

History 223: The Historical Development of European Unity, 1945 to the Present

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Office Hours: Tuesdays, 10-11 a.m., Wednesdays 2:30-3:30 p.m., and by appointment

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Class: 1:20-2:10 p.m., MWF, 1221 Humanities

The European Union won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012 for its contribution to world peace. Did it deserve it? What role did the European Union play in maintaining peace and prosperity for most people on the European continent in the post-World War II period? European integration was a project for peace and so much more. Understanding today's European Union requires understanding its history. Today, the EU is in crisis, stemming from the challenges of creating a common currency and the EU's so-called democratic deficit. Every step forward for the EU, and every crisis that threatens regression, can be traced back through the EU's history. In this course we will explore the founding of the EU, and analyze the various conceptions of European unity that people advocated over the last nearly seven decades. We will see that there has never been a consensus on how, or whether, Europe should unite itself. In fact, there has never been a consensus on how we define Europe.

This course takes as its anchor the historical development of the European Union, but the material will take a broader view than just the trajectories of the institutions of integration. European integration was an elite-led phenomenon for much of its history. Yet European unity was a lived experience among much of Western Europe's population, either through television, newspapers, tourism, intra-Western European industries, or other avenues. This course will address both elite-level integration and popular-level unity.

### **Grading**

Success in this class depends on your willingness and ability to complete tasks thoroughly, thoughtfully, and punctually. There will be two in-class exams, and two in-class map quizzes. You will also write two papers, one a shorter review essay, and the other a longer research paper. Arriving to class prepared to discuss the week's reading at our frequent discussions will consist of the remaining portion of your grade.

Map Quizzes: Friday, Feb. 1 (5 percent)

Friday, Feb. 15 (5 percent)

Mid-term Exam: Wednesday, March 13 (15 percent)

Final Exam: Tuesday, May 14, 5:05-7:05 p.m., location TBD (20 percent)

First paper, 4 pages: Wednesday, March 6 (15 percent)

Second paper, 6-8 pages: Friday, May 3 (25 percent)

Class discussion: Quality of preparedness and discussion contributions (15 percent)

**First paper:**

Students will write a 4-page review essay based on material we have read in class. You must take two readings and discuss them in light of the themes of the overall course. This is an exercise in evaluating sources and connecting ideas. You will receive more specific instructions in class, but things to consider when writing this essay are: Who wrote the material you selected? When was it written? What is the author's point of view? How does the author engage debates you know were taking place at the time? Is the author's thesis effective? How do the two works you've chosen relate to each other? The best papers will not summarize the material, but analyze it.

**Second paper:**

Students will complete a 6-8-page paper that requires the student to make an argument based on two to three sources from the course. You will receive more specific instruction in class about how to pick a good thesis statement around which to base your argument. The best papers will prove an original, interesting argument using the best evidence possible.

**Required Course Materials:**

- 1) Course pack (**cp**): This is a photocopied collection of many of our readings. It is available in the Humanities Copy Shop, 1650 Humanities.
- 2) Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb (eds). *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, Third Edition. Boulder: L. Reinner, 2003. (**N&S**)
- 3) Tony Judt, *A Grand Illusion: An Essay on Europe*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.
- 4) Johan Van Overtveldt, *The End of the Euro: The Uneasy Future of the European Union*, Chicago: AgateB2, 2011.
- 5) Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *Brussels, the Gentle Monster or the Disenfranchisement of Europe*, New York: Seagull Books, 2011.

**Required Media Reading:**

Since the history of the EU is unfolding before our eyes everyday, it is your responsibility to stay up to date on EU current events. We will often discuss noteworthy news items in class. Some of the best electronic sources include:

Financial Times: <http://www.ft.com/intl/world/europe>

EU Observer: <http://euobserver.com/>

Presseurop: <http://www.presseurop.eu/en>

The Guardian: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/eu>

The New York Times: <http://www.nytimes.com/pages/world/europe/index.html>

**Class Schedule:**

Week 1 - Today's European Union

W Jan. 23: Introduction to the European Union and European unity

F Jan. 25: The EU today and how it works

Readings: 1) John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction* (2011), pgs. 1-24, 69-93 (**cp**)

Week 2 - Unity as an Ideal

M Jan. 28: Historical ideas of European unity

W Jan. 30: Nations be gone: Anti-Nazi resistance and the possibility of integration, 1944-48

F Feb. 1: Discussion and **map quiz**

Readings: 1) Mario Albertini, "The Ventotene Manifesto: The Only Road to Follow" in Lucio Levi (ed.), *Altiero Spinelli and Federalism in Europe and the World* (1990), p. 127-131 (**cp**)

2) "Venotene Manifesto" (**N&S**) p. 3

3) Anthony Pagden, "Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent," in Pagden (ed.), *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* (2002), p. 33-54 (**cp**)

Week 3 - Post-war Impetus, 1947-1951

M Feb. 4: Post-war reconstruction and international organizations: Europeans embrace?

W Feb. 6: The European Movements and the Council of Europe: The birth of Europe as a modern institution

F Feb. 8: The German (and American) Problem

Readings: 1) William Röpke, *The German Question* (1946), pgs. 182-214 (**Access from UW-Madison Library Website**)

2) Walter Hallstein, "Germany's Dual Aims" *Foreign Affairs*, October 1952, p. 58-66 (**cp**)

Week 4 - Solutions to the German Problem, 1950-1954

M Feb. 11: The Schuman Plan, 1950-52

W Feb. 13: The European Defense (and Political) Community, 1952-54

F Feb. 15: Discussion and **map quiz**

Readings: 1) Jean Monnet, "A Ferment of Change" (**N&S**) p. 19

2) Craig Parsons, "The Parting of Ways," in Parsons, *A Certain Idea of Europe* (2003), p.37-66 (**cp**)

3) John Gillingham, *European Integration 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?* (2003), p. 22-33 (**cp**)

Week 5 - The Culmination of the Post-war Unity Movements, 1958

M Feb. 18: First of its Kind: The Treaties of Rome and the European Economic Community

W Feb. 20: Forgiving without Forgetting: Intra-Western European and Franco-German cultural rapprochement

F Feb. 22: Discussion

Readings: 1) Sergio Pistone, "Altiero Spinelli and the Strategy for the United States of Europe" (**N&S**) p. 91

2) Paul Henri Spaak, *The Continuing Battle: Memoirs of a European 1936-1966* (1971), pgs. 227-252 (**cp**)

3) Flora Lewis, "Franco-German Twins - A Startling Fact," *New York Times*, May 26, 1960 (**cp**)

Week 6 - Growing Pains, 1958-1965

M Feb. 25: The Challenge of Charles De Gaulle

W Feb. 27: Europe's First Tasks: The Common Market and agriculture

F March 1: Discussion (and peer review)

Readings: 1) Charles de Gaulle, "A Concert of European States," (**N&S**) p. 27

2) Stanley Hoffmann, "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe" (**N&S**) p. 163

Week 7 - Europe in Progress

M March 4: The First Accession: Great Britain, Ireland, and Denmark (not Norway), 1973

W March 6: European Integration and public opinion: Permissive consensus? (**first paper due**)

F March 8: Democracy in the Dark: The suffrage movement and popular participation

Readings: 1) Piers Ludlow, "Us or Them? The Meanings of 'Europe' in British Political Discourse," in Mikael af Malmberg and Bo Stråth (eds.), *The meaning of Europe: Variety and Contention Within and Among Nations* (2002) (**cp**)

Week 8 - Exam

M March 11: Discussion and exam review

W March 13: **MIDTERM**

F March 15: Europe in the Rhythm of Summits, 1969-1974

Readings: 1) Tony Judt, *A Grand Illusion* (1996) (first half)

Week 9 – The View from Academia

M March 18: Explaining the first 30 years of European Unity: Historians and Social Scientists

W March 20: Discussion

F March 22: No Class

Readings: 1) Tony Judt, *A Grand Illusion* (1996) (second half)  
2) Paul Lewis, "Nationalism is Straining Europe's Economic Unity," *New York Times*, March 23, 1982 (cp)  
3) Clyde Farnsworth, "Brussels Comes of Age," *New York Times*, Nov. 4, 1979 (cp)

Week 10 - Spring Break

Readings: NONE

Week 11 – Major Steps: Federalist Relaunch?

M April 1: The Single European Act (1986) and the Treaty of Maastricht (1992)

W April 3: A (failed) Constitution for Europe (2004)

F April 5: Discussion

Readings: 1) Margaret Thatcher, "A Family of Nations" (N&S) p. 49

2) Jacques Delors, "A Necessary Union" (N&S) p. 55

3) "Reflections on a Constitution for Europe" (N&S) p. 69

Week 12 – Integration Spills Over

M April 8: The Cold War Ends, The German Problem continues

W April 10: Human Rights, Democracy and Eastward expansion

F April 12: Cultural Integration and the Symbols of Europe

Readings: 1) Johan Van Overtveldt, *The End of the Euro: The Uneasy Future of the European Union* (2011), Forward, Introduction, and Chapter 1

Week 13 – The Euro: History and Crisis

M April 15: Monetary Union

W April 17: The Euro Crisis and its Ghosts (60 Minutes: An Imperfect Union)

F April 19: Discussion

Readings: 1) Overtveldt, Chapter 3, Epilogue

2) Harold James, *Making the European Monetary Union: The Role of the Committee of Central Bank Governors and the Origins of the European Central Bank* (2012), Introduction, p. 1-28 (cp)

Week 14 – The Awkward Embrace of the EU

M April 22: Schengen, Immigration, and the Problem of Turkey

W April 24: The People Awake: A democratic deficit?

F April 26: Discussion (and peer review)

Readings: 1) Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *Brussels, the Gentle Monster or the Disenfranchisement of Europe* (2011)

Week 15 – A Mature EU?

M April 29: Hot and Cold: The U.S. and the EU

W May 1: The European Court of Justice: The forgotten instrument of integration

F May 3: Discussion (**second paper due**)

Readings: 1) Timothy Garton Ash, “The Crisis of Europe: How the Union Came Together and Why It’s Falling Apart,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2012 (**cp**)

2) Andrew Moravcsik, “In Defense of Europe: now, more than ever, it’s not smart to bet on the EU’s demise” *Newsweek*, June 7, 2010 (**cp**)

Week 16 - Looking Backward, Looking Forward

M May 6: The Past and Future of the European Union

W May 8: Discussion and review

F May 10 – NO CLASS – Stay tuned for additional review and exam preparation

**Final Exam: Tuesday, May 14, 5:05-7:05 p.m., location TBD**