

POLITICS IN EUROPE

Spring 2005

Prof. Gary Marks

Political Science 52

Monday, Wednesday, 1:00pm-1:50pm, Stone Center 103

Office hours: Monday 2-4pm, 223 E. Franklin Street, second floor

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Course Description

This course will explore basic issues in the politics and political development of Britain, France, Germany, and the European Union.

We begin by inquiring into the political development of Britain, France and Germany over the past century. Why did democracy develop gradually, without major political conflagration, in Britain? Why did France experience a series of revolutions in its political development? Why was Germany authoritarian before 1914 and why did the Nazi party come to power in 1933?

We then turn to the character of democratic institutions and party competition in these countries in recent years. How does democracy work in parliamentary political systems? How does capitalism vary among western democracies? What do different parties stand for? What are the major lines of conflict in the domestic politics of European countries, and is this different from that in the US?

In the final part of the course we inquire into the European Union - the strongest supranational organization in the world, and one that deeply affects politics and policy of European countries. Why was it formed, how does it work, and how can one understand its evolution? How does it affect political competition in the member states? And what difference does enlargement to the Central and Eastern countries make?

All readings are available on blackboard.

Grading and Assignments:

1. A midterm covering material dealt with in the readings, lectures, and class discussion. The midterm will contain IDs. Date of midterm: March 8; weight: 25%.
2. An essay on a topic related to the class (maximum seven typed double-spaced pages). The topics will be handed out on March 6 and the paper is due April 5. The penalty for late papers is one half point (out of a total of thirty) per day. Weight: 30%.
3. Participation in the recitation. Important in evaluations is quality of participation as

- well as quantity! Weight: 10%.
4. A cumulative final examination covering material dealt with in the readings, lectures, and class discussion. The exam will contain IDs and essay questions. Final exam on May 1. Weight: 35%.

Note on Web Resources

In order to stay abreast of recent events in Europe, your best sources are the Financial Times (British daily newspaper; high quality information on European politics), and The Economist (weekly British weekly newsmagazine – very good comparatively). The UK newspaper The Guardian has a weekly European edition with extracts from a number of continental European newspapers. The New York Times has decent coverage of European events.

If you read French, acquire Le Monde (most prominent daily in France, and outward looking) and Le Monde Diplomatique (monthly; excellent also on African events). First-rate choices for German-readers are the Frankfurter Allgemeine (daily German newspaper--rather dry, but very solid), Die Welt (German daily), Die Neue Zürcher Zeitung (Swiss daily--top quality), Der Spiegel (popular, well-informed newsmagazine) or the excellent weekly Die Zeit (newspaper format; thoughtful background essays; German). There are also very good Italian (Corriere della Serra and La Repubblica) and Spanish (El Pais) sources.

Several newspapers have sites on the Internet. Try the Financial Times site (<http://www.ft.com>) -- great coverage, including historical archives on particular topics -- the New York Times site (<http://www.nytimes.com>). The British BBC has a vast site. So have most foreign newspapers or magazines, eg. the Economist (<http://www.economist.com/>). There are a number of newsgroups: try clarinet, which contains authorized releases from recognized journalistic sources (<http://www.clarinet.com/>). Interesting news media sites are Time Warner's site Pathfinder (<http://www.pathfinder.com/>), which includes Time magazine as well as a number of other periodicals.

There is also the UNCG list (<http://www.uncg.edu/lib/news/>), a list by region of newspapers put together by a librarian at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. The European Union has its own site (<http://www.eurunion.org>). Take some time to try out the Internet: it will be a great help in writing your term papers!

An excellent all-round guide to various European media sources can be found on the website of the Center for European Studies of the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill: <http://www.unc.edu/depts/europe>

A useful source for EU news is the weekly European Voice, which is one of the very few genuinely European media. Its website offers a selection of articles on EU topics:<http://www.european-voice.com>

Topics and Readings:

Introduction and organization (Jan 11)

Europe: commonalities and diversity (Jan 18)

John McCormick. 1999. "The Idea of Europe." In Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction. MacMillan, ch 2 (31-56)

Paths to democracy

Why have moderation and gradualism prevailed in modern British political development? (Jan 23)

Stanley Rothman, Howard Scarrow and Martin Schain, "The Pattern of British Development"

Frank Wilson, "Social Change and Tradition in Britain"

Make an inventory of reasons offered by Rothman et.al. and Wilson for reformism in British historical development.

What in your view are the most important reasons for gradualism and reformism in Britain? Can you generalize about what leads individuals and groups to compromise rather than fight over their political differences?

Why was France so unstable? (Jan 25)

Arista Maria Cirtautas. 2000. "France: Historical development, Contemporary politics." In: Comparative Politics, edited by Kopstein and Lichbach, 70-91.

What are the causes of the French revolution? What have been its long-term implications for democracy in France?

What in your view are the most important reasons for the pendulum-type of development in France? Contrast with gradualism in Britain.

What does it mean that French democracy has "normalized"?

Why was Germany authoritarian in the 19th and early 20th centuries? (Jan 30)

Stanley Rothman, Howard Scarrow and Martin Schain, "The Pattern of German Development"

Frank Wilson, "Democracy in a Hostile Setting? German History and Society"

Make an inventory of reasons offered by Rothman et.al. and Wilson for authoritarianism in German historical development.

How would you summarize the main differences between British and German political development in the 19th and early 20th centuries?

Why did Nazism take hold in Germany? (Feb 1 and Feb 6)

Roland Stromberg, "Germany: The Rise of Nazism" and "National Socialism in Power"

What are the main characteristics of Nazism?

Did Nazism rise to power because it was so strong or the Weimar Republic so weak?

What would have to have been different for democracy to become firmly established in Germany between the Wars?

How was democracy consolidated after the defeat of Nazism? (Feb 8)

Guido Goldman, "The Allied Interregnum"

How optimistic would you have been in 1945 about the chances for democracy in West Germany, and why?

What were the most important influences that contributed to the success of democracy in post-war West Germany?

Varieties of liberal democracy

What difference do electoral systems make? (Feb 13)

Jürg Steiner, "Parliamentary Election Systems"

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?

How do parliamentary systems work? (Feb 15)

Jürg Steiner, "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?

How does capitalism vary? (Feb 20)

Articles from *The Economist*.

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

How is the United States Different? (Feb 22 and Feb 27)

Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks, "The End of Political Exceptionalism?"

*How can one explain the weakness of socialism in America?
How have socialist parties changed over the past two decades and why?
What are the most important differences between the United States and other western democracies?*

Ideology and Party competition

What do Left and Right stand for in Europe? (March 1 and March 6)

Michael Keating, 1999. "Political Currents", *The Politics of Modern Europe*, 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 left and right differ between Eastern and Western Europe?
What is New Politics?*

MIDTERM (March 8)

Democracy in postcommunist Europe: Why and how did communism collapse in East Germany? (March 20) (Guest lecture: Erica Edwards)

David Conradt, "The German Revolution of 1989-1990"

Robert Darnton "The Stasi Files"

Make an inventory of factors contributing to the collapse of the communist regime in East

Germany.

Why did German unification proceed so rapidly, yet also peacefully?

Can you identify similarities between the Nazi and communist regimes? How about differences?

Class viewing: German film “Good bye Lenin”

Understanding the European Union

How has the European Union developed? (March 22) (Guest lecture: Erica Edwards)

Donald Hancock and Guy Peters, The European Union, Chatham House, 2003, ch. 31.

How has the Single European Act (1986) changed the EU?

What has been the legacy of Charles De Gaulle for European integration? Did De Gaulle succeed in his objectives?

What is the significance of the Maastricht Treaty (1993)?

How does the European Union of the early 21st century compare with Jean Monnet’s vision of Europe?

Why Was the European Union (European Economic Community) Created? (March 27)

John McCormick. 2004. “Origins of the Postwar world”, Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction. MacMillan, ch. 2 (33-55).

See also <http://europa.eu.int/abc/history>

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?

Institutions and politics of the European Union (April 3 and April 5)

Hancock and Peters, ch. 32, 33.

Hooghe and Marks, ch. 1

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

*What are the most important political institutions in the EU?
Which policy areas or institutions are most intergovernmental and which supranational?
Does the European Union seem to you more like an international organization or more like a national state? Explain.*

Multi-level governance and regional mobilization (April 10)

Hooghe and Marks, ch. 5 and appendix 2.

*What is the most important channel for regions in the European Union?
Why are regions so intent on participating in the European Union?
Can one describe Europe today as “Europe of the Regions?”
What does the notion multilevel governance refer to? Is the United States a system of multilevel governance? Explain.*

Parties and European integration (April 12)

Hooghe and Marks, chs. 8 and 10.

*How have the political orientations of the political left and right changed with respect to European integration in recent decades?
Has New Politics overtaken Left/Right conflict?
What kinds of conflicts might you expect to arise within political parties as they respond to European integration?*

What are the Costs and Benefits of Enlargement? (April 17)

Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2005. “EU Enlargement.” Policy Making in the European Union, edited by Helen Wallace, William Wallace and Mark Pollack. Oxford: OUP.

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

Identity and European integration (April 19)

Jack Citrin and John Sides, “More than Nationals: How Identity Choice Matters in the New Europe.” In Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU, edited by Richard Hermann, Thomas Risse, and Marilyn Brewer. Rowman and Littlefield, 2004.

*How do territorial identities fit together? To what extent, if at all, are they mutually exclusive?
What are your identities, and how do they relate to each other?
Do you think a European identity is developing in Europe? Will one ever develop in Europe?*

The European Union and the United States: Ships passing in the night? (April 24)

Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," Policy Review, No. 113, June 2002.

Article in Financial Times "America is dispensable"

*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?*

*According to Kagan, the important differences are **between** Europe and America. Can you
detect differences **within** Europe and America?*

Review session: April 26

Final Exam: 12 noon, May 1, Stone Center