

Introduction to Political Science
Code: SSC1025
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SSC1025

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Objectives

This course is designed to introduce students to the concepts, ideas and theoretical underpinnings which constitute the study of government and politics. It has two goals: first, to outline the scope of political science and its central themes; and, second, to provide the intellectual skills necessary for coming to informed judgments about political issues. To reach these goals, the course will spend time defining and discussing a number of substantive debates in politics and government; for example, what is the nature and role of the state; what should be the structure and function of government; what is the role of political ideology; what is the nature of power in government; how do societies ensure adequate representation in government; how can change be brought about; and, linked to that, how do societies ensure adequate policy performance on the part of their governments?

Description of the course

This course will be an introduction to a field of study that is often subdivided into five or more disciplines. The subdivision list includes International Relations, Comparative Government, Political Theory/Philosophy, Public Policy/Public Administration and finally a state-centric discipline which depends on your country of origin (i.e. American Politics or Dutch Politics to name two).

The course will start with a simple examination of the meaning of the world “politics.” How much of politics is really about solving distribution problems, in other words a limited amount of resources in society must be distributed in some equitable manner? How much of politics is about exercising influence concerning who gets what, when, how and why?

After this initial discussion, the course will move to consider the central themes of Macro politics, with particular emphasis on political ideology. Themes in Micro politics will also be considered, which refers to the study of how individuals “fit” into the political system. Micro political topics will include political socialization, political groups, elections, voting, political parties, party systems and political leadership. The course ends with a look at system performance and how to bring about change in political systems when performance is wanting.

Essential Texts

Heywood, Andrew. 2013. *Politics*. 4th edition. Palgrave.

Course Schedule

<u>Week 1</u>	5-9 February 2018	<u>Assignment</u>
Lecture: <i>Development of the State</i> , Dr. R. Haar		
First meeting		start 1
Second meeting		finish 1 & start 2
<u>Week 2</u>	19-23 February 2018	
Lecture: <i>What is Democracy?</i> Dr. R. Haar		
Third meeting		finish 2 & start 3
Fourth meeting		finish 3 & start 4
<u>Week 3</u>	26 February - 2 March 2018	
Lecture: <i>International Organizations in Global Politics</i> , Wolfgang Giernalcyk		
Fifth meeting		finish 4 & start 5
Sixth meeting		finish 5 & start 6
<u>Week 4</u>	5-9 March 2018	
Lecture: <i>Politics in the Mind</i> , Dr. R. Haar		
Seventh meeting		finish 6 & start 7
Eighth meeting		finish 7 & start 8
<u>Week 5</u>	12-16 March 2018	
Lecture: <i>Structure & function of government</i> , Dr. R. Haar		
Ninth meeting		finish 8 & start 9
Tenth meeting		finish 9 & start 10
<u>Week 6</u>	19-23 March 2018	
Lecture: <i>Policy Process & System Performance</i> , Dr. R. Haar		
Research Paper due 21 March 2018 at 16:00		
Eleventh meeting		finish 10
<u>Week 7</u>	26-30 March 2018	
Final In-class Exam		

Assessment

You will be assessed via a research paper and a final written in-class essay exam. The final exam will take place in week 7. The requirements for the paper can be found below. The research paper and the final exam is each worth 50%. As stipulated in the student handbook, attendance is 85% compulsory. As the course has 11 scheduled meetings, you can miss 2. Please do not be late for class; it is not fair to your peers who arrive on time.

The resit for this course will be administered in the week starting 2 July 2018. The resit will be either a paper or an exam, depending on the assessment failed, and will only be available to students who have complied with the attendance requirement and completed all the assignments. A completed assignment is one that is judged to be a valid attempt, i.e. not a mere signature for the exam or an outline for the paper. In those cases where students fail both the exam and the paper (and are still eligible for a resit) the coordinator will discuss with students the optimal resit possibility.

Course coordinator

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Instructions for the writing assignment

To help students understand and relate to the political realm in which they exist, each student is required to embark on an individual research paper about their country of origin. It is hoped that this assignment will not only allow students to apply concepts learned in the course, but also prompt them to gain knowledge of how to use the resource materials available via the UM library.

The paper has two major components, one factual and one reflective. Students should first ascertain various facts about the government of their country of origin. Afterwards, students should reflect on these facts and formulate a judgment on whether or not the reality offers the best framework or policy for meeting the needs of the populace of the country under consideration. Due to the length of the paper, students **must narrow** their focus and topic. For example, students may chose to focus on one particular aspect of the machinery or structure of their government that interests them or that they think needs particular attention for reform. Students must support their views with arguments they have found in the readings or in their own research of expert opinion. All sources should be listed in a bibliography and all references properly cited in the APA format. **Good papers will not depend on any particular viewpoint, but on how well a standpoint is defended and referenced.**

Papers should be 3,000 words (indicate the number of words on the title page). Research Papers are due **21 March 2018 at 16:00**; late papers will not be graded. A hard copy should be submitted to the Office of Student Affairs or the OSA mailbox with

the appropriate cover sheet. Before this deadline, a digital copy must be submitted to Safe Assignment. Students should also be aware that plagiarism will result in a failing grade.

UCM Writing Centre

The UCM Writing Centre is a place for you to receive help with any aspect of your writing. This can begin with a discussion of ideas for your paper, prewriting and outlining techniques, and helping you overcome writer's block. As your paper develops, we can give you feedback on your structure, paragraphs, grammar, and help you ensure your argument is coherent. It does not matter at which point in the writing process you come and see us, we can usually help. You can even bring a past paper along at the beginning of a period to get some feedback on your writing before starting a new paper!

As with most things in life, writing is a process, and good writing comes through practice and guidance. The Writing Centre is not a quick-fix solution (though we can help you improve some aspects of your paper on short notice), and we cannot proofread your writing. Rather, writing is a long-term process of personal development, and the best results are achieved through multiple appointments. Even experienced writers can still improve!

You can find us in room 2.018 and on Facebook. If you would like to come and see us, we recommend you book an appointment via email: ucm-writingcentre@maastrichtuniversity.nl.

The UCM Writing Centre

Criteria for paper assessment

Papers will be graded using the following criteria.

10-8.0 Excellent: An outstanding answer. The essay is well written, logical and clear. It contains evidence of a wide knowledge of the subject matter. It combines a good understanding of theoretical issues and empirical applications, with some originality of approach. The essay presents ideas that are logically developed and carefully formulated. Its arguments are clear and accurate. The use of concepts, theories or research findings is precise and accurate. The essay builds from current theory and empirical work to reflect originality and insight in the student's thinking and analysis.

7.9-7.0 Good: A reasonably comprehensive and well-organized answer. The argument presented is clear and logical, with evidence of having understood the issues and an ability to think about them effectively. The essay states ideas and develops its topic clearly, logically and adequately. Its ideas are supported with arguments that are clear and accurate. Its use of concepts, theories or research findings is largely precise, although there may be a few minor factual errors or inaccuracies. The essay draws on a fairly wide range of empirical research and links these accurately to theory.

6.9-6.0 Satisfactory: This mark reflects an essay that is adequately organized and a full answer to the question. It is mostly accurate, but limited in scope and does not express any real development of argument. The essay is a satisfactory response to the assignment. Its central ideas are expressed and developed clearly enough to be understood by the reader. Although the essay may seem correct, it lacks the originality and clarity of thought that would entitle it to an above average grade. The use of concepts, theories or research findings may reflect more than minor inaccuracies, such as basic factual errors or errors of omission. It shows some grasp of theory and its relation to empirical data, but with little insight or grasp of wider issues.

5.9-5.5 Pass: This essay shows evidence of course reading, but it is deficient in organization and scope. The information it contains is insufficient. The essay indicates below average achievement in the development of its ideas, which may be unclear or supported illogically or inconsistently. Its use of concepts, theories or research may contain errors, omissions and irrelevancies. It shows no grasp of theory and its relation to empirical data, and it has little insight or grasp of wider issues.

5.4-0.0 Fail: This essay shows little evidence of course reading, it is deficient in organization and scope. Its ideas are poorly developed and are not sufficiently supported. It may also contain numerous errors, omissions and irrelevancies.

Assignment 1 What is politics and how do you classify political systems?

“Man is by nature a political animal: it is his nature to live in a state.”

–Aristotle

“All politics is local.”

–Former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Tip O’Neill

“Disagreement about the nature of political activity is matched by controversy about the nature of politics as an academic discipline. One of the most ancient spheres of intellectual enquiry, politics was originally seen as an arm of philosophy, history or law...From the late nineteenth century onwards, however, this philosophical emphasis was gradually displaced by an attempt to turn politics into a scientific discipline.”

–Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, pp. 12-13.

In the fourth century B.C., Aristotle looked around at the Greek city-states and devised a system of classification that attempted to reflect the reality of their rule. He considered 158 Greek city-states then in existence. Aristotle reasoned that political systems could be categorized on the basis of two questions: “who rules” and “who benefits from rule?” This led him to identify six different forms of political systems.

Who rules?

		One person	The few	The Many
Who benefits?	Rulers	Tyranny	Oligarchy	Democracy
	All	Monarchy	Aristocracy	Polity

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with the development of constitutional systems, classifications reflected a growing emphasis on the institutional features of political rule. For example, parliamentary systems were distinguished from presidential ones, unitary systems were distinguished from federal arrangements and more attention was paid to the relationship between the various branches of government.

With the appearance in the twentieth century of new forms of authoritarianism, it seemed that the world was divided up into either democratic or totalitarian systems. In the postwar era, classifications were more multifaceted. For example, the “three-world” classification takes into account economic and ideological dimensions. But, today, the “three world” approach appears dated. The Newly Industrialized States of South East Asia, the oil-rich Middle East states, the advance of democracy and capitalism into much of the former “second world” as well as the revolutions in parts of North Africa, all make the “three world” classification less relevant.

Readings

Burnham, Peter, Karin Gilland, Wyn Grant and Zig Layton-Henry. 2004. *Research Methods in Politics*, chapter 1, pp. 8-29. (more detailed information on the traditions in political science).

Heywood, Andrew. 2013. *Politics*. 4th edition. Palgrave Chapter 1 “What is Politics;” And Chapter 12 “Governments Systems and Regimes.”

Leftwich, Adrian. Editor. 2004. *What is Politics?* Polity Press. pp. 1-22.

Assignment 2 The role and function of political ideology

The word ideology originates from 1796, coined by a French philosopher, Destutt de Tracy, and literally means the “science of ideas” or an idea-ology. De Tracy intended that the “uncovering of the origins of conscious thought and ideas” would join the sciences of zoology and biology in importance. Instead of finding a place in the sciences, the study of ideas and the word ideology have often been loaded with the values and orientation of a particular political doctrine.

For you, liberalism is likely to be an important ideology. Liberalism can be traced back 300 years to the demise of feudalism and the rise of market societies. One of the key thinkers in the development of early liberalism was John Locke (1632-1704), whose political views were devised against the backdrop of the English Revolution, which ended absolutist rule and established a constitutional monarchy in Britain under William of Orange. Locke emphasized “natural” or God-given rights, which were identified as the rights to life, liberty and property.

Conservatives were suspicious of vague-sounding liberties. Edmund Burke (1729-97) is viewed as the father of the Anglo-American conservative tradition. Burke’s reputation is based on a series of works, notably *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, which were critical of the French Revolution. Burke found fault in the attempt to recast French politics in accordance with abstract principles such as liberty, equality and fraternity. Instead, Burke argued, wisdom resided in experience, tradition and history. This did not mean, however, that Burke-conservatives were against all change.

The most influential thinker of early socialism was Karl Marx (1818-1883). Marx also added new negative connotations to the word ideology, arguing that it consisted merely of the ideas of the “ruling class,” which were ultimately meant to perpetuate exploitation. For Marx, the defining feature of ideology is that it is false—used to mystify and confuse the lower classes by concealing from them the contradictions upon which all class societies are based. Socialist writers after Marx, such as Lenin, argued that only some ideology was false, distinguishing between “bourgeois ideology,” “socialist ideology” and even “proletarian ideology.”

The emergence of totalitarian dictatorships in the interwar period brought about a new understanding of ideology: that it was an instrument of social control to ensure compliance and subordination. Indeed, fascism constituted a revolt against the ideas and values that had dominated western political thought since the French revolution. Principles such as rationalism, progress, freedom and equality were overturned in the name of struggle, leadership, power, heroism and war. To fascists, the individual is nothing and individual identity must be absorbed entirely into that of the nation or the state.

The importance of the nation, that community or race that gives meaning to an individual’s existence, is also vital for nationalism. The word nation has been used since the thirteenth century and refers to a group of people bound together by shared values and traditions, a common language, religion and history and who usually occupy the same geographical area. It was not until the late eighteenth century that the term nation acquired political overtones. Over the years since, nationalism has been both a progressive and liberating force and an irrational and oppressive movement. Ernest Gellner (1925-1995), a Professor of Philosophy, Logic and Scientific Method at the

London School of Economics, argued in his 1983 book *Nationalism* that modern nationalism is an inescapable consequence of modernity. Other key figures associated with nationalism include: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Woodrow Wilson, Mohandas Gandhi and Frantz Fanon (who wrote about the anti-colonial struggle).

Anarchist ideology is in many ways the opposite of fascism, since the state is rejected outright. For anarchists, the state is inherently evil and is nothing less than legalized oppression operating in the interests of the powerful, the propertied and the privileged.

Feminist ideology does not view the state as legally recognized oppression on the part of the powerful, but rather as a mechanism for men to subordinate and/or exclude women from the political realm.

In contrast to Feminism, religious fundamentalism views the state as a means of bringing about desired outcomes, such as social, moral and cultural change. In the fundamentalist state, the government is also the religious authority. In variance to fundamentalism, feminism and fascism/nationalism, environmentalism disregards the importance of the nation, the state and the sex of those in power. Instead, environmentalism starts with an ecocentric view of the living world that renders the human species as merely one part of the whole living planet.

Readings

Heywood, Andrew. 2013. *Politics*. 4th edition. Palgrave. Chapter 2 “Political Ideas and Ideologies,” and chapter 5 “Nations and Nationalism.”

Heywood, Andrew. 2012. *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*. 5th edition. Chapter 1, “Introduction: Ideology and Ideologies,” pp. 1-20.

Assignment 3 The Economy and Society

Economics fundamentally support almost everything in politics. Politicians run their campaigns on promises of prosperity to their supporters and get reelected by delivering on their economic promises. Almost all public policy has economic implications.

One example of a public policy deliberation that has implications for the global economy is the dispute between President Barack Obama and House Speaker John A. Boehner over the plan to avert a year-end “fiscal cliff.” Boehner represented the Republicans who were reelected as the majority in the House of Representatives in 2012. The “fiscal cliff” refers to \$500 billion in automatic tax increases and spending cuts scheduled to begin immediately after December 31, 2012. Obama wanted \$1.4 trillion in new revenue, with tax increases on all income over \$250,000, in order to bring down the U.S.’ massive debt. The Republicans wanted significant cuts to health and retirement programs and no tax increases to deal with the debt. For Democrats (and their supporters), Social Security benefits are sacred while Republican supporters do not want to pay more taxes. Republicans argued that tax rates should not be raised on successful individuals because they are the “job creators.” Republicans had to also factor in their pledges signed with Grover Norquist, the founder and president of Americans for Tax Reform. Prior to the November 2012 elections, 95% of all Republican Members of Congress had signed Norquist’s “Taxpayer Protection Pledge,” which opposes all increases in income tax rates for individuals and businesses.

“Everyone is always in favour of general economy and particular expenditure.”
—Prime Minister Anthony Eden, 1956

“It’s the economy, stupid.” —Slogan on a sign put up at the 1992 Clinton presidential campaign headquarters by campaign manager James Carville

“...Marx is back in fashion. It’s been more than 100 years since the German philosopher predicted that capitalism’s voraciousness would be its undoing—as bosses invest more in new technologies to make things more cheaply and efficiently and less in workers themselves, who, deprived of fair wages, would eventually rise up and revolt.”

—Rana Foroohar, *Time Magazine* 28 February 2011

“Blunders in economic policymaking abound, but among the worst are energy subsidies. They stoke waste, squeeze other spending, enrich middlemen and help the comfortably-off more than the poor, who use little energy...A new IMF working paper puts it at a stonking \$5.3 trillion, or 6% of global GDP—more than all government spending on health care. The biggest subsidies are in the poorest countries (where they can reach 18% of GDP) and the lion’s share goes to coal, the dirtiest fuel, which no country taxes properly. By contrast, renewable energy subsidies amount to \$120 billion. The biggest subsidizer of fossil fuels is China at \$2.3 trillion, followed by America (\$700 billion), Russia (\$335 billion), India (\$277 billion) and Japan (\$157 billion)...” The new figures reflect the damage to health including previously ignored emissions of nitrogen dioxide and fine particulates. —*The Economist*, 23 May 2015, pages 62-63

Readings

Friedman, Thomas L. 2005. *The World is Flat*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, pp. 3-21.

Heywood, Andrew. 2013. *Politics*. 4th edition. Palgrave. Chapter 6 “Political Economy and Globalization,” pp. 128-150.

Oatley, Thomas. 2012. “Too Little Market Regulation caused the Financial Crisis v. Too Much Government Intervention Caused the Financial Crisis.” In *Debates in International Political Economy*, Longman. pp. 235-252

Additional sources

Roskin, Michael G., Robert L. Cord, James A. Medeiros and Walter S. Jones. *Political Science, An Introduction*. 11th edition, Chapter 16, “Political Economy,” pp. 296-315.

Assignment 4 Political socialization

Based on your recently-gained expertise in liberalism and democratic systems, you are all put on the oversight committee in charge of the political socialization program in Iraq. How do you go about trying to mold the political culture of the populace? What attitudes and behavior will you try to instill in the population and how might you try to instill them?

“The people of Iraq emerged into the light of day in a daze, having been cut off from the rest of the world to a degree that is difficult to imagine if you have not lived among them. This raw, profoundly abused population, traumatized by decades of war, repression, uprisings, and brutal campaigns of social extermination like the Anfal, were handed the opportunity to build a nation virtually from scratch.

They were adept at learning to use the most visually arresting symbols of their reentry into the world—the mobile phone and the satellite dish, which now proliferate all over Iraq. But it proved infinitely harder to get rid of the mistrust, fear, and unwillingness to take initiative or responsibility that was ingrained by a whole way of survival in police-state conditions.”

—Professor Kanan Makiya “Iraq’s Democratic Prospects,” Foreign Policy Research Institute

“You’ve just liberated a nation from a tyrant who spread his lies through a state-run TV network. What do you do next? If you’re the Bush Administration, you spread the good news by setting up a state-run TV network!...The hope is that local TV stations will use the feed, allowing the government to take its reportage straight to the public.”

—James Poniewozik, *Time*, 24 November 2003.

Teaching history in Iraq

Another vacuum opens up

What sort of history, if any, will Iraqi children now have to learn?

Nov 6th 2003 | BAGHDAD | from the print edition *The Economist*

UNDER Saddam Hussein, Iraqi schoolchildren in history classes imbibed the purest propaganda of the ruling Baath Party. Iraqis won every war, Mr Hussein was the most glorious defender of Arab unity. American and Zionist imperialism was at the root of all the world’s suffering. Now, say American officials working for the ruling Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in Baghdad, Iraqi teachers are free to disseminate history as honestly as they can. But in their desire not to be thought to be shoving an equally distorted and subjective history diet down young throats, the Americans may be losing a chance to ensure that young Iraqis do get a more truthful version of the past...

Fuad Hussein, an Iraqi who has returned from abroad and is now in charge of revising the curriculum, says he plans to set up a committee made up of Iraqis from different religious, political and ethnic groups to debate and rewrite Iraq’s history.

But that, he concedes, will take years. Americans working for the CPA say that in any event Iraqis will take most decisions on the curriculum once a proper Iraqi government is running the show. Until then, Americans will stay in the background—unless they think things are going in completely the wrong direction....

Readings

Heywood, Andrew. 2013. *Politics*. 4th edition. Palgrave. Chapter 7 “Politics, Society and Identity,” pp. 151-170 and Chapter 8 “Political Culture and the Media,” pp. 171-195.

Edwards, Michael. 2004. *Civil Society*. pp. 93-112 and 118-119.

Stoker, Gerry. 2017. *Why Politics Matters: Making Democracy Work*. 2nd edition, pp. 165-186.

Assignment 5 Political organizations and representation in government

“If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.”

– John Stuart Mill

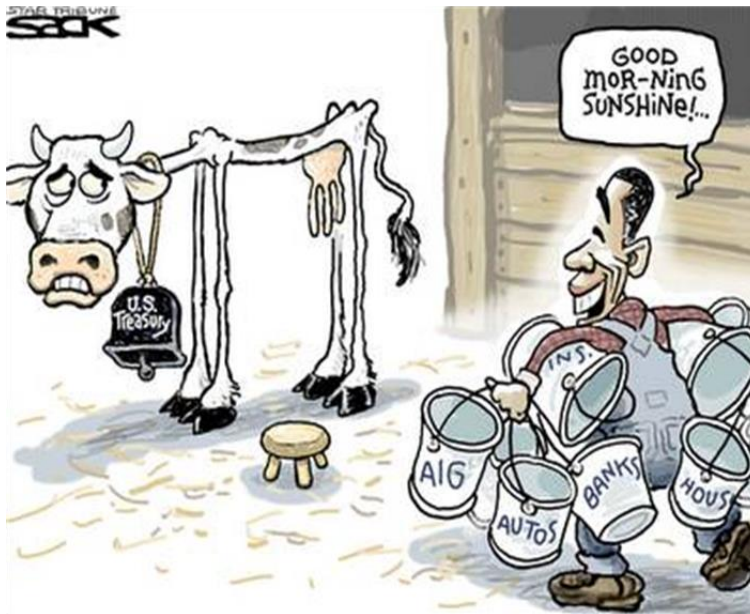
“The ballot is stronger than the bullet.”

–Abraham Lincoln, in a speech 19 May 1856

“This year’s general election was the most unfair to voters in Britain’s history, according to an analysis by an electoral group. A new report by the Electoral Reform Society found that the result was ‘the most disproportionate in history’ compared to the votes actually cast. Katie Ghose, the society’s chief executive, described the UK’s current first-past-the-post (FPTP) system as ‘archaic’ and ‘divisive.’”

–*The Independent*, 1 June 2015

Interest groups, political parties and elections all provide opportunities for participation in governing. Indeed, there are a virtually limitless number of strategies that citizens can deploy to make their voices and views heard. You can put on a turtle suit and carry a placard through the streets at important summits, you can throw paint on fur-clad models or you could choose a more traditional method and join a political party or vote in an established electoral procedure.



Readings

Bolzendahl, Catherine and Hilde Coffé. 2013. "Are 'Good' Citizens 'Good' Participants? Testing Citizenship Norms and Political Participation across 25 Nations."

Political Studies 61(S1), pp. 63-83.*

*read this e-reader after you have read Heywood; a bit more challenging source.

Heywood, Andrew. 2013. *Politics*. 4th edition. Palgrave. Chapter 9, "Representation, Elections and Voting," pp. 196-220; Chapter 10, "Parties and Party Systems," pp. 221-243; and Chapter 11, "Groups, Interest and Movements."

Additional sources

Spies, Dennis. 2013. "Explaining working-class support for extreme right parties: A party competition approach." *Acta Politica* 48(3), pp. 296-325.

Zeigler, Harmon. 1993. *Political Parties in Industrial Democracies: Imagining the Masses*. pp. 1-24.

Assignment 6 The machinery of government continued: Constitutions, Assemblies and Courts

“It is clear therefore, that no one, not even in a lifetime of study, could read the whole of the British Constitution.”

—Author unknown

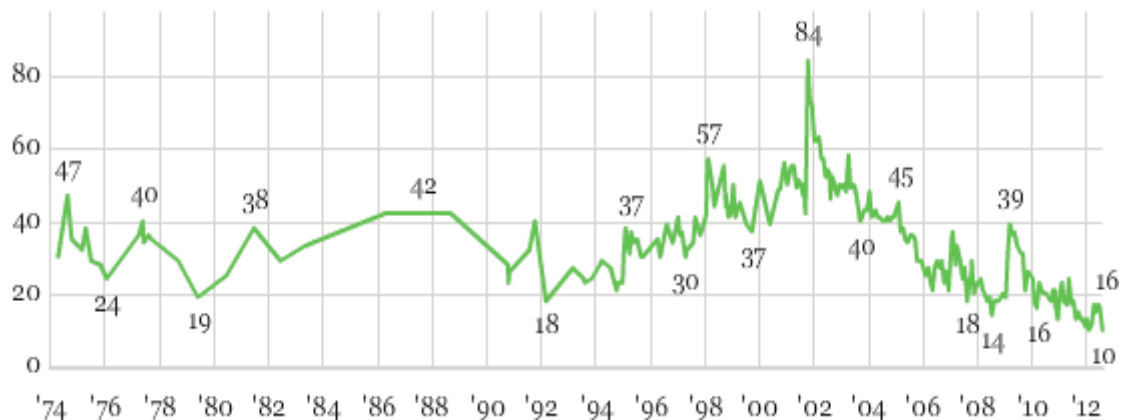
“On October 3, 1990, we accomplished the unity and liberty of Germany in free self-determination. Thus all Germans now live under a constitution which protects the dignity and basic rights of man, regulates public life and facilitates peaceful change. No constitution, of course, can endow us with the ability to achieve such things. We ourselves must give life to it. We are the ones who must recognize and address new challenges, not least when it comes to forging human links between east and west in a united land.”

—Richard von Weizsäcker, President, FRG, 1990

In August 2012 a Gallup poll found that the U.S. Congress’ approval rating hit an all-time low: just one in 10 Americans approved of the job Congress is doing, tying the branch’s lowest approval rating in 38 years.

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?

■ % Approve



GALLUP

“We must never forget that the only real source of power that we as judges can tap is the respect of the people.”

—American Supreme Court judge Thurgood Marshall

“Judges must follow their oaths and do their duty, heedless of editorials, letters, telegrams, threats, petitions, panelists and talk shows.”

—American judge Hiller Zobel

Reading

Heywood, Andrew. 2013. *Politics*. 4th edition. Palgrave. Chapter 14 “Assemblies,” pp. 309-330, Chapter 15 “Constitutions, Law and Judges,” pp. 331-350.

Gerring, John, Strom C. Thacker and Carola Moreno. 2008. “Are Parliamentary Systems Better?” *Comparative Political Studies* 42, pp. 327-359.

Tsebelis, George. 2017. “The time inconsistency of long constitutions: Evidence from the world.” *European Journal of Political Research*, doi: 10.1111/1475-6765.12206.

**Assignment 7 The machinery of government:
Political Executives**

Richard Neustadt, who had been an adviser to US president Harry Truman, wrote a book entitled *Presidential Power*, which became a classic. Although in the years after the Second World War Neustadt witnessed a transformation of presidential power—presidents were convinced that they wielded near-total authority—Neustadt argued that this authority amounted in fact to a “clerkship.” Presidents could not force or order change and that they more or less had to seek the power to change from Congress “on their knees.” Instead, he argued that presidential authority consisted of public prestige, professional reputation and most of all the power to persuade. If the public liked a president, Congress (assuming, as so often is the case, that it was of the other party) would go along for a while, granting the president a brief honeymoon. The slightest sign of unease in the country, however, would remove the “smiling mask” and Congress would pounce to destroy him. The answer, therefore, was not to act like a campaigner or a commander but to be conciliatory. A new president had to learn that power in America was wielded most effectively when the separate branches acted together. He had to get Congress on his side, and concentrate on going where his opponents might be willing to follow. If he did so, he might show impressive power.

Neustadt gave this advice to President Clinton in 1992, but Clinton failed to take Neustadt’s words to heart. Instead, Clinton and Hillary pushed their health-care plan through with maximum hubris, using a tangle of competing working groups that were designed to force legislation through the teeth of Congress. Of course, they failed.

One might argue that Prime Ministers’ powers are equally limited. For example, Prime Ministers need to consolidate their position as the head of the party and they must retain the support of their electors. Prime Ministers may also have to contend with an overpowering Civil Service.

Even the Charles de Gaulle-designed presidency is limited in powers, especially if the president’s authoritarian ways prompt the electorate to vote an opposing party as majority to the National Assembly. Cohabitation, as it is called, occurred for the first time in 1986, while François Mitterrand was president, and essentially transformed a hitherto powerful president into a constitutional semi-monarch.

Readings

Heywood, Andrew. 2013. *Politics*. 4th edition. Palgrave, Chapter 13, “Political Executives and leadership,” pp. 284-308.

Smith, Hedrick. 1988. *The Power Game*. pp. 3-19.

Additional reading

Rasmussen, Jorgen S. 1993. *The British Political Process: Concentrated Power Versus Accountability*. pp. 61-79 and 87- 92.

Assignment 8 **The machinery of government continued: Militaries and Police Forces**

“War is much too serious a thing to be left to the military.”
—Georges Clemenceau

“The United States military establishment is the largest institutional complex within the United States government. It is so much larger than all the other institutions of government that its operations, and its impacts—on the economy, on class and racial minorities, on science and research, on higher education, on the legal system of justice, on the national scheme of values—are literally of another order of magnitude. Not only is it larger but it is more pervasive than any other governmental institution except the Post Office and the Internal Revenue Service, extending its impacts into almost every community in the U.S....The magnitude of the impact of the military establishment derives from two primary factors: its absolute size...and its size relative to other important public enterprises...The absolute size of the establishment makes it uniquely difficult to control (although it is by no means monolithic) and encourages expansionary tendencies for which internal or even external checks and balances are often inadequate.”
—Adam Yarmolinsky in *The Military Establishment*

“I remember a conversation I once had with President Eisenhower when I was a guest at his dacha at Camp David. We went for walks together and had some useful informal talks. During one of these talks, he asked, ‘Tell me, Mr. Khrushchev, how do you decide the question of funds for military expenses?’ Then, before I had a chance to say anything, he said, ‘Perhaps first I should tell you how it is with us.’

‘Well, how is it with you?’

He smiled, and I smiled back at him. I had a feeling what he was going to say. ‘It’s like this. My military leaders come to me and say, ‘Mr. President, we need such and such a sum for such and such a program.’ I say, ‘Sorry, we don’t have the funds.’ They say, ‘We have reliable information that the Soviet Union has already allocated funds for their own such program.’ So I give in. That’s how they wring money out of me. They keep grabbing for more and I keep giving it to them. Now tell me, how is it with you?’

‘It’s just the same. Some people from our military department come and say, ‘Comrade Khrushchev, look at this! The Americans are developing such and such a system. We could develop the same system, but it would cost such and such.’ I tell them there’s no money; it’s all been allotted already. So they say, ‘If we don’t get the money we need and if there’s a war, then the enemy will have superiority over us.’ So we discuss it some more, and I end up giving them the money they ask for.”

—Nikita Khrushchev in *Khrushchev Remembers*

Writing in the *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, Professor Frank Remington argued that not all uniformed services play the same role in society. While the firefighters are called upon to make decisions based on physical science, police forces must make decisions that are suitable to a particular community. As a result, law enforcement choices are political, social and psychological, which, in turn, make crime fighting often unpopular.

Readings

- Alan R. Ball and B. Guy Peters. 2005. *Modern Politics and Government*. 7th edition. Palgrave, Chapter 13, "The Military and Politics," pp. 269-287.
- Heywood, Andrew. 2013. *Politics*. 4th edition. Palgrave, Chapter 18, "Security: Domestic and International," pp. 399-420.

Assignment 9 The machinery of government continued: Bureaucracies

“Bureaucracy is a giant mechanism operated by pygmies.”

–Honoré de Balzac

Your experience with governmental bureaucracy may lead you to agree with Balzac’s sentiment above. You may have found it a quagmire of pointless administrative routine that was also inefficient, impersonal and full of obstacles. Despite their inadequacies, bureaucracies are an important part of the working machinery of government. The civil servants and public officials who make up bureaucracies are charged with the execution of government business. The word bureaucracy literally means “rule by officials.” The academic study of bureaucracy has been dominated by the work of Max Weber, who identified an “ideal type” of bureaucratic rule based on reliable, predictable and rational regulations. For Weber, an ideal bureaucracy was the most efficient means of social organization in modern society. Moreover, Weber believed that its expansion was irreversible since democratization weakened ideas such as tradition, privilege and duty and replaced them with a confidence in open competition and meritocracy.

In carrying out their function, bureaucrats can become powerful and influential figures who collectively are sometimes called a “fourth branch of government,” meaning that politicians become subordinate to bureaucrats. For example, Japanese civil servants, especially those in the prestigious Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), are generally viewed as the “permanent politicians” who masterminded the Japanese “economic miracle” of the 1950s and 1960s. Similarly, there is a perception that the driving force behind further EU integration is a Brussels-based “eurocracy,” the administrative staff of the European Commission. It is also true that in the United States Congress passed only a few hundred laws in 2014 while government agencies devised over 8,000 new regulations that same year.

Although it may be easy to identify that bureaucrats have power, it is less easy to identify how they exercise that power. The nature of bureaucratic power is mysterious because it is exerted through private dealings between executives and ministers that are not subject to public scrutiny.

“Even after the disaster, the ministries put their own interests ahead of the victims...[Japanese Prime Minister] Mr. Kan despair[ed] at the civil servants around him, many of whom came from the elite University of Tokyo. Mr. Kan, who attended the practical Tokyo Institute of Technology, appears to have found them so unbearable that he appointed his own kitchen cabinet of crisis advisers, some of them friends from university days.”

–“Brief in Japan after the 3/11 disaster,” *The Economist*, 10 March 2012

Readings

Heywood, Andrew. 2013. *Politics*. 4th edition. Palgrave, Chapter 16, “Public Policy and the Bureaucracy,” pp. 351-377.

Assignment 10 System performance and the ability to change

“One recent study of the available data for gross domestic product and consumption since 1870 has identified 148 crises in which a country experienced a cumulative decline in GDP of at least 10% and eighty-seven crises in which consumption suffered a fall of comparable magnitude, implying a probability of financial disaster of around 3.6 % per year. Even today, despite the unprecedented sophistication of our institutions and instruments, Planet Finance turns out to be as vulnerable as ever to crises.”

—Niall Ferguson, *The Ascent of Money*, 2009. p. 343



“Developing economies account for 43% of global GDP but 65% of crony wealth. Of the big countries Russia still scores worst, reflecting its corruption and dependence on natural resources...In absolute terms China (including Hong Kong) now has the biggest concentration of crony wealth in the world, at \$360 billion.”

—both the graph and the quote are from *The Economist*, 7 May 2016

“This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember it or overthrow it.”

—Abraham Lincoln

“The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.”

–Thomas Jefferson, 1787

“After a revolution, you see the same men in the drawing-room, and within a week the same flatterers.”

–Lord Halifax, 1750

Readings

Heywood, Andrew. 2013. *Politics*. 4th edition. Palgrave, Chapter 20, “A Crisis in Politics,” pp. 443-459.

Pickles, Dorothy. 1976. “The Problem of Change,” in *Introduction to Politics*. pp. 84-108.