

**Comparative European Politics (GO 203)—Spring 2010—Professor Ginsberg— Ladd 207
MW 2:30-3:50 pm; Office Hours (Ladd 314) M 10:30 am-2:30 pm and W 11:30 am-2:30 pm and
by appointment; Course Teaching Assistant—Mihaela David '10—Office Hours (Ladd 314) MW
2:00 pm–4:30 pm, TT 2:00 pm–3:30 pm, and F 10:00 am–12:00 pm**

course listserv: go203-list@skidmore.edu

Eight Course Objectives

- introduce students to comparative politics as a subfield of political science to reveal similarities and differences between representative democracies and dictatorships and among representative democracies themselves;
- identify, examine, critique, and use key concepts and methods of comparative political inquiry to expand, enrich, and improve students' conceptual and analytical knowledge in comparative government;
- compare and contrast governments and politics in Britain, France, Germany, and other European states with focus on political culture, political socialization, and political development; electoral and political systems; political parties; and major political, economic, and social policies and issues;
- examine the growing importance of the European Union to the domestic politics and national interests of the individual European nation-states;
- engage students in a better understanding of their own political system by comparing it to those of other states, including the European Union;
- sensitize students to common problems facing their own and other advanced post-industrial democracies and, using the comparative method, weigh the merits of different policy responses to those problems;
- sharpen writing, research, and oral presentation skills; and
- prepare students for more advanced coursework and careers in government and international affairs

Course Requirements* and Rationale

- mid-term (20 percent) and final (25 percent)—measure objective knowledge and significance of main concepts and institutions
- one comparative politics written project (ten pages) with oral presentation (25 percent)—offers the opportunity to compare and contrast two additional European political systems, using political science methods learned**
- two five-page think pieces (10 percent each)—offer unique opportunity to think and write creatively about comparative politics**
- active participation (10 percent) in discussion of required readings, presentation and discussion of current events from *The Financial Times*, *The Economist*, and websites provided, roundtable discussions, and regular class attendance

* To assure fairness to all students, there can be no late submissions of required work since deadlines are established in the syllabus at the start of the semester.

**The Department of Government stresses the importance of good writing skills as part of your overall education as well as your education in the study of government. See attached "Government Department Writing Statement."

Texts and Websites

- Tim Bale, *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction* (purchase)

- Compendium of Liberal Documents/Excerpts from European and American Constitutions (handout)
- Roy H. Ginsberg, *Demystifying the European Union: The Enduring Logic of Regional Integration* (handouts of chapter 1-2 and 4-5)
- Roy H. Ginsberg, "Germany in the Stream of Democracy," in *Establishing Democracies* (handout)
- M. Donald Hancock and Henry Krisch, *Politics in Germany* (purchase)
- Charles Hauss, *Politics in France* (purchase)
- Bruce F. Norton, *Politics in Britain* (purchase)

European Council

Presidency	http://www.eu2010.es/en/index.html
European Union	http://europa.eu/ (hit English)
CIA World Factbook	https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/
BBC News	http://news.bbc.co.uk/
Chicago Style Manual	http://www.press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago/cmsofaq/tools.html

British Embassy	http://ukinusa.fco.gov.uk/en
10 Downing Street	http://www.number10.gov.uk/
House of Commons	http://www.parliament.uk/commons/index.cfm
House of Lords	http://www.parliament.uk/lords/index.cfm
Conservatives	http://www.conservatives.com/default.aspx
Labor	http://www.labour.org.uk/
Liberal Democrats	http://liberal.org.uk/index.htm

French Embassy	http://info-France-usa.org/
Government Institutions	http://www.ambafrance-us.org/spip.php?article507
Presidency	http://www.elysee.fr/accueil/
Prime Minister	http://www.gouvernement.fr/
Constitutional Council	http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/
National Assembly	http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/
Senate	http://www.senat.fr/

German Embassy	http://www.germany.info/Vertretung/usa/en/Startseite.html
Federal Government	http://www.bundesregierung.de/Webs/Breg/EN/Homepage/home.html
Presidency	http://www.bundespraesident.de/en
Bundestag	http://www.bundestag.de/htdocs_e/index.html
Bundesrat	http://www.bundesrat.de/EN/Home/homepage__node.html
Greens	http://www.gruene.de/
Social Democrats	http://www.spdfraktion.de/cnt/rs/rs_rubrik/0,,1901,00.htm
Christian Democrats	http://www.cdu.de/homepage.htm

Lectures, Readings,* Assignments, Films, Exams, Roundtables

*you are required to complete the readings and view the videos (on reserve) for the day they are assigned; please bring reading to be discuss to class since we refer to it regularly

Part One: Political Development, Political Culture, and Political Socialization

1-25	What is Comparative Politics, Why is it Important, and Why is it Studied? Bale, Chs. 1-2
1-27	United Kingdom. Norton, preface and Ch. 1; video <i>Liberty: The Legacy of Magna Carta</i> (10 minutes) and <i>The Battle of Hastings:1066</i> (35 min)
2-1	UK continued. Norton, Chs. 2-3; video <i>The Civil War in England, 1645-49</i> (35 min.)
2-3	France. Hauss, Chs. 1-3; videos <i>Paris Commune: 1871</i> (30 min.) and <i>Infamous Dreyfus Affair</i> (50 min.)

- 2-8 France. Hauss, Chs. 4-5; video *France Falls: May-June 1940* (52 min.)
 2-10 Germany. Hancock and Krisch, preface and Chs. 1-2; videos: *Charles DeGaulle* and *Konrad Adenauer* (25 min. each)
 2-15 Germany. Hancock and Krisch, Chs. 3-4; and Ginsberg, “Germany in the Stream of Democracy”
 2-17 European Union. Ginsberg, *Demystifying*, preface and Chs. 1-2. Deadline for consultation with Dr. G. on comparative government paper topic/approach.

Key Concepts—generic

comparative politics	nations and ethnic groups	state and nation-state
normative and empirical methods	state sovereignty	political culture (include types)
political development	geography in political development	democratization
political socialization (& agents of)		

Key Concepts—country specific

Magna Carta

Norman Conquest	Glorious Revolution	English Civil War
deference	Irish Question	<i>Zollverein</i>
wars of German nat'l unification	German (re)unification	French Revolution
<i>wirtschaftswunder</i>	Paris Commune	Dreyfus Affair
Gaullism	1968 Riots and Strikes	Algeria Crisis

Part Two: Political Systems

- 2-22 Introduction. Bale, Chs. 3-4; Norton, Ch. 8
 2-24 UK. Norton, Ch. 9; video *Parliament at Work: Order, Order!* (60 min.)
 3-1 UK continued. Norton, Chs. 10-11
 3-3 France. Hauss, Ch. 7; excerpts from the Fifth Republic Constitution
 3-8 Germany. Hancock and Krisch, Ch. 5; excerpts from German Basic Law.
 3-10 EU. Ginsberg, *Demystifying*, Chs. 4-5. Familiarize yourself with the European Council Presidency website. First think piece due at start of class.
 3-22 Think Piece Presentations and Review for First Exam
 3-24 First Exam

Key Concepts—generic

political system	government	republic and its variants
federal and unity systems	head of government and state	political pluralism
monarchy and its variants	cabinet	civil service/bureaucracy
presidential & parlia. systems	mixed presidential-parlia. systems	vote of no confidence
coalition government	judicial review	pluralism and corporatism
separation of powers	checks and balances	coalition government

Key Concepts—country specific

Basic Law	militant democracy	social democracy
chancellor democracy	unwritten constitution	Westminster and Whitehall
10 Downing Street	devolution	shadow minister/cabinet
Buckingham Palace	Quai d'Orsay, Elysee & Matignon	constructive vote of no confidence
collective responsibility	parliamentary supremacy	Scottish Parliament
presidential supremacy	cohabitation	question time
Fifth Republic	Italian Republic	incompatibility rule

Part Three: Political Parties, the Media, Interest Groups, and Electoral Systems/ Elections

- 3-29 Introduction. Bale, Chs. 5-7. Outline and annotated bibliography for comparative government paper due by start of class.

3-31	Introduction continued. Bale, Chs. 8-9; Norton, Ch. 4
4-5	UK. Norton, Chs. 5-7
4-7	France. Hauss, Ch. 6
4-12	Germany. Hancock and Krisch, Chs. 6-8
4-14	Comparative Analysis and Review

Key Concepts

electoral system	political party	party manifesto
cadre and catch-all parties	interest articulation & aggregation	political communication
political left/center/right/far right	political pluralism	political ideology
interest group	social contract	election and popular referendum
labor union	voter turnout	disproportional representation

Part Four: Policies and Issues—Lessons Learned

4-19	Domestic Policies and Issues. Bale, Ch. 10; Hancock and Frisch, Ch. 9; Hauss, Ch. 8. Second think piece due at start of class.
4-21	Foreign Policies and Issues. Bale, Ch. 11; Hauss, Ch. 10
4-26	UK, France, and Germany in the EU. Norton, Ch. 13; Hauss, Ch. 9; Hancock and Frisch, Ch. 10. Start Student Roundtable on Comparative Government
4-28	State of the European Nation-State in 2010. Hancock and Frisch, Ch. 11; Hauss, Ch. 11; Student Roundtable continued
5-3	Completion of Student Roundtable. Course Evaluation.
5-7	Comparative government paper due in Dr. G.'s office by 4:30 pm.
5-13	Second Exam. Ladd 207, 1:30-4:30 pm.

Key Concepts

public goods	<i>dirigisme</i>	market and social market economy
neoliberal economic policy	social policy	capital punishment
environment and energy policies	antiterrorism	Muslims in Europe
immigration	economic competitiveness	nationalization/privatization

Instructions for Course Requirements

Participation and Reading Assignments

Students are expected to bring the relevant text to class each day and be prepared to discuss it; and to report to class on current events in the countries we are studying and in the two countries they have chosen for their comparative politics project. *The Financial Times* and *The Economist* are found in the library. Students also view BBC World News at <http://news/bbc.co.uk> and *The New York Times* at www.nytimes.com.

Given the importance of classroom lectures and discussion, more than one unexcused absence lowers final grade. An absence is considered excused due to illness or other emergency when the student contacts Dr. G. by phone before class begins and explains arrangements to get notes and make up work missed. For each unexcused absence, the participation grade is reduced by a letter grade. Late arrivals are disruptive to the class. More than two late arrivals lowers final grade. For each late arrival, the participation grade is reduced by one-half of a letter grade.

Key Concepts

Key concepts--typical in a good introductory survey course--are used as building blocks in the study of comparative politics. Key concepts help you build knowledge on which to undertake broader analysis. Each

concept (or event) is linked either to the study of comparative politics or to the politics and government of a European state. Understanding the context of the concepts will greatly facilitate learning. For each concept, provide a brief definition, offer a date and an example when appropriate, and explain how the concept is relevant to the study of comparative politics. Students might want to set aside a section of their notebooks for a glossary or use note cards. Definitions will be found in readings/lectures. Dr. G. is available to review students' work on concepts and will ask to see a sample of them well before the quizzes in order to offer feedback.

Exams (3-24 and 5-13)

The exams cover assigned key concepts and study questions in comparative government; political development, political culture, and political socialization in the UK, France, and Germany; powers and functions of the executives and the legislatures of the UK, France, and Germany; full names (and when appropriate the political party affiliations) of the Heads of State and Government of the UK, France, and Germany and the co-Presidents of the EU; electoral systems of UK, France, and Germany; and voter turnout in and the political parties of the UK, France, and Germany (party origins, leadership and membership, main elements of platforms/manifestos, and recent election results); and major domestic and foreign policies and issues in the UK, France, and Germany. In addition to the above, the final exam features a major summary question of the course what is the value (and what are the pitfalls) of the study of comparative politics as a subfield of political science and as part and parcel of an international affairs education?

Think Pieces

The think piece is a five-page thought-provoking, persuasive, compelling, imaginative, creative, and pithy paper. It is not a research paper. Draw on what you have learned from readings, lectures, discussions, and videos to fashion response. Cite relevant source (Hancock:45) in body of text as needed, but do not offer your reader a string of endnotes. A sixth page may be used to list sources cited. Use evidence and dates/examples to back up what you write. Meet deadlines for consulting with Dr. G. with regard to your choice of think piece, how you plan to respond, and additional reading as needed.

Make certain the paper is cohesive, with a clear opening and conclusion that links back to the introduction. The introduction should clearly state your main points and theme around which the body of the paper revolves. This demonstrates to the reader the clarity of your thought. Headings are recommended to provide structure. Limit scope of response to time period covered in course. The think piece is a five-page (no more), typed paper (double-spaced), using proper spelling, grammar, sentence structure, format, paragraphs, margins, and print out. Page numbering begins on page 2. Provide title page with creative title/subtitle. Samples of think pieces of "A" quality from past years are available in Professor's office. Visit Writing Center for assistance.

First Think Piece Choices (Due 3-10)

What is political socialization? Why is it an important concept of/analytical tool in comparative politics? How has your process of political socialization to date affected the way you view and act toward government and politics?

What is political socialization? Why is it an important concept of/analytical tool in comparative politics? Choose a European alter-ego your age. Ask how the process of his/her political socialization influenced his/her views toward government and politics?

Second Think Piece Choices (Due 4-19)

With a few bloody exceptions dating back well over three hundred years ago, Britain's political development has been more evolutionary than revolutionary when compared to that of France and

Germany. Why and how did Britain evolve over time from absolute to constitutional monarchy with parliamentary supremacy and a relatively consensual political culture?

How stable and durable is the French Fifth Republic (which just marked its 50th year) against the backdrop of a country that has had six monarchies and five republics in 220 years—and that has recently experienced violent social unrest in its suburbs among young and disaffected descendants of Arab/African immigrants?

How stable and durable is the Berlin Republic as it celebrated its 60th year in 2009, given its history of political fragmentation and conflictual political culture?

What are proportional representation and winner-take-all single member district electoral systems and their variants? How do they compare and differ and what are their relative virtues and pitfalls? Extol the virtues of either system, or a hybrid system that incorporates the elements of each.

Evaluative Criteria Checklist for Successful Think Piece in GO 203

Style		Substance	
Title/Subtitle/Cover page	_____	Response to Query	_____
Provocative	_____	Accuracy of Content	_____
Compelling	_____	Clear Introduction	_____
Creative	_____	Substantiation/Examples	_____
Cohesion/Structure	_____	Clear Conclusion	_____
Spelling and Grammar	_____	Link Between Intro & End	_____
Margins/Clarity of Print Out	_____	Citation Format	_____
Page Length and Page Numbers	_____	Consultation with Dr. G.	_____
Submitted Stapled	_____		

Writing and Presentation of Comparative Government Paper (Paper Due 5-7)

Choose two European states (other than those covered in course) and compare and, in a 10-page paper, compare and contrast them in terms of either political culture, political development, and political socialization in relationship to political system; or electoral system and political parties (origins, leadership/membership, and manifesto) in relation to the last three national election results.

State what the paper is about, introduce findings, make your comparisons, and ensure conclusions link back to introduction for closure. Make appointment with Dr. G. by **February 17** to seek approval of your choice of states and to seek counsel on use of sources. Submit paper outline and annotated bibliography by **March 29**. Cite at least four primary sources and four secondary books and as many reputable online sources as you wish. Refer to *The Chicago Manual of Style* for citation instructions. When citing a source in the body of text, refer to the source and page number (Ginsberg: 56). Provide full bibliography in “Works Cited” page at end. Take drafts to the Writing Center for guidance. Students present findings in schedule roundtable sessions at end of term. Final draft due on or before **May 13**.

Evaluative Criteria Checklist for Successful Comparative Government Paper

Paper Title/Subtitle/Cover Page	_____	Response to Query	_____
Cohesion/Structure	_____	Accuracy of Content	_____
Spelling and Grammar	_____	Clear Introduction	_____
Margins/Clarity of Print Out	_____	Clear Conclusion	_____
Paragraphs/Page Numbers	_____	Link Between Intro/End	_____
Page Length	_____	Substantiation/Examples	_____
Proper Bibliography	_____	Quality of Comparisons	_____
Margins/Clarity of Print Out	_____	Consultation with Dr. G.	_____
Double-Spaced	_____	Submitted Stapled	_____
Page Length	_____	Oral Presentation Quality	_____

Video Study Questions (remember to explain what you write using examples)

Konrad Adenauer (DD259.K66 1996)

1. What did Adenauer do in the Weimar Republic? How did the Nazi regime treat him?
2. Why was Adenauer such a leading figure in the postwar democratization of Germany? On what basis did he have credibility after the war?
3. By what margin did the Christian Democrats win the 1949 parliamentary elections? Why is this question significant?
4. What impact did the Cold War and the Korean Conflict have on Germany and on Adenauer's Chancellorship in the 1950s?
5. What were Adenauer's views toward reconciliation with France and the ECSC in the 1950s and why?
6. Why did Adenauer hire a former Nazi as his chief of staff?
7. When and why did he step down from office?
8. Why did Adenauer choose the city of Bonn as the temporary capital of the new Federal Republic of Germany?
9. What was Adenauer's role in creating the Franco-German Treaty of Friendship in 1963?
10. Why is Adenauer considered the father of the Federal Republic?

The Battle of Hastings: 1066 (D24 T87 1991 vol. 6)

The English language, government, and law fundamentally changed when the Norman Duke William defeated the English King Harold in the Battle of Hastings. The Norman Conquest of 1066 marks the origins of the modern English polity and the bringing of French and European influences to the British isles: language, culture, politics, law, and commerce. No successive attempts to invade Britain by land and sea have succeeded. The consequences of the Norman invasion for modern Britain are thus critical and long lasting.

1. Who were the Vikings, where were they from, and what did they do to threaten and invade England and Europe?
2. Why did William of Normandy invade England?
3. What is the Bayeux Tapestry and what does it depict? From whose vantage point?
4. What were four major advantages of William and his forces compared to those of Harold?
5. What were four major effects of the defeat of the English King on the future of England?
6. What is a question you would like to pose? Provide answer for it as well.

Liberty: The Legacy of Magna Carta (DA 208 L5 1980)

Eight hundred years ago, "The Great Charter" ushered in principles of equality before the law and restrictions on the absolute power of kings that are pillars on which rest all constitutions of representative democracies today.

1. What was feudalism? How did King John's ruthlessness, failure in foreign wars, and increases in taxes spur a revolt against him by the Barons and Churchmen?
2. What happened at Runnymede that forced King John to agree to limit his powers?
3. What were three examples of demands on the King to limit his powers?
4. What is the significance of *Magna Carta* for subsequent political development in Britain and centuries later in America for the colonists when they arrived—and for the founders of the Declaration of Independence and U.S. Constitution?

The Civil War in England, 1645-49 (DA415.C58 1990)

A split between Charles Stuart (Charles I), King of the United Kingdom, and the House of Commons occurred in the 1640s. Deputies in the Commons refused to support the King's arbitrary powers, including taxation without representation. Charles had not convened parliament for eleven years. When he needed to

convene parliament to seek new resources to fight a war against the Scots, the Commons refused to approve funds. Charles believed in his divine right to rule. Members of Parliament (MPs) in the Commons, mostly the newly rich middle class elected by property owners, contested the tyranny of the King. Members of the House of Lords, the upper house which consisted of bishops and peers, were not elected but appointed or inherited their seats.

Oliver Cromwell, a deputy in the House of Commons, organized the parliamentary insurrection against the Crown. The Commons passed legislation in 1640 that placed limits on how much the King could tax and spend independent of Parliament and established that Parliament had the right to be convened at least once every three years and could not be dismissed without its own consent.

1. Why was there widespread opposition to Charles in the 1640s? Be specific.
2. Why did Charles have money problems?
3. Why did Charles try to use force against Parliament? What happened when he did?
4. What were two key differences between the King's army and Cromwell's army?
5. When, why, and how was Charles defeated and what happened to him and why?
6. What form of government did Britain have under Cromwell's rule?
7. When, how, and under what conditions did Britain become a constitutional monarchy after the death of Cromwell?
8. What is the significance of the English Civil War for Britain's political development?
9. What key issues were present in the 1640s that were visited earlier in 1215 and why?

Charles lost the civil war and was beheaded. Cromwell led an authoritarian republic government for eleven years. After his death, the Stuart monarchy was restored under Charles II in 1660. However, the institution of the monarchy was never the same. The monarch would not serve as the result of a naturally derived divine right but rather would be held accountable to the parliament. The year 1660 ushered in the rise of parliamentary government. Charles II was followed by James II, who tried to restore the rights and powers lost by Charles I. In the Glorious Revolution of 1688 James II was forced to abdicate in bloodless revolution. In 1689, Parliament asked William and Mary (daughter of James II) to rule. William and Mary consented, thus establishing the precedence of parliamentary supremacy over the crown.

British Parliament at Work: Order, Order! (JN508.07 1994)

1. Why were the monarch and parliament in conflict with each other?
2. How often are parliamentary elections held?
3. What are three traditions of the House of Commons?
4. What are the tasks of the Speaker of the House?
5. Why do MPs take an oath of office to the Queen?
6. Do Cabinet officers hold seats in Parliament? Explain.
7. What are three roles performed by MPs?
8. Who are the Lords, how do they become Lords, and what do they do?
9. What are three checks the parliament has over the government?
10. How does a proposed bill become law? List steps.

The Paris Commune: 1871 (D24.T87 1991 v.5)

1. Who were the communards and why were they fighting the government?
2. What were the strains among Parisians prior to 1870 that exposed interclass divisions during the Commune?
3. What was the impact of the end of the Franco-Prussian war on the Parisians?
4. What was wrong with the Napoleon III regime? How did he/it fall?
5. What regime replaced Napoleon III? Why did its army fight the Commune?
6. Why and how did Bismarck humiliate Paris and what were the effects?
7. At what price did the French army retake Paris?
8. What does the Paris Commune tell us about French politics today?

France Falls: May-June 1940 (Vol. Three (D743.W67 1980))

1. How did France's World War I victory affect French attitudes in the run up to World War II?
2. Describe politics and government in the Third Republic before the outbreak of World War II.
3. Why did France withdraw from its early, though modest, offensive into Germany at the start of the war?
4. What impact did the "phony war" have on French soldiers in winter 1939?
5. Why was the French chief of staff's headquarters located outside of Paris with no phone communication with the government in Paris?
6. What was the Maginot Line? Why didn't the French prepare for a German invasion of Belgium, Luxembourg, and France through the Ardennes Mountains?
7. What was France's response to the German offensive through the Ardennes in May 1940?
8. How did French troops perform in May 1940 compared to 1914?
9. How many people were in movement in northern France in May-June 1940?
10. Why did the Germans push toward the Channel in June 1940?
11. What was the significance of Hitler's order to use the same train carriage for the signing of the armistice signaling the defeat of France in June 1940 as the French used for the signing of the armistice that signaled the defeat of Germany in 1918?
12. What was the significance of the parade of victorious German troops through Paris in June 1940 that followed the same route as the parade of victorious French troops in 1918?
13. How long did it take for Germany to defeat France in 1940? What is the significance of this?
14. What happened to the Third Republic?

Charles de Gaulle (DC420.C452 1991)

1. Under what circumstances did de Gaulle leave and return to France during World War II?
2. What happened to the French Government after the German invasion?
3. How and under what circumstances did de Gaulle become head of the provisional government and later President of France?
4. What were his views on the role of France in Europe and the world, and why?
5. What were three major foreign policy decisions taken by de Gaulle when President and what were the effects of each?
6. When, why, how, and under what conditions did de Gaulle resign from the Presidency?

Infamous Dreyfus Affair (From the Series *In Search of History*) (DVD DC 354 I5 2002)

1. On what basis and with what evidence was Captain Dreyfus charged, arrested, and sentenced for treason?
2. What in the conflictual political culture of the French Third Republic in the 1890s helps contextualize the conditions surrounding the Dreyfus Affair?
3. Who was Major Hubert Joseph Henri and why was he so readily disposed to have Dreyfus arrested for espionage?
4. Who was Major Esterhazy? How in the end did it become clear that he, not Captain Dreyfus, was a spy for the Germans within the French army?
5. What happened to Dreyfus after he was convicted of treason?
6. Who is General Georges Piquart? How did he figure out Dreyfus was innocent? What happened when he shared his concern about a wrong conviction with the Army?
7. Why did the Army try to cover up the cover up? Be specific.
8. Why was the Affair not just a violation of civil liberties of one individual but a clash of values and attitudes toward the power of the French State and what it represented?
9. Who is Emil Zola and what was his role in the Affair?
10. Why did the Army find Dreyfus guilty in the second court martial?
11. Why did the French President pardon Dreyfus?