SS377
Politics of Europe

Overview
At the turn of the last century, many saw Europe as representing the triumph of western, liberal institutions. Composed of strong democratic states bound by international institutions, Europe represented the triumph of western, liberal governance. The continent had emerged from the shadow of its war-torn past and arrived at what Fukuyama famously called “the end of history.” But the halcyon predictions of the late 20th century were belied by the events of the 21st. Financial crises, slow growth, terrorism, immigration, populist movements, and Russian hostility have caused many Europeans to revisit some of their fundamental assumptions about the proper form of government – and so will we. This course explores the development, structure, and future of European government. It is focused on answering the questions: “What caused the political and economic institutions of European states,” and “how well can these institutions handle the challenges of the future?” In order to answer these questions the course will take a broad, interdisciplinary approach incorporating material from comparative politics, international relations, international political economy, and history. Although our investigation is centered on Europe, the lessons we learn will have implications for how we think about the future of democracy generally. This course will continue to develop analytical approaches introduced in SS201 (Economics), SS366 (Comparative Politics), and SS307 (International Relations). It first covers the theories necessary to understand institutional variations and their effects. It then dives deeply into the empirics of European institutions and the EU in particular. Finally, it address directly the myriad contemporary challenges Europeans face as they move into the 21st century.

Format
- 3.0 Credit Hours
- 30 Lessons @ 75 min each
- Assignments: map quiz, two writs, three policy papers, TEE
- Prerequisite: SS307/357; Co-requisite: SS366 or permission of instructor

Materials
- William Drozdiak, Fractured Continent: Europe’s Crises and the Fate of the West (2017)
- Stanley Sloan, Defense of the West (2016)

Milestones
Map Quiz

Paper #1 Due

Block One WRIT

Paper #2 Due

Block Two WRIT

Paper #3 Due
Course Objectives

As a result of having taken SS377, each cadet will be able to:

◼ Apply to European states and European Union politics the methodology and logic of conducting comparative social science research, with emphasis on theories of historical institutionalism.
◼ Critically read a wide range of scholarly literature and apply that literature to journalist account of contemporary political events in Europe.
◼ Understand the successes and failures of European integration, including the current issues affecting fiscal and monetary policy in Europe and the rest of the world.
◼ Conduct comparative analysis of states to understand how a state’s internal makeup influences its behavior internationally.
◼ Understand the impact of the international environment on Europe.
◼ Communicate verbally and in writing analysis and arguments about complex international and global issues clearly and effectively.

Requirements

The graded requirements, worth a total possible 1,000 points, are:

1. Map Quiz (50 Points)
   The quiz will test your knowledge of the map of Europe, and the status of European states with regard to three central institutions: the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Euro currency area, or Eurozone.

2. Party Families and Institutions Presentations (50 Points)
   You will each choose one European state or European party family. If you have a state, prepare a five minute presentation in which you classify that state’s institutions according to its executive, judicial, representation, electoral, and economic institutions. If you have a party family, describe its main positions, party leadership, strength, and one national political party that is in that party family.

3. Cadet Teach (100 Points)
   You will each choose a lesson and lead the class by providing your classmates a short brief and guiding the discussion. You should plan on leading/guiding the discussion for 30 minutes.

4. Writs x 2 (75 Points Each, 150 Points Total)
   These will be given in-class and will focus on material from the first two blocks of the course.

5. Term End Exam (250 Points)

6. Policy Papers x 3 (100 Points Each, 300 Points Total):
These will be policy papers in which you will need to persuade a policymaker to take a certain course of action. Prompts will be provided approximately one month prior to due date.

7. Engagement Points (100 Points)
   As a seminar-style class, active engagement is vital to creating the proper learning environment. Active participation requires doing the readings before class and thinking critically about them and the topics of discussion. It can take a variety of forms, including speaking in class, asking questions, dialoging with peers, or emailing questions or thoughts about a topic or class discussion, just to name a few ways of interacting with classmates.
## Course Schedule

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Lesson 1: Introduction – Democracy in Retreat?

Lesson Objectives:
1. What challenges are facing not only Europe, but the ideals of Western liberalism?
2. What is this course all about, how is it structured, and what is expected of you?

Assigned Reading (12 pages)
- SS377 Course Syllabus.
- Council on Foreign Relations, Academic Conference Call with Charles Kupchan (Online). Listen to first 13 minutes

Lesson 2: What are institutions and how do they change?

Lesson Objectives:
1. What is an institution?
2. What kinds of institutions are there?
3. What role do institutions play in society?
4. What is “path dependence”?
5. What are “critical junctures” and what does “contingency” mean in the context of institutional change?

Assigned Reading (22)
Lesson 3: Why did Europe develop democratic institutions?

Lesson Objectives:
1. According to Rustow, what causes democracy?
2. Are there any structural components that need to be present (economic, cultural) for democracy to survive?
3. Does Stasavage’s essay provide evidence in support of Rustow’s theory or against it?
4. What instances of contingency does Stasavage indicate are key to explaining European democracy?

Assigned Reading (36)

Suggested:

Lesson 4: What is political identity?

Lesson Objectives:
1. What is a nation?
2. What is the relationship between ethnicity and nationality?
3. How and when was the French nation created?
4. In what sense are nations “imagined.”

Assigned Reading (43)
- Muller, Jerry Z. "Us and them: The enduring power of ethnic nationalism." Foreign Affairs (2008): 18-35
Lesson 5: How can political identity cause separatism?

Lesson Objectives:
1. How do sub-national and supra-national identities challenge national identity?
2. What is the difference between federal and unitary systems?
3. How have nationalist movements in the UK, Spain, France, and Belgium responded to attempts at federalism?
4. How does the presence of the EU affect these nationalist movements?

Assigned Reading (33)
  Chapter 2, 39-53
  “Madrid,” 93-112
- Cunningham, Kathleen. "Divide and conquer or divide and concede: How do states respond to internally divided separatists?" *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 2 (2011)
  Read abstract, intro, skim through evidence and tables

Lesson 6: How do executive and judicial institutions vary across European states?

Lesson Objectives:
1. What are differences between unitary and federal systems?
2. How does the degree of political influence in the bureaucracy vary across states?
3. How do different configurations of executive institutions affect public trust in government or perceptions of corruption?
4. What institutions in Italy might contribute to its poor government performance?

Assigned Reading (49)
  Chapter 3, 71-102
  “Rome,” 113-131

Suggested:
Lesson 7: How do representative institutions vary across Europe?

Lesson Objectives:
1. How does the parliamentary approach to the executive and legislative functions differ with the presidential approach?
2. How is the head of government different from the head of state?
3. What does it mean to “form a government?”

Assigned Reading (23)
  Chapter 4, 105-112, 118-134

Lesson 8: How do electoral and party systems vary across Europe?

Lesson Objectives:
1. What are social cleavages and how do parties align with them?
2. What are the differences between majoritarian and proportional voting systems?
3. Why do voting systems matter? What are their effects?
4. What are the major political “party families” in Europe?

Assigned Reading (30)
  Chapter 5, 143-154; Chapter 6, 187-201
- Video - CGP Grey, “The Problems with First Past the Post Voting Explained”
- Video - CGP Grey, “Mixed-Member Proportional Representation

Suggested:
Lesson 9: How does the institutionalization of interests vary across Europe?

Lesson Objectives:
1. What is “civil society”?
2. According to Putnam, how can civil society be good for a democracy?
3. According to Berman, how can civil society cause problems for democracies?
4. What are pluralism, corporatism, and consociationalism? Which is the best approach for a state when engaging with civil society?

Assigned Reading (46)
  - Chapter 8, 261-276
  - 3-7, 163-183
- Suggested:

Lesson 10: How do redistributive institutions vary across Europe?

Lesson Objectives:
1. What are three types of welfare systems defined by Iversen?
2. Why do democracies take such different approaches to welfare systems?
3. What role do voting systems play in determining how much a state redistributes?
4. How does ethnic composition effect how much a state redistributes?

Assigned Reading (58)
  - 1-2 (abstract and intro), table 4 on 173, examine table 5 on 175, read 175
  - Chapter 6, “Race and Redistribution” 133-154, 166-181
Lesson 11: Is there a European political identity?

Lesson Objectives:
1. What are separate, cross-cutting, nested, and blended identities?
2. What are primordial, sacred, and civic identities?
3. Describe the Europeanization of identities in Germany, Spain, France, and Poland.
4. According to Alesina et al, how does the cultural diversity of Europe compare to that of the US. Do these differences constitute a barrier to federation?

Assigned Reading (52)

Block 2: International Institutions

Learning Objective: Describe European international institutions and identities and explain their causes and effects.

Lesson 12: What are the origins of European integration?

Lesson Objectives:
1. What was the “German problem” the Allied powers faced after WWII?
2. Who were some of the key leaders of the integration movement and what did their backgrounds have in common?
3. What was the Schumann Declaration?
4. Why did the European Defense Community and European Political Community fail?
5. What was the impact of the Suez and Hungarian crises on US-Europe relations and what role did this play in furthering European integration?

Assigned Reading (35)
Lesson 13: How was the European Union created?

Lesson Objectives:
1. What did the Treaty of Rome accomplish?
2. What was the Single European Act (1986) and what did it do?
3. What is the Treaty on European Union (1992) and how did it change the European Community?
4. Why did the constitutional treaty fail?
5. What is the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (2007) and how did it change the EU?
6. What circumstances created the need for each round of EU reform?

Assigned Reading (52)

Suggested:

Lesson 14: The European Council and Commission

Lesson Objectives:
1. What are the main forms of individual EU laws?
2. What are summits and conclusions?
3. What is the composition of the College of Commissioners? How are they selected?
4. What are the Commission’s main duties?
5. What is infringement procedure and how does it work?

Assigned Reading (26)

- Video- BBC, “How the European Commission Works”

- Video- BBC, “How the European Council Works”
Lesson 15: The European Parliament, Council of Ministers, and Court of Justice

Lesson Objectives:

1. How often do the various councils meet?
2. What is the Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER) and why is it important?
3. What is the ordinary legislative procedure?
4. How many judges sit on the CJEU and how are they selected?
5. What is the relationship between the CJEU and national courts?

Assigned Reading (51)

- Video- CJEU, “How the Court Works”
- Video- EU Parliament, “Between Party Lines”

Suggested


Lesson 16: EU Policymaking: The Single Market

Lesson Objectives:

1. Where does the majority of the EU budget go?
2. How is the EU funded? What are the different sources of its revenue?
3. What elements of policy in a European country are most heavily influenced by the EU and which and left to the member states?
4. How is the Schengen Area different from the Single Market and how do they relate to each other?

Assigned Reading (52)

- Look over the EU Commission’s “Single Market Scorecard”
Lesson 17: EU Policymaking: Internal Policies

Lesson Objectives:
1. What is the purpose of cohesion policy?
2. How do EU policies in justice and home affairs affect national law enforcement?
3. What makes the Common Agriculture Policy such a persistent target for reform?
4. Why did it take so long for environmental policy to become prominent in the EU?

Assigned Reading (36)

Lesson 18: EU Policymaking: The Common Foreign and Security Policy

Lesson Objectives:
1. What forces drove the creation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy?
2. What are the Petersburg Tasks?
3. What are the EU battlegroups?
4. What overseas missions has the EU led to date?
5. In what concrete ways does the EU’s global economic power translate into political influence around the world?

Assigned Reading (50)

Suggested:
Lesson 19: The Euro and the European Central Bank

Lesson Objectives:
1. How is the creation of the euro connected to the Bretton Woods agreement (1944)?
2. How does Germany’s trade surplus within Europe cause problems for the euro?
3. Why could sovereign debt cause problems for the euro?
4. What kind of reforms are needed to ensure the euro’s viability?

Assigned Reading (50)

Lesson 20: Does the EU have a democratic deficit?

Lesson Objectives:
1. What are the main arguments regarding the EU’s “democratic deficit?”
2. How/why is a European civil society developing?
3. In what ways are social preferences translated to the EU institutions?
4. How are EU leaders held accountable to EU citizens?
5. Which side of the argument do you find most persuasive?

Assigned Reading (38)
- Follesdal and Hix. "Why there is a democratic deficit in the EU." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44, no. 3 (2006) 551-557
Lesson 21: NATO

Lesson Objectives:
1. What were the terms of the “transatlantic bargain”?
2. In what way is NATO different from other alliances in world history?
3. What are the arguments on both sides of the “burden sharing” issue?
4. What fundamental differences continue to put stress on the Alliance?

Assigned Reading (52)

Suggested:

Lesson 22: The European Convention on Human Rights

Lesson Objectives:
1. What is the Council of Europe?
2. Why did the CoE create the European Court of Human Rights?
3. How are the rulings of the Court enforced?
4. Why would states choose to join the jurisdiction of the ECHR?

Assigned Reading (28)
- Watch: Film on the ECHR
Lesson 23: Europe’s Troubled Neighborhood: Russia, Turkey, North Africa

Lesson Objectives:
1. What are the tensions between the US, EU, and Turkey?
2. Why wasn’t Turkey allowed into the EU?
3. Why does Mearsheimer argue the Ukraine crisis was provoked by the West?
4. What flaws does McFaul see in Mearsheimer’s reasoning?

Assigned Reading (48)

- Mearsheimer, John J. "Why the Ukraine crisis is the West's fault: the liberal delusions that provoked Putin." *Foreign Affairs*. 93 (2014)


Lesson 24: Migration

Lesson Objectives:
1. What major waves of migration affected Europe in the past?
2. What are the main factors driving migration to Europe?
3. What is the economic impact of migration?
4. Who are the losers?
5. Why do most economists think that free trade is overall a good thing?

Assigned Reading (30)

  “Copenhagen, 152-170” (18)

Suggested:
Lesson 25: Greece and the Euro Crisis

Lesson Objectives:
1. Who are the “troika,” and what policies did they demand Greece accept?
2. In what ways did the European “bail-outs” of Greece benefit northern European countries like France and Germany?
3. What is Golden Dawn and where did it get its support?

Assigned Reading (35)

Lesson 26: Populism

Lesson Objectives:
1. What factors contributed to the rise of the Law and Justice party in Poland?
2. How does Law and Justice pose a threat to Polish democracy?
3. What is it that makes a political party “populist” in nature?
4. During the interwar period, why were Finland and Czechoslovakia able to keep populists out of power while Germany and Italy were not?

Assigned Reading (50)
**Lesson 27: Brexit**

**Lesson Objectives:**
1. Who were the key actors behind the Brexit vote? What incentives did they face?
2. What economic and cultural forces caused voters to support the leave campaign?
3. What are likely to be the political and economic effects of the Brexit vote?
4. What are (were) the negotiating stakes for both the UK and the EU as they work(ed) towards a Brexit deal?

**Assigned Reading (21)**
  
  “London,” 27-48

**Suggested:**

**Lesson 28: The US and Europe**

**Lesson Objectives:**
1. What is balancing? When do states balance and why?
2. How does Howorth respond to the argument that EU defense integration is a form of balancing against the United States?
3. Has the election of Donald Trump changed the trajectory of the transatlantic partnership? How?

**Assigned Reading (51)**

Lesson 29: Separatism and the Balkans

Lesson Objectives:
1. What was Yugoslavia like prior to 1989?
2. Were the ethnic groups in Yugoslavia “inherently incompatible?”
3. What incentivized conservative in the Yugoslavia government to emphasize ethnic grievances and mobilize support along ethnic lines?
4. How did the Dayton Accords attempt to build trust between ethnic groups?

Assigned Reading (35)
- Oberschall, Anthony. "The manipulation of ethnicity: from ethnic cooperation to violence and war in Yugoslavia." Ethnic and racial studies 23, no. 6 (2000) 982-1001

Lesson 30: The Future of Europe and the West

Lesson Objectives:
1. In what way is the EU connected to American values?
2. What possible futures can you imagine for the EU?
3. Is political extremism returning to Europe? The United States?

Assigned Reading (26)
  “Epilogue: A Post-American Europe,” 254-266

Suggested: