

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Pardee School of Global Studies and Department of Political Science

Fall Semester 2018

Course Offering IR 550/PO535

**EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

Class Hours: Mondays, 2:30-5:15PM

Location: IRB 102

Vivien A. Schmidt

Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration

Professor of International Relations and Political Science

Office: 154 Bay State Road room 303

Boston, MA 02215

Tel: +1 617 358-0192

Email: [vschmidt@bu.edu](mailto:vschmidt@bu.edu)

Website: <http://blogs.bu.edu/vschmidt/>

Office Hours: Mondays 1:30-2:30pm, Tuesdays 3:30-5:30pm and by appointment

## EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: IR550/PO535

As the Chinese curse goes: May you live in interesting times. And these are interesting times indeed for the European Union. The Eurozone has been roiled by the sovereign debt crisis since the beginning of 2010, having managed well through the banking crisis of 2008 and the crisis in the real economy of 2009. And it now faces an existential crisis with regard to either deepening integration further, or risking disintegration of the Eurozone under the pressures of the markets. By contrast, the incursion in Libya was a military success—but it was a NATO operation led by Britain and France under the UN rather than a Common Security and Defense Policy initiative of the EU. The Lisbon Treaty, finally ratified in 2009, bringing to a close the Constitutional crisis that followed the defeat of the Constitutional Treaty by referenda in France and the Netherlands in 2005, was supposed to have provided new leadership under the new positions of Council President—to speak in one voice for the EU—and High Representative—to coordinate foreign policy. The jury is still out as to whether this has done anything more than add another two voices to the cacophony. Moreover, these reforms did little to address the question of the EU's 'democratic deficit,' a topic of increasing concern since the early 1990s and the main reason for the launching of the Constitutional process in 2000. Although Enlargement—arguably the EU's greatest achievement, which occurred on May 1 2004 with ten new member-states including former Communist East European countries entering the EU—is not in question, further enlargement is. Euroskepticism, moreover, is becoming more generalized in many European Union member-states, having resulted in the "Brexit" vote in June 2016. And Euroskepticism is also associated with the rise of a populist right that contests the open borders of Schengen—another great EU achievement—as well as the bailouts and loan guarantees to member-states in the Southern periphery. And the internally open borders of Schengen are also related to the deadly crisis at the external borders of the EU, exacerbated by increasing flows of refugees seeking asylum.

And yet, despite all of this, the European Union remains the largest market economy in the world, bigger than the US, and is a force to be reckoned with not only in Europe but around the world, helping set the agenda for international trade and finance along with the United States. Moreover, the EU goes on integrating in quiet ways, below the radar and off the front page, through the economic policies of the Single Market and the social policies focused on improving the environment, gender equality, and labor rights. EU member-states have adapted institutionally to the EU as they have adopted EU policies throughout a range of areas—but they have had very different experiences in so doing, given their own differing institutional structures, policymaking processes, and representative politics. And they also have very different visions of Europe and its political future, by contrast with a more common vision of its economic future. In short, the process of *European integration*, that is, the development of the European Union and the bottom-up influence of member-states in that development, cannot be separated from the process of *Europeanization*, or the top-down influence of the EU on member-states.

The unique history, make up, and current circumstances of the European Union make it an especially interesting case for study. This course, as a graduate-level seminar on the

institutions, politics, and history of the European Union, will do more than examine ‘what happened’ or even ‘why it happened’ and how. We will also be trying to understand and theorize what kind of political entity the EU is and will be in the future within the context of theories of international organization. The European Union is more economically and politically integrated than any other international institution and, as such, is one of the most challenging and complex organizations for scholars of international and comparative politics to study. It is a real time experiment testing what we think we know about politics, power, and interests. Why have sovereign states ‘pooled’ part of their sovereignty over time? How should we classify and analyze the EU in a broader context? What is the relationship between European integration, national identities, and a broader European identity? Why is the EU more successful in some policy areas than others? What impact have market and monetary integration had on European political integration? What is the role of EU enlargement in the integration process over time? What has been the impact of public opinion on EU integration? And what has been the impact of the EU been on the member state economies and institutions? We will investigate these issues through the framework of different theoretical approaches. The literature on the European Union is broader than can be covered well in a single semester, but the seminar is designed along the key debates and lenses for understanding the European Union, equipping you to investigate other issues and policies through your own research.

After a brief introduction to the major themes of the course, we begin with discussions of the major controversies regarding the EU, including how to understand its past and its future, the Eurozone crisis, and the EU leadership (or lack thereof) in the world; how to explain European integration as a governance form. We then consider the institutions and governance of the EU, focusing in turn on the institutional structures, policymaking processes, and representative politics as well as the problems for political identity and democratic legitimacy at the European and national levels. Next, we explore the policies of the EU with regard to the single market, monetary integration, regulation of risk, enlargement, immigration and borders, foreign and security policy, and trade policy. And finally, we will consider individual country experiences more closely. Throughout, we will consider not only the ways in which particular member-states have influenced the construction of the EU as both an economic and political entity but also the ways in which the EU has affected the economies and politics of its member-states.

**COURSE READINGS:**

(required for purchase)

1. Hodson, Dermot and Peterson, John *Institutions of the European Union* (4<sup>th</sup> edition) Oxford: Oxford University Press
2. [Zimmermann, Hubert and Dür, Andreas \(2016\) \*Key Controversies in European Integration\* Palgrave](#)

(available **electronically** through library, and also for purchase)

3. [Bickerton, Christopher \(2012\) \*European Integration: From Nation-States to Member-States\* Oxford: Oxford University Press.](#)
4. [McNamara, Kathleen \(2015\). \*The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union\*. Oxford University Press.](#)
5. [Jabko, Nicolas \(2006\). \*Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985-2005\* \(Ithaca: Cornell University Press\).](#)
6. [Marquand, David \(2011\), \*The End of the West: The Once and Future Europe\* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011](#)
7. Blyth, Mark and Matthijs, Matthias. (2015) [\*The Future of the Euro\*](#) (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Other readings are available via library ejournals or via email.

**ABSENCES AND LATE WORK:**

Students are expected to attend all class sessions and to hand in assignments at the scheduled times, unless documentation is given excusing an absence for medical, religious or personal reasons, or for official university business. Every effort should be made to notify the instructor **in advance** of the reason for the absence. Unexcused late papers will be penalized 5% for the first day late, and 2% each day thereafter.

**READINGS:**

Students are required to complete all reading assignments before class. This is a working seminar, and discussions will require a thorough understanding of the readings.

**ONLINE PARTICIPATION:** We will be using Piazza for class discussion. Piazza has two functions: one for practical course questions, and the other for facilitating online discussion. For practical questions, I prefer you first post any inquiries to Piazza (logistics) before emailing the professor. It is likely that you will get an answer to your question much faster if you pose it to your peers first on Piazza, and then I can validate or follow up on any answer when I'm available to do so. Piazza has an anonymous function for this purpose.

\*\*\*\*We will also use Piazza to host a weekly online discussion prior to the start of class. The online comment will be due by 10 am the morning of class. Participating in the online discussions in piazza is very important, particularly to encourage student-to-student interaction through the system. **In order to receive participation credit, you**

**must have at least one meaningful (2+ paragraph or 300 word +) discussion contribution in every week the course is taught.** The comment or contribution must take at least 2-3 readings into account. It is not a work of perfection or brilliance: it is a conversation. It can pose more questions than answers. I want you to take risks and really enter an evolving debate and conversation. In a topic as complex and messy as the EU, there is no 'right' answer. The only way to be wrong is to not participate, or to have strong preexisting biases you are not willing to address and evaluate. Additional contributions (answers and follow-up comments) will garner up to five extra credit points for the semester. Find our class page at: <https://piazza.com/class/jlpjh4vbhzp6e5>

#### **Current events sources:**

[Politico Europe](#)

[EU Observer](#)

[Euractiv](#)

[BBC News](#)

[Spiegel Online](#)

[Le Monde](#)

[The Economist](#)

[Financial Times](#)

[VoxEU](#): European network of economists and policy analysts

[Bruegel](#) (think tank on EU economy)

[Robert Schuman Foundation](#) (think tank on European affairs)

#### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

This course will be run as a seminar. Students are expected to do all the readings and to be prepared to discuss them. This means reading and reflecting analytically on the readings, posting online comments on Piazza before class, and engaging in the seminar discussion. It also means you will prepare a puzzle-driven original research project in multiple steps, using your own original research based on primary sources, and workshop the project in-class.

1. Weekly readings of 150-250 pages. Knowledge and synthesis will be evaluated through Piazza Discussion Participation (**10% of the grade**).
2. **One** brief essay of about 2000 words for undergraduates, 3000 for graduate students that are think pieces related to the readings, with the question agreed on in class (**15% of grade**). These papers are intended to demonstrate that you have read and analyzed the assigned readings, so please be sure to write your essays with specific reference to relevant readings. *You choose which paper prompt you will write.*
3. Class participation (including discussions of required readings as well as current events) and two presentations (**25%** of the grade in total):
  - One **debate presentation** (two for graduate students) on one side of a particular EU policy issue. You will first provide an analytical summary (and the position) on the issue as presented by the contributor in the Zimmerman

and Dur (2016) readings, and then also further evaluate and support the position taken with additional academic, policy, and journalistic evidence and sources (10-15 minute presentation). Each presentation requires finding 5 additional secondary (academic) sources and 5 additional primary (original) sources. You will circulate a one page memo on your debate position during class. You will signup for the debate presentations the first week of the course. **(10% of grade)**

- **News presentation** (signup for date on Piazza) **(5% of grade)**. Each student will give a brief 5 minute overview of an EU-relevant news item. The news item should be something reported in the last month, ideally from one of the news sources listed in the syllabus, or other reputable news magazines or major newspapers such as the New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Economist, or Financial Times. Students will sign up for the date, and the topic is student choice.
  - In class seminar discussion participation **(10% of grade)**
4. A research paper on a topic of the student's choice, using primary and secondary research sources, and considering a puzzle surrounding **an EU policy area** and its relationship to **one or two** (in particular for graduate students) member-states. It is not speculative, meaning it cannot ask a puzzle about the future (i.e. NOT "what will Brexit do to Britain in 20 years...") It is also not normative (i.e. NOT "is Merkel's position on migration good or bad/right or wrong"). We will discuss in class how to frame an analytical, empirical research question and research design. The paper is expected to use the class readings to help analyze the topic. It should also use original primary research (primary sources: websites, statistics, newspaper articles, speeches, party manifestos, policy memos, legislation, etc), and cite at least 20 secondary sources (refereed articles/chapters in books/or books). This is to be undertaken in three stages:
- a 3-5 page proposal, including: topic, puzzle, abstract, hypotheses, basic outline, and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on November 5<sup>th</sup>. The proposal bibliography should already have at least ten SECONDARY sources (refereed journal articles, chapters in books, for forming a literature review and hypotheses) and ten PRIMARY sources (for evaluating the hypotheses and collecting data) **(5% of the grade, post to Piazza)**;
  - peer feedback via Piazza comments to two other proposals **(10% of grade, on Piazza)**
  - an oral presentation on your draft research paper in the last class (approx 5-10 minutes including question-and-answer session with fellow students);
  - the final draft of the research paper of 3000 to 4000 words for undergraduates, 5000-7000 for graduate students **(35% of grade, email to me)**.

#### **INFORMATION**

The College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) Dean's Office has requested that you be informed of the following: The last day you may drop the course without a W grade is October 9. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is November 9. You are responsible for knowing the provisions of the CAS Academic Conduct Code (copies

are available in CAS 105). Cases of suspected academic misconduct will be referred to the Deans' Office.

**Academic Misconduct:** All class members are expected to maintain high standards of academic honesty and integrity. You are expected to provide citations in papers for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than your own original thoughts. Boston University has very strict standards for intellectual integrity, and punishment for plagiarism is severe, and can include permanent expulsion from the university. For more on the definition of plagiarism and the standards to which you will be held, see the [CAS Academic Conduct Code](#), or the [GRS Academic Conduct Code](#).

**Disabilities:** Boston University is committed to providing equal access to our coursework and programs to all students, including those with disabilities. In order to be sure that accommodations can be made in time for all exams and assignments, please plan to turn in your accommodations letter as soon as possible after the first class to the instructor. After you turn in your letter, please meet with me to discuss the plan for accommodations so that we can be sure that they are adequate and you are supported in your learning. If you have further questions or need additional support, please contact the Office of Disability Services ([access@bu.edu](mailto:access@bu.edu)).

## COURSE OUTLINE

### **Monday Sept 10: Overview of Course**

[Frank Jacobs, 'Where is Europe? The New York Times, January 9, 2012](#)

[The European Union, a guide for Americans](#)

["Key facts and figures about the EU" EU Commission](#)

[Schuman Declaration](#)

[The History of the European Union](#)

[Craig Parsons, A Brief History of the European Union](#)

[Kristin Archick, Derek E. Mix, The European Union: Questions and Answers](#)

[Pascal Fontaine, \*Europe in 12 Lessons\*](#)

[EUROBUBBLE YouTube Channel](#)

[Macron's victory shows why it's time to stop panicking about Europe](#)

[A united Europe is closer than you think](#)

[Voting on European Integration: A Long History of Skepticism](#)

[Between the Borders](#)

[Piece by piece, the case for severing Britain's ties to Europe is falling apart](#)

### **Monday Sept 17: The EU and Europe – Past and Crisis**

Marquand, David (2011) "Prologue" and "Weighing like a Nightmare" in *The End of the West: The Once and Future Europe*, pp. 1-66.

[Soros Interview, NY Review of Books](#)

[Timothy Garton Ash, 'The Crisis of Europe: How the Union Came Together and Why it's Falling Apart,' Foreign Affairs, September/October 2012](#)

Blyth, Mark and Matthijs, Matthias. (2015) *The Future of the Euro* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Ch. 10: "European Integration Past, Present and Future: Moving Forward through Crisis?" by Craig Parsons & Matthias Matthijs

Erik Jones (2015) "Leaving Europe: British Process, Greek Event," *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, 57:3, 79-85, DOI: [10.1080/00396338.2015.1046224](#)

Börzel, Tanja A. and Risse, Thomas (2018) 'From the Euro to the Schengen Crises: European Integration Theories, Politicization, and Identity Politics', *Journal of European Public Policy* 25 (1): 83-108

### **Monday Sept 24: Explaining European Integration I (History and Institutions)**

Bickerton (2012) *European Integration* Chapters 1-3, pp. 21-112.

McNamara, Kathleen (2015). *The Politics of Everyday Europe*, Ch. Intro-4

Hodson and Peterson (2017) *Institutions of the European Union*

2: The History of EU Institutions: Six Decades of Institutional Change, *Renaud Dehousse and Paul Magnette*

### **Monday Oct 1: Explaining European Integration II (Form and Development)**

Marquand, David (2011) "Hate and Hope" in *The End of the West*, pp. 67-101.

P. Pierson (1996) The path to European integration: a historical institutionalist analysis.

*Comparative Political Studies*, 29(2), 123-63.

[Jan Zielonka, Europe as Empire, Introduction & Chapter 6.](#)

Vivien A. Schmidt, (2015) "Conceptualizing Change in Europe: Is Europe becoming a 'Region-State'?" in *Conceptualizing Comparative Politics*, eds., Tony Spanakos and Francisco Panizza (London: Routledge, 2015)

Daniel H. Deudney, "[The Philadelphian System: Sovereignty, Arms Control, and Balance of Power in the American States-Union, Circa 1787-1861.](#)" *International Organization* 49(02): 191-228. 1995.

**Debate 1:** Should It Stay or Should It Go? Britain, EU Membership and the Merits of Selective Integration (Zimmerman and Dur)

*The Case for Brexit: Why Britain should leave the EU - Alan Sked*

*Brexit – a Disaster for Britain and for the European Union - Martin Rhodes*

**N.B. Tuesday October 9<sup>th</sup> is a MONDAY SCHEDULE**

**Tuesday Oct 9: Who is in Charge? EU Institutions I**

Hodson and Peterson (2017) *Institutions of the European Union*

3: The European Council: A Formidable Locus of Power, *Philippe de Schoutheete*

4: The Council of Ministers: Conflict, Consensus, and Continuity, *Fiona Hayes-Renshaw*

5: The College of Commissioners: Supranational Leadership and Presidential Politics, *John Peterson*

6: The European Parliament: The Power of Democratic Ideas, *Michael Shackleton*

**Debate 1** More Powers for Brussels or Renationalization? (Zimmerman and Dur)

*A Stronger, More Supranational Union - Derek Beach*

*The New Intergovernmentalism – The Next Phase in European Integration - Uwe Puetter*

**\* Paper #1: Due 10/09 (covers up to 10/01).**

*Question:* Will the EU 'run' the 21<sup>st</sup> century, or is it in perpetual decline? What does the past history and process of European integration suggest about future prospects? What effect is the Eurozone Crisis, Brexit, or the Migration Crisis likely to have on this future?

**Monday Oct 15: Who is in Charge? EU Institutions II**

Hodson and Peterson (2017)

7: The Court of Justice: European Integration and Judicial Institutions, *Niamh Nic Shuibhne*

9: The European Central Bank: New Powers and New Institutional Theories, *Dermot Hodson*

10: European Agencies: Managing Europeanization, R. Daniel Kelemen and Giandomenico Majone

**Debate 1:** Too Much Power for the Judges? (Zimmerman and Dur, Chapters )  
*Understanding the European Court's Political Power-* Karen Alter and Daniel Kelemen  
*A Strange Institution - Jeremy Rabkin*

**Debate 2:** New German Hegemony: Does It Exist, And Is It Dangerous?  
 (Zimmerman and Dur Chapters )  
*A Benign Hegemon: Germany's European Vocation - Otero-Iglesias and Zimmermann*  
*The Failure of German Leadership - Matthias Matthijs*  
 Habermas, Jürgen “Are we still Good Europeans?” *Social Europe* July 2018  
<https://www.socialeurope.eu/are-we-still-good-europeans>

### **Monday Oct 22: EU Interests, Influence, and Effects**

[Documentary “The Brussels Business” 2012](#)

Marquand, David (2011) “The Revenge of Politics” in *The End of the West*, pp. 102-140.

Vivien A. Schmidt (2015) “The Impact of European Integration on National Democracies: Democracy at Increasing Risk in the Eurozone Crisis” in *The Search For Europe: Contrasting Approaches* Madrid: BBVA Foundation. ( [here](#) for copy)

Simon Hix, “[The EU is flawed but it can be fixed](#)”

Hodson and Peterson (2017)

14: Coreper: National Interests and the Logic of Appropriateness, *Jeffrey Lewis*

15: European Parties: A Powerful Caucus in the European Parliament and Beyond, *Tapio Raunio*

Schilde, Kaija (2017) *The Political Economy of European Security*, Chapter 2.

**Debate 1:** How Democratic Is The EU? (Zimmerman and Dur Chapter 4).

*The Inevitability of a Democratic Deficit - Richard Bellamy*

*A Democratic Achievement, not just a Democratic Deficit - Christopher Lord*

**Debate 2:** Lobbying in the EU: How Much Power for Big Business? (Zimmerman and Dur ch. 7).

*Big Business Dominates the EU - Laura Horn and Angela Wigger*

*The Power of Big Business is Constrained in the EU - David Marshall*

**Plan ahead:** 3-5 page topic abstract, argument, basic outline, and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on November 9.

\* **Paper #2:** Due 10/29 (covers up to 10/22).

*Question: Who is in charge of the EU? Answer by discussing the nature and problems of EU governance. What solutions to the problems of EU governance do you think most plausible?*

## EU Policy Domains

### **Monday Oct 29: The Internal Market**

Nicolas Jabko (2006). *Playing the Market*, Chapters 1-5, pp. 1-90, Chapter 8, pp. 147-178

Bickerton, Christopher (2012) Chapter 4, pp. 113-150

Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash*, Chapter 4. “The Creation of Markets”

Matthias Matthijs, Craig Parsons, and Christina Toenshoff (2018) “Irreconcilable Differentiation: Central Authority vs. Flexible Integration in Today’s European Union.” Paper for special issue of Comparative European Politics, presented at the American Political Science Association meetings (Boston, Aug 30-Sept 2, 2018)

### **Debate 1:** Can the EU Tame Big Finance?

(Zimmerman and Dur chapter 10)

*The Merits of Adaptive Governance: - Jörn Carsten Gottwald*

*The Pitfalls of EU Governance in Financial Markets - Daniel Mügge*

### **Monday Nov 5: The Eurozone \*\*\*Research paper abstracts due\*\*\*\***

Blyth, Mark and Matthijs, Matthias. (2015) [\*The Future of the Euro\*](#) (Oxford: Oxford University Press). General Problems: Blyth and Matthijs introduction, McNamara on history, Jones on Financial Union, Schmidt on Legitimacy

### **Debate 1:** The Uncertain Future of the Euro (Zimmerman and Dur CH. 8)

*Why the Euro is a Functional Necessity...- Henrik Enderlein*

*For a Plurality of Economic and Social Models! - Andreas Nölke*

### **Monday Nov 12: The Eurozone**

Blyth, Mark and Matthijs, Matthias. (2015) [\*The Future of the Euro\*](#) (Oxford: Oxford University Press). The View from the Member-States—Newman on Germany, Jacoby on Germany, Hopkin on Italy and Spain, Vail on France

Kevin Featherstone. 2011. “The Greek Sovereign Debt Crisis and EMU: A Failing State in a Skewed Regime.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(2):193-217.

### **Debate1:** The Euro: Economic Success or Disaster?

(Zimmerman & Dur CH. 9).

*Exit or Differentiated Monetary Integration - Tal Sadeh*

*Unity in Diversity: The Unfulfilled Promise of the Euro - Waltraud Schelkle*

### **Monday Nov 19: EU Enlargement**

Marquand, David (2011) “Which Boundaries, Whose History?” in *The End of the West*,

pp. 141-177.

J. [Langbein \(2014\)](#) European Union Governance towards the Eastern Neighbourhood: Transcending or Redrawing Europe's East-West Divide? [Journal of Common Market Studies](#). 52(1), 157-174.

Rachel Epstein and Wade Jacoby, 2014 "Eastern Enlargement Ten Years On: Transcending the East-West divide? *JCMS*, 52 (1), 1-16.

R.D. Kelemen, et al. (2014) Wider and deeper? Enlargement and integration in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 21(5), 647-663.

**Debate 1: Is EU Enlargement a Success Story or Has It Gone Too Far?**

(Zimmerman & Dur Ch. 13)

*The Benefits of EU Enlargement - Rachel Epstein*

*EU Enlargement: A Critique - Christopher J. Bickerton*

**Debate 2: The Big Waste? The Common Agricultural Policy**

(Zimmerman & Dur, Ch 11)

*Europe's Common Values and Agricultural Policy: Ann-Christin Knudsen*

*The European Agricultural Fortress Under Attack Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt*

**Monday Nov 26: Identity and Migration** (to be rescheduled)

Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane (2012) *Frontiers of Fear*: Introduction and chapters 1, 2, 3, 8 and the conclusion, pp. 1-110, 222-263.

Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash*, chapters 5-8.

Mclaren, L.M. (2012) [The cultural divide in Europe: migration, multiculturalism, and political trust](#). *World Politics*, 64(2), pp. 199-241.

Kaija Schilde, "Who are the Europeans? European Identity Outside of European Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 3, pages 650–667, May 2014

McNamara, Kathleen (2015). *The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union*. Oxford University Press, Chapter 5.

**Debate 1 Can There Be A Common European Identity?**

(Zimmerman and Dur Ch. 6)

*The Emergence of a European Identity - Ulrike Liebert*

*A Common European Identity is an Illusion - Jonathan White*

**Thursday Nov 28: THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY**

\* Paper #3 due December 3 (covers up to Nov. 26).

Question: In which of the policy areas considered do you think the EU has been most successful, in which the least? Why?

**Monday Dec 3: EU as a Global Actor**

- Bickerton, Christopher (2012) "From Nation-State to Member-State in European Foreign Policy" *European Integration: From Nation-States to Member-States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Chapter 5, pp. 151-181
- Schilde, Kaija (forthcoming) "The Political Economy of European Security," introduction, chapters 4-7.
- McNamara, Kathleen (2015). *The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union*. Oxford University Press, Chapter 7
- Howorth, Jolyon (2018) "Differentiation in Security & Defense Policy." Paper for special issue of *Comparative European Politics*, presented at the American Political Science Association (APSA) meetings (Boston: Aug 30 -Sept 2)

**Debate 1: Towards A Common European Army?**

(Zimmerman and Dur, Chapter 14)

*Still Flattering to Deceive: The CSDP Defence!* - Anand Menon

*Defence Integration in the EU: From Vision to Business-as-Usual* - Hanna Ojanen

**Debate 2: Does the EU Act as a Normative Power?**

(Zimmerman and Dur Ch. 12)

*The EU as Normative Power* - Daniela Sicurelli

*Living in a Material World: A Critique of 'Normative Power Europe'* - Mark Pollack

**Monday Dec 11: Final research paper presentations and overview**

**(Final Papers Due on Dec. 14, via email)**