

**University of North Carolina  
Political Science/ Transatlantic Masters Program**

**EU GOVERNANCE**

**POLI 273**

**TAM 975**

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**Fall 2005**

**Instructor:** Professor Liesbet Hooghe

**Class Hours:** Wednesday, 2-5pm, Peabody 0010

Office hours: Wed. 10:30am-12:30noon,

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## COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course introduces you to the history of European integration, its institutions, basic theoretical approaches, and contemporary politics of the European Union. The first part of the course reviews history and institutions of the European Union. Next, we cover theories as they have developed over the past several decades. How have political scientists conceptualized European integration? How have they explained the development of supranational institutions? There are few areas of agreement on these questions, and we shall have the opportunity to compare and contrast the answers that political scientists have provided. The third part of the course asks what kind of polity is emerging. How is conflict over European issues structured? How does European integration affect political parties, and how does party and electoral politics shape European integration? How does one understand the development of supranational institutions? Do conceptions of identity constrain or facilitate European integration? What kind of polity exists at the European level and how does it connect to national and subnational polities?

You will have an opportunity to engage leading theories of European integration by reading past and recent work on the topic. You will also get a chance to discuss new thinking – work in progress – on European integration.

You are also strongly encouraged to integrate the knowledge and insights you pick up in the talk series on Fridays. You should feel free to raise on Wednesdays any remaining issues from the Friday talk series, especially (but not only) when these issues have an EU dimension.

## ASSIGNMENTS

**1) Participation in class discussion and in-class introduction of a reading (20%).** The presentation/introduction should be maximum 5 minutes.

**AND**

**2) One of the following:**

a) **Four short review essays (20% each)** which summarize and critique at least two readings or chapters assigned for a particular week. **The expected format is that you write a short critical book or article review.** You may select any week except for sessions I and II. Please limit your essay to maximum 1200 words (please note the number of words on your paper), and double-space. Papers should be handed in before class.

**OR**

b) **A research paper (80%)** on a topic broadly related to the course. Please come and talk to me about your topic. The paper should be article-length (appr. 6,000-8,000 words), and involve some original research. You are encouraged to write on your thesis topic, but any theme with some European integration dimension would be fine.

There is no final exam.

Please do not pursue the “rational” strategy of reading only for seminars when you write a paper or lead discussion. Past experience has shown that the quality of our discussion has been raised to the extent that you discuss readings among yourselves prior to our meetings. You are strongly encouraged to form study groups – perhaps meet for informal coffees, etc.

### **III. BOOKS AND READINGS**

#### Recommended:

Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders eds. 2004. *Multi-Level Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2001. *Multilevel Governance and European Integration*. Rowman and Littlefield.

Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen, eds. 2004. *Political Conflict and European Integration*. Cambridge: CUP.

John McCormick. 2004. *The European Union: Politics and Policies*. Westview Press.

Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander C-G. Stubb eds. 2003. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton eds. 2004. *The Institutions of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Other readings on blackboard.

### **I. Introduction and Organization (August 31)**

#### **A. THE WORKING OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**

### **II. A Concise History of European Integration (7 September)**

**(a) Why was the European Union created? [lecture]**

**(b) How has the European Union developed? [lecture]**

#### Required reading:

John McCormick. 1999. *Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction*. MacMillan, ch 2 (31-56) and ch 3 (57-86).

Donald Hancock and Guy Peters. 2003. *The European Union*, Chatham House, ch. 31.

*September 14: no seminar*

### **III. Institutions--I (21 September)**

**(a) Leaders of Europe [discussion]**

Excerpts from Brent Nelsen and Alexander C-G. Stubb ed. 2004. “Visions of a United Europe.” *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. (Churchill; De Gaulle; Monnet; Thatcher; Delors)

*How does Churchill's vision of Europe compare with Jean Monnet's vision of Europe?  
What are the key arguments in Margaret Thatcher's Euroskeptic Bruges Speech, and how, if at all, does Jacques Delors respond to it?  
Is Delors' vision really an extension of Monnet's vision – as Delors suggests – or is it a revision? Compare their visions.*

### **(b) Institutions-Part I [lecture]**

*Required reading:*

Hancock and Peters, ch. 32, 33.

*-What are the most important political institutions in the EU?  
-Which policy areas or institutions are most intergovernmental and which supranational?  
-Does the European Union seem more like an international organization or more like a national state? Explain.*

## **IV. Institutions -- II (28 September)**

### **(a) Institutions – Part II [lecture]**

#### **(b) The Constitutional Treaty and Europe's future [discussion]**

Jo Shaw. 2004. "What happens if the Constitutional Treaty is not Ratified?"

Unpublished paper.

Wilhelm Lehmann and Simon Schunz. 2005. „Anticipating the European Constitution: Parliamentarization or Renationalization?“ Unpublished paper.

Ben Crum. "Confusing Cues: Competition and Collusion of Party Strategies in Referendums on the EU Constitution"

*-Identify what you think are the three most important changes in the Constitution, and comment on whether these push the European Union in a supranational/federal or intergovernmental/ confederal direction.  
-Is the non-ratification a drama from a constitutional-legal perspective? And what are the risks/opportunities from a political viewpoint?  
- Does the European Union need a Constitution?*

## **B: THEORIES OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

### **V. Early Years (5 September)**

#### **(a) A brief survey of theories of European integration [lecture]**

#### **(b) Neofunctionalism vs. Intergovernmentalism (28 September) [discussion]**

*Required reading:*

Ernst Haas. 1958. *The Uniting of Europe*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. xi-xvii (preface), 3-31 (Community and Integration).

Stanley Hoffmann. 1966. "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation State and the Case of Western Europe." *Daedalus* 95: 892-908.

David Mitrany. 1965. The Prospect of Integration: Federal or Functional? In Groom, A.J.R., Taylor, P., *Functionality, Theory and Practice in International Relations*, University of London Press, 1975

- What does Ernst Haas' theory of neofunctionalism argue, and how does it differ from functionalism?
- Describe, compare and contrast neofunctionalism and early intergovernmentalism: what are the questions they are asking, how are they trying to answer these, and who do they consider to be the main players? In short – what are the main building blocs of each theory?

### Additional Reading

Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman. 1989. "1992: Recasting the European Bargain." *World Politics* 42: 95-128.

Philippe Schmitter. 1996. "Examining the Present Euro-Polity with the Help of Past Theories," in Gary Marks, Fritz Scharpf, Philippe Schmitter, and Wolfgang Streeck, *Governance in the European Union*, Sage, 1996, 1-14.

Brent Nelsen and Alexander C-G.Stubb ed. 1998/2002. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Desmond Dinan. 1999. *Ever Closer Union? An Introduction to the European Community*. London: MacMillan.

François Duchêne. 1994. *Jean Monnet: The First Statesman of Interdependence*. New York: Norton.

Karl Deutsch. 1966. *Nationalism and Social Communication*. Cambridge: Harvard UP.

Ernst Haas. 1964. *Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Alan Milward, and V. Sørensen. 1993. "Interdependence or Integration? A national choice." In: A. Milward, R. Ranieri, F. Romero and V. Sørensen eds. *The frontier of national sovereignty: history and theory, 1945-1992*. New York: Routledge.

Alan Milward. 1992. *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

David Mitrany. 1966 [1943]. *A Working Peace System*. Chicago: Quadrangle.

Leon N. Lindberg and Stuart A. Scheingold. 1970. *Europe's Would-Be Polity: Patterns of Change in the European Community*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Stanley Hoffmann. 1982. "Reflections on the Nation-State in Western Europe Today." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 21: 21-37.

Walter Mattli. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration. Europe and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Simon Hix. 1999. *The political system of the European Union*. St. Martin's Press.

Neill Nugent. 1994/2002. *The Government and Politics of the European Community*. Durham: Duke UP.

John Peterson and Elizabeth Bomberg. 1999. *Decision-making in the European Union*. St. Martin's Press.

## VI. A Last Stand of the Grand Old Theories (12 October)

### (a) (Neo)functionalism vs. intergovernmentalism: stage two [discussion]

#### Required Reading:

Andrew Moravcsik. 1993. "Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmental Approach." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31:473-524.

Alec Stone Sweet and Wayne Sandholtz. 1997. "European Integration and Supranational Governance." *Journal of European Public Policy* 4: 297-317.

- How does the renewed neofunctionalism of Stone Sweet and Sandholtz compare with Haas' model? Discuss continuities and differences.

- What drives European integration according to Moravcsik's model? What are the main building blocs of his model?

### (b) Moving on [discussion]

#### Required Reading:

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks [1996] 2001. *Multi-level Governance and European Integration*, Rowman & Littlefield, Chapter 1.

Paul Pierson. 1996. "The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 29, 2:123-62.

- How do Hooghe and Marks contend with liberal intergovernmentalism? How plausible do you find their account?

- Paul Pierson's article, "The Path" is one of the most cited articles on European integration. How do you account for this?

#### Additional Reading

Geoffrey Garrett and George Tsebelis. 2001. "An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism," *Intergovernmental Organization* 55: 357-390.

James Caporaso. 1996. "The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34, 1: 29-52.

John Peterson. 2001. "The Choice for EU Theorists: Establishing a Common Framework for Analysis." *European Journal of Political Research* 39: 289-318.

Alec Stone Sweet and Thomas Brunell. 1998. "Constructing a Supranational Constitution: Dispute Resolution and Governance in the European Community." *American Political Science Review* 92: 63-81.

Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet eds. 1998. *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wayne Sandholtz. 1996. "Membership Matters: Limits of the Functional Approach to European Institutions." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34: 403-429.

Alberto Alesina, Ignazio Angeloni, Ludger Schuknecht. 2001. "What does the European Union do?" Washington: National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper #8647.

Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooghe. 2000. "Optimality and Authority: A Critique of Neoclassical Theory." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38: 795-816.

- Andrew Moravcsik. 1998. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press (introduction and ch.1).
- Andrew Moravcsik. 1999. "A New Statecraft? Supranational Entrepreneurs and International Cooperation." *International Organization* 53: 267-306.
- John Mearsheimer. 1990. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War" *International Security* 15: 5-56.
- Stanley Hoffmann and Robert Keohane, eds. 1991. *The New European Community: Decisionmaking and Institutional Change*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Joseph Grieco. 1995. "The Maastricht Treaty, Economic and Monetary Union and the Neorealist Research Programme." *Review of International Studies* 21: 21-40.
- Laura Cram. 1997. *Policy Making in the EU: Conceptual Lenses and the Integration Process*. London: Routledge.
- Ben Rosamond. *Theories of European Integration*. London: MacMillan Press.
- Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez eds. 2004. *European Integration Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mark Pollack. 2001. "International Relations Theory and European Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39: 221-244.
- Gerald Schneider and Mark Aspinwall, eds. 2001. *The Rules of Integration: Institutional Approaches to the Study of Europe*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Markus Haverland. 2000. "National Adaptation to the European Union: The importance of institutional veto points." *Journal of Public Policy* 20: 83-103.
- John March and Johan Olsen. 1989. *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics*. London: MacMillan.
- Johan Olsen. 2002. "The Many Faces of Europeanization." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40: 921-950.
- Kevin Featherstone and Claudio Radaelli, eds. 2003. *The Politics of Europeanization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Simon Hix and Klaus Goetz. Special issue on Europeanization in *West European Politics*.
- Amie Kreppel. 2002. *The European Parliament and Supranational Party System. A Study in Institutional Development* Cambridge: CUP.
- George Tsebelis and Geoffrey Garrett. 2000. "Legislative Politics in the European Union." *European Union Politics* 1: 9-36.
- Fritz Scharpf. 1999. *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## VII. Multi-level Governance (19 October)

### (a) Conceptualizing the EU as a multilevel polity [discussion]

#### Required reading

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (2001), chs. 4 and 5.

Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders. 2004. *Multi-Level Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chs. 1 and 7.

- Does the role of regions in EU decision making reflect the predictions of state-centric governance or of multi-level governance? Explain.

- Why have cohesion policy/ regional mobilization played such a high-profile role in recent EU theoretical debates?
- Is multi-level governance a theory? What do the authors say? What are some strengths and weaknesses of this approach?

## **(b) Conceptualizing multilevel governance [lecture]**

### Additional Reading:

- Alberta Sbragia ed. 1992. *Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policy Making in the 'New' European Community*, Washington: Brookings Institute
- Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders eds. 2004. *Multi-Level Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Beate Kohler-Koch and Rainer Eising eds. *The Transformation of Governance in the European Union*. London: Routledge.
- Tanja Aalberts. 2004. "The Future of Sovereignty in Multilevel Governance Europe - A Constructivist Reading." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42: 23-46.
- Liesbet Hooghe ed. *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multilevel Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press/ Clarendon Press.
- Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank. 1996. "European Integration since the 1980s. State-Centric Versus Multi-Level Governance." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34: 343-78.
- Gary Marks. 1993. "Structural policy and multilevel governance in the EC." In: Alan Cafruny and Glenda Rosenthal eds. *The State of the European Community: Volume 2*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 391-410.
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2003. "Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-Level Governance," *American Political Science Review* 97: 2, 233-43.
- Fritz Scharpf. 1994. "Community and Autonomy: Multilevel Policy Making in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 1: 219-42.

## **C: POLITICS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

### **VIII. The Structure of Political Conflict (26 October)**

#### **(a) Political conflict, parties, and European integration [lecture]**

##### Required reading:

- Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. 2004. *European Integration and Political Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. by Marks/Steenbergen (Intro); Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (2001), ch. 8.

#### **(b) The Political Economy of European integration support [discussion]**

##### Required Reading:

- Marks and Steenbergen. 2004. *European Integration and Political Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Brinegar et al. (ch. 4), Hooghe, Marks, and Wilson (ch.6), Marks (conclusion).

- What are the main dimensions of contestation on European integration?
- How does conflict on European integration vary across the European Union? What are the main explanations for variation across countries?
- What does the fact that domestic conflict seems to structure positioning on European integration tell us about the EU polity? What would neofunctionalists, intergovernmentalists, and multilevel governance theorists respectively expect?
- Is European integration a potential major cleavage in Europe? What would lead you to argue one way or another on this?

Additional Reading:

- Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, Moira Nelson and Erica Edwards. 2006. "Party Competition and European Integration in East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality" with Gary Marks, Moira Nelson and Erica Edwards, *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Doug Imig and Sidney Tarrow, eds. 2001. *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Integrating Europe*. Boulder CO: Rowman and Littlefield Press
- Bastiaan van Apeldoorn. 2002. *Transnational Capitalism and the Struggle over European integration*. London: Routledge.
- Alan W. Cafruny and Magnus Ryner eds. 2003. *A Ruined Fortress? Neoliberal Hegemony and Transformation in Europe*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 1999. "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration." In *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, edited by Herbert Kitschelt, Gary Marks, Peter Lange and John Stephens. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 70-97.
- Cees Van der Eijk, and Mark Franklin eds. 1995. *Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press
- Matthew Gabel, 1998. *Interests and Integration. Market Liberalization, Public Opinion, and European Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Marco Steenbergen, and Bradford S. Jones. 2002. "Modeling Multilevel Data Structures." *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 218-37.
- Robert Rohrschneider. 2002. "The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-wide Government." *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 463-75.
- Paul Pennings. 2002. "The Dimensionality of the EU Policy Space. The European Elections of 1999." *European Union Politics* 3: 59-79.
- Simon Hix and Christopher Lord. 1997. *Political Parties in the European Union*, St. Martin's Press.
- Gary Marks and Carole Wilson. 2000. "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Positions on European Integration." *British Journal of Political Science* 30: 433-459.
- Peter Mair. 2000. "The Limited Impact of Europe on National Party Systems" *West European Politics* 23: 27-51.
- Peter Mair. 2002. "Comparing party systems," in *Comparing Democracies 2*, edited by Lawrence Leduc, Richard Niemi, and Pippa Norris. London: Sage Publications, 2002, 88-107.
- Jakub Zielinski. 2002. "Translating Social Cleavages into Party Systems: The

- Significance of New Democracies." *World Politics* 54: 184-211.
- Tomas Kostelecky. 2002. "Political Party Development in Post-Communist East-Central Europe: In Search of General Patterns." In *Political Parties after Communism: Developments in East-Central Europe*, Washington, D.C.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 152-180.
- Paul Taggart. 1998. "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems." *European Journal of Political Research* 33: 363-88.
- Anna Grzymala-Busse, and Abby Innes. 2003. "Great Expectations: the EU and domestic political competition in East Central Europe." *East European Politics and Societies* 17: 64-73.
- Geoffrey Evans. 2002. "European integration, party politics and voting in the 2001 election." *British Elections & Parties Review*, 12: 95-110.

## **IX. Enlargement (2 November)**

### **(a) Active and passive leverage of the EU [discussion]**

#### Required reading:

Milada Vachudova. 2005. *Europe Undivided*. Oxford University Press, chs. 1, 5 and 6.

*What is the EU's 'active leverage' and what are its main mechanisms?*

*Who benefits and who loses from this active leverage policy in Central and Eastern European societies.*

*To what extent does this argument help you understand variation in support and opposition for European integration in these countries?*

### **(b) Politics in an enlarged Europe [lecture]**

## **X. Identity and a Postfunctionalist Theory of European integration (9 November)**

### **(a) Is there such thing as a European identity, and does it matter? [discussion]**

#### Required Reading:

Richard Hermann, Thomas Risse, and Marilyn Brewer eds. *Transnational identities. Becoming European in the EU*. Rowman and Littlefield, chs. 8 (Citrin and Sides) and 10 (Risse).

### **(b) Identity and postfunctionalist theory [lecture]**

#### Required Reading:

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration." (unpublished ms.)

#### Additional Reading:

Juan Diez Medrano. 2003. *Framing Europe: Attitudes to European Integration in Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2004. "Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive

- Public Opinion on European Integration?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 37, 3: 415-420.
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2005. "Calculation, Community, and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration," *European Union Politics*.
- Kees Van Kersbergen. 2000. "Political Allegiance and European Integration." *European Journal of Political Research* 37: 1-17.
- Bo Stråth, and Anna Triandafyllidou eds. 2003. *Representations of Europe and the Nation in Current and Prospective Member States. The Collective State of the Art and Historical Reports*. Brussels: European Commission, Directorate-General for Research, EUR 20736.
- Sniderman, Paul M., Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. 2004. "Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities." *American Political Science Review* 98: 35-49.
- Thomas Risse. 2003. "Nationalism and Collective Identities. Europe versus the Nation-State?" In *Developments in West European Politics*, edited by Paul Heywood, Eric Jones, and Martin Rhodes. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Anna Maria Mayda, and Dani Rodrik. 2002. "Why Are Some People (and Countries) More Protectionist Than Others?" Unpublished ms.
- Lauren McLaren. 2002. "Public Support for the European Union: Cost/Benefit Analysis or Perceived Cultural Threat?" *The Journal of Politics* 64: 551-66.
- Douglas Massey. 2002. "Presidential Address: A Brief History of Human Society: The Origin and Role of Emotion in Social Life." *American Sociological Review* 67: 1-29.
- Richard Haesly. 2001. "Euroskeptics, Europhiles and Instrumental Europeans: European Attachment in Scotland and Wales." *European Union Politics* 2: 81-102.
- Juan Diez Medrano, and Paula Gutiérrez. 2001. "Nested Identities: National and European Identity in Spain." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24: 753-78.
- Richard Herrmann, Marilyn Brewer, and Thomas Risse. 2004. *Identities in Europe and the Institutions of the European Union*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Sean Carey. 2002. "Undivided Loyalties: Is National Identity an Obstacle to European Integration?" *European Union Politics* 3: 387-413.

## **XI. Book TBA (16 November)**

## **XII. The European Union and the United States: Ships passing in the night? (23 November)**

### Required Reading:

Robert Kagan. 2002. "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, No. 113, June 2002.

Robert Keohane. 2002. "Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, 4: 743-65.

"How America became the world's dispensable nation." *Financial Times*, January 25, 2005

- *What are the underlying reasons for international disagreement and conflict between the United States and Europe?*

- *Compare and contrast the sources of difference between the US and Europe according to Kagan and Keohane. Which account do you find most plausible?*

- *Kagan's "Power and Weakness" has been immensely influential in the United States. Analyze strengths and weaknesses of his analysis.*

### Additional Reading:

John Peterson and Mark Pollack, eds. 2003. *Europe, America, and Bush. Transatlantic Relations after 2000*. London: Routledge.

John Peterson. 2003. *Europe and America: Partners and Rivals in International Relations*, 3rd edition. Rowman & Littlefield.

Marc Trachtenberg ed. 2003. *Between Empire and Alliance: America and Europe during the Cold War*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Mark Pollack and Gregory Shaffer eds. 2002. *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy*. Oxford and Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Pew Foundation surveys.

## **XIII. Readings TBA (30 November)**

## **XIV. Concluding discussion (7 December)**