

University of Georgia
International Affairs 4640, Spring 2008

The Politics of the European Union

Prof. Maurits van der Veen

Class

Tuesday & Thursday, 12:30-1:45pm
Location: SLC 253
Office Hours: Wed. 2-4pm & by appt.

Office

324 Candler Hall
542-3357
maurits@uga.edu

Course description

The European Union is further along the road to international integration than is any other international institution. As a result, it is both one of the most complex and one of the most intriguing organizations for scholars of international and comparative politics to study. Why have independent nations to some degree ‘pooled’ their sovereignty in the EU, and how far has this pooling gone? How have different states been able to balance the EU’s policy goals against their own, possibly conflicting, national goals? Why is the EU more or less effective in different policy areas, from agricultural policy to monetary union to social policies? How does enlargement affect the ongoing integration process? And how do national publics in the different member states view the European integration project?

The European Union is under permanent construction and reconstruction. From six founding members in 1952, it has grown over time to include 27 member states as of 2007. At the same time, some of the original members are displaying signs of uncertainty and unease about the current trends towards deeper and wider integration — witness the rejection by the electorates of France and the Netherlands of the Constitutional Treaty in the summer of 2005. States are weighing whether they can opt out of particular innovations, from homogenization of social policies to giving up a national currency, without hurting the EU’s overall strengths and benefits.

This course provides an overview of the history, the political institutions, the decision-making processes and the major policies of the European Union. The emphasis throughout will be on understanding the reasons for particular choices of institutional design and policy, taking into account the preferences of individual member states and of the various EU institutions, as well as the changing international context.

Course goals & requirements

The goal of the course is three-fold: first, to provide a thorough overview of the European Union, its history, institutions, and policy processes; second, to think more broadly about how our theories of comparative and international politics can explain what we see happening in Europe; and third, to get a sense of where the European Union is likely to be headed in the future.

I expect you to have done all the reading before class, and to arrive prepared to ask and answer questions about the reading. 10% of your grade is based on class participation, which will be judged in terms of the quality, not the quantity, of your contributions. In addition, there will be five unannounced quizzes given in class. These will serve both to encourage your attendance and to check whether you are doing the reading. The quizzes are worth 2% of your grade each. In addition, there will be two midterm exams and a 10-15 page final paper, but no final exam.

The midterm exams will be worth 25% of your total grade each. They will be identical in set-up, and each will consist of a brief multiple choice section, a short answer section, and an essay question. The paper will be worth 30% of your overall grade. The paper will take the form of a policy brief for or against a particular new development in European integration, written from the point of view of an advisor to the government of one of the member states. More information on the paper will be provided later in the semester.

The small print (i.e. things that should be obvious but don't always seem to be)

You need to let me know ahead of time if you cannot make a class. After-the-fact excuses for missing class on days that happened to feature a quiz are unlikely to be accepted. The same goes for the midterm exams: do not expect to e-mail me a day later and expect to be able to take a make-up exam without penalty. Similarly, if you need an extension on your paper, and have a good reason, let me know in advance. Unapproved late submissions of the paper will be penalized one half of a full grade per day.

If you wish to drop the course before the first midterm, you will get a grade of W. After the first midterm, you can no longer withdraw without getting a grade of WF.

I take violations of academic honesty very seriously. All academic work must meet the standards contained in “A Culture of Honesty” (www.uga.edu/ovpi/honesty/ah.pdf). All students are responsible to inform themselves about those standards before performing any academic work. If you commit plagiarism and I discover it, you will at the very least fail the course. Depending on the seriousness of the offense, I may also push for more severe penalties.

Finally, although it is a handy source for quickly finding information about any topic, Wikipedia is not an acceptable source for your research paper. The quality of the information provided is simply insufficiently reliable for the purpose of real research.

Office hours &c

My office hours are Wednesdays, 2-4pm and by appointment. Please do come see me if you have any questions on or problems with the reading material, the writing assignment, or the course in general. If you need to reach me to make an appointment, I am most easily reached by e-mail.

Readings

Three required titles are available for purchase at the UGA Bookstore. They are:

- Dinan, Desmond. 2005. *Ever Closer Union. An Introduction to European Integration*. (3rd edition) Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Nelsen, Brent F., and Alexander C-G. Stubb, eds. 2003. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. (3rd edition) Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Diez Medrano, Juan. 2003. *Framing Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

There will be no reading packet. All additional readings are available online through the Electronic Journals feature of the UGA library website. Most of these are from the three main journals on EU politics, *European Union Politics*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, and *Journal of European Public Policy*. If you do not know how to access these readings electronically or in print, please ask someone (a fellow student, a librarian, or me)!

Calendar

The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

I. Introduction

Tue. Jan. 8 *Introduction; overview of course*

Dinan: "Introduction" (pp. 1-8).

II. History

Thu. Jan. 10 *The early years*

Dinan, ch. 1: "Reconstruction, Reconciliation, and Integration, 1945-1957" (pp. 11-38).
Nelsen & Stubb, chs. 1-4: Early visions of a United Europe (pp. 3-18)
Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 13: Sergio Pistone. "Altiero Spinelli and the Strategy for the United States of Europe." (pp. 91-98)

Tue. Jan. 15 ***De Gaulle and the first enlargement***

Dinan, ch. 2: "Uncertain Terrain" (pp. 39-68).
Nelsen & Stubb, chs. 5-6: Monnet and De Gaulle on Europe (pp. 19-44).

Wed. Jan. 16 Visiting speaker: Patrick de Vries of the Dutch Embassy in Washington
(details to be announced later)

Thu. Jan. 17 ***Eurosclerosis***

Dinan, ch. 3: "A Community in Flux, 1973-1984" (pp. 69-96);
Duff, Andrew N. 1981. "The Report of the Three Wise Men." *Journal of Common
Market Studies*, 19(3):237-254.

Tue. Jan. 22 ***Revitalization***

Dinan, ch. 4: "From European Community to European Union, 1985-1993"
(pp. 103-126);
Nelsen & Stubb, chs. 7-9: Visions of Europe in the 1980s (pp. 45-64).

Thu. Jan. 24 ***Enlargement & Constitutional Change***

Dinan, chs. 5-6: "Enlargement, 1994-2005" (pp. 133-160),
"Constitutional Change, 1994-2005" (pp. 161-183).

III. Theories of European Integration

Tue. Jan. 29 ***Functionalism and Neofunctionalism***

Nelsen & Stubb, chs. 16-17: Haas and Lindberg (pp. 145-162).
Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 21: Stone Sweet & Sandholtz. "Integration, Supranational
Governance, and the Institutionalization of the European Polity." (pp. 215-238).

Thu. Jan. 31 ***Intergovernmentalism and Liberal Intergovernmentalism***

Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 18: Stanley Hoffmann. "Obstinate or Obsolete?" (pp. 163-178).
Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 22: Andrew Moravcsik. "The Choice for Europe." (pp. 239-254).

Tue. Feb. 5 ***Constructivism***

Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 27: Jeffrey Checkel. "Social Construction and European Integration"
(pp. 350-360).
Checkel, Jeffrey T., and Andrew Moravcsik. 2001. "A Constructivist Research
Programme in EU Studies?" *European Union Politics* 2(2):219-249.

Recommended

Hay, Colin, and Ben Rosamond. 2002. "Globalization, European Integration and the Discursive Construction of Economic Imperatives." *Journal of European Public Policy* 9(2):147-167.

Thu. Feb. 7 ***Review & current theoretical debates***

Pollack, Mark. 2001. "International Relations Theory and European Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39(2):221-244.

Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." (forthcoming, *British Journal of Political Science*).
<http://www.unc.edu/%7Ehooghe/downloads/Postfunctionalist%20theory.pdf>

Tue. Feb. 12 **Midterm exam 1**

IV. Institutions

Thu. Feb. 14 ***The Commission***

Dinan, ch. 7: "The Commission" (pp. 187-224).

Recommended

Peterson, John. 1999. "The Santer Era: The European Commission in Normative, Historical and Theoretical Perspective." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6(1):46-65.

Tue. Feb. 19 ***The Council of Ministers***

Dinan, ch. 8: "The European Council and the Council of Ministers" (pp. 225-258).

Mattila, Mikko, and Lane, Jan-Erik. 2001. "Why Unanimity in the Council? A Roll-Call Analysis of Council Voting." *European Union Politics*, 2(1):31-52.

Thu. Feb. 21 ***The European Parliament***

Dinan, ch. 9: "The European Parliament" (pp. 259-288).

Corbett, Richard, Francis Jacobs, and Michael Shackleton. 2003. "The European Parliament at Fifty: A View from the Inside." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41(2):353-373.

Tue. Feb. 26 ***The Court of Justice***

Dinan, ch. 10: "Other Institutions and Bodies." (pp. 289-304 only)

Alter, Karen. 1998. "Who are the Masters of the Treaty? European Governments and the European Court of Justice." *International Organization*, 52(1):121-148.

V. Policies, and Institutional Development & Legitimacy

Thu. Feb. 28 *Common Agricultural Policy*

Dinan, ch. 12: "Agriculture and Cohesion." (pp. 353-373 only).

Daugbjerg, Carsten, and Alan Swinbank. 2007. "The Politics of CAP Reform: Trade Negotiations, Institutional Settings and Blame Avoidance." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(1):1-22.

Tue. Mar. 4 *Economic and Monetary Union*

Dinan, ch. 15: Economic and Monetary Union." (pp. 481-518).

Cohen, Benjamin J. 2003. "Global Currency Rivalry: Can the Euro Ever Challenge the Dollar?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41(4):575-595. (EBSCO)

Thu. Mar. 6 *Security and Foreign Policy*

Dinan, ch., 17: "Internal and External Security" (pp. 559-608).

Scheipers, Sibylle, and Daniela Sicurelli. 2007. "Normative Power Europe: A Credible Utopia?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(2):435-457.

Recommended

Pace, Michelle. 2007. "The Construction of EU Normative Power." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(5):1041-1064.

March 10-14: Spring Break

Tue. Mar. 18 *A European Constitution*

Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 12: "Reflections on a Constitution for Europe" (pp. 69-90).

Nicolaïdis, Calypso. 2004. "We, the Peoples of Europe..." *Foreign Affairs* 83(6): 97-110.

Multiple authors. 2005. "Europe Without Illusions." *Prospect*, June 23.

Thu. Mar. 20 *The Democratic Deficit*

Decker, Frank. 2002. "Governance beyond the Nation-state. Reflections on the Democratic Deficit of the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9(2):256-272.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2002. "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(4):603-624.

Tue. Mar. 25 ***National & European Identity***

Mayer, Franz C., and Jan Palmowski. 2004. "European Identities and the EU — The Ties that Bind the Peoples of Europe." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 42(3):573-598.

Risse, Thomas, Daniela Engelmann-Martin, Hans Joachim Knopf, and Klaus Roscher. 1999. "To Euro or not to Euro. The EMU and Identity Politics in the European Union." in *European Journal of International Relations*, 5(2):147-187.

Recommended

Vetik, Raivo, Gerli Nimmerfelt, and Marti Taru. 2006. "Reactive Identity versus EU Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44(5):1079-1102.

Thu. Mar. 27 **Midterm exam 2**

VI. Framing Europe

Tue. Apr. 1 ***Framing Europe: Introduction***

Diez-Medrano, chs. 1-2: "Introduction" (pp. 1-18);
"Ways of Seeing European Integration." (pp. 21-64).

Thu. Apr. 3 ***Framing Europe: Arguments***

Diez-Medrano, ch. 3: "Good Reasons for Attitudes toward European Integration."
(pp. 65-105).

Tue. Apr. 8 ***Spain***

Diez-Medrano, ch. 4: "Journalists and European Integration." (pp. 106-118, 145-154).
Diez-Medrano, ch. 5: "Spain: Europe as a Mirror with Two Reflections." (pp. 159-178).

Thu. Apr. 10 ***Germany***

Diez-Medrano, ch. 4: "Journalists and European Integration." (pp. 118-128).
Diez-Medrano, chs. 6-7: "West Germany: Between Self-Doubt and Pragmatism."
(pp. 179-199);
"East Germany: A Different Past, a Different Memory." (pp. 200-213).

Tue. Apr. 15 ***United Kingdom***

Diez-Medrano, ch. 4: "Journalists and European Integration." (pp. 128-145, 154-156).
Diez-Medrano, ch. 8: "The United Kingdom: Reluctant Europeans." (pp. 214-235).

Thu. Apr. 17 ***Framing Europe: Conclusion***

Diez-Medrano, ch. 10: "Conclusions." (pp. 249-262).

Vössing, Konstantin. 2005. "Nationality and the Preferences of the European Public toward EU Policy-Making." *European Union Politics* 6(4):445-467.

VII. The Future of the European Union

Tue. Apr. 22 ***Institutional development***

Dinan, Desmond. 2007. "Governance and Institutional Developments: Coping Without the Constitutional Treaty." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(special issue): 67-87.

Additional readings TBA

Thu. Apr. 24 ***Membership: the Balkans, Turkey, and beyond***

McLaren, Lauren M. 2007. "Explaining Opposition to Turkish Membership of the EU." *European Union Politics* 8(2):251-278.

Additional readings TBA

Tue. Apr. 29 **Paper due**