

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Departments of International Relations and Political Science

Fall Semester 2013

Course Offering CLA IR 550/PO535

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Class Hours: Wednesdays, 1:00-4:00pm

Location: PLS 312b

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EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: IR550/PO535

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:

IR 550/PO 535 book order

- Bulmer, Simon and Lequesne, Christian (2013) *The Member States of the European Union* New York: Oxford.
- Bickerton, Christopher (2012) *European Integration: From Nation-States to Member-States* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 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.
- Jabko, Nicolas (2006). *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985-2005* (Ithaca: Cornell University 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. You can find many of the web addresses on the Center for the Study of Europe website:

<http://www.bu.edu/european>

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 2 (covers up to Sept. 25).
 - Paper #2 due October 30 (covers up to Oct. 23).
 - Paper #3 due November 26 (covers up to Nov. 20, send via email).
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 4000 to 5000 words for undergraduates, 5000 to 6000 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. 7. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is Friday, Nov. 8. 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

9/4

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>
- The European Union Explained
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O37yJBFRrfg&feature=youtu.be>

A. THE EU PROJECT

1. The Past and Future of the EU

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).
<http://www.gmfus.org/archives/europe-on-its-own/>

*European Commission (2012) “Europe 2050”. http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/global-europe-2050-report_en.pdf DG Research and Innovation EUR 25252 (October)

9/11

b. The EU as Economic Failure? The Eurozone Crisis

Schmidt, Vivien (2012) “Can the EU Bicycle turn into a Jet Plane by 2020? Two Pathways for Europe” *German Marshall Fund EuroFuture Series* (Sept. 2012)
http://www.gmfus.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/1/files/mf/1348077223Schmidt_BikePlane_Sept12.pdf

Mark Blyth, “Austerity” http://watsoninstitute.org/news_detail.cfm?id=1388

Matthijs, Matthias and Blyth, Mark “Why Only Germany Can Fix the Euro: Reading Kindleberger in Berlin” *Foreign Affairs* Nov. 17, 2011.

- <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136685/matthias-matthijs-and-mark-blyth/why-only-germany-can-fix-the-euro>
- Cramme, Olaf (2013) "Politics in the Austerity State" *Policy Network* July 11, http://www.policy-network.net/publications_detail.aspx?ID=4438
- *Jürgen Habermas, "Merkel needs to confront real European Reform" *Der Spiegel* Aug. 9, 2013 <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/juergen-habermas-merkel-needs-to-confront-real-european-reform-a-915244.html>
- *Tony Barber, FT Oct 21, 2010, on the day the euro nearly collapsed <http://video.ft.com/v/631247549001/The-day-the-euro-nearly-collapsed>
- *Tony Barber, FT, Oct 10, 2010, on dinner at the time of the crisis <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/190b32ae-d49a-11df-b230-00144feabdc0.html#axzz16fj75uwR>
- *"Who is rescuing whom and why? The Euro, the banks, the debt crisis." Bertelsmann <http://www.fortunatelyunified.eu/>
- *"The Failure of the Euro? Causes and Consequences for Europe and Beyond." Conference sponsored by the Watson Institute for International Studies and the Rhodes Center for International Economics, Brown University (April 17, 2012). See especially speech by Martin Wolf, FT columnist, the first panel, the panel on the markets and media, and the final panel on 'Can Europe Survive the Euro' <http://brown.edu/web/livestream/archive/2012-euroconf.html>

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.policypointers.org/Page/View/9746>
- *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/cdb1d0a4be418dc49c_2em6bg7a0.pdf.

2. Explaining European Integration

9/18

a. The EU from Nation State to Member-state

Bickerton, Christopher (2012) *European Integration: From Nation-States to Member-States* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-3, pp. 21-112.

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

- *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

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

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.

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

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

9/25

d. 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)

e. Rethinking European Integration

Webber, Douglas (2013) "How likely is it that the European Union will Disintegrate? A Critical Analysis of Competing Theoretical Perspectives," *European Journal of International Relations* (ejournals or will email)

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)

*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)

* *Paper #1 due October 2 (covers up to 9/25).*

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

10/02

1. Who is in Charge? EU Institutions

a. The European Council and National Governments or the Commission?

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)

Vivien Schmidt, "The European Union and National Institutions" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 46-101.

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland "Executive Politics" in *The Political System of the European Union*, pp. 27-71.

c. The European Parliament or the Court of Justice?

- Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Legislative 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
- Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Judicial Politics," in *The Political System of the European Union*.
- *Mair, Peter; Thomassen, Jacques (2010) "Political representation and government in the European Union" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(1): 20-35 (ejournals)
- *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.
- *Lisa Conant, "Review Article: The Politics of Legal Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45 (2007): 45-66. (ejournals)

2. Issues of EU Governance

10/09

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

- Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Interest Representation" in *The Political System of the European Union*.
- Vivien Schmidt, "The European Union and National Policymaking" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 102-155.
- Saurugger, Sabine (2012) "The Europeanization of Interest Groups and Social Movements" in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 333-357
- *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)
- *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)

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

- Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Public Opinion' and "Democracy, Parties, and Elections," in *The Political System of the European Union*.
- Vivien Schmidt, "The EU and National Politics" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 155-218.
- Ladrech, Robert (2012) "Europeanization and Political Parties" in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 313-332
- *Trenz, Hans-Jörg & de Wilde, Pieter (2009) "Denouncing EU integration: Euroscepticism as reactive identity formation." RECON online working paper 2009/10
http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON_wp_0910.pdf?fileitem=16662597

10/16

d. 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)
- Duff, Andrew, (2012) "On Governing Europe," *Policy Network* <http://www.policy-network.net/publications/4257/On-Governing-Europe>
- 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.

C. EUROPEAN UNION POLICIES

1. The Internal Market and the Euro

10/23

a. Constructing a Single Market

- Nicolas Jabko (2006). *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985-2005* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). Chapters 1-5, pp. 1-90
- 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*. "Competition Policy", pp. 143-194
- * <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/24/world/europe/european-commission-tables-olive-oil-rule.html?emc=tnt&tntemail0=y&pagewanted=print>

b. National Impact of Constructing a Single Market

- Bickerton, Christopher (2012) "European Economic Integration and State Transformation" *European Integration: From Nation-States to Member-States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Chapter 4, pp. 113-150
- Vivien A. Schmidt, "The Europeanization of National Economies?" in *Member States of the European Union*, pp. 408-436.
- * Cameron, David, "Creating Market Economies after Communism: The Impact of the European Union," *Post-Soviet Affairs* vol. 25, no. 1 (2009): 1-39 (ejournals)
- *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>

* Paper #2 due October 30 (covers up to Oct. 23).

Question: Who is in charge of the EU? Answer by discussing the nature and problems of EU governance. And how does the construction of the Internal Markets illustrate your propositions? What solutions to the problems of EU governance do you think most plausible?

10/30

c. Constructing a Single Currency

- Nicolas Jabko (2006). *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985-2005* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). Chapter 8, pp. 147-178

- Matthijs, Matthias “The Eurozone Crisis: Growing Pains or Doomed from the Start?” in *Handbook of Global Economic Governance: Players, Power, and Paradigms* (Routledge, forthcoming 2014) (will email)
- Schmidt, Vivien A. (2010) "The European Union's Eurozone Crisis and What (not) to do about it" *Brown Journal of World Affairs* vol. XVII, issue I (Fall/Winter 2010), pp. 199-214. (ejournals)
- Schmidt, Vivien A. (2013) “Governing by the Rules, Ruling by the Numbers: EU Institutional Actors in the Eurozone Crisis.” Revision of a paper presented at the Council for European Studies Meetings, June 2013. (will email)
- Dinan, Desmond (2013) “EU Governance and Institutions: Stresses above and below the Waterline,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 51 Annual Review, pp. 89-102. (ejournals—or will email)
- Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, “Economic and Monetary Union” in *The Political System of the European Union*.
- *Scharpf, Fritz W. (2012) “Legitimacy Intermediation in the Multilevel European Polity and Its Collapse in the Euro Crisis” MPIfG Discussion Paper 12/6
http://www.mpifg.de/people/fs/publikation-wpdp_de.html
- *Jabko, Nicolas (2010) “The hidden face of the euro” *Journal of European Public Policy* Vol. 17 Issue 3, p318-334 (ejournals)
- *Lütz, Susanne and Kranke, Matthias (2010) “The European Rescue of the Washington Consensus? EU and IMF Lending to Central and East European Countries” LESQ Paper 22/2010.

* 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

2. EU Policy Domains

11/06

a. EU Risk Regulation and TransAtlantic Comparisons

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.

b. 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

c. 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)

d. External EU Security: 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 (ejournals)

Howorth, Jolyon (2009) “The Case for an EU Grand Strategy,” *Egmont Papers*, no. 27: 15-24 (find on internet or will email)

Howorth, Jolyon (2013) “Nato, Bicycles, and Training Wheels” *Foreign Policy Walt* blog, June 19, 2013

http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/06/19/nato_bicycles_and_training_wheels

11/20

e. Common Foreign and Security Policy

Bickerton, Christopher (2012) “From Nation-State to Member-State in European Foreign Policy” *European Integration: From Nation-States to Member-States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Chapter 5, pp. 151-181

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

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

Robert Cooper, “The European Answer to Robert Kagan,” *Transatlantic Internationale Politik*, Vol. 4, No. (2003), pp. 19-24. (find on internet)

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

f. EU Trade Policy

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 (ejournals)

* Paper #3 due November 26 (covers up to Nov. 20, send via email).

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

b. EUROPEANIZATION OF THE MEMBER-STATES

12/04 (Oral presentations of final papers, paired with country discussions)

a. France, the UK, and Germany

Olivier Rozenberg: Genuine Europeanization or Monnet for Nothing? in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 57-84

Timm Beichelt: Germany: In Search of a New Balance in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 85-107

David Allen: The United Kingdom: Towards Isolation and a Parting of the Ways? in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 108-133

Matthias Matthijs, "David Cameron's Dangerous Game," *Foreign Affairs* Sept/Oct 2013 (ejournals)

12/11 (Presentations, paired with country discussions)

b. Other Member-States

Francesc Morata: Spain: Modernization through Europeanization in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 134-160

Anna Michalski: Sweden: From Scepticism to Pragmatic Support in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 161-185

Nathaniel Copsey: Poland: An Awkward Partner Redeemed in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp.186-212

Piret Ehin: Estonia: Excelling at Self-Exertion in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 213-235

Dimitris Papadimitriou and David Phinnemore: Romania: Uneven Europeanization in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 236-258

(Final Papers Due last class)