

PS338—The European Union: Politics and Political Economy

Spring 2008
TR 2:30-3:45 pm
2241 Chamberlin

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Course Description and Objectives:

In 1951, six countries in Western Europe joined together in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the predecessor to what is known today as the European Union (EU). This organization has played a central part in Europe's political and economic development since the end of WWII and has evolved into an "ever closer Union" of twenty-five European countries. What started out as an attempt to avoid the devastation and horrors of the Second World War in the future now constitutes one of the most complex and intriguing political systems in the world.

In the process of European integration, the "nation-states" of Europe have become the "member-states" of the EU. They have "pooled" their sovereignty to a historically unprecedented degree, most recently by adopting a single currency known as the Euro and by creating new cooperative structures in the areas of both internal and external security. The integration process remains to be in flux, making the EU very much a moving target for those who seek to study it and evaluate its successes and failures.

The EU's existence and development raises many questions indeed. Why would a number of independent and, in some cases, historically antagonistic countries decide to join forces if this means giving up much of their national sovereignty? What is gained, and what is lost, in this process? What does the EU look like, and how does it work? What are its achievements and limitations? What is its role in Europe and the world today, and what will it be in years to come? Understanding the EU is central to understanding the continent's recent past, present, and future.

This course consists of four parts. First, we will seek to understand the historical background against which the EU was created. Second, we will examine the evolution of the European Union over time. Third, we will investigate the way in which the European Union is organized, as well as its policies, its political economy, its relationship with the member states, and its role in international politics. Finally, we will explore various theories throughout the semester that seek to explain the integration process and outline different "visions for Europe."

Requirements:

1. Regular attendance of and careful attention during classes.
2. Reading and thinking about the assigned materials so you are able to participate in both class and section discussions. Even when I mostly lecture during a class period, I expect you to consider the readings carefully and thoughtfully before we meet.

3. Subscribing to and *daily reading* of the Financial Times newspaper, the most important daily news source concerning European and EU affairs.
4. A midterm exam on February 28, covering the materials up to that point in time.
5. A “simulation” exercise of a European Council meeting scheduled for April 8 and 10. This simulation will be graded on the basis of a 2-page simulation “brief” due on the day of the exercise and successful participation.
6. An 8-page paper written on the basis of articles appearing in major newspapers and news magazines during the course of the term. Acceptable sources are the Financial Times, the New York Times, the Washington Post, other US newspapers of similar stature, the Economist, and major European newspapers (e.g. Le Monde, London Times, Guardian, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Der Spiegel). If you are unsure if a source is an appropriate fit, please ask me or your TA. The paper must relate the topic of the articles (which must be attached to the paper) to the class readings and will be due on the last day of class. 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.
7. A final exam covering the entire course on May 12.

Research Option: Students who are interested in research and/or who are considering applying to a graduate program in political science or international affairs may want to write a 20 to 25-page research paper for this class. This is both useful practice and may become a writing sample that could be included in your application package for graduate school. Students interested in this option should discuss their projects with me by February 28 at the very latest (!). If I accept your request, the research paper will replace the 8-page paper and weigh more heavily on the final grade. The paper would be due on the final day of class.

Extra Credit: Students in this class can obtain extra credit by attending lectures hosted by the European Union Center and writing a one-page single-spaced summary of the talk. Eligible events will be announced in class.

Grading:

Attendance and participation:	15%
Midterm exam:	20%
Simulation:	15% (simulation brief: 5%; participation: 10%)
Final paper:	8-page paper: 25%; research paper: 35%
Final exam:	25% for those writing the 8-page final paper, 15% for those writing a research paper.

A few important notes (*please read carefully!*):

- Anything covered in lecture or readings is fair game for the exams. So just doing the reading on the last night before the exam means an almost certain failing grade, as does relying on your lecture notes only. Come to class and do your readings carefully and on time. Don’t fall behind.
- Please use email to contact me. However, I do not discuss grades or accept assignment over email.
- Your TA and I are happy to talk through your paper drafts before you turn them in during office hours or by appointment. Given the size of the course, however, I am not able to review rough drafts outside of office hours.

- I will not provide any detailed lecture or other class notes. Actively taking notes during class time is an important skill and learning tool. However, to facilitate your note-taking, I will upload an outline of my lecture to our Learn@UW course website on the night before the relevant class meeting. This outline will allow you to anticipate the topics discussed, and to “fill in” the information provided in the lecture. Please note, however, that the lecture outlines will not in any way be a substitute for you attending lecture. If you don’t come to class, you will be missing important information that will be required knowledge on the exams.
- If you know that you will be absent from class for religious or other reasons that can be known in advance, please let your TA know. Also let us know if you have to miss class due to sickness or family emergencies.
- Papers must be typed, double-spaced, with proper margins, and in 12 point “Times New Roman” font.
- All assignments are due on the relevant date *at the beginning of class!* Materials may be turned in late, but I deduct one letter grade for every day that the assignment is late.
- My policy on re-evaluating grades is the following:
 - You have to wait for 48 hours after the assignment has been returned before issuing any complaints.
 - You have to draft a 1-2 page double-spaced memo outlining why you deserve a better grade. Please note that this memo has to be based entirely on the merit of your own work, i.e. it cannot be based on comparisons with the grades of other students.
 - Your grade will be fully re-evaluated. This means that your TA or I may revise the grade downward as well as upward. So please be certain that you have a very specific and justifiable reason before asking us to make any changes – this is not a risk-free process!
- The exam days are set. Clear your schedules now. There will be no make-up examinations unless you can provide proper documentation that your absence is due to a) a genuine family emergency, b) illness or injury, or c) travel away from Madison for university-related (!) obligations. If an exam is missed for a valid reason, you will receive a substitute assignment. *This will be an essay of 10 pages based on the material covered in the exam and will be due two days after the date of the missed exam.*
- McBurney students: please present your McBurney Visa to your TA during the first week of the class. We have to know who you are as soon as possible to ensure that we can accommodate your needs appropriately.
- *Plagiarism* and *cheating* are very serious offenses that will get in you great trouble. Professors know their areas of expertise well enough to detect it, and there are now thoroughly reliable software programs to check if plagiarism has occurred. Please use proper citation form for all materials obtained from primary and secondary sources. If you are caught cheating, you will receive a failing grade for the class, and the reason for the grade will be noted in your transcript. This will make it extremely difficult for you to gain entrance to graduate or professional schools and will jeopardize your opportunities with a large number of employers in the future.

The following books should be purchased at the university bookstore:

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton (eds.) The Institutions of the European Union, 2nd Edition. Oxford University Press, 2006.

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, 3rd Edition. Lynne Rienner, 2003

Mark Gilbert. Surpassing Realism: The Politics of European Integration Since 1945. New York: Rowman and 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 subscription services website: www.ftnewspaper.com
2. Select "U.S. Subscriptions" in the left panel.
3. Select "Academic Subscriptions" in the left panel.
4. Select "Students" or "Students click here."
5. Select "Resources for students."
6. Select "Subscribe to the Financial Times" for the paper version OR "Subscribe to the FT Electronic Edition" for the electronic online version.

Paper version

7. Select the 15-week option for \$31.95
8. Fill out the form and submit (Note: for the first field of the form, "Student ID," use the first four digits of your SSN).

Electronic version

7. Select "Click to see pricing options"
8. Select "Students" or "Students click here."
9. Select the 15-week option for \$21.95
10. Fill out the form and submit (Note: for the first field of the form, "Student ID," use the first four digits of your SSN).

Required and/or recommended readings on reserve in the College Library:

Michelle Cini, ed. European Union Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. (JN30 E9423 2003)

Desmond Dinan. Ever Closer Union. Boulder. Lynne Rienner. (HC241.2 D476 2005)

Simon Hix. The Political System of the European Union, 2nd Edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. (JN30 H5 2005)

Elizabeth Pond. Friendly Fire: The Near Death of the Transatlantic Alliance. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2004. (UA23 P549 2004)

Note: used copies of this item are available for as low as \$0.32 on amazon.com (accessed on January 18); new copies go for \$16.95 on both amazon.com and bn.com.

George Ross. Jacques Delors and European Integration. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. (D1058 R64 1995)

Course Outline

January 22, 2008: Introduction

Readings: none

January 24, 2008: Member States I – Germany and France

Readings:

- J. Richard Piper. 2005. The Major Nation-States in the European Union. New York: Pearson Longman, chs. 5 (France) and 7 (Germany).

January 29, 2008: Member States II – Italy and United Kingdom

Readings:

- J. Richard Piper. 2005. The Major Nation-States in the European Union. New York: Pearson Longman, chs. 9 (Italy) and 11 (United Kingdom).

January 31, 2008: Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan

Readings:

- Gilbert: pp. 1-36
- The “Truman Doctrine” Speech: President Harry S. Truman’s Address Before a Joint Session of congress, March 12, 1947 (www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/03/documents/truman/)
- The Marshall Plan Speech, June 5, 1947 (www.bnt.com/marshall/speech.html)

February 5, 2008: The German Problem and Early Visions of Europe

Readings:

- Gilbert: pp. 37-48
- Nelsen and Stubb: Spinnelli and Rossi (ch. 1), Churchill (ch. 2), Schuman (ch. 3)

February 7, 2008: The Early Years and Early Theories of Integration

Readings:

- Gilbert: pp. 49-83
- Nelsen and Stubb: Preambles to Paris and Rome Treaties (ch. 4), Monnet (ch. 5), Haas (ch. 16), Lindberg (17).

February 12, 2008: The Decade of De Gaulle (1958-1969)

Readings:

- Gilbert: pp. 85-117
- Nelsen and Stubb: De Gaulle (ch. 6), Hoffmann (ch. 18)

February 14, 2008: Eurosclerosis (1969-1979) and New Impetus (1979-1984).

Readings:

- Gilbert: pp. 119-169
- Nelsen and Stubb: Delors (ch. 9)

February 19, 2008: The Single European Act and the Road to Maastricht (1985-1993)

Readings:

- Gilbert: pp. 169-186
- Ross: Introduction (pp.1-15); Prologue: Europe comes Alive (pp. 16-50)
- Nelsen and Stubb: Preamble to SEA (ch. 7)

February 21, 2008: Maastricht

Readings:

- Gilbert: pp. 187-224
- Ross: "After 1992" Begins (pp. 78-106).
- Nelsen and Stubb: Preamble to Maastricht Treaty (ch. 10)

February 26, 2008: The Union since Maastricht

Readings:

- Gilbert: pp. 225-end
- Bomberg and Stubb: How Did We Get Here? (ch. 2)
- Nelsen and Stubb: Preamble to Nice Treaty (ch. 11)

February 28 , 2008: Midterm Exam

Readings: none

March 4, 2008: The Councils

Readings:

- Bomberg and Stubb: The EU's Institutions (ch. 3)
- Peterson and Shackleton: The European Council (ch. 3), The Council of Ministers (ch. 4)

March 6, 2008: The European Commission

Readings:

- Peterson and Shackleton: The College of Commissioners (ch. 5), The Commission's Services (ch. 8)
- Ross: Inside the Berlaymont (pp. 51-77)

March 11, 2008: The European Parliament

Readings:

- Peterson and Shackleton: The European Parliament (ch. 6), Political Interests (ch. 15)
- *The Financial Times* February 23, 2006: “How the European Parliament Got Serious.”

March 13, 2008: The European Court of Justice

Readings:

- Peterson and Shackleton: The European Court of Justice (ch. 7).

March 25, 2008: Policy-Making in the EU

Readings:

- Bomberg and Stubb: The Policy-Making Process (ch. 7)

March 27, 2008: Key EU Policies

Readings:

- Bomberg and Stubb: Key Policies (ch. 6)
- Selected FT articles on GE-Honeywell merger (will be distributed)

April 1, 2008: The European Single Market and the Euro

Readings:

- Dinan: The Single Market (pp. 391-412).

April 3, 2008: The Euro

- Dinan: Economic and Monetary Union (ch. 15)
- Peterson and Shackleton: Managing the Euro: The European Central Bank (ch. 9)

April 8, 2008: Simulation (simulation briefs due)

Readings: none

April 10, 2008: Simulation (cont.)

Readings: none

April 15, 2008: The EU and its Member States

Readings:

- Bomberg and Stubb: Member States (ch. 4)
- Peterson and Shackleton: National Interests: Coreper (ch.14)
- Reinhard Heinisch. "COREPER: Permanent Traitors or Loyal Servants to their Government Masters?" *Newsletter of the European Union Center*, University of Pittsburgh, January 2006. (will be distributed)

April 17, 2008: Democracy in the EU.

Readings:

- Bomberg and Stubb: Governance and Legitimacy (ch. 8)

April 22, 2008: Enlargement.

Readings:

- Bomberg and Stubb: EU Enlargement (ch. 9)
- Daniel Donbey. "Pushing the Boundaries." *The Financial Times*, September 3 2005. (will be distributed)
- Filip Cornelis. "Living in a Larger European Union." *Newsletter of the European Union Center*, University of Pittsburgh, October 2004. (will be distributed)

April 24, 2008: The EU as a Global Actor

Readings:

- Bomberg and Stubb: The EU as a Global Actor (ch. 10)

April 29, 2008: Transatlantic Relation

Readings:

- Elizabeth Pond. Friendly Fire: The Near Death of the Transatlantic Alliance. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2004, *read all*.

May 1, 2008: New Theories of Integration and New Visions of Europe

Readings:

- Nelsen and Stubb: Reflections on a Constitution for Europe (ch. 12)

May 6, 2008: A Constitutions for Europe?

Readings: (all will be distributed)

- Daniel C. Thomas. "Europe's Constitutional Crisis in Historical Perspective." *Newsletter of the European Union Center*, University of Pittsburgh, September 2005
- Andrew Moravcsik. "Europe works well without the grand illusions." *The Financial Times*, June 14, 2005
- Quentin Peel. "A democratic deficit is exposed." *The Financial Times*, June 9, 2005
- Martin Wolf. "A more efficient Union will be less democratic." *The Financial Times*, June 15, 2005
- James Blitz *et al.* "Crisis on EU constitution seen as chance for fresh start." *The Financial Times*, June 7, 2005
- Merkel, Angela. "European Policy Statement by the Federal Chancellor in the German Bundestag," May 11, 2006
- Gilbert, Mark. "A Fiasco But Not a Disaster: Europe's Search for a Constitution."
- *Additional short readings to be announced.*

May 8, 2008: Review Session

May 12, 2008, 7:45am - 9:45am: Final exam