

## PS 223

### EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND WORLD POLITICS

Barrows Hall 791  
Thursdays, 2-4

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#### COURSE DESCRIPTION

Over the last half century, European governments have ceded an unprecedented range of powers to the European Union, which is increasingly recognized as the world most advanced experiment in governance beyond the level of the traditional nation-state. This seminar seeks to uncover the political and economic dynamics of the integration process as the world's most advanced experiment in political order. The key questions of the seminar include the following:

- How can we explain the timing and contours of integration?
- How is power distributed within the European Union (EU)?
- How do these internal dynamics shape the EU's role in as an external actor in world politics?
- How does the EU compare to other prominent examples of regional integration?

In surveying empirical answers to these questions, we also consider a range of theoretical perspectives that help us illuminate how the links between social change and political authority are evolving as Europe devises new forms of governance. After building a multilevel framework for analyzing these questions, the seminar examines specific examples of policy change and contestation including currency policy, financial reregulation, social policy, trade coordination and negotiation, and environmental protection. While the seminar is focused on Europe as a uniquely advanced site of experimentation in regional governance, students interested in other examples of regional integration are also welcome to use the course for comparative purposes.

#### READINGS

Require readings will be posted to the course website. There are two required books:

Peter J. Katzenstein, A World of Regions: Europe and Asia in the American Imperium (Cornell University Press: 2005).

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Nicolas Jabko, Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985-2005 (Cornell University Press: 2006).

In addition, two volumes are recommended for purchase, although specific extracts required for the course will also be posted on the course website:

Jan Zielonka, Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union (Oxford University Press: 2007).

Andrew Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht (Cornell University Press: 1998).

## **PREQUISITES**

The course is intended for students with prior background in international relations theory and/or European politics. Others may be admitted with the instructors' approval. Readings are focused on Europe, but interested students are welcome and are encouraged to apply the frameworks from the course to other examples of regional integration.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Weekly memos	20%
Class participation	30%
Final paper (research paper or literature review)	50%

## **WEEKLY MEMOS**

Everyone should write four brief (200-word maximum) memos on the weekly readings and circulate it to the class list by 5 p.m. on Wednesday, before the session when the readings are to be discussed. You must write one memo by February 9, two memos by February 26, and all four memos by April 9. Please read the memos written by other students before class. The memos may take the form of: 1) a critique of one or more of the readings, 2) a comparison or contrast of two or more authors, 3) questions about the readings, 4) a proposal for some additional topic of class discussion. Since the memos may be no more than 200 words, you should feel free to write them in list or other abbreviated form. We will discuss some of the memos in class.

## **RESEARCH PAPER**

The main written requirement for the course is a 5000-word paper (approximately 20 pages) research paper on a topic of your choice. This paper is not expected to be an empirically grounded paper of publishable quality, but something between a fully

grounded paper and a research proposal. You should begin with a clear empirical puzzle or a conspicuous contradiction in the literature on a family of similar empirical processes or problems. Next, present the most coherent and/or plausible hypotheses from the course readings and secondary literature. Then, assess how the available evidence supports the different hypotheses. The evidence may be drawn from other secondary literature or from your own compressed research. If you do not have sufficient evidence to adjudicate definitively between hypotheses, take the evidence as far as it goes and be sure to indicate explicitly what kind of additional evidence would provide a firmer set of conclusions.

## **REVIEW ESSAY**

As an alternative to the Research Paper, you may write a review essay of approximately 5000 words (about 20 pages) that addresses the writings on a specific topic within the field of comparative political economy. There is no specific number of books or articles to be covered in this assignment, but you should try to define a significant unanswered question, identify multiple perspectives, and review some of the key works on the issue.

For either paper assignment (Research Paper or Review Essay), you should consult the instructor about your topic early in the semester. Please submit a one-paragraph paper proposal by March 12 (required), a full draft by April 9 (strongly encouraged but not required), and the final version by May 6.

## SYLLABUS AND READINGS

### Session 1 Introduction and Course Overview (January 21)

### Session 2 Theories, Origins and Historical Development of European Integration (January 28)

#### required:

- Ernst Haas, *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950-1957* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed., 1968), chaps 1, 2, and 8.
- Stanley Hoffmann, "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe," *Daedalus* 95:3 (1966): 862-915.\* (Hard copy in package is from: Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander C-G. Stubb eds, *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. Second edition. Lynne Rienner, 1998, pp. 157-171.)
- Carsten Strøby-Jensen, "Neo-functionalism," in Michelle Cini (ed.), *European Union Politics*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2007), pp. 85-98.
- Michelle Cini, "Intergovernmentalism," in Cini, *Op. Cit.*, 99-116.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. (2005): *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, preface, chapters 1-2, pp. ix-xiv and 1-75.

#### background material:

- Ben Rosemund, "New Theories of European Integration," in Cini, *op. cit.*, 117-136.
- Desmond Dinan, "How Did We Get Here?" In: Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb, eds., *The European Union: How Does It Work?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 19-39.

### Session 3: The Diversity of Europe: Comparative Capitalism, and the National Bases of the European Economy (February 4).

- Peter A. Hall, "The Evolution of Economic Policy-Making in the European Union," in From the Nation State to Europe? A. Menon and V. Wright, eds. (Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Colin Crouch, "Models of Capitalism," *New Political Economy* 10:4 (2005): 439-456.
- Orfeo Fioretos, "The Domestic Sources of Multilateral Preferences: Varieties of Capitalism in the European Community," in Hall and Soskice, eds., Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage (Oxford: 2001), 213-244.
- Callaghan, Helen (2009): "Beyond Methodological Nationalism: How Multilevel Governance Affects the Clash of Capitalisms," Journal of European Public Policy (forthcoming).

#### **Session 4: What Kind of Political Entity is the EU? (February 11)**

- Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank, "European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43:4 (1996): 341-378.\*
- Arend Lijphart, "The Consensus Model in the European Union," in Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 42-47.
- Fritz Scharpf, "The Joint Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration," *Public Administration* 66 (1988): 239-278, and "The Joint Decision Trap Revisited," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44:4, 845-864.
- Kanishka Jayasuriya, "Globalization and the Changing Architecture of the State," *Journal of European Public Policy* 8:1 (2001): 101-123.
- Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), "Introduction: The Neo-medieval Paradigm," 1-22.

#### **HOW EUROPE INTEGRATED**

#### **Session 5: The Single Market Project (Feb. 18).**

- Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, "1992: Recasting the European Bargain," *World Politics* 42:1 (1989): 95-128.\*
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community," *International Organization* 45 (1991): 19-56.
- Paul Pierson, "The Path to European Integration : A Historical Institutional Analysis," *Comparative Political Studies* 29:2 (1996): 123-163.\* (hard copy on website from Nelsen and Stubb, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-321.)
- Maria Green Cowles, "Setting the Agenda for a New Europe: The ERT and EC 1992," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 33:4 (1995): 501-526.
- Nicolas Jabko, *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe 1985-2005* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), excerpts.

#### **Session 6: The Single Currency Project (Feb. 25).**

- Wayne Sandholtz, "Choosing Union: Monetary Politics and Maastricht," *International Organization* 47 (1993): 1-39.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1998): *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998), chapter 6 ("Economic and Monetary Union: Negotiating the Maastricht Treaty, 1988-1991,"), 379-471.
- Kenneth Dyson and Kevin Featherstone (1999), *The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating*

- Economic and Monetary Union*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 17 (“Conclusions and Reflections”), 746-801.
- Jean Quatremer, and Thomas Klau, *Ces hommes qui ont fait l’euro*. (Paris: Plon, 1999) English translation of excerpts, pp. 132-137 and 188-191.
- David McKay, “The Political Sustainability of European Monetary Union,” *British Journal of Political Science* 3 (July 1999): 463-485.
- Benjamin Cohen, *The Geography of Money*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998), chapter 4 (“Sharing Monetary Sovereignty”), 68-91.

## INSTITUTIONS, POLICY-MAKING AND POLICY PATTERNS IN THE EU

*The ‘domestic’ level*

### Session 7: Regulatory Policy (March 4)

#### required:

- Giandomenico Majone, “The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe,” *West European Politics* 17:3 (1994): 77-101.\*
- Wolfgang Streeck, *Social Institutions and Economic Performance: Studies of Industrial Relations in Advanced Capitalist Economies*. London/Newbury Park/New Delhi: Sage, 1992), chapter 7, with Philippe C. Schmitter (“From National Corporatism to Transnational Pluralism: Organized Interests in the Single European Market”), 197-231.
- Rinaer Eising, “The Access of Business Interests to EU institutions: towards elite pluralism?” *Journal of European Public Policy* 14:3 (2007): 384-403.
- David Coen and Jeremy Richardson, eds., *Lobbying the European Union: Institutions, Actors, and Issues* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009), excerpts.
- Mark Pollack, “Representing Diffuse Interests in EC Policy-Making,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 4:4 (1997): 572-590.

#### background material:

- Douglas Webber, *Strong industry, safe and healthy environment? Making chemicals safety policy in the EU* (INSEAD case: 2006)).
- Douglas Webber, *Lobbying in Brussels: The EU Directive on the Patentability of Computer-Implemented Inventions* (INSEAD case: 2006, parts A, B and C).

**Session 8: The European Court of Justice and European Social and Labor Policy (March 11)**

**required:**

- Anne-Marie Burley and Walter Mattli, "Europe before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration," *International Organization* 47:1 (1993): 41-76.\*
- Geoffrey Garrett, "The Politics of Legal Integration in the European Union," *International Organization* 49:1 (1995): 171-181.\*
- Fritz Scharpf, "The European Social Model: Coping with the Challenges of Diversity," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:4 (2002): 645-670.

**background material:**

- Douglas Webber, *Labour and services market liberalization in the enlarged EU – the Vaxholm labour dispute in Sweden* (INSEAD case: 2007, part A).

**Session 9: The Council: Trade Policy, the CAP, and Services (March 18)**

- Jonas Tallberg, "Bargaining Power in the European Council," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46:3 (2008): 685-708.
- Daniel Naurin and Rutger Lindahl, "East-North-South: Coalition-Building in the Council before and after Enlargement," Daniel Naurin and Helen Wallace, eds., *Unveiling the Council of the European Union: Games Governments Play in Brussels*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 64-78.
- Javier Arregui and Robert Thomson, "States' bargaining success in the European Union," *Journal of European Public Policy* 16:5 (2009): 655-676.
- Jeffrey Lewis, "Is the Hard Bargaining Image of the Council Misleading? The Committee of Permanent Representatives and the Local Elections Directive," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 36:4 (1998): 479-504.
- Eve Fouilleux, "The Common Agricultural Policy." In, Cini, *op. cit.*, 340-355.
- Sophie Meunier, "What Single Voice? European Institutions and EU-U.S. Trade Negotiations," *International Organization* 54 (Winter 2000): 103-135.
- Oliveier Cadot and Douglas Webber, "Banana Splits: Policy Process, Particularistic Interests, Political Capture and Money in Transatlantic Trade Politics," *Business and Politics* 4:1 (2002): 5-39.

*The international level*

**Session 10: Climate Change: Can Europe Lead? (April 1)**

**required:**

Mark Leonard, *Why Europe will run the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, Introduction (“The Power of Weakness and the Weakness of Power”) and chapter 1 (“Europe’s Invisible Hand”) (London and New York: Fourth Estate, 2005), 1-19.

Sebastian Oberthür and Claire Roche Kelly, “EU leadership in International Climate Policy: Achievements and Challenges,” *The International Spectator* 43:3 (September 2008): 35-50.

Additional readings to be assigned.

**background material:**

Douglas Webber, *International Action Against Climate Change: Can Europe lead?* (INSEAD case: 2006).

Douglas Webber, *The European Union – The Silent Superpower?* (Background note to the case *International Action Against Climate Change*, INSEAD: 2006).

**Session 11: Eastward Enlargement (April 8)**

Ulrich Seidelmeier, “Eastern Enlargement,” in Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack, eds., Policy-Making in the European Union 401-428.

Jan Zielonka, “Europe as a Global Actor: Empire by Example?” International Affairs 84:3 (2008): 471-484.

Sandra Lavenex, “A Governance Perspective on the European Neighborhood Policy: Integration Beyond Conditionality?” Journal of European Public Policy, 15:6 (2008): 938-955.

**Session 12: Foreign policy, Security, and Defense (April 15)**

Jolyon Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007), 1-22.

Charles Grant, *Is Europe doomed to fail as a power?* London: Centre for European Reform, 2009), essay, 34pp.

Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein, “Why is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism and the Origins of Multilateralism,” *International Organization* 56:3 (2002): pp. 575-607.

Mearsheimer, John, “Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War,” *International Organization*, 15 (Summer ).

Andrew Moravcsik, “The EU at 50: Happy Birthday,” *Newsweek* (International edition, 26 March 2007), 2-6.

**Session 13: Is European Integration a Trail-Blazer? Political Integration and World Order (April 22)**

Walter Mattli, "Explaining regional integration outcomes," *Journal of European Public Policy* 6:1 (1999): 1-27.

Björn Hettne, "Beyond the 'New' Regionalism," *New Political Economy* 10:4 (2005): 543-571.

Andrew Hurrell, "Explaining the resurgence of regionalism in world politics," *Review of International Studies* 21 (1995): 331-358.

Peter J. Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), chapter 7 ("The American Imperium in a World of Regions"), 208-248.

Joseph Grieco, "Systemic Sources of Variation in Regional Institutionalization in Western Europe, East Asia and the Americas," in Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner, eds., *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 164-187.

**Session 14: Student Presentations (April 29)**

**Session 15: Student Presentations and Wrap-Up (May 6)**

*Please note:*

\* Also published in Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.) (2006), *Debates on European Integration: A Reader*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.