

# The Theory and Practice of European Integration

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## Goals

The aim of the course is to introduce the students to the history of European integration theories and practices, and to the specialized literature of European Studies in English. The course is based on reading and analysing the most important theoretical and legal documents of the construction of Europe (1945-2007). The history of the theory and practice of the construction of Europe is analysed within the framework of the theory and practice of international relations, of modernization and globalization. The course concentrates on rethinking the role of the federalist ideas in the construction of Europe, and in the emergence of a democratic international society. See course informations, Internet: <http://www.eva-boka.name>

## Organization of the course (What to do for the mark)

The classes will be a mixture of lectures and seminars. Students are required to prepare presentations on the most important theoretical or legal documents of the construction of Europe. Each participant should choose one legal or theoretical document, and has to present it in 15–20 minutes. The documents themselves can be borrowed from the lecturer, or can be found on the Internet or in the library (see The Theory and Practice of the Construction of Europe. Course description with further links to the relevant literature, 2006, 2007, 2009 and 2010: <http://www.eva-boka.name>). The mark at the end of the semester is given on the basis of the presentation and of the activity during the course.

## Course program

1. The development of the theory of international relations and of the international law from the 14th century to our days in the European thinking; the classical idea of world federation; realists versus idealists
2. Renewing the states: The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789  
The main types of unions of states; constitutional federalism (the American constitution of 1787; the Swiss constitution of 1848)  
Ideas on the cooperation of states: Hobbes, Kant and Tocqueville  
The phenomenon of nation state and of nationalism
3. The development of the ideas on democratic international and European cooperation (1919-1949): federalism versus confederalism (unionism)  
Federalism: the Pan-European Movement, the European Parliamentary Union (Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi); the European Federalist Movement (Altiero Spinelli); the new European personalist federalism (Salvador de Madariaga, Denis de Rougemont, Hendrik Brugmans)  
Functionalism (David Mitrany)  
Unionism (Churchill)  
Realism (Hans J. Morgenthau)  
The development of international organizations and the international law: the League of Nations, the United Nations Organization; the Charter of the United Nations; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Council of Europe and the Statute of the Council of Europe
4. “The golden age” of the construction of Europe:  
Federalist-functionalism: The Schuman-plan and the “Monnet-method”.  
Europe’s first constitution: The Draft Treaty Embodying the Statute of the European Political Community, 1953.
5. “Chain reaction” in working (The supranational European Economic Community and Euratom)  
5.1. Intergovernmental or supranational Europe (1954-1958) - debates on the Schuman-plan and on the federalist-functional ideas of Jean Monnet

5.2. Integration theories emerging from practice (The influence of the supranational European institutions of the European Economic Community on the integration theories and practices); neo-functionalism (Ernst Haas, Leon N. Lindberg)

6-8. Towards a federalist and intergovernmentalist compromise

The intergovernmentalist élan: unfinished union, the lack of European governance, Euro-scepticism

6.1. Debates on the supranational institutions: Charles de Gaulle versus Walter Hallstein

Classical European confederalism (De Gaulle, Thatcher)

6.2. Intergovernmentalism (Andrew Moravcsik)

7. Federalist élan in the intergovernmental Europe:

The Spinelli-debate on the reform of the European Community

Spinelli and the idea of subsidiarity in the European federalist thought

The federalist reform policy of Jacques Delors; the Single European Act

8. The Delors-Thatcher debate

9. Emergence of a new type intergovernmental and supranational union of states based on multilevel governance and subsidiarity

9.1. Maastricht Treaty and the two level governance of the EU

Democratic deficit: debates on the European Union

The reforms of the Amsterdam and of the Nice Treaties

9.2. What kind of constitution for what kind of policy? The Fischer-debate.

9.3. Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2003; Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2004; Discussions about the European Constitution; Treaty of Lisbon , 2007

10. The theory and practice of the Eastern enlargement, debates on the Eastern enlargement

10.1. The EU and Turkey

11. In search of European identity; European values

12. Europe in the World

12.1. Europe and globalization

Modernization and Europeanization/Westernization

In search of the meaning of globalization

Debates on the universality of the European ideas and principles

12.2. The interaction of European and Asiatic civilizations (India, China, Japan, South-East Asia)

13. New regionalism (the EU-model and East-Asia (SAARC, ASEM, ASEAN, ASEAN+3))

14. The European Union and the United Nations Organization

The reform of the United Nations Organization

The European idea of 'global civil society' (Keane, Kaldor, Held)

## Literature

Information for my students: <http://www.eva-boka.name>

The Theory and Practice of the Construction of Europe. Course description: <http://www.eva-boka.name>

Bóka Éva: Rethinking the Role of the Federalist Ideas in the Construction of Europe (manuscript)

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

Bóka Éva [2007]: The Idea of Subsidiarity in the European Federalist Thought. *Grotius*, 2007,

<http://www.grotius.hu/publ/displ.asp?id=ECICWF>

Bóka Éva [2008]: Rethinking European Supranationalism in a Historical Perspective. *Grotius, Vita*

(Discussion), 2008, <http://www.grotius.hu/publ/displ.asp?id=TJCVQS>

Bóka Éva [2009]: The Europe-China Dialogue in a Historical Perspective. In: *Grotius E-könyvtár (Grotius E-Library)*, 2009, <http://www.grotius.hu/publ/displ.asp?id=FDWKZS>

*Collection of documents:*

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

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

Internet documents:

The EU History Site of the Leiden University: documents on European integration in English:

<http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

The treaties of the European integration:

Gateway to the European Union: <http://europa.eu>

Access to the European Law: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/index.htm>

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

Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2004: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/index.htm>

*Special literature:*

Rosamond, Ben [2000]: *Theories of European Integration*. St. Martin's Press Inc., New York  
Wiener, Antje – Thomas Diez [2004]: *European Integration Theory*. Oxford University Press, Oxford

Balme, Richard -Brian Bridges (eds) [2008]: *Europe-Asia Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York

Berend, Iván Tibor [2009]: *From the Soviet Bloc to the European Union*. Cambridge University Press. New York

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

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

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

Hill, Christopher – Michael Smith [2005]: *International Relations and the European Union*. Oxford University Press, Oxford

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

LaGro, Esra – Knud Erik Jorgensen (eds) [2007]: *Turkey and the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York

Nugent, Neill [2006]: *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke

Nugent, Neill [2004]: *European Union Enlargement*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York

Telò, Mario (ed) [2007]: *European Union and New Regionalism. Regional Actors and Global Governance in a Post-Hegemonic Era*. Ashgate Publishing Limited. Aldershot, Hampshire

Urwin, Derek [1991]: *The Community of Europe: a History of European Integration since 1945*. Longman, London

Wallace, Helen – William Wallace – Mark A. Pollack (eds) [2005]: *Policy Making in the European Union*. Oxford University Press, Oxford

Wallerstein, Immanuel [2006]: *European Universalism: the Rhetoric of Power*. New Press, New York

Wouters, Jean – Frank Hoffmeister – Tom Ruys (eds) [2006]: *The United Nations and the European Union: an Ever Stronger Partnership*. T.M.C. Asser Press, The Hague