THE POLITICS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Political Science 2310 Professor A. Sbragia Fall Term 2007

Classroom: 4801 Posvar Hall Course time: 9-11 A.M. Tuesday

E-mail: sbragia@ucis.pitt.edu

GSPIA-IA 2383

Office: 4211 Posvar Hall Office Hours: 11 - 12 T and

by appt.

Emily Boyle (handles scheduling)

648-7405

E-mail: Boylee@pitt.edu Lena Surzhko-Harned, GSA E-mail: lms34@pitt.edu

This course introduces students to the twin processes of economic and political integration within the European Community. The course requires a commitment to extensive reading, thoughtful class discussion, and summaries of readings which are presented—in both written and oral form--to fellow classmates as well as a major research paper. The paper should be roughly 10,000 words in length; GSPIA MA students may choose to write a policy paper. The topic of both the research paper and the policy paper must be cleared with me, and the research paper should include the use of primary documents.

Instructions concerning summaries of readings will be given in class.

Specialized databases, newsletters, and bibliographic sources (<u>Agence Europe</u>, <u>European Access</u>, <u>Reuters database</u>, <u>Ends Report</u>, <u>European Report</u>, etc) are available in Hillman Library. Hillman is an EC Depository Library and therefore has an extensive collection of official EC/EU documents and is also the sponsor of the Archive of European Integration (http://aei.pitt.edu) Students are expected to become well acquainted with library resources and to take full advantage of them in preparing for class and in writing the research paper. Students are encouraged to join the European Union Studies Association (a two-year student membership is \$55); EUSA's website is www.eustudies.org

It is assumed that students will come to class well-prepared and to participate vigorously in class discussion. As Pitt hosts one of only 10 designated European Union Centers of Excellence (EUCE) in the US, all students are expected to attend the lectures given by visiting speakers whenever possible.

All students are required to subscribe to the <u>Financial Times</u>, the leading English-language newspaper on EU affairs. To subscribe to the Financial Times (student rate):

- 1. Go to the Financial Times subscription services website: www.ftnewspaper.com
- 2. Select "U.S. Subscriptions" in the left panel.
- 3. Select "Academic Subscriptions" in the left panel.
- 4. Select "Students" or "Students click here."
- 5. Select "Resources for students."
- 6. Select "Subscribe to the Financial Times" for the paper version OR "Subscribe to the FT Electronic Edition" for the electronic online version.

Paper Version	Electronic version
7. Select the 15-week option for \$31.95	7. Select "Click to see pricing options"
8. Fill out the form and submit (Note: for	8. Select "Students" or "Students click here."
the first field of the form, "Student ID,"	9. Select the 15-week option for \$21.95
use the first four digits of your SSN).	10. Fill out the form and submit (Note: for the first field of the form, "Student ID," use the first four digits of your SSN).

The following books are required and can be purchased at the University Bookstore:

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

Ben Rosamond. Theories of European Integration. New York: Palgrave, 2000.

E. Bomberg and A. Stubb The European Union: How Does it Work?, Oxford University Press, 2003

Gilbert, Mark <u>Surpassing realism</u>: the politics of <u>European integration since 1945</u> Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003.

Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack Policy-Making in the European Union Fifth Edition, Oxford University Press, 2005

Devuyst, Youri. <u>The European Union Transformed Community Method and Institutional Evolution from</u> the Schuman Plan to the Constitution for Europe Revised and updated edition. Peter Lang, 2006

Fiona Hayes-Renshaw and Helen Wallace. The Council of Ministers New York: Palgrave, 2006

J. Peterson and M. Shackleton. The Institutions of the European Union. Oxford University Press, 2006

Jeremy Richardson(ed) <u>European Union Power and Policy-Making</u>, 3rd edition, Routledge, 2006

Milada Vachudova. <u>Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration After Communism.</u> Oxford University Press, 2006

The following are recommended and may be useful in formulating your research question:

Desmond Dinan, Europe Recast: A History of European Union, Lynne Rienner, 2004

Lloyd Gruber. Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions Princeton University Press, 2000 ("must reading" for students planning on taking the Ph.D. comprehensive examinations in either international relations or comparative politics in the department of political

science).

Alberta Sbragia (ed.). <u>Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the "New" European Community.</u> Brookings Institution, 1992

D. W. Urwin. <u>The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945.</u> Longman, 1996 (Second Edition).

George Ross. Jacques Delors and European Integration. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Adrienne Heritier. <u>Policy-Making and Diversity in Europe.</u> Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. ("must reading" for students taking the MA or Ph.D. comprehensive examination in comparative politics (Europe) in the department of political science).

Derk-Jan Epink. Life of a European Mandarin. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo Publishing, 2007.

The following are <u>recommended</u> for familiarization with politics of member states:

Knut Heidar and Ruud Koole (eds) <u>Parliamentary party groups in European democracies</u>. London; New York: Routledge, 2000.

Katrin Auel and Arthur Benz. The Europeanization of Parliamentary Democracy. Routledge, 2006.

Lawrence D. Longley and Reuven Y. Hazan (eds). The Uneasy relationships between Parliamentary members and leaders. London, England: Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000.

Arend Lijphart. Parliamentary versus presidential government. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Simon Bulmer and Christian Lesquesne. <u>The Member States of the European Union.</u> Oxford University Press. 2005.

Tony Judt. Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945. Penguin Press, 2005.

These articles are very strongly recommended as background readings for this course:

Hugh Seton-Watson. "What is Europe, Where is Europe? From Mystique to Politique." In Search of Central Europe. edited by George Schopflin and Nancy Wood. Polity Press, 1989.

James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life." <u>American Political Science Review.</u> Vol. 78. No. 3. 1984: 734-49. James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders," International Organization, Volume 52, Number 4, Autumn 1998, pp. 943-971.

Peter A. Hall and Rosemary C.R. Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," Political Studies, 1996:936-957.

Andrew Moravcsik, "Despotism in Brussels? Misreading the European Union," <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, May/June 2001.

If you have any disability for which you are or may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both the Office of Disability Resources and Services, 216 William Pitt Union, (412) 648-7890/ (412) 383-7355 (ITY) and me as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course.

Week I: Overview of the Course (8/28/2007)

<u>Week II: Introduction to the European Community/European Union</u> (9/4/2007)

J. Peterson and M. Shackleton. <u>The Institutions of the European Union</u>. Oxford University Press, 2006. [skim]

Mark Gilbert Surpassing Realism Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003, pp. 1-117

Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack Policy-Making in the European Union Fifth Edition, 2005, OUP, chapter 1

Sophie Meunier and Kalypso Nicolaidis. "The European Union as a conflicted trade power." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:6 September 2006: 906-925.

Desmond Dinan, <u>Origins and Evolution of the European Union</u>, chapters 2, 3,7 (chapter 6 is highly recommended)

Hanna Ojanen, "The EU and Nato: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy," <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u>, Vol. 44, No. 1, 2006, pp. 57-76

Students should use these six assignments as a reference to help them understand the theoretical works which we will be reading for the next few weeks.

<u>Week III: Analytical Attempts to Understand a New Form of Political Organization.</u> (9/11/2007)

Ben Rosamond. Theories of European Integration. Palgrave, 2000, Chapters I, III, IV, V and VI.

James Caporaso, "The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-

Modern?" Journal of Common Market Studies, March 1996, pp. 29-52.

Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack Policy-Making in the European Union Fifth Edition, 2005, OUP, chapter 2

Beate Kohler-Koch and Berthold Rittberger, "Review Article: The 'Governance Turn' in EU Studies," <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u>, September 2006, Annual Review, pp. 27-49

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. <u>Multi-Level Governance and European Integration</u>. Rowman & Littlefield, 2001, Chapter I

Recommended:

Special issue on "interregnum integration:" <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u> Volume 10, Number 6 / December 2003

Tanja E. Aalberts "The Future of Sovereignty in Multilevel Governance Europe - A Constructivist Reading" Journal of Common Market Studies March 2004 - Vol. 42, 23-46

Alberta Sbragia. Euro-Politics, Brookings Institution, 1992

Olivier Costa; Paul Magnette "The European Union as a consociation? a methodological assessment" West European Politics Volume 26, Number 3, July 2003 pp. 1-18

Desmond Dinan. Ever Closer Union? An Introduction to the European Community, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999 (Second Edition), pp. 123-157.

B. Guy Peters, "Agenda-setting in the European Community," <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u>, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1994, pp. 9-26.

Ernst Haas, The Uniting of Europe, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.

L. Lindberg and S.A. Scheingold, <u>Europe's Would-be Polity</u>. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1970, pp. 101-140; 249-310.

Mark Pollack "International Relations Theory and European Integration" <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u> Jun 2001, Vol. 39 Issue 2, p221-46.

***Adrienne Heritier. <u>Policy-making and Diversity in Europe, Cambridge University Press</u>, 1999, pp. 1-30, 87-98.

George Tsebelis and Geoffrey Garrett, "The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union," <u>International Organization</u>, Vol. 55, No. 2, Spring 2001, pp. 357-390.

***Andrew Hurrell and Anand Menon, "Politics like no other: Comparative Politics, International Relations and the Study of the EU," West European Politics, vol. 19, No. 2, April 1996, pp. 386-402.

***Joseph Jupille and James A. Caporaso. "Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond Comparative Politics and International Relations," <u>Annual Review of Political Science</u>, 2(1999), 429-444

Alec Stone Sweet, Neil Fligstein, and Wayne Sandholtz, "The Institutionalization of European Space," in <u>The Institutionalization of Europe</u>, edited by Alec Stone Sweet, Wayne Sandholtz and Neil Fligstein. Oxford UP, 2001, chapter 1.

***Lloyd Gruber, Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions, Preface, pp. 1-57.

Donald J. Puchala, "Institutionalism, Intergovernmentalism and European Integration, A Review Article" <u>Journal of Common Market Studies.</u> Vol. 37, No. 2, June 1999, pp. 317-332.

Fritz W. Scharpf, "The Joint-Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration," Public Administration, Vol. 66, Autumn 1988, pp. 239-278.

B. Guy Peters. "Escaping the Joint Decision Trap: Repetition and Sectoral Politics in the European Union." West European Politics. Vol. 20, No. 2, April 1997, pp. 22-36.

Sbragia, A. "The European Community: A Balancing Act" <u>Publius</u>, Vol. 23, No. 3, Summer 1993, pp. 23-38.

Ann P. Branch and Jakob C. Ohrgaard. "Trapped in the supranational-intergovernmental dichotomy: a response to Stone Sweet and Sandholtz," <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u>, Vol. 6, No. 1, March 1999, pp. 123-43.

Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet. "European Integration and supranational governance revisited: rejoinder to Branch and Ohrgaard." <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u>, Vol. 6, No. 1, March 1999, pp. 144-54.

Brian Efird and Gaspare M. Genna, "Structural Conditions and the Propensity for Regional Integration," <u>European Union Politics</u>, Vol. 3, No. 3, 2002, pp. 267-295.

Week IV: Explaining Integration (9/18/2007)

Wendy Asbeek Brusse, "Liberalization, Convertibility, and the Common Market," in Desmond Dinan, Origins and Evolution of the European Union,

Andrew Moravcsik. The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht, Cornell University Press, 1998, Introduction. Chapters 1 & 7.

Craig Parsons." Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union," International

Mark A. Pollack "Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?" <u>Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.</u> 2005. 8:357–98

Peter A. Hall and Rosemary C.R. Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," Political Studies, 1996:936-957.

Recommended:

Stone Sweet, A. and Sandholtz, W. "Integration, Supranational Governance and the Institutionalization of the European Polity, " in Sandholtz, W. and Stone Sweet, A. (eds) <u>European Integration and Supranational Governance</u>, Oxford UP, pp. 1-26

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "Parties, Public Opinion, and Identity: a Postfunctionalist theory of European integration" (A copy of this Draft Paper is available for photocopy in European Union Center/Center for Western European Studies with Ms. Emily Boyle).

Special issue on neo-functionalism: <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u> Volume 12, Number 2 / April 2005

Ernst B. Haas. <u>The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950-1957</u>, University of Notre Dame Press, 2004 [read only the new introduction by Haas]

Craig Parsons "The Triumph of Community Europe" (Chapter 5) in Desmond Dinan's <u>Origins and</u> Evolution of European Union. Oxford University Press, 2006

***Wallace, H., Caporaso, J.A., Schampf, F.W., and Moravcsik, A., "Symposium on The Choice for Europe" in Journal of European Public Policy, Vol. 6, No. 1, March 1999, pp. 155-179.

Robert H. Lieshout, Mathieu L.L. Segers, and Anna M. van der Vleuten, "De Gaulle, Moravcsik, and <u>The Choice for Europe</u>: Soft Sources, Weak Evidence," <u>Journal of Cold War Studies</u>, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fall 2004, pp. 89-139.

Review of <u>The Choice for Europe</u> by Jeffrey Anderson, <u>American Political Science Review</u>, June 2000

***Paul Pierson. "The Path to European Integration: An Historical Institutionalist Perspective," Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 29, No. 2, April 1996, p. 123-63.

***Marc Trachtenberg, <u>A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945-1963,</u> Princeton University Press, 1999, chapter 1

Marc Trachtenberg. "De Gaulle, Moravcsik, and Europe," <u>Journal of Cold War Studies</u>, Vol. 2, No. 3, Fall 2000, pp. 101-116

HOW THE EUROPEAN UNION WORKS

<u>Week V: Agenda-Setting: The European Commission</u> (9/25/2007)

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton, <u>The Institutions of the European Union</u>, chapters 1 and 8.

E. Bomberg and A. Stubb <u>The European Union: How Does it Work?</u>, Oxford University Press, 2003, chapters 3, 6 and 7

Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack Policy-Making in the European Union Fifth Edition, 2005, OUP, chapter 3

Derk-Jan Epink. Life of a European Mandarin. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo Publishing, 2007, pp. 161-183.

Morten Egeberg. <u>Multilevel Union Administration: The Transformation of Executive Politics.</u> New York: Palgrave, 2006. Chapter 4.

Recommended:

Majone, Giandomenico (2002) 'The European Commission: the limits of centralization and the perils of parliamentarization', <u>Governance</u> 15(3): 375-93.

Tsakatika, Myrto "Claims to Legitimacy: The European Commission between Continuity and Change" Journal of Common Market Studies, 2005, 43, 1, Mar, 193-220.

Susanne K. Schmidt, "The European Commission's powers in shaping European policies," in <u>The Changing European Commission</u>, edited by Dionyssis G. Dimitrakopoulos, Manchester University Press, 2004, pp. 105-120.

Hussein Kassim and Anand Menon, "EU Member States and the Prodi Commission," in <u>The Changing European Commission</u>, edited by Dionyssis G. Dimitrakopoulos, Manchester University Press, 2004, pp, 89-104.

***Christian Lequesne, "The European Commission: A Balancing Act between Autonomy and Dependence," in <u>European Integration after Amsterdam: Institutional Dynamics and Prospects for Democracy</u>. Edited by Karlheinz Neunreither and Antje Wiener. OUP, 2000, pp. 36-51.

Charlotte Burns, "Codecision and the European Commission: A study of Declining Influence?" <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u>, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2004, pp. 1-18.

Andy Smith, "Why European Commissioners Matter," <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u> Vol, 41, No.1, March 2003, pp. 137-156.

Jonas Tallberg, "Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union," International Organization, Vol. 56, No. 3, Summer 2002, PP. 609-643.

***A. Moravscik, "Supranational entrepreneurs and international cooperation." <u>International</u> Organization, 1999, Vol. 53, No. 2, pp. 267-306.

***Oran R. Young. "Comment on Andrew Moravcsik, A New Statecraft? Supranational Entrepreneurs and International Cooperation," <u>International Organization</u>, Vol. 53, No 4, Autumn 1999, pp 805-809.

Alberta Sbragia. "The European Union as Coxswain: Governance by Steering" in Jon Pierre (ed.) <u>Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy.</u> OUP, 2000, pp 219-240.

Mark Pollack. "Creeping Competence: The expanding Agenda of the European Community", <u>Journal of Public Policy</u>, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1994, pp 95-145.

Michelle Egan and Dieter Wolf, "Regulatory Oversight in Europe: The Case of Comitology," in Christian Joerges and Ellen Vos ed., <u>European Committees: Social regulation, Law and Politics</u> (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 1999).

***Alexander Ballmann, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran, "Delegation, Comitology, and the Separation of Powers in the European Union, <u>International Organization</u>, Vol. 56, Summer 2002, pp. 551-574

DECISION-MAKING

<u>Week VI: The Representation of National Interests</u> (10/2/2007)

Fiona Hayes-Renshaw and Helen Wallace. The Council of Ministers. St. Martin's, 2006 (entire)

Lucia Quaglia and Edward Moxon-Browne, "What Makes a Good EU Presidency? Italy and Ireland Compared," Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 44, No. 2, 2006, pp. 349-68

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton (eds), The Institutions of the European Union, chapter 3

Derk-Jan Epink. Life of a European Mandarin. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo Publishing, 2007, pp. 321-339.

Teresa Kuchler. "Big EU States gain power despite enlargement". EU Observer. May 4, 2007.

Recommended:

Robert Thomson, Jovanka Boerefun, and Frans Stokman, "Actor Alignments in European Union Decision-making," <u>European Journal of Political Research</u>, Vol. 43, 2004, pp. 237-261.

Robert Thomson and Madeleine Hosli, "Who Has Power in the EU? The Commission, Council and Parliament in Legislative Decision-making," <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u>, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 391-417

Torsten J. Selck and Michael Kaeding, "Divergent Interests and Different Success Rates: France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom in EU Legislative Negotiations," <u>French Politics</u>, Vol. 2, No. 1, April 2004, pp. 81-96.

Bailer, Stefanie "Bargaining Successes in the European Union: The Impact of Exogenous and Endogenous Power Resources" European Union Politics, 2004, 5, 1, Mar, 99-123.

Special issue on the coordination method: <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u> Volume 11, Number 2 / April 2004

Jonas Tallberg The Power of the Presidency: Brokerage, Efficiency and Distribution in EU Negotiations <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u> December 2004 - Vol. 42 Issue 5, 999-1024

Lassalle, Deborah; Levrat, Nicolas "A Triangle Has Four Sides: The Institutional Balance and the European Council", Journal of European Integration, 2004, 26, 4, Dec, 431-450.

George Ross. Jacques Delors and European Integration. Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 1-77.

Sophie Meunier. "What Single Voice? European Institutions and EU-US Trade Negotiations", International Organizations, Winter 2000, Vol. 54, No. 1, pp 103-136.

Lewis, Jeffrey "Informal Integration and the Supranational Construction of the Council" Journal of European Public Policy 2003, 10, 6, Dec, 996-1019.

Week VII: The Representation of Electorates and Interest Groups (10/9/2007)

Rinus van Schendelen, <u>Machiavelli in Brussels: The Art of Lobbying the EU</u>. Amsterdam University Press 2005. Chapters 3,5,6. (This book is on the reserve in Hillman library. A copy is also available for photocopy with Ms. Emily Boyle)

E. Bomberg and A. Stubb <u>The European Union: How Does it Work?</u>, Oxford University Press, 2003, chapter 5

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton (eds). <u>The Institutions of the European Union</u>, chapters 6 and 15

Amie Kreppel, <u>The European Parliament and Supranational Party System: A Study in Institutional Development</u>, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Simon Hix et al. "Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>, Vol. 50, No. 2, April 2006, Pp.494-511

Gail McElroy. "Committee Representation in the European Parliament." <u>European Union Politics.</u> Vol. 7(1), 5-29.

Gail McElroy and Kenneth Benoit. "Party Groups and Policy Positions in the European Parliament." Party Politics. Vol. 13. No. 1. pp- 5-28.

Recommended:

Richard Corbett, Francis Jacobs and Michael Shackleton, "The European Parliament at Fifty: A View from the Inside," <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u>, Vol. 41, No. 2, April 2003, pp. 353-373

Jan Beyers and Bart Kerremans, "Bureaucrats, Politicians, and Societal Interests: how is European Policy Making Politicized?" <u>Comparative Political Studies</u>, Vol. 37, No. 10, December 2004, pp. 1119-1150.

Eising, Rainer "Multilevel Governance and Business Interests in the European Union" Governance 2004, 17, 2, Apr, 211-245.

Simon Hix, Tapio Raunio and Roger Scully, "Fifty Years On: Research on the European Parliament," <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u>, Vol. 41, No. 2, April 2003, pp. 191-202

Simon Hix, Amie Kreppel and Abdul Noury, "The Party System in the European Parliament: Collusive or Competitive?" Journal of Common Market Studies Vol. 41, No. 2, April 2003, pp.309-332

Selck, Torsten J. and Steunenberg, Bernard "Between Power and Luck: The European Parliament in the EU Legislative Process" European Union Politics 2004 5 (1): 25-46

Henry Farrell and Adrienne Heritier, "Interorganizational Negotiation and Intraorganizational Power in Shared Decision Making: Early Agreements Under Codecision and their Impact on the European Parliament and Council," <u>Comparative Political Studies</u>, Vol. 37, No. 10, December 2004, pp. 1184-1212.

Jonathan Golub. "In the Shadow of the Vote? Decision Making in the European Community", International Organization, Vol. 53, No. 4, Autumn 1999, pp 733-764.

Grossman, Emiliano "Bringing Politics Back In: Rethinking the Role of Economic Interest Groups in European Integration" Journal of European Public Policy 2004, 11, 4, Aug, 637-654.

Andreas Broscheid and David Coen "Insider and Outsider Lobbying of the European Commission: An Informational Model of Forum Politics" European Union Politics 2003 4: 165-189.

Christian Lahusen "Moving Into the European Orbit: Commercial Consultants in the European Union" European Union Politics 2003 4: 191-218.

***Simon Hix, Abdul Noury, Gerard Roland "Power to the Parties: Cohesion and Competition in the European Parliament, 1979–2001" <u>British Journal of Political Science</u> Volume 35 - Issue 02 - April 2005, 209-234

Ladrech, Robert "The Left and the European Union" Parliamentary Affairs, 2003, 56, 1, Jan, 112-124.

Special issue on legislative decision-making in the EU: European Union Politics 2004: 5

Christiane Kasack "The Legislative Impact of the European Parliament Under the Revised Co-Decision Procedure: Environmental, Public Health and Consumer Protection Policies" European Union Politics 2004 5: 241-260

Christine Mahoney "The Power of Institutions: State and Interest Group Activity in the European Union" European Union Politics 2004 5: 441-466

Richard Whitaker "National Parties in the European Parliament: An Influence in the Committee System?" European Union Politics 2005 6: 5-28.

Bouwen, Pieter "Exchanging Access Goods for Access: A Comparative Study of Business Lobbying in the European Union Institutions" <u>European Journal of Political Research</u>, 2004, 43, 3, May, 337-369.

Giacomo Benedetto "Rapporteurs as legislative entrepreneurs: the dynamics of the codecision procedure in Europe's parliament" <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u> Volume 12, Number 1 pp. 67 - 88 / February 2005

George Tsebelis. "The power of the European Parliament as a conditional agenda setter", <u>American Political Science Review</u>, Vol. 88, No. 1, March 1994, pp 128-142.

Week VIII: The Importance of Judge-Made Law (10/18/2007)

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton (eds). The Institutions of the European Union, chapter 7

Carrubba, Clifford J. "The European Court of Justice, Democracy, and Enlargement" European Union

Politics, 2003, 4, 1, Mar, 75-100.

Recommended:

Federico Mancini. Ch.6 in Robert Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann (eds) <u>The European community:</u> Decisionmaking and institutional Change. Boulder, Colo: West Press, 1991. p. 177-194

Dereck Beach. Between Law and Politics DJOF Publishing Copenhagen 2001.

Walter Mattli and Anne-Marie Slaughter. "Revisiting the European Court of Justice" in <u>International</u> <u>Organization</u>, Vol. 52 No. 1, 1998, pp 177-209.

***Karen J. Alter. "Who Are the Masters of the Treaty?: European Governments and the European Court of Justice", in International Organization, Vol. 52 No. 1, 1998, pp 121-147.

***Karen J. Alter, "The European Union's Legal System and Domestic Policy: Spillover or Backlash?" International Organization, Vol. 54, No. 3, Summer 2000, pp.489-518.

Geoffrey Garrett, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Heiner Schulz. "The European Court of Justice, National Governments, and Legal Integration in the European Union" in <u>International Organization</u>, Vol. 52, No. 1, 1998, pp 149-176.

Alasdair R. Young. "The Adaptation of European Foreign Economic Policy: From Rome to Seattle", Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 38, No. 1, March 2000, pp 93-116.

***Alec Stone Sweet and Thomas L. Brunell. "Constructing a Supranational Constitution: Dispute Resolution and Governance in the EU", <u>American Political Science Review</u>, Vol. 92, No. 1, March 1998, pp 63-81.

Martin Shapiro, "The European Court of Justice," in Euro-Politics, Brookings Institution, 1992.

J.H.H. Weiler, "The Transformation of Europe" Yale Law Journal, June 1991, pp. 2405-2483.

Gregory A. Caldeira and James L. Gibson, "The Legitimacy of the Court of Justice in the European Union", American Political Science Review, Vol. 89, No. 2, June 1995, pp. 356-376.

Francis Snyder. "The Effectiveness of European Community Law: Institutions, Processes, Tools and Techniques", The Modern Law Review, Vol. 56, No. 1, January 1993, pp19-54.

Eric Stein. "Lawyers, Judges, and the Making of a Transnational Constitution", <u>American Journal of International Law</u>, Vol. 75, No. 1, January 1981, pp 1-27.

Anne-Marie Burley and Walter Mattli. "Europe before the Court," in <u>International Organization</u>, vol. 47, No. 1, Winter 1993, pp. 41-76.

Week IX: The Single Market

(10/23/2007)

Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack Policy-Making in the European Union Fifth Edition, 2005, OUP, chapter 4

Desmond Dinan, Origins and Evolution of the European Union, chapters 8, 10,

Mark Gilbert Surpassing Realism Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003, pp. 155-86

Andrew Moravcsik. <u>The Choice For Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht.</u> Cornell University Press, 1998, chapter 5

Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, "1992: Recasting the European Bargain," <u>World Politics</u>, Vol. 42, No. 1, October 1989, pp. 95-128.

David Cameron. "The 1992 Initiative: Causes and Consequences" Ch. 2 in Alberta Sbragia (ed.). <u>Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the "New" European Community.</u> Brookings Institution, 1992

Recommended:

***Michelle P. Egan. Constructing a European Market: Standards, Regulation, and Governance. Oxford University Press, 2001, Introduction, chapters 3, 5 and 11.

David Mayes (ed.) The Evolution of the Single European Market, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1997.

Brian T. Hanson. "What Happened to Fortress Europe? External Trade Policy Liberalization in the European Union", International Organization, Vol. 52, No. 1, Winter 1998, pp 55-86.

***Karen Alter and Sophie Meunier-Aitsahalia, "Judicial Politics in the European Community: European Integration and the Pathbreaking Cassis de Dijon Decision," <u>Comparative Political Studies</u>, Vol. 26,

No. 4, January 1994, pp. 535-61.

Week X: The Regulatory State (10/30/2007)

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton (eds) The Institutions of the European Union, chapter 10

Mark Thatcher, "European Regulation," in Jeremy Richardson (ed) <u>European Union Power and</u> Policymaking, third edition, chapter 15

Giandomenico Majone, "The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe," <u>West European Politics</u>, Vol. 17, No. 3, July 1994, pp. 77-102.

Giandomenico Majone, "The Regulatory State and its Legitimacy Problems" <u>West European Politics</u>, vol. 22, No. 1, January 1999, pp. 1-13

Giandomenico Majone, "Delegation of Regulatory Powers in a Mixed Polity" <u>European Law Journal</u>, vol. 8, No. 3, September 2002, pp. 319-39.

Adrienne Heritier. "The Accommodation of Diversity in European Policy-making and its outcomes: regulatory policy as a patchwork." <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u>. Vol. 3, no. 2, June 1996, pp. 149-67.

Recommended:

Adrienne Heritier and Christoph Knill, "Differential Responses to European Policies: A Comparison," in <u>Differential Europe: The European Union Impact on National Policymaking</u>, Edited by Adrienne Heritier et al, Rowman & Littlefield, 2001, pp. 257-294.

Volkner Eichener, "Social Dumping or Innovative Regulation?", 1992, <u>EUI Working Paper SPS</u> no. 92/28.

- G. Majone, "Mutual Trust, Credible Commitments and the Evolution of Rules for a Single European Market", 1995 EUI Working Paper. RSC no. 95/1.
- G. Majone, "Cross-National Sources of Regulatory Policymaking in Europe and the US", <u>Journal of Public Policy</u>, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1991, pp. 79-106.

Renaud Dehousse. "Integration v. Regulation? On the Dynamics of Regulation in the EC," <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u>, Vol. 30, No. 4, December 1992, pp. 383-401.

Week XI: The EMU (11/06/2007)

Mark Gilbert Surpassing Realism Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003, pp. 188-224

Kathleen McNamara. <u>The Currency of Ideas: Monetary Politics in the European Union</u>, Cornell UP, 1998, chapter one.

C. Randall Henning. "Systemic Conflict and Regional Monetary Integration: The Case of Europe," <u>International Organization</u>, Vol.52, No. 3, Summer 1998, pp. 537-73.

Andrew Moravcsik. <u>The Choice For Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht.</u> Cornell University Press, 1998, chapter 6

Kathleen R. McNamara. "Economic and Monetary Union," in Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack. Policy-making in the European Union, 5th edition, OUP, 2005

Erik Jones, "European macroeconomic governance," in Jeremy Richardson(ed) <u>European Union</u> Power and Policymaking, 3rd edition, chapter16

Peter A. Hall. <u>The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism across nations.</u> Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989. Chapters 7 and 10.

Recommended:

Dorothee Heisenberg, "From the Single Market to the Single Currency," <u>Oriigns and Evolution of the European Union</u>, Desmond Dinan (ed). chapter 11

Rolf J. Langhammer "Small States and the Creation of EMU: Belgium and the Netherlands, Pace-setters and Gate-keepers" Journal of Common Market Studies June 2005 - Vol. 43 Issue 2: 311-26

Karl Magnus Johansson, "Another Road to Maastricht: The Christian Democrat Coalition and the Quest for European Union," <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u>, Vol. 40, No. 5, December 2002, pp. 871-893.

Wayne Sandholtz, "Choosing Union: Monetary Politics and Maastricht," <u>International Organization</u>, vol. 47, No. 1, Winter 1993, pp. 1-39.

David Cameron, "Transnational Relations and the Development of European Economic and Monetary Union," <u>Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions</u>, CUP, 1995, pp. 37-78.

Nicolas Jabko. "In the Name of the Market: How the European Commission Paved the Way for Monetary Union", <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u>, Vol. 6, No 3, September 1999, pp 475-498.

Loukas Tsoukalis, "Economic and Monetary Union: Political Conviction and Economic Uncertainty", Policy-making in the European Union, Helen Wallace and William Wallace (eds.), 4th edition, OUP, pp. 150-178.

George Ross. Jacques Delors and European Integration. OUP, 1995, pp. 78-217.

Michael J. Baun, <u>An Imperfect Union: The Maastricht Treaty and the New Politics of European</u> Integration, Westview, 1996, pp.59-78.

Wayne Sandholtz, "Money troubles: Europe's rough road to monetary union," <u>Journal of European</u> Public Policy, Vol. 3, No. 1, March 1996, pp. 84-101.

Christian de Boissieu and Jean Pisani-Ferry. "The Political Economy of French Economic Policy in the Perspective of EMU," in <u>Forging an Integrated Europe</u>, Edited by Barry Eichengreen and Jeffry Frieden, University of Michigan Press, 1999, pp. 49-90.

Alberta Sbragia, "Italy Pays for Europe: Political Leadership, Political Choice, and Institutional Adaptation," in <u>Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change</u>, Edited by Maria Green Cowles, James Caporaso, and Thomas Risse. Cornell UP, 2001, pp. 79-96.

Poast, Paul D. "The Wall and Maastricht: exogenous shocks and the initiation of the EMU and EPU IGCs" <u>Journal of European Integration</u> Sep2004, Vol. 26 Issue 3, p281, 27p

***Dyson, K. and Featherstone, K. <u>The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating Economic and Monetary</u> Union, OUP, 1999, chapter 1.

<u>Week XII: The New Europe: Justice and Home Affairs</u> (11/13/2007)

Maria Green Cowles and Desmond Dinan (eds.) <u>Developments in the European Union</u> Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, chapters 9 & 10

Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack Policy-Making in the European Union Fifth Edition, 2005, OUP, chapter 18

Terri and Adam Luedtke, "The Politics of European Union Immigration Policy: Institutions, Salience, and Harmonization," The Policy Studies Journal, Vol. 32, No. 1, 2004, pp. 145-165

J. Peterson and M. Shackleton. <u>The Institutions of the European Union</u>. Oxford University Press, 2002 Chapter 9

Recommended

Jorg Monar "The EU as an International Actor in the Domain of Justice and Home Affairs" <u>European Foreign Affairs Review</u> 2004, 9, 3, autumn, 395-415.

Jorg Monar "Justice and home affairs" <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u> 42: 117-133 Suppl. 1, SEP 2004

Alexander Caviedes "The Open Method of Co-Ordination in Immigration Policy: A Tool for Prying Open Fortress Europe?" Journal of European Public Policy, 2004, 11, 2, Apr, 289-310

Sandra Lavenex and Emek M. Uçarer, eds., <u>Migration and the externalities of European integration</u> Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2002.

Tanja Borzel "Mind the gap! European integration between level and scope" Journal of European Public Policy 12 (2): 217-236 APR 2005

Adam Luedtke "European Integration, Public Opinion and Immigration Policy: Testing the Impact of National Identity" <u>European Union Politics</u> 2005 6: 83-112.

Week XIII: Enlargement (11/20/2007)

Milada Vachudova. <u>Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration After Communism</u>. Oxford University Press, 2006

Maria Green Cowles and Desmond Dinan (eds.) <u>Developments in the European Union</u> Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, chapter 1

Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack Policy-Making in the European Union Fifth Edition, 2005, OUP, chapter 16

Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, Moira Nelson, and Erica Edwards, "Party Competition and European Integration in East and West" Comparative Political Studies Volume 39, Issue 2, 2006, pp. 155-175

Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield, "Forum section Political Parties, Public Opinion and European Integration in Post-Communist Countries." <u>The European Union Politics</u> Vol. 7(1):141-160.

Recommended:

Franz C. Mayer, Jan Palmowski "European Identities and the EU – The Ties that Bind the Peoples of Europe, 573-98" Journal of Common Market Studies September 2004 - Vol. 42 Issue 3, 573-98

Claes H. de Vreese and Hajo G. Boomgaarden "Projecting EU Referendums: Fear of Immigration and Support for European Integration" <u>European Union Politics</u> 2005 6: 59-82

Kristi Raik, "EU Accession of Central and Eastern European Countries: Democracy and Integration as Conflicting Logics," <u>East European Politics and Societies</u>, Vol. 18, No. 4, Fall 2004, pp. 567-594

Judith Kelley, "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions," <u>International Organization</u>, Vol. 58, Summer 2004, pp. 425-457.

Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova, "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement," <u>East European Politics and Societies</u>, Special Issue on Enlargement, Vol. 17, no. 1, 2003, pp.

Laurence Whitehead, "The Enlargement of the European Union: A 'Risky' form of Democracy Promotion, in Laurence Whitehead (ed) <u>The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe</u> and the Americas, Oxford University Press, 2001.

Ronald H. Linden and Lisa M. Pohlman, "Now You See it, Now You Don't: Anti-EU Politics in Central and Southeast Europe," <u>Journal of European Integration</u>, Volume 25, No. 4, December 2003, pp. 311-334.

Walter Mattli and Thomas Plumper, "The Internal Value of External Options: How the EU Shapes the Scope of Regulatory Reforms in Transition Countries, "European Union Politics, Vol. 5 (3): 307-330.

Week XIV: The EU after the Euro (11/27/2007)

Mark Gilbert Surpassing Realism Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003, pp. 225-58

Maria Green Cowles and Desmond Dinan (eds.) <u>Developments in the European Union</u> Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, chapter 5

Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack <u>Policy-Making in the European Union</u> Fifth Edition, 2005, OUP, chapter 6

Andrew Martin and George Ross (eds.) <u>Euros and Europeans: Monetary Integration and the European Model of Society</u>, Cambridge University Press, 2004, chapter 11.

Amy Verdun, "Economic Developments in the Euro Area," <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u>, Volume 44, Annual Review, September 2006, pp. 199-212

Recommended

Risse, Thomas "The Euro between National and European Identity" <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u> 2003, 10, 4, Aug, 487-505.

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton (eds). The Institutions of the European Union, chapter 9

Special issue on fiscal policy in the EMU: European Union Politics 2002 3

Special issue on the EMU: <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u> Volume 11, Number 5 / October 2004

Special issue on the EMU and cohesion: <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u> December 2003 - Vol. 41

Week XV: Europeanization and the EU 15 (Part I) 12/04/2007)

Andrea Lenschow, "Europeanisation of Public Policy," in Jeremy Richardson, <u>European Union:</u> <u>Power and Policy-Making</u>, chapter 3

Maria Green Cowles and Desmond Dinan (eds.) <u>Developments in the European Union</u> Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, chapter 3

<u>The Politics of Europeanization</u> edited by Kevin Featherstone and Claudio Radaelli, Oxford University Press, 2003, chapters one and two

James A. Caropase and Joerg Wittenbrinck. "The new modes of governance and political authority in Europe" Journal of European Public Policy 13:4 June 2006: 471-480.

Isabelle Bruno, Sophie Jacquot, and Lou Mandin. "Europeanization through its instrumentation: benchmarking, mainstreaming and the open method of co-ordination... toolbox or Pandora's box?" <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u> 13:4 June 2006:519-536.

Olsen, Johan P. "The Many Faces of Europeanization," <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u>, Volume 40, No. 5, 921-52

Vivien A. Schmidt. 'Democracy in Europe: The Impact of European Integration" <u>Perspectives on Politics</u> (2005), 3: 761-779

Recommended:

Menz, Georg "Re-Regulating the Single Market: National Varieties of Capitalism and Their Responses to Europeanization" <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u>, 2003, 10, 4, Aug, 532-555.

Lavenex, Sandra; Ucarer, Emek M "The External Dimension of Europeanization: The Case of Immigration Policies", Cooperation and Conflict, 2004, 39, 4, Dec, 417-443.

Pace, Michelle "The Impact of European Union Involvement in Civil Society Structures in the Southern Mediterranean" Mediterranean Politics, Summer 2005, Vol. 10 Issue 2, p239, 6p;

Gerda Falkner, Oliver Treib, Miriam Hartlapp and Simone Leiber <u>Complying with Europe: EU Harmonisation and Soft Law in the Member States</u>, Cambridge University Press, 2005

Heather A.D. Mbaye "Why National States Comply with Supranational Law: Explaining Implementation Infringements in the European Union, 1972-1993" <u>European Union Politics</u> 2001 2: 259-281

Falkner, Gerda; Hartlapp, Miriam; Leiber, Simone; Treib, Oliver "Non-Compliance with EU Directives in the Member States: Opposition through the Backdoor?" <u>West European Politics</u>, 2004, 27, 3, May, 452-473.

Francesco Duina and Paulette Kurzer "Smoke in your eyes: the struggle over tobacco control in the European Union" Journal of European Public Policy Volume 11, Number 1 / February 2004, 57-77

Maria Green Cowles, James Caporaso, and Thomas Risse, <u>Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change</u>, Edited Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Kenneth Dyson and Klaus H. Goetz, "Living with Europe: Power, Constraint, and Contestation," Jeffrey J. Anderson, "Europeanization in Context: Concept and Theory/ - Kenneth Dyson, "Economic Policies: From Pace-Setter to Beleaguered Player," and Jorg Monar, "Justice and Home Affairs: Europeanization as a Government Controlled Process," in Germany, Europe and the Politics of Constraint, edited by Kenneth Dyson and Klaus H. Goetz, The British Academy, 2003.

Cecile Leconte "The Fragility of the EU as a 'Community of Values': Lessons from the Haider Affair"

West European Politics May 2005, 28 (3): 620-49

Spyros Economides "The Europeanisation of Greek Foreign Policy" <u>West European Politics</u> March 2005, 28 (2), pp. 471-491]

Panos Kazakos "Europeanisation, Public Goals and Group Interests: Convergence Policy in Greece, 1990–2003" West European Politics, Vol.27, No.5, November 2004, pp.901 – 918

Simon Bulmer and Christian Lesquesne. <u>The Member States of the European Union.</u> Oxford University Press. 2005.

Research Paper Due December 11, 2007

Week XVI: Europeanization and Institutional Change in New member States (Part II). (12/11/2007)

Heywood, Paul et. al (eds). <u>Developments in European Politics</u>. Palgrave, 2006 Chapters 4,5,6,12.

Klaus H. Goetz and Hellmut Wollman "Governmentalizing central executives in post-communist Europe: A four- country comparison." <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u> 8:6 December 2001, pp 864-887.