

## **Gov 2500: Politics of the European Union Spring 2019**

T/Th 10:05-11:30  
VAC South 303  
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Office Hours:  
Mondays 1:00 – 2:30  
Fridays 10:00 – 12:00

This course investigates one of the most intriguing political phenomena of our era: the voluntary economic and political integration of 28 European states and the challenges that have accompanied that integration. It explores the historical foundations, scope, and consequences of European political and economic integration since 1951. It examines how the European Union's supranational political institutions, law, and policies develop and how they affect the domestic politics of member states. We will consider challenges faced by the EU and its member states: the loss of national sovereignty, the "democratic deficit," enlargement to include East Central European members and Turkey's application for membership, the construction of a coordinated foreign policy, and the Eurozone crisis. We will also consider the continuing challenges of the flow of migrants, the rise of Euro-skeptics, and Brexit.

### **Participation, Assignments, and Grading:**

You are expected to attend class throughout the semester. If you need to miss a class, please inform me in advance, in person or by e-mail. Although this course is primarily a lecture course, I will make time during each class meeting for questions and discussion. We also will have a number of small group activities in class, including two policy summits, which require your active participation. Please come see me in office hours, individually or in small groups, if you would like to discuss class topics in more detail.

Grades are based on the following assignments:

Participation (general/summits)	10 percent	Throughout semester
Country/Institution Essay	10 percent	February 14
Midterm Exam	25 percent	March 7
EU democracy paper	15 percent	April 11
EU reform proposal paper	15 percent	May 2
Final exam	25 percent	May 13

No late assignments will be accepted without prior agreement!

### Participation

Your participation grade includes your class attendance, your preparation for class, your willingness to speak up during class discussions, and your participation in EU summits and other class activities. To enhance your participation grade, you may also contribute news items about the EU on our Blackboard course page.

### Country/Institution Essay

You each will be asked to select a “EU identity” – a state or an institution – which you may represent throughout the semester. Your first task will be to present a brief overview of your “identity’s” preferences in the EU during Weeks III, IV, and V. On February 14 you will hand in an essay on your state or institution, the role it has played in European integration, three of its major policy concerns, and public opinion about the EU or the time of integration it would like to see. You will need to do independent research beyond the course materials to complete this essay.

### Making the EU More Democratic paper

We will be having a EU summit meeting on April 11 to discuss how the EU can be more democratic and whether it should pursue greater democracy. On the day of each summit, you will need to submit your policy statement and participate in summit activities. You will receive guidelines on this assignment later in the semester.

### EU Reform Proposal

On May 2 we will have a EU summit on the reforming the European Union. You will need to prepare a research paper proposing your reform and justifying it, including language that you would like to see included in the next EU treaty.

### Readings

The following two books are required and available for purchase at the campus bookstore. Note that they are newer editions of previously published books. Be sure to purchase the most recent edition.

- Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010, 4<sup>rd</sup> edition.
- Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, eds. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, Lynne Rienner, 2014, 4th edition.

Other required readings are available on E-reserve. I will also show several videos during the semester that I will put on reserve whenever possible.

### Laptop Policy

Laptops and tablets are not allowed in class, unless you have a documented accommodation or some other challenge that necessitates an exception. While I recognize that it can they can be useful for note taking, they are also a distraction and can be an obstacle to class participation. Please see me if you have any concerns.

**International Perspective Requirement**

This course satisfies the International Perspectives distribution requirement. The course considers how states collaborate in the context of an intergovernmental organization to solve shared challenges under pressure from globalization. At the same time, it examines how different state preferences and identities make cooperation difficult in practice. Do EU member states have a shared interest in trade, welfare, or foreign policy? Do they have a shared identity? Interests and identities are compared across European states and are contrasted with those of the United States.

**Course Website**

We have a course website on Blackboard where you will find access to e-reserves, copies of assignments and other handouts, advice for researching topics related to the EU, links to useful EU websites, and an EU in the news section. I encourage you to visit the website and to use its resources as you complete your assignments.

**Plagiarism**

Bowdoin College uses the following definition of plagiarism:

“Plagiarism is possible with any work performed in any medium and in any scholarly discipline. Plagiarism involves the intentional or unintentional use, by paraphrase or direct quotation, of the published or unpublished work of another person without full and clear acknowledgment in all such scholarly work as essays, examinations, oral/written reports, homework assignments, laboratory reports, computer programs, music scores, choreography, graphic depictions, and visual presentations. Plagiarism also includes the unacknowledged use of materials prepared by another person or agency engaged in selling of term papers or other academic materials.” (Bowdoin Academic Honor Code)

We will discuss how to properly cite your sources, but you also consult the college webpage on plagiarism: <https://www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/judicial-board/academic-honesty-and-plagiarism/common-types-of-plagiarism.html>. If you are in doubt about how to refer to a particular work, please let me know.

## Section I: Theory and History

Week I: Tuesday, January 22 and Thursday, January 24

### **Why Europe? Creation and Early Evolution of European Integration**

Winston Churchill, "The Tragedy of Europe." In Nelsen and Stubb, pp. 11-14.

Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union*, Introduction and Chapters 1-2, pp. 1-51.

SKIM: "The Nobel Peace Prize for 2012: The European Union," available at  
<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2012/press-release/>

**\*\*\*1/22: European map test\*\*\***

**\*\*\*1/24: Choice of EU country or institution\*\*\***

Week II: Tuesday, January 29 and Thursday, January 31

### **Is the EU a Federal State? Federalism, Functionalism, and Intergovernmentalism**

Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, "The Ventotene Manifesto." In Nelsen and Stubbs, pp. 5-9.

Jean Monnet, "A Ferment of Change." In Nelsen and Stubb, pp. 21-27.

David Mitrany, "A Working Peace System." In Nelsen and Stubb, pp. 105-123.

Stanley Hoffman, "Obstinate or Obsolete? Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe." In Nelsen and Stubb, pp. 151-164.

Week III: Tuesday, February 5 and Thursday, February 7

### **Europe Derailed and Relunched**

Dinan, Chapters 3-4, pp. 53-102.

Margaret Thatcher, "A Family of Nations." In Nelsen and Stubb, pp. 47-51.

Jacques Delors, "A Necessary Union." In Nelsen and Stubb, pp. 53-61.

**\*\*\*Statement of interests by first 12 EU member states\*\*\***

**\*\*\*Required Event: Brexit Explained\*\*\***

Henry Laurence and Laura Henry

Tuesday, February 5 at 7:30 pm

Kresge Auditorium

Week IV: Tuesday, February 12 and Thursday, February 14

**From Community to Union: Enlargement and Treaty-Making**

Preambles to Treaty on European Union. In Nelsen and Stubb, pp. 63-64.

Preamble to the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe and the Treaty of Lisbon. In Nelsen and Stubb, pp. 73-74.

Dinan, Chapter 5-6, pp. 103-167.

\*\*\*Statement of interests by 13 later member states (not Bulg, Rom, or Croatia)\*\*\*

\*\*\*2/14: Essay on your country or institution due in class\*\*\*

**Section II: Institutions and Policy-making**

Week Va: Tuesday, February 19

**Introduction to EU Institutions**

Dinan, Chapters 7-9, pp. 171-265.

[Chap. 10 (pp. 265-300) recommended, but not required.]

\*\*\*Statement of interests and concerns by Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia,  
EU candidates, neighbors and institutions\*\*\*

Week Va: Thursday, February 21

**Looking ahead: Brexit and the Far Right**

“The Making and Breaking of Europe” documentary film (in class).

(Professor Henry attending a conference.)

Week VIa: Tuesday, February 26

**More Institutions and Policy Making in the EU**

Dinan, Chapter 11, pp. 301-326.

*Recommended:* Alasdair R. Young, “The European Policy Process in Comparative Perspective,” Chapter 3, pp. 46-71. In Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford University Press, 2015, 7<sup>th</sup> ed.

Week VIb: Thursday, February 28

**Policy Making in Action: The Single Market**

Alasdair R. Young, “The Single Market,” Chapter 5, pp. 115-140. In Helen Wallace, Mark A.

Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford University Press, 2015, 7<sup>th</sup> ed.

Week VIIa: Tuesday, March 5

**Policy Making in Action: The Common Agricultural Policy**

Eve Fouilleux and Matthieu Ansaloni, "The Common Agricultural Policy and the Issue of CAP Reform," Chapter 22, pp. 296-307. In Michelle Cini, Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borraron, *European Union Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2016, 5<sup>th</sup> ed.

SKIM: EU Commission, "Future of the common agricultural policy," Available at:  
[https://ec.europa.eu/info/food-farming-fisheries/key-policies/common-agricultural-policy/future-cap\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/food-farming-fisheries/key-policies/common-agricultural-policy/future-cap_en)

Week VIIb: Thursday, March 7

**\*\*\*Midterm exam in class\*\*\***

Tuesday, March 12 through Thursday, March 21

**No Class -- Spring break!**

Week VIIIa: Tuesday, March 26

**Environmental Policy**

Theofanis Christofouros, "The Precautionary Principle, Risk Assessment, and the Comparative Role of Science in the European Community and US Legal Systems," pp. 17-52. In Norman J. Vig and Michael G. Faure, eds. *Green Giants?: Environmental Policies of the United States and the European Union*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004.

Martin Janicke and Rainer Quitzow, "Multi-level Reinforcement in European Climate and Energy Governance: Mobilizing economic interests at the sub-national levels, *Environmental Policy and Governance* 27 (2017): 122–136.

Week VIIIb: Thursday, March 28

**Economic and Monetary Union and Financial Crisis**

Dinan, part of Chapter 13, pp., 395-411.

Emmanuel Mourlon-Druol, "The Euro Crisis: A Historical Perspective," LSE Strategic Update, June 2011.

**\*\*\*March 29: Brexit Day\*\*\***

(Mark the occasion outside of class in whatever form you see fit!)

### **Section III: Challenges to the EU**

Week IX: Tuesday, April 2 and Thursday, April 4

#### **Euro in Crisis: Disintegration or New Purpose?**

Peter Hall, "The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis," *German Politics*, 21, 4 (2012): 355-371.

Erik Jones, "Europe's tragic political economy," *Current History* 114, 770 (2015): 83-88.

Ben Crum "Saving the Euro at the Cost of Democracy?," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51, 4 (2013): 614-30.

*Recommended:* *New York Times*, "The Greek Debt Crisis Explained," August 20, 2015 (updated November 9, 2015). Available at:

<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/business/international/greece-debt-crisis-euro.html>

**\*\*\*Julia Ioffe, "What Russia Wants, and What it Means for America"\*\*\***

A Public Lecture

Monday, April 8 at 7:30 pm

Week X: Tuesday, April 9 and Thursday, April 11

#### **The Democratic Deficit**

Marcus Horeth, "No way out for the beast? The unsolved legitimacy problem of European governance," *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, 2 (1999): 249-268.

Andrew Moravcsik, "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing the Legitimacy of the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, 4 (2002): 603-24.

Erika J. van Elsas, Armen Hakhverdian & Wouter van der Brug, "United against a common foe? The nature and origins of Euroscepticism among left-wing and right-wing citizens," *Western European Politics* 39, 6 (2016): 1181-1204.

**\*\*\*4/11 – Summit on Democracy in the EU and paper due in class\*\*\***

Week XIa: Tuesday, April 16

#### **Enlargement: Is Bigger Better?**

Neill Nugent, "The EU's Response to Turkey's Membership Application: Not Just a Weighing of Costs and Benefits," *Journal of European Integration* 29, 4 (2007): 481-502.

Cemal Karakas, "EU-Turkey: Integration without Full Membership or Membership without Full Integration? A Conceptual Framework for Accession Alternatives," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51, 6 (2013): 1057-1073.

*Recommended:* Dinan, part of Chapter 16, pp. 483-502.

*Recommended:* Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova, "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement," *East European Politics and Societies* 17, 1 (2003): 42-57.

Week XIb: Thursday, April 18

#### **(Br)Exit: The Challenge of Leaving the EU**

Tim Oliver, Fifty Shades of Brexit,” *International Spectator* 52, 1 (2017): 1-11.  
*The Economist*, “Special Report: Britain and Europe,” October 17, 2015. Available at:  
<http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21673505-though-britain-has-always-been-rather-half-hearted-about-european-union-its>

*Recommended:* The UK in a Changing Europe (2016), “Leave/Remain: The Facts behind the Claims” Available at: <http://ukandeu.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Leave-remain-the-facts-behind-the-claims.pdf>

Week XII: Tuesday, April 23 and Thursday, April 25

**Foreign and Security Policy**

Robert Kagan, “Power and Weakness,” *Policy Review Online* 113 (June-July 2002): 3-28.  
Asle Toje, “The European Union as a Small Power,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49, 1 (2011): 43-60.  
Matthias Matthijs and R. Daniel Kelemen, “Europe Reborn: How to Save the European Union from Irrelevance,” *Foreign Affairs* 94, 1 (2015): 96-107.  
Andrew Moravcsik, “Europe Is Still a Superpower: And It’s Going to Remain One for Decades to Come,” *Foreign Policy* 13 April 2017. Available at:  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/13/europe-is-still-a-superpower/>

Week XIIIa: Tuesday, April 3

**Migration**

Jonathon W. Moses, “Migration in Europe,” Chap. 13, pp. 391-415. In Ronald Tiersky and Erik Jones, eds., *Europe Today: A Twenty-First Century Introduction*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2015, 5<sup>th</sup> ed.  
DEEP SKIM: Hanne Beirens, “Structural weaknesses in the Common European Asylum System: Structural weaknesses in the Common European Asylum System,” Migration Policy Institute, March 2018. Available at: [file:///Users/lhenry%201/Downloads/CEAS-StructuralWeaknesses\\_Final%20\(1\).pdf](file:///Users/lhenry%201/Downloads/CEAS-StructuralWeaknesses_Final%20(1).pdf)  
*Recommended:* Pew Research Center, “Still in Limbo: About a Million Asylum Seekers Await Word on Whether They Can Call Europe Home,” 20 September 2017. Available at:  
<http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/09/20/a-million-asylum-seekers-await-word-on-whether-they-can-call-europe-home/>



Week XIIIb: Thursday, May 2

**Challenges to European Integration**

*Recommended:* European Commission, “White Paper on the Future of Europe: Reflections and scenarios for the EU27 by 2025,” 1 March 2017. Available at:

[https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/white\\_paper\\_on\\_the\\_future\\_of\\_europe\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/white_paper_on_the_future_of_europe_en.pdf)

**\*\*\*Summit on Reforming the European Union – Paper Due in class\*\*\***

Week XIVa: Tuesday, May 7

**Whither the EU?: Theories of European Integration Revisited**

Andrew Moravcsik, “The Choice for Europe.” In Nelsen and Stubb, pp. 239-253.

Ivan Krastev, “3 Versions of Europe Are Collapsing at the Same Time,” *Foreign Policy*, July 10, 2018.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, “A Postfunctional Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus.” In Nelsen and Stubb, pp. 311-329.

**\*\*\*Final Exam – Monday, May 13, 2019 at 8:30 am\*\*\***