# EURO-UA 950

# Contemporary Europe

# Center for European and Mediterranean Studies (CEMS)

# New York University, Fall 2018

Instructor Name: Hadas Aron

Office Hours: Wednesday 2-4pm and by appointment

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**Meeting times: Wednesday 10-12am**

## Course Description

The course examines the liberal order in Europe that was formed after WWII, its institutional design, the challenges it has been facing, and the implications of the liberal order for politics, society, and culture in Europe. The first part of the course reviews the social, economic, and security concerns Europe faced in 1945, and the institutions that were constructed to respond to these concerns. We will also explore the Cold War and its consequences for the politics, and the realities of people throughout Europe. The second part of the course explores the integration of Europe into a social, economic, and identity community, and the expansion of European institutions and identity first to Southern Europe and then to the former Soviet Bloc. The third part of the course addresses the current "Crisis of Europe" from the 2008 financial crisis through the surge of refugee migration and the rise of populism. We will ask whether and to what extent the current crisis threatens the system formed after 1945.

The course is interdisciplinary in nature. To explore political change and continuity in contemporary Europe we will combine theories from international relations, political science, sociology, and economics, as well as readings of historical primary and secondary resources. In addition to scholarly literature we will use contemporary media outlets, cultural resources and video, when available.

## Learning Goals

By the end of the course students should be able to:

* Be familiar with significant historical events in Europe since 1945
* Engage in debate over the large security, politics, economy, and identity questions Europe has faced since 1945.
* Identify key theories of political development including theories of democratization, political mobilization, and political change more broadly.
* Critically evaluate historical and contemporary events in Europe.
* Develop original arguments on historical and contemporary events in Europe.

## Course Requirements\*

This course is a weekly seminar with an emphasis on discussion and writing. Attendance in class is mandatory. The students are responsible to complete the required readings and be prepared to discuss them in class.

* Attendance in class, participation, readings, map quiz, short in-class writing and presenting assignments **(15%)**
* **Four** **Two Page Response Papers** throughout the semester. Students can choose the weeks in which they wish to submit response papers For each week, questions about the readings will be posted in advance. Students can respond to one of these questions or to a question they find interesting in the week's readings. (**20%)**
* Two pages long **Project Proposal** that describes the student's research topic and the question they aim to explore, and identify potential sources they could use in answering that question. We will have individual meetings to discuss the project. **(10%)** **Due in Class October 17**
* 10 minute presentation of the research paper topic **(15%)**
* Final Paper: A 15 page research paper. The paper will give the students an opportunity to use the knowledge acquired in the course for the analysis of a case study of their choice. **(40%)**

## Course Policies

**1. Academic integrity:** Intellectual integrity is the university’s most fundamental commitment. Plagiarism will be penalized to the fullest extent, without warning or exception. If you have any questions about documentation requirements, ask your instructor. For further information on NYU’s plagiarism policy, see: http://cas.nyu.edu/page/ug.academicintegrity

**2. Attendance:** You are permitted one absence from class without consultation; a second absence requires advance notice or a valid excuse, and might nevertheless be reflected in your grade; three absences will inevitably and substantially be reflected in your grade; no student with four absences will pass the course.This policy takes effect from the first meeting, regardless of when you begin attending the course; if you don’t enroll until the second week, you have used your one permitted absence. There are no make-up assignments in place of attendance.

**3. Laptops and Cell Phones:**  The use of cell phones during class is prohibited. Please use your laptop for class related purposes only**.**

**4. Writing:** Papers should be double-spaced, with one-inch margins and numbered pages, and submitted in hard copy. All late papers are penalized at the rate of one grade per day: a B+ paper, for instance, submitted a day after it was due will receive a C+. A paper that is more than 72 hours late will receive an F.

**5. Religious holidays:** NYU works with students who miss class due to religious holidays. In order to receive this accommodation, please notify your recitation instructor during the first two weeks of the semester of upcoming absences. For details on NYU’s policy, see:

http://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance/policies-and-guidelines/university-calendar-policy-on-religious-holidays.html

**5. Students with disabilities:** To receive accommodations due to disability, students must be registered with the Moses Center; please present that registration to your recitation instructor no later than the second recitation meeting. Further information about the Moses Center can be found at www.ndyu.edu/csd.

**Required Books**

* Mazower, Mark. Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century. available for rent or purchase at NYU Bookstore
* Judt, Tony. Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945. Penguin, 2006. available for rent or purchase at NYU Bookstore
* McNamara, Kathleen R. The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union. Oxford University Press, USA, 2015. Available online through NYU Library Access.

## Class Overview

1. **Sept 5 2018 Introduction** 77 pages

Before we begin: The Modern State in Europe and the changing map of Europe

* + Tilly, Charles. “Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990,” 1990.pp. 45-53; 67-95
	+ Weber, Max. *Politics as a Vocation*. Fortress Press Philadelphia, PA, 1965. 27 pages
	+ Barkey, Karen. Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization. Cornell University Press, 1994. Introduction 23 pages

### Part One: Building Europe's Liberal Order

1. **September 12, 2018 Europe before WWII** 100 pages

In class map quiz

What were the causes for Europe's destabilization before WWII?

* + Mazower, Mark. Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century. Vintage, 2009. Pp. 3-75
	+ Polanyi, Karl. “The Great Transformation: Economic and Political Origins of Our Time.” Rinehart, New York, 1944.Ch. 1-2 pp. 3-32

Recommended Readings:

* + Sheri Berman the Social Democratic Moment
	+ Carr - The twenty Years Crisis
	+ Michel Dobry, “France: An Ambiguous Survival,” in Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Jeremy Mitchell, eds., Conditions of Democracy in Europe (NY: St. Martin’s Press, 2000).
1. **CLASS WILL MEET IN A SPECIAL DATE Monday 09.24 10am!!!**

**The New Order after WWII - Rehabilitation** 87 pages

What were the key challenges in 1945? What institutions were designed in Europe after WWII and why these specific institutions? How were security concerns alleviated? And economic concerns? What role did the US play?

* + Ikenberry, G. John. Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order. Princeton University Press, 2011.Ch. 5 pp. 159-207
	+ Judt, Tony. Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945. Penguin, 2006.pp. 86-128
	+ Monnet, Jean. “Jean Monnet: Memoirs.” London: Collins, 1978. ch. 11

Recommended

* + Steve Weber: Shaping the postwar balance of power

Primary resources: Marshal Plan; Truman Doctrine

1. September 26, 2018 The New Order after WWII - Economic Cooperation and European Integration 86 pages

What facilitated European cooperation? What was the position of each country in the initial stages? What were the key obstacles for European cooperation?

* + Moravcsik, Andrew. The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht. Routledge, 2013.pp. 135-158 and table on 92-93
	+ Haas, Ernst. “The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces,” 1950.pp. 3-31
	+ Jean Monnet Ch. 15 pp. 372-402
1. **October 3, 2018** **The Cold War East and West** 99 pages

Was the beginning of the cold war inevitable? What were the most important factors in the separation of East and Western Europe?

* + Judt pp. 145 last paragraph-153 end of second paragraph; 165-190
	+ Gaddis, John Lewis. “The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War.” Diplomatic History 7, no. 3 (1983): 171–190.
	+ Jervis, Robert. “Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?” 26pp
	+ Applebaum, Anne. Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe 1944-56. Penguin UK, 2012.Introduction 18pp

Recommended readings:

* + Wolff, Larry. Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment. Stanford University Press, 1994.- Introduction pp. 1-16
	+ Judt 197-225
	+ Dr. Strangelove
	+ The Spy who came from the Cold

### Part 2: Integration, Expansion, and Challenges of the European Liberal Order

1. **October 10, 2018 The Welfare State** 96 pages

Under what conditions are welfare states formed? What are the main implications of different welfare state models?

* + Judt - The Social Democratic Moment 360-389
	+ Baldwin, Peter. The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State, 1875-1975. Cambridge University Press, 1990. Introduction 36-54
	+ Milward, Alan. The European Rescue of the Nation State. Routledge, 1999 pp. 18-39
	+ Gosta Epsing Andersen - the Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism 9-33

Recommended:

* + Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure, and the Welfare State Huber ragin and Stephens 36 pages
	+ Claus Offe - Advanced Capitalism and the Welfare State
	+ Susan Pedersen -Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914-1945
	+ Mares: The politics of social risk: business and welfare state development
1. **October 17, 2018 – The 1968 Revolution** 98 pages

Project Proposal Due in Class!

Why was 1968 a global phenomenon? Did 1968 fail and if so, why? What were the implications of 1968? How do women experienced 1968 and revolutions more broadly?

* + Judt Revolutionaries New York Review of Books 4pp
	+ Ferrante, Elena. Those Who Leave and Those Who Stay: The Neapolitan Novels, Book Three. Text Publishing, 2014.ch. 13-14 7 pages
	+ Suri, Jeremi. Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente. Harvard University Press, 2009.164-212. Skim ch. 6
	+ Steinfels. “Paris, May 1968: The revolution that never was” NYT 4pp
	+ Singer: Prelude to Revolution France in 1968 The Meaning of May 3-35
1. **October 24, 2018 European Integration** 90 pages

Which processes drove Europe toward integration? What was the basis of shared European identity? Who were the key actors in the process of European integration? What are the challenges to integration? What is Europe's democratic deficit?

* + McNamara, Kathleen R. The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union. Oxford University Press, USA, 2015. 1-44
	+ <https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies_en> Read and watch videos on: European Parliament; European Council; Council of the European Union; European Commission; Court of Justice of the European Union; European Central Bank
	+ Habermas, Jürgen. “Why Europe Needs a Constitution.” Developing a Constitution for Europe 1 (2004): 19.17 pages
	+ Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. “Europe’s Blues: Theoretical Soul-Searching after the Rejection of the European Constitution.” PS: Political Science & Politics 39, no. 2 (2006): 247–250
* Benhabib, S., & Isiksel, T. (2006). Ancient Battles, New Prejudices, and Future Perspectives: Turkey and the EU. Constellations, 13(2), 218–233.16pp
1. **October 31, 2018 -1989** 101pages

What was the role of popular mobilization in the 1989 revolutions? What was the role of communist leaders? What was the role of Moscow? Why was 1989 so unpredictable? What were the challenges facing Eastern Europe in 1989?

* + Kuran, Timur. “Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989.” World Politics 44, no. 1 (1991): 7–48.
	+ Brinks and Coppedge “Diffusion is no Illusion” 22pp
	+ Valerie Bunce “The National Idea: Imperial Legacies and Post-Communist Pathways in Eastern Europe” 37pp

Recommended

* + Jedlicki, Jerzy. “The Revolution of 1989: The Unbearable Burden of History.” Problems of Communism 39, no. 4 (1990): 39.
	+ Savranskaya, Svetlana. “The Logic of 1989: The Soviet Peaceful Withdrawal from Eastern Europe.” Masterpieces of History: The Peaceful End of the Cold War in Europe, 1989, 1–47.
	+ Beissinger Nationalism and the Collapse of Soviet Communism
	+ David Remnick Lenin's Tomb
1. **November 7, 2018 The War in Yugoslavia and Russia and Europe after 1989** 90 pages

Should the US interfered in Yugoslavia? What caused the violence in Yugoslavia after the collapse of the Soviet Union? How did the relationship between Russia and Europe (and the US) develop after the end of the Cold War? What led Russia to turn away from liberalism? Could Europe and the US have taken steps that would have driven Russia in a different direction? What does the Russian case tell us about political change in Empires?

* Judt 665-685
* Gibbs First do no Harm 205-222
* Samantha Power,  *A Problem from Hell,* 503-517
	+ Mandelbaum, Michael. “Preserving the New Peace: The Case against NATO Expansion.” Foreign Affairs, 1995, 9–13.
	+ Fukuyama, Francis. “The End of History?” The National Interest, no. 16 (1989): 3–18.
	+ Neumann, Iver B. Russia and the Idea of Europe: A Study in Identity and International Relations. Routledge, 2013.. Conclusions

Recommended:

* + Russia after the Cold War - Bowker and Ross
	+ Primed for Peace: Europe after the Cold War - Van Evera
	+ Keohane, Nye and Hoffmann After the Cold War: international institutions and state strategies in Europe, 1989-1991

### Part 3: The Crisis of Europe's Liberal Order

1. **November 14, 2018 Crisis of Europe** 70 pages

To what extent does the current political situation in Europe threatens the liberal order formed after WWII? Is it fundamentally different than other political challenges since 1945?

* Ash, Timothy Garton. “The Crisis of Europe: How the Union Came Together and Why It’s Falling Apart.” Foreign Affairs, 2012, 2–15.
* Schmidt, Vivien A. “Where Is the European Union Today? Will It Survive? Can It Thrive?” 7pp
* Jones, Erik “Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration” Comparative Political Studies 18pp
* Stiglitz, J. (2016). The Euro: And its threat to the future of Europe. Penguin UK. Pp. 3-33
1. **November 21, 2018 – No Class. Happy Thanksgiving!!**
2. **November 28, 2018 Populism 88** pages

What is populism? What explains the rise of populist parties in Europe and elsewhere? What are some key differences between populist movements across the continent?

* Kriesi et al. “Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared” 33pp
* Mudde, Cas. “Europe’s Populist Surge: A Long Time in the Making.” *Foreign Aff.* 95 (2016): 25. 6pp
* "Europe's civil war of sovereignty is tearing its soul apart". Economist:

<https://www.economist.com/open-future/2018/07/18/europes-civil-war-of-sovereignty-is-tearing-its-soul-apart> 4pp

* Brubaker, Rogers. “Between Nationalism and Civilizationism: The European Populist Moment in Comparative Perspective.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40, no. 8 (2017): 1191–1226.
* Hobolt, S. B. (2016). The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent. Journal of European Public Policy, 23(9), 1259–1277.17 pp

Recommended:

* Müller, J.-W. (2017). What is populism? Penguin UK. - What Populists Say. 93-99
1. **Weeks 14 and 15: December 5 and December 12: Conclusions and Student Presentations**

**Extra week**: [if we have under ten students the following class will become week 9 and the rest of the schedule will move accordingly]

Southern Europe Democratization 74 pages

Why did Southern Europe democratize in the 1970? What made democracy stick? What was the role of the European Community? How did Southern Europe deal with legacies of the authoritarian past?

* + Linz, Juan J., and Alfred Stepan. Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe. JHU Press, 1996. pp. 87-115
	+ Bunce, Valerie. “Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations.” *Comparative Political Studies* 33, no. 6–7 (2000): 703–734.
	+ Magone, José María. The Politics of Southern Europe: Integration into the European Union. Vol. 203. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003.ch. 1 pp. 1-20

Recommended:

* + Judt 504-534
	+ Spain's Transition to Democracy Andrea Bonime Blanc
	+ Oxford Studies on culture and politics Della porta