

Politics of the European Union

Spring 2005
Professor Warner
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course meets Tu-Th, 10:40-11:55, SS 208

The European Union has been described as "an extraordinary political experiment" and "the most original political concept since the American Constitution was drafted." The EU is also an effort by Europeans to overcome the economically, politically and militarily destructive aspects of their past, and to develop creative alternatives which would restore Europe's economic, political, military and cultural position in the world arena. How could such goals be met? Why have the institutions developed as they have? What are the major problems, and side-effects of integration efforts? How has the EU added new states, and what are implications of the recent addition of eight former Communist countries as well as Cyprus and Malta?

This course reviews and analyses the rise and development of the European Union. Among the issues to be covered are: theories of integration; the mechanisms of institutionalization (supranational vs. intergovernmental); major policy issues (including agriculture, social welfare, expansion); and the interplay of national and international European institutions in dealing with possible joint foreign and security policies, social and economic policies, and immigration, as well as the controversy over Turkey's possible accession.

Required Books, available at the ASU Bookstore on campus

Desmond Dinan, Ever Closer Union. An Introduction to the European Community. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999. 2nd Edition. If you order this from Amazon.com or anywhere else, be sure to get the correct edition.

Optional books:

John Merriman, A History of Modern Europe. Norton: 1996

Andrew Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe. Cornell: 1998

All but the Dinan book are on reserve at the ASU library.

Free and highly useful:

<http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/rtg/res1/histdoc.htm> (documents and speeches pertaining to the EU=s history)

<http://europa.eu.int> (the EU=s official web site)

Grading & Course Requirements:

I use ASU's plus/minus grading system.

First, you are expected to attend class and to be prepared for each class meeting by having read, in advance, the materials assigned for that day; this will serve as preparation for class discussion, in which you are expected to participate: 10% of your final grade.

Second, one in-class mid-term: 20% of your final grade

Third, five short paper assignments, four of which will count toward your final grade. We will drop the lowest score of the five: 40% of your final grade. The papers will be due in class on the dates specified. Late papers will lose a full letter grade daily.

Fourth, a final exam: 30% of your final grade

Fifth, pick one of the 25 EU member states as the country you will follow closely this semester. Questions about its relation to the EU will be incorporated into the assignments and exams, and into class discussions.

We assume you are familiar with ASU's policies on plagiarism and all other forms of academic dishonesty and cheating. Violation on any one assignment or exam will result in an E (failure) for the course. If you have questions about this, please ask us.

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AS AN HISTORICAL PROCESS

Week 1: (Jan. 18 & 20) What is the European Union?

Dinan, introduction (pp. 1-6)

Merriman, History of Modern Europe chs. 26-27

In class: free trade area, customs union, single market

Week 2: (25 & 27 Jan) The Origins of the EU: grappling with two World Wars, Reconstruction and the Division of Europe

Merriman, History of Modern Europe chs. 28-29

Hans Morgenthau, "The Morgenthau Plan" at <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

Winston Churchill, "Churchill's Zurich Speech" at <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

“The Messina Declaration” at <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

Dinan, ch 1

Week 3: (1 & 3 Feb.) Launching the European Economic Community

Dinan, ch. 2

Merriman, pp. 1351-1355

Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe pp 135-158

Paper assignment # 1 due 3 Feb.:

Understanding the Ideals of the Zurich Speech versus the Pragmatism of the Messina Declaration.

INSTITUTIONS AND POLICIES OF THE EU

Week 4: (8 & 10 Feb.) The Major Institutions

Ernst B. Haas, “International Integration: The European and the Universal Process” International Organization 15/3 (Summer 1961): 366-392. Available on JSTOR (via ASU library catalogue).

Dinan chs 8-11

www.europa.eu.int: “Institutions: How the European Union Works” Read web pages on the Commission, Council of the European Union, European Parliament, European Court of Justice.

Week 5: (15 & 17 Feb.) Revising the Institutions in light of Enlargement

In Class Simulation Exercise: weighted voting in the Council of the European Union

Week 6: (22 & 24 Feb.) Enforcement and Compliance

Anne-Marie Burley and Walter Mattli (1993) "Europe Before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration" International Organization v. 47 # 1 (Winter): 46-76. Available on JSTOR via ASU library catalogue

Infringement proceedings:

http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/internal_market/en/update/infr/index.htm

Paper Assignment # 2 due 24 Feb.

Week 7: (1 & 3 March) The Common Agricultural Policy & Structural Funds: The CAP in an Enlarged EU

Dinan, ch. 12

Carolyn M. Warner "Creating a Common Market for Fraud in the European Union" The Independent Review 8/2 (Fall 2003): pp. 249-257.

European Commission: "The Common Agricultural Policy and Enlargement" available at: http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/agriculture/eu25/index_en.htm

European Commission: "Comprehensive Monitoring Report on Poland's Preparations for Membership" available at http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report_2003/pdf/cmr_pl_final.pdf, pp. 28-33, 47-29.

Week 8: (8 & 10 March) Review and Mid-term

-----Spring Break-----

Week 9: (22 & 24 March) Creating the Single Market, and Extending it to the New Members

Dinan, chs 6, 13, 14

Anthony Lane, "The Power of One" The New Yorker, 28 April/5 May 1997, p. 228

John Heilemann, "Annals of Advertising: All Europeans Are Not Alike" The New Yorker, 28 April/5 May 1997, pp. 174-181.

European Commission, "Comprehensive Monitoring Report on the State of Preparedness for EU Membership" available at: http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report_2003/pdf/summary_paper2003_full_en.pdf

In class exercise: The Complexities and Ramifications of Tax Harmonization

Week 10 (29 & 31 March) Monetary Union & the Euro: How did they do it?

Dinan, ch 16

Moravcsik, ch. 6

on reserve: "Loving the Mark" The New Yorker

Week 11 Justice and Home Affairs, including Immigration and Asylum Policy (5 & 7 April)

Dinan, pp. 439-453

Virginie Giraudon, "European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policy-making as Venue Shopping" Journal of Common Market Studies, 38/2 (June 2000): 251-71. available at ASU via electronic journals.

Paper Assignment #3 due 5 April: What are the special procedures for the Accession countries?

Week 12 Common (?) Foreign and Security Policy (12 & 14 April)

Dinan, chs 17 & 18

Frontline: "Blair's War"

Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness" <http://www.policyreview.org/JUN02/kagan.html>

EU EXPANSION

Week 13 (19 & 21 April) CFSP in light of enlargement

Has Europe's center of gravity really shifted eastward? "Old Europe" in light of NATO data

Jose María Aznar, Jose-Manuel Durão Barroso, Silvio Berlusconi, Tony Blair, Vaclav Havel, Peter Medgyessy, Leszek Miller and Anders Fogh Rasmussen "United We Stand" Wall Street Journal 30 Jan. 2003, available at <http://www.opinionjournal.com/forms/printThis.html?id=110002994>

Paper Assignment # 4 due 21 April: Is a Common Foreign and Security Policy possible?

Week 14 (26 & 28 April) The 2004 Expansion: Pros, Cons and Implications

Merriman, "The Fall of Communism", pp. 1375-1409

Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova, "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement" CES Working Paper # 97 winter 2003 or in East European Politics and Society Feb. 2003 (each is on line).

Week 15 (3 & 5 May) The EU of 25: what next?

European Commission, "More unity and more diversity: The European Union's biggest enlargement" available at http://www.europa.eu.int/pol/enlarg/index_en.htm

Katinka Barisch, "EU Enlargement: How to Reap the Benefits"
http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/barysch_economicstrends_june%2004.pdf

"Conclusions of the European Council on Turkey" available at

<http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/turkey/index.htm>

Paper assignment # 5 due 5 May: Should Turkey become a member of the EU?

Final: May 9 (Monday), 10:00-11:50 in SS 208.