Sheri Berman Email: sberman@barnard.edu
Office Hours: Mondays 10-12 Phone: 854- 2158

Office: 245 Lefrak

Political Science 4428: Topics in European Political Development Spring 2018

This is an upper-level course in European political development with a focus on Western Europe. It is designed for undergraduates who already have some exposure to European history or politics or comparative politics and graduate students. The course will analyze important theoretical works, and debates about critical issues and events in European political development and place the European experience in comparative perspective.

Requirements: Readings are heavy and must be done *before* each class meeting. There is more reading for this class than for a standard undergraduate class, but in line with what is expected of graduate students. In return for completing the readings each week, students will write a series of short essays for the class—two essay "exams" during the semester and then a series of essays at the end (which will be the class' final project). Students will get ample time to digest the material they have read and we have discussed (a full week will be given for each set of essays). Each of the essay "exams" during the semester will be count for 25% of the grade and the final essay "exam" will count for 35%. Class participation will constitute 15% of the grade.

All work is expected to be done in accordance with the Barnard Honor code (info about which can be found here: http://www.barnard.edu/dos/honorcode). Plagiarism in any form will result in a failing grade. (For more information about what constitutes plagiarism see, for example, http://www.arch.columbia.edu/resources/gsapp-policies/plagiarism).

<u>Course Readings</u>: All readings will be available via courseworks except those in Brent Nelson and Alexander Stubbs, <u>The European Union</u> which should be purchased.

<u>Student Learning Outcomes</u>: By the end of this course students should be able to:

- 1. Demonstrate substantive knowledge of many of the most critical issues and junctures in postwar European political development.
- 2. Identify and evaluate key scholarly literatures and debates on postwar European political development
- 3. Evaluate European political development in comparative perspective.
- 4. Understand the nature and causes of Europe's current political and economic problems.
- 5. Construct, both orally and in writing, their own arguments about the key factors, events and dynamics driving postwar European political development.

<u>Disability accommodation</u>: If you have a documented disability and require academic accommodation, you must register with the Office of Disability Services (ODS) and obtain a notification letter from ODS before meeting with your instructor to discuss accommodations. (You must register with ODS each semester.)

Week 1 (January 17): Introduction

Week 2 (January 24): The Postwar Order

- -Charles Maier, "The Two Postwar Eras," in Maier, ed., <u>In Search of Stability</u> (Original: American Historical Review, 86, 2, April 1981).
- -G. John Ikenberry, "A World Economy Restored," IO, 46, 1, Winter 1992.
- -Clas Offe, "Comparative Party Democracy and the Welfare State," <u>Policy Sciences</u>, 15, 1983.
- -John Gerard Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," <u>IO</u>, 36, 2, Spring 1982.
- -Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology, Epilogue and Afterward.
- -Sheri Berman, <u>The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century</u> (Cambridge 2006), pp. 177-188.
- -Alan Milward, The European Rescue of the Nation State, chapter 2.

Week 3 (January 31): Postwar Political Economies

- -Andrew Shonfield, <u>Modern Capitalism</u>, chapter 1 pages 3-10, chapters 5-12 (pick chapters on *either* Britain, France or Germany to read).
- -Gosta Esping-Andersen, Politics Against Markets, chapters 5 and 7.
- -Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, "The Nature and Sources of the Liberal International Order," Review of International Studies, 25, 2, April 1999.
- -G. John Ikenberry, Liberal Leviathan, chapter 5.

Week 4 (February 7): European Welfare States

- -T. H. Marshall, "Citzenship and Social Class," (Especially sections from "The Development of Citizenship to the End of the Nineteenth Century" to "Social Rights in the Twentieth Century" reprinted in T.H. Marshall, <u>Class, Citzenship and Social Development</u>. Essays by T.H. Marshall.)
- -Gøsta Esping-Andersen, <u>The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism</u>, Introduction and chapters 1, 2, 3 (pages 1-78).
- -Ann Orloff, "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship. A Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States," <u>American Sociological</u> Review, 58, 1993.

Week 5 (February 14): The Origins of the European Community

- -T. R. Reid, <u>The United States of Europe</u> (Penguin 2005), chapter 2 OR
- -Desmond Dinan, <u>Ever Closer Union</u> (Lynne Riener, 2005), chapter 1 (both are optional).
- -Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 18, and 23 in Nelson and Stubbs, eds., <u>The European</u> Union.
- -Peter Cocks, "Towards a Marxist Theory of European Integration," <u>IO</u>, 34, 1.
- -Geoffrey Garrett and George Tsebelis, "An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism," <u>IO</u>, 50, 2, Spring 1996.
- -Craig Parsons, Showing Ideas as Causes. The Origins of the European Union," IO, 56, 1, 2000.
- -Sebastian Rosato, "Europe's Troubles. Power Politics and the State of the European Union," <u>International Security</u>, 35, 4, 2011.

Week 6: (February 21) First Exam

Week 7 (February 28): Conceptualizing the European Union

- -James Caparoso, "The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory, Post-Modern," <u>Journal of Common Market Studies</u>, 34, 1, 1996.
- -Chapters 22, 24, 25, 26 in Nelson and Stubbs, eds., The European Union.
- -Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Exploring the Nature of the Beast: International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union," Journal of Common Market Studies, 34, 1, March 1996.
- -Gary Marks, A Third Lens. Comparing European Integration and State Building," in Jytte Klausen and L. Tilly, eds., <u>European Integration in Social and Historical Perspective.</u>
- -Kathleen McNamara, The Politics of Everyday Europe, preface, chapters 1 and 8.
- -Vivien Schmidt, "Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union," <u>Political Studies</u>, 61, 2013.

Week 8 (March 7): The Decline of the Postwar Order: Economics

- -Gosta Esping-Andersen, <u>Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies</u>, chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 (5 is a review and is optional).
- -Bruno Palier and Colin Hay, "The Reconfiguration of the Welfare State In Europe," in Desmond King and Patrick Le Gales, eds., <u>Reconfiguring</u> European States in Crisis.
- -Wolfgang Streeck, "The Crisis of Democratic Capitalism, <u>New Left Review</u>, Sept-Oct 2011.
- -Wolfgang Streeck, "The Crisis in Context: Democratic Capitalism and its Contradictions," in Armin Schäfer and Wolfgang Streeck, eds., <u>Politics in the Age of Austerity</u>.
- -Randall Hansen and Joshua Gordon, "Deficits, Democracy and Demographics: Europe's Three Crises," <u>West European Politics</u>, 37,6, 2014.

Optional:

-Schäfer and Streeck "Introduction," and Clas Offe, "Participatory Inequality in The Welfare State," in Schäfter and Streeck, eds., Politics in the Age of Austerity.

[March 14: Spring Break]

Week 9 (March 21): The Decline of the Postwar Order: Politics

-Peter Mair, "The Challenge to Party Government," <u>West European Politics</u>, 31, 1-2, Jan-March 2008 or Peter Mair, "Ruling the Void," <u>New Left Review</u>, 42, November-December 2006.

-Christopher Bickerton, "Nation-State to Member State," Philipp Genschel and Bernhard Zangl, "The Rise of Non-State Authority and Sabino Cassese, "From The Nation-State to Global Polity, and Henrik Spruyt, "Unbundling Soveriegn Rights," in Desmond King and Patrick Le Gales, eds., <u>Reconfiguring European States in Crisis</u>.

Optional:

-Wolfgang Streeck, "A New Regime," in King and Le Gales, eds., <u>Reconfiguring European States in Crisis</u>

Week 10 (March 28): Second Exam

Week 11 (April 4): Populism: Definitions

-"When a Political Movement is Populist"

https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/10/world/asia/populism-france-south-korea.html?rref=collection%2Fcolumn%2Fthe-

 $\frac{interpreter\&action=click\&contentCollection=world\®ion=stream\&module=stream_unit\&version=latest\&contentPlacement=9\&pgtype=collection$

- -Cas Mudde, "Populism: An Ideational Approach," in <u>The Oxford Handbook of</u> Populism.
- -Cas Mudde, "Populism in Europe: A Primer"
- https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/cas-mudde/populism-in-europe-primer
- -Kurt Weyland, "Populism: A Sociocultural Approach," in <u>The Oxford Handbook of Populism.</u>
- -Margaret Canovan, "Trust the People: Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy," Political Studies, 47, 1999.
- -Nadia Urbanati, "Democracy and Populism," Constellations, 5, 1, 1998.
- -Jan-Werner Müller, "The Attractions of Populism," The Guardian, Sept 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/sep/02/trump-erdogan-farage-the-attractions-of-populism-for-politicians-the-dangers-for-democracy
- -Ivan Krastev, "The Populist Moment," http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2007-09-18-krastev-en.html
- -Ritchie Savage, "Reflections on Laclau," Occupy Wall Street. http://occupywallst.org/article/reflections-laclau/
- -Francis Fukuyama, "What is Populism?" <u>The American Interest</u>, November 2017. https://www.the-american-interest.com/2017/11/28/what-is-populism/
- -Sheri Berman, "Populism is not Fascism," Foreign Affairs, November/December 2016. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-10-17/populism-not-fascism
- -Michael Mcternan and Claudia Chwalisz, "The Populists: Threat or Corrective to The Political Establishment?" Policy Network, Jan 2014

http://www.policy-network.net/pno_detail.aspx?ID=4550&title=The-populists-threat-or-corrective-to-the-political-establishment

Week 12 (April 11): Populism Causes

- -Antonis Ellinas, The Media and the Far-Right in Western Europe, chapter 2 and conclusion.
- -David Art, Inside the Radical Right, chapter 1, 2 and conclusion
- -Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties," Perspective on Politics, 15, 2, June 2017.
- -Noam Gidron and Peter Hall, "The Politics of Social Status: Economic and Cultural Roots of the Populist Right," The British Journal of Sociology, 2017,68, S1.
- -Matt Golder, "Far Right Parties in Europe," Annual Review of Political Science, 2016.
- -Sasha Polakow-Suransky, "The Ruthlessly Effective Rebranding of Europe's New Far-Right." https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/01/the-ruthlessly-effective-rebranding-of-europes-new-far-right
- -Dani Rodrik, "How to Combat Populist Demagogues," <u>Project Syndicate</u>, Nov. 13, 2017.

https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/disavow-neoliberalism-to-combat-populism-by-dani-rodrik-2017-11

- -Dani Rodrik, "The Politics of Anger," <u>Project Syndicate</u>, March 2016. <u>https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-politics-of-anger-by-dani-rodrik-2016-03</u>
- -Dani Rodrik, "The Abdication of the Left," Project Syndicate, June 2016. https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/anti-globalization-backlash-from-right-by-dani-rodrik-2016-07
- -Sheri Berman, "Populism is a Problem." <u>Foreign Policy</u>, December 2017. <u>http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/20/populism-is-a-problem-elitist-technocrats-arent-the-solution/</u>
- -"Why Ernesto Laclau is the Intellectual Figurehead for Syriza and Podemos," The Guardian February 9, 2015.

https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/09/ernesto-laclau-intellectual-figurehead-syriza-podemos

- -Chantal Mouffe, "Populism is a Necessity," The European Magazine. http://www.theeuropean-magazine.com/chantal-mouffe--4/8420-why-the-eu-needs-populism
- -Yascha Mounck, "Pitchfork Politics," Foreign Affairs, Sept/Oct 2014.
- -Tyler Cowen, "The New Populism is Not About Economics," <u>Bloomberg</u> October 2017.

https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2017-10-23/the-new-populism-isn-t-about-economics

-"Interview with Marine Le Pen"

https://www.foreignaffairs.com/interviews/2016-10-17/france-s-next-revolution

-"Why My Father Votes for Marine Le Pen"

https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/04/opinion/sunday/why-my-father-votes-for-marine-le-pen.html

-"So, the Wave of Populist Nationalism is Finished? https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/05/17/so-is-the-wave-of-populist-nationalism-finished-hardly/?utm term=.9d48da8716a3

-"How Stable Are Democracies? Warning Signs are Flashing Read"

 $\frac{https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/29/world/americas/western-liberal-democracy.html?rref=collection%2Fcolumn%2Fthe-interpreter&action=click&contentCollection=world®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=58&pgtype=collection$

Week 13 (April 18): The European Union and the Crisis of Democracy

-Timothy Garton Ash, "The Crisis of Europe: How the Union Came Together And Why its Falling Apart," <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, September/October 2012.

 $\underline{https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/2012-08-16/crisis-europe}$

-Jim Yardley, "Has Europe Reached the Breaking Point," New York Times Magazine, December 15, 2015.

 $\underline{https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/20/magazine/has-europe-reached-the-breaking-point.html}$

- -Peter Hall, "Varieties of Capitalism and the Euro Crisis," <u>West European</u> Politics, 37, 6, 2014.
- -Clas Offe, "Europe Entrapped," European Law Journal, 19, 5, 2013.
- -Ivan Krastev, "A Fraying Union," Journal of Democracy, 23, 4, October 2012.
- -Matthias Matthijs, "Integration at What Price? The Erosion of National

Democracy at the Euro Periphery," Government and Opposition, 52, 2, 2017.

- -Sheri Berman, "Warnings from History." <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, 23, 4, October 2012.
- -"The E.U. is Democratic. It Just Doesn't Feel that Way"

https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/30/world/europe/the-eu-is-democratic-it-just-doesnt-feel-that-way.html?rref=collection%2Fcolumn%2Fthe-

<u>interpreter&action=click&contentCollection=world®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=108&pgtype=collection</u>

-Ignacio Sanchez-Cuenca, "From a Deficit of Democracy to a Technocratic Order." Annual Revue of Political Science, 2017.

Week 14 (April 30): Democratic Decline in Eastern Europe

- -Andrei Schleifer and Daniel Treisman, "Normal Countries: The East 25 Years after Communism," Foreign Affairs, 92, 2014.
- -Branko Milanovic, "For Whom the Wall Fell: A Balance Sheet of the Transition To Capitalism," The Globalist, Nov 2014.

(<u>http://www.theglobalist.com/for-whom-the-wall-fell-a-balance-sheet-of-the-transition-to-capitalism/</u>

- -Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, <u>How Democracies Die</u>, Introduction and chapters 4 and 5.
- -Grzegorz Ekiert, How to Deal with Poland and Hungary," Social Europe, 13, August 2017.
- -Janos Kornai, Hungary's U Turn, <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, 26, 3, July 2015.
- -Kim Lane Scheppele, "Not Your Father's Authoritarianism," European Politics and Society Newsletter, Winter 2013.
- -R. Daniel Keleman, "Europe's Other Democratic Deficit," <u>Government and Opposition</u>, 52, 2, 2017.
- -Jacques Rupnik, "Surging Illiberalism in the East, <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, 27, 4 October 2016.
- -Ivan Krastev, "The Strange Death of the Liberal Consensus," <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, 2007.
- -Ivan Krastev, "Liberalism's Failure to Deliver," <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, 27,1, January 2016.
- -James Dawson, Sean Hanley, "The Fading Mirage of the 'Liberal Consensus," <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, 27,1, January 2016.
- -Ivan Krastev, "The Unraveling of the Post-1989 Order, <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, 27, 4, 2016.
- -Jan-Werner Müller, "If you are not a Democracy You Are Not European Anymore," Foreign Policy, December 2017.

 $\underline{http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/22/if-youre-not-a-democracy-youre-not-european-anymore/\#}$

-Anne Appleabaum, "Why Neo-Fascists are Making a Shocking Surge in Poland," Washington Post, November 13, 2017.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/11/13/why-neo-fascists-are-making-a-shocking-surge-in-poland/?utm_term=.ae7396daf3e7