

European Integration
PSC 2332.10, Spring 2013

Monday 2:20 – 3:35pm (MPA B07) &
Wednesday 3:45 – 5pm (ENGR 103)

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Course Description

This is a class on European Integration. The European Union (EU) is a unique international organization, a political project, and a political experiment. The goal of this class is to both introduce you to the accomplishments of the EU and help you become critical participants in the vibrant debates over its future. You will learn the history, structure, and politics of the European Union, including the challenges it faces today. In the first part of the course, we will cover the most prominent explanations of the emergence of the European Community; its historical evolution since the end of World War II; and the main institutions of the EU today. We will also focus on competing visions within the EU (e.g., intergovernmentalism vs. federalism). In the second part, we will focus on the most important policy areas of the EU—that is, economic and market integration, economic and monetary union (EMU), Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), including the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Finally, special attention will be given to the “EU Enlargement” debate. In the final part, we will focus on transatlantic relations and the EU’s position in the world.

Course Outline

January 14. Introduction and Overview
January 16. The Idea of European Integration and the Challenges It Currently Faces
January 23. Explanations for European Integration I
January 28. Explanations for European Integration II
January 30. Explanations for European Integration III - DEBATE
February 4. European Political Development: From the Cold to the Post-Cold War Era
February 6. The European Commission
February 11. The Council of Ministers and the European Council
February 13. The European Parliament and Its Main Political Groups
February 20. The European Court of Justice and Other Institutions
February 25. *Review Session*
February 27. *Midterm*
March 4. Interests, Lobbying, and Access to Decision-Makers
March 6. How is Policy Formulated and Applied? - DEBATE
March 18. The Single Market, the CAP & EMU
March 20. The European Debt Crisis
March 25. EU Enlargement - DEBATE
March 27. EU Foreign Policy Today
April 1. European Security and Defence Policy
April 3. Freedom, Security, and Justice
April 8. Immigration Policy
April 10. Minority Rights - DEBATE
April 15. Cohesion, Energy, Environment

April 17. EU-USA-China-Russia Relations
April 22. Multilateralism and the Rule of Law: The EU as a Global Model
April 24. The Quest for a European Identity
April 29. The Future of Europe - DEBATE
May 1. *Review Session*

Texts

There are 3 required books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore (or online). All books are also on reserve at Gelman Library.

Neill Nugent. 2010. *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Andrew Moravcsik. 1998. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Cornell University Press.
Walter Mattli. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blackboard

This course will use Blackboard for announcements and readings (see “Electronic Reserves”). You will also have to upload completed course assignments to Blackboard (via “safe assign”). I strongly encourage you to ensure you have access to Blackboard as soon as possible.

Learning Outcomes

As a result of completing this course, students will:

1. Know the history of the European Union and understand its institutional structure.
2. Understand the contemporary political debates about the future of the EU.
3. Have developed an understanding of EU foreign, security, defence, economic, and environmental policy.
4. Improve your presentation skills.
5. Compose a publishable opinion piece on the topic.

Class Policies

The following policies are important. Read them carefully.

Attendance

Please come to class on time. Feel free to bring a cup of coffee/tea or water, but please don't bring food or laptops. Also, keep your cell phones turned off and out of sight.

Grading

There are four components to your grade:

- Class Participation: 10% - Students will have to read 1-2 texts or watch a video per class. They are a compilation of academic and policy materials as well as official documents and speeches. They aim to introduce the issues and debates for each class and they are the beginning and not the end of the discussion. Active participation in class is strongly encouraged. You are also encouraged to bring with you news stories that are relevant to our class.
- In-class midterm: 30% - The midterm will consist of two parts. The first part will be a short knowledge quiz with multiple-choice questions. The second part will consist of short essay questions. Please do not bring with you any notes or reading materials (February 27).
- 3 Short assignments: 30% of your grade – Students will have to write three short assignments on themes covered in class or on specific cases. One of them will be an opinion piece for a class during Part II. This should be a typical opinion piece written for publication in a newspaper (e.g., NYTimes, International Herald Tribune, Financial

Times) arguing the case for a course of action. It should be at least 650 and no more than 1000 words (due April 15).

- **Take-home final: 30%** - There is a take-home final for this class. There is no in-class final. The take-home final will account for 30% of your grade. Students will be given two topical subjects on May 8th and asked to prepare a Policy Note for the EU High Representative (due on May 9th). You should upload it to safe assign on Blackboard. This will be an internal/confidential note reviewing an issue and recommending concrete policy action and next steps. The Note should not be longer than 1500 words. Guidelines will be discussed on May 1.

If you would like me to re-grade your midterm or the final paper, you must submit a *written* request, explaining why you believe you did not receive the proper grade. I reserve the right to raise *or* lower your grade. There will not be opportunities to do extra-credit work to improve your grade.

Late Work

Late assignments will lose one third of a full grade (e.g., from an A to a A-, to B+ etc.) for each day after the deadline. There are only two exceptions to the late-assignment policy: illness or family emergency. If either of these circumstances applies, you must provide *written documentation* (such as a doctor's note if you are ill), **and** you must communicate with the teaching assistant *before the assignment is due* (i.e., an email saying you are sick on the morning the assignment is due is not acceptable for avoiding a penalty). We will be willing to accommodate documented requests, but you must communicate with the teaching assistant *before* the assignment is due.

Participation

You are expected to come *prepared*. All lectures involve discussion, and participation will account for 10% of your grade.

Make-up exams

Make-up exams are allowed only if you have consulted with me in advance.

Policy on Religious Holidays

You should notify the teaching assistant during the first week of the semester of your intention to be absent from class on a day(s) of religious observance. If an assignment falls on a day you will be observing a religious holiday, we will work together to find an alternative time to complete the assignment. Please communicate with the teaching assistant about holidays in advance of the original due date. I do not intend to observe any religious holidays.

Academic Integrity

By taking this course, you agree to abide by the University's Code of Academic Integrity. It states: "Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information." For the remainder of the code, see: <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>

If you are unsure about any aspect of this policy, the Writing Center (<http://www.gwu.edu/~gwriter/>) can provide assistance on citation or other aspects of writing papers. Claiming ignorance about how or when to cite sources is not an excuse for *academic dishonesty*.

Support for Students outside the classroom

DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES (DSS)

Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Marvin Center,

Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: <http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/>

UNIVERSITY COUNSELING CENTER (UCC) 202-994-5300

The University Counseling Center (UCC) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include:

- crisis and emergency mental health consultations
- confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals

<http://gwired.gwu.edu/counsel/CounselingServices/AcademicSupportServices>

Security

To Report an Emergency or Suspicious Activity call the GW Police Department at 202-994-6111 (Foggy Bottom) or 202-242-6111 (Mount Vernon). If the line is unavailable, dial 911.

Your first reaction in an emergency should be to stay where you are. Evacuate only if you hear the fire alarm or someone instructs you to evacuate. If you are outdoors during an incident, proceed into the closest GW building unless you are told to do otherwise. No matter where you are on campus, the basic steps of “sheltering in place” are:

Shelter-in-place in an interior room, above ground level, and with the fewest windows. If there is a large group of people inside a particular building, several rooms may be necessary. Shut and lock all windows (locking will form a tighter seal), close exterior doors, and stay away from glass doors and windows. Turn off air conditioners, heaters, and fans. Close vents to ventilation systems as you are able (Facilities staff will turn off ventilation systems as quickly as possible). Make a list of the people with you and call the list in to GWPD (see numbers above) so they know where you are.

Visit GW Campus Advisories <http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu> or call the GW Information Line at 202-994-5050 for incident updates. If possible, turn on a radio or television and listen for further instructions. If your email address or mobile device is registered with Alert DC, check for alert notifications. Make yourself comfortable and look after one other. You will get word as soon as it is safe to come out.

Evacuation

We will always evacuate if the fire alarm sounds or if the building we are in becomes unsafe. In the event of an evacuation, please quickly gather your personal belongings (purse, keys, cell phone, GWorld card, etc.) and proceed to the nearest exit. Do not use the elevator.

Alert DC

Alert DC provides free notification by email or text message during an emergency. Visit GW Campus Advisories for a link and instructions on how to sign up for alerts pertaining to GW. If you receive an Alert DC notification during class, please share the information immediately.

GW Alert

GW Alert provides popup notification to desktop and laptop computers during an emergency. You are encouraged to download this application to your personal computer. Visit GW Campus Advisories to learn how. Additional Information about emergency preparedness at GW can be found on GW Campus Advisories <http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu>

Course Schedule

January 14. **Introduction and Overview**

Nye, Joseph. "Why Europe Is, and Will Remain, Powerful," *The Utopian Blog*, December 22, 2010.

Watch: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=95CuBI-BL4E>

January 16. **The Idea of European Integration and the Challenges It Currently Faces** Nugent, Chapters 1 and 2

Recommended:

Mazower, Mark. 2000. *Dark Continent: Europe's twentieth century*. Vintage. Chapter 6.

Schmidt, Vivien A. "Democracy in Europe: The Impact of European Integration."

Perspectives on Politics 3.04 (2005): 761-779.

Watch:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vwWTMdTIRq0&list=UUUqIbimFVzz5Wj1IrUuQxcw&index=1&feature=plcp>

HISTORY & ORIGINS

January 23. **Explanations for European Integration I**

Moravcsik. Introduction and Chapter 7.

Recommended:

Craig Parsons. 2002. "Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union"

International Organization 56, 1, Winter, pp. 47-84

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

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

Frank Schimmelfennig and Berthold Rittberger "Theories of European Integration:

Assumptions and Hypotheses," in Jeremy Richardson, *European Union*, Chapter 4.

January 28. **Explanations for European Integration II**

Walter Mattli, *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond* (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1999). Read pages: 1 to 18, 20, 41 to 108. Skim pages: 128 to 138, 189 to 196

January 30. **Explanations for European Integration III - DEBATE**

Josef Joffe. 1984. "Europe's American Pacifier," *Foreign Policy*, No. 54, pp. 64-82.

Watch: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OA2kPNwTkhc>

February 4. **European Political Development: From the Cold to the Post-Cold War Era**

Nugent, Chapter 3 and 4

Recommended:

Kissinger, Henry. 1994. *Diplomacy*.

Judt, Tony. 2005. *Postwar; A History of Europe Since 1945*. Penguin Press. [Parts II and III].

INSTITUTIONS

February 6. **The European Commission**

Nugent, Chapter 8

http://ec.europa.eu/about/index_en.htm

http://ec.europa.eu/commission_designate_2009-2014/index_en.htm

<http://www.europeanvoice.com/>

February 11. **The Council of Ministers and the European Council**

Nugent, Chapters 9 and 10

Council of Ministers

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/council?lang=en>

European Council

<http://www.european-council.europa.eu/home-page.aspx>

February 13. **The European Parliament and Its Main Political Groups**

Nugent, Chapter 11

Parliament

New European Parliament: more power, more responsibility. Available at:

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/lisbon_treaty/Press_kit-EP_and_Lisbon_Treaty-EN.pdf

Watch the videos on this webpage:

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parliament/public/staticDisplay.do?language=EN&id=66>

Assignment #1: *Choose one of the parties that are members of the European People's Party and write a brief memo on its political platform and organizational structure.*

February 20. **The European Court of Justice and Other Institutions**

Nugent, Chapters 12 and 13

Court of Justice

Available at: http://curia.europa.eu/jcms/jcms/Jo2_7024/

Available at: http://europa.eu/institutions/inst/justice/index_en.htm

The European Central Bank

<http://www.ecb.int/ecb/html/index.en.html>

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/ecbhistoryrolefunctions2006en.pdf>

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/html/index.en.html>

Recommended:

Mattli, Walter, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. "Revisiting the European Court of Justice."

International Organization 52.1 (1998): 177-209.

February 25. **Review Session**

February 27. **Midterm**

POLITICS and POLICIES

March 4. **Interests, Lobbying, and Access to Decision-Makers**

Nugent, Chapters 14 and 15

Recommended:

Grossman, Emiliano. "Bringing Politics Back In: Rethinking the Role of Economic Interest

Groups in European integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 11.4 (2004): 637-654.

March 6. How is Policy Formulated and Applied? - DEBATE

Nugent, Chapters 16-18

March 18. The Single Market, the CAP & EMU

Nugent, pp. 323 to 335 and Chapter 20

Frieden, Jeffrey. 1998. "The Euro: Who Wins? Who Loses?" *Foreign Policy* (112): 25-40.

Recommended:

Moravcsik, Chapters 5 and 6

Carrubba, Clifford J. (1997). "Net Financial Transfers in the European Union: Who Gets What and Why?" *Journal of Politics* 59(2): 469-496.

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

Vamvakidis, Athanasios. *Is There a "Reform Fatigue" in the Euro Area?*, Economic Modelling, v26, 2009.

Vamvakidis, Athanasios. *Convergence in Emerging Europe: Sustainability and Vulnerabilities*, Eastern European Economics, v47 (3), 2009.

IMF. "Regional Economic Outlook: Europe. Securing Recovery," *World Economic and Financial Surveys*, October 2009.

Jabko, Nicolas. "The Hidden Face of the Euro." *Journal of European Public Policy* 17.3 (2010): 318-334.

March 20. The European Debt Crisis

Alessi, Christopher. "The Eurozone in Crisis," New York: Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder (July 2012), available online at: <http://www.cfr.org/eu/eurozone-crisis/p22055>

Andrew Moravcsik (2012), "Europe After the Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/137421/andrew-moravcsik/europe-after-the-crisis>

Daniel Kelemen (2012), "Europe's New Normal," *Foreign Affairs*.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/137642/r-daniel-kelemen/europes-new-normal>

Abraham Newman (2012), "Austerity and the End of the European Model," *Foreign Affairs*.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/137611/abraham-newman/austerity-and-the-end-of-the-european-model>

March 25. EU Enlargement - DEBATE

Andrew Moravcsik and Milada A. Vachudova. 2003. "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement," *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pages 42-57

Myths and Facts about Enlargement, available at:

http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/questions_and_answers/myths_en.htm

Harris Mylonas. 2012. "[The Future of Euro-Atlantic Integration in the Western Balkans](#)", in Alexander Schmemmann and Cory Welt (eds.). *Bridging Divides in Eastern Europe*.

Washington, DC: PONARS Eurasia.

Recommended:

Graham Avery and Judy Batt, *Balkans in Europe: Why, when and How?*, European Policy Centre Brief, March 2007

Olli Rehn. 2005. "EU Enlargement: Values Define Europe, Not Borders," *Foreign Policy*, No. 151. p. 5.

Olli Rehn, EU Commissioner for Enlargement, Strategy Paper at EP Plenary, Strasbourg, 25 November 2009.

Charles Grant, *Europe's Blurred Boundaries: Rethinking enlargement and neighbourhood policy*, Centre for European Reform publication, October 2006 (pp.1-47)
Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (pp.713-723 of chapter 22 The Old Europe – And the New), 2007
Michael S. Teitelbaum and Philip L. Martin, “Is Turkey Ready for Europe?”, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2003.

Assignment #2: *Alternatives to the Euro-Atlantic Integration of the Western Balkans.*

March 27. **EU Foreign Policy Today**

Nugent, pp. 376-399.

The EU in the World: The Foreign Policy of the European Union, European Commission, 2007

Recommended:

The Treaty of Lisbon: Implementing the Institutional Innovations (chapter on Foreign Policy: Many Opportunities and a Few Unknowns - pp.121-138), Joint Study by the Centre for European Policy Studies, EGMONT – the Royal Institute for International Relations and the European Policy Centre, November 2007

Fraser Cameron, *An Introduction to European Foreign Policy* (chapter one – From EPC to CFSP), 2007

LINKS:

<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/01/135530.htm>

<http://consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1847&lang=en>

April 1. **European Security and Defence Policy**

European Security and Defence Policy - Operations, Council of the European Union

Webpage, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=268&lang=en>

Menon, Anand. 2009. “Empowering paradise? The ESDP at ten,” *International Affairs* **85**: 2, pp. 227–246

Lisbeth Aggestam and Christopher Hill, “The Challenge of Multiculturalism in European Foreign Policy”, *International Affairs*, 84/1, January 2008

Recommended:

Mark Leonard, *Why Europe will run the 21st century* (chapter five – the European Way of War, pp.57-68), 2005.

Alyson J.K. Bailes, “The EU and a “better world”: what role for the European Security and Defence Policy?”, *International Affairs*, 84/1, January 2008

Jeffrey Simon, “The ESDP Between Washington and Brussels”, in Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaite, eds., *European Security and Defence Policy: An Implementation Perspective*, 2008

Maria Raquel Freire, The European Security and Defence Policy, History, Structures and Capabilities, in Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaite, eds., *European Security and Defence Policy: An Implementation Perspective*, 2008

Joylon Howorth, “From Security to Defence: The evolution of the CFSP,” in Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, eds., *International Relations and the European Union*, 2005

A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy, Council of the European Union, 12 December 2003

Tomas Valacek, *Europe's defence and its new security strategy*, Centre for European Reform Bulletin Article, December 2007/January 2008

Antonio Missiroli, “Revisiting the European Security Strategy – beyond 2008”, European Policy Brief, April 2008.

Justice and Home Affairs

April 3. **Freedom, Security, and Justice**

Nugent, pp. 335-339

The Stockholm Programme, adopted by the European Council in December 2009 provides a framework for EU action on the questions of citizenship, justice, security, asylum and immigration for the next five years. [skim]

Link to EU policy area "Justice, Freedom, and Security":

http://europa.eu/pol/justice/index_en.htm

Link to more information on the "European Arrest Warrant":

http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/judicial_cooperation_in_criminal_matters/l33167_en.htm

Link about Europol, the European Law Enforcement Agency:

<http://www.europol.europa.eu/>

Recommended:

Karin von Hippel, "Introduction: Europe Confronts Terrorism", in Karin von Hippel ed., *Europe Confronts Terrorism*, 2005

Giovanna Bono, "EU Approaches to Conflict Management: A 'Distinctive' Contribution", in Paolo Foradori, Paolo Rosa and Riccardo Scartezzini (eds.), *Managing a Multilevel Foreign Policy: The EU in International Affairs*, 2007

Thierry Tardy, "Conflict Prevention versus Coercive prevention", in Giovanna Bono ed., *The Impact of 9/11 on European Foreign and Security Policy*, Institute on European Studies, Book Series 9, 2006

April 8. **Immigration Policy**

Towards a common European Union immigration policy. Available at:

http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/immigration/fsj_immigration_intro_en.htm

Simon Hix and Abdul Noury. 2007. "Politics, Not Economic Interests: Determinants of Migration Policies in the European Union," *International Migration Review*.

Terri Givens 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 [skim].

Recommended:

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

Sides, John, and Jack Citrin. "European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information." *British Journal of Political Science* 37.3 (2007): 477.

Huysmans, Jef. "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 38.5 (2002): 751-777.

April 10. **Minority Rights - DEBATE**

Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Available at:

<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/157.htm>

Kymlicka, Will. 2005. "National Minorities in Post-Communist Europe: The Role of International Norms and European Integration" in Zoltan Barany and Robert Moser (eds). *Ethnic Politics After Communism*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, pp. 191- 217.

Recommended:

Ioannis N. Grigoriadis. 2008. "On the Europeanization of Minority Rights Protection: Comparing the Cases of Greece and Turkey," *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 1: 23 – 41.

Kymlicka, Will. 2002. "Multiculturalism and Minority Rights: West and East", *Journal of*

- Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe (JEMIE), issue #4: 1-25.
http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/special_4_2002.html
- Kymlicka, Will. 2008. "The Internationalization of Minority Rights", *ICON: International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 6/1 (2008), pp. 1-32.
- Vermeersch, Peter. 2007. *Ethnic Minority Protection and Anti-Discrimination in Central Europe before and after EU Accession: The Case of Poland*. JEMIE 1
- Tesser, Lynn M. 2003. "The Geopolitics of Tolerance: Minority Rights under EU Expansion in East-Central Europe," *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 17, No. 3.

April 15. **Cohesion, Energy, Environment**
 Nugent, pp. 339-352

Assignment #3: Op-ed

THE FUTURE OF THE EU IN THE WORLD SYSTEM

April 17. **EU-USA-China-Russia Relations**

- G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2008
- Dušan Reljić. 2009. "The West Balkans between the EU, the USA, and Russia," German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik).

Recommended:

- Tony Judt, "Europe vs. America", *The New York Review of Books*, 10 February 2005.
- David Shambaugh, "China and Europe: The Emerging Axis," *Current History*, September 2004
- Ron Asmus, "Europe's Eastern Promises," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2008.
- Sabine Fisher, *The EU and Russia: Conflicts and Potentials of a difficult Partnership*, SWP Research Paper, January 2007.

April 22. **Multilateralism and the Rule of Law: The EU as a Global Model**

- Mark Leonard, *Why Europe will run the 21st century* (chapter four - Europe's weapon is the law, pp.35-48), 2005

Recommended:

- Nathalie Tocci, *The European Union as a Normative Foreign Policy Actor*, Centre for European Policy Studies Working Document 281, January 2008
- Richard Gowan, "The European Security Strategy's Global Objective: Effective Multilateralism", in Sven Biscop and Jan Joel Andersson, eds., *The EU and the European Security Strategy: Forging a Global Europe*, 2007.
- Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream*, (chapter 16 – Universalising the European Dream, pp 358-385), 2004
- Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A contradiction in terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40/2 2002 and "The Normative ethics of the European Union", *International Affairs*, 84/1, January 2008
- Nathalie Tocci, *Profiling Normative Foreign Policy: The European Union and its Global Partners*, Centre for European Policy Studies Working Document, December 2007
- Roberto Aliboni: "The Geopolitical Implications of the European Neighborhood Policy", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 2005

April 24. **The Quest for a European Identity**

- Angelika Scheuer and Hermann Schmitt. 2009. "Dynamics in European Political Identity," *Journal of European Integration*, 31: 5, pp. 551-568.
- Irmina Matonyte and Vaidas Morkevicius. 2009. "Threat Perception and European Identity Building: The Case of Elites in Belgium, Germany, Lithuania and Poland," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61: 6, pp. 967-985.

Recommended:

- Risse, Thomas. "European Institutions and Identity Change: What Have We Learned?." *Transnational identities: Becoming European in the EU* (2004): 247-271.

April 29. **The Future of Europe - DEBATE**

Nugent, Chapter 24

Sebastian Rosato, "The Future of Europe" (April 2010).

Andrew Moravcsik, "Europe: The Second Superpower," *Current History* (March 2010).

Recommended:

Herman Van Rompuy (President of the European Council) "TRANSATLANTIC RESPONSES TO GLOBAL INSECURITY," remarks at Brussels Forum of the German Marshall Fund Conrad Hotel, Brussels, 26 March 2010 [PCE 57/10].

Loukas Tsoukalis, "A global and political Europe", *The European Union: The Next Fifty Years*, Special Financial Times Edition, March 2007

Climate Change and International Security, Paper by the High Representative and the European Commission to the European Council, 14 March 2008

Javier Solana, "Countering Globalisation's dark side", *Europe's World*, Autumn 2007

Andrew Moravcsik, "Beyond the Grand Illusion" in *European Union: The next Fifty Years*, Special Financial Times Edition, March 2007

May 1. **Review Session**

Take Home Final: Questions emailed on May 8, Policy Memos Due May 9