

Politics of the European Union

University of Pennsylvania
Political Science 254
Spring 2004

Schedule: T, R 9:00-10:30 am
Location: Vance B2
Web page: <https://courseweb.library.upenn.edu>

Instructor:

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Office hours: T, R 10:30-11:30 am

Course description:

This course explores the political economy of European integration. It is organized in three parts: First, we analyze the political and economic forces that have driven the process of European integration since World War II. We review the milestones of European integration in historical perspective and discuss different theoretical perspectives explaining the path and outcome of European integration. Second, the course takes an in-depth look at the institutions and decision-making processes of the European Union (EU). It analyzes structure and operation of the Council of Ministers, the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European Court of Justice, and explores how these institutions interact to shape EU policy. Third, we explore EU policy-making in key policy areas, including regulatory policies, re-distributive policies, economic and monetary affairs, and external relations. The course concludes with a discussion of the key challenges facing the EU in the decade ahead.

Requirements:

This is a lecture-discussion course. Students are expected to attend all class meetings, to complete all assigned readings prior to class, and to participate actively in class discussion.

Students will write a short paper (5 pages double-spaced) for each of the three main parts of the course on a question provided by the instructor at the beginning of each part. Final grades are computed as follows:

- Mid-term exam (Thursday, March 4): 25%
- Final exam (Monday, May 3): 35%
- 3 short papers: 30%
- Class participation: 10%

Papers must be submitted electronically via Blackboard by 9 am on the day they are due. Students that do not turn in papers on time or fail to take an exam as scheduled will receive a score of zero. Make-up exams are only available to students providing documentation of a medical emergency. University policies on academic misconduct apply.

Readings:

The main text for the course is:

- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*, 2nd edition, 1999, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers [Dinan]

Additional chapters have been assigned from the following textbook:

- Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, 5th edition, 2003, Durham: Duke University Press [Nugent]

The following text includes a number of the supplemental readings:

- Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, 3rd edition, 2003, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers [NS]

All three volumes are available for purchase at the Penn Bookstore. Additional readings will be made available via Blackboard.

Students are encouraged to keep up with current events in Europe. The best sources are *The Financial Times* (<http://news.ft.com>) and *The Economist* (<http://www.economist.com>).

Calendar (overview):

INTRODUCTION

Jan 13 – Introduction and Logistics

Jan 15 – Basic Facts about Europe and the European Union

PART 1: HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Jan 20 – Origins: War, Functionalism, Federalism

Jan 22 – Consolidation of the Common Market: Neo-functionalism and its Critics

Jan 27 – From Euro-sclerosis to Euro-optimism: The Single European Act

Jan 29 – The Treaty on European Union

Feb 3 – Amsterdam, Nice, and the Constitutional Convention

Feb 5 – Guest Speaker: Ronald Granieri (Penn)

PART 2: INSTITUTIONS AND DECISION-MAKING

Feb 10 – Commission, Council of Ministers, and European Parliament

Feb 12 – Decision-Making I

Feb 17 – Decision-Making II

Feb 19 – The Democratic Deficit

Feb 24 – Guest Speaker: George Tsebelis (UCLA)

Feb 26 – The European Court of Justice and Legal Integration

Mar 2 – Review

Mar 4 – Mid-Term Exam

PART 3: EU POLICY-MAKING

Mar 16 – The EU Policy-Making Process

Mar 18 – Regulatory Policies I: The Single Market

Mar 23 – Regulatory Policies II: Beyond the Marketplace

Mar 25 – Re-distributive Policies: CAP and Structural Policy

Mar 30 – Economic and Monetary Policy

Apr 1 – External Relations: Trade and Foreign & Security Policy

OUTLOOK

Apr 6 – Enlargement

Apr 8 – Guest Speaker: Denis Chaibi (European Commission)

Apr 13 – The Future of European Integration: Centralization or Fragmentation?

Apr 15 – The EU and the World

Apr 20 – Review

Apr 22 – Review

May 3 – Final Exam

Calendar (detailed):

INTRODUCTION

Jan 13 – Introduction and Logistics

Jan 15 – Basic Facts about Europe and the European Union

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Introduction (1-6)

PART 1: HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Jan 20 – Origins: War, Federalism, Functionalism

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Ch. 1 (9-35)
- Spinelli and Rossi (NS, 3-6)
- Churchill (NS, 7-11)
- Schumann (NS, 13-4)
- Pistone (NS, 91-98)

Jan 22 – Consolidation of the Common Market: Neo-functionalism and its Critics

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Chs. 2 and 3 (37-80)
- Haas (NS, 145-49)
- Lindberg (NS, 151-62)
- Hoffman (NS, 163-77)

Jan 27 – From Euro-sclerosis to Euro-optimism: The Single European Act

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Chs. 4 and 5 (81-126)
- Sandholtz, W. / J. Zysman (1989), 1992: Recasting the European Bargain, in: NS, 2nd ed. (Blackboard)

- Moravcsik, A. (1991), *Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community*, in: NS, 2nd ed. (Blackboard)

Jan 29 – The Treaty on European Union

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Ch. 6 (127-58)
- Nugent, Ch. 5 (57- 70)
- Stone Sweet and Sandholtz (NS, 215-238)
- Moravcsik (NS, 239-253)

Feb 3 – Amsterdam, Nice, and the Constitutional Convention

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Ch. 7 (159-201)
- Nugent, Chs. 5 and 6 (70-92)
- Fischer, Chirac, Blair, Lipponen (NS, 69-88)
- Articles from the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* (Blackboard)

Feb 5 – Guest Speaker: Ronald Granieri (Penn)

¶ Paper #1 due

¶ Reading

- The History of an Idea, *The Economist*, 30 Dec 2003 (Blackboard)

PART 2: INSTITUTIONS AND DECISION-MAKING

Feb 10 – Commission, Council of Ministers, and European Parliament

¶ Reading

- Nugent, Chs. 8, 9 and 11 (111-77, 197-234)

Feb 12 – Decision-Making I

¶ Reading

- Nugent, Ch. 15 (331-365)

- Tsebelis, G. / G. Garrett (2001), The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union, *International Organization*, 55(2): 357-76 (Part 1, Blackboard)

¶ Case

- “Summertime in the European Union” (Blackboard)

Feb 17 – Decision-Making II

¶ Reading

- Tsebelis, G. / G. Garrett (2001), The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union, *International Organization*, 55(2): 376-90 (Part 2, Blackboard)
- Pollack (NS, 255-79)

Feb 19 – The Democratic Deficit

¶ Reading

- Beetham, D. / C. Lord (1998), *Legitimacy and the European Union*, New York: 59-93 (Blackboard)
- Moravcsik, A. (2002), In Defence of the Democratic Deficit: Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(4): 603-24 (Blackboard)

Feb 24 – Guest Speaker: George Tsebelis (UCLA)

¶ Reading

- Tsebelis, G. (2004), The European Convention and the Failure of the Rome IGC: A Veto Player Analysis, ms., (Blackboard)

Feb 26 – The European Court of Justice and Legal Integration

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Ch.11 (301-15)
- Burley, A. / W. Mattli (1993), Europe before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration, *International Organization*, 47(1): 41-76 (Blackboard)
- Garrett, G. (1995), The Politics of Legal Integration in the European Union, *International Organization*, 49(1): 171-81 (Blackboard)

¶ Case

- “Cassis de Dijon” (Blackboard)

Mar 2 – Review

- ¶ Paper #2 due

Mar 4 – Mid-Term Exam

PART 3: EU POLICY-MAKING

Mar 16 – The EU Policy Making Process

¶ Reading

- Nugent, Ch. 14 (295-330)

Mar 18 – Regulatory Policies I: The Single Market

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Ch. 13 and 14 (353-390)
- Articles from the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* (Blackboard)

¶ Case

- “Aldeasa and the EU duty free abolition” (Blackboard)

Mar 23 – Regulatory Policies II: Beyond the Marketplace

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Ch. 15 (407-29)
- Vogel, D. (1995), *Trading Up: Consumer and Environmental Regulation in a Global Economy*, Cambridge: Ch. 3 (Blackboard)
- Articles from the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* (Blackboard)

¶ Case

- “The European Union Carbon Tax” (Blackboard)

Mar 25 – Re-distributive Policies: CAP and Structural Policy

¶ Reading

- Dinan Ch. 12 (333-51) and 15 (430-39)
- Ackrill, R. (2000), CAP Reform 1999: A Crisis in the Making, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(2): 343-53 (Blackboard)

- De Rynck, S. / P. McAleavey (2001), The Cohesion Deficit in Structural Fund Policy, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8(4): 541-57 (Blackboard)
- Articles from the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* (Blackboard)

Mar 30 – Economic and Monetary Policy

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Ch. 16 (453-482)
- Garrett, G. (1993), The Politics of Maastricht, *Economics and Politics*, 5(2): 105-24 (Blackboard)
- Articles from the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* (Blackboard)

Apr 1 – External Relations: Trade and Foreign & Security Policy

¶ Paper #3 due

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Ch.17 (483-527)
- Abramowitz, M and H. Hurlburt (2002), Can the EU Hack the Balkans?: A Proving Ground for Brussels, *Foreign Affairs*, September/October (Blackboard)
- Articles from the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* (Blackboard)

PART 4: OUTLOOK

Apr 6 – Enlargement

¶ Reading

- Nugent, Ch. 21 (494-509)
- Articles from the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* (Blackboard)

Apr 8 – Guest Speaker: Denis Chaibi (European Commission)

¶ Reading

- Ferguson, N. (2004), The End of Europe?, Bradley Lecture, American Enterprise Institute, 1 March 2004 (Blackboard)

Apr 13 – The Future of European Integration: Centralization or Fragmentation?

¶ Reading

- Nugent, Ch. 22 (510-17)
- Warleigh, A. (2002), *Flexible Integration: Which Model for the European Union?*, London: Introduction (Blackboard)
- Miles, L. (2003), Moving Towards a ‘Hub and Spokes Europe’?, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41, Annual Review: 1-11 (Blackboard)
- Articles from the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* (Blackboard)

Apr15 – The EU and the World

¶ Reading

- Dinan, Ch.18 (531-554)
- Kagan, R. (2002), Power and Weakness, *Policy Review*, June/July (Blackboard)
- Moravcsik, A. (2003) Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August (Blackboard)
- Articles from the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* (Blackboard)

Apr 20 – Review

Apr 22 – Review

May 3 – Final exam, 11 am – 1 pm