

# West European Studies

## Newsletter

April 2004

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## Prof. Gardner receives the first Remak Professorship

***Award-winner discusses his scholarship and his committment to WEST***

*West European Studies is pleased to announce that Professor Roy Gardner is WEST's first recipient of the Remak Professorship, a newly-established endowed professorship that is presented to outstanding faculty in the Departments of Comparative Literature and Germanic Studies, and West European Studies on a rotating basis. The award is named in honor of Henry H. H. Remak, Professor Emeritus of West European Studies, Comparative Literature and Germanic Studies. Prof. Remak was one of WEST's original founders in 1968, and he has been a stalwart supporter of the program since. Recipients of the Remak award share his interest in teaching, involvement in undergraduate education, and passion for Western Europe. In the following interview, Prof. Gardner describes his association with WEST, his scholarly and teaching interests, and his feelings about being chosen for this honor.*

**WEST: As the first recipient of the Remak Award from West European Studies, please tell us something about the history of your affiliation with the WEST program.**

When I was offered the possibility of teaching an Economics of Europe course by

WEST a decade ago, I jumped at the chance, as this is something I had wanted to do for a long time. I had spent a lot of time doing research on game theory in Europe, and during that time had absorbed some EU knowledge. And developing the course and interacting with my students taught me a great deal more. I've been involved in WEST ever since---and the course has grown from 20 to over 40 students in the meantime. Interest in economic issues central to Europe is growing on our campus and around the country!

**WEST: You currently have the distinction of having sat on more WEST MA thesis committees than any other faculty member. Please share with us some highlights from your experience serving on WEST thesis committees, and tell us why you have been such a dedicated thesis committee member.**

I didn't know that I had that distinction, but I do know I read a lot--an average of about half a dozen a year. Highlights -- those would be the theses I learn something from, something I didn't already know. And this is a test that most of them pass. Even the theses that simply cover familiar (at least to me) material have to do it in a convincing way, to get the committee's approval. And with the expansion of EU to Central and Eastern Europe, the coverage by theses gets broader as well. We expect our students to work hard, and we as faculty need to be there for them. I suppose I feel a special affinity for the Foreign Area Officers (FAO) on active duty, having served in the US Army-Europe myself (long ago).

**WEST: Please describe some of the teaching awards you have received over the years.**

I was fortunate enough to get a Chancellor's Professorship for Research and Teaching in Economics in 1996 (that's a lifetime award). Also in 1996, I got a Student Choice Award---one of 5 given each year by students through the IU Student Foundation. When Teaching Effectiveness Recognition Awards (TERA) existed--an annual award---I was fortunate to win this once in economics and twice in WEST.

**WEST: Please describe your reaction to being selected for this honor, and describe what you believe to be the significance of the Remak Professorship.**

I am deeply honored to receive this award. Henry Remak founded West European Studies on this campus, and he has been an inspiration to me for over 20 years--we both serve as Honors College faculty; indeed, this is where I first met him. This award will promote the teaching of the Economics of Europe at more levels--the current course serves upper-division undergraduates in business and economics and MAs in WEST. And it will also help me finish my next book, entitled *The Economics of Europe: A Single Economic Space*.

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## **Why did the EU constitutional summit fail?**

***WEST professors comment on the implications for European integration***

In December 2003, representatives of European Union (EU) member states and candidate countries met in Brussels with the hope of creating an official constitution for the EU. Despite its nearly half-century of existence, the EU has never possessed a true constitution, and as delegates convened in Brussels, many were optimistic that their efforts would finally produce a viable European constitution. However, the constitutional summit collapsed when countries were unable to reach a consensus on certain crucial issues, dashing expectations that a constitution would be generated quickly and without difficulty.

We asked two faculty members with expertise in the European Union and constitutional affairs to provide us with their insights into some of the questions surrounding the constitutional debacle. Why is a European constitution deemed necessary? Why did the intransigence of Poland and Spain over their relative voting weights lead to an impasse that precipitated the summit's failure? Why did some countries object to mention of Europe's religious heritage in the constitution's preamble, and why did others object to a clause about mutual defense? And finally, does the pronouncement made by German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder following the summit -- that there is now a "two-speed" Europe -- reflect the reality of the present state of European integration?

## Beate Sissenich

*Assistant Professor of Political Science*

EU integration has been governed by an intricate system of treaties that are updated and rewritten as needed. Since European integration accelerated in the mid-1980s, the treaties have been revised approximately every five years. But the revisions have tended to be patchwork, insufficient to carry the EU beyond the immediate future.

Two problems result, one dealing with form, the other with content. First, the legal framework for integration is convoluted and non-transparent and thus not user-friendly. It reinforces Europeans' widespread sense of alienation from the EU. Europe needs a well-written constitution stating the goals and basic rules of integration in a way that is accessible to European electorates. Such a document may not turn millions into Euro-patriots overnight, but it would facilitate public understanding and discussion of integration. Second, the actual rules contained in the treaty system will be unworkable in a radically enlarged EU. They strengthen intergovernmental decision-making, thereby forcing integration toward the lowest common denominator and thwarting innovative responses to shared challenges.

Polish officials have made headlines praising intergovernmentalism as Europe's way of exercising solidarity—between east and west, small and large states, wealthy and poor societies. But the rhetoric of national sovereignty inherent in intergovernmentalism is increasingly meaningless, whether under the current framework of the Nice Treaty or under a future constitution. Already, the bulk of legislation in EU member states originates at the EU level. However, as long as democratic legitimation occurs more or less exclusively at the national level, governments will have a hard time defining interests in non-national terms.

What's to be done? The constitutional impasse needs to be resolved quickly if the Union is to avoid paralysis in the wake of the jumbo enlargement. Several voices, among them the German government and former Commission President Jacques Delors, have endorsed a Europe of two speeds as the next-best alternative to a constitutional compromise. This approach risks widening the gap between fast-track and slow-track states, even if members are free to vary their approach by policy area. On the other hand, important policy innovations that are now fully institutionalized were initially supported by less than the full complement of members. This is true, for instance, for the Maastricht Agreement on Social Policy, which was later incorporated into the Amsterdam Treaty. It is also true for the Schengen acquis, much of which has found its way into the common treaty structure and, since the Amsterdam Treaty, has been increasingly handled within the institutions of the European Community. And it is of course true for the common currency, in which the accession countries will participate in due course even as the UK, Sweden and Denmark vacillate. Hence, I would consider a Europe of two speeds (or variable geometry) preferable to institutional paralysis or policies crystallizing around the lowest common denominator.

## Charles R. Wise

*Professor of Public and Environmental Affairs, Director of the Parliamentary Development Project*

There has been widespread discussion in the countries of the EU about the "Democratic Deficit," which in part refers to the fact that most decisions are made by the Commission bureaucracy and some by the collective heads of state in the Council of Ministers. The European Parliament has not had major influence, and too many people in the EU have felt that decisions taken did not have a representative base. This is, in part, a reason given to adopt a Constitution -- to increase the power of the representative body. Also, with so many new members being admitted the question has arisen about the basis on which power will be apportioned among old members and new members. This has not been provided for in the current framework. Finally, there are numerous questions that are simply not addressed in the current arrangements.

The apportionment of power is one the most fundamental issues in the formation of the EU constitution, or any constitution for that matter. Germany and France have been able to push many matters through to their liking in the past, and the prospect of losing leverage is of great concern to them. The newer members, such as Poland, do not want to give up any leverage either as newer members join. Germany, with the largest population, raises questions about why it does not have the number of seats for which its population would qualify it. In some ways, this is like the small state--big state debate the U.S. constitutional convention had at the formation of the United States. So, this is a most fundamental question that could determine the power relationships of the EU for years to come.

The issue of religious heritage is in part a reflection of the nervousness of numerous people in what we have known as western Europe over the cultural change and stability in the area covered by the EU. As immigration has brought more people (into current member states) from Turkey and the African countries, and the prospect of more coming in from the Islamic areas of the former Soviet Union through the accession countries, some want to reaffirm cultural foundations that they feel are important to the common heritage of the original member countries.

Also, the religiously oriented parties of several countries are pushing for this. There are several countries in northern Europe that do not have religiously-oriented populations and are opposed.

The defense issue arises because the EU was originally constituted as an economic union. It has gradually expanded beyond narrow economic questions of trade. Now, there are countries, such as France, that want the EU to expand further into the area of security apart from NATO. This is in part to provide Europe with a military option separate from the alliance many countries in Europe enjoy with the U.S. through NATO. One problem is that some European NATO members do not want to risk alienating the U.S. and the possible downgrading of U.S. commitment to working with and helping to safeguard Europe. Another problem is that non-NATO members, which have long maintained a position of neutrality outside NATO or any other alliance, see such a mutual defense provision as violating fundamental neutrality principles.

Schroeder's pronouncement of a "two-speed Europe" is not necessarily an accurate description. Attempts to put together different structures run the risk of the whole union unraveling. Those left in the economic union could lose faith in the whole collective enterprise, if there was another "club" making decisions that affected the area to which they did not belong. Schroeder may be serious in trying to pursue a two-track formula, but he also may have been saying this to put pressure on the countries that have not agreed to the formula that was being pushed by Germany and France.

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## **WEST alumna shares her enthusiasm for German culture**

### ***Kathleen Betterman's teaching career takes her from Indiana to Germany***

**W**est European Studies graduate Kathleen Betterman is opening young minds to the culture of German-speaking Europe and beyond. She received her B.A. in German and mathematics from Valparaiso University in 1975, having also studied in West Germany at the Eberhard-Karls-Universität. After graduating, she taught German and mathematics for a number of years at several high schools in Illinois, while continuing to take courses at Roosevelt University and Northwestern University.

Deciding to begin graduate study, Kathleen entered West European Studies in order to pursue her varied interests in contemporary Germany, theatre, and educational policy. While at Indiana University she also completed an M.A. in German and worked in the West European Resource Center. At WEST, she discovered a program that was supportive of her studies and enhanced her skills as an educator. "What I found refreshing at WEST was the belief that graduate students at the masters level had interests which were legitimate areas for scholarly inquiry...I was fortunate to have found a program which would offer me inquiry and substance – and which would support me in those studies," she said. "The comparative nature of the studies


is also important to me as a foreign language teacher, since that is what my students and I are constantly doing when we talk about the culture of German-speaking countries.”

Kathleen wrote her thesis on the political influence of teachers' unions in West Germany, and was awarded her M.A. degree from WEST in 1988. She continued to teach German at Naperville Central High School in Naperville, Illinois, where she had begun teaching in 1987. From 1999 to 2000, Kathleen taught at the Ernst-Barlach-Gymnasium in Güstrow, Germany, as a Fulbright exchange teacher. She recalled that the school was located in an economically disadvantaged region, and that it was both her first experience in teaching students who were younger than 14, as well as her first experience teaching English. The time she spent in Germany on the Fulbright exchange was enlightening and rewarding. “I learned so much about German school life, about the lives of the people in that part of Germany – their problems, frustrations, hope and joys – and about contemporary Germany. And about myself,” she said. “Since my return I have been able to bring much of that into my classroom, and I have had the opportunity to talk with many teachers who are considering the Fulbright experience.”

The knowledge and insights gained from her own Fulbright experience give Kathleen a unique perspective as she stresses to her students the importance of surveying the world with an open mind. “As a German teacher I try to convey that we can always learn something from another culture,” she said. “Not all Germans, Austrians or Swiss are perfect, nor do these societies have all the answers. But there are some areas in which they may have made choices or developed ideas which might bear examination.” Kathleen also expressed enthusiasm for efforts at her school to promote communication between American and German students. “We have a partner school (the Humboldtgynasium) in Solingen, Germany, and I hope that the opportunities for personal interaction with their German counterparts will open the minds and dreams of my students.”

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## Faculty Announcements

rofessor Robert Rohrschneider, the Acting Director of West European Studies, has been awarded a research fellowship from the German Marshall Fund.