

Central European University  
Political Science Department  
MA Program  
Academic year 2019/2020  
Fall Semester

### **Course Description**

## **CONSTITUTIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY**

Lecturers: Nenad Dimitrijevic and Tamas Meszerics

Meeting times:

Office hours:

Number of credits: 4 (8 ECTS credits)

Teaching format: a lecture and seminar cover each topic

### **Overview of course goals**

This course explores the meaning of constitutionalism, its basic features, and its relationship to democracy. It is assumed that the central categories of constitutionalism – the constitution, basic rights, the rule of law, separation of powers, limited government, constitutional judiciary – are relevant for political science and political theory. While the course is organized largely around fundamental categories rather than country-specific case studies, the readings and lectures will raise topics that students are encouraged to apply to the analysis of their own or other countries, both in seminar discussions and in written work.

We begin with a conceptual and normative inquiry into the notions of constitutionalism and constitution. Next we discuss the political and legal aspects of constitution-making. We proceed by exploring basic elements of the constitutional content: fundamental rights and foundational principles of formal institutional arrangements. Following the premise that the constitutional text matters to the extent it effectively promotes liberty, equality, the rule of law, and democracy, we will pay attention to both ‘law in books’ and ‘law in action’. In this context, we will also explore the ambivalent relationship between culture and constitutionalism. Upon these analyses, we will address three issues

that feature importantly in the contemporary constitutionalist discourse: the state of emergency, the EU constitutionalism, and global constitutionalism.

### **Expected outcomes**

By the end of the course students will acquire an understanding of the key categories of constitutional democracy. These categories include concepts (constitutionalism, democracy, the rule of law), institutions (basic rights, governmental forms, constitutional judiciary), and processes (constitution-making, rights protection, constitutional culture). The concepts, institutions, and processes will be studied at state and supra-national levels. The intention is to help students of politics to master theoretical concepts, institutional arrangements and practices of constitutional democracy, in a manner that would enable them to make use of this knowledge in pursuing their more specific academic interests.

### **Course requirements and evaluation**

This is a four-credit course. A lecture and a seminar will cover each topic. One of you will be asked to prepare a short presentation for each seminar class, as the basis for a more concentrated discussion. Your presentation will take approx. 20 minutes, and it will be based on a short position paper (2-3 pages), that you will distribute electronically to all class participants and lecturer before 4 pm, on the day preceding the seminar class. Your presentation should contain short critical evaluation of the topic and of the way it is presented in the literature, as well as questions that you think need to be raised in the seminar discussion. A general class discussion will follow. The presentation will be commented and graded.

Classes are mandatory. We will take attendance. You will need to provide written documentation or adequate oral explanation of legitimate circumstances that prevented you from attending class. Legitimate circumstances include illness, serious family emergencies, and participation in group activities sponsored by CEU. The same is required in case you fail to show up for exam or submit your papers. Should you fail to provide required excuse, you will not receive credits for the course.

Questions and comments during lectures are welcome. Active participation in seminars is required. You are expected to come to seminars prepared for in-depth discussion of the topics and the required readings. The readings classified as 'optional' are for your further consideration and reference – you may find them particularly useful when preparing your presentations.

You are expected to be familiar with the CEU policies on scholarly dishonesty. Plagiarism and other acts of academic dishonesty will result in automatic failure of the course and immediate referral to the appropriate committee for academic discipline.

The use of electronic devices (laptops, phones, tablets, e-readers, etc.) **is not allowed**.

There will be a **mid-term exam** after we complete topic six. You will be asked to answer a couple of short questions that will address issues raised in the first six topics.

There will be an **end-term exam** in the last week of the course. You will be assigned open-ended essay questions that will address issues raised in the topics 7-11. The format will be take-home essay, where you can use any source material (with appropriate attribution and referencing) for composing a maximum 1,500-word essay within 48 hours.

Grading will depend on the above presented features, in the following way:

- class participation: 20%

- seminar presentation: 20%
- mid-term exam: 30%
- end-term exam: 30%

### Week by week breakdown

**Topic 1. Basic concepts: constitutionalism, constitution, and democracy** (Analytical and normative features of constitutionalism. Legal and political identification of constitution. On the relationship between constitutionalism and democracy)

#### Mandatory readings

- Walter Murphy, “Constitutions, Constitutionalism, and Democracy”, in Douglas Greenberg *et al* (eds.), *Constitutionalism and Democracy. Transitions in the Contemporary World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993)
- Dieter Grimm, “Types of Constitutions”, in Michel Rosenfeld and Andras Sajo (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012)

#### Optional readings

- Andras Sajo and Renata Uitz, *The Constitution of Freedom. An Introduction to Legal Constitutionalism*, Chapter 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)
- David Dyzenhaus, “The Idea of a Constitution”, in David Dyzenhaus and Malcolm Thorburn (eds.), *Philosophical Foundations of Constitutional Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)
- Wil Waluchow, “Constitutionalism”, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2012, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2012/entries/constitutionalism/>
- Stephen Holmes, “Constitutions and Constitutionalism”, in Michel Rosenfeld and Andras Sajo (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Larry Alexander, “What are Constitutions, and What Should (and Can) They Do?” *Social Philosophy and Policy*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2011
- Tom Ginsburg, “Constitutional Specificity, Unwritten Understandings and Constitutional Agreement”, in Andras Sajo and Renata Uitz (eds.), *Constitutional Topography. Values and Constitutions* (The Hague: Eleven International, 2010)
- Janos Kis, *Constitutional Democracy* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2003)
- Nenad Dimitrijevic, “Constitutional Democracy, or How to Prevent the Rule of the People”, in: Andras Sajo (ed.), *Out of and Into Authoritarian Law* (The Hague: Kluwer, 2003)
- Jürgen Habermas, “Constitutional Democracy, A Paradoxical Union of Contradictory Principles?”, *Political Theory*, Vol. 29, No. 6, 2001
- Dennis Mueller, *Constitutional Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Larry Alexander (ed.), *Constitutionalism. Philosophical Foundations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Ulrich Preuss, “The Political Meaning of Constitutionalism”, in: Richard Bellamy (ed.), *Democracy and Sovereignty: American and European Perspectives* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1996)

- Donald Kommers and W. Thompson, “Fundamentals in the Liberal Constitutional Tradition”, in: Jens Joachim Hesse and Neil Johnson (eds.), *Constitutional Policy and Change in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)
- Thomas Grey, “Constitutionalism: An Analytic Framework”, in: Roland Pennock and John Chapman (eds.), *Constitutionalism, Nomos XX* (New York: New York University Press, 1979)
- Giovanni Sartori, “Constitutionalism: A Preliminary Discussion”, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 56, No. 4, 1962

**Topic 2. Politics and law of constitution-making** (Universal principles in particular historical contexts. On whether constitutional design matters. Who makes the constitution. Procedural rules of constitution-making. Timing. Types of constitutional revision. Choosing the constitutional content. Constitutional originality, migration of constitutional ideas, constitutional borrowing.)

#### Mandatory readings

- Ulrich Preuss, “Constitutional Powermaking for the New Polity: Some Deliberations on the Relations Between Constituent Power and the Constitution”, in: Michel Rosenfeld (ed.), *Constitutionalism, Identity, Difference, and Legitimacy* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994)
- Jon Elster, “Forces and Mechanisms in the Constitution-Making Process”, *Duke Law Review*, Vol. 45, 1995-1996.

#### Optional readings

- Stephen Gardbaum, “Revolutionary Constitutionalism”, *I-CON*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2017
- Andrew Arato, *Post-Sovereign Constitution-Making. Learning and Legitimacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)
- Rosalind Dixon, “Constitutional Drafting and Distrust”, *I-CON*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 2015
- Michelle Brandt *et al*, *Constitution-Making and Reform. Options for the Process* (Geneva: Interpeace, 2011), at [www.interpeace.org](http://www.interpeace.org)
- Laurel Miller (ed.), *Framing the State in Times of Transition. Case Studies in Constitution Making* (Washington: US Institute of Peace, 2010)
- Jasper de Raadt, “Contested Constitutions: Legitimacy of Constitution-Making and Constitutional Conflict in Central Europe”, *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 2009.
- Cass Sunstein, “Incompletely Theorized Agreements in Constitutional Law”, *Social Research*, Vol. 74, No. 1, 2007
- Donald Lutz, *Principles of Constitutional Design* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Sujit Choudry (ed.), *The Migration of Constitutional Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Wiktor Osiatynski, “Paradoxes of Constitutional Borrowing”, *I-CON*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2003
- Andrew Arato, *Civil Society, Constitution, and Legitimacy*, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000)
- Robert Goodin, “On Constitutional Design”, *Arena Working Papers*, No. 26, 1997, at [http://www.sv.uio.no/arena/english/research/publications/arena-publications/workingpapers/workingpapers1997/wp97\\_26.htm](http://www.sv.uio.no/arena/english/research/publications/arena-publications/workingpapers/workingpapers1997/wp97_26.htm)

- Stephen Holmes, *Passions and Constraint. On the Theory of Liberal Democracy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995)
- Eric McWhinney, *Constitution-Making: Principles, Process, Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981)

**Topic 3. Rights I: The notion of constitutional rights** (An analytical perspective: what we have when we have rights. Rights as protective and empowering rules. Entitlements and relationships. Claims and duties. Right-holders and right-addressees. Types of rights. Conflicts among rights)

Mandatory readings

- Andras Sajó and Renata Uitz, *The Constitution of Freedom. An Introduction to Legal Constitutionalism*, Chapter 10 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Optional readings

- Kenneth Campbell, “Legal Rights”, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2013, at <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2013/entries/legal-rights/>
- Robert Alexy, “Rights and Liberties as Concepts”, in Michel Rosenfeld and Andras Sajó (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Eva Brems (ed.), *Conflicts Between Fundamental Rights* (Antwerp: Intersentia, 2008)
- Kai Möller, “Balancing and the Structure of Constitutional Rights”, *I-CON*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 2007
- George Rainbolt, *The Concept of Rights* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006)
- Jon Elster, “Majority Rule and Individual Rights”, in Obrad Savic (ed.), *The Politics of Human Rights* (London: Verso, 1999)
- Michel Rosenfeld, “A Pluralist Theory of Political Rights in Times of Stress”, Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, *Working Paper*, No. 116, 2005, at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=724201>
- Carlos Nino (ed.), *Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 1992)
- Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978)
- T.H. Marshall and Tom Bottomore, *Citizenship and Social Class* (London: Pluto Press, 1992/1950)
- Wesley Hohfeld, "Some Fundamental Legal Conceptions as Applied in Legal Reasoning," 23 *Yale Law Journal* 16 (1913).

**Topic 4. Rights II: Controversies over social rights** (A historical overview. Are social rights real rights? Weak states, poverty and social rights. Do social rights protect equality, or create inequalities? Are social rights specifiable? Controversy over justiciability)

Mandatory readings

- David Beetham, “What Future for Economic and Social Rights?”, *Political Studies*, Vol. 43, 1995
- Dennis Davis, “Socioeconomic Rights: Do they Deliver the Goods?”, *I-CON*, Vol. 6, No. 3-4, 2008

Optional readings

- Matthias Klatt, “Positive Rights: Who Decides? Judicial Review in Balance”, *I-CON*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2015

- Anashri Pillay, “Toward Effective Social and Economic Rights Adjudication: The Role of Meaningful Engagement”, *I-CON*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 2012
- Wojciech Sadurski, *Constitutional Socio-Economic Rights: Lessons from Central Europe* (Oxford: The Foundation for Law, Justice, and Society, 2009)
- Mark Tushnet, *Weak Courts, Strong Rights. Judicial Review and Social Welfare Rights in Comparative Constitutional Law* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008)
- David Bilchitz, “Towards a Theory of Content for Socio-Economic Rights”, Paper for Presentation at IACL Conference, Athens 2007 (in file with N.D.)
- Fons Coomans (ed.), *Justiciability of Economic and Social Rights. Experiences from Domestic Systems* (Antwerp: Intersentia, 2006)
- Cecile Fabre, *Social Rights Under the Constitution. Government and the Decent Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004)
- Terence Daitith, “The Constitutional Protection of Economic Rights”, *I-CON*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2004
- Rodolfo Arango, “Basic Social Rights, Constitutional Justice, and Democracy”, *Ratio Juris*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2003
- Frank Michelman, “The Constitution, Social Rights and Liberal Political Justification”, *I-CON*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2003
- Fred Twine, *Citizenship and Social Rights: The Interdependence of Self and Society* (London: SAGE, 1994)

**Topic 5. Institutional structure I. Foundations: The rule of law and the separation of powers** (Politics within the limits of law. Legal, political, and normative features of the rule of law: can they be separated? The separation of powers and its requirements: personal, functional, and organizational divisions. Checks & balances)

Mandatory readings

- John Tasioulas, “The Rule of Law”, Forthcoming in John Tasioulas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Philosophy of Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), at [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3216796](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3216796)
- Eric Barendt, “Separation of Powers and Constitutional Government”, in Richard Bellamy (ed.), *The Rule of Law and the Separation of Powers* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Dartmouth, 2005)

Optional readings

- The Special Issue of the Hague Journal on the Rule of Law on the Crisis of Constitutional Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe, *The Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, 10/2018
- Venice Commission, *Rule of Law Checklist*, 2016, at [www.venice.coe.int](http://www.venice.coe.int)
- Martin Krygier, “Rule of Law”, in Michel Rosenfeld and Andras Sajó (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- T. R. S. Allan, “The Rule of Law”, in David Dyzenhaus and Malcolm Thorburn (eds.), *Philosophical Foundations of Constitutional Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)
- Jenny Martinez, “Horizontal Structuring”, in Michel Rosenfeld and Andras Sajó (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012)

- Gianluigi Palombella and Neil Walker (eds.), *Relocating the Rule of Law* (Oxford and Portland: Hart Publishing, 2009)
- Margaret Radin, “Reconsidering the Rule of Law”, in Richard Bellamy (ed.), *The Rule of Law and the Separation of Powers* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Dartmouth, 2005)
- David Dyzenhaus, “Recrafting the Rule of Law”, in David Dyzenhaus (ed.), *Recrafting the Rule of Law: The Limits of Legal Order* (Oxford and Portland: Hart Publishing, 1999)
- Ian Shapiro (ed.), *The Rule of Law, Nomos XXXVII* (New York: New York University Press, 1994)
- Geoffrey Walker, *The Rule of Law. Foundation of Constitutional Democracy* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988)
- Andras Sajó and Vera Losonci, “Rule by Law in East Central Europe: Is the Emperor’s New Suit a Straightjacket?”, in: David Greenberg et al (eds.), *Constitutionalism and Democracy. Transitions in the Contemporary World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)
- M.J.C. Vile, *Constitutionalism and the Separation of Powers* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1998/1967)

**Topic 6. Institutional structure II: Constitutional adjudication** (What is constitutional adjudication. Who interprets, and how. A historical overview, starting with *Marbury v Madison*. American and European models. Controversies. Interpreting, protecting, or re-making the constitution? Counter-majoritarian difficulty: constitutional adjudication and democracy. Who guards the guardian? Constitutional courts in contemporary post-authoritarian contexts. Judicial appointments, organization and functions)

#### Mandatory readings

- Andras Sajó and Renata Uitz, *The Constitution of Freedom. An Introduction to Legal Constitutionalism*, Chapter 9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

#### Optional readings

- Nathan J. Brown and Julian G. Waller, “Constitutional Courts and Political Uncertainty: Constitutional Ruptures and the Rule of Judges”, *I-CON*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2016
- Alec Stone Sweet, “Constitutional Courts”, in Michel Rosenfeld and Andras Sajó (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Walter Murphy, *Constitutional Democracy. Creating and Maintaining a Just Political Order*, Ch. 14 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007)
- Erwin Chemerinsky, *Constitutional Law. Principles and Policies* (New York: Aspen, 2006)
- Wojciech Sadurski, *Rights Before Courts. A Study of Constitutional Courts in Post-Communist States of Central and Eastern Europe* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005)
- Michel Troper, “The Logic of Justification of Judicial Review”, *I-CON*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2003
- Radoslav Procházka, *Mission Accomplished: On Founding Constitutional Adjudication in Central Europe* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2002)
- Hermann Schwartz, *The Struggle for Constitutional Justice in Post-Communist Europe*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)
- Stephen Griffin, *American Constitutionalism. From Theory to Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)

- Ronald Dworkin, *Law's Empire* (London: Fontana Press, 1986)
- Hans Kelsen, "Judicial Review of Legislation: A Comparative Study of the Austrian and the American Constitution", *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1942

***Mid-term exam in the week following Topic Six***

**Topic 7. Democracy and its Problems I.: Why Participate?** (A working definition of democracy. Minimum conditions: participation, reliable aggregation, informed choices. Why participation in the most basic procedure – elections – is not trivial. What does that mean for the legitimacy of the outcomes?)

Mandatory readings

- Tom Christiano, "Democracy", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2015 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2015/entries/democracy/>
- L.E. Lomasky and G. Brennan: "Is There a Duty to Vote?" *Social Philosophy and Policy* 17 (2000) 62-86

Optional readings

- E. Anderson: "Democracy, Instrumental versus Non-Instrumental Value". In T. Christiano and J. Christman, eds: *Contemporary Debates in Political Philosophy*. Chicester: Wiley and Blackwell, 2009.
- G. Mackie: "The Doctrine of Democratic Irrationalism." In Mackie: *Democracy Defended*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003.
- Jon Elster, "The Market and the Forum: Three Varieties of Political Theory," in *Philosophy and Democracy*, ed. T. Christiano, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

**Topic 8. Democracy and its Problems II.: Are Group Decisions the Expression of Group Preferences?** (What is preference aggregation in the classical model of democracy? Is there a uniquely good way of finding out what groups want? What if no aggregation mechanism is perfectly neutral?)

Mandatory readings

- W.H. Riker: *Liberalism Against Populism*, Chs I. Prospect Heights, Ill: Waveland Press, 1982, 1-19.
- G. Mackie: "The Doctrine of Democratic Irrationalism." In Mackie: *Democracy Defended*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003.

Optional readings

- Charles Beitz, *Political Equality: An Essay on Democratic Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), Ch. 1
- Joshua Cohen, "Procedure and Substance in Deliberative Democracy," in *Philosophy and Democracy*, ed. T. Christiano, (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002)
- Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row 1956)



**Topic 9. Democracy and its Problems III.: Informed Choices and Accountability** (Are voters informed enough to be able to make reasonable political choices? Do they need to know much about politics? Is there any meaningful accountability if voter choices are under-informed? Can deliberation ameliorate the problem?)

Mandatory readings

- Joshua Cohen, “Procedure and Substance in Deliberative Democracy,” in *Philosophy and Democracy*, ed. T. Christiano, (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002)
- A. Lupia: “Delegation and its Perils.” In W.C. Müller and T. Bergman, eds: *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Optional readings

- A. Lupia and M.D. McCubbins: “The Institutional Foundations of Political Competence: How Citizens Learn What They Need to Know.” In A. Lupia, M.D. McCubbins, and S.L. Popkin, eds: *Elements of Reason. Cognition, Choice, and the Bounds of Rationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- John S. Dryzek, “Deliberative Democracy in Divided Societies” *Political Theory*, Vol. 33, No. 2, 2005, pp. 218-242
- Sidney Verba, “Democratic Participation” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 373, Social Goals and Indicators for American Society, Vol. 2, 1967, pp. 53-78.

**Topic 10. Agonism: Conflict Instead of Consensus.** (Hanna Arendt on truth and democracy. Is conflict the essence of all politics? The sources of Agonism. Is the goal nothing and the Movement everything?)

Mandatory readings

- Chantal Mouffe, “Agonistic Democracy and Radical Politics” *Pavilion*, 29 December 2014. (<http://pavilionmagazine.org/chantal-mouffe-agonistic-democracy-and-radical-politics/>)
- Chantal Mouffe, “Society Is always Divided” (Interview) *Digital Development Debates*, Issue 14, March 2015. (<http://www.digital-development-debates.org/issue-14-movement--introduction--society-is-always-divided.html>)

Optional readings

- Mark Wenman, *Agonistic Democracy: Constituent Power in the Era of Globalisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Chantal Mouffe, *Agonistics: Thinking The World Politically*. (London – New York: Verso, 2013)
- James Tully, “The Agonic of Freedom”, *Economy and Society*, Vol.28, No.2, 1999.

**Topic 11. Back to the Nation-State, or Forward to Regional Federations?** (Is there any value in the nation relevant for democracy? Is there a way in which nation-states can become effective protectors against the ills of globalization? Can political bodies above the nation-state do the trick? Is there a way out of the crises of democracy without sacrificing democratic equality?)

Mandatory readings

- Dani Rodrik, *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*, New York: W.W. Norton, 2011.
- Yuval Harari on “The Bright Side of Nationalism” <https://www.ceu.edu/article/2019-05-17/yuval-noah-harari-discusses-bright-side-nationalism>
- Benoit Coeure, “Taking Back Control of Globalization: Sovereignty through European Integration” European Central Bank, 2018. <https://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/inter/date/2018/html/ecb.in180328.en.html#14>

Optional readings

- Cathrine E. de Vries - Isabell Hoffman, *Globalization and European Integration: Threat or Opportunity?* Bertelsman Stiftung, 2018. [https://eupinions.eu/fileadmin/files/BSt/Publikationen/GrauePublikationen/EZ\\_eupinions\\_04\\_2017\\_englisch.pdf](https://eupinions.eu/fileadmin/files/BSt/Publikationen/GrauePublikationen/EZ_eupinions_04_2017_englisch.pdf)
- Avishai Margalit, *On Betrayal*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2017. Ch. 3.

*End-term exam after topic 11*