

# **The Politics of the European Union**

**Fall 2006**

**Government 1190**

**Date:** Tuesdays and Thursdays, 11:00-12:00 am  
**Class Room:** CGIS South Building S-050  
**Instructors:** Tanja A. Börzel [boerzel@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:boerzel@fas.harvard.edu)  
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**Office hours:** Thursdays, 12.30 – 2:00 pm and by appointment  
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## **1. General**

### **1.1 Course Description**

The European Union (EU) consists of 25 European countries. It has evolved into a political community that deeply affects the daily lives of its citizens. How can we explain the process of European Integration? What does the political structure of the EU look like? The lecture class surveys the development of European integration and introduces students to the EU's political system. We will also discuss theories of European integration and examine major challenges, that the EU faces at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. By the end of the semester you should have a basic knowledge of (1) the history of European integration, (2) the political institutions of the EU and its policy-making, (3) the major theories to explain the process of European integration and the functioning of the EU, and (4) specific EU policy areas (especially economic, social, environmental policy, external relations, justice and home affairs).

The class will mainly be based on lectures. However, your active participation will be required. This means that we expect you to read the assigned literature before class and that you contribute to preparing one of the sessions at least once. We will also spend some time discussing important current issues.

### **1.2 Required Reading**

The class will mainly be based on the following books which can be purchased at the Harvard Coop:

- Stephen George and Ian Bache. 2001. *Politics in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack. 2005. *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Furthermore, we have assigned one or two articles or policy documents to each session, which can be downloaded from the course website on the internet.

## 2. General Course Requirements

We expect you to attend class regularly. There will be a midterm exam (40%) and a take home exam (40%) at the end of the term. Moreover, you will be expected to make a brief presentation on one of the subjects addressed in the lectures, which is part of your class participation (20%).

## 3. Course Overview and Assigned Readings

### Introduction

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|-------------|---|
| Sept. 19/21 | <i>What For? Why Study European Integration?</i><br>Course Introduction   |
| Sept. 26/28 | Study Period: History and Institutions of the European Union<br><br><u>Readings:</u><br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ George/Bache, <i>Politics in the European Union</i>, Part 2-4 (History, Member States, Institutions)</li> </ul> <p>Note: <i>First Meeting of Discussion Section!</i></p>   |
| Oct. 2/5    | <i>From Paris to Dublin – via Rome, Stuttgart, Maastricht, Amsterdam, and Nice</i><br>A Short History of the EU<br><br><u>Readings:</u><br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ See Reading for Sept. 26/28</li> <li>▪ Feus, Kim. 2003. Substantive Amendments – The Treaty of Nice Explained. In <i>The Treaty of Nice Explained</i>, edited by M. Bond and K. Feus. London: The Federal Trust for Education and Research, pp. 27-56</li> <li>▪ Pernice, Ingolf. 2005. A Constitution for Europe – Amendments and Legal Make-up to the Convention’s Draft. In <i>A Constitution for Europe: The IGC, the Ratification Process and Beyond</i> edited by I. Pernice and J. Zemánek. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 33-50</li> </ul> |
| Oct. 10/12  | <i>Unique... and Complex</i><br>The Political System of the European Union<br><br><u>Readings:</u><br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ See Readings for Sept. 26/28</li> </ul>  |

## How To Explain the EU? Theories of European Integration

Oct. 17/19

*International Regime, Confederation of States, or Federal State?*

Classic Theories of European Integration: Federalism, (Neo-) Functionalism, and Intergovernmentalism

### Readings:

- Mitrany, David. 1966. A Working Peace System. Reprinted in *The European Union. Readings on Theory and Practice of European Integration*, edited by B. F. Nelsen and A. C.-G. Stubb. 1998. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. 93-114
- Hoffmann, Stanley. 1966. Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe. *Daedalus* 85 (3): 865-921. Reprinted in *The European Union. Readings on Theory and Practice of European Integration*, edited by B. F. Nelsen and A. C.-G. Stubb. 1998. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. 157-172
- Haas, Ernst B. 1958. The Uniting of Europe. Reprinted in *The European Union. Readings on Theory and Practice of European Integration*, edited by B. F. Nelsen and A. C.-G. Stubb. 1998. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. 139-144

Oct. 24/26

*The EU as a System of Multi-Level Governance*

New Approaches: Liberal Intergovernmentalism and Supranational Institutionalism

### Readings:

- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1991. Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community. *International Organization* 45 (1): 19-56.
- Stone Sweet, Alec, and Wayne Sandholtz. 1997. European Integration and Supranational Governance. *Journal of European Public Policy* 4 (3): 297-317

Oct. 31/Nov.2

*New Theories of European Integration*

Social Constructivism and Critical Theories

### Readings:

- Risse, Thomas. 2003. Social Constructivism and European Integration. In *European Integration Theory*, edited by T. Dietz and A. Wiener. 2003. Oxford. Oxford University Press, pp. 159-176
- Bieler, Andreas. The struggle over EU enlargement: A historical materialist analysis of European Integration, *Journal of European Public Policy* 9 (4): 575-597
- Hoskyns, Catherine. 2003. Gender Perspectives. In *European Integration Theory*, edited by T. Dietz and A. Wiener. 2003. Oxford. Oxford University Press, pp. 217-236

## Policies

- Nov. 7/9                    *Market without a State?*  
The Single Market and the Economic and Monetary Union
- Readings:
- George/Bache, *Politics in the European Union*, pp. 324-360
  - Wallace/Wallace/Pollack, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, pp. 93-112 (Young), 141-160
- Nov. 14/16                *Economic Giant – Political Dwarf?*  
Common Foreign and Security Policy/European Security and Defense Policy
- Readings:
- Wallace/Wallace/Pollack, *Policy-Making in the EU*, pp. 429-456 (Wallace)
  - Robert Kagan. 2002, “Power and Weakness”, *Policy Review* 113 ([www.policyreview.org/JUN02/kagan.htm](http://www.policyreview.org/JUN02/kagan.htm))
  - European Council, *A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy*, 2003 ([www.consilium.europa.eu/cms3\\_fo/showPage.ASP?id=266&lang=EN&m ode=g](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/cms3_fo/showPage.ASP?id=266&lang=EN&m ode=g))
- Nov. 21                    *Inside – Out?*  
The EU’s Stability and Democracy Export/New Neighbourhood Policy
- Readings:
- Börzel, Tanja A., and Thomas Risse. 2004. *One Size Fits All! EU Policies for the Promotion of Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law*, manuscript ([http://web.fu-berlin.de/europa/forschung/docs/boerzel\\_risse\\_2004.pdf](http://web.fu-berlin.de/europa/forschung/docs/boerzel_risse_2004.pdf))
  - Commission of the European Communities. 2003. *Wider Europe – Neighbourhood. A New Framework for Our Relations with Eastern and Southern Neighbours* ([ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com03\\_104\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com03_104_en.pdf))
- Nov. 23                    Thanksgiving Recess
- Nov. 28/30                *The Greening of EU Policies*  
The Evolution of Environmental Policy
- Readings:
- Wallace/Wallace/Pollack, *Policy-Making in the EU*, pp. 305-327 (Lenschow)
  - Börzel, Tanja A. 2002. *Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging, and Fence-Sitting: Member State Responses to Europeanization*. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (2): 193-214

- Dec. 5/7            *From Consumers to Citizens...*  
Social Policy and Justice and Home Affairs
- Readings:
- Wallace/Wallace/Pollack, *Policy-Making in the EU*, pp. 243-278 (Leibfried), 279-304 (Rhodes), 457-480 (Lavenex/Wallace)
- Dec. 12/14        *Bigger – Broader – Better?*  
Enlargement and Constitutionalization of the EU
- Readings:
- Wallace/Wallace/Pollack, *Policy-Making in the EU*, pp. 401-428
  - Stone Sweet/Sandholtz, see readings for Oct. 24/26
  - Grimm, Dieter. 1995. Does Europe Need a Constitution?. *European Law Journal* I (3): 282-302
  - Habermas, Jürgen. 1995. Remarks on Dieter Grimm's Does Europe Need a Constitution. *European Law Journal* I (3): 303-307
- Dec. 19            *The Future of the European Union*  
Concluding Discussion
- Jan. 2             Fall Reading Period begins
- Jan. 13            Fall Exam Period begins

#### **4. Important Internet Sites**

Gateway to the European Union: <http://europa.eu.int/>

Facts and figures on the EU: [http://europa.eu/abc/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/abc/index_en.htm)

Daily news on the EU: <http://euobserver.com/>