

Wed Mar 20 POLI 212

## Post war settlements

K&K two types:

Geographical designation: northern and southern

- Northern: Germany and Britain
- Southern: France and Italy
- Northern: labour included in political institutions and management
- Southern: labour excluded
  - Different types of class compromise → related to the inclusion and exclusion of class labour

Analytical terms: the two types

- **Labour included:** high labour unionization in economy, single national trade union confederation → capacity to discipline workers, party system → single social democratic labour party with enough political support to form government and alternate in power
- **Labour excluded:** lower unionized in economy rates, competing national trade union confederations → usually divided along ideological or religious lines, no single dominant party on the left instead several parties compete for the workers and one of them is the communist party

### Northern Europe:

- Gain citizenship rights relatively early → easier to be included in political system
- Social democratic or labour parties sponsor most of policy innovations related to welfare regimes
- When conservative governments came to power, didn't roll back the policies associated with social democratic parties

### Southern Europe:

- National union leaders didn't have authority or mandate from workers to negotiate with corporate and organized businesses
- Business opposed to unions on ideological grounds
- Labour tends to be excluded from economic order and political system
- Exclusion breeds radicalism → encourages working class to protest and anti-system behavior
- Workers divided among communist, socialist and Christian democratic parties
  - Fragmentation in left means the right tends to govern → further reinforcing the exclusion of labour and working class

**Predictions&expectations** → depending on northern/southern, included/excluded

### Labour excluded cases:

- politics class have longer impact
- mainstreaming of left will come later, deradicalization

- Extra-parliamentary opposition → outside of legislature tends to be organized around issues of economic distribution and materialist issues instead of post-material issues
  - Interest in correcting negative externalities of industrialization
  - Globalization in the streets but in included case (more about distribution)
- Communist parties and trade unions will be influential in post war settlement

### **All cases**

- Post war settlements break down
- Political realignment occurs in Th. Least 1960s and early 1970s

### **Keohane:**

- Post war settlements underpinned but international economic juncture → stabilized by larger economic environment, when there was change, pressures put on post-war settlements and began to change due to exogenous changes in international economy

Some of the changes of conjuncture:

1. increasing competition in international economy → sustained development in the colonial world
  2. Raw material inputs in colonial process also increased in the late 1960s, increasing costs related to oil shock
  3. Declining importance of the US in the international economy → declining american hegemony
  4. Relatively open international economy, little tariff barriers and quotas → increasing independence
- In hayday of post-war settlements in 50s and 60s, international openness transported good things, if theres an open economy and bad things happen, then it will exude badness → relatively easy economic growth in Europe in the 50s and 60s due to american interest
  - Change in 1970s without the same kinds of outcomes, high growth, low development and low inflation → the opposite of this happens later when things worsen

New winners and losers

- How they becomes organized and express themselves in politics.

### **Norris&Esping-Anderson**

- Esping-Anderson: Emerging of the new left
- Norris: emerging of new right
- Post war settlements focused on both the new left and right
  - New left: ecological development in Germany
- We forms of political expression begin to emerge and change
  - new right: emerges around immigration

### **Breakdown of postwar settlements**

- Occurs in distinctive ways depending on how they were put in place after 1945, each one has inbuilt indistinctive problem which comes to life moving into 1960s → intrinsic problem

## Germany

- Paradox: too much consensus in German politics evident by late 1960s, keeping in mind how West Germany was reconstructed → made to ensure as much consensus as possible to avoid polarization between the interwar period and was designed to ensure central moderate politics
- Most of 1950s-1960s, governed by government which had Christian Democratic Party as their centre
- 1966: first time in German post-war politics have government with Christian and Social Democratic meaning a coalition which spans a dominant party on the left and the right governing together → becomes difficult to express opposition within the legislature
- Only a small party of liberal persuasion and little importance under the grand coalition → very difficult to express opposition = difficulty with too much consensus
- New Germans who have never had previous political experience and political interest is relatively affluent
- extra-parliamentary opposition on the new left which organises itself outside of former institutional channels, challenge basic features of German society → crystallise around ecology and importance of limits on industrialization and industrial capitalism, only a movements in civil society so far not a party
  - Embedded in larger critic of German politics but Germany is too centralized and committed to industrial growth
  - Radical ecology which makes sense only when joined to larger criticisms
  - Movement which wants to distance itself from the left and the right
  - Attitude to forming a party? But seeing politics as corruption

## Britain:

- Depends on inclusion of labor, trade union movement very difficult to control → close connections to Labour Party
- By 1970s, Q: who governs, the party in power or the trade unions? Result being political realignment in party system
- Labour Party splits due to connection with the trade unions as one side severs trade union as a political handicap → Liberal Democratic Party growing out of the tension out of MPs and trade union organizers
  - Labour Party couldn't control trade union movement which later produces a split leading to a party in the centre left
  - Disorganized left and split, there is an opportunity to realign in the left, Margaret Thatcher exploits this to realign the parties on the right forging new consensus in British politics towards the right by challenging explicitly the trade unions
- Labour Party will maintain close connection to trade unions and will be able to govern in successive mandates, conservative dominant when Labour gives up the policies of trade unions: Tony Blair → giving up radical past toward symbolically, Labour has adapted to new reality in politics and that politics has been pulled to the right
- Political role of trade unions

## France&Italy

- Important and lengthy labour unrest in late 1960s, post war settlements begin to change due to militancy amongst labour
- May/June '68 hot autumn → direct consequence of labor exclusion dominated by actors on the left, episodes of militancy involving widespread strikes and occupation of factories by workers