

CAS IR 418 / PO 247 Politics, Nations and Identity in the New Europe: Switzerland and the European Union

Instructor: Dr. Susanne Peters

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2 x 20 hours

What is Europe, and are the Swiss in or out of it? This new course is designed as an introduction to some of the most pressing cultural and political issues in present-day Europe. Focusing on the host country, Switzerland, it will set this small independent nation in the context of European history through a structured comparison with its most powerful neighbors, France and Germany. The history and rationale of the European Union, the current crisis in the Eurozone, the challenges of the EU enlargement and the thorny issue of migration will all be discussed. In a first section we will address historical and background knowledge on key elements of European history and the European integration process as well as the international criticism Switzerland faced in the mid 90s as a result of its policies during and after World War II. In a second section we will compare Switzerland's society, political culture and political system with France and Germany. Highly controversial and relevant topics for Switzerland and Europe, e.g. where to draw the line of what country is in or out of Europe, immigration policy including relations with Central European states regarding migration of Roma and Sinti will be discussed as well.

The course has four main objectives:

- 1) understand to what extent history has shaped the political systems and political culture of Switzerland, France and Germany
- 2) give detailed insight into Switzerland and understand what distinguishes it from Germany and France in regard to its governmental system, political culture and political development
- 3) understand key controversial issues in European contemporary politics
- 4) explore to what extent Switzerland is influenced by the dynamics, challenges and future of the European Union

There are no pre-requisites for this class, which should be of interest to students in IR, Political Science, History, or European studies - as well as anyone who just wants to make sense of present-day Switzerland.

Texts:

A course pack will be made available.

Requirements and grading:

Assignments for the course, and the objectives of each of them will be explained in greater detail on the first day of class.

Participation	10 %
Presentation of term paper	10 %
Term paper	40 %
Final Exam	40 %

For the term paper a 10% penalty will be applied to any work submitted within 4 hours after the deadline, a 20% penalty after 4 hours delay.

Attendance and participation are a key component of your grade. Class Participation includes regular attendance, to be verified by signature lists. Unexcused absences as well as regular lateness will affect your grade. Evaluations of your participation will further depend on your active participation in class discussions. This includes recurring in-class discussions. These discussions will center on selected texts from the reader. As these discussions are integral parts of your grade, it would be highly advantageous for you to read and *scrutinize* the texts before class.

There will be one *examination* to be held in class. The exam questions will consist of:

- A multiple choice section on terms on terms discussed in class
- A short-answer section consisting of 500-word explanations and discussions of terms or phenomena covered in class, in their historical, political and/or theoretical context, and
- An essay question inviting students to think critically about the given subject in a response of 1000 words.

Term Paper: Students will be required to write an empirical research paper for this class. The length of the paper should be about 3,500 words, and should include a *bibliography*. The bibliography should list at least *eight different academic sources*. The deadline for handing in the essay is the last day of class.

Form of delivery of written assignments: All documents have to be sent electronically, either in .doc (Word), .rtf or .pdf formats.

Plagiarism

All students are responsible for having read the Boston University statement on plagiarism, which is available in the Academic Conduct Code. Students are advised that the penalty against students on a Boston University program for cheating on examinations or for “plagiarism” may be “expulsion from the program or the University or such other penalty as may be recommended by the Committee on Student Academic Conduct, subject to approval by the dean.”

You can view the entire Academic Conduct Code here:

<http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/>

Overview:

Class 1 **Introduction: Major Issues and Concepts, Organization of the Course**

Section A: Historical and Background Knowledge

Class 2 **European History: WWI - WWII – Holocaust**

Class 3 **Switzerland in the Crossfire of International Criticism**

Class 4 **Division of Europe - Cold War**

Class 5 **The Origin and Idea of the European Community**

Class 6 **The Institutions of the European Union**

Section B: Switzerland in Comparison to its European Neighbors

Class 7 **Comparative Politics and Party Systems in Europe**

- Parliamentary versus presidential systems
- The Consensus versus the Westminster model
- Party Systems in Europe

Class 8 **Switzerland: The success of a unique system I**

- Origin
- Society
- Political System

Class 9 **Switzerland: The success of a unique system II**

- Direct Democracy
- Federalism
- Neutrality and Foreign Policy

Class 10 **Switzerland and the EU**

- Economy
- Bilateral Treaties

Class 11 France: End of Exceptionalism

- Political system
- Economy and Society

Class 12 Germany: Learning from the past

- Political system
- Society and Economy

Class 13: Switzerland in comparison to its neighbors and the US

- Comparison of Political culture
- Comparison of Governmental system

Section C: Controversial topics for Switzerland and Europe/EU

Class 14: Who belongs to Europe?

- EU enlargement policy – Balkan countries - Ukraine
- Turkey's membership

Class 15: Immigration policy

- Switzerland, France and Germany
- European Union

Class 16: Migration Policy

- The effects of the Schengen agreement on Switzerland
- Roma and Sinti in Central Europe

Class 17: The effects of the Euro Crisis on Europe's Social Peace

- A divided Europe
- Europe's "lost generation"

Section D Conclusion and Exam

Class 18 Student Presentations

Class 19 Student Presentations and Wrap up

Class 20 Exam

Term Paper Due

Readings:

Class 2 European History: WWI-WWII-Holocaust

Required:

Palmer, R. R., Colton, Joel and Kramer, Lloyd, *A History of the Modern World* (New York : McGraw-Hill, 2007), pp.677-718 and 827-864.

Additional

Taylor, A.J.P., *The First World War. An Illustrated History* (London: Penguin Books, 1963).

Maier, Charles, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and the German National Identity* (Cambridge Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1988)

Weinberg, Gerhard, *World at Arms. A Global History of World War II* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Class 3 Switzerland in the Crossfire of International Criticism

Required

Picard, Jacques, "Switzerland, National Socialist Policy and the Legacy of History" in Cesarini, David and Levine, Paul A., *The Journal of Holocaust Education* (Vol. 9, Autumn/Winter 2000, Numbers 2 and 3), pp.114-145.

Bazyler, Michael J., "Suing the Swiss Banks", *Holocaust Justice. The Battle for Restitution in America's Courts* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2003), pp.1-14.

Codevilla, Angelo M., *Between the Alps and a Hard Place* (Washington: Regnery Publishing, 2000), pp. 1-28.

Additional:

Independent Commission of Experts Switzerland, *Switzerland, National Socialism and the Second World War*, Final Report (Zürich 2002) (Bergier Commission, available on the web).

Eizenstat, Stuart, *Imperfect Justice. Looted Assets, Slave Labor, and the Unfinished Business of World War II* (New York: Public Affairs: 2003).

Fossedal, Gregory, "Switzerland Accused" in *Direct Democracy in Switzerland*, (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers", 2002), pp.213-232.

Schapiro Jane, *Inside a Class Action, The Holocaust and the Swiss Banks* (London: The University of Wisconsin Press, Terrace Books, 2003), pp. 1-26.

Studer, Robert, "The Swiss Banker", in Mitya New, *Switzerland Unwrapped. Exposing the Myths* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1997), pp.48-55.

Schwarz, Urs, *The Eye of the Hurricane, Switzerland in World War II* (Boulder/Colorado: Westview Press, 1980).

Class 4 Division of Europe – Cold War

Required:

Black, Cyril, English, Robert, Macadams, James A., Helmreich, Jonathan E., Helmreich, Paul C., "Europe Divided 1945-1955" in *Rebirth. A History of Europe since World War II*, (Boulder et.al: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 54-79.

DePorte, A. W., *Europe between the Superpowers* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), pp.142-187.

Additional:

Taylor, Frederick, *The Berlin Wall*, (London, NYC and Berlin: Bloomsbury, 2004).

Wegs, Robert and Ladrech, Robert, *Europe since 1945. A Concise History*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), pp.1-26.

Palmer, R. R., Colton, Joel, Kramer, Lloyd, "The Cold War and Reconstruction after the Second World War", *A History of the Modern World*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2007), pp.865-914.

Blackburn, Glenn, *The West and the World since 1945* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989).

Stromberg, Roland, *Europe in the Twentieth Century* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1980).

Class 5 The Origin and the Idea of the European Community

Required:

Dosenrode, Soren (ed.), "The Road to Lisbon" in *The European Union after Lisbon*, (London and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), pp.7-20.

Opello, Walter and Catherine, "From Military Competition to Economic Cooperation" in *European Politics*, (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009), pp.201-231.

Dinan, Desmond, "The European Integration Process" in Hay, Colin and Menon, Anand, *European Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.151-168

Additional:

Ginsberg, Roy H., *Demystifying the European Union. The Enduring Logic of Regional Integration*. (Lanham et. al.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007).

Nugent, Neill, *The Government and Politics of the European Union* (New York: Pan Macmillan, 2010)

Ian Bache, George, Stephen and Bulmer, Simon, *Politics in the European Union* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

Class 6 The Institutions of the European Union

Required:

Ian Bache, George, Stephen and Bulmer, Simon, *Politics in the European Union* (Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.66-71 and pp.225-235.

Hancock, Donald et.al. "Where is the Power?" in *Politics in Europe* (Washington: CQ Press, 2012), pp. 639-656.

Dosenrode, Soren, *The European Union after Lisbon. Polity, Politics, Policy* (London and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), pp.1-44

Additional:

Emmanouilidis, Janis and Stratulat, Corina, "Implementing Lisbon: narrowing the EU's 'democratic deficit'?" *European Policy Centre*, (March 2010), 4 pages.

Moravcsik, Andrew, "The Myth of Europe's Democratic Deficit", *Intereconomics: Journal of European Public Forum* (November-December 2008), pp.331-340.

Ginsberg, Roy H., *Demystifying the European Union. The Enduring Logic of Regional Integration*, (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007).

Opello, Walter and Catherine, "Governing the European Union" in *European Politics*, (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009), pp.233-260.

Class 7 Comparative Politics and Party Systems in Europe

Required:

Eising, Rainer and Poguntke, Thomas, "Government and Governance in Europe" in Jones, Erik, Heywood, Paul M., Rhodes, Martin and Sedelmeier, Ulrich, *Developments in European Politics* (New York: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2011), pp.45-63.

Lijphart, Arend, *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press: 2012), pp.1-59.

Additional:

Falco-Gimeno, Albert and Indridason, Indridi "Coalition Formation in Western Europe", *West European Politics*, (Vol. 36, No.1, January 2013), pp.221-247.

Kubicek, Paul, *European Politics* (Longman 2012).

Lijhart, Arend, *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*, (Oxford University Press, 1992/2004).

Wilson, Frank L., *Concepts and Issues in Comparative Politics. An Introduction to Comparative Analysis*, (Prentice Hall: 1996)

Magone, Jose, *Contemporary European Politics. A Comparative Introduction*, (Routledge: 2011), pp.169-231.

Lijhart, Arend, *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (Yale University Press: 1999).

Class 8 Switzerland: The Success of a Unique System I

Required:

Kriesi, Hanspeter and Trechsel, Alexander, *The Politics of Switzerland. Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.1-48.

Church, Clive, *The Politics and Government of Switzerland*, (New York: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2004), pp.23-70.

Additional:

Church, Clive and Head, Randolph, *A Concise History of Switzerland* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Steinberg, Jonathan, *Why Switzerland ?* (Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Fahrni, Dieter, *An Outline History of Switzerland, From the Origins to the Present* (Pro Helevetia, Arts Council of Switzerland, 1997).

Nappeu, Gregoire, *Swiss History in a Nutshell*, (Basel: Bergli Books, 2010)

Butler, Michael et. al., (eds.), *The making of modern Switzerland, 1948-1998* (St. Martin's Press, Macmillan Press, 2000).

Lane, Jan-Eric, "Introduction: Key institutions and Behavioral Outcomes" in Jan Eric Lane, *The Swiss Labyrinth. Institutions, Outcomes, and Redesign* (London, Frank Cass: 2000), pp. 1-34.

Levy, Rene, *The Social Structure of Switzerland*, (St. Gallen: Typotron, 1998).

Class 9 Switzerland: The Success of a Unique System II

Required:

Wolf Linder, "Direct Democracy" in *Swiss Democracy. Possible Solutions to Conflict in Multicultural Societies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.92-101.

Kriesi, Hanspeter and Trechsel, Alexander, *The Politics of Switzerland. Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.49-68.

Fossedal George A., "Referendum", in *Direct Democracy in Switzerland*, (Transaction Publishers, 2005), pp. 87-116.

Additional:

Goetschel, Laurent et. al. *Swiss Foreign Policy. Foundations and Possibilities* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

Möckli, Daniel, *Swiss Neutrality: Rhetoric and Relevance*, CSS Report, September 2007
<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?id=38997&lng=en>

Papadopoulos, Yannis, "How Does Direct Democracy Matter ? The Impacts of Referendum Votes on Politics and Policy-Making" in Lane, Jan Eric, *The Swiss Labyrinth. Institutions, Outcomes, and Redesign*, (London, Frank Cass: 2000), pp.35-58.

Class 10 Switzerland and the EU

Required:

Trampusch, Christine and Mach, Andre, *Switzerland in Europe. Continuity and Change in the Swiss Political System* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 9-60

Kriesi, Hanspeter and Trechsel, Alexander, *The Politics of Switzerland. Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.172-190.

Additional:

Breiding, James, *Swiss Made. The Untold Story behind Switzerland's Success* (Profile Books: 2013).

Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) and the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO), The 2010 Annual Report on Switzerland's International Cooperation http://www.deza.admin.ch/en/Home/News/Close_up?itemID=202466

http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/politics/Prospect_of_US-EU_trade_accord_makes_Swiss_fret.html?cid=35011134

Class 11 France: End of Exceptionalism

Required:

Safran, William, "The Context of French Politics", in Hancock, Donald, *Politics in Europe*, (Washington: CQ Press, 2012), pp.109-127.

Gabriel Goodliffe, "France: The Sarkozy Presidency in Historical Perspective" in Tiersky, Ronald and Jones, Eric, *Europe Today. A Twenty-First Century Introduction* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011) pp.25-66.

Additional:

Hauss, Charles, *Politics in France* (Washington: CQ Press, 2008).

Mény, Yves, "France: The Institutionalization of Leadership" in Colomer, Josep (ed.) *Comparative European Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 94-135.

Knapp, Andrew and Wright, Vincent, *The Government and Politics of France* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

Kramer, Steven Philip, "The End of French Europe?" *Foreign Affairs*, (July/August 2006), pp.126-138.

Class 12: Germany: Learning from the Past

Required:

Green, Simon, Hough Dan and Miskimmon, Alister, *The Politics of the New Germany* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp.72-114, 136-175.

Additional:

Turner, Ed and Carlyne Rowe, "Party servants, Ideologues or Regional Representatives? The German Laender and the Reform of Federalism", *West European Politics* (Vol.36, No.2, March 2013), pp.382-404.

Hancock, Donald, "Germany- Where is the Power?" in *Politics in Europe*, (NY, Washington: CQ Press), 2012, pp.213-294 and 237-254.

Allen, Christopher, "Governance and Policymaking in Germany", in Mark Kesselman et. al., *European Politics in Transition*, (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006), pp. 348-355.

Bendix, John, "Germany", in Hay, Colin and Menon, Anand, *European Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.3-14.

Kundnani, Hans, "Germany as a Geo-economic Power", in *The Washington Quarterly*, (Summer 2011), pp.31-45.

Schmidt, Manfred G., "Germany: The Grand Coalition State" in Colomer, Josep M. *Comparative European Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge ,2008), pp.58-93.

Noetzel, Timo, "The German Politics of War", *International Affairs*, (No.87, No.2, 2011), pp.397-417.

Oswald, Franz, "Negotiating Identities: The Party of Democratic Socialism between East German Regionalism, German National Identity and European Integration", *Australian Journal of Politics and History* (Vol.50, No.1, 2004) pp.75-85.

Heilbrunn, Jacob, "All Roads Lead to Berlin", *The National Interest* (November-December 2012), pp.41-47

Class 13 Switzerland in Comparison to its Neighbors and the US

Required:

Lijphart, Arend, *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012) pp.255-294.

Jahn, Detlef, “What is Comparative Politics? Standpoints and Debates in Germany and the United States”, *Zeitschrift fuer vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* (Konzept Heft 1/10 2007) pp. 9-27.

Additional:

Kubicek, Paul, “Political Culture and Political Behaviour”, in *European Politics* (Boston et.al: Longman, 2012), pp.235-265.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, “The Centrality of Political Culture”, in Lijphart, Arend, *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government* (Oxford University Press, 1992/2004), pp.207-212.

Class 14 Who Belongs to Europe? – EU Enlargement Policy

Required:

Bindi, Federiga and Irina Angelscu (eds.) “A Brief History of EU Enlargements” and “EU Enlargement Policy: From Success to Fatigue” in *The Frontiers of Europe. A Transatlantic Problem?* (Rome and Washington: Scuola Superiore della Pubblica Amministrazione and Brookings Institution Press, 2011) pp.9-24 and 25-34.

Additional:

Kaplan, Robert, D. “The Divided Map of Europe”, *The National Interest*, (July/August 2012), pp.16-25.

Sedelmeier, Ulrich, “The Differential Impact of the European Union on European Politics”, in Jones, Erik, Heywood, Paul M., Rhodes, Martin and Sedelmeier, Ulrich, *Developments in European Politics*, (New York: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2011), pp. 28-44.

Thayer, Bradley A. and Ibryamova, Nuray V., “Turkey and the European Union: Exclusion versus membership” in *Debates in International Relations*, (Boston et. al., Longman, 2010), pp.243-252.

Ian Bache, Stephen George and Simon Bulmer, “The Services Directive” and “Turkey” in *Politics in the European Union* (Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.392-394 and pp.544-548.

Terzi, Oezlem, *The Influence of the European Union on Turkish Foreign Policy*, (London and Burlington: Ashgate 2010).

Shuibhne, Niamh, “EU citizenship after Lisbon”, in Ashiagbor, Diamond, Countouris, Nicola and Lianons, Ioannis, (eds.), *The European Union after the Treaty of Lisbon* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Fotiou, Eleni and Triantaphyllou, Dimitrios, "Assessing Turkey's 'Soft Power' Role: Rhetoric versus Practice", *The International Spectator* (Vol.45, No.1, March 2010), pp.99-113.

Class 15 Immigration Policy

Required:

Joppke, Christian "European Immigration Policies" in Jones, Erik, Heywood, Paul M., Rhodes, Martin, Sedelmeier, Ulrich, *Developments in European Politics* (Palgrave Macmillan: 2011), pp. 220-234.

Additional:

Graham, Murray, "France: the Riots and the Republic", *Race and Class*, (Vol.47, No.4, 2005), pp.26-45.

Patrick, Simon and Sala Pala, Valerie, "'We're not all Multiculturalists yet': France Swings between Hard Integration and Soft Discrimination", in Vertovec, Steven and Wessendorf, Susanne, *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp.92-110.

Geiss, Wido, et. al., "Why Go to France and Germany, if you could as well go to the UK or the US? Selective Features of Immigration to the EU "Big Three" and the United States", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, (Vol.49, No.4, 2011), pp.767-796.

Schönwälder, Karen, "Germany. Integration Policy and Pluralism in a self-conscious country of immigration", Vertovec, Steven and Wessendorf, Susanne, *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010) pp.152-169.

D'Amato, Gianni, "Switzerland. A Multicultural Country without Multicultural Policies?" in Vertovec, Steven and Wessendorf, Susanne, *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp.130-151.

Hargreaves, Alec, *Multi-Ethnic France. Immigration, Politics, Culture and Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

Schain, Martin, *The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain and the United States. A Comparative Study* (New York: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2008)

Class 16 Migration Policy

Required:

Kubicek, Paul, "The Politics of Culture and Multi-Culturalism in Contemporary Europe" in *European Politics* (Boston et. al.: Longman, 2012), pp.341-358.

Likic-Brboric, Branka, "Globalization, EU Enlargement and the Challenge of Financial Crisis: East-West Migration and the Search for EU Solidarities" in Lazaridis, Gabriella, *Security, Insecurity and Migration in Europe* (London and Burlington: Ashgate 2011), pp.81-101.

Uccellini, Cara, "Romanian Migration to Italy: Insiders and Outsiders" in Talani, Leila Simona (ed.), *Globalisation, Migration, and the Future of Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp.101-124.

De Waele, Henri, "The Ever-Evolving Concept of EU-Citizenship: of Paradigm Shifts, Quantum Leaps and Copernican Revolutions", in Talani, Leila Simona (ed.), *Globalisation, Migration, and the Future of Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp.191-207.

Additional:

Boswell, Christina and Andrew Geddes, *Migration and Mobility in the European Union* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Class 17 The Effects of the Euro Crisis on Switzerland and Europe

Required:

Rachman, Gideon "Europe's Zero-Sum Dilemma", *The National Interest* (May/June 2012), pp.43-48.

Feldstein, Martin, "The Failure of the Euro", *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2012), pp.105-116.

Moravcsik, Andrew, "Europe after the Crisis", *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2012), pp.54-69.

Dixon, Hugo "Can Europe's Divided House Stand", *Foreign Affairs*, (November/December 2011), pp.74-83.

Teixeira, Pedro Gustavo, "The Regulation of the European Financial Market after the Crisis", in Della Posta and Talani, Leila Simona, *Europe and the Financial Crisis* (New York: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2011), pp. 9-27.

Additional:

Hancock, Donald et.al. "How is Power Used?" in *Politics in Europe* (Washington: CQ Press, 2012), pp.666-679.

Nowotny, Ewald, et.al, *The Euro and Economic Stability, Focus on Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe* (Cheltenham UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2010).