

● **POLITICS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION** ● PSC 266 ● **SPRING 2008** ●
Tuesdays, Thursdays 9:40 – 10:55 p.m. in MEL 221
Instructor: Alexandra Hennessy
Skalny Center for Polish and Central European Studies, 101 Harkness Hall
Phone: (585) 275-1677
Email: ahenness@mail.rochester.edu
Office hours: Tuesdays, Thursdays 11:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m., or by appointment

OBJECTIVES:

This class will introduce students to the study of politics in the European Union. Questions we will examine throughout the course include: Why do European countries differ in terms of economic development and political institutions? Why do they want to pool sovereignty? How can we explain episodes of deadlock and progress? This course considers the past, present, and future of European integration. After a brief introduction to the major themes of the course, we will survey theories of European integration, focusing on explanations of conflict and cooperation. We will then study the governance of the EU, policymaking processes, external relations, and the problems for political identity and democratic legitimacy at the European and national levels. Several classes will be devoted to studying economic and social issues, immigration, foreign and security policy, enlargement, and the draft constitution. Finally, we will consider individual country experiences more closely.

BOOKS:

The following books are required and available at the UR book store:

* Ginsberg, Roy H. (2007), *Demystifying the European Union. The Enduring Logic of Regional Integration*. Rowman & Littlefield.

* Bulmer, Simon and Christian Lequesne (2005), *The Member States of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

All other required readings (articles, book chapters, conference papers) will be available on the course web page.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS.

Please do all the assigned readings for each week in advance and come to class prepared to discuss them. The class will be run in a combined lecture and seminar format, and as such requires participation from all members to succeed.

1) Discussion Board:

Each week, you are required to submit two or three paragraphs to our online discussion board, commenting on the literature we discussed in the previous two class sessions. There is no need to comment on all assigned articles; pick one or two you find particularly interesting. Please discuss which parts of the argument make the most sense, which are the least convincing, and why. Do not

simply summarize the arguments. You can also respond to the entries of your fellow classmates. The comments are due on the dates indicated on the course website (January 28-April 28). The procedure is easy: go to the main course website: (<http://my.rochester.edu>). Type in your username and password. Click on the “Politics of the European Union” link. Click on “Communication” under “Tools” on the left side. Then click on “Discussion Board”. Click on the relevant date and post your comment. You should type your comment like an email, so enter a title in the “subject” line, and write your comment in the “message” box. When you are done, hit the submit button.

2) Midterm

There will be a midterm exam on March 6. You will have to identify IDs, attribute quotes to authors, and write two essays.

3) Paper

You will write a 15-20 page paper (Times New Roman, 12 pt font, double-spaced) on a topic using the course readings. Paper topics will be distributed on Thursday, 2/28. Final papers are due on April 29. Late papers will be penalized by half a grade each day it is late; e.g. A- becomes B+ after one day, B after two days, etc.

Grade:

Submissions to class journal: 15%.

Midterm: 40%.

Final Paper: 45%.

Borderline grades will be rounded up or down depending on class participation.

COURSE OUTLINE

Thursday, 1/17: Introduction to the class: Why study the European Union?

Ginsberg, Roy H. (2007), pp. 1-10.

Tuesday, 1/22: What is the European Union? Federation, Multi-Level Polity, or Regional State?

Vivien Schmidt (2006), *Democracy in Europe. The EU and National Politics*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 1.

Donahue, John D. and Mark A. Pollack (2001), *Centralization and its Discontents: The Rhythms of Federalism in the United States and the European Union*. In: Kalypso Nicolaidis and Robert Howse (eds.), *The Federal Vision. Legitimacy and Governance in the United States and the European Union*. Oxford University Press. pp. 73-117.

Ginsberg, Roy H. (2007), ch. 1, 2, 3 (pp. 11-136).

Thursday, 1/24: Theorizing about the EU: Neofunctionalism and Liberal Intergovernmentalism

Haas, Ernst (1958), *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press). Ch. 1.

Lindberg, Leon and Stuart Scheingold (1970), *Europe's Would-Be Polity*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. Chapter 1.

Hoffmann, Stanley (1966), Tradition and Change. In: *Daedalus* 95, No. 2.

Moravcsik, Andrew (1998), The Choice for Europe. pp. 18-54.

Ginsberg, Roy H. (2007), (pp. 67-72).

Tuesday, 1/29: Theorizing about the EU: Rational Choice, Historical Institutionalism, and Constructivism

Börzel, Tanja (2005), Europeanization. How the EU interacts with its member states. In: Bulmer, Simon and Christian Lequesne (2005), *The Member States of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 45-76.

Pollack, Mark (2005), Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance? *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 8, pp. 357-398.

Schmidt, Vivien (2005), Democracy in Europe: The impact of European integration. In: *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 761-779.

Thursday, 1/31: The European Presidency, Commission and Council

Tallberg, Jonas (2006), Leadership and Negotiation in the European Union. Ch. 5 (The EU Presidency as a broker).

Hooghe, Lisbeth (2002), Preference formation in the European Commission. pp. 6-30.

Christiansen, Thomas (2001), The Council of Ministers. In: Jeremy Richardson (ed.), *The European Union*. 2nd edition, pp. 135-154.

Tuesday, 2/5: The European Parliament and Voting Behavior

Ginsberg, Roy H. (2007), ch. 5 (pp. 184-199).

Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury, and Gerard Roland (2007), *Democratic Politics in the European Parliament*. Ch. 2 (Democracy, Transaction Costs, and Political Parties, pp. 32-53); Ch. 10 (Investiture of the Santer Commission, pp. 182-199).

Franklin, Mark (2001), European elections and the European voter. In: Richardson, Jeremy (2001) (ed.), European Union. Power and Policy-Making. 2nd edition.

Thursday, 2/7: The Legal Institutions in Europe (European Court of Justice, European Convention of Human Rights)

Alter, Karen (1998), Who are the masters of the Treaty? European governments and the European Court of Justice. In: International Organization, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 121-147.

Ginsberg, Roy (2007), 204-218.

Sikuta, Jan (2007), The European Convention on Human Rights with Focus on the Impact of its Court Case Law on the National and European Law. Paper presented at the conference on European Constitution and National Constitutions, Krakow, 21-24 October 2007.

Caldeira, Gregory and James Gibson (1997), Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union: The Court of Justice and its Constituents. International Social Science Journal, vol. 152, no. 2, pp. 209-224.

Tuesday, 2/12: Is there a democratic deficit in the multilevel EU? If so, how problematic is it?

Moravcsik, Andrew (2002), In defence of the “democratic deficit”: Reassessing legitimacy in the European Union. Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 603-624.

Scharpf, Fritz (1998), Interdependence and Democratic Legitimation. MPIfG Working Paper 98/2. Cologne: Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies.

Schmidt, Vivien (2004), The European Union: Democratic legitimacy in a regional state? Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 42, No. 5, pp. 975-997.

Goodhart, Michael (2007), Europe’s Democratic Deficits through the Looking Glass: The European Union as a Challenge for Democracy. In: Perspectives on Politics, Vol. 5, No. 3. September 2007.

Thursday, 2/14: Britain – the EU’s awkward partner

George, Stephen (1998), An Awkward Partner. Britain in the European Community. Ch. 9, pp. 275-281.

Michael Smith (2006), Britain, Europe and the World. In: Dunleavy, Patrick, Richard Heffernan, Philip Cowley and Colin Hay (2006), Developments in British Politics. pp. 159-173.

Schmidt, Vivien (2006), Adapting to Europe: Is it harder for Britain? In: British Journal of Politics and International Relations, Vol. 8, pp.15-33.

Allen, David (2005), The United Kingdom: A Europeanized Governing in a non-Europeanized Polity. In: Bulmer, Simon and Christian Lequesne (2005), The Member States of the European Union.

Tuesday, 2/19: Spain – substate empowerment through EU membership

Closa, Carlos and Paul Heywood (2004), Spain and the European Union. Ch. 4, 6.

Hamann, Kerstin (2007), What can students learn from the Spanish case in comparative politics courses? In: Perspectives on Politics, Vol. XL, No. 4, October 2007; pp. 707-710.

Thursday, 2/21: The Europeanization and De-Europeanization of the French state

Balme, Richard and Cornelia Woll (2005), France: Between Integration and National Sovereignty. In: Bulmer, Simon and Christian Lequesne (2005), The Member States of the European Union.

Cole, Alistair, Patrick Le Gales and Jonah Levy (2005), Developments in French Politics. Ch. 7, 14.

Drake, Helen (2007), French Relation with the European Union. Chapters 1, 5.

Tuesday, 2/26: Germany and Europe: centrality in the EU

Bulmer, Simon and Christian Lequesne (2005), The Member States of the European Union. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 4.

Katzenstein, Peter (1997), Unified Germany an Integrating Europe. In: Peter Katzenstein (ed.), Tamed Germany in Europe. Cornell University Press. pp. 1-48.

Anderson, Jeffrey J. (1997), Hard interests, soft power and Germany's changing role in Europe. In: Peter Katzenstein (ed.), Tamed Germany in Europe. Cornell University Press. pp. 1-48.

Thursday, 2/28: Reluctant Europeans: Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland

Gstöhl, Sieglinde (2002), Reluctant Europeans: Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. Lynne Rienner. Chapters 1-44.

*** Distribution of paper topics in class ***

Tuesday, 3/4: Italy in the European Union

Quaglia, Lucia and Radaelli, Claudio (2007), Italian Politics and the European Union. West European Politics, special edition, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 924-943.

Quaglia, Lucia (2007), The role of Italy in the European Union: between continuity and change. *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 133-148.

Bulmer, Simon and Christian Lequesne (2005), *The Member States of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 7.

Thursday, 3/6: MIDTERM

Spring break – no class

Tuesday, 3/18: Trade policy in the European Union

Moravcsik, Andrew (1998), *The Choice for Europe*. pp. 159-217.

Grieco, Joseph M. and G. John Ikenberry (2002), *State Power and World Markets: The International Political Economy*. pp. 29-56.

Oatley, (pp. 100), handout.

Tavares, Samia (2003), *Which Country Sets the Tariff? The Political Economy of Tariff Determination in the European Community*. Manuscript, Rochester Institute of Technology.

Thursday, 3/20: European Social Policy

Esping-Andersen (1990), *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Polity Press. Cambridge, UK. Ch. 9-78.

Hemerijck, Anton, Maarten Keune and Martin Rhodes (2006), *European Welfare States: Diversity Challenges and Reforms*. In: Heywood, Jones, Rhodes, and Sedelmeier (2006), *Developments in European Politics*.

Scharpf, Fritz (2002), *The European Social Model: Coping with the Challenges of Diversity*. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 645-670.

Tuesday, 3/25: Migration and Asylum Flows

Guiraudon, Virginie and Elena Jileva (2006), *Immigration and Asylum*. In: Heywood, Jones, Rhodes, and Sedelmeier (2006), *Developments in European Politics*.

Geddes, Andrew (2003), *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*. Ch. 7: *Southern Europe: Immigration Politics in Newer Immigration Countries*.

Geddes, Andrew (2003), *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*. Ch. 8: *The Europeanization of Migration Politics in Central and Eastern Europe*.

Thursday, 3/27: The Relationship between Religion and the State in Europe

Madeley, John (2006), The State and Religion. In: Heywood, Jones, Rhodes, and Sedelmeier (2006), *Developments in European Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 237-255.

Jytte Klausen (2005), *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe*. Ch. 1 (Europe's New Muslim Political Elite), ch. 4 (From Integration to Culture War). Oxford University Press.

Timothy M. Savage, "Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing", *Washington Quarterly* 27, 3 (Summer 2004): 25-50.

Tuesday, 4/1: The External Relations of the European Union

Ginsberg, Roy (2007), ch. 9

Puetter, Uwe and Antje Wiener (2007), Accommodating Normative Divergence in European Foreign Policy Co-ordination: The Example of the Iraq Crisis. In: *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol 45, no. 5, pp. 1065-1088.

Pace, Michelle (2007), The Construction of EU Normative Power. In: *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol 45, no. 5, pp. 1041-1064.

Thursday, 4/3: The Liberalization of Capital markets and European Monetary Union

Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe. pp. 379-430 (Negotiating the Maastricht Treaty).

Abdelal, Rawi (2007), *Capital Rules*. Harvard University Press. Chapter 4 (The Paris Consensus).

Frieden, Jeffrey (1997), The Euro: who wins who loses? *Foreign Policy*, no. 112 (Autumn 1998), pp. 24-32.

Ginsberg, Roy (2007), *Monetary Policy*. pp. 247-253.

Tuesday, 4/8: The International Role of the Euro: Rival to the Dollar?

Cohen, Benjamin (2007), Enlargement and the International Role of the Euro. *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 14, no. 5, pp. 746-773.

Eijffinger, Sylvester C. W. and Jakob De Haan (2000), *European Monetary and Fiscal Policy*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 7.1: The International Role of the Euro. pp. 165-174.

Thursday, 4/10: The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

Ginsberg, Roy H. (2007), EU Foreign and Security Policy (ch. 7; pp. 283-328).

Wagner, Wolfgang (2007), The Democratic Deficit in the EU's Security and Defense Policy – Why Bother? RECON Online Working Paper 2007/10.

Howorth, Jolyon (2007) The Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. Palgrave. Ch. 1, 2.

Tuesday, 4/15: Enlargement of the European Union I

Vachudova, Milada A. (2005), Europe Undivided. Oxford University Press. Ch. 4, 5.

Nugent, Neill (2004), European Union Enlargement. Palgrave. Chapter 1: The EU and the 10 + 2 Enlargement Round: Opportunities and Challenges. pp. 1-21.

Bulmer, Simon and Christian Lequesne (2005), The Member States of the European Union. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 12.

Thursday, 4/17: Enlargement of the European Union II

Schimmelfennig, Frank (2003) The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe. Chapter 2 (NATO enlargement), pp. 37-51.

König, Thomas and Thomas Bräuninger (2002), The politics of institutional change: diverging goals for reforming the European legislature. In: Bernard Steunenberg (ed.), Widening the European Union. pp. 80-96.

Lane, Jan-Erik and Reinert Maeland (2002), Enlargement and the Council of Ministers. In: Bernard Steunenberg (ed.), Widening the European Union. pp. 121-143.

Tuesday, 4/22: Does Europe need a Constitution?

Joschka Fischer (2000), From Confederacy to Federation – Thoughts on the finality of European Integration. Speech by Joschka Fischer, German foreign minister, at Humboldt University in Berlin, Germany, 12 May 2000.

Scharpf, Fritz (2003), What a European Constitution could and could not achieve. MPIfG working paper.

Albi, Anneli and J. Ziller (2006) (eds.), The European Constitution and National Constitutions: Ratification and Beyond. Kluwer Law International, The Hague. Chapter 1.

Thursday, 4/24: The Constitutional Convention, Referenda in France and the Netherlands, and the new Reform Treaty of October 2007.

Tsebelis, George and Sven-Oliver Proksch (2007), The Art of Political Manipulation in the European Convention. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 157-186.

The Lisbon Treaty: Give Europe A Say. In: *The Economist*, October 27th – November 2nd, 2007; p. 15 (1 page).

The EU Treaty. In: *The Economist*, October 27th – November 2nd, 2007; pp. 38-40.

Charlemagne: Who speaks for Europe? In: *The Economist*, October 27th – November 2nd, 2007; pp. 44 (1 page).

Albi, Anneli and J. Ziller (2006) (eds.), *The European Constitution and National Constitutions: Ratification and Beyond*. Kluwer Law International, The Hague. Chapter 25.

Tuesday, 4/29: Turkey and the European Union

Akcapar, Burak (2007), Turkey's New European Era. *Foreign Policy on the Road to EU Membership*. Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 1-11, 57-77

Wolfgang Schäuble, Talking Turkey. *Foreign Affairs* 83, 6 (Nov/Dec 2004): 134-8.

*** Hand in your final paper ***

Thursday, 5/1: Reading period – no class

Week 16

Tuesday, 5/6: Concluding Remarks: The European Union at the Intersection of Theory and Practice

Roy H. Ginsberg, ch. 10