

Pensum høsten 2013
Masteremner i Europastudier
undervist gjennom ISL

NTNU
Institutt for språk og litteratur

Masteremner i Europastudier
Undervist gjennom Institutt for Språk og
Litteratur høsten 2013

EUR3401 Europeisk kulturhistorie: Teori og metode (7,5 sp)

Emneansvarlig

Anette Homlong Storeide

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Pensum

- Pakier, Malgorzata and Bo Stråth (ed.): *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance* (2010) (available in Tapir Bookstore, Dragvoll)
- Meusburger, Peter, Michael Heffernan and Edgar Wunder (ed.): *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View* (2011), p. 3-69, 123-143, 171-188 (available in It's Learning)
- Wilson, Kevin and Jan van der Dussen (ed.): *The History of the Idea of Europe* (1995) (available in Tapir Bookstore, Dragvoll)

Articles and book chapters:

- Berger, Stefan: "History and Forms of Collective Identity in Europe: Why Europe Cannot and Should Not be Built on History", in *The Essence and the Margin: National Identities and Collective Memories in Contemporary European Culture*, ed. Laura Rorato and Anna Saunders (2009), p. 21-35 (available in It's Learning)
- Brinks, Jan Herman: "Political Anti-Fascism in the German Democratic Republic", in *Journal of Contemporary History* No. 2/1997 (available in It's Learning)
- Bruland, Bjarte: "Collaboration in the deportation of Norway's Jews: Changing views and representations", in *Collaboration with the Nazis: Public discourse after the Holocaust*, ed. Roni Stauber (2011), p. 125-137 (available in It's Learning)
- Diner, Dan: "On the Ideology of Antifascism", in *New German Critique* No. 67/1996 (available in It's Learning)
- Eder, Klaus: "Remembering National Memories Together: The Formation of a Transnational Identity in Europe", in *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement*, ed. Klaus Eder and Willfried Spohn (2005), p. 197-220 (available in It's Learning)
- Kattago, Siobhan: "Narrating the Histories of Buchenwald", in *Constellations* No. 2/1998 (available in It's Learning)

- Kaelble, Hartmut: "European Self-Understanding in the Twentieth Century", in *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement*, ed. Klaus Eder and Willfried Spohn (2005), p. 17-35 (available in It's Learning)

- Webster, Wendy: "Shorn Women, Rubble Women and Military Heroes: Gender, National Identity and the Second World War in Britain, France and Germany, 1944-1948", in *The Essence and the Margin: National Identities and Collective Memories in Contemporary European Culture*, ed. Laura Rorato and Anna Saunders (2009), p. 51-70 (available in It's Learning)

Films:

The Heroes of Telemark (directed by Anthony Mann, 1965)

Europa Europa / Hitler Youth Salomon (directed by Agnieszka Holland, 1989/1990)

The Wave (directed by Dennis Gansel, 2008)

Obligatoriske aktiviteter: muntlig presentasjon

EUR3402 Actors, networks and lobbying in the European Union (7,5 sp) 5 – 13 september 2013

Emneansvarlig

Wolfram Kaiser

E-post: wolfram.kaiser@ntnu.no

Syllabus with required reading and recommended reading:

LECTURER

Wolfram Kaiser is Professor II at the NTNU since 2006. He is Professor of European Studies at the University of Portsmouth, England, and Visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges and the University of Bonn. He was previously (Visiting) (Senior) Lecturer and (Senior) Research Fellow at the universities of Berlin (FU), Saarbrücken, Cambridge, Paris IV, Vienna and Edinburgh and at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in Wassenaar, the Institut für Europäische Geschichte in Mainz, the Center for European Integration Studies in Bonn, the Norwegian Nobel Institute in Oslo and the Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut in Essen. His most recent relevant book publications include (with S. Krankenhagen and K. Poehls), *Exhibiting Europe in Museums. Transnational Networks, Collections, Narratives, and Representations* (New York: Berghahn 2014 – forthcoming); (ed. with J.H. Meyer) *Societal Actors in European Integration. Polity-Building and Policy-Making* (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2013); (ed. with A. Varsori) *European Union History. Themes and Debates* (Basingstoke: Palgrave); (ed. with B. Leucht and M. Rasmussen), *The History of the European Union. Origins of a Trans- and Supranational Polity 1950-72* (London: Routledge, 2009); *Christian Democracy and the Origins of European Union* (Cambridge: CUP 2007).

His office hours while in Trondheim are normally daily after teaching, between 1-2pm except for the last day of teaching. When not in Trondheim, he can best be reached at Wolfram.Kaiser@port.ac.uk. Please be advised that you should clarify all formal administrative and organisational questions internally with the MA administrator in the first instance. Before contacting me, moreover, please clarify that the information you seek is not included in this detailed syllabus.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES & ACADEMIC CONTENT

<http://www.ntnu.no/studier/emner/EUR3402#tab=omEmnet>

ASSIGNMENT

Group presentation. The presentations are to last **no more than 20 minutes**. They need to give a concise presentation of the source and seminar topic (paying attention to the description of the preceding lecture to avoid overlap!). Importantly, they should raise major issues and stimulate subsequent student discussion. **The presenters are responsible for introducing and leading the discussion.** Five groups will be formed at the start of the academic year. The groups meet once to discuss the allocation of tasks and the outline structure of their presentation, and once more to integrate their presentation and to do a trial run. The time limit must be strictly observed. All students in a group need to participate in the group presentation itself, not just its preparation. The themes for the presentation are described below in the outline for each session.

ASSESSMENT

Written lobbying strategy of no less than 2,500 and no more than 4,000 words.

SYLLABUS OUTLINE

Topics to be covered:

1. New Conceptual Approaches to Studying EU Politics and History
2. Transnational parties
3. Business Associations
4. Business Networks and MNCs
5. European Trade Unions
6. Transnational NGOs
7. Multiple Actors in a Fragmented Field: 'Lobbying' in Cultural Policy
8. Contested Politics: Lobbying in the EU
9. Lobbying Strategy: Researching Information
10. Lobbying Strategy: Preparing Presentation
11. Presentation and Discussion of Lobbying Strategies
12. Technocracy, Neo-Corporatism, Pluralism: Lobbying and European Governance

REQUIRED AND RECOMMENDED READING

It is essential that all students read

Dinan, Desmond (2004). *Europe recast: a history of the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

before the start of teaching, if they have no prior background in the EU and its history. The book provides an overview of integration over the entire post-war period and therefore, a temporal chronological understanding of 'what happened when'. Crucially, the thematic sessions of this course will build on such an understanding on the part of the students. For a more sophisticated introduction to how to understand the EU and its history see **Kaiser, Wolfram and Antonio Varsori (eds.) *European Union History. Themes and Debates*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010.** Both books are also available in a low-cost paperback version. **In addition, all students have limited required reading (see below) for several seminar sessions.** In contrast, recommended reading includes books and articles, which may be useful depending on the students particular interest, e.g. for finding a suitable topic for the MA thesis.

JOURNALS:

Advanced academic learning includes the indispensable ability to read specialized research papers and to follow ongoing academic controversies. Journals are especially important outlets for the publication of such papers and for such controversies. A large number of specialized journals concentrate on EU-related topics. They include, in particular:

European Union Politics

Journal of Common Market Studies

Journal of European Integration History

Journal of European Public Policy

Other general journals in history and political science/IR also publish works that are related to the history and politics of the EU. They include inter alia,

Contemporary European History

Journal of Contemporary History

West European Politics

INTERNET SITES:

ENA Luxembourg (audio, audio-visual and written documents in original and translated into English):

<http://www.ena.lu/mce.cfm>

European History Primary Sources: <http://primary-sources.eui.eu/>

European Integration History Index: <http://vlib.iue.it/hist-eur-integration/Index.html>

European Union Archives (at European University Institute in Florence, includes sources, web links etc): <http://www.iue.it/ECArchives/EN/OralHistory.shtml>

Gateway to the European Union (information by the institutions and bodies of the EU):

<http://europa.eu.int>

History of European Integration Research Society (initiative of research students in the field):

<http://www.intstudies.cam.ac.uk/jmce/heirs.html>

Journal of European Integration History: <http://www.restena.lu/lcd/cere/uk/revue/revindexuk.html>

Leiden University (Richard T. Griffiths) EU History homepage (with original documents, timelines, links to other web information etc)

<http://www.eu->

[history.leidenuniv.nl/index.php3?m=1&c=3&garb=0.8663559044375767&session=](http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl/index.php3?m=1&c=3&garb=0.8663559044375767&session=)

5 September, 13.15.14.45: NEW CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES

Outline:

The first lecture introduces students to recent political science/IR theories and concepts for understanding the forces behind the integration process, the motives of different actors involved etc. The second lecture sketches new concepts for understanding EU history as the slow formation of a partly supranationally and transnationally constituted 'Community'. Both highlight the role of societal actors in European integration.

Recommended Reading (first lecture):

Boerzel, Tanja (1998). Organizing Babylon – on the different conceptions of policy networks. *Public Administration*, 76(2), 253-273.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. (2001). From meta- to substantive theory? Social constructivism and the study of Europe. *European Union Politics*, 2(2), 219-226.

Cini, Michelle (2010). *European Union Politics*. Oxford: OUP (part 2: theories and conceptual approaches).

- Dowding, Kenneth (2000). Institutional Research on the European Union: A Critical Review. *European Union Politics*, 1(1), 125-144.
- Haas, Ernst B. (2004). *The Uniting of Europe. Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Notre Dame/Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press [1958].
- Heard-Lauréote, Karen (2005). Transnational networks: informal governance in the European political space. In Wolfram Kaiser and Peter Starie (eds), *Transnational European Union. Towards a common political space*. London: Routledge, 36-60.
- Jachtenfuchs, Markus (2001). The Governance Approach to European Integration. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39, 245-264.
- Jupille, J. and Caporaso, J.A. (1999). Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond International Relations and Comparative Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 429-444.
- Kaiser, Wolfram and Peter Starie (2005). The European Union as a transnational political space. Introduction. In idem (eds), *Transnational European Union. Towards a common political space*. London: Routledge, 1-14.
- Lindberg, L. and Scheingold, S. (eds) (1970). *Europe's Would-Be Polity: Patterns of Change in the European Community*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1993). Preferences and Power in the European Community. A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31(4), 473-524.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1998). *The Choice of Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. London: UCL Press.
- Review section symposium: The choice for Europe: Social purpose and state power from Messina to Maastricht (1999). *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6(1), 155-179.
- Rosamond, Ben (2010). *Theories of European Integration*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Sandholtz, W. and J. Zysman (1989). Recasting the European Bargain. *World Politics*, 42, 95-128.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank (2005). Transnational socialization: community-building in an integrated Europe. In Wolfram Kaiser and Peter Starie (eds), *Transnational European Union. Towards a common political space*. London: Routledge, 61-82.
- Wiener, Antje and Thomas Diez (eds) (2009). *European Integration Theory*. Oxford: OUP.

Questions for Reflection:

1. How can supranational institutions and transnational actors matter for European integration outcomes?
2. What are 'national interests' in European integration, and how are they derived domestically and/or from international relations?
3. In what ways could historical experiences, norms and values be relevant for preference formation and decision-making on European matters?

Recommended Reading (second lecture):

- Gillingham, John (2003). *European Integration 1950-2003. Superstate or New Market Economy?*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Daddow, Oliver (2004). *Britain and Europe since 1945: historiographical perspectives on integration*. Manchester: MUP.
- Kaiser, Wolfram and Jan-Henrik Meyer (eds.) (2013). *Societal Actors in European Integration. Polity-building and Policy-making 1958-92*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Kaiser, Wolfram and Antonio Varsori (eds.) (2010). *European Union History. Themes and Debates*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Kaiser, Wolfram, Leucht, Brigitte and Morten Rasmussen (eds.) (2009). *The History of the European Union. Origins of a Trans- and Supranational Polity 1950-72*. London: Routledge.
- Kaiser, Wolfram (2007). *Christian Democracy and the Origins of European Union*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Kaiser, Wolfram (2006). From State to Society? The Historiography of European Integration. In Angela Bourne and Michelle Cini (eds). *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 190-208.
- Lipgens, Walter (1982). *A history of European integration. Volume 1: 1945-1947: the formation of the European Unity Movement*. Oxford: OUP.
- Ludlow, Piers (2006). *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s. Negotiating the Gaullist Challenge*. London: Routledge.
- Milward, Alan S. (1992). *The European rescue of the Nation-State*. London: Routledge.
- Milward, Alan S., Frances Lynch, Federico Romero, Ruggero Ranieri and Vibeke Sørensen (1993). *The Frontier of National Sovereignty: History and Theory 1945-1992*. London: Routledge (esp. introduction).
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1998). *The Choice of Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. London: UCL Press.
- Wurm, Clemens (1995). Early European Integration as a Research Field: Perspectives, Debates, Problems. In idem (ed.), *Western Europe and Germany. The Beginnings of European Integration 1945-1960*. Oxford: Berg, 9-26.

Questions for Reflection:

1. What characterizes the historiographical approach of Walter Lipgens to European integration history?
2. How does Alan S. Milward's 'revisionist' account explain integration history?
3. In what way do 'supranational' and 'transnational' approaches attempt to overcome the limits of diplomatic and economic history research on the EU?

5 September, 15.15-16.45**TRANSNATIONAL PARTIES****Outline:**

In the first session devoted to the growing role of transnationally constituted non-governmental actors as integration agents we look at the agenda-setting and policy coordinating role of transnational political parties in the EU. The lecture gives an introduction to the history of transnational party cooperation. It highlights the underresearched role of party cooperation at crucial junctures in the integration process by drawing upon selected historical examples, especially Christian democratic party

cooperation in the early stages of 'core Europe' formation, the role of EU socialist parties in the Europeanisation of socialist parties in accession states, especially in 1970s Spain, and the increasing importance of political parties for decision-making in the EP. The seminar looks in more detail at the role of political parties in the preparation of the draft European Constitution in the early 2000s, discussing the potential and limits of their influence on agenda-setting, policy-making and enhancing democratic legitimacy at the European level.

Source (student presentation) / Required Reading:

European People's Party, A Constitution for a Strong Europe, Estoril, 18 October 2002.

Accessible at: [http://www.epp-](http://www.epp-eu.org/sssspagina.php?hoofdmenuID=5&submenuID=38&subsubmenuID=108&sssmenuID=125&ssssmenuID=14)

[eu.org/sssspagina.php?hoofdmenuID=5&submenuID=38&subsubmenuID=108&sssmenuID=125&ssssmenuID=14](http://www.epp-eu.org/sssspagina.php?hoofdmenuID=5&submenuID=38&subsubmenuID=108&sssmenuID=125&ssssmenuID=14).

The **group presentation** should identify the EPP's main policy goals with respect to the drafting of a constitution for the EU by the Constitutional Convention. It should demonstrate in particular, what proposals were distinctive to the EPP against the background of long-standing Christian democratic preferences within the EC/EU. Which of these proposals were most likely to be controversial in the Constitutional Convention, and why?

Recommended Reading:

Dakowska, Dorota (2005). German political foundations: transnational party go-betweens in the EU enlargement process. In Wolfram Kaiser and Peter Starie (eds), *Transnational European Union. Towards a common political space*. London: Routledge, 150-169.

Hix, Simon, Abdul G. Noury and Gérard Roland (2007). *Democratic Politics in the European Parliament*. London: Routledge.

Hix, Simon (2003). Fifty years on: research on the European Parliament. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41(2), 191-202.

Hix, Simon and Christopher Lord (1997). *Political Parties in the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Hix, Simon, Amie Kreppel and Abdul Noury (2003). The party system in the European Parliament: collusive or competitive? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41(2), 309-331.

Jansen, Thomas (1998). *The European People's Party: Origins and Development*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Johansson, Karl Magnus (2002). Another road to Maastricht: the Christian democrat coalition and the quest for European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(3), 871-893.

Johansson, Karl Magnus (2002). Party elites in multilevel Europe: the Christian Democrats and the Single European Act. *Party Politics*, 8(4), 423-439.

Johansson, Karl Magnus (2005). The alliance of European Christian Democracy and Conservatism: convergence through networking. In Wolfram Kaiser and Peter Starie (eds), *Transnational European Union: Towards a common political space*. London: Routledge, 131-149.

Kaiser, Wolfram (2012). Political Parties in the European Polity. Eastern Enlargement in Historical Perspective. In Bruno Arcidiacono et al. (eds.), *Europe Twenty Years after the End of the Cold War*, Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 33-45.

Kaiser, Wolfram (2007). *Christian Democracy and the Origins of European Union*. Cambridge: CUP.

Ortuño Anaya, Pilar (2002). *European Socialists and Spain: The Transition to Democracy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Sassoon, Donald (1996). *One Hundred Years of Socialism. The West European Left in the 20th Century*. London: I.B. Tauris 1996.

Schimmelfennig, Frank (2005). Transnational socialization: community-building in an integrated Europe. In Wolfram Kaiser and Peter Starie (eds), *Transnational European Union. Towards a common political space*. London: Routledge, 61-82.

Questions for Reflection:

1. What role did political parties and their transnational cooperation play in the formative period of European integration?
2. In what ways have European political parties and allied institutions such as political foundations contributed to the European 'socialisation' of political actors and state institutions from prospective and new EU member states?
3. How can European political party leaders influence agenda-setting and decision-making in the EU?

6 SEPTEMBER, 09.15-10.45: BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS

Outline:

The thematic focus of this session is the role of business associations in European integration. The lecture gives an overview of general business organisations like the present-day Business Europe and the farmers' organisation COPA-COGECA to a variety of sector organisations. The seminar will focus on the attitude of business association and interest groups to the current financial and economic crisis, and their lobbying of EU institutions and member state governments.

Source (student presentation) / Required Reading:

'For a coherent and credible growth plan for Europe', letter by Jürgen R. Thumann, President of Business Europe, to the Heads of State and Government of the EU member states and presidents van Rompuy and Barroso, 22 May 2012

Accessible at:

<http://62.102.106.140/docs/2/NADFALDACLLDIACMJMJPBHMEPDWY9DBNP39LTE4Q/UNICE/docs/DLS/2012-00627-E.pdf>

The **group presentation** should discuss the objectives of this letter with regard to overcoming the crisis and creating growth in the EU and the wider Europe; it should do so in the wider context of Business Europe's activities since the start of the crisis in 2007 (based on more extensive research esp. of other documents on the organisation's website). The presentation should also elaborate on the character of the lobbying methods which can be traced via the website, i.e. letters such as this one, formal policy statements etc.. What is their purpose, and what are their limits?

Recommended Reading:

Greenwood, Justin (2011). *Interest Representation in the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Kirchner, Emil and H. Schweiger (1981). *The Role of Interest Groups in the European Community*. Westmead: Saxon House.

- Kohler-Koch, Beate (1997). Organized Interests in European Integration: The Evolution of a New Type of Governance. In Helen Wallace and R. Youngs (eds), *Participation and Policy-Making in the European Union*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 42-68.
- Rasmussen, Anne and Petya Alexandrowa (2012). Foreign Interests Lobbying Brussels. Participation of non-EU Members in Commission Consultations, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50(4), 614-631.
- Sidjanski, D. (1967). Pressure Groups and the European Community. *Government and Opposition*, 2(3), 397-416.
- Van Apeldoorn, Bastiaan (2005). Transnational business: power structures in Europe's political economy. In Wolfram Kaiser and Peter Starie (eds). *Transnational European Union. Towards a common political space*. London: Routledge, 83-106.
- Van Apeldoorn, Bastiaan (2002). *Transnational Capitalism and the Struggle over European Integration*. London: Routledge.

Questions for Reflection:

1. In what ways are general business associations important for EU politics and policy-making?
2. Which reasons explain the limits to the influence of general business associations on policy-making in Brussels?
3. Under what conditions can sector organisations become influential in policy-making?

6 SEPTEMBER, 11.15-12.45: BUSINESS NETWORKS AND MNCs

Outline:

The thematic focus of this session is on individual firms, especially Multi-National Companies (MNCs), and informal business networks. The lecture will discuss the rise of MNC lobbying and the limits of individual firm lobbying. It will also discuss the role of a variety of informal business networks in politics and policy-making in Europe and beyond. The seminar focusses more specifically on the role of the informal European Round Table of Industrialists, esp. its contribution to the economic liberalisation agenda of the Internal Market programme and subsequent agenda-setting roles such as with regard to the Bologna process to streamline higher education and academic degree systems in the EU.

Source (student presentation) / Required Reading:

European Roundtable of Industrialists, 'Foundations for the future of European industry'. Memorandum to EC Commissioner Etienne Davignon before the EEC summit meeting at Stuttgart 17-19 June 1983. Accessible at: <http://www.ert.be/doc/0055.pdf>.

The **group presentation** will explain the historical background to the creation of the ERT and its memorandum of 1983. It should discuss how and why the ERT may have had a crucial influence on the evolution of the internal market agenda. It can also briefly discuss its role in the EU since then and normative dimensions, i.e. whether or not informal networks like this one should be allowed to have a strong influence on policy-making or not.

Recommended Reading:

Chanier, Christophe (1993). Entreprise et intégration européenne: le cas de la multinationale Philips. In Michel Dumoulin, René Girault and Gilbert Trausch (eds), *L'Europe du patronat. De la guerre froide aux années soixante*. Brussels: Peter Lang, 101-110.

- Green-Cowles, M. (1995). The European Round Table of Industrialists: The Strategic Player in European Affairs. In Justin Greenwood (ed.), *European Casebook on Business Alliances*. Hemel Hempstead: Prentice-Hall, 225-236.
- Greenwood, Justin (2011). *Interest Representation in the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Middlemas, Keith (1995). *Orchestrating Europe. The Informal Politics of European Union 1973-1995*. London: Fontana.
- Nollert, M and N. Fielder (2000). Lobbying for a Europe of big business: The European Roundtable of Industrialists. In V. Bornschier (ed.), *State-building in Europe. The Revitalization of Western European Integration*. Cambridge: CUP, 187-209.
- Van Apeldoorn, Bastiaan (2005). Transnational business: power structures in Europe's political economy. In Wolfram Kaiser and Peter Starie (eds). *Transnational European Union. Towards a common political space*. London: Routledge, 83-106.
- Van Apeldoorn, Bastiaan (2002). *Transnational Capitalism and the Struggle over European Integration*. London: Routledge.

Questions for Reflection:

1. Why was individual firm lobbying insignificant until the 1980s?
2. What are the conditions and the limits of individual firm lobbying in the EU?
3. What makes the European Round Table of Industrialists an influential actor in EU politics and policy-making?

7 SEPTEMBER, 09.15-10.45: TRADE UNIONS

Outline:

This session will focus on the role of trade unions in European integration. The lecture will explain the history and structures of European trade unionism and the broad support (except for communist unions) among them for European integration in continental Western Europe after 1945. The lecture will also discuss the reasons for the unions' continuing primary focus on the national welfare state and give examples of their failure at the European level to decisively influence important legislation, such as on the regulation of MNCs in the 1970s/1980s. It will conclude by discussing reasons why ETUC and national unions may recently have become somewhat more influential in EU politics and policy-making. The seminar will discuss the current financial and economic crisis and ETUC's demands for a 'social compact'.

Source (student presentation) / Required Reading:

European Trade Union Confederation: 'A Social Compact for Europe'. ETUC resolution adopted by the Executive Committee at its meeting on 5-6 June 2012. Accessible at: <http://www.etuc.org/a/10024>

The **group presentation** will briefly outline the origins and development of the current financial and economic crisis in the Euro area & EU. It should discuss how this crisis affects workers and unions. Against this background it should outline and discuss the major objectives of the ETUC resolution against the background of the general policy of ETUC (based on research on its website, documents to be found there etc.).

Recommended Reading:

- Abbott, K. (1997). The European Trade Union Confederation: Its Organization and Objectives in Transition. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 35(3), 465-481.
- Bieler, Andreas (2005). European Integration and the Transnational Restructuring of Social Relations: The Emergence of Labour as a Regional Actor?, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 43(3), 461-84.
- Dølvik, Jon Erik (1999). *An Emerging Island? ETUC Social Dialogue and the Europeanisation of Trade Unions in the 1990s*, Brussels: ETUI.
- Greenwood, Justin (2011). *Interest Representation in the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Guasconi, Maria Eleonora (1998). The international confederation of free trade union's policy towards the European integration process from 1950 to 1957. In Eric Bussière and Michel Dumoulin (eds), *Milieux économiques et intégration européenne en Europe occidentale au xx^e siècle*. Arras: Artois Presses Université, 359-370.
- Pasture, Patrick (1995). The fist of the dwarf: formation, organization and representation of the Christian trade unions as a European pressure group (1945-1958). *Journal of European Integration History*, 1(2), 5-26.
- Pasture, Patrick (2001). 'The interwar origins of international labour's European commitment (1919-1934)'. *Contemporary European History*, 10(2), 221-237.
- Pasture, Patrick (2005). Trade unions as a transnational movement in the European space 1955-65. Falling short of ambitions?. In Wolfram Kaiser and Peter Starie (eds), *Transnational European Union. Towards a common political space*. London: Routledge, 109-130.

Questions for Reflection:

1. How do you explain the wide-spread general support among trade unions in western continental Europe for European integration after 1945?
2. Why were trade unions not more involved in EC/EU politics and policy-making for a long time?
3. Does the financial and economic crisis present new opportunities for trade unions to enhance their impact on EU politics and policy-making, and if so, how can they exert greater influence?

7 SEP, 11.15-12.45

TRANSNATIONAL NGOs

Outline:

This session will discuss the changing role of other non-governmental actors in EU politics, which are often referred to as 'public interest groups' or 'civil society' organisations (CSOs). They include trade unions and CSOs that have developed out of the social movements of the 1970s or more recently. We will identify these actors' approaches to aggregating and articulating interests and influencing policy-making in the EU, how this has changed over time, and what the best institutional partners and access routes might be for such public interest groups. In the seminar we focus on the particular case of the environmental groups united in the G 10.

Recommended Reading:

Furtak, Florian T. (2005). *Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen im politischen System der Europäischen Union. Strukturen, Beteiligungsmöglichkeiten, Einfluß*, 2nd ed.. Munich: utz.

Helfferrich, B. and F. Kolb (2001). Multilevel Action Coordination in European Contentious Politics: The case of the European Women's Lobby. In Imig / Tarrow (eds), *Contentious Europeans*.

Joachim, Jutta and B. Locher (eds.) (2008). *Transnational Activism in the UN and EU. A Comparative Study*. London: Routledge.

Kendall, J. and H.K. Anheier, H.K. (1999). The Third Sector and the European Union Policy Process: an initial evaluation. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6(2).

Mahoney, Christine and Michael J. Beckstrand (2011). Following the Money. European Union Funding of Civil Society Organizations, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(6), 1339-1361.

Review Article (2007). Organized Civil Society and Democratic Legitimacy in the European Union, *British Journal of Political Science*, 37(2), 333-357.

Rucht, D. (2001). Lobbying or Protest? Strategies to Influence EU Environmental Policies. In Imig / Tarrow (eds), *Contentious Europeans*.

Warleigh, Alex (2001). Europeanizing Civil Society: NGOs as Agents of Political Socialization. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39(4).

Warleigh, Alex (2000). The Hustle: Citizenship Practice, NGOs and 'Policy Coalitions' in the European Union – the Cases of Auto Oil, Drinking Water and Unit Pricing. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7(2).

Questions for Reflection:

1. How has the attitude of the Commission and other supranational institutions to CSOs changed over time, and why?
2. What are the problems (material, normative, other) that CSOs encounter in their interest representation in Brussels?
3. Does the greater involvement of CSOs in policy-making strengthen the legitimacy of supranational integration and politics, and what are the limits, if any, of their contribution in this regard?

9 SEP, 09.15-10.45 MULTIPLE ACTORS IN A FRAGMENTED FIELD: 'LOBBYING' IN CULTURAL POLICY**Outline:**

This session will discuss the role of multiple actors in interest representation of sorts in a highly fragmented policy field with few EU competences, i.e. cultural policy. What are the organisations, but also social groups and individual actors who engage in influencing such an emerging policy field? What are their motives? What strategies do they use to foster a greater transnationalization in the EU of cultural policy and initiatives? The lecture will provide an overview of cultural policy in the EU

in historical perspective, the increasing involvement of multiple actors and the manifold fields of cultural exchange and cooperation in which they engage. The seminar will focus on one particular field, the museum, and plans for a museum of European history. In break-out groups students will discuss their vision for such a museum to be followed by debate in class.

Recommended Reading:

Berger, Stefan and Chris Lorenz (eds.) (2010). *Nationalizing the Past. Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Boylan, Patrick J. (2006). *The Museum Profession*, in: Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford: Blackwell, 415-430.

Gordon, Christopher (2010). *Great Expectations – The European Union and Cultural Policy: Fact or Fiction?*, *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 16/2, 101-120.

Kaiser, Wolfram, Krankenhagen, Stefan, Poehls, Kerstin (2012). *Europa ausstellen. Das Museum als Praxisfeld der Europäisierung*, Cologne-Vienna: Böhlau.

Karaca, Banu (2010). *The Art of Integration: Probing the Role of Cultural Policy in the Making of Europe*, *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 16/2, 121-137.

Littoz-Monnet, Annabelle (2007). *The European Union and Culture. Between Economic Regulation and European Cultural Policy*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Manners, Ian (2011). *Symbolism in European Integration*, *Comparative European Politics* 9/3, 243-268.

Mau, Steffen (2007). *Transnationale Vergesellschaftung. Die Entgrenzung sozialer Lebenswelten*, Frankfurt: Campus.

Risse, Thomas (2010). *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*, Ithaca/N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Shore, Cris (2000). *Building Europe. The Cultural Politics of European Integration*, London: Routledge.

Theiler, Tobias (2005), *Political Symbolism and European Integration*, Manchester: MUP.

9 SEP, 11.15-12.45 CONTESTED POLITICS: LOBBYING IN THE EU

Outline:

This session will give an introduction to interest representation in the EU, its change over time and different routes of lobbying in the EU. Together we will develop suitable guidelines for developing a lobbying strategy. At what stage in the policy-making process should non-state actors become engaged? What would be their best partners among other non-state actors, member-states and the supranational institutions? How can they provide expertise, democratic legitimacy or other relevant resources? To what extent can the public and media be activated for specific lobbying interests? This

discussion raises these and other issues which are relevant for developing concrete lobbying strategies in groups (and as an assessment).

Required reading:

Eising, Rainer and Sonja Lehringer (2009). Interest groups and the European Union. In Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borrigan (eds), *European Union Politics*, Oxford: OUP.

Recommended Reading:

Coen, David (ed.) (2008). *EU Lobbying: Empirical and Theoretical Studies*. London: Routledge.

Dür, Andreas and Gemma Mateo (2012). Who lobbies the European Union? National interest groups in a multi-level polity, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19(7), 969-987.

Geiger, Andreas (2006). *EU lobbying handbook. A guide to modern participation in Brussels*, Berlin: Helios.

Greenwood, Justin (2011). *Interest Representation in the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Knill, Christoph (2001). Private Governance across Multiple Arenas: European Interest Associations as Interface Actors. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8(2).

Mahoney, Christine (2008). *Brussels versus the Beltway. Advocacy in the United States and the European Union*, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Michalowicz, Irina (2007). *Lobbying in der EU*, Vienna: Facultas.

Pedler, Richard (ed.) (2002). *European Union Lobbying*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Smismans, Stijn (ed.) (2006). *Civil Society and Legitimate European Governance*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Van Schendelen, Rinus (2010). *Machiavelli in Brussels. The Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Woll, Cornelia (2006). Lobbying in the European Union: From sui generis to a comparative perspective. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(3), 456-469.

12 SEP, 09.15-10.45

LOBBYING STRATEGY: RESEARCHING INFORMATION

Outline:

In this session, four groups of students will begin to prepare a lobbying strategy on a given topic. The first session is devoted to the coordinated researching of relevant information on legal, institutional, thematic and other dimensions of the lobbying task. At the end of this session, we will discuss any unresolved issues before the student groups prepare their presentation in the next session.

12 SEP, 11.15-12.45 LOBBYING STRATEGY: PREPARING PRESENTATION**Outline:**

In this session, the four groups of students will collectively prepare the presentation of their lobbying strategy. The presentation is to last no longer than 15 minutes. The groups should use Power Point or overheads. Students have an opportunity to fine-tune their presentation after the session.

13 SEP, 09.15-10.45 PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF LOBBYING STRATEGIES**Outline:**

In this session, we will listen to the four presentations. Each presentation will be presented by only one member of the respective group, **but every student needs to be fully prepared to give the presentation (lottery)**. We will discuss the presentations together (style, content, strategy) to see how the lobbying strategy could be made (even) more effective.

13 SEP, 11.15-12.45: TECHNOCRACY, NEO-CORPORATISM, PLURALISM: LOBBYING AND EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE**Outline:**

This session will address normative implications of interest representation in EU politics. The lecture will outline the evolution of governance forms across borders in Europe and the different legacies of technocratic internationalism, corporatism and pluralism for the present-day EU governance. The seminar will be devoted to a discussion of the normative implications of interest representation in a trans- and supranational polity like the EU. In **two group presentations**, two student groups will present opposed views. One will argue in favour for the open pluralist competition among interest groups as the best and most democratic form of achieving policy outcomes; the second group will argue for state-led government and more hierarchical policy-making with the coordinated, neo-corporatist consultation of social groups, who are kept at arms' length from supranational institutions like the Commission, however.

EUR3408 European Security (7,5 sp)

Emneansvarlig

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Pensum:

Books

Lindley-French, Julian (2007): *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Enduring Alliance*. Routledge. (126 pgs.)

Hyde-Price, Adrian (2007): *European Security in the Twenty-first Century. The Challenge of multipolarity*. Routledge, Abingdon. (180 pgs.)

Books: 306 pages

Compendium EUR3408 (Kompendieforlaget/Tapir Akademisk Forlag, 2012)

Dockrill, Saki R. (2007): "A Bipolar World". Ch. 23 in Martel, Gordon (ed.): *A Companion to International History 1900-2001*. Blackwell. (pp. 299-313) (15 pgs.)

Galbreath, David J. (2007): *The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe*. Routledge. Ch. 4: "Security Management" & Ch. 6: "The OSCE and the European security architecture". (pp. 65-91 & 116-127) (39 pgs.)

Græger, Nina (2008): "Norway between Europe and the US". Ch. 6 in Archer, Clive (ed.): *New Security Issues in Northern Europe. The Nordic and Baltic States and the ESDP*. Routledge, (pp. 94-113) (20 pgs.)

Herd, Graeme P.: Europe and Russia. From strategic dissonance to strategic divorce?. Ch. 5 in Tardy, Thierry (ed.) (2009): *European Security in a Global Context*. Routledge. (pp. 93-111) (19 pgs.)

Jones, Seth G (2007): *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*. Cambridge University Press, Ch. 7: "The Tragedy of US-European relations", (pp. 220-243) (24 pgs.).

Keohane, Robert O (1989/2011), "Neoliberal Institutionalism", in Hughes, Christopher W. & Meng, Lai Y., *Security Studies*, (Oxon, Routledge), pp. 157-163. (7 pgs.)

McArdle Kelleher, C. (2009): The United States and Europe. Waiting to exhale. Ch. 6 in Tardy, Thierry (ed.): *European Security in a Global Context*. Routledge. (pp. 115-133) (19 pgs.)

Schmitdt, Gustav(2008): "The Rise of the European Union and its impact on the US-EU Partnership: A View from Europe". Ch. 14 in Lundestad, Geir (ed.): *Just Another Major Crisis. The United States and Europe since 2000*. Oxford University Press, (pp. 271-297) (28 pgs.)

Van Oudenaren, J.(2010): "The European Union as a Foreign Policy Actor. Toward a New Realism", ch. 2 in Tiersky, R & Van Oudenaren, J.(eds.), *European Foreign Policies. Does Europe still matter?*, Rowman&Littlefield, Plymouth, United Kingdom, (pp. 15-41) (27 pgs.)

Varwick, Johannes & Koops, Joachim: "The European Union and NATO. 'Shrewd interorganizationalism' in the making?. Chapter 6 in Knud Erik Jørgensen (ed.): *The European Union and International Organizations*. Routledge, 2009. (pg. 101-126) (27 pgs.)

Walt, Stephen M. (1997/2011), "Alliance Futures", in Hughes, Christopher W. & Meng, Lai Y., *Security Studies*, (Oxon, Routledge), pp. 320-329. (10 pgs.)

Compendium: 235 pages

Articles available online

Brooks, Stephen G. & Wohlforth, William C. (Summer, 2005), "Hard Times for Soft Balancing", *International Security*, 30 (1) , pp. 72-108 (37 pgs.)
<http://www.dartmouth.edu/~govt/docs/BrooksWohlforth-2005-IS%20article.pdf>

Hellmann, Gunther & Wolf, Reinhard (1993). "Neorealism, Neoliberal Institutionalism, and the Future of NATO." *Security Studies* 3(1): 3-43. (41 pgs.)
http://uni-frankfurt.academia.edu/GuntherHellmann/Papers/779787/Neorealism_neoliberal_institutionalism_and_the_future_of_NATO

Mearsheimer, John J. (1994/1995). "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19(3): 5-49. (45 pgs.)
<http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0021.pdf>

Milner, Helen (1992). "International Theories of Cooperation among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses." *World Politics* 44(3): 466-496. (31 pgs.)
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/2010546>

Schimmelfennig, Frank (2007). "European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Transformation in Eastern Europe." *East European Politics and Societies* 21(1): 126-141. (16 pgs.)
<http://eep.sagepub.com/content/21/1/126.abstract>

Webber M., Croft S., Howorth J., Terriff T. & Krahman E. (2004). "The Governance of European Security", in *Review of International Studies*, vol 30/1, pp. 3-26. (24 pgs.)

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=188602&jid=RIS&volumeId=30&issueId=01&aid=188601>

Yost, David S.(2007), "NATO and the anticipatory use of force", *International Affairs*, 83(1), pp 39-68 (30 pgs.)

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2007.00602.x/abstract>

Articles: 224 pages

Obligatoriske aktiviteter: Muntlig presentasjon