

**SCHRAMM, LUCAS. 2024. CRISES OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: JOINING TOGETHER OR FALLING APART? PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, CHAM. XVII, 303 PP. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5>.**

REVIEW BY:

VAHRAM PETROSYAN\*   
*Yerevan State University*

LUSINE HARUTYUNYAN\*\*   
*Yerevan State University*

**Abstract**

The book analyses the main factors of European integration crises, taking into account eight major cases from the early 1950s to recent times. The author pays special attention to constitutional crises, the euro crisis and the migration crisis, thus showing that crises have been an integral part of the process of European integration from its very beginning. Although the book does not analyse the current confrontation between Russia and the West, the author argues that European integration began with a serious setback, when member states failed to implement plans to create a European army through the European Defence Community. The global scale and radicality of the ongoing changes allow many researchers to suggest the formation of a new system of international relations. In parallel with these processes, many provisions and phenomena characterizing the system of international relations itself are being revised.

**Keywords:** European Union politics, European integration, constitutional crises, international relations, Franco-German political leadership, stagnation, adaptation, transformation, regression.

The modern world, including modern Europe, being forced by circumstances to respond to numerous and alarming challenges. This is the challenge of the crises of European integration, globalization and, at the same time, the challenge of the growing diversity of the world community. These are environmental and demographic, energy

---

\* **Vahram Petrosyan** is a PhD in History, Associate Professor of the Chair of International Relations and Diplomacy at Yerevan State University. He is a Director of the Institute for Armenian Studies at Yerevan State University. Email: [vahram.petrosyan@ysu.am](mailto:vahram.petrosyan@ysu.am). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7496-8773>.

\*\* **Lusine Harutyunyan** is a PhD candidate of the Chair of Political Science of the Faculty of International Relations at the Yerevan State University. Email: [harutyunyanlusine96@gmail.com](mailto:harutyunyanlusine96@gmail.com). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8447-8236>.



and resource challenges. This is the challenge of the unsurmounted policy of force, aggravated by the danger of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (Schramm 2024, 1-32). This is the challenge of terrorism and drug mafia. And finally, these are the challenges of war and conflicts between countries and nations that are trying to destroy international law and world order. In parallel with these processes, many provisions and phenomena that characterize the very system of international relations are being revised. Including one of the basic principles, the foundations of this system is the sovereignty of the modern state, as one of the key subjects of international relations.

The problem of erosion of sovereignty attracts more and more attention. One of the processes contributing to this phenomenon is the regional integration of national states. And here, first of all, we are talking about a uniting Europe. Now we are dealing with a new Europe, which, despite the heavy legacy of past discord and wars, is uniting into a single union, accepting more and more new members. However, the creation of a united Europe was gradual. At the very beginning, it was mainly about economic and technical cooperation (Schramm 2024, 33-60). But already in the course of the last decade, the construction of a political union has begun; cooperation has been established in such areas as social policy, employment, asylum, immigration, police, justice, foreign policy; a common defense and security policy is being put into effect. In the conditions of the collapse of the bipolar system, Europe represents a new pole, a center of power, influencing political processes not only on the continent, but throughout the world.

Many years later, the EU found itself at the crossroads of various paths for further development, approaching the moment of transition to a new stage of existence. Depending on what Europe will be like in the future, whether it will become a single state, whether it will be just a confederation of states, or something else, the future of the entire system of international relations depends. Therefore, the EU, its institutions and processes are of interest to most researchers who are concerned about the future. At the same time, it is necessary to take into account that these integration processes within the EU are the only ones of their kind, and, therefore, unique in terms of the practical implementation of ideas that have worried great minds for many centuries. The relevance of the problem lies in the fact that the European regional integration process is unique in its kind and serves as fertile ground for the emergence of many different views on integration processes, as well as theories reflecting these processes within the framework of various models. By analyzing theoretical models of development, it is possible to forecast both the integration dynamics itself and the final result of the integration process, which has a great influence on the development of the system of international relations as a whole. Knowledge of theoretical foundations allows one not to move blindly, but to prudently evaluate and analyze each subsequent step (Schramm 2024, 61-89).

This book is devoted to the study of the current stage of variability of the results of European integration crises. The theoretical basis of this work is the concepts and models of Western European researchers, in which they consider integration processes in the European Community, and then the EU political system (Schramm 2024, 91-129). Of course, hundreds of scientific papers are devoted to the study of the history of

European integration processes, the identification of their patterns and the assessment of possible consequences, but these topics remain relevant, since today it is hardly possible to say that the contradictions that accompanied the development of the EU at all stages have been overcome (Schramm 2024, 205-241). On the contrary, with each new step forward, the integration process becomes more complex and complicated, which gives rise to dilemmas that cannot be solved by the experience of other countries and peoples, since history knows no precedents for setting such problems. Therefore, the study is supposed to identify a theory or model that most adequately assesses the changes occurring in the EU structures and predicts the further direction of the evolution of European integration processes (Schramm 2024, 131-164, 165-203).

The subject of the research is the crises of the European integration process, as well as modern European integration processes, which have received their institutional expression in the form of the European Communities and are currently developing within the EU.

The purpose of this book is to analyze theoretical models and concepts of European integration from the point of view of their possible application for the analysis and proposal of variants of development of European integration. The author analyzes the following crises: the crisis of the European Defense Community (1952-1954); the empty chair crisis (1965-1966); the oil crisis (1973-1974); the budget discount crisis (1979-1984); the crisis of the end of the Cold War (1989-1992); the crisis of the Constitutional Treaty (2004-2007); the euro crisis (2009-2012); and the migration crisis (2015-2016). According to the author, in order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to solve several problems: firstly, to consider and analyze the theories, concepts and models of European integration; secondly, to determine the direction of development of integration processes, to study them using the concept of multi-level development management; thirdly, to study the possible direction of development of the EU.

### **Acknowledgments**

We are grateful to Yerevan State University for the Social Sciences internal scientific grant to improve the courses “Modern International Relations in the Middle East” and “Research Methods in the Professional Field”. We would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and critiques.

### **Funding statement**

This research was funded through a Social Sciences internal scientific grant from Yerevan State University, and the opinions, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Yerevan State University.

### **Conflict of interests**

The authors declare no ethical issues or conflicts of interest in this research.

### **Ethical standards**

The authors affirm this research did not involve human subjects.

## References

- Schramm, Lucas. 2024. Crises and European Integration. In: Crises of European Integration. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp.1-32. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5_1).
- Schramm, Lucas. 2024. Outcomes of Crises of European Integration. In: Crises of European Integration. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp. 33-60. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5_2).
- Schramm, Lucas. 2024. Pathways of Crisis Outcomes. In: Crises of European Integration. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp. 61-89. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5_3).
- Schramm, Lucas. 2024. Stagnation. In: Crises of European Integration. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp. 91-129. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5_4).
- Schramm, Lucas. 2024. Adaptation. In: Crises of European Integration. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp. 131-164. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5_5).
- Schramm, Lucas. 2024. Transformation. In: Crises of European Integration. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp. 165-203. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5_6).
- Schramm, Lucas. 2024. Regression. In: Crises of European Integration. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp. 205-241. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5_7).
- Schramm, Lucas. 2024. Evaluation and Conclusions. In: Crises of European Integration. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp. 243-273. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54748-5_8).