

Rethinking Europe in a Historical Perspective

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Course informations: <http://www.eva-boka.name>

Course programme

The aim of the course is to introduce students to the history of the theories and practices on the idea of 'democratic world society' as a possible answer to war. The course concentrates on the history of the theory and practice of the construction of Europe as part of the world community. The theory and practice of international relations and of globalisation from the 14th century to today is analysed within this framework. The course is based on the analysis of the most important theoretical and legal documents of the European anti-war political thinking, of democratic international relations, and of the construction of Europe. On the basis of these documents, and the corresponding special literature students can study, research, and rethink the historical background of the idea of 'democratic world society', which is one of the most important contemporary ideas used as a possible answer of civilised societies against wars.

With the aim to understand better the European state organization principles and values the course uses the method of comparison. It compares the state and international organization ideas and practices of the Western/European civilization to the Asian - first of all the Chinese - civilization.

Organization of the course: students are required to prepare presentations on the most important theoretical or legal documents in the area. Each participant should choose one document and present it in 15-20 minutes. The documents themselves can be either borrowed from the teacher or found on the Internet (see websites below). The mark at the end of the semester is given on the basis of the presentation and of the activity during the course.

Course informations: <http://www.eva-boka.name>

The number of participants:

List of topics

The following themes will be studied and discussed:

Introduction:

How do people approach issues on social organization, with false and right images; imaginary communities
World civilizations

The main characteristics, principles and values of the European civilization in comparison to the Chinese

1-5. The early-modern and modern ideas and practices of peaceful association policy in opposition to war

Europe and the world system in a historical perspective

Imperialism and colonialism and its critic in the Western society

Expansion and reaction (the answers to the Western expansion in China and in Japan)

European thinkers in search of harmony and peace among European people and among civilizations:

The classical idea of world federation and the emergence of the idea of personalist federalism in opposition to war (Aristotle, Plato, Erasmus versus Machiavelli, Althusius versus Bodin, Locke, Montesquieu, Saint-Pierre – Rousseau – Kant, Ferguson, Tocqueville, Proudhon, Mill, Eötvös)

The classical idea of world federation in the Chinese thinking (Confucius, K'ang You-wei, Sun Yat-sen)

Japanese thinkers on the modernization of Japan: Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nobushige Hozumi

The influence of the Western ideas in China and Japan

2. Ideas on peaceful associations in practice:

The main types of unions of states: classical constitutional federalism (the Treaty of the Union of Utrecht, 1579; the American constitution of 1787; the Swiss constitution of 1848)

The Western phenomenon of nation state and of nationalism

The idea of personalist federalism as a means against nationalism in the Habsburg Empire (Eötvös, Renner, Naumann)

3-4. The development of the ideas on democratic international and European association policy: the constitutional federalist, unionist and functionalist bases of the European integration policy (1919-1949);

Unionism:

New international organization principles of civil society in classical confederalist form: Wilson and the League of Nations

Unionism (Churchill)

Federalism:

Constitutional federalism: the Pan-European Movement (Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi)

Personalism; unanimous organic democracy; the division of the economic and political state (Salvador de Madariaga)

Against the totalitarian states (fascist, national socialist, and Stalinist) in the name of the democratic European federation (Coudenhove-Kalergi, Ortega y Gasset, Thomas Mann, and Salvador de Madariaga)

The European Federalist Movement (Altiero Spinelli)

New European incremental personalist federalism (Denis de Rougemont, Hendrik Brugmans)

Functionalism (David Mitrany)

Functionalist-federalism (Jean Monnet)

Realism (Hans J. Morgenthau)

5. Democratization of the international organization and the international law:

Functionalist-federalism and confederalism: the United Nations Organization; the Charter of the United Nations

Universalism: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Classical confederalism in Europe: The Council of Europe and the Statute of the Council of Europe

6-9. *Theories on the renewal of the principles of the European association policy after the Second World War*

6. "The golden age" of the construction of the European Community, 1950-1953; the principles of the new federalist supranational association policy

The "Monnet-method"

Europe's first constitution: the Draft Treaty Embodying the Statute of the European Political Community, 1953.

7. The emergence of a new type association policy: the supranational European Economic Community; Federalists versus intergovernmentalists; the federalist-intergovernmentalist compromise

Integration theories emerging from practice (The influence of the supranational European institutions of the European Community on the theories and practices of the association policy in Europe):

Functionalism (Mitrany)

Federalist-functionalism (Jean Monnet)

Constitutional supranational federalism (Altiero Spinelli, Walter Hallstein)

Neo-functionalism (Ernst Haas, Leon N. Lindberg)

Classical European confederalism (De Gaulle, Thatcher)

Intergovernmentalism (Andrew Moravcsik)

Neo-federalism (John Pinder)

Personalist federalism (federation of persons and states) (Jacques Delors)

Interdependency (Robert O. Keohane)

8. The EU as a new type civil society: intergovernmental - supranational union of states based on multilevel governance (Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2003; Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2004)

The role of the federalist principles - the personal principle, and the principle of subsidiarity - in the European law

9. *Enlargement: "The Europeanization of Europe"*

EU enlargement and the unification of Europe

The European Communities and Central and East European countries

The enlargement-debate

Rethinking the democratic association policy in Europe

10. *In search of European identity*

The test of the results of the new type European association policy

How the citizens of the EU identify (European; European and national; national and European; national)?

EU citizens and the "democratic deficit"

The emergence of a European civic identity

11-14. *Europe and globalization*

11. *A new Europe in the changing global system*

Globalization: the challenge of global capitalism and the EU

The EU as a "global player": the EU's role in the process of globalization (the dilemma of open versus closed regional union)

What is global in the principles of the EU and European law?

The EU and China; the EU and ASEAN

Towards a new world system of regional unions?

12. *Western and Asian Values – an international debate*

Eurocentrism and its critic

European values and human rights

The Asian values debate (Singapore)

The interaction of the European and Asiatic cultures

The questions of modernization and Europeanization/Westernization of the world

The question of the universal validity of the principles of the European civil society

The clash of civilizations or harmony of civilizations (comparison of the European, Japanese, and Chinese civilization)

13. *Contemporary ideas on 'global civil society'*

(Havel, Kaldor, Keane, Held, Gilpin)

14. *Ideas on the reform of the United Nations Organization*

How to create democracy among the states?

- Classical confederation of confederalist regional unions

- Unionist-functional regionalism of sovereign states based on subsidiarity

- Supranational-functional union of autonomous states based on multilevel governance and subsidiarity

Literature

Course material:

Course description, 2008: <http://www.eva-boka.name>

Éva Bóka: *The Theory and Practice of the European integration*. Syllabus, 2005; 2006-2008. See:

<http://www.eva-boka.name>

Éva Bóka: *Rethinking the Role of the Federalist Ideas in the Construction of Europe*, manuscript. See:

<http://www.eva-boka.name>

Éva Bóka [2007]: The Idea of Subsidiarity in the European Federalist Thought. *Grotius*, The Journal of the Institute of International Relations of the Corvinus University of Budapest, Internet, 2007: <http://www.grotius.hu>; <http://www.grotius.hu/publ/displ.asp?id=ECICWF>

Éva Bóka (2006): In Search of European Federalism. *Society and Economy*, The Journal of the Corvinus University, 28. 2006. 3, 309-331.

Éva Bóka [2005]: The Democratic European Idea in Central Europe, 1849-1945. *Specimina Nova*, 2005, Pécs, 7-24.

Éva Bóka [2001]: *Az Európai egység gondolat története*. (The History of the Idea of European Unity) Napvilág, Budapest (See the English synopsis of the book on Internet: <http://www.eva-boka.name>).

Éva Bóka [2006]: Hungarian Thinkers in Search of European Identity. *Grotius*, The Journal of the Institute of International Relations of the Corvinus University of Budapest, Internet, 2007: <http://www.grotius.hu>; <http://www.grotius.hu/publ/displ.asp?id=DJUNCB>

Collection of documents:

Ian Brownlie (ed.) [1981, 1992]: *The Basic Documents on Human Rights*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Brent F. Nelsen - Alexander C-G. Stubb (eds.) [1994; 2004]: *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, London.

A.G. Harryvan and J. van der Harst (eds.) [1997]: *Documents on European Union*. Macmillan Press LTD., London.

Special literature:

Derek Heater [1992]: *The Idea of European Unity*. Leicester University Press, Leicester.

Michael Burgess [2000]: *Federalism and European Union: The Building of Europe, 1950-2000*. Routledge, London.

Ben Rosamond [2000]: *Theories of European Integration*. St. Martin's Press Inc., New York.

Neill Nugent [2003]: *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 34-108, 111-292.

In: Neill Nugent (ed.) [2004]: *European Union Enlargement*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 84-103.

Henryk Kierzkowski (ed.) [2002]: *Europe and Globalization*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Robert Gilpin [1987]: *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Robert Gilpin [2000]: *The Challenge of Global Capitalism*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

David Held & Anthony McGrew [1999]: *Global Transformations. Politics, Economics and Culture*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Franke, Wolfgang [1967]: *China and the West*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Internet:

The EU History site of the Leiden University: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

EU site: <http://europa.eu/index.htm>

http://europa.eu/index_en.htm

The basic treaties of the European integration (ECSC, EURATOM, EEC, SEA, TEU, TA, TN) Internet, 2007: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/index.htm>

Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2004. Internet, 2007:

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/index.htm>

Proposed documents to choose for the presentation:

Introduction

Nisbett, Richard E. [2003]: *The Geography of Thought (How Asians and Westerners Think Differently ... and Why)*. Free Press, New York, London, Toronto, Sydney.

The early modern and modern bases of a peaceful association policy

Themes 1-3

Europe in the world system from a historical point of view

Fernand Braudel [1978]: The expansion of Europe and the “longue durée”. In: H. L. Wesseling (ed.) [1978]: *Expansion and Reaction*. Leiden University Press, Leiden, 17-27.

Domokos Kosáry [1997]: Europe and the World System in a Historical Perspective. In: Richard Falk – Tamás Szentes (eds.) [1997]: *A New Europe in the Changing Global System*. United Nations University Press, Tokyo, New York, Paris, 10-15.

The political ideological foundations of the Western civilization:

Aristotle [1946]: *The Politics of Aristotle*. Translated by Ernest Barker, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Plato [1958]: *Plato's Republic*. Translated with an introduction by A. D. Lindsay. J. M. Dent & Sons LTD, London; E. P. Dutton & CO INC, New York.

Chinese parallels:

Confucius [1938]: *The Analects of Confucius*. Translated by Arthur Waley. Allen & Unwin, London.

Political thinkers on the principles of peaceful organization of communities:

Erasmus: The Complaint of Peace; Johannes Althusius: *Politica methodice digesta*; Locke: Two Treatises of Government; Montesquieu: *De l'esprit des lois*; Saint-Pierre: *Projet pour rendre la paix perpétuelle en Europe*; Rousseau: *Projet de paix perpétuelle* and *Jugement sur la paix perpétuelle*; Kant: *Zum ewigen Frieden*; Ferguson: *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*; A. Hamilton – J. Jay – J. Madison: *The Federalist*; Tocqueville: *Democracy in America*; Proudhon: *Du principe fédératif*; Eötvös: *A nemzetiségi kérdés*; The Dominant Ideas of the 19th Century; John Stuart Mill: *On Liberty*

Chinese parallels: K'ang You-wei: *Ta T'ung Shu: the One World Philosophy*; Sun Yat-sen: *San Min Chu I = The Three Principles of the People* (See: Literature on China below)

Japanese parallels: Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Nobushige Hozumi* (See: Literature on Japan below)

Important economic political theoreticians of capitalism:

Liberalism – Marxism- Nationalism

Adam Smith [1976]: *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Clarendon, Oxford.

Adam Smith [1776]: *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.

<http://metalibri.incubadora.fapesp.br/portal/authors/AnInquiryIntoTheNatureAndCausesOfTheWealthOfNations>; <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/3300>

John Stuart Mill [1965]: *Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*. University of Toronto Press, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

John Stuart Mill [1948]: *Principles of political Economy*. Internet, 2007:

http://oll.libertyfund.org/index.php?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Fperson=21&Itemid=28

Karl Marx [1932]: *The Communist Manifesto*. In: Karl Marx: Capital, the Communist Manifesto and other Writings. Ed. by Max Eastman. The Modern Library Edition, New York.
Marx: The Communist Manifesto. Internet, 2007:
<http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/61>
Max Weber [1962; 1972]: *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Allen and Unwin, London.
John Maynard Keynes [1919]: *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. Macmillan, London.
John Maynard Keynes [1936]: *The general Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*. Macmillan, London.

Important political theoreticians of democratic civil state and international system

Alexander Hamilton – James Madison – John Jay [1965]: *The Federalist or the New Constitution*. Dent, London, New York.
Jeremy Bentham [1996]: *Principles of International Law*. Internet, 2007:
<http://www.la.utexas.edu/research/poltheory/bentham/pil/index.html>
<http://www.la.utexas.edu/research/poltheory/bentham/pil/pil.e04.html>
Immanuel Kant: Perpetual Peace.
Internet: Kant: *Perpetual Peace*, 1795:
<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm>
John Stuart Mill [1991]: *On Liberty and Other Essays*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
John Stuart Mill : On Liberty [1859]. Internet, 2007 :
http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/m/mill/john_stuart/m645o/
<http://www.gutenberg.org/browse/authors/m#a1705>
François Pierre Guillaume Guizot [1860]: *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe depuis la chute de l'empire romain jusqu'à la révolution française*. Didier, Paris.
Alexis de Tocqueville [1990]: *Democracy in America*. The Henry Reeve Text as revised by Francis Bowen now further corrected and edited with introduction, editorial notes, and bibliographies by Phillips Bradley. Volume 1-2. Vintage Books Edition, New York, 59-172, 356-381, 381-415, 429-434.
Tocqueville: Democracy in America, Internet, 2007:
http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:PQBryjhyrWYJ:xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/toc_indx.html+tocqueville&hl=nl&gl=nl&ct=clnk&cd=4&lr=lang_en
http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/toc_indx.html
Proudhon, Pierre Joseph [1959]: *Du principe fédératif*. In : Oeuvres complètes du P.-J. Proudhon. Paris, 1957.
Internet, 2007 : http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:PQBryjhyrWYJ:xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/toc_indx.html+tocqueville&hl=nl&gl=nl&ct=clnk&cd=4&lr=lang_en
Eötvös, József [1996]: *The Dominant Ideas of the Nineteenth Century and their Impact on the State*. Vol. 1-2. Translated by D. Mervyn Jones. Boulder Co. Social Science Monographs. Highland Lakes, NJ: Atlantic Research and Publications, Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York.

Forms of unions of states:

The Treaty of the Union of Utrecht, 1579;
The American (1787) and the Swiss (1848) constitutions as examples See: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>
Federal Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>
The Covenant of the League of Nations
The principles of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and their role in the legal development of European unity
See: <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>; <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/index.html>

The most important documents on the basic legal principles of the Western/European civilization and human rights:

Internet, 2007:

The History of the American Constitution in Documents:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/>

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/constpap.htm>

The Constitution of Virginia, 1776:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/va05.htm>

The Federalist Papers:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/constpap.htm>

http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:iVu1MJNIRCAJ:www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/federal/fed.htm+the+federalist+papers&hl=nl&gl=nl&ct=clnk&cd=4&lr=lang_en

The Constitution of the United States, 1787:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/usconst.htm>

Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/rightsof.htm>

The Covenant of the League of Nations, 1919:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/leagcov.htm>

The Charter of the United Nations Organization, 1945:

<http://www.un.org/english/>

<http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/index.html>

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948:

<http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

Theories on the renewing of the principles of the European association policy

Themes 3-8

Richard Nicolaus Coudenhove Kalergi [1926] : *Paneuropa*. Wien - Leipzig, 1926.

Aristide Briand: Mémoire sur l'organisation d'un régime d'Union fédérale européenne. Paris, le 1er mai 1930. In: A. Fleury (éd.) [1998]: *Le Plan Briand d'Union fédérale*. Peter Lang, Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt/M., New York, Paris, Wien. 569-582. See Federalist Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

Coudenhove-Kalergi [1937]: *Totaler Staat – totaler Mensch*. Europa Verlag, Wien.

José Ortega y Gasset [1950]: *The Revolt of the masses*. The New American Library of World Literature, New York.

Richard Nicolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi [1939]: *Europe must unite*. Paneuropa Verlag, Genève. See Federal Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

Salvador de Madariaga [1937]: *Anarchy or Hierarchy*. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London, 77-85; 211-231.

Altiero Spinelli – Ernesto Rossi: The Ventotene Manifesto, 1941. In: Walter Lipgens (eds.) [1985]: *Documents on the History of European Integration. 1. Continental Plans for European Union, 1939-1945*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 471-484.

Karl Polányi [1957]: *The Great Transformation (The political and economic origins of our time)*. Beacon Paperback Edition, Rinehart and Company, Inc. USA, 237-248, 249-258.

Denis de Rougemont: “The Federalist Attitude” 26. August 1947. In: W. Lipgens and Wilfried Loth (eds.) [1991]: *Documents on the History of European Integration. 4*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York, 23-27.

David Mitrany [1946]: *A Working Peace System. An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization*. National Peace Council, London.

Winston S. Churchill: The Zurich Speech. Speeches on Europe. In: Robert Rhodes James (ed.) [1974]: *W. S. Churchill. His Complete Speeches. 7-8*. R.R. Bowker Company, New York and London. See also <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

Hans J. Morgenthau [1949; 1960]: *Politics among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Alfred A. Knoff, 1949.

The Statute of the Council of Europe: Internet, 2006: <http://conventions.coe.int>

Robert Schuman: *La Déclaration du 9 Mai 1950*. See Internet: www.robertschuman.org

Jean Monnet [1976]: *Mémoires*. Fayard, Paris, 348-353, 490-493.

Jean Monnet [1962]: A Ferment of Change. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 1. (1), 203-211.

The first constitution of Europe: Draft Treaty Embodying the Statute of the European Community. 1953. In: R. R. Bowie and C. J. Friedrich (eds.) [1954]: *Studies in Federalism*. Appendix II. Little, Brown and Co., 828-853; Richard T. Griffiths [2000]: *Europe's First Constitution. The European Political Community, 1952-1954*. Federal Trust for Education and Research, London, 189-226. See Historical Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

Ernst Haas [1958]: The Uniting of Europe. Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950-1957. Stanford University Press. In: Brent F. Nelsen –Alexander Stubb [2003], 145-149.

Leon N. Lindberg [1963]: The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration. Stanford University Press. In: Brent F. Nelsen –Alexander Stubb [2003], 151-162.

Charles de Gaulle: L'Europe. In: Charles de Gaulle [1970]: *Mémoires d'espoir*. Plon, Paris, 173-177, 181-183, 205-207.

Walter Hallstein [1972]: *Europe in the Making*. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 57-84, 84-102, 292-327.

Leo Tindemans [1976]: *European Union. Report by Mr. Leo Tindemans to the European Council*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg.

Robert O. Keohane – J. S. Nye [1977]: *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Little Brown and Co. Boston, 3-22.

Altiero Spinelli: The European Adventure. In: Altiero Spinelli [1972]: *The European Adventure. Tasks for the Enlarged Community*. Charles Knight & CO LTD, London, 1-17.

R. Bieber - J.P. – Jacqué - J.H.H. Weiler (eds.) [1985]: *An Ever Closer Union. A Critical Analysis of the Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union*. Office for Official Publications of European Communities, Luxembourg.

Margaret Thatcher: The European Family of Nations. Speech. Bruges, 1988. In: Martin Holmes (ed.) [1996]: *The Eurosceptical Reader*. Macmillan Press LTD, London; St. Martin's Press, Inc. New York, 88-96. See Historical Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

Jacques Delors: Réconcilier l'idéal et la nécessité. Devant le Collège d'Europe à Bruges, le 17 octobre 1989. In: Jacques Delors [1992]: *Le Nouveau Concert Européen*. Editions Odile Jacob, Paris, 322-338.

Jacques Delors: Economic and monetary union and relaunching the construction of Europe. In: *Report on economic and monetary union in the European Community*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1989, 63-67.

Andrew Moravcsik [1991]: Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in European Community. *International Organization*, 45. 1.

On Andrew Moravcsik see: <http://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/>

Alec Stone Sweet – Wayne Sandholtz [1998]: *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. In: Brent F. Nelsen –Alexander Stubb [2003], 215-238.

Joschka Fischer [2000]: From confederacy to federation: thoughts on the finality of European integration. Speech by Joschka Fischer at the Humboldt University in Berlin, 12 May 2000. In: Christian Joerges - Yves Mény - H.H. Weiler (eds.) [2000]: *What Kind of Constitution for What Kind of Polity? Responses to Joschka Fischer*. European University Institute, Florence, 19-31. See: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/2_aktuel/index.htm

Václav Havel: The Power of the Powerless. In: John Keane (ed.) [1985]: *The Power of the Powerless. Citizens against the state in central-eastern Europe*. Hutchinson and Co. Ltd. London, 23-96.

István Bibó: Reflections on Social Development of Europe. In: István Bibó [1991]: *Democracy, Revolution, Self-Determination*. Selected writings. Ed.: Károly Nagy, Atlantic Research and Publications, Columbia University Press, New York, 421-523.

The legal practice of European integration (Themes 4-8)

The basic treaties of the European Union:

Internet, 2007: <http://europa.eu/index.htm>

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/index.htm>

Europe's second constitution:

Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe. Submitted to the European Council Meeting in Thessaloniki. 20. June 2003. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 2003. See Internet, 2007: <http://european-convention.eu.int/default.asp?lang=Eu>
Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2004. Internet, 2008:
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/index.htm>

Enlargement

Theme 9

Neill Nugent (ed.) [2004]: *European Union Enlargement*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
Tibor Palánkai [1997]: The European Communities and Eastern and Central Europe. In: Richard Falk – Tamás Szentes (eds.) [1997]: *A New Europe in the Changing Global System*. United Nations University Press, Tokyo, New York, Paris, 113-132.
Michael A. Landesmann – Dariusz K. Rosati [2004]: *Shaping the New Europe. Economic Policy Challenges of European Union Enlargement*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
Ulrich Sedelmeier [2005]: Eastern Enlargement: Risk, Rationality and Role-compliance. In: Frank Schimmelfennig – Ulrich Sedelmeier [2005]: *The Politics of European Union Enlargement*. Routledge, London and New York, 120-141.
John O'Brennan [2006]: *The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union*. Routledge, New York.

In search of European identity

Theme: 10

Richard K. Herrmann - Thomas Risse - Marilynn B. Brewer (eds.) [2004]: *Transnational Identities. Becoming European in the EU*. Rowman & Littlefield publishers, INC. Oxford, 75-96, 161-185.
Catharine Neveu: European Citizenship, Citizens of Europe and European Citizens. In: Irene Bellier - Thomas M. Wilson (eds.) [2000]: *The Anthropology of the European Union*. Berg, Oxford, 119-135.
Laurie Buonanno – Ann Deakin: European Identity. In: Neill Nugent (ed.) [2004]: *European Union Enlargement*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 84-103.

Europe and globalization; Europeanization/Westernization; 'Global civil society'

Themes 11-14

Europe and Globalization

H. L. Wesseling [1997]: *Imperialism and Colonialism. Essays on the History of European Expansion*. Greenwood Press, London.
Henryk Kierzkowski (ed.) [2002]: *Europe and Globalization*. Palgrave, Macmillan, New York.
Kevin H. O'Rourke: Europe and the Causes of Globalization, 1790-2000. In: Henryk Kierzkowski (ed.) [2002]: *Europe and Globalization*. Palgrave, Macmillan, New York, 64-86.
Marcelo G. Kohen: Europe and the Standardization of the Law: Past and Present. In: H. Kierzkowski: *Europe and Globalization*, 87-103.
André Liebich: Nationalizing the Globe, Globalizing the Nation. In: H. Kierzkowski: *Europe and Globalization*, 104-113.
Albert Breton - Heinrich Ursprung: Globalization, Competitive Governments, and Constitutional Choice in Europe. In: H. Kierzkowski: *Europe and Globalization*, 274-301.
Serge Latouche [1996]: *The Westernization of the World*. Polity Press, Cambridge, U.K.
David Held - Anthony McGrew - David Goldblatt - Jonathan Perraton [1999]: *Global Transformations (Politics, Economics and Culture)* Polity Press, Cambridge, 414-452.
Waters Malcolm (ed.) [1999]: *Modernity. Critical Concepts*. Vol. 1. *Modernization*. Routledge, London and New York.

A new Europe in the changing global system

EU and China; EU and ASEAN

- Richard Falk – Tamás Szentes (eds.) [1997]: *A New Europe in the Changing Global System*. United Nations University Press, Tokyo, New York, Paris.
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