



PO325 AN INTRODUCTION TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: HISTORY, INSTITUTIONS, AND POLICIES
IES Abroad London

DESCRIPTION:

This course is designed to provide students with a thorough understanding of European integration from the post-war period to the present. The course is divided into three parts. Part one explores the history, ideas, and rationale behind EU integration over the past 50 years, including the most recent EU enlargement. Part two examines the institutions of the European Union, their origins, functions, and organization. The third and final part of the course will explore a number of key issues facing the European Union at present, including the problematic relationship between the EU and Britain, in the year of Britain's presidency of the European Union, EU-USA relations, reform of the Common Agricultural Policy, and the future of the European Constitution.

CREDITS: 3 credits

CONTACT HOURS: 45 hours

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION: English

PREREQUISITES: None

ADDITIONAL COST: None

METHOD OF PRESENTATION:

- Lectures (including video documentaries)
- Seminar discussions
- Student presentations

REQUIRED WORK AND FORM OF ASSESSMENT:

- Course Participation - 10%
- Midterm Exam - 20%
- Final Exam - 30%
- One Assessed Essay (3-4,000 words/approx. 10-15 pages - due Week 11) on any topic relating to the European Union (a list of possible topics, with select readings, is appended to this syllabus) - 30%
- One Seminar Presentation, which should be an oral version of your final essay. You will receive written feedback on your presentations, which should be used to improve any weaknesses in your research paper - 10%

Weekly readings are compulsory and constitute a large component of your participation grade. Students must also read a newspaper each day, especially The Financial Times and The International Herald Tribune, Le Monde (the English version is on-line), & Le Monde Diplomatique, which are very good on European news. Newspapers are available in the IES library and online. Students are advised to read the monthly news journal Prospect (particularly good on European affairs). Other media, such as television and radio should be followed. BBC Radio Four and World Service are available online and select programs can be downloaded as MP3 files. Students should also consult the EU's website - <http://europa.eu.int> for more information than would fill your wildest dreams (nightmares?!).

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

By the end of the course students will have:

- Developed a thorough knowledge of the development of European Integration from its origins to the present.
- Acquired a thorough knowledge of the institutions of the European Union, including the European Council, European Commission, European Parliament and Courts of Justice.
- Developed an understanding of European monetary union and the challenges it is currently facing.
- Developed independent research skills.
- Developed effective presentation skills and proficiency in presentation media.

CONTENT:

Week	Content	Assignments
Week 1	'What is Europe? What is the European Union? Introduction to the European Union and its institutions. General introduction to Europe's position in the world today. Discussion of the importance of the European Union to international trade, the promotion of democratic values world-wide, and of global diplomatic, environmental, military, and financial security.	- Desmond Dinan, <i>Ever Closer Union? An Introduction to the European Community</i>, pp.1-11 - John Pinder, <i>The European Union: A Very Short Introduction</i>, pp.1-9.
Week 2	'The past is Europe': West European integration: a history Examination of the earliest attempts at European unification. This session will focus first on eighteenth and nineteenth century attempts to achieve a unified Europe, and then on twentieth-century endeavors. Particular attention will be paid to Europe's post- Second World War history, and to the competing plans for European unification.	A. Pagden (ed.), <i>The Idea of Europe</i>, pp.1-32. - Desmond Dinan, <i>Ever Closer Union?: An Introduction to the European Community</i>, pp.9-28 - Tony Judt, <i>Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945</i>, pp.13-61.
Week 3	'Peace through Strength in Numbers': The first phase of integration, 1958-69 Exploration of the role of the Franco-German Axis in the development of the institutions of the European Community. The class will examine the important issue of Intergovernmentalism vs. Supranationalism, and of the first phase of European enlargement in 1972.	- John Pinder, <i>The European Union: A Very Short Introduction</i>, pp.9-32 - Desmond Dinan, <i>Ever Closer Union?: An Introduction to the European Community</i>, pp.29-51. - Tony Judt, <i>Postwar</i>, pp.241-323.
Week 4	'That European Feeling' or the logic of institutional development from the early 1970s to European integration in the mid-1980s Examination of the first economic tests of European community institutions. Special attention will be paid to the effects of the Oil crisis on EC institutions, in particular on the Commission. The class will also continue with the theme of intergovernmentalism vs. Supranationalism by exploring the vexed relationship between the Commission and the Council. The problems of enlargement (Britain, Ireland, Denmark, and later Greece, Spain, and Portugal) will also be explored.	- Desmond Dinan, <i>Ever Closer Union?: An Introduction to the European Community</i>, pp.53-102. - Tony Judt, <i>Postwar</i>, pp.422-83, 504-58.

Week	Content	Assignments
Week 5	'Glasnost means the Cold War is on Ice: from E.C. to EU' European integration and the end of the Cold War This class will examine the impact that German unification had on the EC. The class will analyze the developments behind the Maastricht Treaty of European Union and explore how that treaty altered the relationship between member states.	- Desmond Dinan, <i>Ever Closer Union?: An Introduction to the European Community</i>, pp.103-31. - Tony Judt, <i>Postwar</i>, pp.585-633.
Week 6	'Here I am at Home' or 'the mission and the design of a United Europe' The class will explore how the EU began preparing for the 21st century with the passage of the Amsterdam and Nice Treaties. These treatises will be examined in detail.	- Desmond Dinan, <i>Ever Closer Union?: An Introduction to the European Community</i>, pp.133-56. - Tony Judt, <i>Postwar</i>, pp.749-76.
	Midterm Exam	
Week 7	'E pluribus unum': or count your pennies in euros Examination of the development of the Euro. The class will review the previous attempts at monetary union in the 1960s and 1970s, and it will explore in detail the economic arguments for and against monetary union.	- John Pinder, <i>The European Union: A Very Short Introduction</i>, pp.56-69. - Desmond Dinan, <i>Ever Closer Union?: An Introduction to the European Community</i>, pp.359-413.
Week 8	'Executives make decisions': The Commission, the Council of Ministers, the Presidency and the European Council This session will examine the core institutions of the European executive. Special attention will be paid to their structure and internal and external dynamics. The class will also focus on how these executive institutions interact with other non-executive institutions of the European Union.	Desmond Dinan, <i>Ever Closer Union?: An Introduction to the European Community</i>, pp.171-264.
Week 9	'We the People Under the Rule of Law'. The European Parliament, the European Court of Justice, and democracy in the EU The role of the parliament and the court will be explored in detail. Special attention will be paid to the development of parliaments in the first institutions of the EC to their consolidation into a single European parliament. The class will analyze the importance of the European parliament and examine how the populations of member states view its legitimacy. The class will also explore the nature and structure of the European Court of Justice and examine the European Court of Human Rights. The class will also examine how the role of human rights has shaped the institutions of the EU.	Desmond Dinan, <i>Ever Closer Union?: An Introduction to the European Community</i>, pp.235-79.

Week	Content	Assignments
Week 10	'We are PIGS?' From global recession to the Euro-crisis. This session will examine the impact of the Great Recession on the European Union. Particular attention will be paid to the financial crises in Ireland, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. We will also examine wider implications of the Great Recession on the EU.	- John Lanchester, <i>Whoops: Why Everyone owes Everyone and No One Can Pay</i>, 1-33. - Fintan O'Toole, <i>Ship of Fools</i>, 7-25, 46-72. - Desmond Dinan, <i>Ever Closer Union?: An Introduction to European Integration</i>, 156-170. - Joseph Stiglitz, <i>The Euro and its threat to the Future of Europe</i>, 3-82. - FINAL ESSAY DUE
Week 11	'Brexit!' Britain's Troubled Relations with Europe, and its exit from the EU. This session will explore Britain's troubled relations with the EU and its exit from the Union.	- Roger Liddle, <i>The Europe Dilemma: Britain and the drama of EU integration</i>, xix-xli. - Tim Shipman, <i>All Out War: The Full Story of Brexit Sank Britain's Political Class</i>, xiii-35. - Larry Siedentop, <i>Democracy in Europe</i>, 64-80. - Ian Dunt, <i>Brexit: What the Hell Happens Now?</i>
Week 12	Does Europe have a future? This session will explore the challenges facing Europe today and into the future. Specific attention will be paid to whether the current institutions of the EU are sufficiently robust to meet the challenges of globalization and those posed by newly developed economies.	- Reading: - Desmond Dinan, <i>Ever Closer Union?: An Introduction to European Integration</i>, 567-588. - John Pinder, <i>The European Union: A very short introduction</i>, 112-151.
	Final Exam	

REQUIRED READINGS:

- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union? An Introduction to European Integration* (fourth edition) (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010).
- Ian Dunt, *Brexit: What the Hell Happens Now?* (London: Canbury, 2016).
- John Lanchester, *Whoops! Why Everyone Owes Everyone and No One Can Pay* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2010).
- Roger Liddle, *The Europe Dilemma: Britain and the Drama of EU Integration* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014).
- Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (London: Heineman, 2005).
- Fintan O'Toole, *Ship of Fools: How Stupidity and Corruption Sank the Celtic Tiger* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009).
- A. Pagden, (ed.), *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- John Pinder, *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Tim Shipman, *All Out War: The Full Story of How Brexit Sank Britain's Political Class* (London: William Collins, 2016).
- Joseph Stiglitz, *The Euro and its Threat to the Future of Europe* (London: Allen Lane, 2016).

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Michael Artis & Frederick Nixon, *The Economics of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Ian Bache & Stephen George, *The Politics of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Timothy Bainbridge, *The Penguin Companion to European Union* (Third Edition) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003).
- Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb, *The European Union: How Does it Work?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Michelle Cini (ed.), *European Union Politics* (2nd edition) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Desmond Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004).
- John Gillingham, *European Integration, 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Simon Hix & Bjorn Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011).
- Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, (7th edition) (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010).
- John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union, a Concise Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005).

- Neill Nugent, *The European Commission* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).
- Derek W. Urwin, *A Community of Europe: a History of European integration since 1945* (2nd edition) (London: Longman, 1995).
- Amrita Narlikar, *The World Trade Organization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- John Peterson and Michael Shackleton (eds.), *The Institutions of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- T. R. Reid, *The United States of Europe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2005).
- Larry Siedentop, *Democracy in Europe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000).
- Alec Stone Sweet, *The Judicial Construction of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Loukas Tsoukalis, *What Kind of Europe?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Alex Warleigh, *European Union: the basics* (London: Routledge, 2004).

OTHER RESOURCES - POSSIBLE TITLES FOR THE ASSESSED ESSAY:

Origins of West European Integration

- What was the role of the Marshall Plan in launching European integration?
- Why was the European Economic Community established?

Readings:

- Michael Burgess, *Federalism and the European Union: The Building of Europe, 1950–2000* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union? An Introduction to European Integration* chapter 1.
- Geir Lundestad, *Empire by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), especially chapters 2-5.
- Alan S. Milward, 'The Springs of Integration', in Peter Gowan and Perry Anderson, eds, *The Question of Europe* (London: Verso, 1997).
- Craig Parsons, 'Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union', *International Organization*, vol. 56, no. 1, Winter 2002.

First phases of European Integration

- Do the events of the 60's show that the European Community was nothing but an intergovernmental body?
- Why did the decisions of the 1969 Hague Summit, aimed at "relaunching" European integration, fail?

Readings:

- Charles de Gaulle, 'A Concert of European States', in Brent Nelsen and Alex Stubb, *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration* (2nd edition, Rienner, 1998).
- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union? An Introduction to European Integration*, chapters 2-3. Stephen George, *An Awkward Partner: Britain in the EC* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Nina Heathcote, 'The Crisis of European Supranationality', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, December 1966.
- Stanley Hoffmann, 'Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation State and the Case of Western Europe', *Daedalus*, no. 95, 1966. (an excerpt of this article is also in the Nelsen and Stubb reader)
- Geir Lundestad, *Empire by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), chapters 6-8.
- Paul Taylor, *The Limits of European Integration* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), chapter 3.

Later Stages of Integration

- Why did European integration pick up again in the 1980?
- How did the Single European Act change the European Community?
- What major changes in the working arrangements of the European Community were introduced by the Maastricht Treaty?
- What impact did the end of the Cold War have on the negotiations that led to the Maastricht Treaty of the European Union?

Readings:

- Philip Budden, 'Observations on the Single European Act and "Relaunch of Europe": A Less "Intergovernmental" Reading of the 1985 Intergovernmental Conference', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2002.
- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union? An Introduction to European Integration*, chapters 4-6.
- Andrew Moravcsik, 'Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community', *International Organization*, vol. 45, no. 1, 1991. (This is also in Robert Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann, eds, *The New European Community*, Westview Press, 1991).
- Jeppe Tranholm-Mikkelsen, 'Neofunctionalism: Obstinate or Obsolete?', *Millennium*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1991.
- Anthony Forster, 'Britain and the Negotiation of the Maastricht Treaty: A Critique of Liberal Intergovernmentalism', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 36, no. 3, 1998.
- Peter Gowan and Perry Anderson, eds, *The Question of Europe* (London: Verso, 1997), chapters 4-9.
- Robin Niblett and William Wallace, eds, *Rethinking European Order: West European Responses, 1989–1997* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).
- Joseph Grieco, 'The Maastricht Treaty, Economic and Monetary Union and the Neo-realist Research Program', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1995.
- Jeffrey Anderson, *German Unification and the Union of Europe: The Domestic Politics of Integration Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Preparing the EU for the 21st Century

- What were the major reforms introduced by the Amsterdam Treaty?
- What are the 'Amsterdam leftovers' and how easy have they been to resolve?
- How does the current financial crisis jeopardize the future of the EU?

Readings:

- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union? An Introduction to European Integration*, chapter 7 and conclusions.
- Andrew Duff, ed., *The Treaty of Amsterdam* (London: Federal Trust for Education and Research, 1997).
- Geoffrey Edwards and Alfred Pijpers, eds, *The Politics of European Treaty Reform: The 1996 Intergovernmental Conference and Beyond* (London: Pinter, 1997).
- Jorg Monar and Wolfgang Wessels, eds, *The European Union after the Treaty of Amsterdam* (London: Continuum, 2001).
- Andrew Moravcsik and Kalypso Nicolaidis, 'Explaining the Treaty of Amsterdam: Interests, Influence, Institutions', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 37, no. 1, 1999.
- John Peterson and Elizabeth Bomberg, *Decision-making in the European Union*, (London: Macmillan, 1999), conclusions.
- Wolfgang Wessels, 'Nice Results: The Millennium IGC in the EU's Evolution', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 39, no. 2, June 2001.
- Ulf Sverdrup, 'An Institutional Perspective on Treaty Reform: Contextualizing the Amsterdam and Nice Treaties', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2002.

Monetary Union and the Euro

- Why has Britain resisted adopting the Euro?
- Does monetary union lead inevitably to political union?
- Will the Euro survive?

Readings:

- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, ch.3.
- D. Howarth, 'The European Central Bank', in A. Warleigh (ed.), *Understanding European Union Institutions* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- V. Lintner, 'European Monetary Union: Developments, Implications and Prospects', in J. Richardson (ed.), *European Union Power and Policy-making* (London: Routledge, 2001).
- James D. Savage, *Making the EMU: The Politics of Budgetary Surveillance and the Enforcement of Maastricht* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

The Commission, the Council of Ministers, the Presidency, and the European Council

- What are the powers of the Commission?
- Is the Council the 'government' of the EU?

Readings:

- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union? An Introduction to European Integration*, chapter 8-9.
- Neill Nugent, *The European Commission* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001)
- M.A. Pollack (1997) 'Delegation, Agency, and Agenda-Setting in the European Community', *International Organisation*, 51, 1, 99-134.
- S. K. Schmidt (2000) 'Only an Agenda Setter? The European Commission's Power over the Council of Ministers', *European Union Politics*, 1, 1, 37-61.
- Geoffrey Edwards and David Spence, eds, *The European Commission* (2nd edition, Cattermill, 1997).
- John Peterson and Michael Shackleton, eds, *The Institutions of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), chapters 2-4, 7, & 13. John Peterson, 'The Santer Era: The European Commission in Normative, Historical and Theoretical Perspective', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1999.
- David Bostock, 'Coreper Revisited', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2002.
- Ricardo Gomez and John Peterson, 'The EU's Impossibly Busy Foreign Ministers: "No One Is In Control"', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2001.
- Philippa Sherrington, *The Council of Ministers : political authority in the European Union* (London, Pinter, 2000)

The European Parliament and democracy in the EU

- How do the co-decision, cooperation, consultation, and assent procedures work?
- Will increasing the European Parliament's powers overcome the democratic deficit?

Readings:

- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, chapter 3
- Andreas Maurer, 'The Legislative Powers and Impact of the European Parliament', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2003.
- Richard Corbett, Francis Jacobs and Michael Shackleton, eds., *The European Parliament* (3rd edition, Cattermill, 1995).
- Richard Corbett, *The European Parliament's Role in Closer EU Integration* (Macmillan, 1998).
- Richard Corbett, Francis Jacobs, and Michael Shackleton, 'The European Parliament at Fifty: A View from the Inside', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2003 (and see other articles in this special issue on the EP).
- Andrew Moravcsik, 'In Defence of the "Democratic Deficit": Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 40, no. 4, 2002.
- Roger Scully, *Becoming Europeans?: Attitudes, Behaviour, and Socialization in the European Parliament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Thomas Zweifel, 'Who is without Sin Cast the First Stone: The EU's Democratic Deficit in Comparison', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 9, no. 5, 2002.

European Law and the EU's Courts

- Do the judicial institutions of the European Union impede on the legislative and executive branches of the EU and its member countries?
- Does the European Convention on Human Rights hinder European Security?

Readings:

- Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*.
- G. Smith, *The ECJ: Judges or Policy Makers?* (Bruges Group, 1990)
- Jörg Monar, 'Justice and Home Affairs', in Geoffrey Edwards and Georg Wiessala (eds.), *The European Union: Annual Review, 1999/2000* (Oxford University Press, 2000)

The EU and the USA

- Are the EU and the USA drifting apart?
- Is discord between US and EU foreign policy inevitable?

Readings:

- Kevin Featherstone, Roy Ginsberg, *The United States and the European Union in the 1990's: partners in transition*, (London: Macmillan, 1995).
- Will Hutton, *The World We Are In* (London: Little, Brown, 2002).
- Geir Lundestad, *The United States and Europe since 1945: from Empire by invitation to transatlantic drift*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the new world order*, (New York: Knopf, 2003).
- Joseph Nye, *The Paradox of American Power*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

The Future of the EU

- What is the European constitution?
- Does Europe need a constitution?

Readings:

- Desmond Dinan, *Europe recast: a history of European Union*.
- Desmond Dinan, 'Governance and Institutions: The Convention and the Intergovernmental Conference', *Journal of Common Market Studies*. *The European Union: Annual Review 2003/2004*, vol. 42, pp. 27-42.
- David R. Cameron, "The Stalemate in the Constitutional IGC over the Definition of a Qualified Majority", *European Union Politics* 5 (3):373-91, 2004
- Paul Margette and Kalypso Nicolaidis, *The European Convention: Bargaining in the Shadow of Rhetoric*. *West European Politics* 27 (3):381-404. 2004
- Stefano Bartolini, *Restructuring Europe: Centre formation, system building, and political structuring between the nation state and the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet (eds.), *European Integration and Supranational Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Brexit: The UK and Europe

- Why did Brexit happen?
- What will be Brexit's effect on Europe?

Readings:

- Kenneth A. Armstrong, *Brexit Time: Leaving the EU – Why, How and When?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- Anthony Barnett, *The Lure of Greatness: England's Brexit & America's Trump* (London: Unbound, 2017).
- Tony Connelly, *Brexit & Ireland: The Dangers and Opportunities, and the Inside Story of the Irish Response* (Dublin: Penguin, 2017).
- Ian Dunt, *Brexit: What the Hell Happens Now?* (London: Canbury, 2016).
- Roger Liddle, *The Europe Dilemma: Britain and the Drama of EU Integration* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014).
- Jan-Werner Müller, *What is Populism?* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2017).
- The UK in a Changing Europe & Political Studies Association of the UK, *Brexit And Beyond How The United Kingdom Might Leave The European Union* (London: Political Studies Association, 2016).

OTHER POSSIBLE ESSAY TITLES

- What was the impetus behind European Integration?
- Was the Luxembourg crisis of 1965-6 a turning point in the development of European Integration?
- What were the most important factors which led to the successful launching of the Single European Market initiative in 1985-1986?
- What were the major factors behind the member states agreement to hold the two intergovernmental conferences of 1990 that led to the Maastricht Treaty?

- Why has it been necessary to convene two further intergovernmental conferences since the completion of the Treaty of European Union in 1991-1992?
- Is the Council of Ministers (Council of the European Union) the Government of the EU?
- Does Europe have a democratic deficit?
- Evaluate the costs and benefits of eastward enlargement of the EU.
- Does European Integration threaten British Sovereignty?
- Are the USA and the EU partners or adversaries? Discuss with reference to the entire post war period.