

## 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' 15:45-18:15 בניין נפתלי חדר 108. פגישה 2 תתקיים באולם 02 בבניין רוזנברג (לימודי יהדות)

פגישה ראשונה ב-15 באפריל, אחרונה ב-8 ביולי. לא תתקיים פגישה ב-22 באפריל (יום העצמאות). פגישה 11 (1 ביולי) תתקיים בזום (יום למידה מקוונת בפקולטה). פגישות 10-12 יתקיימו בשעות 16:30-19:00.

**שעות הקבלה** בתיאום מראש.

**ספרי קריאה עיקריים בקורס:**

Cini, Michelle and Nieves Pérez-Solórzán Borrágán (eds.) (2025), *European Union Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 8<sup>th</sup> edition.

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

McCormick, John (2026), *European Union Politics* (London: Bloomsbury) 4<sup>th</sup> edition).

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tau/detail.action?docID=32504843>

Zimmermann, Hubert and Andreas Dür (eds.) (2021), *Key Controversies in European Integration* (London: Bloomsbury) 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 (למעט פגישה 11). השיעורים יוקלטו בזום, אך אין להצטרף לפגישות בזום.

לסטודנטים/ות בקבוצות חרבות ברזל 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 2, ובלפחות 70% מכלל הפגישות. בנוסף, במהלך כל הפגישות (למעט פגישה 2) הסטודנטים/ות יתבקשו לענות על שאלות באופן מקוון, באמצעות הטלפון החכם או המחשב נייד שלהם. באחריות הסטודנטים/ות לעשות כל שיידרש 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 8 יתקיים בכיתה בוחר בקיאות על חומר הקורס נכון לאותו מועד.

לסטודנטים/ות בקבוצות חרבות ברזל ניתן פטור מבוחר הבקיאות. לפי רצונם, סטודנטים אלו יוכלו להבחן אם יגיעו לפגישה 7 (אין צורך בתאום מראש).

#### שיטת חישוב הציון בקורס

סטודנטים/ות בקבוצות חרבות ברזל, 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 (31%), וציון בוחר הבקיאות (19%).

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 (15 באפריל) – מבוא: קיצור תולדות האיחוד האירופי ומוסדותיו עד 2001**  
קריאה בסיסית:

Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2025), chapters 2-3.

**פגישה 2 (29 באפריל) – סמינר על בטחון ודעת קהל באירופה**  
**פגישה זו תתקיים באולם 02 בבניין רוזנברג (לימודי יהדות)**  
חלק א' (16: 15-17: 45): סמינר על בטחון ודעת קהל באירופה.  
משתתפים אורחים:

Dr. Eyal Rubinson, Ariel University

Mr. Branislav Gál, Representative of the NATO Contact Point Embassy in  
Israel

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

חלק ב' (18: 00-18: 45): המשך לימוד החומר של פגישה 1.

**פגישה 3 (6 במאי) – 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 4 (13 במאי) – האתגר 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 (2025), chapter 29.
- Neumann, Iver B. (2016), "Russia's Europe, 1991–2016: Inferiority to Superiority", *International Affairs* 92(6): 1381-1399.

**פגישה 5 (20 במאי) – משבר ההגירה**

קריאה בסיסית:

- Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2025), chapter 25.
- Freedman, Jane (2021), "Immigration, Refugees and Responses", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 59(s1): 92-102.
- McCormick (2026), chapter 25.

**פגישה 6 (27 במאי) – המשבר הכלכלי**

קריאה בסיסית:

- Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2025), chapter 21.
- 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 7 (3 ביוני) – משבר הקורונה**

קריאה בסיסית:

- Brooks, Eleanor, Anniek de Ruijter, Scott L. Greer and Sarah Rozenblum (2023), "EU health policy in the aftermath of COVID-19: neofunctionalism and crisis-driven integration", *Journal of European Public Policy* 30(4): 721-739.
- Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2022), chapter 28.
- 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 8 (10 ביוני)**

חלק א' (16: 15-17: 45) : **משבר הזהות האירופית**

קריאה בסיסית :

Cini and Pérez-Solórzan Borragán (2025), chapter 14.

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.

McCormick (2026), chapters 3, 18.

Zimmermann and Dür (2021), chapter 5.

חלק ב' (18: 00-18: 45) : בוחן בקיאות על החומר של פגישות 1-3, 5-7 בכיתה.

**פגישה 9 (17 ביוני) – משבר הזהות האירופית (המשך)**

**פגישה 10 (24 ביוני) – משבר הדמוקרטיה**

**פגישה זו תתקיים בשעות 16:30-19:00**

קריאה בסיסית :

Cini and Pérez-Solórzan Borragán (2025), chapter 27.

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

Nicoli, Francesco (2020), "Democratic Deficit and Its Counter-Movements: The Eurocentric–Eurosceptic 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 11 (1 ביולי) – פרישת בריטניה**

**פגישה זו תתקיים בשעות 16:30-19:00**

**פגישה זו תתקיים בזום**

קריאה בסיסית :

Cini and Pérez-Solórzan Borragán (2025), chapter 26.

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

Zimmermann and Dür (2021), chapter 13.

**פגישה 12 (8 ביולי) – סיכום: האיחוד האירופי לאן?**

**פגישה זו תתקיים בשעות 16:30-19:00**

**קריאה בסיסית:**

Cini and Pérez-Solórzán Borragán (2025), chapter 30.

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 לכתובת 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 מכתובה 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 מקלי 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 16 באוגוסט 2026.
- את העבודות יש להגיש באופן אלקטרוני בלבד לכתובת [nogasonia@gmail.com](mailto:nogasonia@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.
- McCormick, John (2026), *European Union Politics* (London: Bloomsbury) 4<sup>th</sup> edition), chapters 1-2, 8-14.

### פגישה 4 – האתגר הביטחוני

- Anghel, Veronica and Erik Jones (2023), "Is Europe Really Forged Through Crisis? Pandemic EU and the Russia – Ukraine War", *Journal of European Public Policy* 30(4): 766-786.
- Beauregard, Philippe (2022), "International Emotional Resonance: Explaining Transatlantic Economic Sanctions Against Russia", *Cooperation and Conflict* 51(1): 25-42.
- Börzel, Tanja A. (2023), "European Integration and the War in Ukraine: Just Another Crisis?", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 61(S1): 14-30.
- Brøgger, Tine Elisabeth (2025), "A 'Europe of Defence'? The Establishment of Binding Commitments and Supranational Governance in European Security and Defence", *Journal of European Integration* 47(3): 403-422.
- Calcara, Antonio and Luis Simón (2021), "Market Size and the Political Economy of European Defense", *Security Studies* 30(5): 860-892.
- Calcara, Antonio and Luis Simón (2025), "Face to Face: France, Germany and the Future of the European Defence Industry", *Journal of European Public Policy* 32(6): 1389-1413.
- Casier, Tom (2023), "The EU and Russia: The War that Changed Everything", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 61(Annual Review): 31-44.
- Daßler, Benjamin and Moritz Weiss (2025), "Beyond the European Army Illusion: A Prudent Strategy for the Real European Zeitenwende", *Journal of Common Market Studies*.
- Fabbrini, Federico (2025), "EU-UK Relations After the War in Ukraine: Options to Reengage Post Brexit", *West European Politics* 48(5): 1136-1158.
- Ferraro, Vicente (2024), "Why Russia Invaded Ukraine and How Wars Benefit Autocrats: The Domestic Sources of the Russo-Ukrainian War", *International Political Science Review* 45(2): 170-191.
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#### פגישה 12 – סיכום: האיחוד האירופי לאן?

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