Political Science 299D
The Politics of European Integration
Spring 2005

Mondays 2:50 - 5:20 pm
Perkins Library, Room 301
http://courses.duke.edu

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Purpose

PS 299D is a research seminar focusing on the politics and current institutions of the European Union (EU) and the historical process that led to it. Like an international organization, the EU was originally founded in the 1950s through a series of treaties between six West European nation states, represented by their governments, and the member states retain the final say on many issues to this day. But much also has changed since the 1950s. Eight former East European countries and two smaller Southern European states have joined the EU on May 1, 2004 in what was already the fifth EU enlargement, bringing the total number of member states to twenty-five. A "constitution" has been drafted and may replace the treaties, and the EU already has a quasi-constitutional court, as well as a parliament organized along party lines. Moreover, meeting in the "European Council" or "Council of Ministers," national governments take binding decisions on an increasing number of issues by majority vote rather than unanimity, and they share executive powers with a supranational European institution, the European Commission. Is the EU thus a state in the making? How might we understand the current politics and policies of the European Union as well as the historical process that led to it?

In this seminar, we will examine a range of theoretical perspectives that might help us explain the EU and the process of European integration. We will read the classics of integration theory, but also examine the EU comparatively as an instance of more common political phenomena, drawing on general theories of international relations, state formation, and comparative (domestic) politics. Empirically, assigned readings focus on the history and current institutions of the EU in general and cover a few key policy areas; for the research papers, student should conduct empirical analyses of a particular aspect of the process of European integration or analyses of EU politics in a specific issue area.

PS 299D is research seminar for graduate students, open to qualified undergraduates (seniors and in exceptional circumstances) minors with strong preparation for a research seminar and a willingness to take on a graduate-level reading load. There are no formal prerequisites, but undergraduates—for whom the course meets the CCI and R "modes of inquiry" requirements—must receive my permission.

Requirements

Course requirements are writing a research paper on a topic of your choosing (subject to my approval) and active participation in seminar discussion, based on the assigned readings.

Participation: Active and thoughtful class participation is crucial and must be based on having read (and thought about) the assigned chapters and articles. It allows you to probe your own understanding as well as benefit from your classmates' insights. I might ask individual students or small groups to start off our discussion once or twice during the semester. In assigning a participation grade, I heavily weigh the quantity of participation by the quality of contributions.

Research Paper: The research paper should be 30-35 pages in length (12,000 words ±20%, including all notes and references; about 20 pages for undergraduates (7,000 words ±20%, including all notes and references)). I encourage you to see me early and often to discuss possible research paper topics. As part of the class, we will have an introduction to the EU Documents collections at Perkins library with Christof Galli, the international documents librarian at Duke with special responsibility for the EU Depository collection at the end of our third class (Monday 1/31, from 4:30-5:20). Looking through
recent issues of EU-specific journals such as the Journal of Common Market Studies, the Journal of European Integration, or European Union Politics, as well as browsing EU-related sections in the library (e.g. shelves with Library of Congress call numbers starting with JN1 - JN50 and HC241.2 in the LC number section of the library), might also help you in selecting topics.

By Monday, Feb. 21, you must hand in a memo that states clearly (1) what your topic is, (2) why this is interesting to you and should be interesting to others, (3) what your key analytical questions are, and—very importantly—(4) how you will go about answering them. I will return the memo with comments in class the next week (Mon, Feb. 28).

For all students, the final grade for the course will be based on:

- research paper: 60%
- research presentation: 10%
- class participation: 30%

Readings

Many of the required readings are available to you online via Duke's e-journal collections or similar sources; the syllabus on the course website links directly to those readings (marked "online" below) whenever possible (some bibliographic databases do not allow stable links). Some other readings have been placed on physical reserve at Perkins library and/or electronic reserve; those readings are marked "reserve" below (access may be restricted to students registered for the course). Most other required readings are contained in the following three books, which are available for purchase at the Duke Bookstore.


Financial Times Subscription

The European Union is an institution very much in flux. Negotiations about the next enlargement (Bulgaria, Romania, maybe others) are ongoing; negotiations about an accession of Croatia and Turkey are just starting; and 23 of the EU's 25 current member states will decide whether to ratify the new "constitution" over the next 18 months, either through votes or their parliaments or via national referenda (starting with Spain in February; Lithuania and Hungary have already ratified). To keep up with the changes underway, students in PS299 should get a subscription to the print or electronic edition of the Financial Times (FT), which reports on these developments regularly and with greater accuracy and detail than any other English-language source available in the United States. As part of the required readings for each week, students are expected to have followed each prior week's developments in the EU to the extent that they were reported in the FT (print or full electronic edition, not just ft.com). 15-week student subscriptions of the FT are available at a greatly discounted price via a sign-up in the first class or from http://news.ft.com/education/portal/index.html (click on "Students").

Finally, the following books have been ordered as "Recommended" at the bookstore since we read several selections from them:

EH: Haas, Ernst B. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950-1957*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004

1. Introduction to European Integration & the EU: International or Domestic Politics? (Wednesday, Jan. 12 in lieu of Monday, Jan. 17)

**reserves**

**online**

**reserves**

**Recommended (and to be re-visited in week 13)**

2. The Early Years: From Grand Visions to Humble Reality (Mon, Jan. 24)

**Une certaine idée de l'Europe ...**

**reserve**

**N&S**

**N&S**

**Recommended**

**The Early History: From the End of World War II to the Founding of the European Communities**

**reserve**

**reserve**
3. European Integration as Interstate Politics? (Mon, Jan.31)

NOTE: At the end of today's seminar (from about 4:30 to 5:20), we will take a brief tour of the EU documents section of Perkins library and get an introduction to the resources for research on European integration from Christof Galli, the international documents librarian at Duke with special responsibility for the EU Depository collection.

Intergovernmentalism, Realist and Liberal Variants


Eurosclerosis, Re-launch, and the Intergovernmental Institutions


Recommended [more intergovernmentalism:]

Hoffmann, Stanley. "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe." Daedalus vol.95 no.3 (Summer 1966): 862-915.


4. New Places to Pursue One's Interests: Politics Beyond the Nation State (Mon, Feb. 7)

Neofunctionalism: Changing Identities? Shifting Loyalties?


Recommended

Supranational Institutions: The European Commission and the Courts


Recommended

5. Social Science Research and Writing & the Study of European Integration (Mon, Feb. 14)


The following very basic introductions to quantitative reasoning and statistical hypothesis testing can be skimmed by students familiar with quantitative methods, but are required of all others; they are all on reserve:


Methodological Debates in Application to the Study of European Integration


Recommended:


6. Marxist, Feminist, and Constructivist Perspectives (Mon, Feb. 21)


online Shaw, Jo. "Importing Gender: The Challenge of Feminism and the Analysis of the EU Legal Order." In Journal of European Public Policy vol.7 no.3 (Special Issue: Women, Power and Public Policy in Europe, September 2000): 406-431.


Recommended


7. Generalizing Beyond Europe: Regional Integration and State Formation Perspectives
(Mon, Feb.28)


The European Parliament: A(n Extra)Ordinary Legislature?


8. Interests & Power in the EU: National Prerogatives or European-Level Domestic Politics?
(Mon, March 7)


9. A Different Variety of Democratic Capitalism? Redistribution and Regulation in the EU
(Mon, March 21)


Recommended:

The Common Agricultural Policy: Essential Glue, Exemplary Waste, or Exceptional Failure?


Recommended:

10. EMU & the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) (Mon, March 28)

European Monetary Union (EMU) and Common Currency


Recommended

The EU as an Actor in World Politics?

online Frieden, Jeffrey. "One Europe, One Vote? The Political Economy of European Union Representation in International Organizations." European Union Politics vol.5 no.2 (June 2004): 261-276.

reserve Wæver, Ole. "The EU as a Security Actor: Reflections from a Pessimistic Constructivist on Post-Sovereign Security Orders." In International Relations Theory and the Politics of European


Recommended

11. Public Opinion & EU Enlargement (Mon, April 4)

Public Opinion


EU Enlargement


+ Special section of the Financial Times on EU Enlargement.

Recommended


12. Research Presentations (Monday, April 11)

During the April 11 session, each student will give a 10-12 minute focused presentation on his/her research paper, followed by about five minutes of comments from the class. The research may at this point be work-in-progress, but the presentation should be polished and gives students an opportunity to practice oral presentation skills.

13. Explaining and Understanding European Integration (Mon, April 18; exact time TBA, at Prof. Büthe's house)

The EU between International Relations and Comparative Politics


From Treaty to Constitution?


+ 1 Reading TBA on the ratification of the EU "Constitution."

Monday, May 2 at noon: RESEARCH PAPER DUE