, Danilo and Vincenzo Memoli (2021), "The Role of Public Opinion in EU Integration: Assessing the Relationship between Elites and the Public during the Refugee Crisis", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 59(5): 1303-1321.

Downes, James Floyd, Matthew Loveless and Andrew Lam (2021), "The Looming Refugee Crisis in the EU: Right-Wing Party Competition and Strategic Positioning", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 59(5): 1103-1123.

Freemantle, Iriann and Loren B. Landau (2022), "Migration and the African Timespace Trap: More Europe for the World, Less World for Europe", *Geopolitics* 27(3): 791-810.

Fjorftoft, Trym Nohr and Hallvard Sandven (2023), "Symmetry in the Delegation of Power as a Legitimacy Criterion", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 61(4): 900-916.

Fürst, Johanna Pettersson (2023), "Differentiated Implementation of Controls: The Internal Border Regimes of Schengen", *Politics and Governance* 11(3): 68-78.

Fürst, Johanna Pettersson (2024), "Defensive Integration Through Cooperative Rebordering? How Member States Use Internal Border Controls in Schengen", *Journal of European Public Policy* 31(2): 478-500.

Hanelt, Etienne (2024), "Getting Article 7 Done: Coalition-Building Against Hungary in the European Parliament", *Journal of European Integration*.

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