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.

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, and its relationship with its member states and citizens. 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 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 October 14 and December 11.
5. A “simulation” exercise of a European Council meeting, scheduled for November 18 and 20 (more information will be made available during the first few weeks of class).
6. A 7-page final paper, December 14 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,
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 means an almost certain failing grade. 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 Learn@UW course website on the night before the relevant class meeting. This outline will be included in your application package for graduate school. Students interested in this option should discuss their projects with me by September 30 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 (see below). Research papers will be due at the same time as the 7-page papers. All style and formatting guidelines described above for the 7-page papers 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 the Tuesday before Thanksgiving (November 25). 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 comments 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 December 14 at 11:59pm. All drafts of the research papers must both be submitted by the deadline into a Learn@UW dropbox 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 September 30 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 (see below). Research papers will be due at the same time as the 7-page papers. All style and formatting guidelines described above for the 7-page papers 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 the Tuesday before Thanksgiving (November 25). 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 comments 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 December 14 at 11:59pm. All drafts of the research papers must both be submitted by the deadline into a Learn@UW dropbox and emailed to prof.ringe.paper.submissions@gmail.com.

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

**Grading:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attendance and participation</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exams (2):</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7-page final paper, for a total of 48%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(research paper, for a total of 38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simulation:</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News quizzes (2):</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(for a total of 4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final paper:</td>
<td>7-page paper: 25%; research paper: 35% (see exact breakdown above)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 into a Learn@UW dropbox and emailed to prof.ringe.paper.submissions@gmail.com.
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 day that the assignment is late.
- My policy on re-evaluating grades is the following:
  - You must wait for 48 hours after the assignment has been returned before issuing any complaints.
  - 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.
  - 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. Please present your McBurney Visa to your TA by the second week of class; we have to know who you are right away to ensure that we can accommodate your needs appropriately. 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 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.

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-d066-4e08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff (note that you have to select “EN” for English)

All remaining readings listed in the syllabus are also required and available on our Learn@UW course website.

The CVCE content is divided into various time periods, themes, and sub-themes. It appears under either “Context” (substantive background) or “Resources” (primary sources, such as government documents, speeches, newspaper articles, interviews, photos, videos, audio content etc.). I am listing the items in the two categories separately throughout this syllabus, but all are required.
To clarify what you do and do not have to read on the CVCE website, here are three rules:

- Rule 1: when I do not list any sub-themes for a given entry, you are to read everything in that particular segment (including all sub-themes, sub-themes of sub-themes, etc.)
- Rule 2: When I list specific sub-themes, you must read those but may disregard all other sub-themes.
- Rule 3: When it says ‘(read only)’ behind an entry, you can disregard all sub-themes.

To clarify what this means, consider the required readings under “Context” for our September 9 class meeting. I indicate in parentheses what exactly you have to read:

• 1945-1949 The pioneering phase (read all)
  o The beginning of the Cold War (read all)
    ▪ The division of Germany (following Rule 1, read all plus the text for all sub-themes: The Berlin Blockade, Foundation of the FRG, Foundation of the GDR; note that if there were any sub-themes for the sub-themes, you would also have to read those).
    ▪ The USSR and the creation of the buffer zone (read all)
    ▪ The United States (read all)
    ▪ The first confrontations between the two blocs (read all)
      • The Civil War in Greece (following Rule 2, you only have to read this sub-theme; you can disregard ‘The Revolution in China’)
    o The Marshall Plan and the establishment of the OEEC (read all)

For the “Resources” items you are to read (or view, or watch, or listen to, depending on what type of item we are talking about), 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 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.

Finally, 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.

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
  o 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)
    o The Council of the European Union: consilium.europa.eu
    o The European Parliament: europarl.europa.eu
    o The European Court of Justice: curia.europa.eu
    o Eurostat: ec.europa.eu/eurostat
    o Eurobarometer: ec.europa.eu/public_opinion
• Delegation of the European Union to the United States: www.euintheus.org
  o Especially useful: www.euintheus.org/resources-learning
• Website of the Italian Presidency: italia2014.eu/en/
• Archive of European Integration (AEI): aei.pitt.edu
• Resource Links, EUCE Pittsburgh: www.ucis.pitt.edu/euce/content/resource-links
• Eurozine: www.eurozine.com
September 2: Introduction

Readings: none

September 4: Europe after the War: Germany, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom


CVCE “Content”

1945-1949 The pioneering phase
   Europe in ruins in the aftermath of the Second World War
      The human consequences
      The economic and social consequences
      The political consequences
         Nazism and the European idea
         The division of Europe
         The decline of the European powers
         The Communists
         The Socialists
         The Christian Democratic movement

CVCE “Resources”

‘The human consequences’ and ‘The economic and social consequences’ → view all images (caution: these are quite graphic).

September 9: Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan

CVCE “Content”

1945-1949 The pioneering phase
   The beginning of the Cold War
      The division of Germany
      The USSR and the creation of the buffer zone
      The United States
      The first confrontations between the two blocs
         The Civil War in Greece
      The Marshall Plan and the establishment of the OEEC

CVCE “Resources”

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

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

The United States → Address given by President Truman to the US Congress (12 March 1947)
The Civil War in Greece → 'The two faces of modern Greece' from the Süddeutsche Zeitung (31 October 1947)

The Marshall Plan and the establishment of the OEEC → Address given by George Marshall (Harvard, 5 June 1947); Statement by Molotov (Paris, 2 July 1947); Letter from Jean Monnet to Robert Schuman (18 April 1948)

**September 11: The German Problem and Early Visions of Europe**

CVCE “Content”

1945-1949 The pioneering phase
   Europe in ruins in the aftermath of the Second World War
   The political consequences
      The Resistance and the European idea
   The European idea
      The Christian culture
      The united Europe of the Socialists
      Winston Churchill’s Zurich speech
      The federalist congresses
   Political cooperation
   Military cooperation
      NATO

1950-1956 The formation of the community of Europe
   The birth of the community of Europe
      The origins of the Schuman Plan
      The international context
      Franco-German problems (read only)
      The Jean Monnet Plan
   The declaration of 9 May 1950
      Political support
      Necessary discretion
      The press conference held by Robert Schuman
      Reactions to the 9 May 1950 declaration
   The creation of the ECSC
      The beginnings of the ECSC
      The economic and social role
      The political role

CVCE “Resources”

The Resistance and the European idea → The Manifesto of Ventotene (1941)

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)
September 16: The Early Years and Early Theories of Integration

Ernst Haas—The Uniting of Europe Haas (ch. 16 in Nelsen and Stubb 2003).


CVCE “Content”

1950-1956 The formation of the community of Europe
   The organisation of common defence
   Plans for European sectoral union
      The European Political Community (EPC)
   Relations between the two blocs
      The Korean War
      The Berlin question
      The Hungarian Revolt
   The revival of European integration

1957-1968 Successes and crises
   The establishment of the EEC and Euratom
   The introduction of common policies
      European Customs Union

CVCE “Resources”

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)

September 18: class cancelled.


Stanley Hoffmann: Obstinate or Obsolete? (ch. 18 in Nelsen and Stubb 2003)
CVCE “Content”

1957-1968 Successes and crises
  The introduction of common policies
    The Common Agricultural Policy
  The crises and the relaunch of the EEC
    French foreign policy
    The crisis of the EEC
  The United Kingdom and its applications for accession to the Common Market
  Plans for a free-trade area and the birth of EFTA (read only)
  The EEC and the two blocs

CVCE “Resources”

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)


CVCE “Content”

1969-1979 Crises and revival
  Economic and monetary cooperation
    Monetary disturbances in Europe
      The collapse of the Bretton Woods System
    The European currency snake
      The snake in trouble
    The European Monetary System
    The first enlargement
    The new European Parliament (read only)

CVCE “Resources”

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)
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)


CVCE “Content”

1980-1986 Enlargement to the south and the Single European Act
   Enlargement to the south
   The EU institutions and European Political Cooperation
   European Political Cooperation
   A People’s Europe (read only)
   The Single European Act (SEA)
1987-1997 The European Union in a Europe in the throes of change
   The single market
   Towards Economic and Monetary Union

CVCE “Resources”

Enlargement to the south ➔ 'Will Europe be the victim of its own expansion?' from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (14 April 1977)

October 2: Maastricht

Ross: “After 1992” Begins (pp. 78-106).

CVCE “Content”

1987-1997 The European Union in a Europe in the throes of change
   The Treaty on European Union

CVCE “Resources”

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

October 7: Amsterdam, Nice, Constitutional Treaty

CVCE “Content”

1987-1997 The European Union in a Europe in the throes of change
   The Treaty of Amsterdam
   Intergovernmental negotiations
   The provisions of the Treaty of Amsterdam
   The end of the Cold War and geopolitical change in Europe (STRONGLY recommended)

1998-2009 The unification of Europe
   The Treaty of Nice
   A Constitution for Europe
   The enlargements of the European Union
   The fifth enlargement (read only)

CVCE “Resources”

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)

October 9: The Treaty of Lisbon

Andrew Duff (MEP): “True Guide to the Treaty of Lisbon”

Hix and Høyland: pp. 1-19.

CVCE “Content”

1998-2009 The unification of Europe
   The Treaty of Lisbon

October 14: MIDTERM EXAM #1

October 16: Enlargement


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.

October 21: The European Commission
Hix and Høyland: pp. 23-48
Ross: Inside the Berlaymont (pp. 51-77)

October 23: The Councils
Hix and Høyland: pp. 49-54, 61-68

October 28: The European Parliament
Hix and Høyland: pp. 54-61, 68-74, 137-158

October 30: The Court of Justice of the European Union
Hix and Høyland: pp. 75-101

November 4: Policy-Making in the EU

November 6: The Single Market
Hix and Høyland pp. 189-217

November 11: The Euro and the Euro Crisis
Hix and Høyland: pp. 245-272

November 13: Key EU Policies
Hix and Høyland: pp. 218-244
November 18 and 20: Simulation

Readings: none

November 25: Internal Security

Hix and Høyland: pp. 273-301


December 2: The EU and its Member States


December 4: The EU and Its Citizens

Hix and Høyland: pp. 105-129, 159-186

December 9: Democracy in the EU

Hix and Høyland: pp. 130-137

December 11: MIDTERM EXAM #2

December 14, 11:59pm: FINAL PAPER DUE.