Winter 2016 Anton Pelinka

# FEDERAL SYSTEMS: THE EU, US AND INDIA COMPARED

Monday and Wednesday, 9:00 - 10:40

# Course description:

The course is designed to focus on the analysis of federalism using the cases of three rather different systems. Despite the continental dimension, the EU, the US and India have in common, the three systems differ greatly:

- The United States, together with Switzerland, is considered the most traditional federal system. US federalism is very much the case of a bottom-up development.
- India is a comparatively new state with a combination of Westminster (British style) democracy and symmetrical federalism. Indian federalism has been established top-down.
- The EU is not a state, but perhaps a federation in the making. European federalism is the perfect case of a long ongoing process based on nation (member) states as driving forces of integration.

In all cases, federalism has to be seen as an instrument to deal with national, ethnic, religious, social, and geographic diversity. Despite very different backgrounds, all three cases cannot be imagined as unitary (centralised) democratic states. In all three cases, federal structure seems to be the only way to establish democracy.

The focus will be especially on the following questions:

- the structures of federal governments;
- the functions of federal governments (e.g. dealing with diversity)
- the compatibility of federalism on one side, presidentialism resp. parliamentary rule on the other;
- the question of identity, resp.identities;
- the balance between majority rule and minority protection;
- the preconditions of democratic federalism;
- party systems and federal structures;
- the impact of federalism on foreign policy.

# Requirements:

The students are expected to

- participate actively in all classes. This requires preparation by reading the designed texts;
- give (at least) one presentation. The presentations schedule (who, what, and when) will be decided in the second week;
- write a term paper (approximately 3500 words) to be delivered at the end of the term.

The course will strengthen the students' ability to synthesize information, determine a focus point, and discern the main line of an argumentation in their final term paper – as well as the ability to communicate clearly and using the appropriate media in their presentations and their oral participation in class. The students will improve their ability to analyze contemporary developments in a broader political, social, and economic context, always in a comparative perspective. In discussing different arguments and positions, the students will acquire tools expected from active citizens in any democracy. In writing a term paper, the students have to apply the acquired approaches and methods on specific research questions – an academic technique they can use in their further careers within a specific region and beyond.

50 percent of grading will be based on the term paper; 25 percent on participation, 25 percent on the presentations.

Students are invited to communicate with me via e-mail any time they think I can be of help.

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#### Reader:

# 1. The Challenge: Diversity and Globalization

John Gerard Ruggie, Juergen Habermas, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Marc F.Plattner. In: Bernard E.Brown (ed.), Comparative Politics. Notes and Readings. Belmont, CA 2006 (Thomson), pp. 107 – 134.

Mikhail Filippov, Peter C. Ordeshook, Olga Shvetsova: Designing Federalism. A Theory of Self-Sustainable Federal Institutions. Cambridge, UK 2004 (Cambridge University), pp. 299 – 336.

#### 2. Democratic Governments

Michael J.Sodaro: Comparative Politics. A Global Introduction. 2<sup>nd</sup>.ed. Boston, MA 2004 (McGraw Hill), pp. 207 – 229.

Frank L.Wilson: Concepts and Issues in Comparative Politics. An Introduction to Comparative Analysis. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Upper Saddle, NJ 2002 (Prentice Hall), pp 153 – 170.

#### 3. The United States I

Louis DeSipio: The United States. In: Mark Kesselman, Joel Krieger, William A.Jopseh (eds.): Introduction to Comparative Politics. 6th ed. Boston, MA 2013 (Wadsworth), pp. 304 – 328.

Nathan Glazer: The Constitution and American Diversity. In: Robert A.Godwin, Art Kaufman, William A.Schambra (eds.): Forging Unity out of Diversity. The Approaches of Eight Nations. Washington, DC 1989 (American Enterprise Institute), pp. 60 – pp.

#### 4. The United States II

Seymour Martin Lipset: The First New Nation. The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective. New York, NY 1979 (W.W.Norton and Co.), pp. 15 – 97.

Jennifer Hochschild, Vesla Mae Weaver: "There's No One as Irish as Barack O'Bama": The Policy of American Multiculturalism. In: Perspective on Politics. American Political Science Association 2010, Vol.8/3, pp. 737 – 759.

# 5. The European Union I

Oudenaren John van: Uniting Europe. An Introduction to the European Union. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Lanham, MD 2005 (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers), pp. 71 – 117, 337 – 364.

Christopher K.Ansell: Territoriality, Authority, and Democracy. In: Christopher K.Ansell, Guiseppe di Palma (eds.): Restructuring Territoriality. Europe and the United States Compared. Cambridge, UK 2004 (Cambridge University), pp. 225 – 245.

# 6. The European Union II

Andrew Moravcsik: The Choice for Europe. Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht. Ithaca, NY 1998 (Cornell University), pp. 472 – 501.

<u>Paul Taylor: Integration. Anti-europeanism examined. London 2008, pp. 89 – 109.</u>

John P. McCormick: Weber, Habermas, and Transformations of the European State. Constitutional, Social, and Supranational Democracy. Cambridge, UK 2009 (Cambridge University), pp. 176 – 230.

# 7. The US and the EU in comparison

Daniel J. Elazar: The United States and the European Union: Models for Their Epochs; J.H.H. Weiler: Federalism Without Constitutionalism. Europe's *Sonderweg*; Vivien Schmidt: Federalism and State Governance in the European Union and the United States. An Institutional Perspective; and Fritz W. Scharpf: Democratic Legitimacy under Conditions of Regulatory Competition: Why Europe Differs from the United States. In: Kalypso Nicolaidis, Robert Howse (eds,), The Federal Vision. Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the United States and the European Union. Oxford 2001 (Oxford University), pp. 31 – 70, 355 – 374.

#### 8. India I

Atul Kohli, Amrita Basu: India. In: Mark Kesselman, Joel Krieger, William A. Joseph (eds.), Introduction to Comparative Politics. 6th ed. Boston, MA 2004 2013, (Wadsworth), pp. 257 – 280.

Jean Dreze, Amartya Sen: An Uncertain Glory. India and Its Contradictions. Princeton 2013, (Princeton University Press), pp. 45 – 80.

#### 9. India II

Paul Wallace, Ramashray Roy: India's 2009 Elections. Coalition Politics, Party Competition, and Congress Continuity. New Delhi 2011 (Sage), pp. 3 – 41.

Louise Tillin: Indian elections 2014: explaining the landslide. In: Contemporary South Asia 2015, Vol.23, No.2. pp. 117 – 122.

Ashutosh Varshney: Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life. Hindus and Muslims in India. New Haven, CT 2002 (Yale University), pp. 55 – 86.

#### 10.<u>India III</u>

Fali Sam Nariman: The Indian Constitution: An Experiment in Unity amid Diversity. In: Robert A. Goldwin, Art Kaufman, William A. Schambra (eds.), Forging Unity out of Diversity. The Approaches of Eight Nations. Washington, DC 1989 (American Enterprise Institute), pp. 7 – 47

Chatterjee, Partha: The Politics of the Governed. Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World. Delhi 2004 (Permanent Black), 3 – 25.

11. The US, the EU, India, and World Order

<u>Kissinger</u>, Henry: World Order. Reflections on the Character of Nations and the Course of History. London 2014 (Allen Lane), 86 – 95, 192 – 208, 310 – 329

Oudenaren John van: Uniting Europe. An Introduction to the European Union. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Lanham, MD 2004 (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers), pp. 365 – 383

Mohan, C. Raja: Impossible Allies. Nuclear India, the United States and the Global Order. New Delhi 2006 (India Research Press), pp. 73 – 97.

#### Schedule

Week 1

The Challenge: Diversity and Globalization as a challenge Ruggie et al., Filippov et al.

Week 2 Democratic Governments Sodaro, Wilson

Week 3 United States I DeSipio, Glazer

Week 4 United States II Lipset, Hochschild/Weaver

Week 5 European Union I Oudenaren, Ansell

Week 6 European Union II Moravcsik, Taylor, McCormick

Week 7 US and EU in comparison Elazar, Weiler, Schmidt, Scharpf

Week 8 India I Kohli/Basu Dreze, Sen Week 9 India II Wallace/Roy, Tillin, Varshney

Week 10 India III Nariman, Chatterjee

Week 11 US, EU, India, and World Order Kissinger, Oudenaren, Mohan