

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

SYLLABUS

f o r

FIRST YEAR SEMINAR

US & THE EUROPEAN UNION

Political Science 66

Spring Semester

2013

Instructor: Professor Gary Marks

Class and Class Hours: Murphey - Rm 0115; Tuesday 5:00 – 6:15pm

Office Hours: HM309; Monday 2:00—2:30pm and 4:00—5:00pm;
Wednesday 2:00—2:30pm and 4:00—5:00pm;

I. COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course introduces students to the European Union and the respects in which European politics differs from American politics.

The first section of the course engages the European Union. Why is there a European Union? How does it operate? How has it developed? What difference has it made in the lives of Europeans? What kind of polity is emerging at the European level? How is European integration contested? Is European integration the beginning of the end of the national state in Western Europe, or will states constrain the loss of sovereignty?

The second section of the course compares American with European politics. How are elections and the practice of government different? How does welfare and health care in the United States differ from Western Europe? To what extent do conceptions and practice in foreign policy differ between Europe and the USA?

II. EXAMINATIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

Total: 200 points

1) A midterm (25%: 50 points), February 27 in class, and final exam (30%: 60 points), May 6, 4:00 pm. Both exams will be based on the materials covered in the assigned readings, lectures, seminar discussion, and presentations.

2) A term paper project (25%: 50 points) (1000 words) that can be based on the topic of your class presentation/debate topic. The paper is due at our final class meeting on April 24. The penalty for late papers is one point per day (weekend days count).

3) An in-class presentation (20%: 40 points). The presentation is 10-15 minutes and consists of either A) participation in a team of two in a debate on one of the topics listed at the end of the syllabus or B) an individual powerpoint presentation on one of the topics listed at the end of the syllabus. If B) you must also circulate copies of a handout on your topic (one or two pages) to all students in the class prior to your presentation. The dates for debates and presentations are fixed; if you cannot do your presentation on the scheduled day you will not receive a grade for this portion of the class. If you fall ill, please inform me as soon as you can and bring a Dean's note to class.

A selection of recent textbooks that you might find useful as background reading are:

- Ian Bache, Stephen George and Simon Bulmer (2011), *Politics in the European Union: Third Edition*. Oxford: OUP (second edition in Davis; check also out the online resource centre via OUP website: <http://www.oup.com/uk/orc/bin/9780199544813/>)
- Elizabeth Bomberg, John Peterson and Alexander Stubb (2008), *The European Union: How does it work?* Oxford: OUP.

- Desmond Dinan (2010), *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*. Palgrave.
- Simon Hix and Bjorn Hoyland (2011), *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave.
- John Peterson and Michael Shackleton (eds.) (2012), *The Institutions of the European Union*. Oxford: OUP.
- John McCormick (2011), *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*. Palgrave.
- Helen Wallace, Mark Pollack, Alasdair Young (eds.) (2010), *Policy Making in the European Union*. Oxford: OUP.

Advice: Arrange a subscription for the weekly *The Economist* for the semester. You can get a highly discounted subscription for 12 weeks at www.economistacademic.com

PLEASE NOTE:

- All class lectures, debates, presentations, and video showings are compulsory.
- You must bring a letter from the Dean's office to qualify for a make-up mid-term or final exam.
- For all course work, the Honor Code applies; the student's signature on her/his work confirms that the Code rules were respected. Familiarize yourselves with the Code at: http://honor.unc.edu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=44&Itemid=71

You also need to familiarize yourself with the concept and practice of plagiarism in order to make sure that you avoid it. Plagiarism is defined as deliberate or reckless representation of another's words, thoughts, or ideas as one's own without attribution in connection with submission of academic work, whether graded or otherwise.

Take the library's tutorial at: <http://www.lib.unc.edu/instruct/plagiarism/> and ask me if you have any questions.

III. REQUIRED READINGS

Readings available at course web site on Sakai.

I. Introduction and organization (Jan 9)

II. Quiz. Europe and the EU (Jan 14)

Go to the “Europe portal” in Wikipedia:

<<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portal:Europe>>

Check out some of the following categories at the bottom of this portal:

Economy of Europe
Ethnic groups in Europe
European Union
Geography of Europe
History of Europe
Languages of Europe
Maps of Europe
European politics
European society

Write on a sheet two or three interesting or surprising facts about Europe.

Some interesting questions:

- *What is the European Union, and when was it created?*
- *What is the population of Europe/the European Union?*
- *How large is the territory of Europe?*
- *Which are the richer European countries?*
- *How many languages are there in Europe/the EU?*

A. The European Union

Why a European Union, and what form should it take? (Jan 16)

John McCormick (2008), “Ch 3: The Emergence...” *Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction*, MacMillan, 45-68.

Excerpts from: Brent Nelsen and Alexander C-G.Stubb (2005), “Visions of a United Europe,” (Churchill and de Gaulle versus Monnet.), in *The European Union: Readings*

on the *Theory and Practice of European Integration*, London: Routledge.

- *What do you think were the most powerful reasons for the creation of a supranational body in Western Europe?*
- *What were the hopes and dreams of the founders of the EEC—and to what extent were they fulfilled?*
- *How does Churchill's vision of Europe compare with Jean Monnet's vision of Europe?*
- *How has the purpose of the EU changed over its history?*

Why have government at different scales? (Jan 21)

Arjan Schakel, Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "The Multilevel State," chapter for Stephan Leibfried, Evelyn Huber and John Stephens (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Oxford: OUP, forthcoming.

- *What are the chief characteristics of multilevel governance?*
- *Has authority has been dispersed across governments at varying scales?*
- *What is the future of the national state in Europe and beyond?*
- *What are the reasons why a global government might be created; why might it not arise?*

How has the European Union developed? (Jan 23)

Desmond Dinan (2008), "How did we get here?" in Elizabeth Bomberg and Alexander Stubb (eds.) *The European Union: How Does it Work*, OUP, 22-44.

- *What has been the legacy of Charles De Gaulle for European integration?*
- *Why was the Single European Act a turning point in European integration?*
- *What is the significance of the Maastricht Treaty? Why did it trigger public discontent?*
- *Could you imagine a Europe where countries collaborate solely through specialized, intergovernmental organizations? I.e., how would a Europe without European Union look like?*

Enlarging the European Union (Jan 28)

The Economist (2008), "In the Nick of Time" A special report on EU enlargement, May 31st .

- *Why did Central-Eastern European countries want to join the EU?*
- *What were the main institutional challenges of enlargement? And what were the policy challenges?*
- *How would you reform the European Union to accommodate enlargement?*

The Euro-Crisis (Jan 30)

David Cameron (1998), "Creating Supranational Authority in Monetary and Exchange-Rate Policy: The Sources and Effects of EMU," in Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet eds. *European Integration and Supranational Governance*, OUP, 188-216.

George Soros (2012), "The Tragedy of the European Union and How to Resolve It," *The New York Review of Books*.

- *What are the origins of the Euro-Crisis?*
- *What are the economic effects of the Euro-Crisis? What are the political effects?*
- *What is the role of the European Central Bank?*
- *What are potential governance challenges of EMU?*

The institutional terrain (Feb 4 and Feb 6)

Ian Bache, Stephen George, Simon Bulmer (2011), "Ch. 18: The Institutional Architecture," and "Ch. 17: From the European Constitution to the Lisbon Treaty," in *Politics in the European Union*, OUP.

<<http://www.eurunion.org/infores/euguide/euguide.htm>>

See also the companion website to the Bache et al. book:

<<http://www.oup.com/uk/orc/bin/9780199544813/>>

- *What are the most important political institutions in the EU and why?*
- *How do the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Commission, and the European Court of Justice work?*
- *Mix and match: which institutions correspond to which US institutions, and why?*
- *Which policy areas or institutions are most intergovernmental and which supranational?*

Identities in Europe (Feb 11)

Hooghe and Marks (2006), "Europe's Blues: Theoretical Soul-Searching after the Rejection of a European Constitution," *PS: Politics and Political Science*, 39 (April 2006), 247-50.

Marks and Hooghe (2012), "Politicization," in Jones, Eric, Stephen Weatherill, and Anand Menon (eds.) *Handbook on the European Union*, OUP, 840-53.

- *Why has the 'permissive consensus' been broken, and what are the implications?*
- *What difference have referendums made for European integration?*
- *Do you expect European politics to become more conflictual in the future?*
- *What motivates conflict?*

How do political parties respond to European integration? (Feb 13)

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (2001), *Multilevel Governance and European Integration*, Rowman and Littlefield, ch. 10, "National Parties Take a Stand."

- *Why did social democratic parties in several countries oppose European integration, and why do they now support it?*
- *How do Christian democratic and Conservative parties view European integration?*
- *Why is the populist right so opposed to European integration?*
- *How do political parties in Central and Europe take positions on Europe?*

The rise of the regions (Feb 18)

Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, and Arjan Schakel (2010), "Ch. 4: An Era of Regionalization," in *The Rise of Regional Authority in Europe*, London: Routledge.

- *To what extent has government authority been decentralized over the past half-century?*
- *How would you explain this?*
- *Is regionalization linked to European Integration? If so, how?*

B. Contrasting political institutions: Europe and the US

What difference do electoral systems make? (Feb 20)

Jürg Steiner and Markus M.L. Crepaz (2007), "Ch. 3: Parliamentary Election Systems," *European Democracies*, 5th ed., New York: Pearson and Longman.

- *Describe the effects of a proportional (PR) versus a plurality electoral system.*
- *What would happen if the United States switched from a plurality to a proportional system?*

Parliamentary versus presidential systems (Feb 25)

Steiner and Crepaz, "Cabinet Formation."

- *Compare and contrast how governments are formed in Britain and Germany.*
- *Why are political parties so important in parliamentary systems?*
- *What does the House of Commons actually do?*

MIDTERM: Feb 27, in class

C. The United States and Europe

Sick around the world – comparing health care systems Video (March 4)

Debate on the motion: "This house believes that the United States should adopt a single payer health care system" (March 6)

For information, check the websites and documents that are accessed in a Google search, "single payer healthcare system."

Political Ideology in Europe and the US I (March 18)

Michael Keating (1999), "Political Currents," from *The Politics of Modern Europe*, Edward Elgar, 49-72.

- *What is distinctive about the Left in Europe—and how does it differ from the Left in the United States?*
- *What challenges face social democratic parties in Europe and how might they deal with them?*
- *How do Christian democratic and Conservative parties view European integration?*
- *Why is the populist right so opposed to European integration?*

Presentations I: (March 20)

Political Ideology in Europe and the US II (March 25)

Debate on the motion: "Should the United States unilaterally reduce its carbon emissions to 1990 levels as Europe has done?" (March 27)

April 1 and April 3: International Studies Association Conference: no class meeting.

How is the United States Different? I (April 8)

Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks (2001), "The End of Political Exceptionalism?" in *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in America*, New York: Norton, 261-94.

The Economist (2012), "For Richer for Poorer."

- *What are the main characteristics of the European vs. Anglo-American type of capitalism?*
- *In which system do you expect more labor flexibility, more intimate banking-business relations, in-house vocational training, worker consultation?*
- *Is there a trade-off between economic growth and equality?*

Presentations II (April 10)

How is the United States Different? II (April 15)

Presentations II (April 17)

The European Union and the United States: Ships passing in the night? (April 22)

Robert Kagan (2002), "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, No. 113.

Joseph S. Nye (1990), "Soft Power." *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1990, issue 80.

- *What are the chief differences in the foreign policy orientations of the US and Europe?*
- *Do you perceive differences between the US and EU countries in terms of their domestic policies?*

Debate on the motion: "Should the European Union become a great military power?" (April 24)

FINAL EXAM: May 6, 4:00pm.

Oxford Union-style debates

Debate on the motion: “This house believes that the United States should adopt a single payer health care system” (March 6)

Chair:

Proposer 1:

Proposer 2:

Opponent 1:

Opponent 2:

Debate on the motion: “Should the United States unilaterally reduce its carbon emissions to 1990 levels as Europe has done?” (March 27)

Chair:

Proposer 1:

Proposer 2:

Opponent 1:

Opponent 2:

Debate on the motion: “Should the European Union become a great military power?” (April 24)

Chair:

Proposer 1:

Proposer 2:

Opponent 1:

Opponent 2:

Presentation dates:

I. March 20

II. April 10

III. April 17

Topics for Presentations

These topics will demand some initiative on your part in finding sources, both on the web, but more usually in the Main Library.

The life and (European) times of

- Charlemagne
- Jean Monnet
- Robert Schuman
- Charles de Gaulle
- Willy Brandt
- Jacques Delors
- Valérie Giscard d'Estaing
- François Mitterrand
- Emma Bonino
- Helmut Kohl
- Václav Havel
- Jörg Haider
- Tony Blair
- Margaret Thatcher
- Joschka Fischer
- Daniel Cohn-Bendit
- Silvio Berlusconi
- Gordon Brown
- Jean-Marie Le Pen
- Václav Klaus
- Romano Prodi
- José Manuel Barroso
- Angela Merkel
- Jean-Claude Trichet
- Nicolas Sarkozy
- George Soros
- Simone Veil
- David Cameron

Oxford Union-style debate

Debaters:

- 1) *Chairman*
- 2) *Proposition: Honorable Members*
- 3) *Opposition: Honorable Members*

Task:

Argue the case in favor or against Motion (Oxford-style debate):
Motion on the Floor:

“This House believes that. . . .

Proceedings:

- **Opening statement** for the proposition and opposing the proposition (each 6 minutes max), followed by short ripostes of proposer and opponent of not more than 2 minutes in turns.
- Short **break** of 5 minutes in which team leaders select and line up speakers for 'floor debate'.
- A **'floor debate'** of 20 minutes with individual interventions of max. 2 minutes.
- Short **break** of 5 minutes.
- **Closing statements** for the proposition and opposing the proposition (each 6 minutes max).
- **Vote.**

Oxford Union Debates

http://www.oxford-union.org/debates/formal_debates

Forms of the House in Debate

(1) All remarks should be addressed to the President/Chair in the form of "Mr President/Madam President/Mr Chairman/Madam Chairman". As a guide, whenever in a speech you feel like saying "Ladies and Gentlemen", you should substitute the above.

(2) No Member should refer to another Member by his name, but as "The Honourable Member" or "The Honourable Member, — College"; or, in the case of Officers or ex-Officers, as "The Hon. —".

(3) If the President interrupts proceedings, all Members, except the one speaking at the despatch box should resume their seats.

(4) There are two legitimate forms of interruption - points of order and points of information. These may not be made from the Gallery.

Points of order must refer to the order of the debate, and should be introduced to draw the President's attention to an abuse of the forms of the House (e.g. interjections from the gallery, a slanderous remark from the speaker, which the Member wishes to be withdrawn, etc.) Such points take automatic precedence in the proceedings.

Points of information must be literally points of information, and not just expressions of opinion or questions. A Member wishing to raise such a point should rise in his seat, touch the top of his head, and wait until the speaker at the despatch box gives way. If the speaker does not wish to give way, the Member must resume his seat. Theoretically no two members of the Society may be on their feet at once. Shouted interruptions are not allowed, although cries of "order" are permitted to draw speaker's attention to a Member wishing to raise a point of information, whom he may not have seen. The speaker is never under any obligation to give way to interruptions.

(These points are introduced with the phrase "On a point of order" or "On a point of information" respectively.)

(5) Booing or hissing a speaker, or coughing needlessly is both a grave and a pointless discourtesy, and an abuse of the forms of the house.

(6) Speakers on the paper will be told in advance the time that will be allowed them, and should observe this with the aid of warning cards, passed up by the Secretary.

(7) Members should always appreciate that visiting speakers are entitled to a quiet hearing, but in the interests of the debate guest speakers are always open to challenge on points of information. Members are reminded that speakers who come down are usually very busy people who come as a favour to the Society and are hence entitled to the courtesy which one would normally extend to a guest in one's home.

(8) Members are reminded that they should not bring mobile phones, food, drink or cigarettes into the Chamber at any time.