

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI  
Professor J D Wolfe  
Spring Semester 2017  
POL 5176/6076

## **THE NEW EUROPE**

### **Purpose:**

After the end of communism in the 1990s, the EU took on the ambitious goals of creating a single market and common currency under the rule of law and member states and then absorbing the post-communist East European states. Since the financial crisis of 2008, however, Europe has been mired in recession and austerity. In addition to these problems, Europe now faces pressures from migrants and refugees from the Middle East and Africa, a burgeoning number of incidents of terrorism, and heightened security tensions with Russia. These changes raise significant issues about how Europe works and what it can do. Did the European Union once but no longer herald the end of the nation-state and its war-making proclivities? Is the EU working for its citizens or is it becoming unaccountable and the source of inequality and injustice? Is the EU becoming more or less democratic, more or less wealthy? In short, who rules the EU and why this matters? The purpose of this course is to explore these issues in order to illuminate the nature and dynamics of modern Europe.

### **Study Abroad Option:**

Through on campus discussions at UC and a study abroad trip to Brussels and The Hague, careful reading, engaged responses, and independent research, students who take this class will gain better understanding of the challenges of facing Europe, the role of globalization and the political and economic factors that are reshaping Europe. The research trip to Brussels and The Hague will provide the students with unique opportunities to explore current European crises by conducting independent field research, interviewing officials at various international institutions, participating in various forums and discussions, and collecting primary data on a topic of their interest.

### **Capstone and Graduate Student Option**

The course is available for Capstone students register for 3 credits and for graduate students for 4 credits. The requirements are listed below.

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS, POLICIES AND GRADING**

**Student Requisites:** Due to the nature of the required research project, this course is intended for juniors and seniors who are Political Science or International Affairs majors seeking to fulfill their undergraduate capstone requirement. The course is also open to students in other majors

and graduate students, with permission. Graduate students will be expected to complete additional course work.

**Course Requirements Overview:**

Your course grade will be determined as follows:

- Readings Exams - short essays on the common readings 40%
- Class Reading Presentations – 2 presentations, 5% FOR each summary
- Participation - attendance and class involvement 10 %
- Oral Presentation of your Research Paper 5%
- Research Paper of 4500 words 35%
- Meeting additional deadlines for the initial proposal, a meeting with the instructor, revised proposal, and a 5 page draft will affect participation points by up to 5%
- Graduate Students: additional requirements including mentoring contributions plus a 6000 word essay

**DETAILS OF COURSE REQUIREMENTS FOR BOTH OPTIONS:**

<i>Course Requirements (section 001; 3 credits):</i>	<u>% of final grade</u>	<u>Due Date</u>
Readings Presentations	10% (2X5%)	TBA
Readings Quizzes assignment	40% (4X10)	Weeks: 3, 5, 8, 11
Presentation of the final paper	5%	4/5-4/19/2017
Final paper	35%	5/1/2017
Course attendance and participation	10%	throughout the semester

<i>Course Requirements (section 002; 4-5 credits):</i>	<u>% of final grade</u>	<u>Due Date</u>
Readings Presentations	10% (2X5%)	TBA
Readings Quizzes assignment	20% (4x5%)	Weeks: 3, 5, 8, 11
Presentation of the final paper	5%	4/5-4/19/2017
Group outreach project	15%	5/31/2017
Participation in study abroad events and discussion	20%	5/9-5/21/2017 (tentative)
Final paper	30%	5/31/2017 (tentative)

**Course Format**

We meet once per week on Wednesdays from 3:35PM - 6:20PM in Room SWIFT 519.

This course will function partly as a reading/discussion seminar and partly as a research workshop. There will be two phases. The first deals with political analysis of Europe and the European Union. Because this class includes two versions, one for the Study Abroad and one

for the capstone requirements, there will be some class sessions that combine our class and POL2097 - International Institutions – taught by Professor Ivanov. This common readings for our class POL5176 will cover the first 10 weeks. The second section focuses on individual research projects and covers 4 to 5 weeks. There will also be assigned tasks during both periods for the purpose of developing research papers.

### **Part I: Political Analysis of the Crises in Europe**

For the first ten weeks of the semester, class meeting will be devoted to discussion of common readings. For each reading, one student will present a summary and provide questions for clarification and debate. These presentations will then lead to a general discussion of the material by all students. All students are expected to complete the assigned reading prior to class and be prepared to contribute to the efforts of those presenting particular readings. The readings' presenters will, however, take responsibility for leading us through the main themes and key points of the assigned materials.

Four short essay exams will be required based on these readings and will be due at the dates indicated.

### **Part II: Research Paper**

As the centerpiece of this capstone course, each undergraduate student will write a 4500 word research paper as the culmination of a semester-long individual research project. Graduate students will write a 6000 word page research paper.

In order to facilitate completion of this project, students will complete a series of assigned stages in their research project. These include an initial written proposal and grad student or faculty feedback, a peer review, five page draft with preliminary bibliography under grad student direction, and an oral presentation on the final draft to the class.

Research Papers should take a substantive focus and use the case material to test, advance, or modify a proposition found in one of the major approaches to power and democracy. **A focus on an aspect of the crises facing Europe today is required.** An example might be to hypothesize that the Greek debt crisis results from the easy money German banks offered the country and the imposition of an excessively harsh plan of repayment imposed by an authoritarian administration by the Troika. This could be grounded in literature and then tested to determine if the thesis can be empirically documented. The substantive study will also use appropriate methodological techniques, facilitating a clearer and more forceful assessment of the hypothesis.

Each paper will contain a literature review informing the hypothesis to be tested or confirmed, a statement justifying its research design or methodological approach, and an empirical case study supporting your thesis. The target for the length of the paper is between 4000 and 5000 words.

1. Each student will present a written proposal in the 5<sup>th</sup> week for the instructor's review and then a consultation with the professor.
2. A revised proposal and outline based on the agreed research proposal during the 8<sup>th</sup> week of the semester.
3. A 5-page draft is to be submitted for review by a grad student on April 5, 2017.
4. Each student will make a ten minute presentation based on her/his penultimate draft during the last week of the semester.
5. The final paper in hardcopy format is due on the UC defined due date between Saturday - Thursday, April 22 – 27 for those not going on our Study Abroad. Those going to The Hague and Brussels will be able to complete their work after their return.

### **Class Attendance and Participation**

Class attendance is also required for successful completion of the course. You are allowed up to two absences during the semester with no explanation necessary. (I understand that people get sick, cars break down, jobs sometimes require extra work hours, etc.) I allow these two "free" absences for my administrative ease and our mutual convenience. My suggestion is that you spend these freebies carefully since the bar is very high in order to be granted additional absences without penalty.

Beyond the two aforementioned free absences, you need documentation (such as hospital/ doctor/court records or a travel note from UC's athletic department) demonstrating that your attendance in class was impossible. As the instructor, I am the final arbiter of what reasons are acceptable for missing class and what documentation is satisfactory. If I ultimately judge that you have unexcused absences, I reserve the right to lower your final course grade by three points per class missed (e.g., 91 to 88). Please note that even a limited number of absences may hurt your comprehension of the course material, so plan both to attend class regularly and to participate in discussion. (Note: You should notify both the professor and the appropriate university authorities if you will experience an extended absence for family, medical, or work reasons. Any such absence should be fully documented.)

### **Instructor and University Policies**

As stated explicitly during the first class meeting, and mentioned informally to students who add the course late, it is the student's responsibility to read this syllabus carefully and follow the requirements it lays out. This includes the timely completion of all assignments. The instructor reserves the right to penalize late assignments. Please plan ahead.

If you have a documented disability that affects your performance in class, please tell me at the beginning of the semester and I will do my best to help by coordinating with the university's disability services office. Your first point of contact is the disability services office, which is located in 210 University Pavilion (phone: 556-6823; email: [disabisv@ucmail.uc.edu](mailto:disabisv@ucmail.uc.edu)).

Cell phones are to be turned off during class; no texting or phone calls are allowed. Laptops (and some other electronic devices) are permitted in class but only for taking notes and other course-related tasks deemed acceptable by the instructor. If you require clarification of what is allowed, please ask. Repeated failure to abide by my policy may result in you being asked to leave class.

It is each student's responsibility to know and comply with the University of Cincinnati's Student Code of Conduct. The Code defines behavior considered misconduct, including cheating, plagiarism, and classroom disruption. (Failure to abide by my policy on cell phones and electronic devices can be construed as classroom disruption, incidentally.) The range of possible sanctions and penalties are also outlined in this document, which is available on-line at [http://www.uc.edu/conduct/Code\\_of\\_Conduct.html](http://www.uc.edu/conduct/Code_of_Conduct.html). With respect to proper forms of citation and other issues related to plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper citation), more information will be provided as part of the instructions given for written assignments.

The syllabus is subject to modification by the instructor, but notice of any change will be given to students both in class and on Blackboard.

**Office Hours:**

Tuesdays from 2 to 4 PM or by appointment. My telephone number is 556-3307. Room: 1117 Crosley Tower. My email is Joel.Wolfe@uc.edu

Readings: Required books are listed below. Additional readings will be available on Blackboard (Bb) or accessible online. These books can be purchased at the UC bookstore or online at Bookfinder.com, B&N.com, DealOz.com or Amazon.com.

- Gamble, Andrew, 2014, *Crisis without End? The unravelling of Western Prosperity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jones, Eric, et. al. eds., 2011, *Developments in European Politics Two*. London: Palgrave
- Wolfgang Streeck, , 2014, *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism*. London: Verso
- Varoufakis, Yanis. 2016, *And the Weak Suffer What They Must: Europe's Crisis and American's Economic Future*. New York: Nation Books

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## COURSE OUTLINE

### Week 1 (Jan 11): Introduction: The New Europe: Crisis and Transformation [Combined Classes]

1. Key Questions: What is the New Europe? Will European Integration work? Who Rules the EU? What forms will rule take? How does it change power structures of member states in the EU? Is the EU democratic and Does it promote democracy? Does it benefit capitalism?
2. Debate Topics:
  - a. Who rules the EU?
  - b. Why is the EU unable to respond to the economic collapse of 2008?
  - c. Why is power shifting to Germany and away from others?
  - d. Why is power concentrating in executive branches and diminishing in parliamentary ones?
  - e. Why the wealthy north and an indebted south?
  - f. What can and should Europe do about the refugee and migrant problem?
  - g. Can it resolve the debt crisis in the periphery?
  - h. Can it stimulate economic growth?
  - i. Can it provide secure borders and play a role in the global balance of power with regard to Russia, the Middle East, Africa?
  - j. Why is there a Eurosceptic fringe and a Europhile center?
  - k. Why the divide between a liberal West and an autocratic East?
  - l. What does VW's corruption case tell us?
  - m. Is the European social democratic model unsustainable?
  - n. Will the EU collapse as members follow Brexit?
- Readings:
  1. Mazower, Mark, "Berlin's devotion to rules harms EU," *FT* BB
  2. Wolfgang Munchau, "Five concurrent crises push Europe into the realm of chaos" *FT* September 27, 2015 BB
  3. Wolfgang Munchau, "Europe's multiplicity of crises is not accidental" *FT* (January 3, 2016) BB

## PART I – HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL GROUNDWORKS

### Week 2 (Jan 18) Historical Trajectories and Sources of European Dilemmas.

1. Europe in an Emerging Global Order:
  - G. Barraclough, "The Nature of Contemporary History," in his *An Introduction to Contemporary History*, ch 1, pp. 9-42.

2. Political and Cultural Legacies: WWI and WWII Legacies and Fall of Communism in 1990 as New Beginning:
  - T. Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*, (On RESERVE IN LANGSAM)
    1. Introduction (1-10), Ch1, The Legacy of War ( 13-40); Coda: The End of Old Europe (226-237);
    2. Ch X, Age of Affluence and Postscript (324- 359);
    3. Ch XII, Old and New? (701-48);
    4. Ch XXIII, Varieties of Europe (749-776);
    5. Ch XXIV, Europe as a Way of Life (777-800)
3. Types of Democratic Capitalist Crises – 1930s, 1970s, 2008
  - Gamble, Andrew. *Crisis without End?* Introduction, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, pp 1-97

**Week 3 (Jan 25). Types of European Dilemmas. [Reading Essay 1 Due]**

1. Gamble, Andrew. 2014, *Crisis without End? The unravelling of Western Prosperity*. Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, pp. 99-209.

**PART II GOVERNANCE DILEMMAS – ROLES OF EUROPEAN SUPRANATIONAL AND INTER-GOVERNMENTAL POLITICAL STRUCTURES**

**Week 4 (Feb 8): Changes in Patterns of Governance - Weakening Democratic Checks on the Center**

1. Webb, P. 2011, "Political Parties, Representation and Politics in Contemporary Europe," in Jones, E., et. al., 2011, eds., *Developments in European Politics*, ch 5.
2. Hopkin, J., 2011, "Elections an Electoral Systems," in Jones, E., et. al., 2011, eds., *Developments in European Politics*, ch 6.
3. Norris, P., 2011, "Political Activism," in Jones, E., et. al., 2011, eds., *Developments in European Politics*, ch 7.
4. Pasquier, R., 2011, "Cities, Regions and the New territorial Politics," in Jones, E., et. al., 2011, eds., *Developments in European Politics*, ch 8
5. Heywood, P.M. and Wood, C., 2011, "Culture versus Institutions: Social Capital, Trust and Corruption," in Jones, E., et. al., 2011, eds., *Developments in European Politics*, ch 9.

**PART III– CRISES OF EUROPEAN CAPITALISM**

**Week 5 (Feb 15): The Crises of Governing Formulae: from the social democratic tax state to a neoliberal debt state and now a neoliberal consolidation state [Reading Essay 2 Due]**

1. Jones, E., 2011, "Globalization and Interdependence," in Jones, E., et. al., eds., *Developments in European Politics*, ch 2
2. Streeck, Wolfgang., *Buying Time*, Chs 1, 2, pp 1-96

**Week 6 (Feb 1): Centralization of Executive Power in the EU and Member States. [Combined Classes]**

1. Wallace, H., "An Institutional Anatomy and Five Policy Modes," in H Wallace, et. al, eds., *Policy-Making in the European Union*. 69-104. BB
2. Sedelmeier, U., 2011, "The Differential Impact of the European Union on European Politics," in Jones, E., et. al., 2011, eds., *Developments in European Politics*, ch 3.
3. Eising R. and Poguntke, T., 2011, "Government and Governance in Europe," in Jones, E., et. al., 2011, eds., *Developments in European Politics*, ch 4.
4. Kelemen, R.D., 2015, "European Law and Politics," in Tiersky, R. and Jones, E., *Europe Today*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. BB
5. Begg, I. "Deepening EU economic governance: the next steps" 29 October 2015, <http://bit.ly/1l6KBgm>

**Week 7 (Feb 22): The Consolidation State and the European Monetary Union (EMU) [Combined Classes]**

1. Streeck, Wolfgang., *Buying Time*, Chs 3, 4, pp. 97-189
2. Hancke, Bob. 2011, "Varieties of European Capitalism and their Transformation," in Jones, E., et. al., eds., *Developments in European Politics*, ch 10.

**PART IV – THE EUROZONE CRISIS: The EMU and the Case of Greece**

**Week 8 (March 1): Making of the Eurozone Crisis –**

1. Origins in the End of Bretton Woods
  - Varoufakis, Yanis. 2016. *And The Weak Suffer What They Must: Europe's Crisis and American's Economic Future* New York: Nation Books, Chs 1 and 2
2. Progression of Monetary Systems – The "Snake", the EMS and the EMU
  - Varoufakis, Yanis. 2016. *And The Weak Suffer What They Must: Europe's Crisis and American's Economic Future* New York: Nation Books. Chs 3,4, 5

**Week 9 (March 8): The Eurozone Crisis and the Case of Greece – [Reading Essay 3 Due]**

1. The Wall Street Crash and Europe's Too Big to Bail Dilemma
  - Blyth, M., 2013, "Europe – Too Big to Bail: Politics of Permanent Austerity," in his *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea*, NY: OUP. BB
2. The Greek Financial Crisis



- Varoufakis, Yanis. 2016. *And The Weak Suffer What They Must: Europe's Crisis and American's Economic Future* New York: Nation Books. Chs 6, 7, 8.

**Week 10 - MARCH 15: SPRING BREAK (NO CLASS MEETING)**

**PART V – INTENSIFYING SECURITY AND IDENTIFY CONFLICTS**

**Week 11 (March 22): Intra-state and Inter-state Conflicts**

1. Religion:
  - Madeley, J.T.S., 2011, "Religion-Related Issues in European Politics and Law," in Jones, E., et. al., eds., *Developments in European Politics*, ch 12.
2. Immigration:
  - Joppke, C. 2011, "European Immigration Policies: Between Stemming and Soliciting Still," in Jones, E., et. al., eds., *Developments in European Politics*, ch 13.
  - Moses, J.W., 2015, "Migration in Europe," in Tiersky, R. and Jones, E., *Europe Today*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 391-416. BB
3. Resurgent Sub-Nationalisms – Scotland, Catalonia, Belgium.
  - Ian Buruma, "In the Capital of Europe." April 7, 2016 Issue **NYRB** BB
4. Resurgent Cultural Conservatism - The Visegrad States,
  - A *Financial Times* "**Big Read**". BB
5. NATO And Security
  - Duke, S. and Haar, R. 2015, "A Reassessment of Transatlantic Security: Europe, the United States, and NATO," in Tiersky, R. and Jones, E., *Europe Today*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 417-446. BB

**PART VI: INDEPENDENT RESEARCH AND ORAL PRESENTATIONS**

Week 12 : No class: Independent Research **[Reading Essay 4 Due]**

Week 13: No class: Independent Research; **5 page Draft Research Paper Due**

Week 14: No class: Independent Research

Week 15 (April 19): Oral presentations of Research Paper

