

INTA 2221 Politics of the European Union

Spring 2018

TR 9:30-10:45

LOCATION: Clough Commons 278

Dr. Alasdair Young

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Office: 212B Habersham Building (IAC Building, 781 Marietta St.)

Office Hours: TR 10:45-12 (except 2/6, 2/27, 3/6, 3/8, 4/3 and 4/5) and by appointment.

Core attributes fulfilled

Social Science General Education requirement

Certificate in European Affairs core course

Course description

This course examines the European Union as a particularly intense form of international cooperation; as an emerging political system; and as significant global actor. Toward that end, it will explore the process of European integration focusing on why authority for some policies but not others has been delegated from the member states to the EU-level. It will also discuss how decisions are taken at the EU level. An overarching question in these discussions is what are the implications of closer integration for political legitimacy? The course will use three contemporary crises – the Eurozone debt crisis; the migration crisis and the UK's decision to leave the EU – to explore these issues. The course will also consider what role the EU will play in the wider world.

Students (in groups) will become experts on one EU member state and give a (group) presentations on 'their' member state's concerns and preferences regarding each of the three crises. Students (in different groups) will also write an assessment of the EU as a global actor.

Intended learning outcomes

By the end of this course, students will demonstrate the ability to:

- describe the social, political, and economic forces that influence social behaviors associated with European integration and policy-making (Social Science General Education);
- analyze, interpret and explain challenges and developments in the EU (Problem solving in international affairs);
- work effectively in small groups to produce policy-relevant analysis in a timely fashion (Professional development)
- develop and express arguments clearly and effectively (Professional development).

Course materials

This course is supported by:

McCormick, John (2017), *Understanding the European Union*, 7th edition, Palgrave. (available at Barnes & Noble).

Timothy Misir and Jason Ji, (2016), "The EU in a Nutshell," EU Center in Singapore (available on t-square) Hereafter Nutshell.

EU Delegation to the US, "The European Union: A Guide for Americans" (available on t-square) Hereafter Guide.

We will also make extensive use of other resources. These will either be available on the web (denoted by **w**), through the GT library (**l**) or on t-square (**t**).

To access electronic journal articles through the library website:

- click on 'eJournals' on the left-hand side of the library homepage (under 'research tools');
- type the name of the journal in the search box;
- select the database option that includes the appropriate issue of the journal;
- browse the journal to the appropriate volume and issue.

All readings are required!

Course requirements

| Assignment | Date due | Share of total | Maximum possible points |
|-------------------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| Midterm | 2/1 | 20 | 400 |
| Group presentations (3) | 2/20; 3/6; 3/15 | 45 | 900 |
| Group assessment | 4/24 | 25 | 500 |
| Class participation | continuous | 10 | 200 |
| TOTAL | | 100 | 2000 |

Late assignments will NOT be accepted, except for medical or personal emergencies upon verification.

Extra-credit assignment (25 points for a serious effort) (up to 2 assignments may be submitted)

Write a reflective summary (500 words max) of an approved public talk. Due within a week.

Grading

| Grade | Points | Descriptors |
|-------|----------------|---|
| A | 20 19 18 | Exceptionally good performance demonstrating a superior understanding of the subject matter, a foundation of extensive knowledge, and a skillful use of concepts and/or materials. |
| B | 17 16 15 | Good performance demonstrating capacity to use the appropriate concepts, a good understanding of the subject matter, and an ability to handle the problems and materials encountered in the subject. |
| C | 14 13 12 | Adequate performance demonstrating an adequate understanding of the subject matter, an ability to handle relatively simple problems. |
| D | 11 10 9 | Minimally acceptable performance demonstrating at least partial familiarity with the subject matter and some capacity to deal with relatively simple problems, but also demonstrating serious deficiencies. |
| F | <8 | Did not demonstrate familiarity with the subject matter, nor the capacity to deal with simple problems in a manner recognizable to the consensus of mainstream academic practitioners within the field. |

Grade Change Policy

Simple computational or clerical errors should be brought to my attention immediately. Legitimate requests for grade changes are welcome and encouraged. You should, however, resist the temptation to file a frivolous request just hoping to “get lucky”. Approach a grade change request as if arguing a legal case: you should have strong and convincing arguments and evidence to support your request. Be aware that appeals to the practices of other professors generally do not constitute good argument or evidence. Note also that grade changes requests can result in re-grades either up or down (or left unchanged). That is, if the greater scrutiny demanded by a grade change request reveals your assignment to deserve a lower grade than previously awarded, and then the lower grade will be assigned.

Attendance policy

Attendance is required, although each student can have 2 (two) unexcused absences without penalty. Each subsequent unexcused absence will result in the student’s class participation grade being lowered 1 (one) point on the 20 point scale.

- Absences for medical or personal emergencies will be excused upon verification by the instructor. Absences for school athletics will be excused only if they are in accordance with the schedules approved and circulated by the Student Academic & Financial Affairs Committee for Travel or the Associate Athletic Director (Academic Services). Absences due to military service will be handled on a case-by-case basis and subject to verification.
- In order to get the most out of the course and to be able to participate effectively in class, you are expected at a minimum to read and reflect upon required readings before class. You should also read a newspaper with good coverage of Europe. The *Financial Times* and the *Economist* are available through the library. Should sign-up for Politico’s Brussels Playbook (<https://www.politico.eu/newsletter/brussels-playbook/>).

- Course participants will treat each other with respect. Constructive questioning and criticism are welcome, even encouraged. Personal attacks and insults are not. The rule of thumb here is that critical comments and questions should be maturely phrased in a manner that encourages constructive and open debate. They should **not** be phrased as insults, threats, or in a manner that shuts down discussion.
- **All telecommunications devices are to be switched off during class.**
- **Computers and tablets are not to be used in class without express permission.**
- **No food in class**

Special Accommodations

Students requesting academic accommodations based on a documented disability are required to register with the Access Disabled Assistance Program for Tech Students (ADAPTS). Please obtain a form from the ADAPTS office and turn it in to me during office hours or in class in the beginning of the semester. (<http://www.adapts.gatech.edu>).

Academic misconduct

According to the Georgia Tech honor code,¹ **academic misconduct is any act that does or could improperly distort Student grades or other Student academic records.** Such acts include:

- Possessing, using or exchanging improperly acquired written or verbal information in the preparation of any essay, laboratory report, examination, or other assignment included in an academic course;
- Substitution for, or unauthorized collaboration with, a Student in the commission of academic requirements;
- Submission of material that is wholly or substantially identical to that created or published by another person or persons, without adequate credit notations indicating authorship (plagiarism).

¹ <http://www.osi.gatech.edu/plugins/content/index.php?id=46>

Course overview

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|------|--|
| 1/9 | Introduction |
| 1/11 | What is the EU conceptually? |
| 1/16 | What is the EU practically? |
| 1/18 | Origins of European integration I Conflict |
| 1/23 | Origins of European integration II Cooperation |
| 1/25 | Institutional development |
| 1/30 | Explaining integration |
| 2/1 | Midterm |
| 2/6 | Early policy integration: Agriculture and Trade |
| 2/8 | Deepening integration I: The Single Market |
| 2/13 | Broader integration I: Environmental cooperation |
| 2/15 | Costs and benefits of membership: Brexit referendum campaign |
| 2/20 | Group presentations 1: Brexit |
| 2/22 | Deepening integration II: Schengen |
| 2/27 | Broader integration II: Internal security |
| 3/1 | Migration crises |
| 3/6 | Group presentations 2: Migration crises |
| 3/8 | Deepening integration III: Economic and monetary union |
| 3/13 | Eurozone crises |
| 3/15 | Group presentations 3: Eurozone debt crisis |
| 3/20 | Spring break |
| 3/22 | Spring break |
| 3/27 | Reflection on the EU's political legitimacy |

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|------|---|
| 3/29 | The EU as a global actor: What kind of power? |
| 4/3 | Enlargement and the EU's Neighborhood |
| 4/5 | No Class: Reflection group meetings |
| 4/10 | The EU as an economic actor |
| 4/12 | The EU as a development actor |
| 4/17 | Transatlantic relations |
| 4/19 | The EU and the "revisionist" powers |
| 4/24 | Reflection on the EU's global role Group reflection papers due |

Detailed course outline

1/9 Introduction

This class will introduce the European Union and the course. It will gently explore students' prior knowledge of the EU through a pub quiz.

1/11 What is the EU conceptually?

The EU is a unique political entity. This class will explore how it compares to traditional states and to other international organizations. It will also address the role of the member states in the integration process and outline what the EU does and does not do. As part of that discussion it will introduce the supremacy of EU law.

Reading

McCormick, pp. xii-xvii; 1-6; 14-23; 121-4.

1/16 What is the EU practically?

This class will introduce how the EU works. It will identify the key institutions and their powers.

Reading

McCormick, Chs. 4 and pp 120-1 and 125-44.

Nutshell, pp. 22-5.

1/18 Origins of European integration I: Conflict

It is not possible to understand the process of European integration without understanding the political context from which it arose. The Second World War provided the impetus for the European project and the Cold War provided the crucible in which it was forged. This class will introduce the history of conflict in Europe and how it shaped European integration.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 48-54.

Norwegian Nobel Committee (2012), The Nobel Peace Prize for 2012. Available at: https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2012/press.html. (w)

1/23 Origins of European integration II: Cooperation

This class will introduce the key considerations that shaped the launching of European integration. It will introduce the three foundational treaties -- Paris (European Coal and Steel Community) and the two Treaties of Rome (European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community) – as well as the unsuccessful effort to launch the West European Union. A key aim of this class will be to situate the EU integration process in the broader context of post-war cooperation in Europe.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 54-9.

Phinnemore, D. (2016), "The European Union: Establishment and Development," in M. Cini and N. Pérez-Solórzano Borragán (eds), *European Union Politics*, 5th edn., Oxford University Press, pp. 11-18. (t)

1/25 Institutional development

This class will identify the major developments in European integration since its inception through the current structure. It will focus on the accumulation of new responsibilities (competences) at the European level and changes to how EU policy is made.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 59-72.

1/30 Explaining integration

This class will introduce and critique the main explanations of the process of European integration: liberal intergovernmentalism, neo-functionalism and post-functionalism.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 6-13.

Pollack, M.A. (2015), "Theorizing EU Policy-Making," in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack and A.R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th edn., Oxford University Press, pp. 13-43. (t)

2/1 Midterm**2/6 Early policy integration: Agriculture and trade**

This class will introduce the EU's two foundational policies: the common agricultural policy and the common commercial policy. The class will address why they were key early areas of cooperation and how they have evolved over time.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 177-83.

Young, A.R. and Peterson, J. (2014), *Parochial Global Europe: 21st Century Trade Politics*, Oxford University Press, pp. 48-66. (t).

2/8 Deepening integration I: The Single Market

The single European market program, which was launched in the mid-1980s, represented a marked deepening of economic cooperation and contributed to a reinvigoration of European integration. This class will introduce the reasons for launching the single market program; the dynamics of the policy process associated with the single market; and note the external implications of this development.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 145-58.

Young, A. R. (2015), "The Single Market: From Stagnation to Renewal?" in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack and A.R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th edn., Oxford University Press, pp. 115-39. (t)

2/13 Broader integration: Environmental cooperation

Starting in the mid-1980s, the EU also began to take environmental protection seriously. It has since become one of the global champions of addressing environmental harm. This class highlights that the political dynamics of environmental cooperation are different when goods or production processes are being regulated. The class will also introduce the precautionary principle, which is the EU's distinctive approach to managing risks.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 187-92.

Lenschow, A. (2015), "Environmental Policy: Contending Dynamics of Policy Change," in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack and A.R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th edn., Oxford University Press, pp. 319-41. (t)

2/15 Costs and benefits of membership: Brexit referendum campaign

The costs and benefits of membership in the EU – particularly the customs union and the single market – dominated the referendum about whether the UK should leave the EU. This class will introduce the claims of the two sides, examine the reasons for the outcome, and explore the current state-of-play in the Brexit process.

Reading

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>. (w)

2/20 Group presentations 1: Brexit

Each group will present its country's perspective on Brexit. How much does Brexit matter? What are its main concerns? What outcome would it like to see?

2/22 Deepening integration II: Schengen

Although the right citizens of EU member states to live and work anywhere in the EU was enshrined in the Treaty of Rome, the 1985 Schengen Agreement, which was incorporated into the EU treaties in 1997 removed border checks on individuals crossing between participating states. This development prompted increased cooperation with respect to the EU member states immigration and asylum rules from individuals from outside the EU. This class will examine the process by which borderless travel emerged within the EU and the spillover effects associated with it.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 183-7.

Lavenex, S. (2015), "Justice and Home Affairs: Institutional Change and Policy Continuity," in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack and A.R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th edn., Oxford University Press, pp. 368-79. (t)

2/27 Broader integration II: Internal security

The removal of monitoring cross-border movements among Schengen-participating-states made it harder for governments to police organized crime and terrorism. This class will explore how the EU member states have responded to this challenge. One key takeaway is that there is much transgovernmental cooperation as well as supranational rule-making.

Reading

Lavenex, S. (2015), "Justice and Home Affairs: Institutional Change and Policy Continuity," in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack and A.R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th edn., Oxford University Press, pp. 383-5. (t)

Europol (2017), "EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2017." Available at: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/activities-services/main-reports/eu-terrorism-situation-and-trend-report-te-sat-2017>. (w)

3/1 Migration crises

In 2015 a surge of refugees from conflicts in the Middle East and Afghanistan flooded into the EU prompting disagreements among member states; the suspension of the Schengen Agreement and the rise of right-wing populist parties. The nature of the refugee crisis has since changed, with primarily economic migrants leaving North Africa. This class will look at the causes of the migration crisis – both internal and external – and consider the direct and indirect challenges the crisis has posed to European integration.

Reading

Lavenex, S. (2015), "Justice and Home Affairs: Institutional Change and Policy Continuity," in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack and A.R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th edn., Oxford University Press, pp. 380-3. (t)

Nutshell, pp. 40-1.

European Parliament (2017), "EU Migrant Crisis: Facts and Figures." Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/society/20170629STO78630/eu-migrant-crisis-facts-and-figures>. (w)

European Parliament (2017), "The EU Response to the Migrant Crisis." Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/society/20170629STO78629/the-eu-response-to-the-migrant-crisis>. (w)

3/6 Group presentations 2: Migration crises

Each group will present its country's perspective on the migration crises. How much do the crises matter to your country? What were its main concerns? What outcome did it want?

3/8 Deepening integration III: Economic and monetary union

Since the late 1970s the EU sought to manage its member states exchange rates in an effort to reduce the impact of exchange-rate volatility on trade. In 1990 they took the decision to go a step further and adopt a single currency – the euro. This class will examine the impetus for that decision and the factors that shaped the resulting institutional design.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 158-67.

Nutshell, pp. 33-6.

Hodson, D. (2015), "Policy-Making under Economic and Monetary Union: Crisis, Change and Continuity," in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack and A.R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th edn., Oxford University Press, pp. 168-72. (t)

3/13 Eurozone crises

Economic and Monetary Union worked pretty well for more than a decade. In the wake of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, however, a number of EU member states confronted sovereign debt crises – private lenders stopped buying their debt because they were afraid that they would not be repaid. The EU (eventually) responded by "bailing-out" the worst-affected governments and by developing new institutions to make such crises less likely and to be able to respond better if they do. The bail-outs in particular brought the EU into the fiscal policies of member states (both borrower and lenders) in a far more intrusive way than in the past, which has contributed to the rise of Euroscepticism. This class will introduce the sovereign debt crises and the challenges the EU faced and the decisions it adopted.

Reading

Nutshell, pp. 43-8.

Hodson, D. (2015), "Policy-Making under Economic and Monetary Union: Crisis, Change and Continuity," in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack and A.R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th edn., Oxford University Press, pp. 172-80. (t)

Sandbu, M. (2016), "From Many, One: Lessons for the euro from US History," *Financial Times*, 10 June. (t)

3/15 Group presentations 3: Eurozone debt crisis

Each group will present its country's perspective on the Eurozone debt crisis. How did it affect your country? What were its main concerns? What outcome did it want?

3/20 Spring break

3/22 Spring break**3/27 Reflection on the EU's political legitimacy**

This class will wrap-up the second portion of the course by reflecting on the implications of what we have discussed to date for the EU's political legitimacy? Is it confronting a crisis of legitimacy? If so, how might it be addressed?

Reading

McCormick, Ch. 5 and Conclusions.

Eurobarometer (2017), *Standard Eurobarometer*, 88, November, pp. 15-16. Available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/comfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/instruments/STANDARD/surveyKy/2143> (w)

European Commission (2017), "White Paper on the Future of Europe," COM(2017) 2015, 1 March. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/white_paper_on_the_future_of_europe_en.pdf (w)

3/29 The EU as a global actor: What kind of power?

The EU is undoubtedly active on the international stage. It is not, however, a state – the traditional international actor in International Relations. This class will introduce the debate about what kind of global actor the EU is. Subsequent classes will examine the EU's main power resources and how it engages with the wider world.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 194-204.

Kagan, R. (2003), *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, Vintage Books, pp. 3 (PDF 7)-11 (t)

Moravcsik, A. (2017), "Europe Is Still a Superpower: And It's Going to Remain One for Decades to Come," *Foreign Policy*, 13 April. Available at: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/13/europe-is-still-a-superpower/>. (w)

4/3 Enlargement and the EU's Neighborhood

The EU has one unique power resource – the ability to offer membership to other states. From the EU's perspective this is known as enlargement. From the other country's it is accession. Accession to the EU is contingent on meeting a number of criteria set and assessed by the EU. The EU has made extensive use of this conditionality to encourage political and economic reforms and resolve international conflicts. It has been less successful getting states without a

credible prospect of membership to change their ways. This class will examine how the EU's enlargement as a source of influence and explore the limits to that tool.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 211-3.

Nutshell, p. 9.

Guide, pp. 21-5.

Sedelmeier, U. (2015), "Enlargement: Constituent Policy and Tool for External Governance," in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack and A.R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th edn., Oxford University Press, pp. 417-34. (t)

4/5 No class: Reflection group meetings

Students should meet during the class period in order to work on their group reflection papers.

4/10 The EU as an economic actor

The EU has one of the world's largest markets; is one of the world's leading exporters and importers of goods and services; and is one of the most important homes to and hosts of foreign direct investment. Trade policy, as we discussed early in the course, is one of the longest established and most highly institutionalized areas of European cooperation. As a result, it is in trade policy that the EU is thought to have the greatest capability as a global actor. This class will examine the substance and effectiveness of the EU's trade policy.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 204-7.

Young, A.R. and Peterson, J. (2014), *Parochial Global Europe: 21st Century Trade Politics*, Oxford University Press, pp. 25-37. (t).

Beattie, A. (2017), "Why the Whole World Feels the 'Brussels Effect'" *Financial Times*, 15 November. (t)

Young, A.R. (2015), "The European Union as a Global Regulator? Context and Comparison," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22/9, pp. 3-11. (t)

4/12 The EU as a development actor

Many of the EU's member states are former colonial powers that have particularly close historical, political and moral ties to developing countries. The EU and its member states together are the world's largest donor of foreign aid. The EU also makes extensive use of trade policy to promote development. This class will consider how the EU and its member states seek

to promote development, paying particular attention to the challenges of vertical and horizontal policy coordination.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 214-5.

Carbone, M. (2013), "International Development and the European Union's External Policies: Changing Contexts, Problematic Nexuses, Contested Partnerships," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 26/3, pp. 483-96. (I)

4/17 Transatlantic relations

The United States is the EU's most important economic, political and defense partner. The transatlantic relationship is characterized by episodes of conflict, competition and cooperation. This class will examine the most important areas of agreement and disagreement in the transatlantic relationship.

Reading

McCormick, pp. 208-9.

Guide, Ch. 3.

4/19 The EU and the "revisionist" powers

China and Russia are sometimes considered "revisionist" powers (as in the 2017 US National Security Strategy) because they are seen as challenging the international status quo. This class will consider how the EU has responded to the challenges posed by the greater assertiveness of China and Russia. This discussion will be contextualized by comparison to the US.

Reading

McCormick, p. 210.

Young, A.R. and Birchfield, V.L. (2018), "Empirical Scene Setting: The Contours of the Crisis and Response," in V.L. Birchfield and A.R. Young (eds), *Triangular Diplomacy among the United States, the European Union and the Russian Federation: Responses to the Crisis in Ukraine*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 22-30. (t)

Brown, S.A.W. (2018). *Power, Perception, and Foreign Policymaking: US and EU Responses to the Rise of China*, Routledge, pp. 102-4; 105-9 and 137-8. (t)

4/24 Reflection on the EU's global role

Informed by the group reflection papers, this class will discuss to what extent the EU can be considered a great power.

Group reflection papers due

Reading

McCormick, pp. 216-7