

WESTERN EUROPEAN POLITICS & SOCIETY

Political Studies 215, Spring 2017

Cross-listed: Global & International Studies

Tues/Thurs 8:30am-9:50am in Olin 202

Professor Kevin Duong

Office Hours: Aspinwall 209, Wednesdays, 10am-noon or by appointment

Today, the nations of Western Europe are involved in a shared common project of transnational government. Nevertheless, they each possess their own governance systems, economic priorities, and political cultures. What are the sources of their similarities and differences? This course introduces students to the political development of Western Europe. Focusing especially on France, Germany, Italy, and Britain, we will explore how each state formed; how they were transformed by experiences of continental war and revolution; how nationalism intersects with transnational government; and how Europe today struggles to cope with new challenges like immigration, xenophobia, and the decline of the welfare state.

Required Materials

The following textbooks will be made available at the bookstore:

1. Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger et al., *European Politics in Transition*, 6th Edition (required)
2. John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 3rd Edition (recommended)

Most of our readings will be posted online on Moodle. Our class moodle website can be accessed here: <https://moodle2.bard.edu/course/view.php?id=1069>

The enrollment key for the moodle board is: **transnationalS17**

Course Objectives and Expectations

Assignments: You will be responsible for a midterm exam, a final exam, a group presentation, and consistent class participation. More information about the exams will be provided as we approach them.

Attendance: Attendance is mandatory for this class. We will be moving through a large amount of material each week. Our class policy is that I ask no questions for the first **two** absences. Beyond the first two absences, any unexcused absences will penalize a student's participation grade if an adequate justification, to be determined by the instructor, is not forthcoming. A student's overall grade will be in jeopardy after four unexcused absences.

Class Participation: Please note that participation is a substantial component of the course's overall evaluation. Students can ensure that they maximally receive participation points by attending class, participating in class discussion, and by showing general attentiveness towards, including thoughtful responses to, their fellow classmates. If for any reason a student is concerned about their ability to do the above listed, please feel free to discuss the matter with me early in the semester.

Laptop Policy: This is largely a discussion class, so there will not be much lecturing. Since class will therefore be participatory, laptops will not be permitted in class. Note taking can be done adequately with pencil and paper when the need arises. If there is an unusually compelling reason, however, for why on a particular day you may need your laptop out, please let me know and we can try to accommodate that. I also expect that you will refrain from texting, sending emails, using the internet, and doing other work during class.

Course Evaluation:

Midterm Exam	30%
Final Exam	40%
Group Presentation	20%
Class Participation	10%

Other Matters:

Plagiarism: Each student is expected to abide by the Code of Academic Integrity. It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with university policies regarding plagiarism and other violations of academic integrity, which will be strictly observed in this class. If work is found to be plagiarized, the student will receive an automatic failing grade in the class, and depending on the situation additional sanctions may be imposed by the university.

Reasonable Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: If you have a disability that may require assistance or accommodations, or if you have any questions related to any accommodation for testing, note taking, reading, etc., please speak with me as soon as possible. You may also contact Student Disability Services with any questions about such services.

Additional Writing Help: If you seek additional writing help beyond the scope of the course, I encourage you to visit the Bard College Learning Commons which provides writing resources for students. You can visit their website here: <http://www.bard.edu/learningcommons/students>

Schedule of Readings

Readings and assignments are to be completed by their corresponding date. ‘Optional’ readings are additional selections that may improve your mastery of the material, but aren’t required. Most readings are on Moodle. Please read the assigned texts in the order they are listed.

PART I: THE ORIGINS OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

WEEK I: Multiple Paths of Modern European Political Development

Most modern European states find their roots in the enormous social upheavals associated with feudalism’s breakdown. The modernization of the agrarian economy, the rise of urban centers, and state centralization all laid the groundwork for Europe as we know it today. What are the paths connecting the breakdown of feudalism and the contemporary European order? How were those paths paved by urbanization, bureaucratization, and absolutism?

Jan 31: Introduction

Feb 2: Barrington Moore, Jr. *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, pp. 413-32
Charles Tilly, “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime”

Optional: Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, pp. 15-42
Gregory Leubbert, *Liberalism, Fascism or Social Democracy*

WEEK II: The Age of Democratic Revolutions & Nationalism

In the span of decades, the Atlantic world was transformed by what political scientists call the first wave of democratization: the Age of Revolutions. These revolutions were the crucible for modern European democracy and its political institutions, like the rule of law and representative government. It was also the crucible for nationalism as we know it. What are the connections between democratization and nationalism?

Feb 7: R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*, pp. 5-9, 13-19
“The Virginia Declaration of Rights” of 1776
“The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen” of 1789
David Armitage, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History*, pp. 11-23, 103-119

Feb 9: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, pp. 9-12, 22-26, 33-36
David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800*, pp. 1-15, 22-40, 159-68

Optional: Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848*, pp. 53-76, 109-131
Robin Blackburn, “Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of the Democratic Revolution,” *The William & Mary Quarterly* 63/4 (2006)
Jeremy Adelman, “An Age of Imperial Revolutions,” *American Historical Review* 113/2 (2008)
Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, “Democratization and War,” *Foreign Affairs* 74/3 (1995)

WEEK III: The Industrial Revolution

The Age of Democratic Revolutions was closely connected to the Industrial Revolution. How did the meaning of citizenship change as the market became the prominent institution for organizing economic life? How did industrialization shape the development of the modern state and representative government?

- Feb 14:** Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, pp. 13-30
David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present*, pp. 1-40
- Feb 16:** Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, pp. 136-57
- Optional: Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848*, pp. 27-52
Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism Before its Triumph*
Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*
Mark Blyth, *Great Transformations: Economic Ideas and Institutional Change in the Twentieth Century*

PART II: CASES AND THEMES

WEEK IV: The Rise of the Modern State: Britain

This week we move from large scale transformations in European political development to specific contexts, and we begin with the British case. How did a modern state arise from the ideological conflicts of the English Revolution? What does the trajectory of British political development look like up to World War I?

- Feb 21:** Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, pp. 35-50, 71-94
- Feb 23:** Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics*, pp. 1-4, 114-147
Trygve Tholfsen, "The Transition to Democracy in Victorian England" in *International Review of Social History* 6/2 (1961)
- Optional: Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*
E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*
Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, pp. 114-42
John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 208-241
Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution*, pp. 13-18, 107-150

WEEK V: From Absolutism to the Republic: France

After Britain, we turn to the case of France. What were the continuities between the French absolutist state and its modern republican government? Why was France so much slower in

establishing representative government than England? And how did the centralization of French language, education, and national infrastructure contribute to French nation building?

Feb 28: Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, pp. 103-18, 131-64

Mar 2: Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*, pp. 174-205
Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, pp. 471-86

Optional: Jacques Donzelot, "The Promotion of the Social"
Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France*
Stanley Hoffman et al, *In Search of France*, pp. 1-21
Pamela Pilbeam, *Republicanism in Nineteenth Century France*
Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 435-476

WEEK VI: The Bismarckian Synthesis: Germany

Compared to Britain and France, Germany unified comparatively late. It transitioned from a federation of city states, to a united Empire, and then through world wars became the modern German Federal Republic. How did its unique trajectory give rise to political and economic institutions different than Britain and France? What was the role of war and nationalism for the modern German state?

Mar 7: Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, pp. 175-92, 209-38

Mar 9: Sheri Berman, "Modernization in Historical Perspective: The Case of Imperial Germany," *World Politics* 53/3 (2001)
Michael Bernhard, "Democratization in Germany: A Reappraisal," *Comparative Politics* 33/4 (2001)

Optional: Arthur Rosenberg, *Imperial Germany: The Birth of the German Republic, 1871-1918*
Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, pp. 236-78
Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*
John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 660-682

WEEK VII: Risorgimento and Unification: Italy

Like Germany, Italian unification appeared comparatively late. How did the processes of Italian unification shape its unique brand of nationalism? In what ways did Italian political development differ from its German neighbor, especially on the question of federalism?

Mar 14: Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, pp. 249-66, 281-312

Mar 16: Daniel Ziblatt, *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*, pp. 1-4, 13-14, 57-108, 141-7

Optional: Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, pp. 121-62
John Merriman, *The History of Modern Europe*, pp. 649-659

WEEK VIII-IX: Spring Break, Midterm Exam

- Mar 21:** Spring Break
Mar 23: Spring Break
Mar 28: Midterm Exam
Mar 30: In-class movie: *The Battle of Algiers*

PART III: WAR AND RECONSTRUCTIONWEEK X: European Colonialism

European political development is inseparable from its history of colonialism. From the development of the modern state and representative government to its market economy and continental identity, colonial politics were central. How did the various colonial projects differ? How were they alike? Did colonial politics in the international arena affect political development at home? What kind of European political identity arose from its colonial exploits? Could the colonies ever be considered “European”?

- Apr 4:** John Merriman, *The History of Modern Europe*, pp. 819-859
P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, “The Political Economy of British Expansion Overseas, 1750-1914” *The Economic History Review* 33/4 (1980)
- Apr 6:** Alice Conklin, “Colonialism and Human Rights, A Contradiction in Terms? The Case of France and West Africa, 1895-1914,” *The American Historical Review* 103/2 (1998)
Karuna Mantena, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism*, pp. 1-7, 10-12
- Optional: Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude & Colonial Humanism Between the Two World Wars*
J. P. Daughton, *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880-1914*
Enzo Traverso, *The Origins of Nazi Violence*
Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race*

WEEK XI: World Wars and Democratic Breakdown

European colonialism abroad and interstate conflict at home combined to set the stage for continental warfare. Wide-scale military mobilization, nationalism, and technological change altered the face of 20th century Western European nations. How were fascism, militant nationalism, and democratic breakdown linked? What were the pressures that led to war? Why did some countries like Germany and Italy give rise to extraordinary authoritarian regimes, while others did not?

- Apr 11:** Adam Tooze, *The Deluge: The Great War and the Remaking of Global Order, 1916-1931*, pp. 3-16
Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe*, pp. 3-74
- Apr 13:** No Class

- Optional: Enzo Traverso, *Fire and Blood: The European Civil War, 1914-1945*
 Benjamin G. Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order for European Culture*
 Gregory Leubbert, "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe," in
World Politics 34/4 (1987).
 Geoff Eley, *Nazism as Fascism: Violence, Ideology, and the Ground of Consent
 in Germany, 1930-1945*
 Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France, 1940-1944*
 Mary Louis Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in
 Postwar France, 1917-1927*
 John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 863-1108

WEEK XII: Reconstructing Western Europe and Social Democracy

The two world wars decisively reshaped European nation building. It gave rise to a new idea of a united Western Europe, bound together by a common moral identity. How did the experience of continental war and reconstruction provide the sources of a new idea of European continental identity? And how did economic programs of European reconstruction, like the Marshall Plan, create the Europe we know today?

- Apr 18:** Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, pp. 472-484
 George C. Marshall, "Speech by the United States Secretary of State, General
 Marshall, at Harvard University: The Marshall Plan, 5 June 1947"
 Jessica Reinisch, "The Marshall Plan"
 Brigitte Leucht, "Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)"
 Theodore Wilson, "The Atlantic Charter"
 "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights"
 Jay Winter, "Universal Declaration of Human Rights"
 Nicolas Roussellier, "Liberalism"
- Apr 20:** Gösta Esping-Anderson, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, pp. 9-12, 21-
 29
 Sheri Berman, *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of
 Europe's Twentieth Century*, pp. 1-8, 177-199
 Iversen and Cusack, "The Causes of Welfare State Expansion: Deindustrialization
 or Globalization?" *World Politics* 52/3 (2000)
- Optional: Daniel Ziblatt, "How did Europe Democratize?" in *World Politics* 58/2 (2006)
 Alan Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-51*
 Michael J. Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction
 of Western Europe, 1947-1952*

PART IV: CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

WEEK XIII: Contemporary Europe I: Decolonization and Human Rights

If the creation of the European Union represents the political interdependence of postwar Western Europe, its newfound moral and cultural identity is best embodied by the invention and

endorsement of human rights. But the ascendance of human rights is inseparable from the movement for decolonization, from Indochina to North Africa. How should we connect the prominence of human rights in Western Europe to the collapse of colonialism from the 1950s-70s? How did the European Court of Human Rights, its various Human Rights Commissions, and its famous Universal Declaration of Human Rights come about? Does the rise of human rights reflect a larger turn towards supranational governance and political unity in Western Europe? Or does it reflect its limits instead?

Apr 25: Todd Shepard, *Voices of Decolonization*, pp. 1-54, 96-102, 143-5
Apr 27: Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, pp. 1-5, 44-119

Optional: Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights*
 Marco Duranti, *The Conservative Human Rights Revolution: European Identity, Transnational Politics, and the Origins of the European Convention*
 Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and its Impact: A Comparative Approach to the End of Colonial Empires*, pp. 61-86

WEEK XIV: Contemporary Europe II: The European Union and Monetary Integration

The pinnacle of Western European unification and political development is probably the creation of the European Union. It marks a recent transition from national to transnational governance. How did the EU's creation reflect changes in global capitalism and monetary integration of Western Europe? To what extent did it reflect the new moral consensus of Western Europe forged in the wake of continental war? And how does the EU balance national sovereignty with international governance?

May 2: Advising Day, No Class
May 4: Kesselman and Kriger, *European Politics in Transition*, pp. 471-525
 Emmanuel Apel, *European Monetary Integration: 1958-2002*, pp. 1-23

Optional: John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*
 Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*
 Ernst B. Haas, "International Integration: The European and the Universal Process," *International Organization* 15/3 (1961)

WEEK XV: Contemporary Europe III: The Idea of Europe at Crossroads

Judging from current events in Europe—debt crises, immigration and refugees, the integration of Turkey—the European project built in the postwar years is in crisis. What are the sources of this breakdown? How do they reflect larger transformations in global politics? Has the modern state come back? Can the universalist ambitions of Western Europe accommodate these new challenges, or is nationalism bound to resurface? This final week, we look at these questions through the rise of the new Right in Western Europe. We pay special attention to the specific case of the Front National's rise in France and the immigration crisis in the Mediterranean.

May 9: Françoise Gaspard, *A Small City in France: A Socialist Mayor Confronts Neofascism*

May 11: Kesselman and Krieger, *European Politics in Transition*, pp. 535-542
In-class movie (Fire at Sea)

WEEK XVI: Conclusion

May 16: Review / Completion Days

May 23: Final Exam