Spring Term 2008

# **SYLLABUS**

Professor: Alfred P. Montero Phone: x4085 (Office) Web Page: <u>http://people.carleton.edu/~amontero</u> Office Hours: by appointment in person or via Skype Skype: amontero9601 Office: Willis 407 Email: amontero@carleton.edu

# **POSC 383: The Political and Economic Integration of Europe**

#### **Course Description**

This course will systematically analyze the European Union (EU) and the larger project of economic and political integration in Europe. Instruction will focus on the major institutions and policy areas of the EU. The course begins with an examination of the current institutional framework of European policy-making. It then proceeds to a more extensive evaluation of competition policy, agricultural policy, regional policy (the structural funds), the common foreign and security policy, and justice and home affairs. Beyond these areas, the course will focus on the ongoing problem of the "democratic deficit." In this vein, special attention will be given to a project on the (dis)connections between European leaders and citizens.

#### What is Expected of Students

Students will be expected to read, think, criticize, and form arguments. That will require keeping up on reading assignments and attending class regularly. Students must be fully prepared *at all times* to discuss the readings and concepts from previous lectures. The best students will be critical but balanced in their assessments, and will develop coherent arguments that they can defend in their writing and their in-class discussion.

#### **Reading Materials**

This course requires one book, which has been purchased by the program and has been distributed to all students prior to the trip.1 The course also uses a reader containing a complete compilation of all of the other required readings. In addition to the course reader, I will distribute copies of relevant articles from the *International Herald Tribune*, *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, Google, Wikipedia, and YouTube via email. All readings for this course may be downloaded from e-reserves or the common folder. Additionally, a small supply of hard copies will be available during the program.

<sup>1</sup> The required book is Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark A. Pollack, eds. 2005. *Policy-Making in the European Union 5<sup>th</sup> Ed.* New York: Oxford University Press.

### Grading

Assessment of the students in this course will be based on their performance during regular seminar meetings, including lectures and other events outside of Maastricht, a data gathering and analysis project; numerous quizzes, a simulation of decision-making in the EU Council of Ministers, and a cumulative, final examination at the end of the sixth week. The grade breakdown follows:

Seminar Participation	20%
Data Analysis Project	25%
Quizzes	20%
EU Simulation	15%
Final Exam	20%

#### The Grading Scale

I will be using the following grading scale in this course and in POSC 387:

98-100 A+ 94-97 A 91-93 A-88-90 B+ 83-87 B 79-82 B-76-78 C+ 72-75 C 68-71 C-67/below D/F

#### Attendance

Consistent attendance in the course and all program-related activities is required. If you know you will be absent due to health problems, you must report this to an RA or the program assistant as soon as possible. Failure to attend a meeting for any reason other than an approved medical or otherwise sanctioned reason will be punishable by a reduced 10 percent off of the final grade. More than three such unexcused absences will result in failure.

#### Academic Misconduct

Given the fact that academe relies upon the ethical conduct of scholars, students are held to the same standards in their own work. Any act of academic dishonesty or misconduct will be referred to the Office of the Dean. For further information, see the useful handout on "Avoiding Academic Misconduct," available on the course webpage.

#### Special Needs

Students requiring access to learning tools/special schedules approved by Student Support Services should contact me at the beginning of the course.

#### **NOTE:** Readings must be completed for the dates assigned below.

### Session 1: Reforming EU Institutions: Towards a More Democratic Union?

#### Prior to the Trip:

Europa webpage (<u>http://europa.eu</u>). Become familiar with the material on the "Institutions" tab and under the "Services" tab, the Eurostat webpage ("Statistics") and the Eurobarometer webpage ("Opinion Polls")).

#### As a refresher:

Helen Wallace. 2005. "The Institutional Setting." In Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack.

Preamble of the Maastricht Treaty; Preamble of the Treaty of Nice; "Reflections on a Constitution for Europe." 2004. In Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, eds. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration* 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 65-83.

### Whither the European Union? An Introduction (Tuesday, April 1)

Ian Ward. 2003. "A Decade of Europe? Some Reflections on an Aspiration." *Journal of Law and Society* 30:2 (June): 236-57.

Paul Magnette. 2003. "European Governance and Civic Participation: Beyond Elitist Citizenship?" *Political Studies* 51:1: 144-60.

Hooghe, Liesbet. 2003. "Europe Divided? Elites vs. Public Opinion on European Integration." *European Union Politics* 4: 281-305.

### The Institutional System and the Democratic Question (Wednesday, April 2)

Robert Thomson. 2008. "National Actors in International Organizations: The Case of the European Commission." *Comparative Political Studies* 41:2 (February): 169-192.

Jeffrey Lewis. 2002. "National Interests: Coreper." In *The Institutions of the European Union*. John Peterson and Michael Shackleton, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.

### The Decision-Making Process and the Democratic Question (Thursday, April 3)

Paul Magnette, Christian Lequesne, Nikolas Jabko, and Olivier Costa. 2003. "Diffuse Democracy in the European Union: The Pathologies of Delegation." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10:5 (October): 834-40.

Simon Hix. 2004. "Electoral Institutions and Legislative Behavior: Explaining Voting Defection in the European Parliament." *World Politics* 56:2 (January): 194-223.

Robert Ladrech. 2007. "National Political Parties and European Governance: The Consequences of 'Missing in Action."" *West European Politics* 33:5 (November): 945-60.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2005. "Calculation, Community, and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration." Mimeo.

# Session 2: The Judicial and the Regulatory Systems of the EU

# The Judicial System of the EU (Tuesday, April 8)

Kieran St. Clair Bradley. 2002. "The European Court of Justice." In *The Institutions of the European Union*. John Peterson and Michael Shackleton, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.

Olivier Costa. 2003. "The European Court of Justice and Democratic Control in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10:5 (October): 740-61.

Tanja A. Börzel. 2006. "Participation through Law Enforcement: The Case of the European Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 39:1 (February): 128-52.

### Official Resources:

ECJ webpage for access to decisions since 1997 (http://curia.eu.int/en/content/juris/index.htm).

Eurlex webpage of access to EU law (http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/en/index.htm).

# A Visit to the ECJ in Luxembourg (Wednesday, April 9)

# **Competition Policy of the EU (Thursday, April 10)**

Stephen Wilks. 2005. "Competition Policy." In Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack.

Mario Monti. 2004. "A Reformed Competition Policy: Achievements and Challenges for the Future." Speech delivered to the Center for European Reform, Brussels, 28 October.

Daniel J. Gifford and Robert T. Kudrle. 2003. "European Union Competition Law and Policy: How Much Latitude for Convergence with the United States?" *The Antitrust Bulletin* 48:3 (Fall): 727-80.

#### Official Resources:

Commission of the European Communities. 2004. "A Pro-active Competition Policy for a Competitive Europe." COM(2004) 293 (Final Draft).

Mario Monti. 2000. "Competition in a Social Market Economy." Speech delivered at the Conference of the European Parliament and the European Commission on "Reform of European Competition Law," Freiburg, Germany, 9-10 November.

COMMISSION REGULATION (EC) No 773/2004 of 7 April 2004 relating to the conduct of proceedings by the Commission pursuant to Articles 81 and 82 of the EC Treaty.

Commission of the European Communities. 1999. "White Paper on Modernisation of the Rules Implementing Articles 85 and 86 of the EC Treaty." Commission Programme No. 99/027.

Commission of the European Communities. 1996. "Green Paper on Vertical Restraints." COM(1996) 721.

#### Session 3: Agriculture and the Common Market

### The Common Agricultural Policy and Its Reform (Tuesday, April 15)

Quiz #1: Institutions, Democracy, and Regulations

Elmar Rieger. 2005. "Agricultural Policy." In Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack.

Carsten Daugbjerg and Alan Swinbank. 2007. "The Politics of CAP Reform: Trade Negotiations, Institutional Settings and Blame Avoidance." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45:1 (March):

Xavier Groussot. 2007. Case C-310/04, *Kingdom of Spain v. Council of the European Union*, Judgment of the Court (Second Chamber) of 7 September 2006. *Common Market Law Review* 44:3 (June).

Debate #1: CAP Reform

### Official Resources:

Commission for the European Communities. 2004. *The Common Agricultural Policy Explained*. Brussels: EU.

Commission of the European Communities. 2002. "Mid-Term Review of the Common Agricultural Policy." (<u>http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/111062.htm</u>).

# The Common Market (Part 1) (Thursday, April 17)

Alasdair R. Young. 2005. "The Single Market." In Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack.

Stephen Woolcock. 2005. "Trade Policy." In Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack.

Kathleen R. McNamara. 2005. "Economic and Monetary Union." In Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack.

# The Common Market (Part 2) (Thursday, April 17)

Stephan Leibfried. 2005. "Social Policy." In Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack.

Martin Rhodes. 2005. "Employment Policy." In Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack.

Debate #2: Social and Employment Policy in the EU

Prep Session for the EU Simulation in Brussels (TBA)

# Session 4: The EU Democracy Project in Brussels (April 21-25)

EU Simulation (Monday, April 21)

Research (Tuesday-Thursday, April 22-24)

Visit to NATO Headquarters (Friday, April 25)

Session 5: The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

### Constructing the CFSP: *Realpolitik* or Nation-Building? (Tuesday, April 29)

William Wallace. 2005. "Foreign and Security Policy." In Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack.

Barry Posen. 2006. "European Union Security and Defense Policy: Response to Unipolarity?" *Security Studies* 15:12 (April-June): 149-86.

Stephanie Anderson and Thomas R. Seitz. 2006. "European Security and Defense Policy Demystified: Nation-Building and Identity in the European Union." *Armed Forces and Society* 33:1 (October): 24-42.

Bastian Giegerich and Eva Gross. 2006. "Squaring the Circle? Leadership and Legitimacy in

European Security and Defence Cooperation." International Politics 43: 500-9.

Quiz #2: CAP, the Common Market, and EU Decision-making

### EU Foreign Policy and Global Security (Wednesday, April 30)

Alistair Shepherd. 2006. "Irrelevant or Indispensable? ESDP, the 'War on Terror' and the Fallout from Iraq." *International Politics* 43: 71-92.

Antje Wiener. 2008. "European Responses to International Terrorism: Diversity Awareness as a New Capability?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46:1 (January):

Catriona Gourlay. 2004. "European Union Procedures and Resources for Crisis Management." *International Peacekeeping* 11:3 (Autumn):

# Assessing the Prospects for a European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) (Thursday, May 1)

Study the webpage of the European Institute for Security Studies (ISS) (<u>http://www.iss.europa.eu/</u>). Survey the Chaillot Papers archive (<u>http://www.iss.europa.eu/index.php?id=143#c893</u>)

Martin Trybus. 2006. "The New European Defence Agency: A Contribution to A Common European Security and Defence Policy and a Challenge to the Community *Acquis*?" *Common Market Law Review* 43:3 (June): 667-703.

Debate #3: The Design and Implementation of the ESDP

### MIDTERM BREAK (Friday, May 2 – Monday, May 5)

Meetings at the ISS in Paris (Tuesday-Wednesday, May 6-7)

Research Group Presentations (EU Democracy Project) (Wednesday-Thursday, May 7-8)

FINAL EXAM (Thursday, May 8)

"Toast to the EU" under the Eiffel Tower @ dusk (Thursday, May 8)

END OF POSC 383

# **POSC 387: Europe of Regions**

### **Course Description**

This research seminar will examine the issues facing subnational polities and economies as they deal with the project of European integration. The focus of the work will be the study of cases of EU structural funding for local or regional projects. Students will receive instruction in the theoretical, political, policy, and economic geographic literature on subnational political economy. Students will be divided into research teams of 3-4 members. Each team will prepare to conduct fieldwork in *at least two* subnational regions of their choice in western Europe. After conducting their research during the period set aside for such travel, students will return to Maastricht and, in consultation with the professor, prepare a formal presentation of their work and a research report.

#### **Reading Materials**

Same resources as POSC 383.

#### Grading

Assessment of the students in this course will be based on their performance on the group research project and class participation. Each individual student will receive an equal share of the group grade given to their research team based on overall performance. The grade breakdown follows:

<b>Course Preparation</b>	20%
Logistical Preparation	20%
<b>Group Presentation</b>	25%
Research Report	35%

#### Course Preparation

Attendance in this course is mandatory. Each student will be expected to take careful notes and to prepare for each class discussion, which may take place in Maastricht or "on the road" (i.e., on the French TGV, a bus, hotel, or café). Students are required to be up on the reading and to be able to discuss these readings in detail.

#### Logistical Preparation

Each research team will be expected to manage both the academic and logistical content of their

fieldwork and report their progress regularly to the professor. Communication via Skype, email, and telephone as well as face-to-face meetings will determine how each teach is making progress.

A large part of the logistical preparation will involve a "group dynamics" component. This score will be determined based on peer evaluations, professor's observations of preliminary work, and demonstrated work for the group. Emphasis will be placed on the demonstration of *consistent* effort by all group members. The group dynamics score will be based on a mean group score adjusted for varying level of individual effort. Because this is a collaborative exercise, all group members are responsible for the whole project. That is, each member shares in the collective responsibility of the project, making individual backsliding the problem of the entire team.

Site visits during the field research period must be organized through contacts and students must do all the key logistical work to prepare interview subjects, follow-through with the visit, and then brief the professor and the rest of the program participants during evening discussion sections. The program assistant will manage each group's research budget, which will cover all transport, hotel accommodations and other research-related costs (e.g., fees, copies, etc.).

# Group Presentation and the Research Report

After a period of study and compilation of other materials, each research team will present their findings in both an oral and written form. Oral presentations will be scheduled for the ninth week of the program. Research Reports will be due no later than 5 p.m. on Friday, June 6.

# Wednesday, April 2: The "Europe of Regions" and the Future of the EU

Michael Keating and Liesbet Hooghe. 1996. "By-passing the Nation State? Regions and the EU Policy Process." In *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*. Jeremy J. Richardson, ed. Routledge.

### Tuesday, April 8: Theoretical Approaches to the EoR: Multilevel Governance

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2001. *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*. Rowman and Littlefield, (chapter 1, "Multi-Level Governance in the European Union").

Tanja A. Börzel. 2001. "Europeanization and Territorial Institutional Change: Toward Cooperative Regionalism?" In *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Maria Green Cowles, James Caporaso, and Thomas Risse, eds. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

### Wednesday, April 16: The Structural Funds and Regional Policy

David Allen. 2005. "Cohesion and the Structural Funds." In Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack.

EU Regional Policy DG (<u>http://europa.eu.int/pol/reg/index\_en.htm</u>).

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2001. *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*. Rowman and Littlefield, chapters 5-7.

EU Structural Funds Reports (Maastricht '05) (select one) (http://apps.carleton.edu/curricular/ocs/maastricht/archive/Spring\_05/research/)

# Wednesday, April 30: Comparative Subnational Political Economies

Regional reports from Maastricht 2002 and 2005 (select one from each cohort) (2002: <u>http://apps.carleton.edu/curricular/ocs/maastricht/archive/Research\_2002/</u>) (2005: <u>http://apps.carleton.edu/curricular/ocs/maastricht/archive/Spring\_05/research/</u>)

Bruce Kogut. 2004. "From Regions and Firms to Multinational Highways: Knowledge and Its Diffusion as a Factor in the Globalization of Industries." In *Locating Global Advantage: Industry Dynamics in the International Economy*. Martin Kenney and Richard Florida, eds. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

DVD: "Faszination Ruhrgebiet: Route der Industriekultur" (2002).

Thursday, May 1: Research Design Workshop

Fieldwork by Regional Research Teams, May 12-21

Research Team Meetings with Prof. Montero, May 22, 24-26

Fieldwork Presentations, May 27-29

Write-up Workshops, June 3-5