

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Departments of International Relations and Political Science

Fall Semester 2012

Course Offering CLA IR 550/PO525

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Class Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 9:30 -11:00 am
Location: IRC 220

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EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: IR550/PO525

Prof. Vivien A. Schmidt

As the Chinese curse goes: May you live in interesting times. And these are interesting times indeed for the European Union. The Eurozone has been roiled by the sovereign debt crisis since the beginning of 2010, having managed well through the banking crisis of 2008 and the crisis in the real economy of 2009. And it now faces an existential crisis with regard to either deepening integration further, or risking disintegration of the Eurozone under the pressures of the markets. By contrast, the incursion in Libya was a military success—but it was a NATO operation led by Britain and France under the UN rather than a Common Security and Defense Policy initiative of the EU. The Lisbon Treaty, finally ratified in 2009, bringing to a close the Constitutional crisis that followed the defeat of the Constitutional Treaty by referenda in France and the Netherlands in 2005, was supposed to have provided new leadership under the new positions of Council President—to speak in one voice for the EU—and High Representative—to coordinate foreign policy. The jury is still out as to whether this has done anything more than add another two voices to the cacophony. Moreover, these reforms did little to address the question of the EU's 'democratic deficit,' a topic of increasing concern since the early 1990s and the main reason for the launching of the Constitutional process in 2000. Although Enlargement—arguably the EU's greatest achievement, which occurred on May 1 2004 with ten new member-states including former Communist East European countries entering the EU—is not in question, further enlargement is. Euroskepticism, moreover, is becoming more generalized in many European Union member-states, along with the rise of a populist right that contests the open borders of Schengen—another great EU achievement—as well as the bailouts and loan guarantees to member-states in the Southern periphery.

And yet, despite all of this, the European Union remains the largest market economy in the world, bigger than the US, and is a force to be reckoned with not only in Europe but around the world, helping set the agenda for international trade and finance along with the United States. Moreover, the EU goes on integrating in quiet ways, below the radar and off the front page, through the economic policies of the Single Market and the social policies focused on improving the environment, gender equality, and labor rights. EU member-states have adapted institutionally to the EU as they have adopted EU policies throughout a range of areas—but they have had very different experiences in so doing, given their own differing institutional structures, policymaking processes, and representative politics. And they also have very different visions of Europe and its political future, by contrast with a more common vision of its economic future. In short, the process of *European integration*, that is, the development of the European Union and the bottom-up influence of member-states in that development, cannot be separated from the process of *Europeanization*, or the top-down influence of the EU on member-states.

The unique history, make up, and current circumstances of the European Union make it an especially interesting case for study. This course, as a graduate-level seminar on the

institutions, politics, and history of the European Union, will do more than examine ‘what happened’ or even ‘why it happened’ and how. We will also be trying to understand and theorize what kind of political entity the EU is and will be in the future within the context of theories of international organization. The European Union is more economically and politically integrated than any other international institution and, as such, is one of the most challenging and complex organizations for scholars of international and comparative politics to study. It is a real time experiment testing what we think we know about politics, power, and interests. Why have sovereign states ‘pooled’ part of their sovereignty over time? How should we classify and analyze the EU in a broader context? What is the relationship between European integration, national identities, and a broader European identity? Why is the EU more successful in some policy areas than others? What impact have market and monetary integration had on European political integration? What is the role of EU enlargement in the integration process over time? What has been the impact of public opinion on EU integration? And what has been the impact of the EU been on the member state economies and institutions? We will investigate these issues through the framework of different theoretical approaches. The literature on the European Union is broader than can be covered well in a single semester, but the seminar is designed along the key debates and lenses for understanding the European Union, equipping you to investigate other issues and policies through your own research.

After a brief introduction to the major themes of the course, we will consider first the governance of the EU, focusing in turn on the institutional structures, policymaking processes, and representative politics as well as the problems for political identity and democratic legitimacy at the European and national levels. Then, we will explore the policies of the EU with regard to the single market, monetary integration, agriculture, cohesion policies, employment, environment, telecommunications, transport, citizenship, immigration, policing, external trade, foreign and security policy, and enlargement. And finally, we will consider individual country experiences more closely. Throughout, we will consider not only the ways in which particular member-states have influenced the construction of the EU as both an economic and political entity but also the ways in which the EU has affected the economies and politics of its member-states.

COURSE READINGS:

- Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) *The Future of Europe Reform or Decline* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bulmer, Simon and Lequesne, Christian (2005) *The Member States of the European Union* New York: Oxford.
- Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane (2012) *Frontiers of Fear: Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette (2006) *Debates on European Integration* London: Palgrave Macmillan
- Hix, Simon and Hyland, Bjorn (2011) *The Political System of the European Union* 3rd edition Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Hix, Simon (2008) *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It* Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Leonard, Mark (2005) *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century* (New York: Harper).
- Marquand, David (2011), *The End of the West: The Once and Future Europe* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011
- Schmidt, Vivien (2006) *Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Politics* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kelemen, Daniel R. 2010. *Eurolegalism: The Rise of Adversarial Legalism in the European Union*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Vachudova, Milada (2005) *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism*. Oxford University Press.
- Vogel, David (2012) *The Politics of Precaution: Regulating Health, Safety and Environmental Risks* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

All the books are available in the bookstore: Barnes and Noble. They will also be on reserve in the library.

Students are strongly encouraged to get a subscription to the daily Financial Times and the weekly The Economist. Sign-up information will be provided.

Other readings are available via ejournals, on the internet, on reserve at the library, or through email. Readings with an * are recommended readings.

Also, please also check out the internet. Look at my website for ‘links’ to a great variety of sources: <http://people.bu.edu/vschmidt> In addition, the EU has a very elaborate site, with a great deal of information. Check it out at www.eurunion.org There is a short guide for Americans at www.eurunion.org/infores/eurguide/eurguide.htm . Another address of use is the EU’s own *Europa* website at : www.europa.org and *Eupolitix* at <http://www.eupolitics.com>. The semi-weekly newsletter *European Report* has detailed coverage of the EU, and is available through the Lexis-Nexis database. The best English-language daily newspaper coverage of the EU can be found in the Financial Times, which has a good web site at <http://www.ft.com>, and offers special rates for students during the semester. The Economist also has regular EU coverage. The news service “Euronews” provides video footage on a large number of European politics issues, including EU institutions and policies: <http://www.Euronews.net>.

Finally, there are growing numbers of EU-oriented think-tanks that generate policy papers on specific topics that might be useful in your research. These include:

- European Policy Centre: www.epc.eu
- Center for European Policy Studies: www.ceps.be
- EU Institute for Security Studies: www.iss.europa.eu
- Centre for European Reform: www.cer.org.uk
- European Council on Foreign Relations: www.ecfr.eu

Websites to check out on a regular basis:

<http://www.euointelligence.com/Euointelligence-Home.901.0.html>: A daily wrap-up of European newspapers produced by Wolfgang Munchau (a commentator to follow via his op-eds in the Financial Times) and Susanne Mundschenk with a stellar discussion

platform.

<http://www.voxeu.org/>: A policy-oriented forum, hosted by the Center for European Policy Research, a European network of economists and policy analysts

<http://www.telos.fr/> A French policy-oriented forum (with English translations) that often reproduces voxeu pieces and vice-versa

Social Europe Journal (access <http://www.social-europe.eu/>): Has lots of US and EU political scientists, economists, and policy analysts writing interesting pieces.

On the eurozone crisis:

http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/focuson/crisis/index_en.htm EU Commission website on the economic crisis

<http://www.bruegel.org/> Bruegel (leading think tank on European economy)

http://www.robert-schuman.eu/archives_questions_europe.php Robert Schuman Foundation (leading think tank on European affairs)

For individual countries, check out the government sites, both the general and the ministry concerning the policy of greatest interest to you. For working papers on topics of interest, try Harvard's Center for European Studies, the European University Institute site (iue.it), the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Arena in Oslo, among others. Also check out EUSA.org, the European Union Studies Association, which will have links to other sites as well, such as the ten regional EU centers.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

This course will be run as a seminar. Students are expected to do all the readings and to be prepared to discuss them.

1. Weekly readings of 150-200 pages.
2. Participation in class discussions (including discussions of required readings as well as current events) and two oral presentations (15% of the grade altogether):
 - One oral presentation (two for graduate students) on the reading material assigned for the day. The oral presentation will be a report based on readings from the syllabus and presented in class (10-15 minute presentation). You will sign up for the presentations the first week of the course.
 - an oral presentation on your draft research paper in the last classes (approx 5-10 minutes including question-and-answer session with fellow students);
3. Two (out of three) brief essays of about 2000 words for undergraduates, 3000 for graduate students that are think pieces related to the readings, with the question agreed on in class (15% each).
 - Paper #1 due October 4 (covers up to Oct 2).
 - Paper #2 due October 30 (covers up to Oct. 25).
 - Paper #3 due November 27 (covers up to Nov. 20).
You choose which two of the three you write!
4. A research paper on a topic of the student's choice, using primary and secondary research sources, and considering an EU policy areas and its relationship to one or

two (in particular for graduate students) member-states. The paper is expected to use the class readings to help analyze the topic. It should also use original research, citing at least 20 refereed articles/chapters in books/books. This is to be undertaken in three stages:

- a 3-5 page topic abstract, argument, basic outline, and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on November 6th (5% of the grade);
- the final draft of the research paper of 5000 to 6000 words for undergraduates, 7000 to 8000 for graduate students, due on or before the last class session (40% of the grade).

These papers are intended to demonstrate that you have read and analyzed the assigned readings, so please be sure to write your essays with specific reference to relevant readings.

INFORMATION

The College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) Dean's Office has requested that you be informed of the following: The last day you may drop the course without a W grade is Tuesday Oct. 9. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is Friday, Nov. 9. You are responsible for knowing the provisions of the CAS Academic Conduct Code (copies are available in CAS 105). Cases of suspected academic misconduct will be referred to the Deans' Office.

Academic Honesty

Without exception, students are expected to adhere to the Boston University CAS Academic Code. Please read the Boston University Academic Conduct Code. Accordingly, all instances of academic dishonesty will be reported to the CAS Academic Conduct Committee. Please see <http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/undergrad-resources/code/>

*READINGS WITH AN ASTERIX ARE RECOMMENDED, NOT REQUIRED READINGS.

COURSE OUTLINE

9/6

Introduction: Course Organization, Course Themes, and a brief history of the EU

- The European Union: A Guide for Americans
<http://www.eurunion.org/infores/euguide/euguide.htm>
- “Key facts and figures about the EU” EU Commission download from:
http://europa.eu.int/abc/keyfigures/index_en.htm
- “Europe in twelve lessons” EU Commission download from:
http://europa.eu.int/abc/12lessons/index_en.htm
- Plus, check out the rest of the site of ‘Europe at a glance’ for background information: http://europa.eu.int/abc/index_en.htm The general site is: http://europa.eu.int/index_en.htm
- Also check out youtube videos on the EU: <http://www.youtube.com/user/eutube>
<http://www.youtube.com/user/EUXTV>

A. THE EU PROJECT

1. The Past and Future of the EU

9/6 a. Thinking about the EU’s Past, Imagining its Future

Marquand, David (2011) “Prologue” and “Weighing like a Nightmare” in *The End of the West: The Once and Future Europe* Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 1-66.
Stelzenmüller, Constanze, (2012) “Europe On its Own: How the Crisis-Ridden Continent will Respond to a Decade of U.S. Retrenchment: Three Scenarios” *German Marshall Fund*, The EuroFuture Project (June). (will email)

9/11

b. The EU as Economic Failure?

Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) *The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 1-78, 165-172.

Moravcsik, Andrew “Europe after the Crisis: How to Sustain a Common Currency,” *Foreign Affairs* vol 91, no. 3, May/June 2012

Schmidt, Vivien (2012) “Can the EU Bicycle turn into a Jet Plane by 2020? Two Pathways for Europe” *German Marshall Fund EuroFuture Series* (forthcoming September) will email

*“Who is rescuing whom and why? The Euro, the banks, the debt crisis.” Bertelsmann <http://www.fortunatelyunified.eu/>

**Completing the Eurozone Rescue: What more needs to be done?* Eds. Richard Baldwin, Daniel Gros, and Luc Laeven VOXEU
<http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/5194>

9/13

c. The EU as Global Leader?

Mark Leonard, *Why Europe will run the 21st Century* pp. 1-98.

Charles Grant, "Is Europe Doomed to Fail as a Power?" with a response by Robert Cooper, *Centre for European Reform essays* (London: Centre for European Reform, July 2009). <http://www.cer.org.uk/publications/archive/essay/2009/europe-doomed-fail-power>

*Jeremy Shapiro and Nick Witney, *Towards a Post-American Europe: A Power Audit of EU-US Relations*, European Council on Foreign Relations, 2 November 2009, available at: http://ecfr.3cdn.net/05b80f1a80154dfc64_x1m6bgxc2.pdf

9/18 **Guest Lecture: David Vogel (9:30-11am)****d. TransAtlantic Comparisons: The Case of Risk Regulation**

Vogel, David (2012) *The Politics of Precaution: Regulating Health, Safety and Environmental Risks* Princeton: Princeton University Press, especially chapters 1,2, 7, 9, pp. 1-42, 219-251, 279-294.

2. Explaining European Integration

9/20

a. The EU as International Regime, Federal or Confederal System?

Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, "For a Free and United Europe. A Draft Manifesto" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 37-42

Ernst Haas, "The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950-1957" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 105-116.

Stanley Hoffman, "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 134-159

9/25

b. The EU as Supranational, Intergovernmental, or Multi-Level System

Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, "1992: Recasting the European Bargain" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 204-225.

Andrew Moravcsik, "Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 264-303.

Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank, "European Integration from the 1980s: State-centric vs. Multi-level Governance" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 357-377.

*Giandomenico Majone, "The Rise of the Regulatory State" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 378-392.

*Mark A. Pollack, "Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance? Annual Review of Political Science 2005. 8:35, 98 (ejournals)

9/27

c. The EU as a New Kind of Supranational Region?

- Marquand, David (2011) "Hate and Hope" in *The End of the West*, pp. 67-101.
- Vivien A. Schmidt, "The European Union as Regional State" *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 8-45.
- Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire*, Introduction & Chapter 6. (on reserve)
- *Daniel H. Deudney, "The Philadelphian System: Sovereignty, Arms Control, and Balance of Power in the American States-Union, Circa 1787-1861." *International Organization* 49(02): 191-228. 1995. Available at:
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=4310888>

10/2

d. Ideas, Constructivism, and Discourse in European Integration

- Vivien Schmidt, "Theorizing Democracy in Europe" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 219-266
- *Jupille, Joseph, James Caporaso and Jeffrey Checkel. 2003. "Integrating Institutions: Rationalism, Constructivism, and the Study of the European Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 36(1/2): 7-41. (ejournals)
- Mark Gilbert, "Narrating the Process: Questioning the Progressive Story of European Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 46, no. 3 (2008): 641-62. (ejournals)

* Paper #1 due October 4 (covers up to Oct 2).

Question: Will the EU 'run' the 21st century, or is it in perpetual decline? What does the past history and process of European integration suggest about future prospects? What effect is the Eurozone Crisis likely to have on this future?

B. INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNANCE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

10/04

1. Who is in Charge? The Role of National Governments

- Vivien Schmidt, "The European Union and National Institutions" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 46-101.
- Jolyon Howorth, "The 'New Faces' of Lisbon: Assessing the Performance of Catherine Ashton and Herman van Rompuy on the Global Stage," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 16 (2011): 303-323. (ejournals or will email)
- *Helen Wallace, "Exercising Power and Influence in the European Union: The Roles of Member States" in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 25-44

10/09

2. EU Institutions

a. The European Union Commission

- Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland "Executive Politics" in *The Political System of the European Union*, pp. 27-71.
- John Petersen. 1999. "The Santer Era: The European Commission in Normative, Historical and Theoretical Perspective." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6(1):46-65. (ejournals)

10/11

b. The European Parliament

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Legislative Politics" in *The Political System of the European Union*.

*Selck, Torsten J. and Bernard Steunenberg. 2004. "Between Power and Luck: The European Parliament in the EU Legislative Process." *European Union Politics* 5:25-46.

Mair, Peter; Thomassen, Jacques (2010) "Political representation and government in the European Union" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(1): 20-35 (ejournals)

10/16

c. The Court of Justice of the European Union

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Judicial Politics," in *The Political System of the European Union*.

Kelemen, Daniel R. 2010. *Eurolegalism: The Rise of Adversarial Legalism in the European Union*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 1-93

*Lisa Conant, "Review Article: The Politics of Legal Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45 (2007): 45-66. (ejournals)

3. Issues of EU Governance

10/18 (Reschedule or Guest lecturer)

a. Who matters in policymaking? Interest and Contentious Politics in the EU

Vivien Schmidt, "The European Union and National Policymaking" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 102-155.

*Amandine Crespy (2010) "When 'Bolkestein' is trapped by the French anti-liberal discourse : A discursive-institutionalist account of preference formation in the realm of EU multi-level politics", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(8), 1253-1270. (ejournals)

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Interest Representation" in *The Political System of the European Union*.

*Cornelia Woll. 2006. "Lobbying in the European Union: From Sui Generis to a Comparative Perspective," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13 No. 3: 456-70. (ejournals)

10/23

b. Who matters in politics? Parties, elections, and EU democracy

Vivien Schmidt, "The EU and National Politics" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 155-218.

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Public Opinion' and "Democracy, Parties, and Elections," in *The Political System of the European Union*.

Trenz, Hans-Jörg & de Wilde, Pieter (2009) "Denouncing EU integration:

Euroscpticism as reactive identity formation." RECON online working paper 2009/10

http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON_wp_0910.pdf?fileitem=16662597

10/25

c. What solutions to the EU's political and institutional problems?

Marquand, David (2011) "The Revenge of Politics" in *The End of the West*, pp. 102-140.

Schmidt, Vivien (2009) "Re-Envisioning the European Union: Identity, Democracy, Economy," *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 47 Annual Review (2009): 17-42 (ejournals)

Hix, Simon (2008) *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It*
Cambridge: Polity Press, especially chapters 5-10, pp. 67-192.

* Paper #2 due October 30 (covers up to Oct. 25).

Question: *Who is in charge of the EU? Answer by discussing the nature and problems of EU governance. What solutions do you think most plausible?*

C. EUROPEAN UNION POLICIES**1. The Internal Market and the Euro**

10/30

a. Constructing a Single Market

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Regulation of the Single Market" in *The Political System of the European Union*.

*Kelemen, Daniel R. 2010. *Eurolegalism: The Rise of Adversarial Legalism in the European Union*. chapter on Competition Policy, pp. 143-194

Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) *The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 79-134.

*Howarth, David and Sadeh, Tal (2010) "The ever incomplete single market: differentiation and the evolving frontier of integration," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 17 Issue 7, p922-935 (ejournals)

*Nicolas Jabko (2006). *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985-2005* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). On reserve (but recommended for purchase)

11/1

b. National Impact of Constructing a Single Market

Vivien A. Schmidt, "The Europeanization of National Economies?" in *Member States of the European Union*, pp. 360-387. (or will email updated version)

*Cameron, David, "Creating Market Economies after Communism: The Impact of the European Union," *Post-Soviet Affairs* vol. 25, no. 1 (2009): 1-39 (ejournals)

Caporaso, James and Tarrow, Sidney (2008) "Polanyi in Brussels: European Institutions and the Embedding of Markets in Society." RECON Online Working Paper 2008/01 <http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2008.html>

Höpner, Martin and Schäfer, Armin (2007) "A New Phase of European Integration: Organized Capitalisms in Post-Ricardian Europe." MOIFG Discussion Paper no. 07/4. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=976162>

* 3-5 page topic abstract, argument, basic outline, and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on November 6th

11/6

a. Constructing a Single Currency

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Economic and Monetary Union" in *The Political System of the European Union*.

*Jabko, Nicolas (2010) "The hidden face of the euro" *Journal of European Public Policy* Vol. 17 Issue 3, p318-334 (ejournals)

Alesina, Alberto and Giavazzi, Francesco (2006) *The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 134-164.

2. EU Policy Domains

11/08 (Reschedule or Guest Lecturer)

a. EU Enlargement

Marquand, David (2011) "Which Boundaries, Whose History?" in *The End of the West*, pp. 141-177.

Vachudova, Milada Anna (2005). *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism* (New York: Oxford University Press). Chapters 1-3, 5, 8, plus one of the remaining chapters (4, 6, 7).

*Michael Minkenberg, Hajo G Boomgaarden, with Claes H de Vreese & André Freire (2012) "Turkish membership in the European Union--The role of religion" *Comparative European Politics* 10: 133-148

*Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (2002). "Theorising EU Enlargement: Research Focus, Hypotheses, and the State of Research," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9(4): 500-528

11/13

Internal EU Security: Border Security, and Immigration Policy

Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane (2012) *Frontiers of Fear: Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, especially the Introduction and chapters 1, 2, 3, 8 and the conclusion, pp. 1-110, 222-263.

Andrew Geddes, "Il Rombo des Cannoni? Immigration and the Centre-right in Italy," *Journal of European Public Policy* no. vol. 15, no. 3 (2008) pp. 349-366 (ejournals)

*Sally Marthaler, Nicolas Sarkozy and the Politics of French Immigration Policy," vol. 15, no. 3 (2008) pp. 382-397 (ejournals)

11/15

b. EU Trade Policy and Common Foreign and Security Policy

Simon Hix, "Foreign Policies" in the Political System of the European Union, pp. 374-405.

Jacoby, Wade and Meunier, Sophie, (2010) "Europe and the Management of Globalization," *Journal of European Public Policy* 17:3 April 2010: 299–317 (ejournals)

*Sbragia, Alberta (2010) "The EU, the US, and trade policy: competitive interdependence in the management of globalization" *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 17 Issue 3, p368-382

Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, No. 113 (June/July 2002), pp. 3-28.

Robert Cooper, "The European Answer to Robert Kagan," *Transatlantic Internationale Politik*, Vol. 4, No. (2003), pp. 19-24.

*Anand Menon, Kalypso Nicolaïdis, and Jennifer Welsh, "In Defence of Europe: A Response to Kagan," *Journal of European Affairs*, September 2004.

11/20 (Reschedule or Guest Lecturer)

c. EU Common Defense and Security Policy

Anne Deighton, "The European Security and Defence Policy," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2002), pp. 719-41.

Richard Whitman, "Road Map for a Route March? (De-)civilianizing through the EU's Security Strategy," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2006), pp. 1-15

Howorth, Jolyon (2009) "The Case for an EU Grand Strategy," *Egmont Papers*, no. 27: 15-24

* Paper #3 due November 27 (covers up to Nov. 20).

Question: In which policy areas do you think the EU has been most successful, in which the least? Why?

11/27

D. EUROPEANIZATION

1. Europeanization

Tanja A. Börzel, "Europeanization: How the European Union Interacts with its Member States" in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 45-76

*Börzel, Tanja A., Member State Responses to Europeanization. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, (2002) pp. 193-214 (ejournals)

Hussein Kassim, "The Europeanization of Member State Institutions" in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 285-316

Fritz Scharpf, "The Asymmetry of European Integration or why the EU cannot be a Social Market Economy". Mss 2009-08-02 (will email)

11/29

2. France, the UK, and Germany

Richard Balme and Cornelia Woll, "France: Between Integration and National Sovereignty" in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 97-118.

David Allen, "The United Kingdom: A Europeanized Governing in a non-Europeanized Polity" in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 119-142.

Jeffrey J. Anderson, "Germany and Europe: Centrality in the EU" in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 77-96.

12/04

3. Other Member-States

Read two of the following chapters

Gerda Falkner and Brigid Laffan, “The Europeanization of Austria and Ireland” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 209-228.

Morten Egeberg, “The EU and the Nordic Countries: Organizing Domestic Diversity?” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 185-208.

Klaus H. Goetz, “The New Member States and the EU: Responding to Europe” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 254-284

Erik Jones, “The Benelux Countries: Identity and Self-Interest,” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp.164-184.

Federiga Bindi with Manuela Cisci, “Italy and Spain: A Tale of Contrasting Experiences” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 142-163.

Béatrice Hibou, “Greece and Portugal: Convergent or Divergent Europeanization?” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 229-253.

12/06 **Presentations**

12/11 **Presentations**

(Final Papers Due)