



**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
POLS205/INTP205: THE NEW EUROPE**

TRIMESTER 2 2010

12 July to 13 November 2010

Trimester dates

Teaching dates: 12 July 2010 to 15 October 2010

Mid-trimester break: 23 August to 5 September 2010

Study week: 18 October to 22 October 2010

Examination/Assessment period: 22 October to 13 November 2010

Withdrawal dates

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawlsrefunds.aspx>

Names and contact details

Lecturer: Ana Gilling
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Tutor: Jan Dutkiewicz
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Lecture times and locations

Times: M, W 10:00 - 10:50am
Location: Hunter LT119

Tutorial times and locations

M 11:00 – 11:50, MY616
M 13:10 – 14:00, MY616
W 11:00 – 11:50, MY616
W 13:10 – 14:00, MY632
F 11.00 – 11.50, KK103

Course delivery

The lecturer will present the course material in two, 50-minute lectures. The lectures will draw from and expand on the reading materials to create an overall narrative for the course. One, 50-minute tutorial, led by the tutor, provides students the opportunity to ask questions and explore the course themes in discussion.

Communication of additional information

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in lectures and posted on the course Blackboard site.

Course content

For much of the postwar period, it was widely assumed that “becoming modern” meant becoming like the United Kingdom or the United States. Yet the nations of Western Europe have developed vibrant economies and stable democracies that differ from each other in important ways. This course examines the origins, forms, and limits of cross-national differences. The course compares the contrasting responses of the leading European nations—the United Kingdom, France and Germany—to three inter-related challenges, twice. It asks how each of these countries established a legitimate democratic order, balanced the interests of workers and employers, and promoted economic growth in the decades after the Second World War. Then it asks whether and how each country solved the same three problems after “globalization” and Europeanization undermined the postwar solutions in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Have the challenges of global competition and European integration forced countries to adopt similar policies and institutions or have these countries devised individual responses to common problems?

Learning objectives

Students passing the course should be able to do the following:

- Describe in some detail how the institutions of governance in the largest European democracies vary among themselves as well as the origins of this variance.
- Describe the consequences, in terms of political and economic performance, of different institutions in each of these countries.
- Describe whether and how the institutions of governance in each country have changed over time.
- Understand the political conflicts that accompany processes like “European integration,” which would create a common set of political institutions around very diverse societies and political systems.

Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote approximately 200 hours to POLS/INTP205 during the trimester.

Readings

Essential texts:

- Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger, European Politics in Transition, 5th ed. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2006) **OR** 6th ed. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2009)
- Book of course readings

For the first two weeks of trimester all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer, while postgraduate textbooks and student notes will be available from the top floor of vicbooks in the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus. After week two all undergraduate textbooks will be sold from vicbooks and student notes from the Student Notes Distribution Centre on the ground floor of the Student Union Building.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from nominated collection points at each campus. Customers will be contacted when they are available. Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays). Phone: 463 5515.

Assessment requirements

This course will be assessed (100%) internally on the following basis:

1) **Tutorial Attendance and Participation (= 10%)**

2) **Two in-class tests (= 20%, each).** Two, fifty-minute, closed book tests will be held to ascertain your knowledge of the ideas and themes covered in lectures and course readings. These will be held:

- Wednesday, 18 August 10.00 – 10.50
- Wednesday, 13 October 10.00 – 10.50

These tests will be composed of identification, and/or short answer questions. Further information about the test format will be supplied prior to the test.

3) **One 2,500 – 3,000-word research essay (= 50% total) (part one due 11 August part two due 22 September)** which will permit you to: gain greater familiarity with a particular theme covered in the course, develop your skills as a comparativist, and improve your research and writing skills.

The essay assignment is composed of two parts:

- **500-word Statement and Bibliography (= 10%):** Submit a summary that states:
 - a) the question motivating your paper and why it is important (answers the “So what?” question)
 - b) your provisional answer to this question (your “hypothesis” or “thesis”)
 - c) the type of evidence you expect to present to support your argument, and

- d) a bibliography of sources (not included in the 500-word space limit) for your paper. Citations and bibliography must be submitted in 'Chicago style' format.

One page statement and bibliography are due at the beginning of class **11 August**. You do not need to submit this part of the assignment to Turnitin.com.

- **Final Essay (= 40%)** due at the beginning of class **22 September**. The essay should not exceed 3000 words. The essay word limit includes internal citations, but not bibliography.

You must submit an electronic version of the Final Essay to Turnitin.com—this is a **mandatory course requirement**. Before you submit an electronic version of your final draft to Turnitin.com you must create a personal profile. Go to turnitin.com and follow the directions to create an account. The Class ID number for this course is **3315377**. The password is **Greece**.

Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays – a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

Mandatory course requirements

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) Submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work).
- b) Submit a final essay to Turnitin.com.

Class Representative

A class representative will be elected in the first class, and that person's name and contact details will be available to VUWSA, the Course Coordinator and the class. The class representative provides a communication channel to liaise with the Course Coordinator on behalf of students.

Statement on legibility

Students are expected to write clearly. Where work is deemed 'illegible', the options are:

- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) within a specified time frame after which penalties will apply;
- if the student does not transcribe it to an acceptable standard, the work will be accepted as 'received' (so any associated mandatory course requirements are met) but not marked.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

Use of Turnitin

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>

The AVC (Academic) website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates.

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcacademic/Publications.aspx

Organisation of Lectures, Readings and Tutorials

Part I – Introduction to Post War Settlements

Week 1 12 – 16 July Solving Three Problems of Interwar Stability

Monday, July 12 – Introduction: Solving Three Problems of Interwar Stability at National and Supranational Levels in Postwar Europe

Readings:

- Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger (eds.), European Politics in Transition, 5th Ed. (New York; Houghton Mifflin, 2006), Chapter 1, pp.39-44 **OR** in 6th ed., Chapter 31, pp.471-475

Supplemental Reading:

- Desmond Dinan, Ever Closer Union, 2nd ed. London: Lynn Reinner, pp.9-35.
- Robert Heilbroner, “The Heresies of John Maynard Keynes,” in Idem., The Worldly Philosophers, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), pp. 225-261.

Wednesday, July 14 – ‘Frozen’ History: European Party Systems

Readings:

- Tim Bale, ‘Chapter 5: How the past affects the present, and an uncertain future’ in *idem.*, European Politics: A Comparative Introduction, 2nd ed. Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave McMillan, 2008, pp.131-164.

Week 2 19 – 23 July Markets and Interests in *Modern Europe*

Monday, 19 July – Politics and the Organisation of Markets, Societies and States

Readings:

- Alexander Gerschenkron, “Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective,” in *idem.*, Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective. Cambridge, MA: Harvard The Belknap Press, 1962, pp.5-30.

Supplemental Reading:

- Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001, (Chapters 3-6) pp.35-80.

Wednesday, 21 July – Organizing Interests: Industrialization, Interest Representation and Policy Making

Readings:

- Suzanne Berger, “Introduction” in, *idem.*(ed.), Organizing Interests in Western Europe: Pluralism, Corporatism, and the Transformation of Politics. Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp.1-23.

Week 3 26 – 30 July Postwar Britain: Consensus and Stalemate

Monday, 26 July – ‘Westminster’: Institutions of British Politics

Readings:

- Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger (eds.), European Politics in Transition, 5th Ed. (New York; Houghton Mifflin, 2006) Chapters 6,8,9; **OR** in 6th ed., Chapters 1,3,4.

Supplemental Reading:

- Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, Chapter 2 “The Westminster Model of Democracy” pp.9-21.
- Samuel H. Beer, British Politics in the Collectivist Age (New York: Random House, 1969), pp.69-102.

Wednesday, 28 July – Consensus, Welfare Capitalism, and Economic Stalemate

Readings:

- Peter Hall, Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). Chapter 3, pp.48-68.

Week 4 2 – 6 August France: Modernization from Above

Monday, 2 August – Institutions of the Fourth and Fifth Republics

Readings:

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition. Chapters 11, 13, 14; **OR** in 6th ed., Chapters 6,8,9.

Supplemental Readings:

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

Wednesday, 4 August – (Conservative) Economic Modernization as State Policy

Readings:

- Peter Hall, Governing the Economy, Chapters 6, pp.139-63.

Week 5 9 – 13 August German Questions and German Models

Monday, 9 August – Tamed Power: Decentralized State and Centralized Society

Readings:

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, chapters 16,18,19; **OR** in 6th ed., Chapters 11, 13, 14.

Supplemental Readings:

- Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp.31-47.

Wednesday, 11 August – “Wirtschaftswunder”

Readings:

- Andrew Shonfield, Modern Capitalism: The Changing Balance of Public and Private Power, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp.239-64.

500-word paper topics due 11 August July at 10.00am, beginning of lecture.

Week 6 16 – 20 August Welfare States

Monday, August 16 – Diversity and Welfare States

Readings:

- T.H. Marshall, Citizenship and Social Class (Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp.10-45
- Gøsta Esping-Anderson, “The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism,” in Pierson and Castles, The Welfare State: A Reader, pp.154-169.

Wednesday, August 18 – *First In-Class Test, 50 Minutes*

MID-TRIMESTER BREAK 23 AUGUST – 3 SEPTEMBER

Part II – Challenges to Postwar Settlements: Globalization, European Integration

Week 7 6 – 10 September Global and European Integration

Monday, 6 September – Relaunching Europe in the 1980s

Readings:

- Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, “1992: Recasting the European Bargain,” *World Politics* Vol.42, No.1 (Oct.1989), pp.95-128.
Supplemental Readings:
- Michael J. Piore and Charles Sabel, The Second Industrial Divide (New York: Basic Books, 1984), pp.1-48, 165-193.

Wednesday, 8 September – The Institutions of European Union

Readings:

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, 5th ed. Chapters 2 and 3; **OR** in 6th ed., Chapters 32 and 33.

Week 8 13 – 17 September Britain: Thatcher and New Labour

Monday, 13 September – The Thatcher Solution

Readings:

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, 5th ed. Chapters 7 and 10; **OR** in 6th ed., Chapters 2 and 5.
- Andrew Gamble, The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism, (Houndsmills, UK: Macmillan, 1994), Chapter 2, pp.34-68.

Wednesday, 15 September – Adjustment to Thatcher: New Labour and Blair

Readings:

- Joel Krieger, British Politics in the Global Age (Oxford University Press, 2001) Chapter 2, “New Labour: Regime Characteristics, Strategic Options, Dilemmas,” pp.19-37.

Supplemental Readings:

- Chris Howell, Trade Unions and the State. (Princeton University Press, 2005) Chapter 5 “Decollectivization of Industrial Relations”, 131-73.

Week 9 20 – 24 September France after Statism

Monday, 20 September – “France: Statism in Transition”

Readings:

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, 5th ed. Chapters 12, 15; **OR** in 6th ed., Chapters 7 and 10.
- Peter Hall, ‘The Evolution of Economic Policy’ in A Guyomarch, *et al.* (eds.), Developments in French Politics 2 (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp.172-90.

Wednesday, 22 September – Bringing the State Back In?

Readings:

- Jonah Levy, “France: Directing Adjustment?”, in Fritz Scharpf and Vivian Schmidt (eds.), Welfare and Work in the Open Economy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 308-350.

Final Essay Draft Due 10.00am

Week 10 27 September – 1 October Germany and Unification

Monday, 27 September – German Success in the 1980s: Diversified Quality Production

Readings:

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, 5th ed., Chapters 17, 20; **OR** in 6th ed., Chapters 12 and 15.
- Wolfgang Streeck, “German Capitalism: Does It Exist? Can It Survive?” Streeck and Crouch (eds.), Political Economy of Modern Capitalism (London: Sage, 1997), pp.33-54.

Wednesday, 29 September – Unification: Choices, Opportunities and Problems

Readings:

- Peter J.Katzenstein, “United Germany in an integrating Europe”, in *Current History*; Mar 1997; 96, 608; pp. 116-23. *Accessible from University Library PROQUEST Database.*
- Elizabeth Pond, “A Wall Destroyed: The Dynamics of German Unification in the GDR” in *International Security*; Fall 1990; 15, 2; pp.35-66.

Week 11 4 - 8 October Germany, European Enlargement

Monday, 4 October – Has Unification Changed Everything?

Readings:

- Simon Green and William E. Paterson, “Introduction: Semi-sovereignty Challenged” in, *idem.* (eds.), Governance in Contemporary Germany : The Semisovereign State Revisited. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.1-20.

Wednesday, 6 October – European Enlargement: Has the EU become too diverse?

Readings:

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, 5th ed. **OR** in 6th ed., Chapters 26, 27, 30.

Week 12 11 – 15 October European Democracy?

Monday, 11 October – Diversity, ‘Deepening’ and ‘Democratic Deficit’: Can the ‘three problems’ be solved at the European level?

Readings:

- Robin Shepherd, ‘Filling the Democracy Gap’ *Wall Street Journal* 12 May 2009
- European Commission, “Views on European Union enlargement” *Eurobarometer Flash EB Series #257* (February 2009), pp.1-23.
- Janet Daley, ‘Europeans are finally waking up to the demise of democracy Angry people across the EU have discovered the fine print in all the treaties signed by their leaders’, *The Daily Telegraph*, 2 Feb 2009. p. 20. *Accessible from University Library PROQUEST Database.*

Wednesday, 13 October – ***Second In-Class Test***