

Political Science 107

Greater Europe: The Contestation of Three Political Pathways

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This course traces the development of the concept of Europe. We will examine the array of state forms from the early modern to the present, and explore how these variations contribute to our understanding of contemporary boundaries in and around Europe. The course engages the historical processes and conceptual orientations that have contributed to the social patternings of difference that have qualified Europe at different moments: East / West; North / South; socialist / capitalist; developed/undeveloped; peripheral/core, etc. To this end, students will follow the forces that advocate and critique liberalism and market capitalism. We will examine the growth, decline, contradictions and assertions of liberalism, fascism and socialism from the end of the feudal period through the rise of modernity, and conclude with an examination of how this struggle continues today. Through interrogation of the processes of Europeanization students will encounter the political elements that continue to bear the standard of liberalism, challengers that advance visions of social democracy, and those that advocate alternatives grounded in authoritarianism and national-chauvinism.

Book List: These books are available for purchase. You do not have to purchase them; it is your option. However, these texts will be read in full (or at least significant portions will be read) and it may be more convenient for you to have your own copy. X=required

X Anderson, Perry. Lineages of the Absolutist State, (Verso Press, 1974)

X Poggi, Gianfranco. The Development of the Modern State: A Sociological Introduction, (Stanford University Press, 1978)

Locke, John. Two Treatises, Laslett, Peter, ed., (Cambridge University Press, 1998)

X Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism, (Verso Press, 1983)

X Polanyi, Karl. The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time, (Beacon Press, 2001)

Engels, Fredrick, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, (Pathfinder Press, 1972)

X Sternhell, Zeev. The Birth of Fascist Ideology, (Princeton University, 1995)

X Tucker, Robert, ed. The Marx-Engels Reader, (New York, W.W. Norton, 1978).

Arendt, Hannah, The Origins of Totalitarianism, (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966)

Marcuse, Herbert. One Dimensional Man, (Beacon Press, 1991)

- Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. One Day in the Life Ivan Denisovich, (Signet Classics, 1998)
- Verdery, Katherine, What Was Socialism What Comes Next?, (Princeton University Press, 1996)
- Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State, Valerie Bunce, (Cambridge, 1999),
- Kitschelt, Herbert, et al. Post-Communist Party Systems, (Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Wedel, Janie, Collision and Collusion: The Strange Case of Western Aid in Eastern Europe, (St. Martin's Press, 1998)
- X Berdahl, Daphne, Where the World Ended: Re-Unification and Identity in the German Borderland, (University of California, 1999)
- X Burawoy, Michael and János Lukács, The Radiant Past: Ideology and Reality in Hungary's Road to Capitalism, (University of Chicago, 1992)
- Eyal, Gil, et al. Building Capitalism Without Capitalists, (Verso Press, 2001)
- X Holmes, Douglas. Integral Europe: Fast Capitalism, Multiculturalism, Neo-fascism, (Princeton University Press, 2000)
- Gowan, Peter and Perry Anderson, eds., The Question of Europe, (Verso 1997)
- Bourdieu, Pierre. Acts of Resistance: Against the Tyranny of the Market, (New Press, 1998)
- X Bellier, Iréne and Wilson Thomas, eds., An Anthropology of the European Union: Building, Imagining and Experiencing the New Europe, (Berg, 2000)
- X Shore, Chris, Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration, (Routledge 2000)
- Pierson, Paul, ed., The New Politics of the Welfare State, (Oxford Press 2001)
- X Offe, Claus, Modernity and the State: East, West, (MIT Press 1996)

Schedule of Topics and Readings:

Week One: *Locating Europe*
September 2

Readings:

“Three Historical Regions of Europe: An Outline,” Jeno Szucs, in Civil Society and the State, John Keane, ed. (Verso Press, 1988). Document #2

“The Civilizing Process,” Helmut Kuzmics, in Civil Society and the State, John Keane, ed. (Verso Press, 1988). Document #3

“Violence and Civilization: The State Monopoly of Violence and Its Infringement,”
Norbert Elias, in Civil Society and the State, John Keane, ed. (Verso Press, 1988).
Document #4

Questions:

Where is Europe? Has Europe always been in the same place? Or to ask the question in another way, have the parts of the world we consider to be Europe today always been part of Europe? Who are Europeans? During this first week we will look at Europe at the end of the fifteenth century and examine our own prejudices when it comes to the concepts of Europe and “Europeanness.”

Week Two: *From Feudalism to the Modern State*

September 9

Readings:

Lineages of the Absolutist State, Perry Anderson (Verso Press 1974), Part I: Chapters 1-6 & Part II: Chptrs 1-6

The Development of the Modern State: A Sociological Introduction, Poggi, Gianfranco, (Stanford University Press, 1978). entire

Supplemental:

The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution, Corrigan, Philip and Derek Sayer (Blackwell, 1985).

The Origins of the Modern European State, Shennan, J.H. (Hutchinson, 1974) Ch. 1-3

Questions:

What role does feudalism play in the creation of modern Europe? Is feudalism a universal practice? Is it uniform across Europe? What are the most important developments in sixteenth and seventeenth century Western Europe? In Eastern Europe? How do these developments in different regions during this period support or challenge a distinction between Eastern and Western Europe? Why should a course on European politics be concerned with this time period? Where does the state come from? Are the constructions of the modern state something uniquely European? What conditions were (are) necessary for creating such a state? What marks the modern state from previous forms of governance or social organization? Are the more formal versus cultural understandings of state formation compatible? How or why not?

Week Three: *Building Liberalism: Creating Property*

September 16

Readings:

The Second Treatise on Government, John Locke (Prometheus, 1986), entire

The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time, Karl Polanyi (Beacon Press, 1957), Chapters 3-9

The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Fredrick Engels, (Pathfinder Press, 1972), entire

Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the Sixteenth century, Immanuel Wallerstein, (Academy Press, 1974)

Questions:

Are Liberalism and Capitalism intrinsically connected? Is the birth of one the birth of the other? Could Liberalism exist without capitalism? What are the preconditions Liberalism, if any? Is

Liberalism radical? Is it revolutionary? Who supported Liberalism and who opposed it its early development? What were the attractions or repulsions for these groups?

Week Four: *Building Modern Europe: Building Nation-States*

September 23

Readings:

Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Benedict Anderson, (Verso, 1983) entire

Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe, Miroslav Hroch, (Columbia 2000), Chapters 1-7, 16-18

National Collective Identity: Social Constructions and International Systems, Rodney Hall (Columbia 1999), Chapters 1-6 & 8

Questions:

What is a nation? What is the relationship between nationalism and modernity, if any? What is the relationship between a nation and a state? Is this relationship politically significant? Must there be a relationship between a nation and state? Is there a relationship between the sources of nationalism and the sources of capitalism? Is capitalism necessary for nationalism?

Week Five: *Critiquing Capitalism*

September 30

Readings:

The 1844 Manuscripts, Karl Marx (M-E Reader, Robert Tucker, ed., Norton Press, 1978), pp, 66-125.

The German Ideology; Part One (M-E Reader, Robert Tucker, ed., Norton Press, 1978), pp. 146-200.

Wage Labour and Capital, Karl Marx (M-E Reader, Robert Tucker, ed., Norton Press, 1978), pp, 203-217

The Grundrisse, Karl Marx (M-E Reader, Robert Tucker, ed., Norton Press, 1978), pp, 221-293

Questions:

Is nation building compatible with the development of class consciousness? How do the ideals of community and individualism play in Marx's critique as well as that of Engels. Was Marx ahead of his time? How different do you find Marx's critique from that of Polanyi? Can individualism be separated from capitalism? Are collectivism and individualism irreconcilable? Is the attempt to overcome the "brutality" of capitalism compelling? Is it necessary? Do these critiques remain relevant in today's political/economic environment?

Week Six: *The Absent Revolution: The Birth of Fascism*

October 7

Readings:

The Birth of Fascist Ideology, Zeev Sternhell, et al. (Princeton University, 1995), entire

Neither Right Nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France, Zeev Sternhell (University of California, 1986), Chpt. 1, 3, 5 & 6.

How Fascism Ruled Women, Victoria De Grazia, (University of California 1992), Chapters 1, 2, 4, 6

Packet: Fascist Philosophy in Italy Documents # 5-8
Between Two Fires, David Clay Large, (Norton, 1990) Chpts: 2, 6, & 7

Questions:

What are the relationships between fascism and liberalism and fascism and socialism? What is the aim of fascism? What is the source of fascist thought? What does fascism offer a population? Why would anyone find fascism attractive or compelling? Was fascism a strange twist, a parenthesis in history, or does its development make sense to you?

Week Seven: *Spring Break*

October 14

Week Eight: *Totalitarianisms:*

October 21

Readings:

Making Sense of Tyranny, S. Tormey (St. Martin's Press, 1995), Document #9
The Origins of Totalitarianism, Hannah Arendt, (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), The Prefaces to Part I, II, & III + Part III (Chapters 11-13) [see chapter 10, if interested]
One Dimensional Man, Herbert Marcuse (Beacon Press, 1964), Introductions + Part I "One Dimensional Society" Chapters 1-4 pp. xi - 123

Supplemental:

Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilization, Stephen Kotkin (University of California, 1995), Intro, Chpt 1,3,5,6 pp. 1-26,27-36, 106-146, 198-279
One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, (Signet Classics, 1998).

Film: "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" Leontes Films Production ; produced and directed by Casper Wrede ; screenplay by Ronald Harwood (1971)

Questions:

What makes a system totalitarian? What is different about totalitarianism from liberalism, fascism or socialism? Is fascism always totalitarian? What of Marcuse's criticism? Does it make sense to you? Do you think that Totalitarianism a uniquely European phenomenon? To what extent is "evil" an absolute category? To what extent is it a contingent phenomenon, embedded in social and historical circumstances?

Week Nine: *In the Aftermath: Reconstructing Europe*, West

October 28

Readings:

The Question of Europe, eds. Gowan, Peter and Anderson, Perry. Verso 1997
Chapters 1- 5 pp. 1-90
The Rebirth of Europe, Elizabeth Pond, (Brookings Institution Press, 1999), Chptrs:1&2
Maternity and Gender Politics: Women and the Rise of European Welfare States, Gisela Bock, ed., (Routledge, 1994), Chptrs: 1,3, 4, 6 Documents # 14-17
Western European Integration, Michael Curtis, (Rutgers University Press, 1965), 1-7

Film: "Zentropa" Prestige ; a Danish-French-German-Swedish coproduction ; produced by Gunnar Obel ... [et al.] ; director, Lars Von Trier ; producers, Peter Aalbaek Jensen, Bo Christiansen ; screenplay by Lars von Trier, Niels Vørsel

Questions:

What are the most important factors that shaped Western Europe after the Second World War? What alternative pathways can you imagine? What makes Europe appear different after the Second World than before? Were political lessons learned by political leaders from between the wars? What are the most powerful political forces in Western Europe? In France? In Germany?

Week Ten: *In the Aftermath: Reconstructing Europe*, East
November 4

Readings:

What Was Socialism What Comes Next?, Katherine Verdery, (Princeton University Press, 1996), Chptrs: 1,3, 4,5,8
Dictatorship Over Needs, Heller A, Feher F., Markus Gy., (St. Martin's Press 1983).
Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State, Valerie Bunce, (Cambridge, 1999), Chptrs: 2,3,4
The Radiant Past: Ideology and Reality in Hungary's Road to Capitalism, Michael Burwoy and Janos Lukacs, (University of Chicago, 1992), entire
The Making of Eastern Europe: From Prehistory to Postcommunism, Longworth, Philip, (St. Martin's 1997), Chapters 1-3

Supplemental:

Belonging in the Two Berlins: Kin, State and Nation, John Borneman, (Cambridge 1992)
A Worker in A Workers' State, Miklos Haraszti, (Universe Books, 1978)

Films: "When Father Was Away on Business" Otac na sluzbenom putu / Forum [and] Sarajevo Film ; director, Emir Kusturica ; producer, Mirza Pasic ; screenplay, Abdulah Sidran (1991)

Questions:

What were the central organizing principles of "realized socialism"? How does the organization of socialist production differ from capitalist production? How is it similar? Do believe that these societies could have succeeded as a permanent form of political-economic organization? If not, why not? How do these readings square with your ideas of realized socialism before entering this course or popular conception of realized socialism in general?

Week Eleven: *The End of "Realized Socialism": A Post-Mortem*
November 11

Readings:

Where the World Ended, Daphne Berdahl, (University of California 1999), entire
Politics of Gender After Socialism, Gal, Susan and Kligman, Gail, (Princeton, 2000).
Building Capitalism Without Capitalists, Gil Eyal, et al (Verso 2001), Chptr:1-3
Collision and Collusion: The Strange Case of Western Aid in Eastern Europe, Janine Wedel, (st. Martin's Press, 1998), entire
"Interpreting 1989" in Civil Society, Constitution and Legitimacy, Andrew Arato, (Rowman and Littlefield, 2000). Documents #24 & 25 (labeled Marga)

“Capitalism by Democratic Design: Democratic Theory Facing the Triple Transformation in East Central Europe,” Claus Offe, *Social Research*, Vol. 58, No. 4, ‘91. Doc. #18

“Upheavals in the East and Turmoil in Political Theory: Comments on Offe’s ‘Capitalism by Democratic Design,’” Emanuel Richter, *Social Research*, Vol. 58, No. 4, 1991. Document #19

“The World They Have Lost: An Assessment of the Change in Eastern Europe”, Miguel Angel, et al, *Social Research*, Vol. 63, No. 2, 1996. Document # 20

“What Did We Lose After 1989, Jirina Siklova, *Social Research*, Vol. 63, No. 2. 1996. Document # 21

“Beyond Gains and Losses: In Search of Winning Losers,” Andrzej Rychard, *Social Research* Vol. 63, No. 2, 1996. Document # 22

“The Postmortem Victory of Communism” Istvan Rev, Document # 23

Supplemental:

Post-Communist Party System, Herbert Kitschelt, et al. (Cambridge University Press, 1999) Chptrs: 1-3

Post-Socialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe, David Stark and Laszlo Bruszt, (Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Films: “Wings of Desire” produced by Road Movies Berlin and Argos Films Paris ; Executive producer: Ingrid Windisch ; Produced by Antole Dauman and Wim Wenders ; Written by Wim Wenders together with Peter Handke directed by Wim Wenders (1989)

Questions:

Where the *Changes* of 1989 revolutions? Was the outcome of the *Changes* predetermined? That is, was the only available alternative to Realized Socialism capitalism? Do the conflicts presented by Offe represent a fundamental internal contradiction in liberalism? That is, explain the conflicts between capitalism and democracy? Who were the winners and losers of the *Changes*? Does the membership of these two groups surprise you? After the reading the tests assigned last week, can we identify fundamental flaws in the constitution of Realized Socialism? If so, what are they?

Week Twelve: Building a Single Europe

November 18

Readings:

An Anthropology of the European Union: Building, Imagining and Experiencing the New Europe, ed. Irène Bellier and Thomas Wilson (Berg, 2000) Chapters 4-7_Doc. #29-32

Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration, Chris Shore, (Routledge 2000), Part I, Chapters 1-4 Documents #33-36

The Question of Europe, eds. Gowan, Peter and Anderson, Perry. Verso 1997
Chapters 16-22 pp. 239-357

The European Union and its Citizens: the Social Agenda, Springer, Beverly (Westport 1994).

Questions:

What does it mean to be European? Can “European” be an identity? This week’s readings explore the attempts to create a single European political entity. They interrogate the structure of such an entity: should it require a constitution? Should it be federal or confederal? Can it exist at all? How is this project different from those of constructing the modern state? What would Benedict Anderson say of these attempts? How are they similar to his vision of an imagined community? How are they different? Does the process of building the European Union divide Europe? Are those states that will not accede to the European Union in the near future still part of Europe? If Europe is divided between those in the EU and those out, does this replicate or bear any resemblance to previous divisions with Europe? Does it replicate Cold War conditions? Does it replicate conditions at the end of the Feudalist era? If not, how is the present different? What is the cultural or social significance of a divided Europe, if any?

Week Thirteen: *The Politics of Hate: Fascism Revitalized?*

December 2

Readings:

Integral Europe: Fast Capitalism, Multiculturalism, Neo-fascism, Douglas Holmes, (Princeton University Press, 2000), entire

Free to Hate, Paul Hockenros, (Routledge, 1993) Intro, 1, 4, 6, & 8

The French National Front: The Extremist Challenge to Democracy, Harvey Simons, (Westview 1996), Part II

The Rise of the Radical Right in Eastern Europe, Sabrina Ramet, ed., (Penn State University Press, 1999), Part I

The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change, Katherine Verdery, (Columbia University Press, 1999). Document #27

“Mainstreaming Extremism: The Romanian PDSR in Comparative Perspective,” Jeffrey Stevenson Murer in Communist Successor Parties: Ten Years of Transformation, Bozóki, András and Ishiyama, John, eds., (M.E. Sharpe, 2002), pp. 367-396. Document # 28

Films: “Hate” Les Productions Lazennec ; producteur, Christophe Rossignon ; réalisateur, Mathieu Kassovitz (1996)

Questions:

What is the appeal of the radical right? Is it proper to equate the popularity of these political elements with a resurgence in fascist political ideology? Are these political movements the only opposition to liberal democracy? Do they, in fact, oppose liberal democracy? Why? Who supports these groups? Does it make sense to align these forces along a left and right spectrum? What features make them “rightist?” What is the connection between “rightist” politics and violence?

Week Fourteen: *Preserving the Welfare State: Differences East and West?*

December 9

Readings:

The New Politics of the Welfare State, ed. Pierson, Paul. (Oxford Press 2001).

Chapters 1, 3, 5-7 Documents #37-40

Modernity and the State: East, West, Offe, Claus, (MIT Press 1996). Chapters 1, 2, 5-8 pp. 1-60, 89-182

Acts of Resistance: Against the Tyranny of the Market, Pierre Bourdieu, (Norton, 1998)

Gender and Citizenship in Transition, Barbara Hobson, ed., (Routledge, 2000),

Chptrs: 1-6, & 10

Looking Left: Socialism in Europe After the Cold War, Donald Sassoon, ed., (New Press 1997). Chapters 4-7 Documents #?

Supplemental:

Making Welfare Work: Reconstructing Welfare for the Millennium, Field Frank, (Transaction, 2000)

European Welfare Futures: Toward a Theory of Retrenchment, Bonoli, Giuliano, Vic George, and Peter Taylor-Gooby, (Polity Press, 2000)

Film: "The Dream Life of Angles" Les Productions Bagheera ; France 3 Cinema ; Daiphana ; directed by Erick Zonca (1999)

Questions:

Is there a future for socialism in Europe? Would this socialism be different from those of the past? Or is socialism, in the guise of social democracy, simply part of the new Post World War Two European brand of liberalism? How does Europeanization affect attempts at building stronger social democratic programs (i.e. welfare programs)? How are Europeanization and Globalization connected? Who will benefit from strengthened Europeanization? Who will not?

Week Fifteen: *Looking Forward: Looking Back*

December 14

Final Discussions, predictions, reflections, dinner, wine

Written Honors Exams

May 5-16

Oral Honors Examination

May 19-21