

THE POLITICS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Political Science 1317
Professor A. Sbragia
Spring Term 2005
Classroom: 104 Lawrence Hall
Course time: 8:00-9:15 AM Tue-Thurs.
E-mail: sbragia@ucis.pitt.edu

Office: 4211 Posvar Hall
Professor Sbragia's Office Hours:
Tuesday: 9.30-10.30 AM
Thursday: 9.30-10.30 AM
And by appointment:
For appointments, contact:
Mrs. Emily Boyle 648-7405
E-mail: Boylee@ucis.pitt.edu
Course Assistant:
Lena Surzhko - Harned
E-mail: lenasurzhko@yahoo.com
Office: 4211A Posvar Hall
Lena Surzhko's Office Hours:
Tuesday: 9.30 AM – 2 PM
Thursday: 9.30 AM -12
And by appointment

In 1958, six countries in Western Europe formed the European Economic Community (EEC). Currently known as the European Union, this body dominates the political and economic landscape of what is now a united Europe and acts as a powerful magnet for emerging democracies in the Balkans. Its twenty-five members have become participants in one of the most complex and intriguing political systems in the world. The EU's member-states have "pooled their sovereignty" in a way which is unique in the history of political systems. The Union's uniqueness—and importance—have recently been reinforced by its adoption of a new single currency known as the Euro, its decision to create a European "rapid reaction force", its new cooperative structures in the area of internal security, and its recent enlargement which incorporated many of the states of Central and Eastern Europe. The "nation-states" of Europe have become the "member-states" of a European Union that, while founded to avoid a repetition of the devastation and horrors of World War II, is increasingly being viewed by those seeking unity while maintaining diversity as a model for the twenty-first century. The process of European integration is so unique—and so much in flux-- that this course is actually about "history in the making."

This course will give students an overview of the history, the political institutions, the political economy, and the member-states of the Union. Whenever possible, I shall compare the Union's institutional arrangements and its political economy to that of the United States. It is important for students familiar with the American experience to remember that the American states gave up their external sovereignty once the American constitution was ratified—but they retained a great deal of internal sovereignty. The European states, by contrast, have maintained their external sovereignty while "pooling" a great deal of their internal sovereignty.

The requirements include:

- 1) regular attendance and careful listening at lectures
- 2) reading and **thinking about** the assigned reading material so as to be able to participate in class discussions

- 3) subscribing to and reading the Financial Times (the most important newspaper for following EU politics and policy)
- 4) a map quiz
- 5) one mid-term and a final examination covering the entire course
- 6) a 5-page paper written on the basis of the Financial Times stories appearing during the semester. This paper must relate the general topic of the articles chosen to a theme/argument/analysis found in your readings. The paper based on the Financial Times articles **must** be accompanied by the articles on which the paper is based.
- 7) A 5-7 page (double-spaced) "think piece" based on articles in the Stubb and Nelsen book. More information on this assignment will be given out in class.

Research Option: Students who are interested in research or who are considering applying to a graduate program in political science/international affairs may want to write a research paper which can be included in the material they will submit as part of the application process for graduate school. Students interested in this option should discuss their interest with Professor Sbragia by January 31 at the very latest. If the request is accepted, the research paper will replace the "think piece" paper, and the research paper will weigh more heavily in the final grade. The grading system which will be used for students taking this option will be discussed by Professor Sbragia at a meeting which she will hold for all the students taking this option. The paper would be due on the final day of class. Students taking the research option will be assisted in their research project by Professor Sbragia, Lena Surzhko, and Kostas Kourtikakis. Lena Surzhko is Professor Sbragia's teaching assistant for this course, and Mr. Kourtikakis is the Library Research Advisor in Hillman Library for EU-related research. Mr. Kourtikakis can help students use sources such as Agence Europe and European Report (found in the current periodicals room of the fourth floor of Hillman Library) as well as EU documents and publications. Students who are interested in taking this option **must** meet with him early in the semester. Before meeting with him **study the website** he created at <http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/cwes/advisor.html>. You should find that website useful as you proceed with your research project. Mr. Kourtikakis can be reached at: kok2@ucis.pitt.edu.

The University of Pittsburgh hosts a European Union Center, one of very few in the United States. The Center brings in speakers from Europe as well as hosting symposia and lectures from Pitt faculty. Students in this class can obtain **EXTRA CREDIT** by attending such lectures and writing a one-page single-spaced summary of the talk. Details of each talk will be given to the class in the form of a flier as well as through the e-mail distribution list which will be created for this class. Students can also obtain information about the European Union Center's activities by accessing its website: www.ucis.pitt.edu/cwes Some of the EU Center visitors may speak to the class on relatively short notice. In some cases, they may not follow the syllabus. Flexibility is thus required of students. Students should take notes on such presentations as the material presented by visitors may be included in examinations.

Students who have difficulty in writing grammatical, clear, and well-organized papers should seek help on drafts of their papers from the Writing Center located at 526 Cathedral of Learning; telephone: 624-6556. I expect all papers to be well-written, grammatically correct, free of spelling errors, correctly footnoted, and to include a properly-written bibliography as appropriate. **Papers which do not meet that standard will be penalized when graded.**

If you have any disability for which you are or may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both the Office of Disability Resources and Services, 216 William Pitt Union, (412) 648-7890/ (412) 383-7355 (ITY) and me as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course.

The mid-term is worth 20% of the final grade while the final is worth 35%; the map quiz is worth 5% and each of the papers is worth 20%.

A few points to remember:

- During office hours I shall be happy to discuss or to review your paper drafts before you turn them in. I cannot, however, do so outside of office hours.
- Papers must be typed, double-spaced, and in 12 point type
- I do not discuss grades over e-mail or accept assignments over e-mail.
- Materials may be turned in late, but I deduct one letter grade for every day that the assignment is late
- If you wish to see me but cannot come to my scheduled office hours, please contact Mrs. Boyle (her contact information is at the top of the first page of this syllabus) to set up an appointment. **Do not send me an e-mail to set up an appointment as Mrs. Boyle handles my entire schedule, and I do not set up my own appointments.**
- Lena Surzhko is the assistant for this course. Most questions regarding the course and the assigned papers should be addressed to her. Her e-mail is lenasurzhko@yahoo.com; her office hours are Tuesday: 9.30 AM – 2 PM, Thursday: 9.30 AM -12, and by appointment.
- If you plan on asking me to write a letter of recommendation, please contact Mrs. Boyle. I need to have at least three weeks notice (and preferably four) so do not wait until the last minute.

The following books should be purchased at the University Bookstore:

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton (eds.) The Institutions of the European Union. Oxford University Press, 2002.

Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb. The European Union: How Does it Work? Oxford University Press, 2003.

Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, Third Edition. Lynne Rienner, 2003

Mark Gilbert. Surpassing Realism: The Politics of European Integration Since 1945 New York. Rowman & Littlefield, 2003

ALL STUDENTS ARE REQUIRED TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE FINANCIAL TIMES.

To subscribe to the Financial Times (student rate):

1. Go to the Financial Times Website
<http://news.ft.com/home/us> (note: you can also type www.ft.com and you will automatically be directed to <http://news.ft.com/home/us>)
2. Scroll down and click “Subscribe to the Financial Times” (on the left-hand side of the web site).

3. On the left side of the page, click on “Academic subscriptions”
4. Click on “Students”
5. Then click on “Academic subscriptions.” Then click on “Resources for Students” and then on “Subscribe to the Financial Times.”
6. Under “Select offer” select “15 weeks” and fill out the form immediately below (Note: for the first field of the form (“Student ID”) use the first four digits of your SSN)

RECOMMENDED BOOKS for students choosing the research option (All books are on reserve in Hillman Library):

John Gillingham, European Integration 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy? Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Craig Parsons. A Certain Idea of Europe. Cornell University Press, 2003.

Youri Devuyst. The European Union at the Crossroads: An Introduction to the EU's Institutional Evolution. Second Edition. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2003

Andrew Moravcsik. The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose & State Power from Messina to Maastricht. Cornell University Press, 1998.

Marc Trachtenberg. A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945-1963. Princeton University Press, 1999.

Ben Rosamond. Theories of European Integration. St. Martin's, 2000.

Michael E. Smith. Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Fiona Hayes-Renshaw and Helen Wallace. The Council of Ministers. St. Martin's, 1997.

Philippe de Schoutheete, The Case for Europe: Unity, Diversity, and Democracy in the European Union. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.

Derek W. Urwin. The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945, second edition, New York: Longman, 1995.

Alberta Sbragia, Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the “New” European Community Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1992.

Sandholtz, Wayne and Alec Stone Sweet (ed.), European Integration and Supranational Governance, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

COURSE OUTLINE

January 5, 2006: Introduction and Syllabus Distribution

The syllabus and the map on which the quiz will be based will be passed out in class.

January 10, 2006: Historical Background

Readings:

Mark Gilbert. Surpassing Realism, pp. 1-36.

The “Truman Doctrine” speech: President Harry S. Truman’s Address Before a Joint Session of congress, March 12, 1947—

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/03/documents/truman/>

The Marshall Plan Speech, June 5, 1947: <http://www.bnt.com/marshall/speech.html>

The Marshall Plan: http://www.marshallfoundation.org/marshall_plan_information.html
(read and study entire website)

Philippe de Schoutheete, The Case for Europe: Unity, Diversity, and Democracy in the European Union, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000, Chapter 1. (On reserve in Hillman Library).

What did Europe Look Like in the 1950s?

January 12, 2006: The United Kingdom

Readings:

Winston S. Churchill, “The Tragedy of Europe,” in Nelsen and Stubb (eds) The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, Third Edition, 2003, pp. 7-11 (Zurich speech).

Excerpts from Winston Churchill’s “Iron Curtain” speech, March 5, 1946

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/churchill-iron.html>

Marc Trachtenberg, A Constructed Peace. The Making of the European Settlement, 1945-

1963, Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 35-41 (on reserve in Hillman Library)

“Britain will ask to join the EEC” The Guardian [will be sent electronically]

January 17, 2006: France

Readings:

Charles de Gaulle’s speech “Appeal of June 18”
http://www.fact-index.com/a/ap/appeal_of_june_18.html

Jean Monnet, “A Ferment of Change,” in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.) The European Union, pp. 19-26.

David Reynolds, “Marshall Plan Commemorative Section: The European Response: Primacy of Politics.” Foreign Affairs, May/June 1997
 [will be sent electronically]

Handouts

A practice exercise for the map quiz will be sent electronically.

January 19, 2006: Germany

Readings:

Konrad Adenauer. www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/GERadenauerK.htm
Read and Study entire website

Marc Trachtenberg, “The Making of a Political System: The German Question in International Politics, 1945-63,” in Paul Kennedy and William Hitchcock, eds., From War to Peace: Altered Strategic Landscapes in the Twentieth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). Chapter is available at
<http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/trachtenberg/cv/cv.html>
 ([Word version](#))

MAP QUIZ WILL BE GIVEN TODAY

January 24, 2005: Spain

Readings:

“Spain—The Franco Era, 1939-75” <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/estoc.html>
Read and study the three links on the Franco era.

January 26, 2006: Italy**Readings:**

Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, "The Ventotene Manifesto", in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.) The European Union, pp. 3-6.

Sergio Pistone, "Altiero Spinelli and the Strategy for the United States of Europe", in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.) The European Union, pp. 91-98.

Alan A. Platt; Robert Leonardi, "American Foreign Policy and the Postwar Italian Left", Political Science Quarterly, Volume 93, No. 2 (Summer, 1978), 197-215 (can be accessed electronically).

January 31, 2006: Poland**Readings:**

Marc Trachtenberg, A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945-1963, Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 4-15 (on reserve in Hillman Library)

"Schroeder Says 'Germany Took a Long Time to Ask Poland for Forgiveness'"
http://www.e-warsaw.pl/new/index.php?dzial=aktualnosci&ak_id=256&kat=1

Piotr Stefan Wandycz, The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the present, Routledge, 1993, chapter 8.(on reserve in Hillman Library)

Handouts

THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**February 2, 2006: The Schuman Plan and the European Defense Community****Readings:**

Robert Schuman. "The Schuman Declaration," in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.), The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, p. 13-15.

Mark Gilbert, Surpassing Realism, pp. 36-62.

James McAllister, No Exit: America and the German Problem, 1943-1954, Cornell University Press, 2002, pp. 171-183 (on reserve in Hillman Library)

Marc Trachtenberg, A Constructed Peace, pp. 96-125 (on reserve in Hillman Library)

Michael Creswell and Marc Trachtenberg, "France and the German Question, 1945-1955" Journal of Cold War Studies, Volume 5:3 (Summer 2003), pp. 5-28 ([pdf version](http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/trachtenberg/cv/cv.html) of article is available at <http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/trachtenberg/cv/cv.html>)

James McAllister, No Exit: America and the German Problem, 1943-1954, Cornell University Press, 2002, pp. 183-244 (on reserve in Hillman Library)

February 7, 2006: The European Economic Community (EEC) and Differing Ways of Understanding European Integration

Readings:

"Preambles to the Treaties Establishing the European Communities (Treaties of Paris and Rome)" in Nelsen and Stubb (eds), The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 15-17.

Desmond Dinan, "How Did We Get Here?", The European Union: How Does It Work?, edited by Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb. Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 19-39.

Mark Gilbert, Surpassing Realism, pp. 62-83.

Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb, "Introduction," in The European Union: How Does It Work?, edited by Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb. Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 3-18.

Ernst B. Haas, "The Uniting of Europe," Nelsen and Stubb (eds.), The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 145-149.

Recommended:

David Mitrany, "A Working Peace System," in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.), The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 99-120.

Karl W. Deutsch et al. "Political Community and the North Atlantic Area, in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.), The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 121-143.

Leon N. Lindberg, "Political Integration: Definitions and Hypotheses," in Nelsen and Stubb (eds), The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp.151-162.

February 9, 2006: De Gaulle and European Integration

Readings:

Mark Gilbert, Surpassing Realism, pp. 85-118.

Charles de Gaulle, "A Concert of European States," in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.) The European Union, pp. 27-44.

Stanley Hoffmann, "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe," in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.), The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 163-178.

February 11, 2006: Lecture by José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission (tentative)

Extra credit will be given for attendance at the lecture and submitting a one-page summary.

February 14, 2006: The Maastricht, Amsterdam and Nice Treaties

Readings:

"Preamble to the Treaty on European Union (The Maastricht Treaty)" in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.). The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 65-66

Mark Gilbert, Surpassing Realism, pp. 187-224

"Preamble to the Treaty of Nice Amending the Treaty on European Union (The Nice Treaty) in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.). The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 66-7.

February 16, 2006: Enlargement and Its Consequences

Readings:

Margaret Thatcher, "A Family of Nations", in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.). The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 49-54,

Brigid Laffan and Alexander Stubb, "Member States," in The European Union: How Does It Work?, edited by Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb. Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 69-87.

February 21, 2006: Successes and Challenges of Economic Integration

Readings:

Bela Balassa, "The Theory of Economic Integration: An Introduction," in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.), the European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 179-194.

Mark Gilbert, Surpassing Realism, pp. 119-154.

February 23, 2006: Creating a Single European Market and a Single Currency

Readings:

Mark Gilbert, Surpassing Realism, pp. 155-186; 227-237

Jacques Delors, "A Necessary Union," in Nelsen and Stubb (eds.), The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration, 3rd Edition, Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 55-64.

February 28, 2006: The Institutions of the European Union: An Overview

Readings:

Elizabeth Bomberg, Laura Cram, and David Martin. "The EU's Institutions," in The European Union: How Does It Work?, edited by Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb. Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 43-68.

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton, "The EU's Institutions: An Overview," in The Institutions of the European Union, edited by John Peterson and Michael Shackleton. Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 1-20.

Philippe de Schoutheete, "The European Council," in The Institutions of the European Union, edited by John Peterson and Michael Shackleton. Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 1-20.

March 2, 2006: Review for Midterm

March 14, 2006: Midterm

Note: Please bring a pen as you will be required to write the midterm using a pen rather than a pencil.

March 16, 2006: The Council of Ministers**Readings:**

Fiona Hayes-Renshaw, "The Council of Ministers," in The Institutions of the European Union, pp. 47-70.

March 21, 2006: The European Commission**Readings:**

John Peterson, "The College of Commissioners," in The Institutions of the European Union, pp. 71-94.

Neill Nugent, "The Commission's Services," in The Institutions of the European Union, pp. 141-163.

March 23, 2006: The European Parliament**Readings:**

Michael Shackleton, "The European Parliament," in The Institutions of the European Union, pp. 95-117.

March 28, 2006: Non-majoritarian Institutions: The European Court of Justice and the European Central Bank**Readings:**

Kathleen R. McNamara, "Managing the Euro: The European Central Bank" in The Institutions of the European Union, pp. 164-185.

Kieran St. Clair Bradley, "The European Court of Justice," in The Institutions of the European Union, pp.118-138.

March 30, 2006: Policy-Making in the EU

Readings:

Alexander Stubb, Helen Wallace, and John Peterson, "The Policy-Making Process," in The European Union: How Does It Work?, edited by Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb, pp. 136-155.

Giandomenico Majone, "Functional Interests: European Agencies," in The Institutions of the European Union, pp. 299-325.

April 4, 2006: A Review and Discussion of the EU's Institutions**April 6, 2005: How Democratic is Governance in the EU?**

Lynn Dobson and Albert Weale, "Governance and Legitimacy," in The European Union: How Does It Work?, edited by Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb, pp. 156-173.
Financial Times Paper Due

April 11, 2006: Common Foreign and Security Policy**Readings:**

John Peterson and Michael E. Smith, "The EU as a Global Actor," in The European Union: How Does It Work?, edited by Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb, pp. 195-215

Knud Erik Jorgensen, "Making the CFSP Work," in The Institutions of the European Union, pp. 210-232.

April 13, 2006: Enlargement**Readings:**

Lykke Friis, "EU Enlargement—And Then There Were 28?" in The European Union: How Does It Work?, edited by Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb, pp. 177-194

Cornelis, Filip. 2005. "Living in a Larger European Union." *Newsletter of the European Union Center*, University of Pittsburgh, October 2004 [It will be sent electronically]

Donbey, Daniel. 2005. "Pushing the Boundaries." *The Financial Times*, September 3 2005. [It will be sent electronically]

April 18, 2006: The Constitutional Debate**Readings:**

Thomas, Daniel C. "Europe's Constitutional Crisis in Historical Perspective" *Newsletter of the European Union Center*, University of Pittsburgh, September 2005

[It will be sent electronically]

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2005. "Europe works well without the grand illusions." *The Financial Times* June 14 2005

[It will be sent electronically]

Peel, Quentin. 2005. "A democratic deficit is exposed." *The Financial Times* June 9 2005

[It will be sent electronically]

Wolf, Martin. 2005. "A more efficient Union will be less democratic." *The Financial Times* June 15 2005

[It will be sent electronically]

Blitz, James et al. "Crisis on EU constitution seen as chance for fresh start." *The Financial Times* June 7 2005

[It will be sent electronically]

April 20, 2006: The "Turkish Question"

Andrew Mango, *The Turks Today: After Ataturk*, John Murray Publishers, 2004, pages 1-38, 141-175, 233-254 (will be on reserve at Hillman Library).

European Commission. *Turkey 2005 Progress Report* November 9 2005 (skim)

[It will be sent electronically]

"Think Piece" Essay Due

Research paper due (for students choosing this option)

THE POLITICS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION PS 1317

Correction to the SYLLABUS

THE FINAL EXAM FOR THIS COURSE WILL TAKE PLACE ON

SATURDAY APRIL 29TH AT 10 AM

2:00 to 3:50 p.m.

