

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY
GOVT 444 (001)
EUROPEAN UNION POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS

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A) Objectives:

This course introduces students to the institutions, politics, and policy areas of the European Union (EU). Moreover, throughout the semester I will present legal cases to explore several issues related to European integration. By the end of the semester students should:

- have a firm grasp of the history and development of the EU
- have a basic understanding of the institutions, politics, policy areas, and policy processes of the EU
- have a basic understanding of the theories and theoretical debates explaining European integration
- have developed their writing, oral and research skills

B) The Classroom:

I expect the students to come prepared to class. This means that I expect all of you to have read and studied the assigned readings *before you come to section with a critical eye*. By doing this, we would be able to develop an analytical and critical framework to understand and evaluate existing concepts in the field of political science.

It is important that you **respect, listen,** and try to **comprehend** the opinions and analysis of fellow students. In addition, I expect you to be open to differences. We must remember that tolerance is essential in any learning process. This is the main rule in my classroom.

Remember we are here to learn from each other and have fun! Also, do not forget that I am here to facilitate to your learning process. **So, if you have any doubts do not hesitate to talk to me.**

C) Texts and Other Resources:

Obligatory:

- 1) Ian Bache and Stephen George, *Politics in the European Union*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 2006).
Note: This book has a website (Online Resource Centre). See last page of each chapter.
- 2) Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union* (2nd edition) (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Reserve: Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack, *Policy-Making in the European Union* (5th Edition) (Oxford University Press, 2005).

- 3) *Financial Times* and *The Economist*: Students must read the “Financial Times” and “The Economist” as we will discuss current European developments in class. In addition, they will help you to do the research for the ‘current event assignment.’
- 4) The course has a website. Access it to see discussion/guiding questions, which will help you to focus on certain aspects of the reading(s).

** For additional resources, see section G).

D) Website and Announcements:

Try to access the course website, at least, once a week as I have posted many links and articles that are directly relevant to the course. In addition, for every class, I will post a set of guiding questions that will help you to do and analyze the reading.

In addition, all announcements (changes, updates, special assignments, etc.) will be posted on that website. If you miss class, you should access the website and refer to the announcement section.

* Regarding written assignments: If your printer is capable of doing duplex (double sided), I encourage you to save paper

E) Requirements:

- 1) *Class attendance, participation, and quizzes— 15%*
-- **There will be, at least, one pop-quiz per month.**
- 2) *Current Event Assignment—8%*

Understanding the important events taking place in the EU is a critical part of the class, therefore you will be required to keep pace with current events as a part of this course. In our initial meeting (Class 2), every student must choose **one** topic of interest. For this assignment, the class before you cover news, you need to bring copies (for everyone) of an article (newspaper or journal) that discusses a current EU event. If you have an electronic link, please also post it (course website). The day of the class you will need to discuss the issue and its relevance. Please choose an article that is in-depth - not a summary of the story from a wire service. Please make sure you are choosing stories that have real news significance. Finally, note that this assignment is different from the multi-step assignment; therefore, you cannot choose the same topic for both assignments.

- 3) *Multi-step assignment—17%*

In our initial meeting (Class 2), every student must choose **one** topic of interest. The assignment is divided into three parts (see below). For this assignment be sure you photocopy the reading from Wallace, Wallace and Pollack.

3.A) MEMO: First, the day **before** we cover your topic you should e-mail me a memo by 3pm. In addition, you have to post your memo on the course website (under discussions, not under assignments, that way your peers will be able to see your memo).

The memo should consist of **2-5 paragraphs** presenting a **concise** summary of the readings and mentioning the most important point(s) you learned. These should be followed by a

paragraph asking the three most important questions you have left after doing the reading. Finally, you should also include a case study (follow the format of the current event assignment). *Late memos (i.e., those received after 3 pm) will not be graded.* Please attach a copy of your memo to your paper.

3.B) RESIDENT EXPERT: Second, the day we present your topic you (and possibly other students) will be our ‘resident expert.’ It means that you should be able to answer questions, be actively involved in the discussion and present/discuss your questions from the memo. Moreover, you are responsible to ‘rescue’ the discussion if it slows down (or if it fails to get started).

3.C) SHORT PAPER--Third, each resident expert must write a short paper (4-5 pages, double-spaced). Based on the reading, you must come up with a theoretical question, and you must critically access its answer(s). Thus, you must present a paper that offers a clever and informed (theoretically) argumentation. Moreover, a section of the paper could include a literature review, but **IT IS NOT** a literature review paper. Thus, a paper that just reviews (and/or summarizes) the reading would not be considered a good paper. A good paper should link the topic (concrete) with theoretical matters/discussions (abstract). It will be due 7 days after the day you were our ‘resident expert.’ Additional research (properly cited and from academic sources) will be rewarded. For guidelines and resources on how to write the paper, see the website.

4) *Mid-term—20%*

5) *Simulation and paper—20%*

A) Simulation (10%) -- You will choose an EU Member State and you will research your position in the process of drafting and ratifying the Lisbon treaty. In the process of researching your position, it will help you to refer back to the process of drafting the Constitution. You will let me know about your choice **by the mid-term**. During the simulation, you have to present and defend your position in class. It is important that you have a concise idea about ‘what is your position?’ and ‘why your position?’ In this way, you must thoroughly read and research your position (it includes, but is not limited to, party position, ideology, nationality, institutional affiliation, and personal/political/policy preferences, etc.) on the issue. Given that the simulation will take longer than an hour and a fifteen minutes, the simulation will take place after the last day of class (based on our schedule, we will set up a common date and time).

The idea is that we will be simulating the process of policy-making and decision-making at the EU. Moreover, you will be ‘acting’ a role in the simulation.

B) Simulation paper (profile statement) (10%) –Due on Dec. 12th. For this paper, you will present the topic, possible interpretations, and your position. You can write the paper as your ‘alter ego,’ an actual character (from the chosen country) who has been actively involved in the drafting of the Lisbon treaty. In addition, you must link your arguments to the topics, theories, and concepts discussed throughout the semester. Finally, the paper must show that you have done some research on the topic. 8-10 pages, double space. Recommended sources: The Economist, the European Union website, the Financial Times, BBC online (among others).

7) *Final exam—20%*

Note the order of the readings. Subject to change.

F) Course Outline:

- Class 1 (Aug. 25) — **Pick up syllabus and introduction**

Topic 1--**What is the EU?--Important concepts (federation, confederation, international organization, supranational entity, intergovernmentalism)**

TASK: Choose your topics for ‘resident expert’

(Aug. 28): Bache and George (BG): Chap. 5; Hix: p. 1-11

Topic 2 (SEPT 4-16)-- **Short history of the EU**

Background:

- The Marshall Plan Speech, June 5, 1947: <http://www.bnt.com/marshall/speech.html>
- “Jean Monnet, the Father of Europe” (video, go to website) (you need to have “real” media player installed)
<http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/video.cfm?&sitelang=en&type=4&page=archives&tools=0&StartRow=13>
- Dinan, Desmond. 2006. “Origins and Evolution of the European Union” (Oxford University Press)

(SEPT. 2)-- BG: Chaps. 6, 7, 8 and 9

(SEPT 4)—BG: Chaps.10, 11

(SEPT 9) — BG: Cha. 12 and 13; “Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community,” by Andrew Moravcsik, *International Organization*, 45 (1) (Winter 1991), p. 19-56.

(SEPT 11)—BG: Chaps. 14, 15 and 16;

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6232834.stm>
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6901353.stm>
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6914468.stm>
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6911590.stm>

You can also watch the news (video):

<http://search.bbc.co.uk/cgi-bin/search/results.pl?tab=av&q=treaty%20agreement&recipe=all&scope=all&edition=i>

II) INSTITUTIONS:

*** *If you want to know more about institutions, I recommend: “The Institutions of the European Union” by Peterson and Shackleton (I have this book, if you are interested).*

Topic 3 (SEPT 16 and 18)--**The Commission, the European Council, and the Council of Ministers (The Executive)**

Reading—BG: Chaps. 19 and 20; Hix: Chap. 2

Topic 4 (SEPT 23)-- **The Parliament (and party politics)**

BG: Chap. 21; Hix: Chap. 3

Topic 5 (SEPT 25)-- **The Court of Justice and European Law**

BG: Chap. 22; Hix: Chap. 4; WWP; 67-74; read handouts: Direct Effect and Supremacy effect; Mutual Recognition.

Cases: Van Duyn vs. Home Office (case 41/74) (1974); Walrave and Koch vs. Association Union Cycliste Internationale (case 36/74) (1974) (see website)

Optional: Stone, Sweet, Alec. 2000. "Governing with Judges: Constitutional Politics in Europe" (Chap. 6) (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

III) CONCEPTUALIZING THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THEORIES OF INTEGRATION:

Topic 6 (Sept. 30)-- **How To Explain the EU? Theories of European Integration**

TASK: In addition, you must choose your 'alter ego' for the simulation.

BG: Chap. 1; Hix: p. 14-18; WWP: 14-26 (see website)

Optional Readings:

- 1) Mitrany, David. 1966. "A Working Peace System." Reprinted in *The European Union. Readings on Theory and Practice of European Integration*, ed. by B. F. Nelsen and A. C.-G. Stubb. 1998. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner: 93-114
- 2) Hoffmann, Stanley. 1966. "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe." *Daedalus* 85 (3): 865-921. Reprinted in *The European Union. Readings on Theory and Practice of European Integration*, ed. by B. F. Nelsen and A. C.-G. Stubb. 1998. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner: 157-172
- 3) Haas, Ernst B. 1958. "The Uniting of Europe." Reprinted in *The European Union. Readings on Theory and Practice of European Integration*, ed. by B. F. Nelsen and A. C.-G. Stubb. 1998. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner: 139-144
- 4) Moravcsik, Andrew. 1991. "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community." *International Organization* 45 (1): 19-56.
-- Moravcsik, 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach,' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31 (1993), 473-52
--Moravcsik-- "The Choice for Europe: Social Purposes & State Power from Messina to Maastricht" by (I have this book, if you are interested).
- 5) Rosamond, Ben "Theories of European Integration" (I have this book, if you are interested).

OCT 2 and 7—**Catch Up and Review**

OCT 9—MID TERM

IV) POLICY-MAKING AND POLICY AREAS

Oct 13—No class (Monday classes meet on Tuesday)

Topic 7-- Policy-making. The Single European Market

(OCT 16)--BG: p. 354-358 (skim the rest of the chapter)

(OCT 21)--BG: Chap. 26; Hix: Chap. 8; read handouts: “Free Movement of Workers” (mimeo); “Creating a Common Market—Monopolies and domestic aid to national firms”

Cases: Schmidberger

Topic 8—CAP. Redistribution, Development, and Social Policy

(OCT 23)--BG: Chap. 25; Hix: Ch. 9 (skim 295-308)

(OCT 28)--BG: Chap. 28 and p. 33-36

(OCT 30)--WWP: Chaps. 10 and skim 11; López-Santana (2006) “The Domestic Implications of Soft Law: Framing and Transmitting Change in Employment Policy,” *Journal of European Public Policy* (June).

Read case: Defrenne v. Societe Anonyme Belge de Navigation Aeriennne Sabena (Case 43/75) (1976)

Optional: “European Social Policy: Between Fragmentation and Integration” by Stephan Leibfried and Paul Pierson (1995), Ch. 1 and Ch. 13 (I have this book, if you are interested)

NOV 4TH—NO CLASS—VOTE!!!

Topic 9 (NOV 6)-- Non-state actors and interest groups

BG: Ch. 23; Hix: Ch. 7

Topic 10 (NOV 11)-- Foreign policy, trade policy and security relations

BG: Ch. 29 and 30; Hix: Ch. 12

Topic 11 (NOV 13)-- Public opinion and the democratic deficit

Hix: Ch. 5 and 6; Skim BG: Ch. 23

Optional: Andrew Moravcsik, “In Defense of the Democratic Deficit: Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (November 2002), pp. 603-624.

Topic 12 (NOV 18)—**European Monetary Union**

BG: Ch. 27; Hix: Ch. 10

Topic 13 (NOV 20)-- **Enlargement**

BG: Ch. 31

Skim: Bieler, Andreas. "The struggle over EU enlargement: A historical materialist analysis of European Integration," *Journal of European Public Policy* 9 (4): 575-597

Watch: http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/video_prod_en.cfm?type=detail&prodid=618&src=1
http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/video_prod_en.cfm?type=detail&prodid=94&src=1

Optional: Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "The Study of EU Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches and Empirical Findings," in Michelle Cini and Angela K. Bourne, *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, pp. 96-116.

Nov. 25th and 27th—no class

Topic 14 (Dec. 2)-- **The domestic impact of Europe—'Europeanization'**

BG: Ch. 4; Tanja A. Börzel, and Thomas Risse (2003) "Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe"

Optional: Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse, "Europeanization: The Domestic Impact of EU Politics," chapter 25 in Jorgensen, Pollack and Rosamond, eds., *The Handbook of European Union Politics* (New York: Sage, forthcoming 2007).

DEC. 4-- REVIEW

DEC ?-- SIMULATION

DEC 16TH—FINAL EXAM, 1:30-4:15 pm

F) Section Policies:

1) **Attendance--** Students must attend class. You must have in mind that discussion will be held in class and that class participation counts. If you cannot attend a class, be sure to ask a fellow student for notes. It is not possible for me to provide an individual lecture (or notes) for you if you miss a class. In addition, be sure to refer to the class website.

2) **Assignment and topics—** Papers and assignments are due **at the beginning of section (or earlier)**. There will be no extension granted under any circumstance. Assignments received after the deadline will drop one-third of a grade per day (thus, an A becomes an A-, etc.).

In addition, if you wish to change your topic (current event assignment and multi-step assignment) you have to let me know, at least, one week before.

If you are a non-native English speaker and/or if you are having completing your written assignments writing, I encourage you to work with an editor, mainly those working at the writing center: <http://writingcenter.gmu.edu/students.html>
<http://writingcenter.gmu.edu/landing.html> (face-to-face appointments)
<http://writingcenter.gmu.edu/owl.html> (online tutoring)

3) Quizzes--Any student that misses a quiz will receive a score of zero. No excuses will be accepted.

4) Exams—You MUST bring a blue-book to the exam. If you miss an exam, you will receive a score of zero. No excuses will be accepted.

5) Grading--If you disagree with your grade (papers, homework and/or exams) you have the right to discuss it with me. With your original exam/paper/homework, you must submit a written statement (typed). Here you should make an ‘informed case’ for why I should reconsider your grade. You have one and a half weeks to bring your complaint to me. We will discuss your points and my expectations during office hours (I will not discuss grades over e-mail). You must contact me to set up a meeting time to discuss your complaint (in other words, do not expect me to contact you after I received your written complaint).

NOTE:

* I will no accept any complaints by e-mail

* I will not discuss any complaints after one and a half weeks

* You should leave your written complaint with your blue book or paper or assignment in my mailbox or give it to me personally

We will discuss your points and my expectations and we will try to get a consensus. However, I reserve the right to change your grade (including a grade reduction).

6) Plagiarism-- Just one thought about it: it is unacceptable. GMU has an Honor Code with clear guidelines regarding academic integrity. Three fundamental and rather simple principles to follow at all times are that: (1) all work submitted be your own; (2) when using the work or ideas of others, including fellow students or websites, give full credit through accurate citations; and (3) if you are uncertain about the ground rules on a particular assignment, ask for clarification. No grade is important enough to justify academic misconduct.

Plagiarism includes copying assignments from fellow students (or other persons), buying papers on the Internet, borrowing papers from ‘secret archives,’ and NOT CITING THE SOURCES OF IDEAS, QUOTES, ETC (pay attention to online resources).

7) Disability Services-- Any student with documented learning disabilities or other conditions that may affect academic performance should: 1) make sure this documentation is on file with the Office of Disability Services (SUB I, Rm. 222; 993-2474; www.gmu.edu/student/drc) to determine the accommodations you might need; and 2) talk with me to discuss reasonable accommodations.

G) Some Resources:

-- European Navigator (multimedia references):

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

-- The EU at a glance:

http://europa.eu/abc/index_en.htm

-- Daily News:

<http://euobserver.com/>

-- Multimedia (nice clips and videos):

<http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/video.cfm?&sitelang=en&type=4&page=archives&tools=0>