PS340 – The European Union: Politics and Political Economy

Spring 2019
TR 4:00-5:15
Ingraham 222

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Teaching Assistant:
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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-eight 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 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. 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.

Broadly, the topics we cover in this course are:

- The historical background against which the EU was created and the evolution of the EU over time.
- Competing “visions for Europe” and theories that seek to explain the integration process.
- The EU’s institutional structure.
- EU policies and the process of EU policy-making.
- The relationship between the EU, its member states, and its citizens.
- Current crises: what explains them and what we can learn from them about the past, present, and future of European integration.

Requirements:

1. Regular attendance of and careful attention during classes and discussion sections.
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. It is required that you visit one or both of these websites daily to stay up to date with EU news: euobserver.com and euractiv.com. One easy way to remember to do this is to sign up for their daily newsletters, which will be sent to your email address. To ensure that you are following EU news on a regular basis, we will have two short “news quizzes” on two randomly chosen dates.
4. Two midterm exams on March 5 and May 9.
5. A “simulation” exercise of a European Council meeting, scheduled for April 9 and 11 (more information will be made available during the first few weeks of class).
6. A 2,250-2,500 word final paper, due May 2 at 11:59pm, written on the basis of articles appearing in major newspapers and news magazines during the course of the term. Acceptable sources are EU Observer, Euractiv, 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, El Pais). 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 to the class readings. Papers must be typed, double-spaced, with one-inch margins, and in 12 point “Times New Roman” font. I expect all papers to be well-written, grammatically correct, free of spelling errors, with proper citations, and to include a properly-written bibliography. Papers that do not meet these standards will be penalized when graded. All final papers must both be submitted by the deadline on our Canvas course website and emailed to prof.ringe.paper.submissions@gmail.com.

Research Option: Students who are interested in research and/or who are considering applying to a graduate program in the social sciences or international affairs may write a 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 21 at the very latest. If I accept your request, the research paper will replace the shorter final paper and weigh more heavily on the final grade (see below). All style and formatting guidelines described above for the shorter final paper apply. Please use the APSA citation style (http://writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/DocAPSA.html). If you sign up for the research option, you will turn in a first draft of your paper at 11:59pm on April 13. Draft 1 will count as 10% of your final grade. If you receive an AB or higher on draft 1, writing a second draft is optional. If you choose not to write a second draft, your grade on draft 1 will count for all 35% of your final grade. If you receive a B or lower, you must write a second draft, which will be worth the remaining 25% of your final grade. Note that my expectations are higher on the second draft. In other words, if you do not substantially improve based on the feedback I provide on draft 1, you will end up with a worse grade on draft 2 than you did on draft 1. My comments on draft 2 will be very limited; the idea is that I offer detailed feedback before you turn in your final draft. The second draft is due on May 2 at 11:59pm. All drafts of the research papers must both be submitted by the deadline on our Canvas course website and emailed to prof.ringe.paper.submissions@gmail.com.

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

Grading:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Attendance and participation</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exams (2):</td>
<td>24% each for those writing the regular final paper, for a total of 48%; 19% each for those writing a research paper, for a total of 38%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simulation:</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>News quizzes (2):</td>
<td>2% each, for a total of 4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final paper:</td>
<td>Regular paper: 25%; research paper: 35% (see exact breakdown above)</td>
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Office hours: My drop-in office hours are on Tuesday from 11-12 in Aldo’s Café in the Wisconsin Institutes of Discovery (corner of University and Orchard) and on Thursday from 2:45 and 3:45 near the coffee shop in the lobby of the Education Building (1000 Bascom Mall). If you are not available during those times, please email me to make an appointment.

A few important notes (please read carefully!):

- Anything covered in lecture, discussion section, or readings is fair game for the exams. So just doing the reading on the last night before the exam will not be enough to do well. Come to class, come to your discussion sections, and do your readings carefully and on time. Note that all materials, even those that have not been explicitly addressed in lecture or discussion section, may be covered in the exams!
- Email is the best way to contact me. However, I do not discuss grades via 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, we are not able to review rough drafts outside of office hours.
- I allow discussion section switching only under exceptional circumstances, i.e., when you would have to drop this class entirely if you could not switch into another section. You will have to present documentation to this effect.
• I will not provide any detailed lecture or other class notes. Actively taking notes during class time is an important skill and learning tool. To facilitate your note-taking, however, I will upload an outline of my lecture to our Canvas 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 in no 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.
• I deduct one letter grade for every 24-hour period that the assignment is late.
• My policy on re-evaluating grades is the following:
  o You must wait for 48 hours after the assignment has been returned before issuing any complaints.
  o You must 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.
  o 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 (as are the days of the simulation exercise). Clear your schedules now. There will be no make-up assignments 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. The substitute assignment is 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. In order to qualify for the make-up assignment, you must notify me by the time the exam starts.
• Students needing special accommodations to ensure full participation in this course should contact me as early as possible. All information will remain confidential. You also may contact the McBurney Disability Resource Center regarding questions about campus policies and services.
• Plagiarism and cheating are very serious offenses that will get you in great trouble. Professors and teaching assistants know their areas of expertise well enough to detect it, and there are now thoroughly reliable software programs to check if plagiarism has occurred.
  o Plagiarism is the act of improperly using someone else’s words or ideas as if they were your own. As such, plagiarism is the theft of intellectual property, and this is no less serious than the theft of material property. There are no “degrees” of plagiarism; one little offense, no matter how small it may appear, constitutes academic dishonesty. Whatever form it takes (downloading and reformatting an article, “buying” an essay, taking a “free” paper off the internet, turning in another student’s work, “sharing” assignments with others, failing to cite a source, neglecting necessary quotation marks, etc.) there is no excuse for plagiarism.
  o The “I did not know” excuse does not count, in any way. Ignorance of what constitutes academic dishonesty does not entitle you to any leniency. It is much like the real world: not knowing a rule or law does not mean you are not subject to it or protect you from sanction. It is your responsibility to know what academic dishonesty is to educate yourself. I urge you to ask any follow-up questions you might have.
  o Note that the most common form of plagiarism is failure to cite properly. You must provide a citation, for example (Brown 1999, 57), after writing a sentence or a series of sentences that contain words or ideas taken from another person or publication. If you are quoting directly, you must use quotation marks. If you are unsure about how to cite properly, check out http://writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/QuotingSources.html. If anything remains unclear, talk to me.
  o Note that changing a couple of words here or there does not mean you are not plagiarizing. Here is an example: a few years ago, the journalist Fareed Zakaria was suspended from his jobs at Time Magazine and CNN for plagiarism. Below is what he wrote and then the source from which he plagiarized. Notice that he did not take from the other source word for word; he did change some words, but it still counts as plagiarism. This is not just because he did not cite the other author; it is because he passed off phrases and ideas as his own that were not. So if you paraphrase, make sure you are truly writing in your own words. And make sure to cite all your sources.
  • What Zakaria wrote: "Adam Winkler, a professor of constitutional law at UCLA, documents the actual history in Gunfight: The Battle over the Right to Bear Arms in America. Guns were regulated in the U.S. from the earliest years of the Republic. Laws
that banned the carrying of concealed weapons were passed in Kentucky and Louisiana in 1813. Other states soon followed: Indiana in 1820, Tennessee and Virginia in 1838, Alabama in 1839 and Ohio in 1859. Similar laws were passed in Texas, Florida and Oklahoma. As the governor of Texas (Texas!) explained in 1893, the "mission of the concealed deadly weapon is murder. To check it is the duty of every self-respecting, law-abiding man."

- What the author of the original piece wrote (Jill Lepore in the New Yorker): "As Adam Winkler, a constitutional-law scholar at U.C.L.A., demonstrates in a remarkably nuanced new book, “Gunfight: The Battle Over the Right to Bear Arms in America,” firearms have been regulated in the United States from the start. Laws banning the carrying of concealed weapons were passed in Kentucky and Louisiana in 1813, and other states soon followed: Indiana (1820), Tennessee and Virginia (1838), Alabama (1839), and Ohio (1859). Similar laws were passed in Texas, Florida, and Oklahoma. As the governor of Texas explained in 1893, the "mission of the concealed deadly weapon is murder. To check it is the duty of every self-respecting, law-abiding man."

Readings

The following book is required reading and should be purchased at the university bookstore or elsewhere:


During the first part of the class (on the European Union’s historical evolution) we will be relying primarily on outstanding online content provided by the Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l’Europe (CVCE, a documentation and e-research center in European studies based in Luxembourg). The collection is titled “Historical events in the European integration process (1945–2009)” and available at: http://www.cvce.eu/collections/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff (note that you have to select “EN” for English)

For your convenience, I combined the CVCE content into a series of single documents that are required readings when listed on the syllabus. I am also recommending original content (primary sources, such as government documents, speeches, newspaper articles, interviews, photos, videos, audio content etc.) that you can access under “Resources” in the relevant sections of the CVCE website. You have to select the “Resources” tab for a given segment and then identify the relevant item (or items, if more than one is listed). For example, for our second day of class the syllabus lists:

The beginning of the Cold War → ‘After Churchill's speech' from Le Monde (9 March 1946)

This means that you would have to select “The beginning of the Cold War” in the left-side panel, the click on the “Resources” tab, and then find, select, and read the ‘After Churchill’s speech’ item. Please note that the primary sources may show up in their original language at first. If so, you have to select “EN” for English near the top left.

All remaining readings listed in the syllabus are required and available on our Canvas course website.

Some other useful websites and online resources (these are not required, but may be useful for your final papers and other class assignments):

- The European Union On-Line: europa.eu
  - The European Commission: ec.europa.eu
    - EU Commission Press Room RAPID: europa.eu/rapid (you can sign up here to receive daily emails with EU press releases)
  - The Council of the European Union: consilium.europa.eu
January 22: Introduction – Europe after the War

CVCE: Europe after the War

January 24: The German Problem and Early Visions of Europe

CVCE: The German Problem and Early Visions of Europe

CNN: The Cold War - "Marshall Plan" (1947-1952) – watch documentary on Canvas course website

CVCE “Resources” (recommended)

The division of Germany → ‘The Germany of tomorrow’ from Le Figaro (5 December 1944); ‘Is Germany considering revenge?’ from the Luxemburger Wort (29 June 1945); ’Potsdam’ from The Manchester Guardian (3 August 1945); 'Peace and security' from the Süddeutsche Zeitung (3 May 1946); Message for Monsieur Schuman from Mr Bevin

Winston Churchill’s Zurich speech → Address given by Winston Churchill (Zurich, September 1946)

(Reactions to the 9 May 1950 declaration) In the United States → Official statement by Harry Truman (18 May 1950)

(Reactions to the 9 May 1950 declaration) In the USSR → Reaction from Radio Moscow (14 May 1950)

The press conference held by Robert Schuman → The Schuman Declaration (Paris, 9 May 1950)

January 29: The Early Years and Early Theories of Integration

CVCE: The Early Years and Early Theories of Integration


CVCE “Resources” (recommended)

The need for German rearmament → Memorandum from Jean Monnet to Robert Schuman (16 September 1950); Draft memo from Jean Monnet to the President of the Council (20 October 1950); ‘Europe in danger’ from Combat
(24 October 1950); ‘Sabre-rattling by Fascist revanchists’ from Pravda (11 February 1951); 'German rearmament and the European army' from Le Populaire (23 November 1951)

The European Political Community (EPC) → Letter from Jean Monnet to Robert Schuman (Luxembourg, 6 January 1953); 'Confederation or federation', from Le Monde (20 January 1953)

The revival of European integration → Address given by Walter Hallstein: the FRG and European integration [audio] (Bonn, 14 May 1956)

The Messina Conference → The European Coal and Steel Community at the crossroads', from Süddeutsche Zeitung (2 June 1955)

Positions on the Common Market → U.S. Views on European Common Market and Free Trade Area (15 January 1957); 'A high price' from the Süddeutsche Zeitung (1 March 1957)

The Signing of the Rome Treaties → 'A Europe grounded in reality' from Le Monde (26 March 1957)


CVCE: The Decades of De Gaulle and Eurosclerosis (1958-1979)


CVCE “Resources” (recommended)

Franco-American relations → ‘De Gaulle and the nuclear key’ from the Süddeutsche Zeitung (10 July 1959)

De Gaulle and Europe → ‘The limits of French policy on Europe are becoming clear' from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

The causes of the crisis → ‘Even Paris needs Brussels’ from Die Zeit (9 July 1965)

The empty chair crisis → ‘Europe is unwell …’ from Le Monde (22 July 1965); ‘De Gaulle continues the empty chair policy' from the Frankfurter Rundschau (26 July 1965); 'The Five try to win back de Gaulle' from The Observer (24 October 1965)

The Luxembourg compromise → ‘Enforced compromise’ from the Süddeutsche Zeitung (19 January 1966); ‘By the fireside in Hotel Brasseur' from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (19 January 1966)

Economic and monetary cooperation → 'Only a political leap can help Europe' from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (20 March 1976)

The collapse of the Bretton Woods System → 'On the brink of monetary chaos', from the Süddeutsche Zeitung; 'Not just cosmetic changes to the old system', from the Süddeutsche Zeitung

The European Monetary System → 'Mr Jenkins’ seven arguments in support of a European currency', from 30 jours d'Europe (27 October 1977); 'Jenkins' great leap', from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (19 November 1977)


CVCE “Resources” (recommended)

1987-1997 The European Union in a Europe in the throes of change
Towards Economic and Monetary Union
The Delors Report → Address given by Jacques Delors (Bruges, 17 October 1989)


(Strongly recommended) CVCE: The end of the Cold War and geopolitical change in Europe (seriously, if you don’t know this stuff, you should read this, both for the sake of this class and because it was one of the most important turning points in modern history!)

CVCE “Resources” (recommended)

The IGC on EMU → “Power of the union puts F-word up for grabs’ from The Guardian (12 December 1991)
Hard-won ratification → ‘Europe misunderstood’ from Le Soir (4 June 1992)
The second pillar → ‘A European army’ from La Libre Belgique

February 12: Amsterdam, Nice, and the Constitutional Treaty

CVCE: Amsterdam, Nice, and the Constitutional Treaty


CVCE “Resources” (recommended)

The Nice European Council → ‘The summit at Nice’ from The Irish Times (11 December 2000)
The background on the Constitution → ‘Fischer comes out for a United States of Europe’ from Le Figaro (13 May 2000)
The European Convention → ‘A European constituent assembly’ from Le Monde (17 December 2001)

February 14: The Treaty of Lisbon

Andrew Duff (MEP): “True Guide to the Treaty of Lisbon”
Hix and Høyland: pp. 1-19.

February 19: The European Commission

Hix and Høyland: pp. 23-48
Ross 1994: Inside the Berlaymont (pp. 51-77)
February 21: The Councils
Hix and Høyland: pp. 49-54, 61-68

February 26: The European Parliament
Hix and Høyland: pp. 54-61, 68-74, 137-158

February 28: The Court of Justice of the European Union
Hix and Høyland: pp. 75-101

March 5: MIDTERM EXAM #1

March 7: Monetary Policy (guest lecture Prof. Mark Copelovitch)
Hix and Høyland: pp. 245-272

March 12: Market-Related Policies
Hix and Høyland: pp. 189-244

March 14: Non-Economic Policies
Hix and Høyland: pp. 273-301

March 19, 21: No class (spring break)

March 26: Policy-Making in the EU I
March 28: Policy-Making in the EU II


April 2: Policy-Making in the EU III: Multilingualism

Readings: TBA

April 4 (class ends 5:45pm): DEMOCRACY – Im Rausch der Daten

Readings: none (because class ends 5:45)

April 9, 11: Simulation

Readings: none

April 16: The EU and Its Member States I


April 18: The EU and its Member States II

CVCE: The enlargements of the European Union


Kartal, Mert. 2014. Accounting for the bad apples: the EU's impact on national corruption before and after accession. Journal of European Public Policy 21(6), 941-959.

April 23: The EU and Its Citizens I

Hix and Høyland: pp. 105-129

van Klinger, Marijn and Hajo Boomgaarden. 2014. The strength of exclusive national identity is the most important indicator of Euroscepticism. LSE European Politics and Policy blog (blogs.lse.ac.uk/europppblog/)

April 25: The EU and Its Citizens II

Hix and Høyland: pp. 130-137, 159-186

April 30: Europe in Crisis I – Euros, Immigrants, Democratic Backsliding, and Brexit

Readings: TBA
May 2: Europe in Crisis II – Euros, Immigrants, Democratic Backsliding, and Brexit

Readings: TBA

May 2, 11:59pm: FINAL PAPER DUE.

May 9, 2:45-4:45: FINAL EXAM