

Tulane University
Fall 2016
Class meetings – TR 9:30-10:45
Classroom – Hebert 125D

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Office hours: Wednesday, 2:00-4:00

POLC 3300: EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS

During the first three post-war decades, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy developed vibrant economies and stable political systems that underpinned the most remarkable period of economic prosperity in the continent's history. This course examines the sources, manifestations, and limits of cross-national differences in the European political economies that emerged during the decades following World War II and their unique recipes for capitalist prosperity and democratic stability. In so doing, it focuses on the contrasting responses of West European nations to the three basic post-war challenges during the first three post-war decades: establishing a stable and legitimate democratic order (the political challenge), balancing the interests of workers and employers (the social challenge), and promoting industrial development (the economic challenge). It also looks at more recent developments – the Thatcher experiment in Britain, the Socialist years in France, reunification in Germany, the *Mani Pulite* scandal in Italy – with an eye to assessing whether national differences are being reproduced in new ways. Finally, it looks at the recent period of political and economic instability in Europe to understand Western Europe's future prospects for success and the lessons to be drawn about the nature of advanced capitalism and representative democracy.

The course requirements are: i) readings averaging around 100-150 pages per week; ii) active participation in class discussions; iii) an 8-10 page paper; iv) an in-class midterm exam; and v) an in-class final exam. The assignments are weighted as follows:

- Class participation – 15% (including attendance and active, constructive, informed participation)
- An essay (6-8 pages in length) on topics to be assigned by the instructor – 25%
- Midterm examination – 25%
- Final examination – 35%

All course reading is expected to have been completed by the *beginning* of the week in which that material is listed on the syllabus. Periodic reading quizzes may be administered and would become part of the participation grade.

Please refer to the Tulane University honor code for details on academic dishonesty. I will enforce the honor code to the fullest and will deal severely with any violations.

The following books are required and should be purchased:

- Mark Kesselman, Joel Krieger *et al.*, eds., *European Politics in Transition* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2009), 6th ed.
- Peter Hall, *Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- Mark I. Vail, *Recasting Welfare Capitalism: Economic Adjustment in Contemporary France and Germany* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010).
- Mark Blyth and Matthias Matthijs, eds., *The Future of the Euro* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

All other reading assignments will be available on Blackboard.

PART ONE - INTRODUCTION

Week 1 (30 August): FROM TOTAL WAR TO PEACEFUL RECONSTRUCTION

Derek Urwin, *Western Europe since 1945: A Short Political History* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1968), pp. 27-50.

Charles Maier, "The Two Postwar Eras and the Conditions for Stability in Twentieth-Century Western Europe," *American Historical Review*, 1981, vol. 86, no. 2, pp. 327-52.

Robert Heilbroner, "The Sick World of John Maynard Keynes," in *idem*, *The Worldly Philosophers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), pp. 214-251.

NO CLASS, THURSDAY, 1 SEPTEMBER

Week 2 (6-8 September): SOURCES OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY

Alexander Gerschenkron, "Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective," in *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 5-30.

Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments," in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 91-138.

T. H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1964), pp. 65-122.

PART TWO - THE POST-WAR EUROPEAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MODELS

Week 3 (13-15 September): BRITAIN: CONSENSUS POLITICS

Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger, eds., *European Politics in Transition* (Lexington, Mass.: DC Heath, 2002), sixth edition, chs. 1, 3, and 4.

Samuel Beer, *Modern British Politics: Parties and Pressure Groups in the Collectivist Age* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), pp. 69-102, 352-85.

Hall, *Governing the Economy*, ch. 3.

Week 4 (20-22 September): FRANCE: MODERNIZATION FROM ABOVE

Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, chs. 6, 8, and 9.

Stanley Hoffmann, "Paradoxes of the French Political Community," in *idem*, ed., *In Search of France* (New York: Harper, 1963), pp. 1-60.

Stanley Hoffmann, "The Institutions of the Fifth Republic," in James Hollifield and George Ross eds., *Searching for the New France* (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 43-56.

Hall, *Governing the Economy*, ch. 6.

Week 5 (27-29 September): FROM THE "GERMAN QUESTION" TO THE "GERMAN MODEL"

Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, chs. 11, 13, and 14.

Andrew Shonfield, *Modern Capitalism: The Changing Balance of Public and Private Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 239-264.

Hall, *Governing the Economy*, ch. 9.

ESSAY TOPICS DISTRIBUTED IN CLASS, THURSDAY, 29 SEPTEMBER

Week 6 (4 October): ITALY: THE PARTY STATE

- Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, chs. 16, 18, and 19.
 Frederic Spotts and Theodor Wieser, *Italy: A Difficult Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1-19.
 Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 121-85.
 Shonfield, *Modern Capitalism*, pp. 176-92, 196-98.

MIDTERM EXAMINATION, THURSDAY, 6 OCTOBER

NO CLASS, TUESDAY, 11 OCTOBER-THURSDAY, 13 OCTOBER (FALL BREAK)

Week 7 (18-20 October): THE ORIGINS OF AND VARIATIONS IN EUROPEAN WELFARE STATES

- Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *Politics against Markets: The Social Democratic Road to Power* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 3-38.
 Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, in Pierson and Castles, *The Welfare State: A Reader*, pp. 154-169.
 Peter Baldwin, "Beveridge in the *Longue Durée*," in John Hills, John Ditch, and Howard Glennerster, eds., *Beveridge and Social Security: An International Retrospective* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 37-55.

PART THREE - THE END OF THE POST-WAR BOOM THE EVOLUTION OF POSTWAR NATIONAL MODELS

Week 8 (25-27 October): BRITAIN: THE THATCHER SOLUTION AND THE ADVENT OF "NEW LABOUR"

- Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, chs. 2 and 5.
 Andrew Gamble, *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism* (Houndsmills, UK: Macmillan, 1994), ch. 2.
 Leonard Freedman, *Politics and Policy in Britain*, (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1996), pp. 225-43.
 Chris Howell, "Trade Unions and the State: A Critique of British Industrial Relations," *Politics & Society*, vol. 23, no. 2 (June 1995), pp. 149-183.
 Jeremy Richardson, "Doing Less by Doing More: British Government 1979-1993," *West European Politics*, vol. 17, no. 3 (July 1994), pp. 178-97.

Week 9 (1-3 November): FRANCE: STATISM IN TRANSITION

- Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, chs. 7 and 10.
 Jonah Levy, *Tocqueville's Revenge: State, Society, and Economy in Contemporary France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 17-56.
 Mark I. Vail, *Recasting Welfare Capitalism: Economic Adjustment in Contemporary France and Germany* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), ch. 3.
 Jonah Levy, "From the *Dirigiste* State to the Social Anesthesia State and Beyond," *Modern and Contemporary France* 16, no. 4 (November 2008): 417-435.

Nick Hewlett, "Nicolas Sarkozy and the Legacy of Bonapartism: The French Presidential and Parliamentary Elections of 2007," *Modern and Contemporary France* vol. 15, no. 4 (November 2007), pp. 405-422.

ESSAYS DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS, TUESDAY, 1 NOVEMBER

Week 10 (8-10 November): GERMANY EAST AND WEST: THE SHOCK OF UNIFICATION

- Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, chs. 12 and 15.
 Douglas Webber, "The Second Coming of the Bonn Republic," in Lowell Turner, ed., *The Political Economy of the New Germany: Can Social Partnership Survive?* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 227-253.
 Christopher Flockton, "Economic Management and the Challenge of Reunification," in Gordon Smith *et al.*, eds., *Developments in German Politics 2* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996), pp. 211-232.
 Charles Maier, *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), ch. 6.
 Mark I. Vail, *Recasting Welfare Capitalism: Economic Adjustment in Contemporary France and Germany* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), ch. 4.

Week 11 (15-17 November): ITALY: MANI PULITE, THE FALL OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC STATE, AND THE LONG REIGN OF BERLUSCONI

- Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, chs. 17 and 20.
 Hilary Partridge, "Can the Leopard Change its Spots? Sleaze in Italy," *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 48, no. 4 (October 1995), pp. 711-25.
 Bill Emmott, *Good Italy, Bad Italy: Why Italy Must Conquer Its Demons to Face the Future* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2012), ch. 1.
 Michael E. Shin and John A. Agnew, *Berlusconi's Italy: Mapping Contemporary Italy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), ch. 1.

NO CLASS TUESDAY, 22 NOVEMBER-THURSDAY, 24 NOVEMBER (THANKSGIVING BREAK)

Week 12 (29 November-1 December): WELFARE REFORM AND THE POLITICS OF RETRENCHMENT

- Paul Pierson, "The New Politics of the Welfare State," *World Politics* 48, no. 2 (1996), pp. 143-179.
 Richard Clayton and Jonas Pontusson, "Welfare-State Retrenchment Revisited: Entitlement Cuts, Public Sector Restructuring, and Inegalitarian Trends in Advanced Capitalist Societies," *World Politics* 51, no. 1 (October 1998), pp. 67-98.
 Herman Schwartz, "Round Up the Usual Suspects! Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Welfare State Change," in Paul Pierson, ed., *The New Politics of the Welfare State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 17-44.
 Jonah Levy, "Vice into Virtue? Progressive Politics and Welfare Reform in Continental Europe," *Politics and Society* 27, no. 2 (June 1999): 239-273.

Week 13 (6-8 December): CRISIS AND INSTABILITY IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

Mark Blyth and Matthias Matthijs, eds., *The Future of the Euro* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), chs. 1-2, 6-8, 10, 12.

Kenneth Rogoff and Carmen Reinhart, "Austerity Is Not the Only Answer to a Debt Problem," *Financial Times*, 1 May 2013.

Yanis Varoufakis, "Why We Must Save the EU," *The Guardian*, 5 April 2016.

Wolfgang Münchau, "A History of Errors behind Europe's Many Crises," *Financial Times*, 28 March 2016.

Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, "Brexit Vote Is about the Supremacy of Parliament and Nothing Else: Why I am Voting to Leave the EU," *The Telegraph*, 13 June 2016.

Mark Blyth, *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), ch. 1.

FINAL EXAMINATION, SUNDAY, 18 DECEMBER, 1:00-5:00