# EURO-UA 950

# Contemporary Europe

# Center for European and Mediterranean Studies (CEMS)

# New York University, Fall 2020

Instructor Name: Hadas Aron

Office Hours: Thursdays 2-4PM and by appointment

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**Meeting times: Thursdays 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, short in-class writing and presenting assignments. Weekly podcast – the podcast is a substitute for a lecture and will be considered a part of class time **(10%)**
* **Two Take Home Mid Term Essays** **(50%)** During the semester there will be two take home essay exams. The dates for these will be: **The first midterm is due in class on week 7, October 15; The second midterm is due in class on week 11, November 12.** Students will be given a prompt a week before the midterm is due and asked to write an essay in response to the prompt. The length of each essay is between 1200 and 1500 words. The essys will develop a thesis and are not a summary of course materials. The material for each essay is not cumulative, though students can use in their essay sources from weeks not formally included in the material in addition to the relevant weeks’ readings. Late submissions will be penalized (see writing policies below).
* **Final take home exam (30%)** The final exam will also be an essay exam similar to the midterms but the material will be cumulative and the exam will include two essays. The final will be given to students on the last day of class (December 10) and is due back by Tuesday, December 15. Late submissions will be penalized (see writing policies below).
* **Leading discussion (10%)** Each group of student will be responsible to present the discussion topic in one week of the semester. This should be a 10 minute presentation of the main topic/s of the week, the readings, and key questions that emerge from them.

## 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. COVID-19:** See NYU’s policies on Covid conduct in the classroom at: <https://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance/policies-and-guidelines/building-access-policy.html>

And the university’s student conduct policy: <https://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance/policies-and-guidelines/university-student-conduct-policy.html>

**3. 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.

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

**5. 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.

**6. 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

**7. 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 (This year they are also available online at the NYU library)**

* Mazower, Mark. Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century.
* Judt, Tony. Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945. Penguin, 2006.

## Class Overview

1. **Sept 3 2020 Introduction** 47 pages

The Modern State in Europe, Democracy, and Democratization

* Dahl, R. A. (1973). Polyarchy: Participation and opposition. Yale University Press. pp. 1-11
* Tilly, Charles. “Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990,” 1990.pp. 45-53; 67-95
* Sheri Berman (2019) Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe. “Questions about Political Development”

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

1. **September 10, 2020 Europe before WWII** 73 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
1. **September 17, 2020 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. 159-169, 193-207 26pp
	+ Judt, Tony. Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945. Penguin, 2006.pp. 86-128
	+ Sheri Berman, Democracy and Dictatorship ch. 14
1. **September 24, 2020 - The New Order after WWII - Economic Cooperation and European Integration** 82 pages

What facilitated European cooperation? What were the key obstacles for European cooperation?

* + Mark Gilbert, European Integration: A Concise History, Rowman and Littlefield, 2012 ch. 3 22 pages
	+ Haas, Ernst. “The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces,” 1950.pp. 3-31
	+ Jean Monnet Ch. 15 pp. 372-402
1. **October 1, 2020 The Cold War East and West** 81 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

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

1. **October 8, 2020** - **The Welfare State** 76 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
	+ Kimberly Morgan “Review: Gender and the Welfare State: New Research on the Origins and Consequences of Social Policy Regimes” Comparative Politics 2001 21 pp
	+ Gosta Epsing Andersen - the Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism 9-33
1. **October 15, 2020 - The 1968 Revolution** 64 pages plus film

**First midterm essay is due in class today!!!**

Why was 1968 a global phenomenon? Did 1968 fail and if so, why? What were the implications of 1968? How did women experience 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
	+ Film – The World in Revolt
1. **October 22, 2020 – The Collapse of Bretton Woods** 80 pages

Why was the Bretton Woods system abandoned? In favor of what system? What were the consequences of this change in the short and long term?

* + Judt 453-503
	+ Jack Snyder 2019. “The Broken Bargain” 7pp
	+ McNamara 1999. “Consensus and Constraint: Ideas and Capital Mobility in European Monetary Integration” 22pp
1. **October 29, 2020 - Democratization in Southern Europe** 85 pages

How did the process of democratization occur in Southern Europe? What was the role of the European Community in this process? What conditions make democratic transitions successful?

* + Judt 504-534
	+ Linz and Stepan. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* 87-115
	+ Encarnacion. “Reconciliation after Democratization: Coping with the past in Spain” Political Science Quarterly. Vol. 123, No. 3 (Fall, 2008), pp. 435-459
1. **November 5, 2020 European Integration** 61 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?

* + Mark Gilbert, European Integration: A Concise History, Rowman and Littlefield, 2012 ch. 7 24 pages
	+ 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. **November 12, 2020 - 1989** 91 pages

**Second Midterm due in class today!!!!**

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?

* + Judt pp. 585-633
	+ Kuran Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989 42pp
1. **November 19, 2020 -1989** **The War in Yugoslavia and Russia and Europe after 1989** 90 pages plus film

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
* Film – The Death of Yugoslavia Episode 1 (but if interested watch the whole series!)
1. **November 26, 2020 – No Class. Happy Thanksgiving!!**

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

1. **December 3, 2020 Crisis of Europe** 70 pages plus film

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
* Film: 10 Years of Turmoil
1. **December 10, 2020 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?

* Mudde, Cas. “Europe’s Populist Surge: A Long Time in the Making.” *Foreign Aff.* 95 (2016): 25. 6pp
* Brubaker, Rogers. “Between Nationalism and Civilizationism: The European Populist Moment in Comparative Perspective.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40, no. 8 (2017): 1191–1226.
* Norris and Inglehart. 2016. “Trump Brexit and the Rise of Populism” 43pp
* Dani Rodrik “What is Driving Populism” 3pp