

# European Integration

**PSC 2332.10, Spring 2020**  
**Tuesday & Thursday 12:45 – 2:00pm**  
(1957 E 212)

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Office hours: Tuesday 3:40 - 5:10pm or by appointment

## Course Description

This is a class on European Integration. The European Union (EU) is a unique international organization, a political project, and a political experiment. The goal of this class is to both introduce you to theoretical debates over the emergence and survival of the EU *and* help you become critical participants in the vibrant debates over its future. You will learn the history, structure, and politics of the European Union, including the challenges it faces today. In the first part of the course, we will cover the most prominent explanations of the emergence of the European Community; its historical evolution since the end of World War II; and the main challenges the EU faces today. We will also focus on competing visions within the EU (e.g., intergovernmentalism vs. federalism). In the second part, we will pay special attention to the “EU Enlargement” debate. In the final part, we will focus on transatlantic relations and the EU’s position in the world.

## Course Outline

January 14. Introduction and Overview  
January 16. The Idea of European Integration and the Challenges It Currently Faces  
January 21. Explanations for European Integration I  
January 23. Explanations for European Integration II  
January 28. Explanations for European Integration III  
January 30. Explanations for European Integration - DEBATE  
February 4. The European Union Institutions  
February 6. The European Debt Crisis I  
February 11. The European Debt Crisis II  
February 13. The European Debt Crisis III  
February 18. *Review Session*  
February 20. *Midterm*  
February 25. The Refugee Crisis I  
February 27. The Refugee Crisis II  
March 3. The Refugee Crisis III - DEBATE  
March 5. Brexit I  
March 10. Brexit II- DEBATE  
March 12. EU Enlargement I  
March 24. EU Enlargement II- DEBATE  
March 26. *Creating EU citizens: Does the EU need strong supra-national identities?*  
March 31. Centrifugal Forces  
April 2. Nativism  
April 7. Democratic Backsliding  
April 9. EU-USA-China-Russia Relations  
April 14. Multilateralism and the Rule of Law: The EU as a Global Model  
April 16. The Quest for a European Identity  
April 21. The Future of Europe - DEBATE  
April 23. *Review Session*  
*Final exam May 8.*

## Texts

There is one required book, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore (or online). Also available on reserve at Gelman Library.

Neill Nugent. 2017. *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Recommended:

Andrew Moravcsik. 1998. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Cornell University Press.

Walter Mattli. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Blackboard

This course will use Blackboard for announcements and readings (see "Electronic Reserves"). I strongly encourage you to ensure you have access to Blackboard as soon as possible. To log onto Blackboard, you will need to use your Net ID and e-mail password. If you have any questions about how to use the system, go to <http://helpdesk.gwu.edu>.

## Course Requirements:

**Midterm Exam:** In-class midterm exam (February 20).

**Final Exam/Paper:** Take-Home Final exam (May 8)

## Average minimum amount of independent, out-of-class, learning expected per week:

Over 14 weeks, students will spend 2.5 hours per week in lecture (35 hours for the semester). Homework, assignments, and other out-of-class work is estimated to take up, on average, 5 hours per week (70 hours for the semester). The course includes a take-home final exam for which approximately 10 hours of work is assumed.

## Learning Outcomes

As a result of completing this course, students will:

1. Know the history of the European Union and understand its institutional structure.
2. Understand the contemporary political debates about the future of the EU.
3. Have developed an understanding of EU foreign, security, defence, economic, and environmental policy.
4. Improve your presentation skills.
5. Compose a publishable opinion piece on the topic.

## Class Policies

The following policies are important. Read them carefully.

### Attendance

Please come to class on time. Feel free to bring a cup of coffee/tea or water, but please **don't bring food**. Cell phones must be **turned off**. Laptops or other electronic devices are **not** allowed. (Hand writing notes is a more effective learning strategy than typing; see "[Ditch the laptop and pick up a pen, class. Researchers say it's better for note taking](#)" in the *Washington Post*.) Instead of attendance I will give occasional pop quizzes with difficult questions such as "what is your name?" or "what day of the week is it today?" turned off and out of sight.

### Grading

There are three components to your grade:

- **Class Participation: 20%** - Students will have to read 1-2 texts or watch a video per class. They are a compilation of academic and policy materials as well as official documents

and speeches. They aim to introduce the issues and debates for each class and they are the beginning and not the end of the discussion. Active participation in class is strongly encouraged. You are also encouraged to bring with you news stories that are relevant to our class.

- **In-class midterm: 50%** - The midterm will consist of two parts. The first part will include 10 multiple-choice questions (40/100). In the second part you will be asked to choose 6 out of 10 IDs and write on them (60/100). Please do not bring with you any notes or reading materials. (February 20).
- **Take-home final: 30%** - There is a take-home final for this class. There is no in-class final. The take-home final will account for 30% of your grade. Students will be given two topical subjects on May 7<sup>th</sup> and asked to prepare a Policy Note for the EU High Representative (due on May 8<sup>th</sup>). You should upload it to safe assign on Blackboard. This will be an internal/confidential note reviewing an issue and recommending concrete policy action and next steps. The Note should not be longer than 1500 words. Guidelines will be discussed on April 23.

Grades Scored Between	Will Equal
97 % and 100 %	A+
94 % and Less Than 97%	A
90 % and Less Than 94%	A-
87 % and Less Than 90%	B+
84 % and Less Than 87%	B
80 % and Less Than 84%	B-
77 % and Less Than 80%	C+
74 % and Less Than 77%	C
70 % and Less Than 74%	C-
67 % and Less Than 70%	D+
64 % and Less Than 67%	D
60 % and Less Than 64%	D-
0 % and Less Than 60%	F

I am using blackboard's default grading schema (see Table). Please keep in mind that I do not round up grades.

Participation (20%)  
 Midterm (50%)  
 Take-Home Final Exam (30%)

If you would like me to re-grade your midterm or the final paper, you must submit a *written* request, explaining why you believe you did not receive the proper grade. I reserve the right to raise *or* lower your grade. There will **not** be opportunities to do extra-credit work to improve your grade.

### Late Work

Late assignments will lose one third of a full grade (e.g., from an A to a A-, to B+ etc.) for each day after the deadline. There are only two exceptions to the late-assignment policy: illness or family emergency. If either of these circumstances applies, you must provide *written documentation* (such as a

doctor's note if you are ill), **and** you must communicate with me *before the assignment is due* (i.e., emailing me on the morning the assignment is due and saying you are sick is not acceptable for avoiding a penalty). I am willing to accommodate documented requests, but you must communicate with me *before* the assignment is due.

### Participation and class environment

You are expected to come *prepared*. All lectures will involve discussion, and participation will account for 20% of your grade. This course is intended to create an active intellectual atmosphere that promotes participatory learning. Students are expected to have engaged with the readings in advance and participate by making comments, asking questions, and sharing constructive ideas. Students are always required to interact respectfully with each other.

An inclusive learning environment is critical to the goals and objectives of this course. We will be discussing sensitive, personal issues related to identity and politics. It is important that students from all backgrounds and experiences feel welcome, participate actively, and have the opportunity to excel in this course. Your reflections or suggestions on how to ensure an inclusive learning environment for you individually or for other students are welcome.

### Make-up exams

Make-up exams are allowed only if you have consulted with me in advance.

## **University Policies & Services**

### *Academic integrity code*

Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information. For details and complete code, see: [studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity](http://studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity)

### **Writing Center**

The GW Writing Center operates out of Gelman Library and Eckles Library. Their website, at <http://www.gwu.edu/~gwriter/>, provides general information on writing strategies. Online. The GW Language Center houses GW's English for Academic Purposes Program which provides support for non-native speakers of English; more information at <http://programs.columbian.gwu.edu/languagecenter/>

### **Accommodations for Students with Disabilities**

Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Rome Hall, Suite 102, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. If you have an established accommodation, please let me know as soon as possible so that we can work together in planning for a successful semester. For additional information see: [disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/](http://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/)

### *University policy on observance of religious holidays*

In accordance with University policy, you should notify me during the first week of the semester of your intention to be absent from class on a day(s) of religious observance. If an assignment falls on a day you will be observing a religious holiday, we will work together to find an alternative time to complete the assignment. Please communicate with me about holidays in advance of the original due date. I do not intend to observe any religious holidays. For details and policy, see: <https://registrar.gwu.edu/university-policies#holidays>

### *Mental Health Services 202-994-5300*

The University's Counseling Center offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information call 202-994-5300 or see: [counselingcenter.gwu.edu/](http://counselingcenter.gwu.edu/)

### **Emergency Preparedness and Response Procedures**

The University has asked all faculty to inform students of these procedures, prepared by the GW Office of Public Safety and Emergency Management in collaboration with the Office of the Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs.

### **To Report an Emergency or Suspicious Activity**

Call the University Police Department at 202-994-6111 (Foggy Bottom) or 202-242-6111 (Mount Vernon).

### **Shelter in Place – General Guidance**

Although it is unlikely that we will ever need to shelter in place, it is helpful to know what to do just in case. No matter where you are, the basic steps of shelter in place will generally remain the same.

- If you are inside, stay where you are unless the building you are in is affected. If it is affected, you should evacuate. If you are outdoors, proceed into the closest building or follow instructions from emergency personnel on the scene.
- Locate an interior room to shelter inside. If possible, it should be above ground level and have the fewest number of windows. If sheltering in a room with windows, move away from the windows. If there is a large group of people inside a particular building, several rooms may be necessary.
- Shut and lock all windows (for a tighter seal) and close exterior doors.
- Turn off air conditioners, heaters, and fans. Close vents to ventilation systems as you are able. (University staff will turn off ventilation systems as quickly as possible).
- Make a list of the people with you and ask someone to call the list in to UPD so they know where you are sheltering and who is with you. If only students are present, one of the students should call in the list.
- Await further instructions. If possible, visit GW Campus Advisories for incident updates (<http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu>) or call the GW Information Line 202-994-5050.
- Make yourself comfortable and look after one other. You will get word as soon as it is safe to come out.

#### Evacuation

An evacuation will be considered if the building we are in is affected or we must move to a location of greater safety. We will always evacuate if the fire alarm sounds. In the event of an evacuation, please gather your personal belongings quickly (purse, keys, GWorld card, etc.) and proceed to the nearest exit. Every classroom has a map at the door designating both the shortest egress and an alternate egress. Anyone who is physically unable to walk down the stairs should wait in the stairwell, behind the closed doors. Firemen will check the stairwells upon entering the building.

Once you have evacuated the building, proceed to our primary rendezvous location: the courtyard area between the GW Hospital and Ross Hall. In the event that this location is unavailable, we will meet on the ground level of the Visitors Parking Garage (I Street entrance, at 22nd Street). From our rendezvous location, we will await instructions to re-enter the School.

#### Alert DC

Alert DC provides free notification by e-mail or text message during an emergency. Visit GW Campus Advisories for a link and instructions on how to sign up for alerts pertaining to GW. If you receive an Alert DC notification during class, you are encouraged to share the information immediately.

#### GW Alert

GW Alert provides popup notification to desktop and laptop computers during an emergency. In the event that we receive an alert to the computer in our classroom, we will follow the instructions given. You are also encouraged to download this application to your personal computer. Visit GW Campus Advisories to learn how.

#### Additional Information

Additional information about emergency preparedness and response at GW or the University's operating status can be found on GW Campus Advisories (<http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu>) or by calling the GW Information Line at 202-994-5050.

## Course Schedule

### January 14. Introduction and Overview

Mylonas, Harris. 2020. "The Enduring Promise of the European Union," in Erik Jones (ed.). *European Studies: Past, Present, and Future*. London: Agenda Publishing.

#EUArchives – Europe 1957-2017: 60 years of peace, democracy, solidarity

Watch: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fqm9dda23YA>

### January 16. The Idea of European Integration and the Challenges It Currently Faces

Nugent, Chapter 1

## HISTORY & ORIGINS

### January 21. Explanations for European Integration I

Moravcsik. *Introduction*.

### January 23. Explanations for European Integration II

Walter Mattli, *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Read pages: 1 to 18, 20, 41 to 108.

### January 28. Explanations for European Integration III

Josef Joffe. 1984. "Europe's American Pacifier," *Foreign Policy*, No. 54, pp. 64-82.

Watch: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OA2kPNwTkhc>

### January 30. Explanations for European Integration - DEBATE

Darden, K., & Mylonas, H. 2016. "Threats to territorial integrity, national mass schooling, and linguistic commonality," *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(11), 1446-1479.

### February 4. The EU Institutions

Nugent, Chapters 9-12.

Watch: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8Rkwllr912A>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=idlCpZl9hQ4>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZwVBa8ig9NQ> (a little dated).

## CHALLENGES

### February 6. The European Debt Crisis I

Guest: *Michalis Psalidopoulos*, professor at the Department of Economics of the University of Athens and, since June 2015, Alternate Executive Director at the IMF.

*The European Debt Crisis Visualized* (19 mins)

Watch: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j4\\_tyEl84IQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j4_tyEl84IQ)

Harris Mylonas. 2018. "The Political Consequences of the Crisis in Greece: Charismatic Leadership and its Discontents," in Evdoxios Doxiadis and Aimee Placas (eds.). *Living Under Austerity: Greek Society in Crisis*. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 46-66.

Harris Mylonas. 2014. "Democratic Politics in Times of Austerity: The Limits of Forced Reform in Greece," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (June): 435-443.

Harris Mylonas. 2011. "Is Greece a Failing Developed State?" in Botsiou, Konstantina E.; Klapsis, Antonis (eds.) *The Konstantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy Yearbook 2011: The Global Economic Crisis and the Case of Greece*. Springer, pp. 77-88.

#### February 11. **The European Debt Crisis II**

The Austerity Delusion - Mark Blyth <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NQGCoiakycQ>

Helen Thompson (2018), "Broken Europe Why the EU Is Stuck in Perpetual Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/2018-12-10/broken-europe>

#### February 13. **The European Debt Crisis III**

Guest: *Heiko Hesse*, IMF

IMF e-book on the Global Financial Crisis:

[https://www.elibrary.imf.org/fileasset/misc/excerpts/essays\\_global\\_financial\\_crisis.pdf](https://www.elibrary.imf.org/fileasset/misc/excerpts/essays_global_financial_crisis.pdf)

#### February 18. **Review Session**

#### February 20. **Midterm**

#### February 25. **The Refugee Crisis I**

**Guest:** *Theodoros Bizakis*, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Greece

Niemann, Arne, and Natascha Zaun. "EU refugee policies and politics in times of crisis: theoretical and empirical perspectives." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56, no. 1 (2018): 3-22.

*EU migration crisis: the inside story, Council of the EU (20 mins)*

**Watch:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YnYzcl4QRgY>

#### February 27. **The Refugee Crisis II**

*Does Europe really have a migration crisis? | State of Europe*

**Watch:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IdyrZLhp98s>

Biermann, F., Guérin, N., Jagdhuber, S., Rittberger, B., & Weiss, M. (2019). "Political (non-) reform in the euro crisis and the refugee crisis: a liberal intergovernmentalist explanation," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26(2), 246-266.

John Henley, "[What is the current state of the migration crisis in Europe?](#)" *The Guardian*.

#### March 3. **The Refugee Crisis III-Debate**

Guest: *Giovanna De Maio*, The Brookings Institution

Pietro Castelli Gattinara, 2017. "[The 'refugee crisis' in Italy as a crisis of legitimacy.](#)" *Contemporary Italian Politics*, 9:3, 318-331, DOI: [10.1080/23248823.2017.1388639](https://doi.org/10.1080/23248823.2017.1388639)

Giovanna De Maio, "Salvini is out but not down," <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/09/04/matteo-salvini-is-out-but-not-down/>

The tiny Greek island sinking under Europe's migrant crisis, *The Guardian*

**Watch:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mpxz8Pf2VNE>

### March 5. **Brexit I**

Guests: **Veronique Dockendorf**, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Luxembourg;  
**Heleen Bakker**, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands;  
**Christophe Payot**, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Belgium.

Hobolt, S. B. 2016. The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23(9), 1259-1277.

How Brexit is changing the EU | The Economist

**Watch:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9bLLe8Z2Dng>

### March 10. **Brexit II-Debate**

Goodwin, M., & Milazzo, C. (2017). Taking back control? Investigating the role of immigration in the 2016 vote for Brexit. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19(3), 450-464.

### March 12. **EU Enlargement I**

Andrew Moravcsik and Milada A. Vachudova. 2003. "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement," *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pages 42–57

[https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/conditions-membership\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/conditions-membership_en)

[https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/conditions-membership/chapters-of-the-acquis\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/conditions-membership/chapters-of-the-acquis_en)

### March 24. **EU Enlargement II- DEBATE**

**Watch:** <https://vimeo.com/143848418>

<https://vimeo.com/209722660>

<https://vimeo.com/209722704>

March 26. **Creating EU citizens: Does the EU need strong supra-national identities to succeed?**

Guest Lecture by *Adam Lenton*, George Washington University

### March 31. **Centrifugal Forces**

Keating, Michael James. "Brexit and the Nations." *Political Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (2019).

### **Catalonia**

**Watch:** <https://www.fieldofvision.org/44-messages-from-catalonia>

**Read:** <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/spain/2020-01-06/crimes-and-recriminations-catalonia>

**Watch:** <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ireland/2019-08-21/irelands-rocky-road-unity> ; <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-50813510>;  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OtoO5u0X6LA>

## April 2. **Nativism**

Guest: *Joseph Cerrone*, George Washington University

Nativism is driving the far-right surge in Europe – and it is here to stay, by Cas Mudde  
<https://www.theguardian.com/global/commentisfree/2019/nov/12/nativism-is-driving-the-far-right-surge-in-europe-and-it-is-here-to-stay>

## April 7. **Democratic Backsliding**

Guest: *Yascha Mounk*, Johns Hopkins University

Mounk, Yascha. *The people vs. democracy: Why our freedom is in danger and how to save it*. Harvard University Press, 2018, Introduction and Chapter 1.

How Democratic Is Hungary? By Zoltan Kovacs, Larry Diamond  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/hungary/2019-08-15/how-democratic-hungary>

The End of the Spanish Exception? Far-Right Populism Has Finally Conquered Spain, but the Real Shift Lies Elsewhere, By Sam Edwards  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/spain/end-spanish-exception-pp>

## THE FUTURE OF THE EU IN THE WORLD SYSTEM

### April 9. **EU-USA-China-Russia Relations**

Guest: *Erik Brattberg*, director of the Europe Program, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The U.S. or China? Europe Needs to Pick a Side, By ANDREA KENDALL-TAYLOR and RACHEL RIZZO,  
<https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2019/08/12/us-china-europe-relations-227614>

### April 14. **Multilateralism and the Rule of Law: The EU as a Global Model**

Mark Leonard, *Why Europe will run the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (chapter four - Europe's weapon is the law, pp.35-48), 2005.

### April 16. **The Quest for a European Identity**

Luhmann, S. 2017. A Multi-Level Approach to European Identity: Does Integration Foster Identity?. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(6), 1360-1379.

### April 21. **The Future of Europe - DEBATE**

Nugent, Chapter 26

### April 23. **Review Session**

**Take Home Final: Questions emailed on May 7, Policy Memos Due May 8**