

## WHAT KIND OF EUROPE? CRISIS, REFORM & THE INTERNATIONAL ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (IR270)

**Course duration:** 54 hours lecture and class time (Over three weeks)

**LSE Teaching Department:** Department of International Relations

**Lead Faculty:** Dr Spyros Economides, Dr Ulrich Sedelmeier and Dr Eiko Thielemann

**Pre-requisites:** Some basic knowledge about the European Union and social sciences. The course is of particular interest to students interested in politics and international relations including international political economy, European studies and law.

### Course Outline:

This course explores the political dynamics of European integration since 1945, putting an emphasis on the tension between 'deepening' and 'widening' and the implications of these process on the effectiveness of the EU domestically and internationally. It combines an overview of recent research on EU institutions and policy-making with an in-depth study of current conceptual and policy debates in selected EU policy areas. In doing so, the course also examines some of the important political and economic reform pressures the EU and individual EU members face. Themes that will be explored include:

- the institutional and legal foundations of European integration
- the making, set-backs and future of the European constitution
- policy-making in key policy areas
- the record and prospects of past and future rounds of enlargement
- the evolving role of the EU as a foreign policy actor

The twelve daily sessions for the course will usually consist of a lecture that includes discussion, followed by a class which will allow for further small group work.

### Textbooks:

- Nugent, N., Seventh Edition (2010) The Government and Politics of the European Union, Basingstoke: Macmillan (ISBN-10:0230241182).
- Wallace, H. Pollack M. and A. Young, Seventh Edition (2014) Policy-making in the European Union, Oxford: OUP (ISBN-10: 0199689679).
- Hix, S. and B. Hoyland, Third Edition (2011), The Political System of the European Union, Basingstoke: Macmillan (ISBN-10:0230249825)

**Course Structure:**

- Lectures: 36 hours
- Classes: 18 hours
- Assessment: Final examination (75%) and mid-session essay (25%)

**Objectives, Audience, Learning Outcomes, Assessment****Course Objectives:**

This course explores the key dynamics of European integration since 1945. The emphasis is on linking different approaches to the study of European integration with policy case studies. The course examines the interrelated process of European integration and enlargement, thereby highlighting the tensions between the deepening and widening of the EU.

**Target Audience**

This course is designed as an intermediate-level course. It should appeal to both advanced undergraduate students and professionals who seek to gain a deeper understanding of the core institutions and policies of the European Union. The multidisciplinary nature of the topic opens up this course to students from different disciplinary backgrounds, such as political science, international relations, law, history, political economy and economics. The course combines an overview of EU institutions with an in-depth study of the practice of EU policy-making, most recent debates about the future of European integration and enlargement as well as the Union's role in the political and economic world order.

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**Intended Learning Outcomes:**

Students who have successfully completed this course should have a deeper understanding of

- the institutional set-up of the European Union and its evolution over time;
- the process of EU policy-making in different sectors;
- a range of topical EU policy area currently under discussion, relating to issues such as migration, cohesion and agricultural policy, the environment, the Single Market and EMU, the EU's external relations and its current institutional reform agenda.

**Assessment:**

The assessment consists of an essay of up to 1500 words (bibliography does not count, word-count must be stated on the first page of the essay), to be sent as an email attachment to both class teachers by Saturday noon of the second week; and a two-hour written exam at the end of the programme (students will be asked to answer two out of eight questions).

**LECTURES:**

**1: The EU Institutions & the Democratic Deficit (Eiko Thielemann)**

- The evolution of the EU and its institutions (from Rome to Lisbon)
- The EU Democratic Deficit Debate

**2: Policy-Making in the EU (Eiko Thielemann)**

- Agenda setting
- Decision making
- Implementation

**3: Lobbying in the EU (Eiko Thielemann)**

- EU Lobbying: strategies and access points
- The power of interest groups & lobbying transparency

**4: Justice and Home Affairs Policies (Eiko Thielemann)**

- The Evolution of the 'Area of Freedom, Security and Justice'
- EU citizenship, police cooperation, immigration and asylum

**5: EU Solidarity & Redistributive Politics (Eiko Thielemann)**

- Forced Migration and Burden-Sharing
- Regional and Cohesion Policies

**6: The EU Budget and Agricultural Policies (Eiko Thielemann)**

- EU Budgetary Politics
- The Common Agricultural Policy

**7: The Single Market and Free Movement (Eiko Thielemann) (15/7/13)**

- The Evolution of the Single Market
- Freedom of Movement and the Schengen System

**8: Economic and Monetary Union (Eiko Thielemann)**

- The evolution of the Single Currency
- EMU and the financial crisis

**9: The Common Foreign and Security Policy (Spyros Economides)**

- From European Political Cooperation to Common Foreign and Security Policy
- European Security and Defence Policy

**10: Reading Day (no lecture)**

**11: EU Foreign Policy Case Studies (Spyros Economides)**

- The EU and the Balkans
- Europe's Mediterranean Policies

**12: Enlargement (Ulrich Sedelmeier)**

- History and evolving practice of EU enlargement
- Eastern enlargement: Why enlarge?
- The future of EU enlargement: the Balkans, Turkey, and eastern Europe

### **13: Accession Conditionality and the EU's influence on its neighbours (Ulrich Sedelmeier)**

- The 'Copenhagen Criteria' and the evolving political conditionality
- When is conditionality effective? The EU's impact on democracy and human rights
- Influence without accession perspective? The EU's 'Eastern Partnership'

### **14: Revision Day (no lecture)**

### **15: Exam**

## **CLASSES:**

### **Class 1: The EU Institutions & the Democratic Deficit**

#### **Key questions:**

1. Is there a democratic deficit in the EU?
2. Can Treaty reform 'fix' the EU's democratic deficit?

#### **Required Reading:**

- Hix, S., & A. Follesdal, 'Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik', JCMS 44:3 (2006), pp.533-562
- Harding G. (2014), Mind the Gap, Foreign Affairs, June 4.
- Ford, M. (2014), Europe's Democratic Deficit Is Getting Worse, The Atlantic, May 2014.

#### **Additional Reading:**

- Moravcsik, A., 'In defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union', Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS), 40: 4 (2002), 603-624.
- Moravcsik, A. (2008), The European Constitutional Settlement, World Economy, Vol. 31, Issue 1, pp. 158-183.
- Kreilinger V. (2013) What Political Union, Notre Europe, January 2013.

### **Class 2: Policy-making in the European Union**

#### **Key questions:**

1. Which is the most powerful decision-making body in EU policy-making?
2. Has the European Parliament now equal powers compared to the Council?

#### **Required Reading:**

- Costello C and R Thomson (2013), The distribution of power among EU institutions: who wins under codecision and why?, Journal of European Public Policy, Vol. 20, No. 7, 1025 –1039,
- Euronet (2014), Power Game between European Parliament and Council, June 2014

### Additional Reading:

- Thompson and Hosli (2006) Who has power in the EU?, Journal of Common Market Studies, 44, 2, 391-417.
- Pollack, M (1997) Delegation, agency, and agenda setting in the European Community, International Organization, Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 99-134.
- Shackleton M. (2011), The European Parliament: The Major Winner after the Lisbon Treaty?, Maastricht Monnet Papers, No 4.
- Thompson R. (2011), "Resolving Controversy in the European Union" (chapter 8: The Relative Power of EU Institutions)

### Class 3: Lobbying in the EU

#### Key questions:

1. Is lobbying in Brussels fundamentally different from lobbying in Washington DC?
2. Do business interests run the EU?

#### Required Reading:

- Kluever H. (2013), Lobbying in the European Union: Interest Groups, Lobbying Coalitions and Policy Change, EUDO Blog, 11 June 2013; or for the full article see here: Klüver, Heike (2011): The contextual nature of lobbying: Explaining lobbying success in the European Union, European Union Politics, 12(4):483-506.
- Woll C. (2012) The brash and the soft-spoken: Lobbying styles in a transatlantic comparison, Interest Groups & Advocacy Vol. 1, 2, 193–214

#### Additional Reading:

- Dür, A. (2009) Interest Groups in the European Union: How Powerful Are They? West European Politics, Vol. 31, Iss. 6.
- Hix, S. and B Hoyland (2010) The Political System of the European Union, 3rd edn, London: Palgrave. Chapter 7 (Interest Representation).
- Coen, D. (2007), Theoretical and Empirical Studies in EU Lobbying, Journal of European Public Policy
- EuObserver – SecretEU: series of articles on lobbying and intelligence - <http://euobserver.com/secret-ue>
- Video: Interest Representation in the Single Market: The Brussels Business (2012) (excerpt), full movie here.

### Class 4: Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) Policies

#### Key questions:

1. Why have the Member States increased cooperation in JHA?
2. Does the EU strengthen or undermine refugee protection in Europe?

#### Required Reading:

- Thielemann E. (2013) Principal-Agent Dynamics in EU Asylum Policy –Or How Integration Rescued Refugee Protection in Europe, pp. 30-37.
- Ripoll Servent A. & F. Trauner (2014) Do supranational EU institutions make a difference? EU asylum law before and after ‘communitarization’, Journal of European Public Policy, Volume 21, Issue 8, 2014.

#### **Additional Reading:**

- Hathaway, James C., ' Harmonizing for Whom? The Devaluation of Refugee Protection in the Era of European Economic Integration ', Cornell International LawJournal 26:3 (1993), 719-35.
- Niemann, A. (2008) “Dynamics and Countervailing Pressures of Visa, Asylum and Immigration Policy Treaty Revision: Explaining Change and Stagnation from the Amsterdam IGC to the IGC 2003-2004”, Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 46, No. 3, pp. 559-591.
- El-Enany and Thielemann (2011) The Impact of the EU on National Asylum Policies, in Wolff, S, Jaap de Zwaan and Flora Goudappel, on “The Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: myth or reality? Taking stock of the Lisbon Treaty and the Stockholm Programme”, The Hague: Asser.
- Kaunert C. and S. Leonard (2012) The development of EU asylum policy – venue shopping in perspective, Journal of European Public Policy, 19(9), 1396-1413.
- Lavenex, S., ‘Justice and Home Affairs’, in Wallace, H., W. Wallace and Pollack, M. (eds.), Policy-Making in the European Union.
- Video (ECRE): How much further?; Refugees in the European Union

### **Class 5: EU Solidarity and Redistributive Politics**

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#### **Key questions:**

1. How much evidence for solidarity is there in the EU?
2. How should the EU address the unequal distribution of asylum seekers and refugees in the EU?

#### **Required Reading:**

- Thielemann (2012) Burden-Sharing, in Jones E., A. Menon and S Weatherill (eds.) Handbook on the European Union, Oxford University Press.
- Thielemann E. (2014) Refugee protection in Europe: a proposal for burden-sharing, EUTOPIA Magazine, May 2014

#### **Additional Reading:**

- Thielemann E (2008) The Future of the Common European Asylum System: In Need of a More Comprehensive Burden-Sharing Approach, Report for the Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies (SIEPS)
- Thielemann (2003) European Burden-Sharing and Forced Migration, Journal of Refugee Studies, Vol.16, No.3, pp. 223-35.
- Thielemann, E (2010) Refugee Protection as a Collective Action Problem: Is the EU Shirking its Responsibilities? European Security, Vol. 19, No2, pp. 209-29 (with El-Enany)
- Thielemann (2004) Why European Policy Harmonization Undermines Refugee Burden-Sharing, European Journal of Migration and Law, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 43-61.

- Allen, D., 'The structural funds and cohesion policy', in Wallace, H., W. Wallace and M. Pollack (eds.), Policy-making in the European Union.
- S. Hix and B. Hoyland (2010) The Political System of the European Union, 3rd edn, London: Palgrave. Chapter 9 (Redistributive Policies).

## **Class 6: The EU Budget and Agricultural Policies**

### **Key questions:**

1. The EU budget – who wins and why?
2. What explains the establishment of the CAP and why has it been so difficult to reform?

### **Required Reading:**

- Rieger, E., 'Agricultural Policy', in Wallace, H., W. Wallace and M. Pollack (eds.), Policy-making in the European Union.
- Grant W. (2013) Real progress is now being made towards reform of the EU's Common Agricultural Policy, LSE EUROPP blog, 27 March 2013.

### **Additional Reading:**

- Laffan, B. and J. Lindner, 'The Budget. Who gets what, when and how?', in Wallace, H., W. Wallace and M. Pollack (eds.), Policy-making in the European Union.
- S. Hix and B. Hoyland (2010) The Political System of the European Union, 3rd edn, London: Palgrave. Chapter 9 (Redistributive Policies).
- Background: EU's website on budget

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## **Class 7: The Single Market and Free Movement**

### **Key questions:**

1. Why has the principle of 'freedom of movement' been established?
2. Should there be restrictions on free movement of persons for EU citizens?

### **Required Reading:**

- Migration Policy Group (2013) How free is free movement?
- Pascouau Y. (2013) Strong attack against the freedom of movement of EU citizens: turning back the clock, European Policy Centre

### **Additional Reading:**

- Young, A. R., 'The Single Market', in Wallace, H., W. Wallace and M. Pollack (eds.), Policy-making in the European Union, Oxford UP (2010).
- Guild E. and S. Carrera (2012) What can we learn from EU rules on the free movement of workers? CEPS Paper in Liberty and Security in Europe No. 46.
- Koikkalainen S. (2011) Free Movement in Europe: Past and Present



- Carrera, S. 2005. What Does Free Movement Mean in Theory and Practice in an Enlarged EU? European Law Journal 11 (6):699–721.
- Carrera, Sergio and Guild, Elspeth and Merlino, Massimo. and Parkin, Joanna. (2011) A race against solidarity: the Schengen regime and the Franco-Italian affair. CEPS Liberty and Security in Europe Working Paper, April 2011.
- Brady H. (2012) Saving Schengen, Centre for European Policy Reform.

## **Class 8: Economic and Monetary Union**

### **Key questions:**

1. Were flaws in the institutional design of EMU responsible for the current financial crisis in Europe?
2. What institutional reforms are necessary to prevent a repeat of the crisis?

### **Required Reading:**

- Centre for European Reform (2013), The future of Europe's economy Disaster or deliverance? September 2013.

### **Additional Reading:**

- Whyte, P. (2012) Governance reforms have left the euro's flawed structure intact, Centre for European Reform, April 18, 2012
- Rompoy H. (2012) Towards a Genuine Economic and Monetary Union, Report, December 2012.
- European Council (2012) Conclusions, Brussels, 14 December 2012.
- Fuest, C and Peichl A. (2012) EU Fiscal Union: What is it? Does it work? And are there really 'no alternatives'?, CESifo Forum 1/2012
- De Grauwe, P., The Economics of Monetary Union, Oxford: OUP

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### **Background Reading:**

- Dyson K. and Featherstone K., The Road to Maastricht: negotiating economic and monetary union, Oxford Scholarships Online Monographs [E Book]
- McNamara, K. (2010) Chapter on EMU in H. Wallace, M. Pollack and A. Young, Policy-Making in the European Union; OUP.
- Economist: special report on the crisis
- Civitas: Eurozone crisis report:

## **Class 9: The Common Foreign and Security Policy**

### **Key questions:**

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Common Foreign and Security Policy as currently formulated?
2. Does ESDP mark the end of member states' national sovereignty?
3. What characterisation best captures the EU's standing in international affairs?



### Required Reading:

- Giegerich B. and Wallace W., Foreign and Security Policy, in: Wallace, Pollack and Young, Policy-Making in the European Union.

### Additional Reading:

- Howorth, Jolyon, "From Security to Defence: the Evolution of CFSP" in Hill, Christopher and Smith, Michael, eds. (2005) International Relations and the European Union, Oxford Univ. Press
- Manners, Ian (2002) "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" Journal of Common Market Studies, 40, 2
- Smith, Karen (2005) "Beyond the Civilian Power EU Debate" in Politique européenne, n.17
- Smith, Michael, "Implementation: Making the EU's International Relations Work" in Hill, Christopher and Smith, Michael, eds. (2005) International Relations and the European Union, Oxford Univ. Press
- Vanhoonacker, Sophie "The Institutional Framework" in Hill, Christopher and Smith, Michael, eds. (2005) International Relations and the European Union, Oxford Univ. Press

## Class 10: EU Foreign Policy Case Studies

### Key questions:

1. Has the EU had a clear set of strategies for dealing with South-East Europe since the early 1990s?
2. What has motivated Europe's Mediterranean policies since the end of the Cold War?

### Required Reading:

- Fakiolas, Efstathios T. and Nikolaos Tzifakis (2008) 'Transformation or Accession? Reflecting on the EU's Strategy Towards the Western Balkans', European Foreign Affairs Review, 13, 3.9
- Hollis, Rosemary (2012), 'No Friend of Democratization: Europe's Role in the genesis of the Arab Spring

### Additional Reading:

- Edwards, Geoffrey, 'The Potential and Limits of the CFSP: The Yugoslav Example', in Regelsberger, Elfriede, de Schoutete de Tervarent, Philippe and Wessels, Wolfgangeds, (1997) Foreign Policy of the European Union: From EPC to CFSP and Beyond, Lynne Rienner.
- Caplan, R. (1998) 'International Diplomacy and the Crisis in Kosovo', International Affairs, 74, 4.
- Aoun, Elena, (2003) 'European Foreign Policy and the Arab-Israeli Dispute: Much Ado About Nothing?', European Foreign Affairs Review, 8, 3.
- Gillespie, Richard, (2008) 'A 'Union for the Mediterranean'... or for the EU?', Mediterranean Politics, 13, 2.

## Class 11: Enlargement

### Key questions:

1. Why did countries that did not want to be members when the EU was founded subsequently pursue membership?

2. Why did the incumbent member states unanimously agree to the 2004/07 eastern enlargement?
3. How likely is it that Turkey will join the EU?

**Required Reading:**

- Ulrich Sedelmeier (2014, forthcoming), 'EU Enlargement: Constituent Policy and Tool for External Governance' in Helen Wallace, William, Mark Pollack, Alasdair Young (Eds.), Policy-Making in the European Union 7th edition (Oxford, Oxford University Press). [pre-proof version available here]

**Additional Reading:**

- Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (2002) 'Theorising EU Enlargement: Research Focus, Hypotheses, and the State of Research', Journal of European Public Policy, 9(4): 500-28.
- Schimmelfennig, F. (2001) 'The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union', International Organization 55(1):47
- Nugent, Neill (2007) 'The EU's Response to Turkey's Membership Application: Not Just a Weighing of Costs and Benefits', Journal of European Integration, 29:4, 481 — 502.
- Christina Schneider C. (2009) Conflict, Negotiation, and European Union Enlargement, in particular Chapters 3 + 4.
- Vachudova M. (2005) Europe undivided : democracy, leverage, and integration after communism: in particular Chapters 2 + 3.

**Class 12: Accession Conditionality and the EU's influence on its neighbours**

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**Key questions:**

1. Why did the EU's (political) conditions for membership expand so much from the original formulation in the Treaty of Rome?
2. Under what conditions does EU accession conditionality lead to political change in candidate countries?
3. Can the EU influence developments in Eastern European countries without offering membership?

**Required Reading:**

- Ulrich Sedelmeier (2010) 'The European Union and democratization in Central and Southeastern Europe since 1989', in Sabrina Ramet (ed.) Central and Southeastern Europe since 1989 (Cambridge University Press), 519-535.

**Additional Reading:**

- Ulrich Sedelmeier (2014, forthcoming), 'EU Enlargement' in Helen Wallace, William, Mark Pollack, Alasdair Young (Eds.), Policy-Making in the European Union 7th edition (Oxford, Oxford University Press), pp. 32-49. [pre-proof version available here]
- Heather Grabbe and Ulrich Sedelmeier (2009) 'The Future Shape of the European Union', in M. Egan, N. Nugent, and W. Paterson (eds.) Research Agendas in EU Studies, Palgrave Macmillan, 375-97. [E Book]
- Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (2004) 'Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe', Journal of European Public Policy, 11(4): 661-79.

- Karen Smith, (1998) 'The Use of Political Conditionality in the EU's Relations with Third Countries: How Effective?', European Foreign Affairs Review, 3:2
- Judith Kelley (2006) 'New Wine in Old Wineskins: Promoting Political Reforms through the New European Neighbourhood Policy', Journal of Common Market Studies 44 (1):29-55.

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