

THE HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

COURSE OUTLINE

LECTURER

Wolfram Kaiser has been Visiting Professor at the College of Europe since 1996. He is Professor of European Studies at the University of Portsmouth, England. During 2022-24 he was also the first Head of the newly established European Parliament History Service in a part-time role. He has recently been a Senior Research Fellow at LMU Munich, the Centre for Global Cooperation Research in Duisburg, FU Berlin and the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies. He has also recently been a visiting professor at NTNU Taiwan, the ENS Paris and the ULB Brussels. Relevant books include: (with five co-authors), *Shaping European Integration. The Directly Elected European Parliament 1979-1989* (Luxembourg: Official Publications of the European Union, 2024 - <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/f24a60af-973b-11ef-a130-01aa75ed71a1>); (with four co-authors), *The European Ambition. The Group of the European People's Party and European Integration* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2020); (with J. Schot), *Writing the Rules for Europe. Experts, Cartel, and International Organizations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014); (with S. Krankenhagen and K. Poehls) *Exhibiting Europe in Museums. Transnational Networks, Collections, Narratives, and Representations* (2014); (ed. with J.-H. Meyer) *Societal Actors in European Integration. Policy-Building and Policy-Making 1958-1992* (2013); (ed. with A. Varsori) *European Union History. Themes and Debates* (2010); (ed. with B. Leucht and M. Gehler), *Transnational Networks in Regional Integration. Governing Europe 1945-83* (2010); *Christian Democracy and the Origins of European Union* (2007).

When not in Bruges, I can best be reached at wolfram.kaiser@online.de. Please be advised, however, that you should clarify all administrative and organisational questions internally with the academic assistant in the first instance (see header). Before contacting me, moreover, please verify if the information you seek is not included in this detailed syllabus!

PRESENTATION OF THE COURSE

As an interdisciplinary scholar of European integration, I am delighted to teach this course on the "courte durée" history of European integration from 1945 to the present day. We will jointly develop your understanding of the chronology of and trajectories in European integration since the end of WWII in four sessions; discuss in another session how the contemporary European Union's origins and historical evolution have been interpreted by historians and social scientists; and cover in the remaining seven sessions a variety of different dimensions of European integration across time (countries, actors, institutions). Alongside introductory lectures, the course includes five group presentations, two break-out sessions and the discussion of some sources. You are expected to join one of the groups for the presentation and to participate regularly in class. You will acquire crucial contextual knowledge about European integration broadly speaking, and the present-day EU, which will strongly enhance your understanding of political, legal, and economic issues the EU is facing now and

into the future. You will also acquire skills in analysing temporal aspects of current politics and policymaking, in working with others and reflecting on and discussing different viewpoints.

ASSESSMENT

Mid-Semester Essay (40 % of the final Grade)

Students will have a choice of one of 3-4 essay topics. Information on the formal requirements (length, submission date etc.) will be circulated by the academic assistant.

Final Exam (40 % of the final Grade)

The written or oral exam (in English) will take place in December (modality of the exam and precise date and time to be confirmed by the College of Europe administration).

Participation (group presentation and in-class participation - 20% of the final Grade)

Group Presentations

The course includes group presentations (sessions 2, 4, 7, 9, 10) to introduce student discussion (maximum length 20 minutes). Participation in the group presentations is mandatory for every student. All groups should use power point, overheads or hand-outs. **They should also initiate the subsequent discussion in the larger group with suitable questions.** All groups must discuss and practice their presentation together, not least to guarantee that they can deliver it professionally within the time limit. For more detail on the content of each group presentation see the descriptions of the relevant sessions below. **All groups must delineate the coverage of their presentation from the prior lecture by discussing this in a timely manner with the professor. The first group (teaching week 1) needs to do this by email in a timely manner.**

SYLLABUS OUTLINE

The course is divided into 4 teaching blocs (4 weeks) of 3 two-hour sessions (24 hours altogether). Sessions 1-3 are covered in the first week of teaching, 4-6 in the second, 7-9 in the third and 10-12 in the last week of teaching.

Topics to be covered:

1st teaching bloc

1. 'Core Europe' formation in the ECSC
2. Negotiating the EEC
3. Alternative cooperation patterns: EFTA

2nd teaching bloc

4. Great Leap: Negotiating the Maastricht Treaty
5. Theory and EU history
6. Internal federator? France and the 'German question'

3rd teaching bloc

7. External federator? Britain and 'core Europe' formation
8. External federator? US and European integration
9. Transnational parties as integration agents

4th teaching bloc

10. Transnational business as integration agents

11. Civil society groups in European integration
12. Supranational agency: Commission, Parliament, Court of Justice

REQUIRED AND RECOMMENDED READING

It is **ESSENTIAL** that all students read Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, 2014, 2nd edn. This book gives a good, but largely chronological and descriptive introduction to the history of European integration. This book is available in the library as well as in the bookshop.

In addition, for this course it is essential that all students read (before the start of teaching) chapters 4 to 10 of Kaiser, Wolfram and Antonio Varsori (eds.), *European Union History. Themes and Debates*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2010. This book is available in the library, [as an e-book](#) and in the bookshop.

In addition, all students have limited required readings (sources, see below) for some seminar sessions. The readings are available on the course page on the intranet or following the web links below (when applicable).

Please note that the questions listed for each session should facilitate your preparation. They are relevant to the teaching, group presentations, seminar discussions and the final exam.

Session 1: 'CORE EUROPE' FORMATION

Outline:

After clarifying some organizational questions, the first session deals with the formation of the first integrated 'core Europe' organisation of six member states (France, West Germany, Italy, Benelux), the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) founded in 1951-2. The lecture outlines the debate about European integration after World War II and European policy developments until 1950 including the Marshall Plan of 1947, the creation of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC, now OECD) in 1948 and the formation of the Council of Europe in 1949. The topic of the seminar is the declaration by Robert Schuman, the French foreign minister, on May 9, 1950, proposing the Schuman [Monnet] Plan for integration in the coal and steel sector. Focussing on the role of Jean Monnet and Schuman, particular attention is given to the agency of individual actors with strong 'pro-European' convictions in the formation of 'core Europe'.

Source / Required Reading:

Schuman Plan declaration, 9 May 1950, retrieved 22 August 2019, (transcript in English translation), https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration_en

To be watched in class: *Jean Monnet, father of Europe*, Film (12 min), retrieved 22 August 2019,

<http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/player.cfm?ref=1000321>

Questions:

1. What were the limits of the intergovernmental approach to European cooperation during 1947-50?
2. Why did Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman choose the coal and steel sector to start functional economic integration in continental Europe?
3. What role did individual policy entrepreneurs play in advancing the 'core Europe' concept in 1950-1?

Session 2: NEGOTIATING THE EEC

Outline:

The thematic focus of this session is the origins of the EEC Treaty signed (together with the Euratom Treaty) in Rome in March 1957 and coming into force at the start of 1958, which led to the formation of a customs union and common market. The lecture provides an overview of developments in European integration from the ECSC Treaty to the Benelux proposal of April 1955 for a customs union and nuclear energy cooperation. It also discusses the negotiations and their main policy outcomes. The seminar will focus on subsequent developments and in particular, the tensions between more supranational and more intergovernmental approaches to European integration which erupted in an explosive mix with agricultural policy issues in the so-called 'Empty Chair' crisis of 1965-66 when France boycotted the Council of Ministers for six months.

Source (student presentation) / Required Reading:

Press conference given by Charles de Gaulle, 9 September 1965, retrieved 22 August 2019,

https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/press_conference_held_by_charles_de_gaulle_9_septe_mber_1965-en-169b1692-c7dd-4ad4-b5fb-67e0e28edd02.html

Based on an analysis of de Gaulle's policy preferences in 1965-66, the **group presentation** will introduce students to the 1965-66 'Empty Chair' crisis and its main contentious dimensions. What were the issues at stake, and what was the character of the eventual resolution of this intra-EEC conflict in the form of the 'Luxembourg Compromise' of January 1966?

Questions:

1. What were the main motives of the ECSC states for continuing the integration process in the economic field in 1955-7?
2. To what extent, and in what ways, was the EEC in its formative years characterized by the evolution of 'Community' working patterns and attitudes?
3. What does the 'Empty Chair' crisis of 1965-66 tell us about the political limits of supranationality at the time and the character of the EEC as a legal community?

Session 3: ALTERNATIVE COOPERATION: EFTA**Outline:**

This session deals with the establishment and development of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) founded in 1959-60 as an alternative intergovernmental framework for trade liberalisation. The lecture gives an introduction to the British 'Plan G' of 1956, the failed OEEC negotiations over the establishment of a larger West European free trade area of 1957-8, the negotiations leading up to the creation of EFTA, and its main institutional and policy provisions. Although the 'outer seven' countries Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Switzerland and Portugal largely regarded EFTA as transitory on the path to a trade arrangement with the EEC, EFTA has featured to this day as the 'better Europe' in Eurosceptic discourses in countries like Britain and Norway, for example. In the light of this, the seminar discusses EFTA's inherent strengths and weaknesses by focussing on the 'surcharge crisis' of 1964-5 which brought the organisation to the brink of collapse.

Source / Required Reading:

EFTA Ministerial Meeting 19-20 November 1964, *FINEFTA/JC.SR 25/64*, EFTA Archives,

Geneva, retrieved 22 August 2019, <https://www.europa.clio-online.de/searching/id/q63-28469?title=european-free-trade-association-efta-sitzung-des-ministerrats-november-1964&recno=13&q=Wolfram%20Kaiser&sort=&fq=&total=33>

Questions:

1. Why did the EFTA founding member states abstain from the creation of the EEC in the first place, and which integration theories could help to explain their reluctance to embrace the 'core Europe' concept?
2. What were the main motives of the 'outer Seven' for creating EFTA in 1959-60?
3. What does the 'surcharge crisis' crisis of 1964-65 tell us about the political and constitutional limits of the largely intergovernmental EFTA?

Session 4: NEGOTIATING THE MAASTRICHT TREATY

Outline:

The thematic focus of this session is the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 as the most significant revision of the original EEC Treaty to date including the introduction of co-decision rights for the European Parliament and the inclusion of the originally intergovernmental pillars 2 and 3 (foreign policy cooperation and home affairs) within the newly created EU. The lecture gives an overview of European integration from the 1960s through to the 1980s including institutional changes (direct elections of EP, European Council) and policy reform (EPC, monetary cooperation, Internal Market). The seminar addresses the particular policy issue of monetary union, the domestic and transnational political struggle over its introduction, the terms of its introduction, and how and under what conditions massive opposition to this policy change, especially in Germany, was ultimately overcome.

Source (student presentation) / Required reading:

Extracts from the Treaty on European Union and some of the annexed Protocols, Maastricht, 7 February 1992, in A.G. Harryvan and J. van der Harst (eds.), *Documents on European Union*, London, MacMillan, 1997, pp. 273-284.

Based on a reading of the treaty revisions and relevant literature, the **group presentation** will analyse the main constitutional changes and policy innovations of the Maastricht Treaty. It should especially focus on the conditions laid down for the introduction of Economic and Monetary Union, and how opposition to EMU in some member-states was either overcome or dealt with through treaty adjustments.

Questions:

1. How do you explain the new integration dynamism in the 1980s, beginning with the Single Market Programme?
2. Was the Maastricht Treaty the outcome of a 'grand bargain' between the EC member states, or did actors other than governments play a significant role in advancing the integration process?
3. How was Economic and Monetary Union agreed in the Maastricht Treaty when the introduction of a common currency was rejected by a clear majority of the population in the largest member state, Germany?

Session 5: THEORY AND EU HISTORY

Outline:

The first lecture introduces students to core political science/IR theories and concepts for understanding the forces behind the integration process, the motives of different actors involved etc. including the classical integration theories of neo-functionalism and (liberal) intergovernmentalism as well as more recent approaches such as historical institutionalism and constructivism.

Questions:

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?

The second lecture provides an overview of the historiography of European integration, i.e. how historians have explained the integration process since serious historical research began in the 1970s. In particular, it deals with the classical debate between diplomatic historians of nation-state foreign and European policy 'towards' Europe, and political and security interests allegedly defining this policy, and 'revisionist' economic historical approaches seeking to explain integration as a process largely driven by sectoral and national economic interests although these at times became linked to political goals. The lecture also sketches new concepts for understanding EU history as the slow formation of a partly supranationally and transnationally constituted 'Community'. The major approaches are illustrated with concrete examples from the historical literature.

Questions:

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?

Session 6: INT. FEDERATOR? FRANCE AND THE 'GERMAN QUESTION'

Outline:

This session is the first of six that deal systematically with one important factor of the post-war integration process, in this case the Europeanisation of the 'German question' as a result of a Franco-German rapprochement within the larger context of the current EU. The lecture provides an overview of the Franco-German rivalry in the nineteenth and twentieth century, the origins of the reconciliation after 1945 and the importance of the bilateral relationship as the 'engine' of integration at crucial junctures such as the negotiation of the controversial Common Agricultural Policy in the 1960s, the introduction of the European Monetary System in 1977-9 and the Maastricht Treaty. The seminar discusses the role of political leaders in both countries in shaping this rapprochement and close bilateral cooperation including Adenauer and Schuman, Adenauer and Charles de Gaulle, Helmut Schmidt and Giscard d'Estaing and Helmut Kohl and François Mitterrand.

The seminar will consist of a **break-out session** in which small student groups will discuss the following questions for 20 minutes, to be followed by group discussion:

Questions:

1. To what extent has the Franco-German relationship been undermined by German unification and subsequent EU enlargements?
2. To what extent do the close relationships of leading French and German politicians from Adenauer and Schuman to Schröder and Chirac demonstrate that political leadership matters for integration outcomes?
3. Will the Franco-German relationship remain crucial for the operation of the EU in future, and why, or why not?

Session 7: EXTERNAL FEDERATOR? BRITAIN AND 'CORE EUROPE' FORMATION

Outline:

This session is the first of two to focus on the role of 'external federators' that have either facilitated the integration process by supporting it from the outside or – as in the case of the United Kingdom during the first 15 years after World War II – shaped the particular form of 'core Europe' integration through their refusal to participate in anything other than purely intergovernmental cooperation. The lecture gives an overview of British policy towards European integration from 1945 through to the first British application to join the EEC in 1961. It highlights in particular how the British refusal to contemplate supranational integration forms in 1948-9 contributed to the formation of the ECSC, and how British attempts to destroy the Messina initiative in late 1955 as well as the unilateral decision to withdraw from Suez in November 1956 may have facilitated the deepening of 'core Europe' integration in the EEC context. Taking as a starting point Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's 1988 Bruges speech, the seminar discusses to what extent Britain as an 'awkward partner' within the EC has influenced the integration process from within - either pro-actively (esp. by pushing for trade liberalisation as in the Internal Market and EU policy in the GATT/WTO) or negatively, by abstaining from deepening and forcing other EU states to forge ahead separately with institutional and policy reform initiatives.

Source (student presentation) / Required Reading:

Chapter 5 in W. Kaiser and A. Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 85-105.

Margaret Thatcher: 'The Bruges speech', 20 September 1988 (London: Conservative Central office 1988) in Peter M.R. Stirk and David Weigall (eds.), *The origins and development of European integration. A reader and commentary*, London and New York, Pinter, 269f. Also available at:

<http://www.margaretthatcher.org/archive/Bruges.asp>

Video of Thatcher speech can be retrieved at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wkRwMFy0CVM>

The **group presentation** will analyse the core dimensions of the British Prime Minister's views of European integration as they became clear in her speech at the College of Europe in Bruges. What were her main motivations – economic, political or cultural – and her views of the future of Europe? To what extent can her Bruges speech be seen as the true starting point of the process that eventually led to Brexit?

Questions:

1. How did British European policy in the early postwar years influence the integration process in the short- and long-term?
2. In what ways, and to what extent, has Britain been an 'awkward partner' inside the EC/EU since its accession in 1973?

3. Does the contemporary British policy for Europe have the potential to transform the current EU, and if yes, in what ways?

Session 8: EXTERNAL FEDERATOR? US AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Outline:

This second of two sessions deals with the role of 'external federators' and focuses on United States policy towards European integration since 1945. The lecture explains the American preference for (West) European (market) integration against the backdrop of the Cold War. It highlights the importance of US support for the integration project at crucial junctures such as the creation of the ECSC. However, it also seeks to explain the continued ambivalence of West European attitudes to the US and the at times adverse effects of US policy even in the early stages of the integration process such as in the case of public threats to reconsider US European policy over the French failure to ratify the European Defence Community treaty in 1953-4. With the EU becoming a more significant international actor, frictions with the US increased, first in trade policy, but later also regarding many other international issues such as environmental policy and the persecution of human rights abuses. Against this background, and taking as its starting point Robert Kagan's attempt at a gendered explanation of American and European foreign policy as 'Martian' and 'Venutian' respectively, the seminar discusses to what extent the current US and EU may or may not have strongly diverging views of, and preferences for global politics, and what effects this may have for the cohesion, identity and further integration of the EU.

Required reading:

Chapter 9 W. Kaiser and A. Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 169-189.

Kagan, Robert, 'Power and Weakness' *Policy Review*, vol. 113, 2002, pp. 3-28.

Accessible at:

<http://web.clas.ufl.edu/users/zselden/Course%20Readings/RKagan.pdf>

Questions:

1. What were the main motives behind US support for European integration after World War II, and what kind of Europe did they aim for?
2. Which factors account for subsequent transatlantic conflicts from the 'chicken wars' of the 1960s to the controversy over the Kyoto Protocol?
3. Should the EU aim to counterbalance the US in global politics, and with what strategic objectives?

Session 9: TRANSNATIONAL PARTIES AS INTEGRATION AGENTS

Outline:

Of the last three systematic sessions dealing with the role of transnationally constituted non-governmental and supranational institutional actors as integration agents, the first addresses 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 under-researched 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:

Chapter 8 in W. Kaiser and A. Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 150-168.

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

www.epp.eu/files/uploads/2015/11/A_Constitution_for_a_strong_Europe.pdf

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? Which ones impacted on the EU's constitutional development and found their way into the Lisbon Treaty?

Questions:

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?

Session 10: TRANSNATIONAL BUSINESS AS INTEGRATION AGENTS

Outline:

The thematic focus of this session is the role of transnational business as integration agents. The lecture gives an overview of the transnational association and cooperation of economic interest groups in the history of the EU including business associations, sectoral interests and trade unions. It proceeds to discuss the vastly increased role of lobbying within the EU as a political system since the Internal Market programme of the 1980s. The seminar focuses 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:

Chapter 7 in W. Kaiser and A. Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 128-149.

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, can be found on pp. 52-54 of the Reading Pack on the Intranet page of the course.

The **group presentation** will explain the structure and activities of the ERT and its advocacy in its 1983 memorandum of the completion of the internal market. It should discuss how and why the ERT may have had a crucial influence on the evolution of the internal market agenda. In particular, it should discuss the structural advantages in exercising influence of such an informal network based on personal connections and raise issues about the democratic legitimacy of such influence.

Questions:

1. Why was – with the significant exception of the European farmers' organisations – the influence of socio-economic interest groups on European integration so marginal until the 1980s?
2. In what ways, and to what extent, have transnationally constituted business interests influenced the process of economic liberalisation and the introduction of the single currency since the 1980s?
3. Has the EU become a vehicle for transnational business interested in market liberalisation, and would you advocate European level social and tax policies to counterbalance this influence?

Session 11: CIVIL SOCIETY GROUPS IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

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. The lecture will elaborate on these groups' organization and involvement in Community politics and policy-making over time. It will also discuss the supranational institutions' attitudes to these actors up to the White Paper on European Governance (2001) and beyond.

The seminar will consist of a **break-out session** in which small student groups will discuss the following questions for 20 minutes, to be followed by group discussion:

Questions:

1. What roles do you think EU-level CSOs can fulfil in EU politics and policy-making?
2. Should the European Commission continue to subsidize CSOs to create a 'level playing field' in the involvement of different societal actors in EU politics and policy-making?
3. Does the greater involvement of CSOs in policy-making strengthen the legitimacy of supranational integration and politics?

Session 12: SUPRANATIONAL AGENCY: HALLSTEIN AND DELORS COMMISSIONS

Outline:

Finally, the last session will address the potential role of supranational agency exercised esp. by the European Commission and the European Court of Justice. The lecture gives an introduction to the significance of Court rulings in shaping the integration process since the 1960s, esp. in favouring supranational interpretations of the treaty and advancing the economic liberalisation agenda. It also discusses the role of the Commission in EU history by highlighting in particular the ambitions and policies of the first Commission led by President Walter Hallstein as well as the role of other Commissioners such as Roy Jenkins during the creation of the EMS and Lord Cockfield in preparing the Green Paper that initiated the Internal Market agenda in

the 1980s. The seminar focusses more especially on Jacques Delors, Commission President for ten years from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, who played a pivotal role in shaping the dual agenda of deepening and enlarging, i.e. the institutional and economic reforms of the Single European Act and the Maastricht Treaty as well as the integration of the GDR into West Germany and the EU, the creation of the European Economic Area and the 1994-5 Northern Enlargement. Against this background, the seminar addresses the legitimacy of such supranational agency in the light of the fall of the Santer Commission in 1999, the increased powers of the EP, the Commission's new policy on 'European Governance', and constitutional debates about the possible direct election of the Commission President by the European Parliament.

Source / Required Reading:

Chapter 6 in W. Kaiser and A. Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 109-127.

European Commission, *European Governance: A White Paper*, COM (2001) 428 final, pp. 1-11 only, retrieved 27 August 2019, <http://aei.pitt.edu/1188/>

Questions:

1. Why did the Hallstein Commission fail during 1958-67 to establish itself more fully as a kind of European government?
2. What role did the European Commission play under the leadership of Jacques Delors in shaping European integration in the late 1980s, early 1990s?
3. Is the European Commission an undemocratic, unaccountable institution that exercises too much influence on EU politics and policies?