

Political Science 528

Politics of European Integration

Autumn 2005
Journalism Building 304
242 West 18th Avenue
Monday and Wednesday 9.30 am – 11.18 am

Office Hours. Monday and Wednesday, 11.30 am – 12.30 pm and by appointment

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Course Description

Studying the European Union and European Integration is a fascinating and challenging, but at times also a tedious endeavor. In order to deal with the fascinating (and challenging) 'big questions', a solid knowledge of the (sometimes tedious) 'nuts and bolts' of the EU is required. This course will introduce students to the basics of EU institutions, policies and policy making as well as the essential debates regarding the nature, the purpose and the future of European integration. There are three important features of European integration and the European Union that determine the general context and environment for studying the EU; or, from a different perspective, these are the characteristics of the EU and the debates revolving around it that make studying the EU so fascinating and challenging.

First, the European Union is a unique and unprecedented political phenomenon. Neither supranational governance nor international cooperation between independent nation-states are exclusive features of the process of European integration that was set in motion after the end of World War II. Diplomacy, alliances and cooperation between sovereign states have been a foundation of international politics ever since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Moreover, the attempted 'integration' of states has marked some of the crucial watersheds in European history: although their substantive agendas were incomparable, expansionist rulers from Charlemagne over Napoleon to Hitler all attempted to establish their own form of supranational governance within Europe. While the use of force and external pressure was the key for these nonvoluntary 'integration attempts', post World War II European integration rests on the voluntary decisions of sovereign nations to abandon fundamental elements of their political authority and to pass it on to a collectively established supranational body – the European Union. This is what makes the EU unique and unprecedented.

Second, the European Union is a complex and constantly evolving political system. Other than conventional democratic nation-states, where fundamental institutional changes are comparatively rare, the European Union is undergoing a process of permanent transformation and adjustment to changing circumstances. Moreover, the body of legislation that guides the activities of the EU and that prescribes the binding duties of its members (the 'acquis communautaire') is fragmented and far from being a concise blueprint of the EU's institutional setup and the respective responsibilities of the EU and its member states.

Third, the European Union is an object of intense political debate. For some, the EU represents the hope of bringing peace and welfare to Europe's states and citizens; others perceive the EU as an overwhelming bureaucratic monster that slowly takes away sovereignty from its member states and that undermines the opportunities of European citizens to effectively exercise their democratic prerogatives.

In this class, we will be asking four major questions about European Integration, and each of the four sections of this course is designed as an attempt to develop a satisfying response. First, we will discuss *why and how the European Union emerged in the first place*: What is the purpose of European Integration and how has this process unfolded? In the second place, we will describe *how the European Union works*. This section of the course is dedicated to the above mentioned 'nuts and bolts' – the institutional setup, the policy making process and the actual policies of the EU. Equipped with this knowledge, we will analyze the nature of the EU in the third part of the class: *What is the nature of the EU and European integration?* And how have scholars explained the EU and the process of European Integration? Eventually, in section four, we will explore some of the most important current debates revolving around the EU. Based on the themes covered in the first three sections, we will discuss issues such as the EU's Constitution and internal reform process, the external relations of the EU and the role of citizens in the European Union.

Readings

A note on the readings

It is crucial that you come to class prepared and ready to discuss the issues outlined in the syllabus. To that end, it is necessary that you complete the assigned readings before class; this will give you the opportunity to contribute to class discussions and to ask questions, whenever you feel that there is a problem that requires clarification.

Textbook

One part of the readings for this course comes from the following textbook that is available at OSU Bookstores (and through online retailers and discounters): *John McCormick (2004). The European Union – Politics and Policies (3rd edition). Westview Press*

Additional articles

A course reader with additional articles is available through the Electronic Reserve at the OSU libraries website. You can access, download and print the included articles both on campus and from any off-campus computer that has Internet access.

(1) Go to the OSU Libraries website (www.lib.ohio-state.edu). If you are on campus, no sign in is required; if you are accessing from off campus, you must first sign in through the link at the top of the page. (2) Click on OSU library catalog to go to OSCAR (3) On the OSCAR screen, select "Find reserves by: Course or Prof/ TA. Click on Prof/ TA and enter the instructor's name. Click on course and enter the name of the course. (4) Find the electronic reserve listing for the course and click on the listing. (5) You can print an article by right-clicking on it and selecting "Print target"; you can load the article on your computer by left-clicking on it.

Assignments

Three Quizzes (each 20 % of final grade)

Throughout the quarter, there will be three quizzes. They will take place following on the closure of the preceding substantive section of the course. Quiz # 1 is scheduled for October 12, quiz # 2 for October 31 and quiz # 3 for November 16. The quizzes are not cumulative; they will contain short essay questions about the major issues, concepts and examples covered in class and the readings during the preceding course section. They will take about 60 minutes to complete, and each quiz will count for 20 % of your final grade.

Final Take Home Exam OR Final Paper (40 % of final grade)

The Final take home exam will be cumulative. It will require you to analyze and discuss several current issues of European integration, which were covered in the fourth section of the course, based on the knowledge acquired throughout the entire course. The exam will be distributed in class on November 28. There will be no class on November 30. You have one week to complete the exam and to return it on December 5, no later than 2 pm, to my mailbox in the Political Science Department Mail Room (2140 Derby Hall). You will be required to write about 10-15 pages (typewritten, double spacing, 12 point font).

You can choose to replace the final exam with a 10-15 page research paper on a topic of your own choice. If you decide to do this, you need to let me know by October 31. If you require more information about this, do not hesitate to contact me. In case you decide to replace the final exam with the research paper option, I will be available for feedback and advice throughout the entire process of preparing and writing the paper.

Following current events

It is strongly recommended that you follow the news coverage about the European Union from quality sources on a regular basis. Some sources that I would suggest to consider are the *Economist* (www.economist.com), the *New York Times* (www.nytimes.com), the *Financial Times* (www.ft.com) and the English edition of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (www.faz.com/IN/INtemplates/eFAZ/default.asp). All of these publications are available online, and in addition to that, the New York Times, the Financial Times and the Economist are available in the periodicals room of the Main Library. Moreover, the official website of the EU offers a wealth of news and background information (<http://europa.eu.int/>).

Grading scale

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|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---------|--|
| A (100-90) | A- (89-85) | B+ (84-80) | B (79-75) | B- (74-70) | | |
| C+ (69-65) | C (64-60) | C- (59-55) | D+ (54-50) | D (49-40) | E (<40) | |

Additional Course Policies

Accommodations for Students with disabilities

Every effort will be made to accommodate students with disabilities and/ or special needs. If this applies to you, please bring it to the attention of the instructor during the first week of the course. Moreover, students with documented disabilities should contact and register with the Office of Disability services.

Academic Dishonesty

All of the work you do in this course is expected to be your own; cheating and plagiarizing will not be tolerated. Any case of academic dishonesty will be handled according to University policies. Details of the University academic honesty policy and procedures provided for in case of violations can be obtained from the OSU website.

Course Schedule and Required Readings

Part I – Why and how did the European Union emerge? The history of European Integration.

1. Introduction to the course (09-21)

2. Europe, the European Union, and visions of European Integration (09-26 and 09-28)

McCormick (2004). "Introduction"; pp. 1-10.

Enzensberger, Hans-Magnus (1989). "Epilogue: The Seacoast of Bohemia 2006". In:

Europe, Europe. Forays into a Continent. New York: Pantheon; pp. 283-324

Spinelli, Altiero and Ernesto Rossi (1941). "The Ventotene Manifesto". In: Brent Nelsen

and Alexander Stubb (2003). The European Union (...). Boulder: Lynne Rienner; pp. 3-6

Schuman, Robert (1950). "The Schuman Declaration." In: Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb (2003). The European Union (...). Boulder: Lynne Rienner; pp. 13-14

Thatcher, Margaret (1979). "A Family of Nations". Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb (2003). The European Union (...). Boulder: Lynne Rienner; pp. 49-54

3. State formation, nation-building and supranationalism in the history of Europe (10-03)

Marks, Gary (1997). "A Third Lens. Comparing European Integration and State Building." In:

Jytte Klausen and Louise Tilly (1997). European Integration in Social and Historical

Perspective. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield; pp. 23-50

Lepsius, Rainer (2001). "The European Union: Economic and Political Integration and

Cultural Plurality." In: Klaus Eder and Bernhard Giesen (eds.) (2001). European

Citizenship between National Legacies and Postnational Projects. Oxford: University

Press; pp. 205-221

4. The development of the European Union (10-05 and 10-10)

McCormick (2004). Chapter 2: "Origins: The Postwar World"; pp. 33-56

McCormick (2004). Chapter 3: "Emergence: The Road from Paris"; pp. 57-78

McCormick (2004). Chapter 4: "Consolidation: From Single Market to the Euro"; pp. 79-103

**** 10-12: Quiz 1 on first part of the course ****

Part II – How does the European Union work? Institutions and policies.

5. The political system of the EU, the European Union's 'Three Pillars', the EU's policy making process, (10-12 and 10-17)

Hix, Simon (2004). "Introduction: Explaining the EU Political System"; in: Simon Hix (2004).

The Political System of the European Union. New York: Palgrave; pp. 1-9

van Gerven, Walter (2005). "The European Union: A Polity of States and Peoples". Oxford:

Hart Publishing; pp. 7-33 (chapter 1-I: The European Union in a nutshell)

McCormick (2004). Chapter 11: "The Policy Process", pp. 241-264

6. The European Council and Council of Ministers, The European Parliament, The European Commission, The European Court of Justice (10-19)

McCormick (2004). Chapter 9: "The European Council and Other Institutions", pp. 195-215

McCormick (2004). Chapter 6: "The Council of Ministers", pp. 127-150

McCormick (2004). Chapter 5: "The European Commission", pp. 103-126

McCormick (2004). Chapter 7: "The European Parliament", pp. 151-172

McCormick (2004). Chapter 8: "The European Court of Justice", pp. 173-194

7. The Single Market, Economic and Monetary Union, Social Policy (10-24)

McCormick (2004). Chapter 12: "Economic Policy"; pp. 265-286
McCormick (2004). Chapter 14: "Environmental and Social Policy"; pp. 309-328
Infobase Europe, May 2005. "ETUC and UNICE regret outcome of French referendum on EU Constitution."

8. Common Agricultural Policy, Foreign and Security Policy, Justice and Home Affairs (10-26)

McCormick (2004). Chapter 13: "Agricultural and Regional Policy"; pp. 287-308
McCormick (2004). Chapter 15: "Foreign and Security Policy"; pp. 329-352
The Economist, 18 June 2005. "Europe's identity crisis deepens."

**** 10-31: Quiz 2 on second part of the course ****

Part III – What is the European Union? Theories of regional integration.

9. The nature of the European Union and European integration (10-31)

McCormick (2004). Chapter 1: "What is the European Union?"; pp. 11-32
Rosamond, Ben (2000). "Theories of European Integration." New York: St. Martin's Press; pp. 1-19 (Chapter 1: Introduction)
van Gerven, Walter (2005). "The European Union: A Polity of States and Peoples". Oxford: Hart Publishing; pp. 34-51 (chapter 1-II: A European 'Body Politic' and Identity)

10. Classic approaches: Federalism, Neo-Functionalism and Intergovernmentalism (11-02 and 11-07)

Burgess, Michael (2003). "Federalism and Federation". In: Michelle Cini (ed.) European Union Politics; Chapter 5, pp. 65-79
Carsten Stroyby Jensen (2003). "Neo-Functionalism". In: Michelle Cini (ed.) European Union Politics; Chapter 6, pp. 80-92
Cini, Michelle (2003). "Intergovernmentalism". In: Michelle Cini (ed.) European Union Politics; Chapter 7, pp. 93-108

11. New approaches: Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Supranationalism and Multi-Level Governance (11-09 and 11-14)

Rosamond, Ben (2003). "New Theories of European Integration". In: Michelle Cini (ed.) European Union Politics; Chapter 8, pp. 109-130
Stone Sweet, Alec and Wayne Sandholtz (1998). "Integration, Supranational Governance, and the Institutionalization of the European Polity." In: Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb (2003). The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration. Boulder: Lynne Rienner; pp. 215-238
Moravcsik, Andrew (1998). "The Choice for Europe." In: Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb (2003). The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration. Boulder: Lynne Rienner; pp. 239-253
Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks (2001). "Multi-Level Governance in the European Union." In: Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb (2003). The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration. Boulder: Lynne Rienner; pp. 281-311

**** 11-16: Quiz 3 on third part of the course ****

Part IV – The Politics of European Integration: Current issues and debates.

12. The European Constitution and the “finality” of European integration (11-16)

van Gerven, Walter (2005). “The European Union: A Polity of States and Peoples”. Oxford: Hart Publishing; pp. 256-308 (chapter 6, Making a Constitution for Europe) (*The full version of the Constitutional Treaty can be found at << http://europa.eu.int/constitution/download/print_en.pdf >>. Additional information, including summaries of the Constitution by the European Commission and the European Parliament can be found at << http://europa.eu.int/constitution/index_en.htm >>.*)

Fischer, Joschka (2000). "From Confederacy to Federation - Thoughts on the finality of European integration": Speech by Joschka Fischer at the Humboldt University in Berlin, 12 May 2000

The Economist, 6 June 2005. “Dead but not yet buried.”

13. Political Union? Internal Cohesion, foreign policy and EU – US relations (11-21)

Mowle, Thomas (2004). “The United States and the European Union: On the Brink of the Transatlantic Rift?”. In: Mowle (2004). *Allies at Odds? The United States and the European Union*. New York: Palgrave ; pp. 1-16

Kagan, Robert (2002). “Power and Weakness.” In: Policy Review No. 113

Rifkin, Jeremy (2004). “The European Dream”; excerpts from Jeremy Rifkin (2004). *The European Dream. How Europe’s vision of the future is quietly eclipsing the American Dream*. New York: Penguin

14. Citizens, identities and interest representation in the EU. European Citizenship and the Democratic Deficit. (11-23)

Hix, Simon (2004). “Democracy, Parties and Elections.” In: Simon Hix (2004). *The Political System of the European Union*. New York: Palgrave; pp. 175-207 (chapter 6)

Eder, Klaus and Bernhard Giesen (2001). “Citizenship and the making of a European Society”. In: Eder and Giesen (2001). “European Citizenship”, pp. 245-270

15. Review session and Course wrap-up (11-28)

*** 11-28: Final take home exam will be distributed in class ***

*** 11-30: No Class ***

*** 12-05: Final Exam (or alternatively Final Paper) due no later than 2 pm in my mailbox in the Political Science Department Mail Room (2140 Derby Hall) ***