

МИНИСТЕРСТВО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ И НАУКИ РФ

**Нижегородский государственный университет им. Н.И. Лобачевского**

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**АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ ЕВРОПЕЙСКОЙ  
ИНТЕГРАЦИИ И ПОЛИТИКИ**

**Учебно-методическое пособие  
на английском языке**

Рекомендовано методической комиссией факультета иностранных студентов для англоязычных иностранных студентов ННГУ, обучающихся по направлению подготовки — «международные отношения».

1-е издание

Нижний Новгород  
2016

УДК  
ББК

Б 90 Бугров Р. В. АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ ЕВРОПЕЙСКОЙ ИНТЕГРАЦИИ И ПОЛИТИКИ: Учебно-методическое пособие. (на английском языке) — Нижний Новгород: Нижегородский госуниверситет, 2015. — 40 с.

Рецензент:

Настоящее пособие содержит англоязычные материалы по актуальным проблемам европейской интеграции. Предлагается адаптированный для студентов, обучающихся на английском языке, вариант курса “Актуальные проблемы европейской интеграции и политики”, включающий в себя краткие конспекты лекций. Также излагается тематика практических занятий, приводятся задания для самостоятельной работы и вопросы к зачету.

Учебно-методическое пособие предназначено для англоговорящих иностранных студентов 2 курса, специализирующихся по направлению подготовки — «международные отношения».

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MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF RUSSIAN FEDERATION

**N.I. Lobachevsky State University of Nizhny Novgorod**

**R.V. Bugrov**

# KEY ASPECTS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND EU POLITICS

Studying methodological manual

This manual is recommended by Methodical Committee of the Department of Foreign Students for English-speaking students of Nizhny Novgorod State University studying at Bachelor's Program “International Relations”.

1-st edition

Nizhny Novgorod  
2015

УДК  
ББК

Bugrov R.V. KEY ASPECTS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: Studying methodological manual. — Nizhny Novgorod: State University, 2015. — 40 p.

Reviewer:

This manual contains materials in English on key issues of European integration. The adapted for English-speaking students variant of the course “Key aspects of European integration and EU Politics” is offered including lecture abstracts. Also the topics for practical classes are described; issues for independent work and examination questions are given.

The studying-methodological manual is recommended for English-speaking foreign students of the 1-st and 2-nd years specializing at Bachelor's Program «International Relations».

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## Section I. Program of the course “Key aspects of European Integration and EU Politics”

### Area of application

**Level:** 2d year BA students

**Type:** Elective.

**Duration:** One semester, taught in 3<sup>d</sup> semester.

### Course description

This course offers an introduction to European integration and European Union as its main manifestation. It analyzes predominantly the political issues in the process of European integration since the Second World War and examines basic institutions, policies, and issues of the European Union (EU). The course is composed of 16 lectures accompanied by 16 seminars, each seminar is aimed at widening and deepening the understanding of the materials covered during the specific lecture.

It is designed for students with no prior knowledge of European Integration whoever there are some **prerequisites for the course:** Pre-Intermediate level of English (min.), good knowledge of general history and key modern political, social and economic issues.

The course is divided into three main parts. In the first part, it reviews the origin and motivation behind the initial steps of the European integration. Also it aims at presenting main conceptual approaches to understanding what integration is about. The second part of the course is targeted at giving understanding to the institutional development of the EU. In this part, the legal basis and role of major institutions of the EU will be explained. The Community’s decision-making process will be discussed, as well. The third part of the course focuses on key policy issues including enlargement process, the economic and monetary union, and external relations of the EU.

### Aims of the course

Set solid basis of understanding of main aspects of European Integration with main focus on knowing why and how the EU works;

Equip students with theoretical research instruments;

Develop complex and interdisciplinary approach;

Develop presentation and analytical skills through presentation (oral and written).

### Courses outcome

Development of competences that students should be able to perform as a result of successful completion of the course:

#### *cultural*

- the ability to logically, reasonably and clearly present ideas in writing and in oral speech;
- the ability to adapt to the conditions of work as a part of a multi-ethnic and international groups;
- mastering methods of political communication in an international environment;

#### *professional*

- knowledge and understanding of integrational processes with regards to their historical, economic and legal aspects;
- knowledge and active use of English language for conducting analytical research and professional communication;

#### *analytical*

- the ability to work with print sources of information, the materials of mass media, particularly the Internet resources,
- to prepare presentations on specific topics,
- to find, collect and summarize the factual material, making sound conclusions;
- formation of presentation skills for work with multinational audience.

### Teaching methodology

The course will be taught with a combination of lectures and seminars. Lectures will cover the core of the course, exposing students to the main facts, concepts, interpretations and issues related to the political development of the EU. During seminars students will analyse and discuss key issues, answering questions and preparing short presentations. The course is intended to use the interactive teaching methodology that implies active participation and involvement of students in both lectures and seminars. Lectures are given in a question-answer manner which leaves room for students' active involvement. All students on the course are welcome to engage in discussion about the topic of the lecture and are expected to be ready for active discussions at seminars. All lectures are supported by visual materials (e.g. Power Point presentations).

### Course Requirements and Assessment criteria

In this course, the students are required to attend classes (70 percent of the classes, at least), read the course materials regularly and participate in class discussions and give at least one presentation which should be turned in as an essay-type paper (2,000-word, excluding footnotes and bibliography) answering one question devoted to a particular topic.

Attendance 70% = 20%

Seminar participation (min. one presentation) 20 % + Essay 20% = 40%

Exam pass = 40 %

> 80% = Credit

### Total time consumption and types of work

Type of work	Hours	Semester
		5
Total time	104	104
Lectures	32	32
Seminars	32	32
Self-study	40	40
Assessment Final exam	Credit	Credit

### Course content

#### *Part 1 Understanding the Origins and the Meaning of European Integration - 5 weeks*

#### **Chapter 1 The Origins and Historical Context of the European Integration (2 weeks)**

The aim of this lecture is to give students brief introduction to the origins and historical background of the ideas for the unification of European States. Integration Idea before the WW II: Activities of Pan-European organizations. First Plans for the unity in Europe. J. Monnet, A. Brian. In the second week brief explanation of motivations of the European Integration Idea after the WWII will be discussed: The Marshall Plan and the German Problem; the Western Alliance and German Rearmament. The Monnet and Schuman Plans.

Seminar questions

1 There were several plans for unification of Europe. Why the Community became the most successful?

2 America's 'European Dream': to what extent was the USA "the architect" of European cooperation

following the WWII?

Seminar activities

1 Work in two groups (A and B), then break down into A-B pairs. With reference to the crises of the 1960s, one student represents the interests of Charles de Gaulle whilst the other represents the interests of the five other Community members. Debate the pros and cons of enlargement, extending QMV, and increasing the power of the Commission and the EP.

2 Work in two groups (A and B), then break down into A-B pairs. One student lists the reasons for European cooperation following the Second World War, whilst the other lists the reasons for cooperation in contemporary Europe. Compare and contrast the responses in pairs.

### **Chapter 2 Theories and Conceptual Approaches the European Integration (3 weeks)**

The main questions to be discussed are related to the problems of understanding the meaning and final aim of integration processes. There are several conceptual approaches that need to be taken into consideration: Federalism, Neo-functionalism, Intergovernmentalism and post-modern approaches such as constructivists and the idea of multi-level governance.

Main questions that are discussed in this lecture: what role do the supranational institutions play in the European integration process? What are the main critiques of liberal intergovernmentalism?

What is Europeanization? Is there a case for separate theory of Governance in the European Union?

Seminar questions

1 Imagine that the EU is discussing the harmonization of (for example) academic qualifications. Think of a possible example of functional, political, and cultivated spillover in this case.

2 What are the features and limits of the 'classical' debate of European integration?

3 What are the features and limits of the 'classical' debate of European integration?

Seminar activities

1 Work in pairs. Compare and contrast multilevel governance with a variant of institutionalism.

2 Work in two groups (A and B), then break down into A-B pairs. One student defends the Monnet/Community Method of integration as both empirically and theoretically sound, whilst the other student argues against.

### ***Part 2 Treaties and Institutions of the EU – 4 weeks***

#### **Chapter 3 Treaty Framework of the European Integration (2 weeks)**

The lecture focuses on the development of the treaty framework of the European Community's (Union) The Treaty of Paris and the ECSC European Defense Community and the Treaty of Rome. The “Empty-Chair” Crisis and the 1960s; the Hague Summit and the 1970s

Second week is devoted to the formation of the European Union: Maastricht Treaty and the birth of the EU, Development of treaty system of the EU, IGCs, Treaty of Amsterdam and start of the Euro, The Treaty of Nice and preparation for the enlargement

The defeat of the Constitutional Treaty and the Treaty of Lisbon

Seminar questions

1 Will the Treaty of Lisbon significantly increase the democratic credentials of the EU?

2 Why did the 1992 Treaty on European Union act as a catalyst for a debate about the future of Europe?

3 To what extent will European citizenship eclipse national citizenship?

4 What has been the most significant event in European politics since 1945? Why was it so important?

Seminar activities

1 Work in pairs. Discuss the pros and cons of European Defense Community

2 Work in pairs. Discuss the options that were open to the EU following Ireland's rejection of the Treaty of Lisbon in June 2009.

#### **Chapter 4 Institutions and Actors driving the European integration (2 weeks)**

The main institutions and actors are analyzed: The European Commission, The Council of the European Union and the European Council, The European Parliament, The Courts of the European Union, Interest Groups and the European Union

Seminar questions

1 To what extent is the Institutions: the Commission, the Council a supranational or intergovernmental institution?

2 Is the European Parliament an effective and efficient institution?

3 What are the principle differences between national interest groups and Eurogroups?

Seminar activities

1 Work in two groups (A and B), then break down into A-B pairs. One student argues for a reduction in Commission size; the other argues that each member state should keep a Commissioner. What are the advantages and disadvantages of both options?

2 Work in two groups (A and B), then break down into A-B pairs. One student argues for reform of the Council to make it a more open and transparent institution; the other argues to retain its current decision making style. What are the key themes in this debate? Can any proposals for change be made? Are the conclusions the same for the EU Council and the European Council?

3 Work in pairs. Imagine you are with a MEP on his/her campaign trail. What would you say to the constituents to persuade them to vote in a European Parliamentary election? Why does the European Parliament matter?

### **Chapter 5 Policy-Making in the EU (1 week)**

Key topics: Policy-Making in the European Union and Decision-making in the EU. Also specific policies are presented The Common Agricultural Policy. Environmental policy/

Seminar questions

1 How has the Community Method developed and why has it developed in this way?

2 What are the benefits of developing regional policy?

3 Why do you think environmental policy has developed into being one of the key policy areas in the EU?

Seminar activity

Work in two groups (A and B), then break down into A-B pairs. One student defends the Commission's decision to increase the use of new modes of governance; the other accuses the Commission of pursuing 'integration by stealth'. Use an example if desired (e.g. Education and Training).

### ***Part 3 Key Policy Issues and Debates about European Integration - 6 weeks***

#### **Chapter 6 Key policy areas of the EU (2 weeks)**

In this lecture three pillar structure of the EU is described. First pillar: The Single Market and the European Monetary Union, Second pillar: The EU's Foreign, Security, and Defence Policies. Third pillar Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice

Seminar questions

1 Why might it be challenging to develop a common EU external policy? Use an example to support your case.

2 What (direct or indirect) influence did NATO have on the creation of the EU's CFSP and EDSP?

3 Why is development in the area of JHA considered important and what are the key obstacles to integration in this area?

4 What are the stages of economic and monetary integration?

Seminar activities

1 Work in pairs. Discuss to what extent the 'global war on terror' has united and/or divided the EU

Seminar activity.

2 Work in pairs. Discuss the successes of, and obstacles to, the single market.

3 Work in pairs. Discuss the extent to which you think the title 'Fortress Europe' is justified.

4 Work in pairs. Discuss the different approaches to EMU and the current (asymmetric) situation in the EU. In the light of the 2008 global financial crisis, do you think this asymmetry is problematic?

### **Chapter 7 Issues and Debates about Integration process (2 weeks)**

The key questions covered in this lecture are Democracy and Legitimacy in the EU, Multiculturalism at question. Further enlargement of the EU where to stop? Why is Turkish membership of the EU so controversial? The EU and the Economic Crisis

Seminar questions

- 1 Why was the democratic deficit not a problem in the early days of European integration?
- 2 Imagine that you are a member of EU15 considering the forthcoming enlargement in 2004. What are your concerns/priorities?
- 3 What do you think are the principle factors which explain the contrasting levels of enthusiasm towards the EU in the UK (relatively low level support) and Spain (relatively high level support)?

Seminar activities

- 1 Work in two groups (A and B), then break down into A-B pairs. One student argues for allowing opt-outs and enhanced cooperation in the EU whilst the other argues against.
- 2 Work in small groups. You are making a presentation to an expert group in the Commission on how to improve the democratic credentials of the EU. Prepare your presentation!
- 3 Work in two groups (A and B), then break down into A-B pairs. One student is a French minister who is firmly opposed to Turkish membership of the EU; one student is a Danish minister who supports Turkey's accession (despite public opposition in Denmark). What are the key themes of the debate?

### **Chapter 8 EU as a Global Actor and Relations with Russia (1 week)**

This lecture is aimed at presenting the role that the EU is playing on the global stage. The second question of the lecture is to discuss the main issues in relations with Russia and the Ex-Soviet Countries.

Seminar questions

- 1 What are the reasons of the EU becoming a global actor?
- 2 What are the opportunities and impediments in relations between the EU and Russia?

Seminar activity

- 1 Work in pairs. Discuss the extent to which the EU is an international 'power'.
- 2 Present positions of the EU on the one side and Russia on the other on the question of visa-free travel?

### **Chapter 9 Conclusion. Debate on the Future of the European Union and European Integration Process – 1 week**

The lecture is aimed at presenting the concluding summary of the previously discussed issues that might give a perspective on what path the EU is going to take in the next decade as an institution, organization, union, political community.

Seminar questions

- 1 Is globalization a threat or an opportunity for the EU?
- 2 What is Europeanization?
- 3 What are the possible outcomes of crisis in eurozone for the development of the EU?

**Section II.** Materials (lecture abstracts): main topics of the course “Key aspects of European Integration and EU Politics”

*Part 1 Understanding the Origins and the Meaning of European Integration*

**Chapter 1 The Origins and Historical Context of the European Integration**

The aim of this lecture is to give students brief introduction to the origins and historical background of the ideas for the unification of European States. Why European integration began, and the reasons why the subsequent plot developed the way it did have been the subject of intense debate. There has been a tendency, especially among those strongly committed to a federal Europe, to see development moving along a single plane towards a predetermined goal. Yet the history of integration since the formation of the ECSC in 1951 has not been like that. The rate of integrative progress has been far from consistent, and all arguments and pressures for further advances have had to contend with equally powerful countervailing forces pulling in the opposite direction. Nor was there anything preordained about the structural route taken in 1950, or that future developments would revolve largely around a Franco-German axis. There might, both then and later, have been broad agreement about the desirability and principle of a united Europe; but there has rarely been consensus on anything else. As Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, commented in May 1950 when he unveiled the plan, prepared by another prominent figure Jean Monnet, for a pooling of coal and steel resources, “Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan.”

In reality, the story of integration is complex, with numerous subplots, varying strategies, and different ambitions. Moreover the origins of integration could be found in the ideas of unified Europe declared long time ago by **William Penn, Abbot Charles de Saint-Pierre, Victor Hugo, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi and Giuseppe Mazzini**. In September of 1946, Churchill delivered an address at the University of Zurich, Switzerland where he advocated for ‘a kind of United States of Europe’ and that reconciliation and a partnership between France and Germany was crucial to this notion. So when Churchill called for a United States of Europe he did so without a

firm idea of what that might look like and, far more saliently as far as the contemporary world is concerned, nor did he specify exactly what the role of the United Kingdom would be, if any, in that unity. On the other side was a more cautious and pragmatic strategy, encapsulated by the inputs of people like Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, which envisaged a slower process of steady accretion through a series of limited actions and innovations.

Also the historical context should be taken into consideration: dramatic economic situation, strong political drift to the Left in many countries (notably in France), tensions between USA and USSR, strong influence of the USA in European matters.

## **Chapter 2 Theories and Conceptual Approaches to European Integration**

The main questions to be discussed are related to the problems of understanding the meaning and final aim of integration processes. There are several conceptual approaches that need to be taken into consideration: Federalism, Neo-functionalism, Intergovernmentalism and post-modern approaches such as constructivists and the idea of multi-level governance.

### **Federalism**

Federalists plan to form a small nucleus of nonconformists seeking to point out that the national states have lost their proper rights since they cannot guarantee the political and economic safety of their citizens. The key idea suggested by Altiero Spinelli in the Ventotene Manifesto of 1940, was in a once-and-for-all 'big bang' solution, an instantaneous and all-embracing transformation of European states into a federal state. This "theoretical" proposition was shared by many political actors engaged in the early process of European integration. Normative goal of Federalists is to establish a federation of European states instead of competing nation states through political strategy where institutions should be in priority. Study of federal systems (with their mixture of unity and diversity) helps designing an adequate European polity should be the guiding principle.

## **Functionalism**

Classical theory of regional integration that holds that a common need for technocratic management of economic and social policy leads to the formation of international agencies. Such agencies promote economic welfare, thus eventually gaining legitimacy, overcoming ideological opposition to strong international institutions, and in the long-run evolving into a sort of international government, though perhaps not a true state. Belongs to the liberal-idealist tradition of International Relations theory (Kant, Saint-Pierre, Rousseau, Woodrow Wilson: "utopian conceptions") Main figure: David Mitrany (1888-1975); "A Working Peace System" (1944) Political strategy: form follows function Criticism to Functionalism: technocratic, naïve, poor record of prediction.

## **Neo-functionalism**

Neo-functionalism is a theory of regional integration that seeks to explain the process of (European) integration. It is a theory that focuses on the supranational institutions of the EU. The theory was particularly influential in the 1950s and 1960s. Its main focus is on the 'factors' that drive integration: interest group activity at the European and national levels; political party activity; the role of governments and supranational institutions. The main idea is to integrate modestly in areas of "low politics" which are at the same time "strategic economic sectors". Create a high authority to promote the integration process. The integration of particular economic sectors across nations will create functional pressures for the integration of related economic sectors. The consequence is the gradual entangling of national economies. Gradually, social interests will shift their loyalty towards the new supranational center. Deepening economic integration will create the need for further European institutionalization. Political integration and supranational institutionalization are a therefore side-effects of economic integration. (Ernst Haas; "The Uniting of Europe" (1968)

Spillover as the most important driving process of integration: deepening of integration in one sector is expected to create pressures for further economic integration within and beyond that sector, leading to functional needs for a European

authority. Types of spillover: Functional spillover takes place when cooperation in one sector/issue area 'functionally' creates pressures for cooperation in another related area. Political spillover refers to situations characterized as a more deliberate political process, as when actors (national or supranational, political, or private) find it more useful to argue for European rather than for national solutions. Cultivated spillover refers to situations where supranational actors such as the European Commission push the process of integration forward during the intergovernmental negotiation process. The Commission acts not only as mediator but also as political entrepreneur during these negotiations, the so called "Community method", followed by early figures like Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet. Challenge the traditional International Relations theory: replacement of power politics of states by supranational consensus politics. Criticisms to Neo-functionalism: Implausibility (because of continuing relevance of states), Dangerousness (because of implicit dangers of withering-away of liberal states guaranteeing justice and liberty). Neo-functionalism should rather be seen as a "pre-theory", relying on a teleological assumption of progress rather than deriving predictions from a general theory

### **Intergovernmentalism/Realism as theory and method**

Intergovernmentalism is defined as a theory of European integration. Intergovernmentalism may also serve as a model of European integration. This is something rather different. This sort of intergovernmentalism is prescriptive in the sense that it is likely to *advocate* reducing the role of the supranational institutions (European Commission, European Parliament, and the Courts) in favour of a greater role for the European Council and EU Council, representing national governments. It might also imply a reinstatement of unanimous voting in the Council and the repatriation of European policies to the national level. According to this approach an international system characterized by anarchy, composed of units that are formally and functionally equal (states). The key variable is the distribution of capabilities across units: how much power does state *A* possess in state *B* ? Anarchy can produce order, but cooperation between states is always limited by the strive of nation states to survive. Rational states seek to maximize the possibilities for their survival.

Interests and actions of the most powerful states constitute the nature of the international system. **Neo-realism** rests on "realist" thinking (e.g. Hans Morgenthau): international politics is about the interaction of self-interested actors in an anarchic environment without an over-arching authority. Neo-realism is a realist reaction on the empirical existence of institutions of international cooperation like the EC/EU. Gained ground vis-à-vis neo-functionalism during the "inter-governmentalist backlash" (empty chair policy, British budgetary debate...). Hypotheses: Spillovers take place only in areas of "low politics", "Negative integration": removal of barriers, Two-level-games. Important authors: Kenneth Waltz, Andrew Moravcsik, John Mearsheimer, Stanley Hoffmann. Until 1990, European integration has been seen as a reaction to the Cold War; therefore Neo-realism predicts conflict rather than cooperation for the EU after 1990. Critiques to neo-realism: Does not explain well some European waves of integration (Single European Act, Maastricht Treaty) Does not explain well the growing weight of Germany within the EC/EU False assumptions: instrumental rationality of states, an-archy as main structural feature

### **Moravcsik's Liberal Intergovernmentalism**

In his book *The Choice for Europe*, Andrew Moravcsik applies his theory of liberal intergovernmentalism to five cases in the history of the European integration process. In each case, Moravcsik argues that what was important in driving elite support for European integration was national economic interest. This line of argument was contrary to conventional wisdom usually put forward by historians at the time that geopolitical factors were what mattered most in explaining European integration. Moravcsik makes the case that geopolitics, such as France's pursuit of a policy of *grandeur*, though not irrelevant, were merely a secondary consideration as national governments established their bargaining positions on history-making decisions.

### **Institutions and the new institutionalism**

For most students of politics, 'institution' brings to mind phenomena such as the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government - what we might think of as ongoing or embedded sets of formalities, often underwritten or codified by

constitutional prescription. Early political science dealt with the study of this sort of institution. Scholars explored how such bodies operated, how they interacted and how they supplied sets of rules that helped to account for the ways in which political systems operated. Often such studies concluded that institutional patterns reflected the character of a country's politics. This 'old' institutionalism was criticized, especially by behaviouralists, for an over-emphasis on the formal, codified aspects of politics at the expense of looking at the nitty-gritty of politics: the interaction of groups in pursuit of their interest and the basis, form, and consequences of individual and collective political behaviour. However, classical institutional studies did bequeath a concern with the impact of rules upon the behaviour of actors and thus upon political outcomes more generally. 'New' institutionalism proceeds from the axiom that 'institutions matter' as shapers of and influences upon actor behaviour (rather than as mere expressions of political culture). This is combined with a broader definition of 'institution' to embrace not only formal rules, but also forms of ongoing social interaction that form the 'compliance procedures and standard operating practices' in the political economy, to borrow Peter Hall's well established definition. Thus, from the new institutionalist vantage point, we may be talking about anything from written constitutional rules through to norms or even collectively-recognized symbols when we speak of institutions. With this in mind, it is hardly surprising that the EU has become a favoured venue for the practice of new institutionalist political science. "Institutionalist approaches are built around the claim that 'institutions matter'. They matter particularly because of the ways in which institutional configurations have an impact upon political outcomes.

Types of New Institutionalism (Hall/Taylor, Rosamond, Nugent): Historical: distribution of power through institutional arrangements, ways in which these arrangements result in path dependence and unintended consequences, relationship between institutions and other factors that shape political activities and outcomes. Rational choice: How do institutions shape, channel, and constrain political actors? constraints on political action by institutions. Sociological: How can institutional forms and practices be explained culturally? Sociological New Institutionalism is

made up by similar approaches as in constructivism. New Institutionalism is a very diverse approach made up by fundamentally different schools of thought

### **Constructivism**

Constructivists hold the view that the building blocks of international reality are ideational as well as material; that ideational factors have normative as well as instrumental dimensions, that they express not only individual but also collective intentionality; and that the meaning and significance of ideational factors are not independent of time and place. Theoretical approach in International Relations theory (IR); interest in European integration has only started recently. Diez (1999) identifies two kinds of constructivist approaches:

a. Social constructivism: asks for the character or quality of social reality (Giddens, Katzenstein)

b. Theoretical constructivism: asks for the condition and the status of our knowledge of reality (constructivist assumptions are extended to any kind of knowledge; self-reflection / autopoiesis)

Typical research questions in Europe-related constructivism: Consequences of social interaction of states on the international system (e.g. Alexander Wendt); Consequences of national norms on international politics (e.g. Peter Katzenstein); Impact of European norms on changes in domestic politics (e.g. Thomas Risse); Relevance of images of governance (e.g. cooperation of states, federal state, Economic Community, network) on political actors in Europe (e.g. Thomas Diez)

### **Multi-Level-Governance**

The point of departure for the multi-level-governance (MLG) approach is the existence of overlapping competencies among multiple levels of governments and the interaction of political actors across those levels. Member states executives (...) are only one set of actors in the European polity. States are not an exclusive link between domestic politics and intergovernmental bargaining in the EU. Instead of two-level-games assumptions, MLG theorists posit a set of overarching, multi-level policy networks. The structure of political control is variable, not constant, across policy

areas. Governance in MLG is governing with or without government. MLG approach offers a "framework for the use of policy net-work analysis"

## ***Part 2 Treaties and Institutions of the EU***

### **Chapter 3 Treaty Framework of the European Integration**

The lecture focuses on the development of the treaty and legal framework of the European Community's (Union) The Treaties of the European Union are a set of international treaties between the European Union (EU) member states (now 28 states) which sets out the EU's constitutional basis. They establish the various EU institutions together with their remit, procedures and objectives. The EU can only act within the competences granted to it through these treaties and amendment to the treaties requires the agreement and ratification (according to their national procedures) of every single signatory. Two core functional treaties, the Treaty on European Union (originally signed in Maastricht in 1992) and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (originally signed in Rome in 1958 as the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community), lay out how the EU operates, and there are a number of satellite treaties which are interconnected with them. The treaties have been repeatedly amended by other treaties over the 65 years since they were first signed. The consolidated version of the two core treaties is regularly published by the European Commission. The European Union and the European Community were both established by constitutive treaties concluded between their founding member states. If the current member states wish to reform the EU or the EC they need to amend the constitutive treaties. This is formally done via an Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) in which the member states negotiate amendments. Agreed amendments are then brought together in an amending treaty that all member states must sign and ratify. Ratification normally involves each member state's parliament approving the treaty by vote. In some member states, for either procedural or political reasons, treaties are also put to a referendum.

#### **Key fundamental moments in formation of the EU legal framework**

*The Van Gend en Loos case and the principle of direct effect.* The case had

great legal and political significance. If individuals were allowed to invoke, in national courts, provisions of EC law to protect their interests, this would be a significant incursion of the Community and the European Court into the realm of national sovereignty. The Belgian and Dutch governments intervened in the case and argued that the ECJ had no jurisdiction, as issues relating to whether the EEC Treaty prevailed over Dutch legislation or other agreements entered into by the Netherlands and incorporated into Dutch national law should be decided exclusively by the national courts. The government in The Hague also argued that if there was a breach of Community law by a member state, the solution to the problem should come from the use of infringement proceedings. Through their arguments, the member states seemed to exclude the involvement of individuals in the efforts to ensure implementation of Community law in national territory. The ECJ rejected these arguments and established that the Community constitutes a new legal order of international law for the benefit of which the member states have limited their sovereign rights, and the subjects of which comprise not only member states but also their nationals. The Court concludes from this a fundamental principle: that of the direct effect of Community law.

*The Luxembourg Compromise.* The Luxembourg Compromise (or Luxembourg Agreement) is the name often given to the agreement among the then six member states of the European Community, concluding the 'empty chair crisis' of 1965. The agreement stated that in cases of the vital national interest of one of the member states the Council would aim to find a consensus solution, thus creating a de facto veto right. The Compromise had practical effects for both the Council and the Commission. In the case of the Council, member states were more willing to accept an extension of majority voting, knowing that in the final instance they could invoke the Luxembourg Compromise and veto unwanted legislation. In the case of the Commission, it meant that this institution had to make more of an effort to ensure that its proposals would not impact upon the vital interests of any member state. In so doing, it made the Commission much more cautious in its policy proposals. These effects were felt despite the fact that the Luxembourg Compromise was never

recognized by the European Court of Justice as legally binding.

### **The Treaty on European Union**

The impact of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) on the process of achieving 'ever closer union' was considerable. Most significantly it formally established the EU. In addition it promoted European integration in a whole variety of ways whether through the promotion of cooperation in the two new intergovernmental pillars on foreign and security policy and justice and home affairs or through the expansion of EC activities. Indeed, thanks to the TEU, the EC was given new competences in the fields of education, culture, public health, consumer protection, trans-European networks, industry, and development cooperation. Citizenship of the EU was also established. And, of course, the TEU set out the timetable for EMU by 1999. As for existing competences, some were expanded, notably in the areas of social policy, the environment, and economic and social cohesion, although in an attempt to assuage concerns of over-centralization of power, the principle of subsidiarity was introduced. Moreover, the TEU saw the establishment of new institutions and bodies including the European Central Bank, the Committee of the Regions, and the Ombudsman. As for existing institutions, the powers of the EP were increased, not least through the introduction of the new codecision procedure, greater use of qualified majority voting in the Council was agreed, the Court of Auditors was upgraded to an institution, and the European Court of Justice gained the power to fine member states.

### **Lisbon Treaty reforms and the Council**

Possibly the single most contentious item debated during the Lisbon IGC was how to reform the system of qualified majority voting. The new design is a double majority system that scraps the controversial voting weights reset during the Nice Treaty in anticipation of future enlargements. The new system would take effect from 1 November 2014 and would be based on two threshold requirements: at least 55 per cent of the member states (that is, at least 15 in an EU27), representing at least 65 per cent of the total EU population. An additional clause requires at least four member states to form a 'blocking minority'. This provides safeguards against hypothetical

big-state coalitions that could be used to block legislation (any three of the big four—Germany, France, Britain, Italy—represent more than 35 per cent of the EU's population).

European Council President (Article 15): Part effort to improve coherence and part effort to leverage Europe's ability to speak with a single voice, the idea of a senior statesperson to represent the Union and Chair the summits of the heads of state and government was an institutional innovation widely hailed in national capitals. The European Council appoints the President by qualified majority for a term of 2.5 years (renewable once). The Council President cannot wear a 'double hat'—they must not simultaneously hold a national office (Article 15.5). The European Council President is expected to: chair meetings of the European Council and drive forward its work, ensure the preparation and continuity of the work of the European Council, endeavour to facilitate cohesion and consensus, issue a report to the EP after each summit.

Upgraded Foreign Policy Chief (Article 18): Upgrading the 'Mr CFSP' post was an early consensus of the Constitutional Convention. While some members, such as the British, could not ultimately swallow the proposed title change - to EU Foreign Minister - the agreed title 'High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy' still carries with it a substantial enhancement of institutional clout. It is the area where, practically speaking, the EU gains the most visible international legal personality. Lauded as Europe's answer to Henry Kissinger's famous quip back in 1973, 'I wouldn't know who to call if I wanted to talk to Europe,' the political significance is to enhance the policy-making coherence of CFSP and ESDP. For scholars of the EU, the new post is intriguing because it explicitly blurs the institutional boundaries between the Council and Commission in ways previously unheard of. To avoid organizational chaos in EU external relations, the new foreign policy 'supremo' is not only a top Council actor, but a Vice-President of the Commission in charge of the sizable external relations budget. Duties would include: chairing the External Relations portion of the GAERC, attending European Council meetings, serving as a Vice-President of the Commission and running the External

Relations DG, representing the EU externally and conducting high-level diplomacy.

Enhanced Cooperation (Article 20): Seen by many as the formalization and legitimation of Europe. This was packaged as a way to 'further the objectives of the Union, protect its interests and reinforce its integration process' but a more cynical way of putting it is that vanguard or core members can no longer be held back in policy areas by the most reluctant integrationists. Enhanced cooperation is, however, considered 'a last resort' when 'cooperation cannot be attained... by the Union as a whole'. Outsiders may still participate in deliberations but they have no voting rights. Adopted acts would only bind participating member states and do not become part of the EU 'acquis'.

#### **Chapter 4 Institutions and Actors driving the European integration**

**The European Council:** This body is composed of the Heads of Government and the Commission President, who meet at least once every six months to set priorities and discuss the large issues dominating the policy agenda, including CFSP. The European Council lays down the guidelines for CFSP and adopts Common Strategies. **The EU Council (Council of Ministers):** The EU Foreign Ministers and the Foreign Policy Commissioner meet at least monthly under the banner of the General Affairs Council. This body makes decisions on external relations issues, including CFSP. Their decisions can lead to Joint Actions and Common Positions, whose implementation is mainly the responsibility of the country holding the EU's Presidency and that of the High Representative, following the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. **The Presidency:** The country holding the six-monthly Council Presidency plays an important role within CFSP as it sets the agenda for the political decision-making process. It provides the background administration for all meetings and is responsible for trying to resolve disagreements and difficulties on all policy issues. This is particularly important in relation to CFSP as decisions are made unanimously, although the provision for Enhanced Cooperation does change this dynamic slightly. The Presidency is assisted in its work by the Council Secretariat and, since the Amsterdam Treaty, by the Secretary-General/High Representative for

CFSP. **Commission:** The strengthening of the Council with regard to CFSP has implications for the role of the Commission. The Commission is an important part of the Union, not only because it has such a large role in concluding agreements and managing aid and trade initiatives, but also as it has diplomatic offices (representations) in virtually every country in the world. This is something the Commission jealously guards. It is in many respects the public face of the EU abroad. A Declaration added to the Amsterdam Treaty outlined how the Commission proposed to reorganize its Directorates-General to bring external relations under the remit of a Vice-President, rather than under the control of four Commissioners. However, the former Commission President, Romano Prodi (1999-2004) did not observe the Declaration and appointed four external relations commissioners with functional rather than geographic responsibilities. **The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy:** Acts as a Vice-President of the Commission, and presides over the Foreign Affairs Council. The High Representative ensures the consistency of the EU's external actions, along with the Council and the Commission. The High Representative has the right to submit joint proposals with the Commission in other areas of external action. The High Representative is assisted by the European External Action Service. **The European External Action Service:** Works with the diplomatic services of member states and comprises officials from relevant departments of the General Secretariat of the Council and Commission as well as seconded officials from national governments. **The European Parliament:** The Parliament has no formal CFSP role but is kept informed and consulted on CFSP issues and on the general direction of the policy. MEPs have been very keen to engage in foreign policy issues— they were particularly active through debates and declarations during the Yugoslavian civil war and Afghan and Iraqi campaigns, continually pushing their case for an enhanced parliamentary role in external relations. **The Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit:** The Early Warning Unit was established within the Council Secretariat and has a responsibility for monitoring and assessing international developments, as well as analysing emerging threats and crises. The Early Warning Unit's analytical role is

important insofar as it provides the member states with the information they require to formulate a common foreign policy. **COREPER**: The Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER) is composed of member states' ambassadors to the EU and the Commission Deputy Secretary-General who meet at least once a week to prepare Council meetings and decisions, including those related to the General Affairs Council and CFSP. Anecdotal evidence from senior officials shows that COREPER plays a crucial role in organizing the work of CFSP and smoothing over policy disagreements. **The Political and Security Committee (PSC, or COPS)**: The PSC is central to CFSP and ESDP. It organizes the EU's response to any crisis. It is composed of national representatives. The PSC prepares recommendations on how CFSP (and ESDP) should develop, and also deals with the routine elements of these policies. In the event of a crisis, the PSC is the body that analyses the options open to members and manages the EU's approach to the crisis, but without preventing countervailing decisions being made by other EU institutions.

### **Lobbies and interest groups**

The literature on the European Union's interest groups rests largely on a body of research in the field of comparative politics. Lobbies, pressure groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), social movement organizations and interest organizations are the most common terms used to characterize interest groups in this literature. The term 'interest group' refers to the underlying rationale of these groups and has less negative connotations. Members join groups as they share common attitudes, or interests. 'Interest organizations' refers to interest groups that are highly formalized. This highlights the continuity of organizations as well as their ability to cope with complexity via differentiation. It also draws attention away from particular leaders and members within an organization, and towards the effects of the organizational form. The term 'non-governmental organization' (NGO) brings along a normative outlook and is often used by diffuse interests to avoid the 'interest group' label that is frequently associated with selfish inside lobbying. There are three factors that define an actor as an interest group: organization (which excludes broad movements and waves of public opinion), political interests (also called political

advocacy), and informality (no aspiration to public offices and no competition in elections, but the pursuit of goals through frequent informal interactions with politicians and bureaucrats).

## **Chapter 5 Policy-Making in the EU**

### **Legislative procedures in the EU**

The *codecision procedure* is the main decision-making procedure for the European Community (the first pillar of the European Union). It is based on the principle of parity: that is, that no European decision can be taken without the agreement of both the EU Council and the European Parliament. The *consultation procedure* was the original EC decision-making procedure, as outlined in the Treaty of Rome. Consultation allows the European Parliament to give its opinion on Commission proposals before the Council takes a decision. Once the Parliament's opinion is made known, the Commission can amend its proposal if it sees fit, before the Council examines it. The Council can then adopt the proposal or amend it. If it wishes to reject the proposal, it must do so unanimously. Under the majority of procedures within the EC pillar, qualified majority voting now applies to votes taken in the EU Council. The use of unanimity reserved for particularly sensitive political or constitutional issues. It is also in general use (with a few minor exceptions) in Pillars 2 and 3. The *assent procedure* was introduced in the Single European Act. When this procedure is used, the Council has to get the agreement (or 'assent') of the European Parliament before policy decisions are taken. Under this procedure the Parliament can say 'yes' or 'no' to a proposal, but does not have any right to propose amendments to it. Assent is only used in a relatively small number of policy areas, for example EU enlargement and international agreements. The *cooperation procedure* was introduced in the Single European Act, and was extended by the Maastricht Treaty. However, at Amsterdam, governments agreed to privilege the codecision procedure and cut back on areas where cooperation was used. It is now only used for economic and monetary union decisions.

Types of binding Community acts. Article 249 EC provides for three main

types of binding act: Regulations have general application and are binding and directly applicable in all member states. Directly applicable means that they do not normally require member states to adopt measures for their implementation. Directives are addressed to all or some of the member states. Directives lay down specific binding objectives that have to be achieved by specific dates, and leave to the discretion of the member states the decision on how best to achieve these objectives. Decisions are addressed to individuals and are binding in their entirety.

**The principle of subsidiarity** regulates the exercise of powers in the European Union. It is based on the idea that decisions must be taken as closely as possible to the citizen. Subsidiarity was introduced into the Maastricht Treaty as the result of pressure from regions such as the German Lander which saw in the principle a guarantee of their regional autonomy. For member states such as the UK, the principle would potentially limit the Union's ability to intervene and thus further encroach on national sovereignty. According to Article 5 EC: The Community shall act within the limits of the powers conferred upon it by this Treaty and of the objectives assigned to it thereto. In the areas which do not fall within its exclusive jurisdiction, the Community shall take action, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, only if and insofar as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States and can therefore, by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved by the Community. Any action by the Community shall not go beyond what is necessary to achieve the objectives of this Treaty. The principle of subsidiarity was further elaborated in a Protocol on the application of the principle, attached to the Treaty of Amsterdam. For the first time the Lisbon Treaty gives national parliaments direct powers to enforce the principle of subsidiarity. The Treaty sets out how national parliaments can decide whether EU legislation complies with the principle of subsidiarity.

### **The formal CAP decision-making process**

The main actors in the CAP decision-making process are the European Commission, responsible for drafting legislation, and the Agricultural Council that takes decisions. The European Parliament (EP), which in many policy areas now

shares decision-making responsibility with the Council, has only a very limited role in agricultural policy, amounting to consultation. The only way for the EP to have any influence on the CAR through its crucial role in the ECU's budgetary decision-making mechanisms, is thus in a very indirect manner. However, this situation could change if the Lisbon Treaty is ratified, with the EP being given codecision powers. CAP decision making usually begins with a proposal from the Commission that may be made either on the basis of a broadly defined request from the European Council (the heads of government or state), or on a voluntary basis by the Commission. Once formulated, the Commission's proposal is then submitted to the EP for consultation and the Agricultural Council for decision. It is also transmitted to the Committee of Agricultural Organisations (COPA), the main interest group representing European farmers, and to other institutions as appropriate, such as the Committee of the Regions, representing regional interest, for consultation. The Agricultural Council may reject the Commission's proposal or ask for modifications. Alternatively it may begin to negotiate on the basis of what the Commission has proposed, resulting ultimately in a decision. The Agricultural Council meets monthly, more frequently than most of the EU Councils. One of these meetings was usually set aside to discuss what was called the 'price package' for the following year, at which the member states decided on such issues as the level of guaranteed prices for each product and the amount of quota by country. Within the Agricultural Council, the unanimity rule has been in place until very recently, albeit only on an informal basis, as a consequence of the 'empty chair crisis' in the late 1960s, because the formal rule is in fact qualified majority voting. This has meant that each member has had the right to veto any decision. Decision rules such as this have had important consequences for the CAP especially with regard to the pace of reform.

### ***Part 3 Key Policy Issues and Debates about European Integration***

#### **Chapter 6 Key policy Issues of the EU**

Between 1993 and 2009, the European Union (EU) legally comprised **three pillars**. This structure was introduced with the Treaty of Maastricht and was eventually abandoned on 1 December 2009 upon the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, when the EU obtained a consolidated legal personality. The European Communities pillar handled economic, social and environmental policies. It comprised the European Community (EC), the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC, until its expiry in 2002), and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) pillar took care of foreign policy and military matters. Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters (PJCC) brought together co-operation in the fight against crime. This pillar was originally named Justice and Home Affairs (JHA).

#### **The Eurozone**

The introduction of the EURO was regarded as a great achievement of the European integration and the hit point of the EC (EU). The name EURO was officially adopted on 16 December 1995. The euro was introduced to world financial markets as an accounting currency on 1 January 1999, replacing the former European Currency Unit (ECU). Physical euro coins and banknotes entered into circulation on 1 January 2002, making it the day-to-day operating currency of its original members. Thanks to the EMU stages in economic integration became common knowledge: Free Trade Area: reduces tariffs to zero between members leads to Customs Union: reduces tariffs to zero between members and establishes a common external tariff then goes Single Market, establishes a free flow of factors of production (labour and capital, as well as goods and services). And finally Economic Union: involves an agreement to harmonize economic policies.

However the states are obliged to fulfill the Maastricht convergence criteria in order to stay in the eurozone, which for some states becomes a hard task.

The Maastricht convergence criteria: Budget deficits should be no more than 3 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Accumulated public debt should be no

more than 60 per cent of GDP. Exchange rates should have participated without devaluation or severe tensions in the exchange rate mechanism (ERM-2) for at least the previous two years. Inflation should not be more than 1.5 percentage points above the rate of the three best-performing member states. Long-term interest rates should be not more than 2 percentage points above the rate of the three best-performing member states.

### **Objectives of Common Foreign and Security Policy**

The five key objectives of CFSP as established in the Maastricht Treaty (Article 11), and reaffirmed in the Amsterdam and Lisbon Treaties are: to safeguard the common values, fundamental interests, independence, and integrity of the Union in conformity with the principle of the United Nations Charter; to strengthen the security of the Union; to preserve peace and strengthen international security, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter (including those on external borders); to promote international cooperation; to develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The principles behind CFSP and guidelines for implementation should be defined by the European Council. Common policies and actions should be established by the European Council to frame the way the EU deals with individual countries and regions. These should result in defining and pursuing common policies and actions, and a high degree of coordination. Consistency between different areas of external action and other EU policies shall be done by the Council and Commission, assisted by the High Representative.

Key instruments of CFSP. The Maastricht Treaty provided CFSP with the following key instruments. Common Positions: these require member states to adopt national policies that comply with a stated EU position on a particular issue. For example, the EU has a Common Position on Myanmar (Burma). This aims to bring pressure on the Burmese government to change its policies towards the opposition. The Common Position bans visas for senior members of the government, military, and security forces, freezes any assets held in the EU and suspends all high-level political visits from the EU. Joint Actions: these are operational actions agreed by the

member states that fall under the flag of the EU and therefore CFSP For example, Joint Action 2002/210/CFSP (11 March 2002) established the European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), which was the first EU civilian crisis-management operation under CFSP/ESDP It aimed to establish strong and sustainable policing arrangements by 2005. The EUPM was made up of around 500 seconded policemen and more than 300 international civilian and local staff. A similar Joint Action of 4 February 2008 was set up to help bolster Kosovo's legal framework and to promote the rule of law through active mentoring (Council Joint Action 2008/124/CFSP).

The third of the three pillars of the European Union (EU) was **Justice and Home Affairs** (JHA), which was shrunk and renamed **Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters** (PJC) in 2003. The pillar focused on co-operation in law enforcement and combating racism. It was based more around intergovernmental cooperation than the other pillars meaning there was little input from the European Commission, European Parliament and the Court of Justice. It was responsible for policies including the European Arrest Warrant. It was created, on the foundations of the TREVI cooperation, as the Justice and Home Affairs pillar by the Maastricht treaty in order to advance cooperation in criminal and justice fields without member states sacrificing a great deal of sovereignty. Decisions were taken by consensus rather than majority (which was the case in the European Community areas) and the supranational institutions had little input. The Treaty of Amsterdam transferred the areas of illegal immigration, visas, asylum, and judicial co-operation in civil matters to the integrated European Community. The Treaty of Lisbon, which entered into force in December 2009, abolished the entire pillar system. The PJC areas and those transferred from JHA to the Community were once more grouped together in creating an area of freedom, security and justice. The Maastricht Treaty established that, while reaching the objectives of the Union, and notably the freedom of movement, the member states consider the following as areas of common interest under Justice and Home Affairs: Asylum; Rules concerning the entrance of external borders; Immigration policies and policies concerning third countries' citizens; Conditions of

entry and circulation for foreign citizens in the territory of the Union; Conditions of residence for foreign citizens in the territory of Member States, comprising families and employment access; Fight against irregular immigration, residence and work of foreigners within the territory of the Union; Combating illicit drugs; Fighting against international fraud; Judicial co-operation in civil matters; Judicial co-operation in penal matters; Customs co-operation; Police co-operation for preventing and fighting terrorism, drugs trade and other grave forms of international criminality, comprising, if necessary, certain aspects of customs co-operation. There were three EU agencies under the PJC pillar: Eurojust, Europol and European Police College (Cepol).

### **Chapter 7 Issues and Debates about Integration process (2 weeks)**

The key questions covered in this lecture are Democracy and Legitimacy in the EU, Multiculturalism at question. Further enlargement of the EU where to stop? Why is Turkish membership of the EU so controversial? The EU and the Economic Crisis

**Democratic deficit.** The idea behind the notion of a 'democratic deficit' is that decisions in the EU are in some ways insufficiently representative of or accountable to, the nations and people of Europe. It has become a received wisdom that the EU suffers from a 'democratic deficit'. It suffers from deficiencies in representation, representativeness, accountability and support. The problem is not merely that of the establishment of an additional layer of governance, further removed from the peoples of Europe. It is also that this process contributes to the transformation of the Member States, so that each Member State can no longer claim to be the source of its own legitimacy. The limited ability of Europeans to influence the work of the major EU institutions is a problem that has become so entrenched as to merit its own label: the democratic deficit. The democratic deficit is '... the combination of two phenomena: (a) the transfer of powers from the Member States to the European Community; and (b) the exercise of those powers at the Community level by institutions other than the European Parliament, even though, before the transfer, the national parliaments held power to pass laws in the areas concerned.'

**Enlargement** EU enlargement generally means increasing the size of the

Union by incorporating additional members. This is a process that can take a number of years, as the candidate states attempt to align their economy and regulatory structures to those agreed to by the existing members. The decision to apply means that the candidate state has to agree to accept EU values, and pool sovereignty with other members. Alternate views of enlargement (not discussed here) stress the widening of EU influence beyond the borders of the member states and the deepening of relationships within the organization.

**Europeanization** captures the interactions between the European Union and member states and third countries (including accession and neighbourhood). One strand of Europeanization research analyses how member states shape EU policies, politics, and polity while the other focuses on how the EU triggers domestic change.

## **Chapter 8 EU as a Global Actor**

Apart from being the largest market in the world, and a major destination for developing country exports, the EU plays a key role in shaping global trade arrangements – for example, by insisting on human-rights clauses. It has been progressive on climate change. It plays a global role in peacekeeping, having deployed over 30 peace missions, from Aceh to Bosnia. And as the largest donor of aid in the world, the EU has a historic relationship with developing countries.

**ESDP: the military and civilian dimensions** The military side of ESDP was introduced at Helsinki (1999) and developed at the Nice (2001) European Council. Helsinki resulted in the so-called 'headline goal', whilst Nice provided the institutional structures that support the policy, namely the Political and Security Committee (PSC), which is assisted by a politico-military working group, a committee for civilian aspects of crisis management, as well as the Military Committee (EUMC) and the Military Staff (EUMS). The Feira (1999) and Gothenburg (2001) Councils developed the civilian element of ESDR which aimed to fill the 'soft' security gaps left by the international community. The Nice Council provided four institutional arrangements to fill these gaps, including a civil-military relations committee, to ensure that interventions run smoothly. The civilian

dimension comprises: Police Cooperation: creating a capability to deploy 5,000 police officers, including 1,000 within 30 days, for tasks ranging from training local police officers to assisting military forces in restoring order. Rule of Law: an ambition to provide up to 200 judges, prosecutors, and other legal experts to areas in crisis. Civilian Administration: providing officials to assist in the basic tasks of government administration like establishing education, infrastructure, and elections. Civil Protection: the ability to assist in humanitarian assistance at short notice—the EU to be capable, within three to seven hours, of providing two to three assessment teams as well as intervention teams consisting of up to 2,000 people. The European Defence Agency (EDA), established in 2004 to identify gaps in the EU's military capability and then to suggest programmes and assist in conducting efforts to fill these gaps.

**The EU and the Kyoto Protocol** The EU has established what many would see as a global leadership role in the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol. This international agreement was reached in 1999 and sets targets for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. Whilst the EU has been prominent in supporting the Protocol, and has for example established its own internal 'emissions trading' scheme to help in achieving the targets it sets, other major 'emitters', most particularly the USA and China, have failed to ratify and thus to implement the Protocol. The EU spent a lot of time in the early 2000s building a coalition that could bring the protocol into force despite the absence of the USA (to enter into force, the Protocol had to be ratified by countries representing a set proportion of global emissions, and since the USA is by far the largest 'offender', its absence was a severe handicap). Eventually, with the crucial ratification by Russia, the Protocol entered into force in 2005.

## **Chapter 9 Conclusion Debate on the Future of the European Union and European Integration Process**

The lecture is aimed at presenting the concluding summary of the previously discussed issues that might give a perspective on what path the EU is going to take in the next decade as an institution, organization, union, political community.

**The EU and statehood** Much of the routine political discourse surrounding European integration bothers itself with the question of whether the EU is becoming a 'federal superstate', which, by definition, is supplanting the powers of its constituent member states. While such debates will seem simplistic to close students of the EU, they open up interesting avenues for theorists. Without doubt, the EU lacks some of the classical indices of 'statehood' as it has come to be understood (not least in Europe) over the past three and a half centuries. For example, the EU lacks fixed territorial boundaries and does not possess monopolistic control over the legitimate means of violence. It does not engage in extensive programmes of redistribution, yet it does exercise meaningful and emphatic authority over the governance of its constituent economies, and by extension over the lives of hundreds of millions of Europeans. Moreover, the presumption of many current theorists is that the EU is sufficiently similar to national political systems to allow the deployment of the tools of normal political science and policy analysis. But statehood also has external dimensions. Thus world politics has developed into a game played between states with the notion of 'sovereignty' as the ultimate rule. Much contemporary International Relations literature debates the extent to which processes such as globalization have begun to transform this system. Yet the language of statehood, international politics, sovereignty, and diplomacy remains central to world politics. We might argue that the condition for admission to the world polity remains the achievement of statehood. So the question becomes whether the EU is being constituted and shaped by the existing world system or whether it is contributing to a radical reshaping of world politics.

In his book "The European Rescue of the Nation State" (1992), the economic historian Alan Milward argued that the European integration process in the post-1945 period 'saved' rather than undermined the nation state. Governments at this time had a

number of difficult problems to resolve, arising out of increasing interdependence and increased disaffection from social actors. The successful delivery of policy programmes was a matter of survival for the states of Western Europe. European integration became a means to this end. The idea of integration as a progressive transfer of power away from the state managed by emerging supranational elites is given little credence by this hypothesis. Rather, the key actors are governmental elites. However, read in a particular way, Milward's work can be seen as challenging the standard polarization of intergovernmentalism and supranationalism. Integration does not necessarily entail the drift toward supranational statehood, and states can be seen as controlling agents with an interest in the promotion of degrees of integration.

### **Section III. Exam questions.**

1. To what extent is Europe an economic, political, and cultural community?
2. What are the key features of European union?
3. Was European integration an inevitable by-product of the Cold War?
4. What was the 'German problem' and how has this shaped the European project?
5. What is the historical significance of the Treaty of Rome of 1957?
6. Why did the 1992 Treaty on European Union act as a catalyst for a debate about the future of Europe?
7. To what extent will European citizenship eclipse national citizenship?
8. To what extent does the Lisbon Treaty differ from the Constitutional Treaty and is this difference significant?
9. How successful is the neo-functional concept of spillover in explaining the post-1985 European integration process?
10. To what extent can the results of the French and Dutch referenda on the European Union's Constitutional Treaty and the Irish referendum on the Lisbon Treaty be seen as evidence that neo-functionalism is obsolete?
11. What does Liberal Intergovernmentalism tell us about the prospects for deeper political EU integration?
12. What does Liberal Intergovernmentalism tell us about the role of national governments in European Union politics?
13. To what extent do new theories of integration enhance our understanding of European integration beyond the classical debate?
14. Is it accurate to describe the Commission's role within the European Union as one of 'policy entrepreneurship'?
15. How does the European Commission compare to national executives and administrations?
16. How does the use of Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) in the EU Council shape how decisions are taken within this institution?
17. Is the EU Council a representative and accountable body?
18. To what extent has the expansion of the powers of the European Parliament begun to rectify the European Union's 'democratic deficit'?
19. How important are parties and political groups within the European Union?
20. How crucial has been the contribution of the ECJ to European integration?
21. How political an actor is the European Court of Justice?
22. To what extent can the European Court of Justice act autonomously?
23. In what way do civil society organizations try to influence European Union policy making and how successful are their efforts?
24. What are the most distinctive features of the European policy process?
25. What effect do the European Union's decision-making procedures have on its policy process?
26. 'Qualified Majority Voting has reduced the relevance of both the European Council and the EU Council.' Discuss.
27. Is there a (common) European foreign policy?

28. To what extent is the single market fundamental to the European project?
29. Is the political case for the single market convincing?
30. Why did it take until 1992 for European Union member states to 'complete' the common market?
31. How have its roots in the labour market shaped social policy in the European Union?
32. How important have alternative instruments of policy making (such as the Open Method of Coordination) been in developing social policy?
33. Why has the role of regions in the European Union increased?
34. To what degree does regional representation undermine national representation?
35. What have been the European Union's key motivations for cooperation beyond the state in Justice and Home Affairs?
36. To what extent can the Schengen Agreement be considered a model for the European Community/European Union?
37. Is the political case for EMU convincing?
38. What is the likely impact of EMU on institutional reform in the European Union?
39. Who have been the key players in shaping CAP reform?

#### **Section IV.**

##### **Essay/discussion topics**

- 1 What challenges will confront the European Union in the next decade? Base your answer on current evidence.
- 2 How might the global war on terror shape CFSP and ESDP?
- 3 'The European Union will never have an army.' Discuss.
- 4 To what degree is the European Union an economic or a social organization?
- 5 'The European Parliament is democratic but it is not legitimate.' Discuss.
- 6 Do you think the European Union deserves the label of 'Fortress Europe'?
- 7 How might the global financial crisis which began in 2008 change EMU?
- 8 'Regional presence does not equal regional influence.' Discuss.
- 9 'Political considerations are overshadowed by the economic dimension of the European Union's external policy.' Discuss.
- 10 To what extent is the European Union's external relations agenda shaped by collective or individual interests?
- 11 To what extent is the European Commission merely the servant of the European Union's member states?
- 12 'The 1992 Treaty on European Union at once united and fragmented Europe.' Discuss.

#### **Section V.**

##### **References.** Core Course Materials.

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4th editions, 2007, 2010, 2013.

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***Web resources***

The EU official website [www.europa.eu](http://www.europa.eu)

The on-line student resources <http://global.oup.com/uk/orc/politics/eu/cini3e/>

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*Studying-methodological manual*

Sent to the press 00.09.2014. Format 60x84 1/16.  
Paper offset. Press digital.  
Conditional quire 3,0. Order № \_\_\_\_ . Circulation 100 cop.

Printed in printing house of N.I. Lobachevsky  
State University of Nizhny Novgorod  
603000, Nizhny Novgorod, Bol'shaya Pokrovskaya st., 37

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*Учебно-методическое пособие*

Подписано в печать 00.00.2014. Формат 60x84 1/16.

Бумага офсетная. Печать цифровая.

Усл. печ. л. 3,0. Заказ № \_\_\_\_\_. Тираж 100 экз.

Отпечатано с готового оригинал-макета  
в РИУ ННГУ им. Н.И. Лобачевского  
603000, г. Нижний Новгород, ул. Большая Покровская, 37