

Skidmore College Fall 2008—Political Economy of European Integration (GO 219)
TT 9:40-11:00 am—Ladd 207—Prof. Ginsberg--Office Hours M 4:00-5:30 pm; Tues. 2:00-3:00 pm;
TT 11:15 am-12:30 pm; and by appointment in Ladd 304—x5245—rginsber@skidmore.edu

Ten Course Objectives

- explore the contrasting themes of war and peace, unity and disunity, and conflict and reconciliation that haunt Europe and provide the backdrop for today's European Union;
- develop a rounded, robust, nuanced, and interdisciplinary understanding of European integration over time by drawing on insights from the fields of comparative government, economics, history, international politics, and law;
- learn the differing visions and theories of—and national perspectives on—European integration to gain an appreciation of the complexity of today's European Union;
- secure a basic knowledge of how and by whom decisions are made in order to locate where power lies in the European Union;
- compare and contrast the governmental features of the European Union to those of another union of states across the Atlantic, the United States;
- describe and explain key European Union internal and external policies, drawing on key concepts;
- critically evaluate the impact of the European Union and its policies on the member states and citizens and on the outside world;
- probe the possibilities of, and limits to, cooperation among sovereign states attempting new ways to combat old and new problems;
- sharpen such critical skills as comparative analysis, debate, research, oral presentation, policy analysis, problem solving, theoretical inquiry, and writing;
- prepare students for more advanced coursework and study abroad in the EU

Course Requirements

- quiz (20 percent) and final exam (30 percent);*
- three five-page think pieces (10 percent each);**
- one debate or roundtable (10 percent); and
- active participation (10 percent) in discussion of readings; exercises; responses to end-of-chapter study questions, video questions, and guest speaker questions; definitions of concepts; discussion of current events in the *Financial Times*, *Bulletin Quotidien Europe*, *The Economist* and assigned web-based sources; and regular class attendance.***

*all exams must be taken as scheduled—no exceptions.

**To assure fairness to all, there can be no late submissions of required work. All deadlines are posted in syllabus. The Government Department stresses the importance of good writing skills as part of your education in government. See attached departmental "Writing Statement."

***The Government Department stresses the importance of mutual respect in the classroom. See attached "Policy on Civility and Comportment in the Classroom." Turn off cell phones. No text messaging or other disruptive activity. No unexcused absences.

Required Texts

- Ginsberg, *Demystifying the European Union: The Enduring Logic of Regional Integration*
- Zeff and Pirro, eds., *The European Union and the Member States*

Required Periodicals in the Scribner Library

- *Bulletin Quotidien Europe* (online at library and in Dr. G.'s office)
- The *Economist* and the *Financial Times*

Required Use of Internet Sources (make bookmarks) for Think Pieces/Policy Briefs/Current Events

EU Website	http://europa.eu.int/
EU Public Opinion	http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg10/epo/
EU Monthly Bulletin	http://europa.eu.int/abc/doc/off/bull/en/welcome.htm
European Union Studies Assn.	http://www.eustudies.org
EU Mission to the U.S.	http://www.eurunion.org/news/home.htm
U.S. Mission to the EU	http://www.useu.be
EU News/Press Releases	http://ue.eu.int/newsroom/newmain.asp?lang=1
French Presidency of EU Council	http://www.ue2008.fr/PFUE/lang/en/accueil/presidence_du_conseil
World News/BBC	http://news.bbc.co.uk
<i>Financial Times</i>	http://news.ft.com/home/us
<i>Bulletin Quotidien Europe</i>	instructions for access provided in class

Schedule of Lectures, Reading Assignments,* Debates, Films, and Roundtables

* bring to class the text assigned for scheduled reading as references will be made to it; key concept definitions and responses to study questions will be assigned and are due at start of class

Part One: The European Union in Theory and History

Sept. 4	What is European Integration and Why Study it? Handouts.
Sept. 9	Importance of the European Union. Ginsberg, preface, intro., and Ch. 1 and Zeff, Ch. 1; view U.S. Mission to EU and EU Mission to U.S. websites.
Sept. 11	How the EU Works—A Thumbnail Sketch. Zeff, Ch. 2
Sept. 16	Theory and Practice of Modern European Integration. Ginsberg, Ch. 2
Sept. 18	Economic Foundations. Ginsberg, Ch. 3 (pp. 95-108)
Sept. 23	Legal Foundations. Ginsberg, Ch. 3 (pp. 108-131); and “Judicially Crafted Federalism: EU and USA,” <i>EUSA Review</i> , Winter 2008
Sept. 25	Review of Economic and Legal Foundations. Ginsberg, Ch. 3 (pp. 129-131); and Introduction to the EU and the Member States (Germany), Zeff, Ch. 3
Sept. 30	Rosh Hashanah. No class. View films on Jean Monnet (prepare responses to study questions to hand in on Oct. 2); examine EU website: http://europa.edu.int/
Oct. 2	Contexts and Actors of EU Governmental Decisionmaking. Ginsberg, pp. 137-143 and Ch. 4; and France and Italy in the EU. Zeff, Chs. 4-5
Oct. 7	Benelux and the UK in the EU. Zeff, Chs. 6-7
Oct. 9	Yom Kippur. No class. We will schedule a review session ahead of the quiz
Oct. 14	Quiz (students schedule 80-minute quiz with Dr. G. during Oct. 14 apart from class time)
Oct. 14	Ireland/Denmark in the EU. Zeff, Chs. 8-9; Intro. to part two, Ginsberg, pp. 160-183

Part Two: The European Union in Practice

Oct. 16	Inside EU Governmental Decisionmaking. Ginsberg, Ch. 5 (184-205). Think Piece Due
Oct. 21	EU and U.S. Comparative Government. Ginsberg, Ch. 5 (pp. 205-218)
Oct. 23	Reluctant Member States of the EU. Zeff, Chs. 10, 12-13, and 15
Oct. 28	Internal Policies of the European Union. Ginsberg, Ch. 6 (pp. 223-257)
Oct. 30	Internal Policies. Ginsberg, Ch. 6 (pp. 257-278)
Nov. 4	Other States in the EU. Zeff, Chs. 11, 14, 19, and 20
Nov. 6	Alan Cafruny. <i>Europe at Bay</i> , Chs. 1 and 6 (handouts)

Nov. 11	New States in the EU. Zeff, Chs. 16-18; and Introduction to External Policies of the EU, Ginsberg, Ch. 7 (pp. 283-293)
Nov. 13	External Policies of the European Union. Ginsberg, Ch. 7 (pp. 293-327)
Nov. 18	Catch-Up; Key Issues During the French Presidency (French EU Presidency Website); Second Think Piece Due at Start of Class
Nov. 20	First and Second Roundtables

Part Three: Evaluating European Integration

Nov. 25	Public Opinion and the Effects of the EU on Europeans. Ginsberg, Ch. 8 and Zeff, Ch. 21
Dec. 2	The Effects of the EU on the Outside World. Ginsberg, Ch. 9
Dec. 4	Third and Fourth Roundtables and Course Evaluation
Dec. 9	Roundtable continued if needed; Summary of Course. Ginsberg, Ch. 10
Dec. 10	Review Session TBA
Dec. 16	Final Exam On Parts Two and Three. Third Think Piece Due at or before Start of Exam

Instructions for Assignments and Criteria for Evaluation

Student Participation and Contribution

Students are expected to bring the relevant reading to class each day, arrive on time to discuss reading and film and current events assignments, and submit responses to study questions and key concepts as assigned. More than two unexcused absences will result in a full letter drop in the final grade. If students cannot make class, for whatever reason, they are required to let Dr. G. know before the start of class by phone. Since late arrivals to class are disruptive, students are asked to arrive on time. Please consult the appended Government Department “Policy on Civility and Comportment in the Classroom.” Due dates for assignments and scheduled exams, which are detailed in the syllabus, are fixed and cannot be changed. In fairness to students who meet deadlines, and to best prepare for the “zero tolerance” of late work in either graduate/law school or the workplace, no late submissions will be accepted. In order to anticipate last minute hitches, do not wait until it is too late to print out a document. Students are asked not to send the professor their written work by electronic mail.

Study Questions and Key Concepts

Responses to study questions—which serve as written assignments for students and lend structure to lectures and discussions—are required for each of the assigned book chapters and films. The questions are designed to encourage students to think creatively and analytically on the basis of what they have learned in the reading. Dr. G. may require students either to submit their written responses for evaluation or to come to class prepared to discuss them. Study questions will be included in the mid-term and final exams.

Key concepts are building blocks in students’ understanding of the basic principles of European integration. They are found at the end of each chapter. For each key concept students should provide a brief definition, offer a date and an example when appropriate, and explain how the concept is relevant to the study or practice of European integration. Students are more apt to learn, define, and remember key concepts if they first understand the context and significance of those concepts. Students may wish to reserve a section in their notebooks for a glossary or use note cards. Students should find their definitions only in either the assigned texts or in the lectures (and **not** other non-course sources). Dr. G. may require students either to submit their key concepts for evaluation or to come to class prepared to define key concepts in the course of discussion. Students’ knowledge of key concepts will be tested in the mid-term and final exams.

Think Pieces

Think pieces offer students an opportunity to write creatively, critically, and analytically about what they have learned. Thus, think pieces entail even more in-depth thought and elucidation of ideas than the study

questions found at the end of the chapters. A think piece is not a research paper, but rather a thought-provoking essay that revolves around the support of creative and original ideas. Therefore, citations (endnotes) should be limited to necessary support of the student's original ideas. A "works cited" page at the end of the paper should offer full bibliographic references.

Some of the most effective and compelling think pieces employ different creative media, e.g., a diary entry of an historical or contemporary figure; a dialogue or debate between historical or contemporary figures; a newspaper op ed piece or clipping; or a poem, interview, letter, memoir or speech. Students electing to use such a creative medium ought to provide explanatory "bookends" in their piece—i.e., to describe and explain the choice of medium and to offer an editorial conclusion. In so doing, students frame their creative piece by providing the reader with the appropriate context. In order to get feedback, students should consult with Dr. G. before selecting a medium and choosing and structuring an argument. Dr. G. makes available for examination excellent think pieces of students from previous years. The Writing Center is a good place to go for critiques of draft papers. Criteria for evaluating excellence in student think pieces include

- cover page (title/subtitle)
- provocative argument or theme
- effective delivery and overall quality of presentation
- originality, creativity, and persuasiveness
- spelling and grammar
- page numbers, margins, and paragraphs
- response to query
- accuracy of content
- cohesion and structure: clear introduction and conclusion
- support of argument in body of piece with illustrative examples
- adherence to five-page length
- citation page as needed
- consultation with Dr. G.

Choices for First Think Piece (Due in class on October 16)

1. What confluence of individuals, developments, ideas, and/or events took place in 1950 to produce the Schuman Plan and in 1957 to produce the Spaak Report? Which one, the Schuman Plan or the Spaak Report, was more significant to the long-term development of the EU and why?
2. What was the significance of the Paris and Rome Treaties viewed against the backdrops of European unity and disunity, war and peace, and the immediate imperatives driven by the Cold War? What are the most important explanations for the rise of the EC in the 1950 and why?
3. Imagine, then write, a dialogue between Jean Monnet (or Altiero Spinelli, Paul-Henri Spaak, or Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi) and Margaret Thatcher (or Charles De Gaulle, Jacques Chirac, or Nicholas Sarkozy) on the form of cooperation most needed by Europe—and why.

Choices for Second Think Piece (Due in class on November 18)

1. Define, explain, and critique the ideas and methods of Jean Monnet as they affected the establishment and early development of the EC. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Monnet method in practice? How relevant are Monnet and his method in today's EU?
2. Define customs unions and explain the rationale behind them. What are their strengths and weaknesses and how prevalent are they in the world? What obstacles are faced by the EU as it attempts to move from the creation of a customs union in the 1960s to an economic and monetary

union in more recent years? Make sure to focus on free movement of workers, free trade in services, and issues related to monetary and fiscal policies.

3. What is the CAP (or any other major EU policy such as EMU and energy or environmental policy) and the logic behind it? What are its origins and objectives? How does it work? What are key problems and prospects for change or reform?
4. Does the American experience of federalism provide insights into the process of integration that began in Western Europe in 1950 and continues to this day? Explain your answer.

Choices for Third Think Piece (Due Before or at Start of the Exam Period)

1. What is the significance of European integration for Europeans (or Americans or the world)?
2. What impact does public opinion have on the EU? How serious is political opposition to the EU? What do you think the future holds for the EU if it cannot garner more public support?
3. Apply a constructivist, neofunctional, principal-agent, realist, hybrid, or your own theoretical perspective to the study of European integration or an element thereof. What approach yields the best explanations and why?
4. Define EU security policy. What is the EU record in this policy realm and what are the prospects for the EU to have agency as an international security player?

Roundtables

In a roundtable discussion, a group of participants, led by a moderator, focuses on a preassigned set of questions/themes. The discussion starts with an introduction of the participants and a summary of the issue or problem to be discussed followed by a *tour de table*. Each individual speaks 4-5 minutes. This is followed by a general discussion. The roundtable ends when the moderator asks each participant to summarize main points (2-3 minutes each). Four roundtable discussions are scheduled:

Roundtable One, November 20--Theories of Regional Integration Revisited

Roundtable Two, November 20--Major Issues Before and After the French EU Presidency

Roundtable Three, December 4--EU as an International Security Player

Roundtable Four, December 4--Widening and Deepening after Lisbon: The EU in the Next Ten Years

The criteria for evaluating student participation include:

- clarity, organization, and delivery of thought
- substantiation of ideas
- confidence
- persuasiveness
- quality of key points and responses and quality of preparation and consultation with Dr. G.

Video Study Questions

Jean Monnet: Father of Europe and *Monnet: Vision and Reality* (12, 20 minutes respectively)

1. Who was Monnet? Identify three ways in which his international experience/contacts influenced his views on Franco-German relations.
2. How did he “get things done” and why is this germane to our study of European integration?
3. Why and how did he want to change the “psychology” of Europe?
4. What did he mean by the “curse of war”?

5. What was his view on war reparations placed on Germany after WWI? What does this view tell us about his perspective on Franco-German relations?
6. Was he a politician? If yes, why? If not, why not?
7. What did Monnet mean by the "arsenal of democracy"?
8. How did Monnet use his American connections to pursue his interests in a united Europe?
9. What did Monnet mean when he said, "I attack the context of problems, not the problems themselves"?
10. To what extent was the Schuman Plan of 1950 Monnet's child? Explain.

Department of Government Writing Statement

The Government department faculty believe that the ability to produce grammatical, lucid prose is a prerequisite for clear thinking and cogent argumentation. Department members therefore take note of the quality of the writing when assessing student work, and each faculty member may shape her or his grading policies accordingly.

Competence in written expression is one of the defining properties of a liberally educated person. Writing well also has practical value. We offer as evidence of this a comment by one of our alumni, a successful lawyer:

My experience has taught me that the single skill most lacking in college graduates is the ability to craft proper written arguments. Professors should emphasize grammar and sentence structure at all course levels. In order for your graduates to succeed, they must be able to express themselves perfectly in writing. Anything less dooms them to failure.

The most important way that students can improve their writing is by reading and responding to instructors' comments on their assignments. Failing to read such comments and revise accordingly constitutes a refusal to take advantage of one of the key benefits of a liberal arts education. The "conversation" that occurs between faculty and students through the medium of student exams and papers is singular to liberal arts colleges. Your peers at larger institutions do not necessarily enjoy the benefits that accrue from having full-time teacher-scholars read and comment on their writing. We urge you to take advantage of your privileged position.

There are also several other ways that students can improve their writing outside of the classroom:

1) Read widely and voraciously

Your reading should not be confined to your coursework. The more you read, the more you will learn about grammar, syntax, organization, and style. Try to read as many different "genres" as possible (e.g., history, biography, memoirs, fiction, etc.). *The New York Times Sunday Book Review* and *The New York Review of Books* provide both concise and lengthy reviews of recently published books that can help you distinguish the flawless from the fatuous. You should also not hesitate to ask faculty for book recommendations.

2) Purchase a "style manual" or a "grammar and usage guide"

Even the most fluid writers sometimes need help with a grammar rule. The Skidmore Guide to Writing is a good place to start. We also strongly recommend that students purchase *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Students who aspire to more than mere competency should purchase both *The Elements of Style*, by William Strunk, Jr. and E.B. White and *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, by H.W. Fowler. "Strunk and White," as the former is affectionately known, is not technically a style manual, but it remains the most readable, succinct primer on how to generate correct and compelling prose. "Fowler" was an "epoch-making book" well before Winston Churchill invoked it during WW II to chastise the Director of Military Intelligence for using "intensive" rather than the correct "intense" in the plans for the invasion of

Normandy. It remains the essential source for those who are "not satisfied with catching the general drift and obvious intention of a sentence" but insist that "the words used must... actually yield on scrutiny the desired sense."

3) Look up unfamiliar words in a dictionary

You cannot know the "right word" if you only know the "wrong words." It is important to look up every word whose definition eludes you. Poor word choice can cause misinterpretations and misunderstandings. To paraphrase Abraham Lincoln, there is a difference between "a horse chestnut and a chestnut horse."

4) Keep a "commonplace book"

One records in a commonplace book particularly well-written, insightful, or meaningful passages from his or her reading. Thomas Jefferson knew that mimesis could be an effective learning technique. He kept a commonplace book for most of his life, and no one ever accused him of being "derivative" (though he may have cribbed a bit from John Locke). Your commonplace book does not need to be a leather-bound, gold-embossed folio. A spiral notebook will do the job. By transcribing trenchant quotations, sublime turns of phrase, or vivid vignettes from your reading, you will improve your ability both to identify and to produce exquisite prose.

5) Write "e-letters"

We recognize that the only people who compose letters today are those perverse few who cannot get enough of Dangerous Liaisons. Email and instant messages have developed their own conventions that abet rapid communication but are contrary to the rules of "formal writing." This is unfortunate because electronic communications provide students with excellent opportunities to improve their writing. Crafting a readable and memorable "e-letter" requires the same skills as those needed to compose a clear and compelling argument. John Adams averred in one of his letters to Thomas Jefferson that, "You and I ought not to die before we explain ourselves to each other." E-letters can help you to "explain yourself" to others in ways that are transferable to your coursework.

Department of Government Policy on Civility and Comportment in the Classroom

The classroom experience is the heart of liberal education, and as such is the most important aspect of your Skidmore College education. Presumably, if you did not agree you would not be attending Skidmore. The faculty of the Government Department takes this understanding as the basis of our educational efforts. It is in an attempt to honor the centrality of the classroom experience that we offer this department policy on civility and comportment.

As is stated in the Student Handbook, your presence at Skidmore College is contingent upon your acceptance of, and full adherence to, the Skidmore College Honor Code. This honor code is distinct from the oath you take when writing a paper or taking an exam – it is in fact much more all-encompassing, and much more demanding.

The Code includes the following statement: "*I hereby accept membership in the Skidmore College community and, with full realization of the responsibilities inherent in membership, do agree to adhere to honesty and integrity in all relationships, to be considerate of the rights of others, and to abide by the College regulations.*" Elsewhere, the Code also calls all Skidmore students to *conform to high standards of fair play, integrity, and honor.*"

What does it mean to do act honestly, with integrity, and according to high standards of fair play, particularly in the classroom? In our view, it includes, minimally, the following.

1. No student shall lessen the learning experience of others in the classroom by arriving late to class.
2. No student shall lessen the learning experience of others in the classroom by leaving the classroom while class is in session, except for true medical emergencies.
3. Cell phones must be turned off during class.
4. No student shall disrupt the learning experience of others in the classroom by talking to a neighbor, writing notes to other students, reviewing one's mail, reading the newspaper, completing homework for other classes, or playing with the laptop computer, while class is in session.
5. No student shall disrespect other Skidmore students, professors or the housekeeping staff by putting feet on the desks or other furniture in the classroom, or by leaving trash, food, or recyclables in the room at the end of the class session.

While we will hold all students to these minimal expectations, we also have some suggestions for those who seek to go beyond the bare minimum of civil classroom comportment to become the type of mature, responsible, active learners who are an asset to any classroom and society at large. These include the following.

6. Every student should take copious and meaningful notes both on assigned readings and during classroom sessions. Note taking is an important skill—if you do not already possess it, you should acquire it.
7. Every student should take some time to review the notes that he or she has taken on the day's assigned reading before each class meeting. You will be amazed how much more invested and engaged in the class you will feel if you go into the classroom well-prepared.
8. Disruptions in class can be a significant impediment to learning, and no member of the Skidmore community—including faculty and students—should tolerate them. Thus every student should take responsibility for holding his or her peers and classmates to both high academic standards and high standards of civility. If people around you are chatting, passing notes or otherwise detracting from the overall quality of YOUR classroom experience, don't let them get away with it.
9. Individual faculty members in the Government Department will determine the level of sanctions for disruptive behavior.