Syllabus for Political Science 3331:
Politics of the European Union

Instructor
Prof. Mark A. Pollack
Department of Political Science
461 Gladfelter Hall
Office Hours: Tuesday 12:45 – 1:45 p.m.;
Thursday 9:45 – 10:45 a.m.; 3:30 – 4:30 p.m.

Phone: (215) 204-7782
E-mail: mark.pollack@temple.edu

Lecture: TR, 11:00 a.m. – 12:20 p.m., Ritter Hall 103

The European Union (formally the European Community) has been described as “an extraordinary political experiment,” “the most original political concept since the American Constitution was drafted in 1787,” and “surely one of the most important political experiments in Europe in modern times.” From its beginnings as the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951, the European Union today has grown to a supranational polity composed of 27 member states governed by an ever-growing set of political institutions, and sharing common economic and social policies, a common foreign and security policy, and (for some member states at least) a common currency, the Euro.

This course seeks to explicate and understand the European Union in its dual aspects: as a process of international or regional integration, tying existing nation-states such as France, Germany, and the United Kingdom into an “ever-closer Union of peoples”; and as a polity or political system with its own institutions, policies, and policy processes. As we shall see, the study of the European Union increasingly blurs the boundaries between international relations (concerned with the relations among states) and comparative politics (concerned with the workings of domestic political systems), and we will draw from both fields in our effort to make sense of the EU and its workings.

The course is arranged in three parts. In the first part, we explore both the political history of European integration in the post-war era, up to and including the recently adopted Treaty of Lisbon, and the various theories put forward by political scientists to explain and understand the process of European integration. Next, in part two, we turn from European integration as a process to the workings of the EU as a political system, including its core institutions and its legislative, executive and judicial politics. In the third and longest part of the course, we turn for several weeks to look at the substance of EU policies, including the core project of completing a European internal market, the single currency, the incomplete development of a “social Europe” and an area of “freedom, security and justice,” the enlargement of the Union to include new members, and the development of a common foreign policy vis-à-vis the United States and the rest of the world.
The schedule of classes and topics is as follows:

- Week 1: Introduction, and the Origins of the EU (Aug 28, 30)
- Week 2: Integration Theory, and the Relaunching of Europe (Sept 4, 6)
- Week 3: From Community to Union, and the Birth of Theoretical Pluralism (Sept 11, 13)
- Week 4: The Democratic Deficit, the Constitution, and the Lisbon Treaty (Sept 18, 20)
- Week 5: Independent Research (Sept 25, 27)
- Week 6: The EU as a Political System; Legislative Politics (Oct 2, 4)
- Week 7: Executive and Judicial Politics (Oct 9, 11)
- Week 8: The Internal Market: The Core of the European Union (Oct 16, 18)
- Week 9: The EU and the World (Oct 23, 25, 30)
- Week 10: Economic and Monetary Union (Nov 1, 6, 8)
- Week 11: Social Europe? (Nov 13, 15)
- Week 12: Spending Policies (Nov 20)
- Week 13: Enlargement and Justice and Home Affairs (Nov 27, 29)
- Week 14: Conclusions and The Future of Europe (Dec 4)

Course requirements: The requirements for this course are:

1. a series of three 1-2 page papers (double-spaced, 12-point font!) in response to the study questions for the weekly readings, to be handed in at the beginning of lecture on the first day of the weeks selected. These papers are intended to demonstrate that you have read and thought about the assigned readings, so please be sure to write your essays with specific reference to relevant readings. Students may select any three weeks of the course among weeks 2-4 and 6-13. Please note that some weeks are irregular, and begin on a Thursday, so consult the syllabus for the precise dates for each week. Please note also that late papers will not be accepted, so be sure to get all three papers submitted on-time by Week 13 (8% per paper, for a total of 24% of the grade);

2. attendance at and participation in class discussion (including discussions of the required readings as well as discussions of current events from Week 6 onwards), 8% of the grade;

3. a mid-term exam covering weeks 1-8 of the course (October 16th, 15% of the grade)

4. a 3-5 page abstract and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on Thursday, November 1st (8% of the grade);

5. a 10-20 page research paper on a topic of your choice, drawn from primary as well as secondary sources, and due on or before Tuesday, December 4th (25% of the grade); and

6. an in-class final exam (date TBA) (20%).

Required readings: The following books, marked with an asterisk in the weekly readings, are on order at the Temple University Bookstore, and on reserve at Paley Library.


All other *required* readings will also be made available via electronic reserve. In addition to these required readings, the syllabus lists a number of *recommended* readings on various topics. These readings will generally not be discussed in class, but are included for students with an interest in doing extra research in one of these areas.

In addition to these secondary sources, we will hold a special session during the first half of the term on the use of *primary* sources, discussing how to find these sources, how to search through them efficiently, and how to use and cite them in your research papers.

Finally, please note that all readings are subject to potential revision as new and more up-to-date sources are released.

**Sources for current events in the EU.** In addition to these readings, students are strongly encouraged to consult one of the growing number of good websites devoted to EU politics. The best news sites for EU politics are:

• [euobserver](http://www.euobserver.com); and
• [Euractiv](http://www.euractiv.com).

Both are excellent, detailed, and updated daily – and you should be sure to sign up, no later than Week 6, for their terrific and free daily e-mail newsletters! Other useful websites include the EU’s own *Europa* website at [http://europa.eu.int](http://europa.eu.int); *Eupolitix* at [http://www.eupolitix.com](http://www.eupolitix.com); and the website of the EU-oriented TV station *Euronews*, which features daily video stories at [http://www.euronews.net](http://www.euronews.net). The semi-weekly newsletter *European Report* offers excellent and detailed coverage of the EU, and is available through the Lexis-Nexis database. The best English-language daily newspaper coverage of the EU can be found in the Financial Times, which has a good web site at [http://www.ft.com](http://www.ft.com) (alas, behind a pay wall) and offers special rates for students during the semester.

Once again, we will begin each Tuesday from Week 6 onwards with a brief *discussion of current events* in EU politics, and students are urged to prepare for these discussions by consulting regularly one or more of the above web-sites for the most important stories of the week.

**Note on Academic Misconduct.** All students in this class are expected to adhere to the University of Pennsylvania standards on academic conduct. In recent years, I have had increasing experience with students plagiarizing work from either printed sources or internet web sites, and I therefore consider it important to clarify the course policy regarding plagiarism and other types of academic misconduct. All students should, in all assignments, fully and
unambiguously cite sources from which they are drawing important ideas and/or sizable quotations (for example, more than eight consecutive words or more than 50% of a given sentence or paragraph). Failure to do so constitutes plagiarism, which is a serious act of academic misconduct and will result in a failing grade for the course, as well as the possibility of notification of the infraction to the Dean of Students and academic dismissal. Similarly, cheating during exams, copying written assignments from other students, or providing answers to others during exams are considered acts of academic misconduct. Given the seriousness of these infractions, there will be no second chances and no leniency. Please avoid them at any cost. If you still have doubts or specific questions about citation of sources, feel free to raise them directly with me.

Frequency of words in this syllabus, from Wordle.net
TABLE OF READINGS AND STUDY QUESTIONS

PART I: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: HISTORY AND THEORY

Week 1: Introduction, and the Origins of the EU (Aug 28, 30)

Required Readings


Recommended Readings (Good General Texts on the EU)


The Early History of European Integration


No study questions this week!

**Week 2. Integration Theory, and the Relaunching of Europe (Sept 4, 6)**

**Required Readings**


**Study Questions (please choose just one of these questions, not all of them!):**

1. Why did France, Germany, and four other countries agree to begin the process of European integration with the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951? And why did neofunctionalists like Ernst Haas believe that the process of European integration, having begun so modestly, would snowball into an ongoing process of political integration?

2. By the late 1950s, the neofunctionalist spill-over process predicted by Ernst Haas seemed to be in full swing, only to have the process apparently derailed in the 1960s by French President Charles de Gaulle? Looking beyond the personality of de Gaulle, (1) analyze why the decades of the 1960s and 1970s appeared to have falsified Haas’ neofunctionalism, and (2) assess whether the 1960s and 1970s were a period of progress, or rollback, or a mix of the two, in the integration process.

3. The Single European Act (SEA) of 1986 is widely considered to be the relaunching of the integration process after several decades of stagnation. Reading Bache and George’s historical account, do you think the events leading up to the SEA generally support the neofunctionalist or the intergovernmentalist theory of European integration? Be sure to explain the reasons for your view.

4. In the 1990s, following the SEA, Andrew Moravcsik set out a new, “liberal intergovernmentalist” (LI) theory of European integration. What are the basic, core stages of the
LI model, and how well do you think LI does in explaining the path of European integration thus far in the course?

**Recommended Readings**


Ernst Haas (1958). *The Uniting of Europe* (Stanford University Press).


Stanley Hoffmann, “Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe,” *Daedalus*, Vol. 95, No. 3 (1966).


Week 3: From Community to Union, and the Birth of Theoretical Pluralism (Sept 11, 13)

Required Reading


Study Questions (Answer only one of the following two questions):

1. Former Commission President Jacques Delors once said that the early 1990s witnessed an “acceleration of history” in the EU, and indeed the period last decade of the century was a busy one, characterized by both steps forward and crises. Without trying to cover all of the events of
the 1990s, (a) identify a few of the most important developments in the EU during those years, and (b) state briefly how the EU was different at the end of that period compared with the beginning.

2. Writing in 1994, Simon Hix argued that theories of the European Union had to some extent moved on from the traditional questions of integration theory (What drives integration? Is it a self-sustaining process? What will the end point be?), and began to ask different questions. Without trying to cover all possible theories of the EU, outline briefly the primary theoretical approaches to EU studies today, and discuss the different kinds of questions that each one asks about the Union.

**Recommended Reading**

**Historical Developments of the 1990s**


**Theoretical Debates**


**Week 4. The Democratic Deficit, the Constitution, and the Lisbon Treaty (Sept 18, 20)**

**Required Readings**

Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Europe*, Chapter 6, pp. 133-67 (read 143-156 carefully; you can skim the rest).


**Study Questions**

1. Beginning in the late 1980s, critics of the European Union noted that the EU had begun to take an increasing number decisions that directly affected the lives of European citizens, yet these decisions were generally taken by officials that were at best indirectly accountable to the people –
a problem that became popular known as the EU’s “democratic deficit.” What, according to Greven, are the fundamental causes of this deficit, and why is it unlikely to be fixed in the near future? Why, by contrast, does Andrew Moravcsik argue that the EU is not “broken” (from a democratic perspective) and doesn’t require fixing? Which view do you find most convincing, and why?

2. During the first half of this decade, a European “Convention” created a draft Constitution for the Union, which was in turn amended by the member governments into a “Constitutional Treaty” for ratification by each of the 25 member states. As is well known, however, the French and Dutch electorates both rejected the Constitutional Treaty (CT), plunging the EU into a “constitutional crisis” from which it has yet to emerge. Why was the CT rejected, and how did the EU respond? What is the Lisbon Treaty, and what are the most important changes that it has introduced since coming into effect in December 2009?

Recommended Readings

The Democratic Deficit


Andreas Follesdal and Simon Hix, “Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik,” European Governance Papers, No. C-05-02.


The Treaty of Nice (background to the Convention/Constitution)


The Convention and the Constitutional Treaty

Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, available–with much other supporting
documentation, at the website of the European Convention:  http://european-convention.eu.int. Read Part I, esp. Articles I-1 to I-29, and skim the index (at the end of the document!).


The Treaty of Lisbon


Europolitics (2007), Treaty of Lisbon: Here is What Changes! special edition of Europolitics, 7 November 2007 N° 3407, skim and read articles according to your interests.

PART II: THE EU AS A POLITICAL SYSTEM

Week 5: Independent Research (Sept 25, 27)

Week 6: The EU as a Political System; Legislative Politics (Oct 2, 4)

Required Reading


Study Questions (Answer only one of the following questions):

1. In her chapter, Helen Wallace reviews the basic institutional architecture of the European Union, and discusses five distinct “policy modes” modes in today’s EU. What are these five policy modes, and how important a role does the executive Commission play in each?

2. From its beginnings in the 1950, the EEC was designed to be able to “legislate,” i.e. to adopt new rules to govern the activity of the member states and their citizens. How has the EU legislative process changed over time, and how, in brief, does it work today?

3. Although the European Parliament is in many ways a unique experiment in multinational democracy, Simon Hix and other EU scholars have referred to the EP as a “normal” Parliament. In what specific sense is it “normal” (like national parliaments) and it what sense (if any) does it remain unique or *sui generis*?

Recommended Reading


**Week 7. Executive and Judicial Politics (Oct 9, 11)**

**Required Reading**


**Study Questions** (Answer only one of the following two questions):

1. Hix and Hoyland’s chapter, looking at executive politics broadly, identifies a “dual executive” in the EU. Who are the two members of this dual executive? What role, or roles, does the Commission play in the executive politics of the Union? Is the Commission able to act as an independent “engine of European integration,” as the neofunctionalists argued, or is it an obedient
servant of the member states, as intergovernmentalists believed?

2. The study of the European Court of Justice produced one of the most vigorous debates in EU studies, pitting the neofunctionalist or supranationalist theorists against intergovernmentalist scholars. Has the ECJ played a significant role in the process of European integration – and if so, how?

Recommended Reading

**The Commission and Executive Politics**


**The ECJ and Judicial Politics**


PART III: THE POLICIES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Week 8: The Internal Market: The Core of the European Union (Oct 16 [quiz], 18)

Required Readings


Student paper from previous semesters to be distributed.

Study Question

1. We all know, by now, that the European Union is first and foremost an “internal market” linking together the 25 member states of the EU. But what specifically is an internal market? How has the EU gone about creating such a market? And to what extent can we really speak about the European Union as a genuine single market?

Recommended Readings


Week 9: The EU and the World (Oct 23, 25, 30)

Required Readings

* Wallace, Pollack, and Young, Policy-Making in the European Union, 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Read both of the following:
  - Chapter 16, “Trade Policy,” by Stephen Woolcock
  - Chapter 18, “Foreign and Security Policy,” by William Wallace


Student paper from a previous semester to be distributed.


Charles Grant, “Is Europe Doomed to Fail as a Power?” with a response by Robert Cooper, Centre for European Reform essays (London: Centre for European Reform, July 2009).


Study Questions

1. Since the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957, the European Commission has represented the member states of the Union on trade issues vis-à-vis the rest of the world, negotiating the various rounds of the World Trade Organization as well as other bilateral agreements with individual states or groups of states. Throughout the history of the EU, third parties feared a protectionist “Fortress Europe,” while other analysts in France and elsewhere have feared that the Commission would pursue a neoliberal free-trade agenda with the rest of the world. In a short essay, describe the Commission’s role in international trade policy: What does the Commission do? What kinds of trade policy has it sought to implement? And how effective has it been?

2. Outside the trade arena, Bastien Giegerich and William Wallace point out, the EU has pursued a “painful path from shadow to substance” over the past three decades. What does the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy look like today? What have been its strengths and its successes, and what have been its weaknesses and failures?

3. In recent years, it has become commonplace for scholars like Grant and Moravcsik to argue that the EU is either a minor and declining power in world affairs, or alternatively a strong and rising superpower. What are the main arguments on each side of the debate? Which do you find more convincing, and why?

Recommended Readings


Trade and Economic Policy

**Common Foreign and Security Policy**


**Transatlantic Relations**


**Week 10: Economic and Monetary Union (Nov 1, 6, 8)**

**Required Readings**


Additional readings (mostly on the sovereign debt crisis) to be added later in the semester.

**Study Questions**
1. Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) is unquestionably one of the major steps forward in the process of European integration over the past decade. What is EMU? How, basically, does it work, and why do your authors believe that many of the EU’s member states have been willing to give up their national currencies in favor of the Euro?

2. Hodson makes the distinction between monetary and fiscal policy, noting that the former is centralized (for members) in the European Central Bank, while the latter is merely coordinated through instruments like the Stability and Growth Pact. In a short essay, (a) spell out the difference between monetary policy and fiscal policy and (b) discuss the problems that have cropped up as a result of having a single monetary policy but only a looser coordination of fiscal policies in the EU.

Recommended Readings


Week 11: Social Europe? (Nov 13, 15)

Required Readings


* Wallace, Pollack, and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), read at least one of the following chapters according to your interests:
  - Chapter 11, “Social Policy,” by Stephan Leibfried
  - Chapter 12, “Employment Policy,” by Martin Rhodes
  - Chapter 13, “Environmental Policy,” by Andrea Lenschow

Student papers from previous classes to be distributed.

Study Questions (Answer only one of the following questions):

1. During the 1990s, analysts like Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, depicted European integration
as a right-left struggle between the “neoliberalism” of a pure single market and the “regulated capitalism” of an EU with progressive, high-standard social and environmental policies. Based on your reading of existing EU social and environmental policies, discuss which of these two visions seems to be winning out, on balance, in today’s EU. [Note: to answer this question well, you must read Stefan Leibfried’s social policy chapter and Andrea Lenschow’s environment chapter.]

2. While the EU has adopted “hard” or binding regulations in some areas of social policy, in other areas the Union has opted instead for the “soft-law” approach of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), designed to coordinate national policies, establish benchmarks for best practice, and put “peer pressure” on member states to improve their own national policies. How does the OMC appear to be working in areas such as employment policy, where it has been tried? Is the OMC a creative means to move ahead with progressive policies, or an excuse for inaction, or somewhere in between? [Note: to answer this question well, you must read Martin Rhodes’ chapter on employment.]

Recommended Readings

Social Policy and the Open Method of Coordination


For an excellent bibliography of work on the Open Method of Coordination, see web page of The European Union Center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, OMC Research Forum: http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/open12.html.

**Environmental Policy**


**Gender**


**Week 12: Spending Policies: The Structural Funds, the CAP, and Beyond** (Nov 20)

**Required Readings**
Study Question

1. The European Union is often characterized as a “regulatory state,” with Brussels active in promulgating regulations but having a relatively small budget worth only about 1.27 percent of EU gross domestic product. Still, the Union does have a budget, and it spends part of this budget redistributing funds among EU member states, regions, and groups of citizens. In a short essay, describe briefly how the EU spends its annual budget, and who benefits (and who loses) from the EU’s distribution of funds.

Recommended Readings


Week 13: Enlargement and Justice and Home Affairs (Nov. 27, 29)

Required Readings


Study Questions (answer only one)

1. In EU studies, scholars increasingly speak of the “Europeanization” of the policies and politics of EU member states, which have been required to adopt the EU’s acquis communautaire. Indeed, in recent years it has been argued that the 12 new member states that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 were Europeanized even before they joined the Union. How did the EU manage to Europeanize these candidate countries even before they joined, and what evidence is there that the countries of central and eastern Europe really have Europeanized?

2. The 2004 and 2007 enlargements of the EU were expected to have a major impact, not only on the new members, but also on the EU itself, whose institutions were expected to be stretched and strained by enlargement to 27 (and potentially more) member states. How do EU institutions, and EU policy-making, appear to be holding up under the strain of enlargement?

3. Starting in the 1970s, and accelerating in the 1990s into the current decade, the EU has created a “Justice and Home Affairs” policy seeking to coordinate issues like police and judicial affairs that until very recently were held closely by states as an integral part of national sovereignty. What, specifically, is Justice and Home Affairs policy about, and why have the EU member states moved to adopt such a policy over the past few decades?

Recommended Readings

On Europeanization


Gerda Falkner, Oliver Treib, Miriam Hartlapp, and Simone Leiber, Complying with Europe: EU Harmonisation and Soft Law in the Member States (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).


On Enlargement


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**Week 14: Conclusions and The Future of Europe** (Dec 4)

**Required Reading**


**Recommended Reading**
