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**Political Science G8431: European Domestic Political Development**

Tuesdays, 4:10-6 pm (IAF 1302)

This is a graduate course in West European political development. The seminar will analyze important theoretical works, and debates about, the evolution of European political systems and institutions and place the European experience in comparative perspective. The aim is to prepare students for general exams and stimulate thinking about dissertation topics.

Requirements: Readings are very heavy and must be done *before* the seminar meeting. Each student will be required to write eight short papers (of 2-4 pages each) over the course of the term. These papers should engage the debates presented in the readings for the week. They should be thought pieces and will be used to help structure class discussions. *They must be emailed to me by 5 p.m. on the Monday before our class meeting.* The final project for the class will be a mock general exam in European political development. The short papers will count for 35% of the grade, class participation 25%, and the final project, 40%.

Course Readings: The following books have been ordered at Labyrinth Books for your convenience and future use.

- Peter Mair, ed., The West European Party System.
- Gianfranco Poggi, The Development of the Modern State
- Joseph Strayer, On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State
- Hendrik Spruyt, The Sovereign State and its Competitors
- Eugen Weber, Peasants into Frenchmen
- Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy

You need not buy any of these books; all readings will be on reserve at Lehman. You can also access the reserve material online via courseworks or the library's webpage.

There is also a website for the course that will lead you to the readings:

<http://eclipse.barnard.edu/~rhs2004/>

### **Week 1 (September 5) : Introduction**

### **Week 2 (September 12) : The Rise of the Modern State**

- David Held, "The Development of the Modern State," in Stuart Hall et al, eds., Modernity.
- Gianfranco Poggi, The Development of the Modern State, chapters 1-3.
- Joseph Strayer, On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State, esp. i.
- Charles Tilly, Coercion, Capital and European States, chaps. 1 and skim 3.
- Hendrik Spruyt, The Sovereign State and Its Competitors, chapters 1 and 2, at least skim 8 and 9.

Optional:

- Michael Howard, War in European History, esp. chapters 4-7.
- John Gerard Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations," IO, 47, 1, Winter 1993.

### **Week 3 (September 19): Nationalism and Nation Building**

- Eugen Weber, Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914, chapters 1 (pp. 3-12), 6, 7, 12, 17, 18, 28, 19.
- David A. Bell, The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, esp. the introduction, chapters 1, 6 and the conclusion.
- Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, esp. the introduction, chapters 1, 8 and the conclusion.
- Harold James, A German Identity, chapters 1 and 2.
- Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany, chapter 3.

### **Week 4 (September 26): Barrington Moore's Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy**

- Barrington Moore, The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Forward, Preface, chaps. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9.
- Theda Skocpol, "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy," Politics and Society, Fall 1973.

### **Week 5 (October 3): The Interwar Years**

- Ronald Rogowski, Commerce and Coalitions, chp. 3.
- Peter Gourevitch, "Breaking with Orthodoxy: the Politics of Economic Policy Responses to the Depression of the 1930s," IO, 38, 1, Winter 1984. (Or: Gourevitch, Politics in Hard Times, chap. 4)
- Margaret Weir and Theda Skocpol, "State Structures and the Possibilities for 'Keynesian' Responses to the Great Depression in Sweden, Britain and the U.S.," in Skocpol, et al, eds., Bringing the State Back In.
- Peter Hall, The Political Power of Economic Ideas, chapters 1 and 14.
- Gregory Luebbert, "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe," World Politics, 39, 4, July 1987.

### **Week 6 (October 10): The German Case**

- Hans Ulrich Wehler, The German Empire, pp. 32-73, 91-99, 232-246.
- Ralf Dahrendorf, Society and Democracy in Germany, chaps. 1-4, 24.
- David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, The Peculiarities of German History, pp. 1-28, 144-155, 159-175, 286-92. (Or Eley essay in Rethinking German History).
- Henry Ashby Turner, Hitler's Thirty Days to Power, chapters 1 and 7.

### **Week 7 (October 17): Understanding Fascism and National Socialism**

- Review Moore, Social Origins, chapter 8 and your notes from last week.
- Paolo Farneti, "Social Conflict, Parliamentary Fragmentation, Institutional Shift and the Rise of Fascism: Italy," in Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes. Europe.
- M. Rainer Lepsius, "From Fragmented Party Democracy to Government by Emergency Decree and National Socialist Takeover: Germany," in Linz and Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes. Europe.
- Robert Paxton, The Anatomy of Fascism, chapter 2.
- Michael Mann, Fascists, chapters 1 and 10.
- Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, chapter 5 ("Fascism"—Left, Right, and Center, esp. pages 127-37).
- George Mosse, "The Genesis of Fascism," Journal of Contemporary History, 1, 1, 1966.
- Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, chapter 10 (The Classless Society).
- Erich Fromm, Escape From Freedom, chapter 6 ("Psychology of Nazism").
- Walter Brustein, The Social Origins of the Nazi Party, chapter 1 and conclusion.
- Zeev Sternhell, "Fascist Ideology," in W. Lacquer, ed., Fascism: A Reader's Guide.
- Richard Wolin, The Seduction of Unreason, Preface and Introduction.

### **Week 8 (October 24): The Postwar Order**

- Charles Maier, "The Two Postwar Eras," in Maier, ed., In Search of Stability (Original: American Historical Review, 86, 2, April 1981).
- G. John Ikenberry, "A World Economy Restored," IO, 46, 1, Winter 1992.
- Clas Offe, "Comparative Party Democracy and the Welfare State," Policy Sciences, 15, 1983.
- John Gerard Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," IO, 36, 2, Spring 1982.
- Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology, Epilogue and Afterward.
- T. H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," (Especially sections from "The Development of Citizenship to the End of the Nineteenth Century" to "Social Rights in the Twentieth Century" reprinted in T.H. Marshall, Class, Citizenship and Social Development. Essays by T.H. Marshall).

### **Week 9 (October 31): The Development of Welfare States**

- Harold Wilensky, Rich Democracies. Political Economy, Public Policy, and Performance, chapter 5: "The Welfare State," pp. 211-216.
- Gøsta Esping-Andersen, The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, Introduction and chapter 1.
- Evelyn Huber and John Stephens, Development and Crisis of the Welfare State, Introduction, chapter 2 (14-32), chapter 3 (39-50, 79-84), skim chapter 5 paying attention to the comparative analysis at the end of the chapter.
- Peter Baldwin, The Politics of Social Solidarity, Introduction (esp. 1-31) and conclusion and skim chapter one.
- Peter Swenson, Capitalists Against Markets, chapters 1, skim 2 and 13.
- Ellen Immergut, "Institutions, Veto Points, and Policy Results: A Comparative Analysis of Health Care," Journal of Public Policy, 10, 4, 1990 (available at: <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/CompPol/Mitarbeiter/Immergut%20Veroeff.html>).
- David Cameron, "The Expansion of the Political Economy: A Comparative Analysis," American Political Science Review, Vol. 72 (1978), pp. 1243-61.

**[November 7: Election day, no class]**

### **Week 10 (November 14): Party Systems**

- Joseph LaPolombara and Myron Weiner, "The Origin and Development of Political Parties," in LaPolombara and Weiner, eds., Political Parties and Political Development (or chapter 1 in Peter Mair, ed., The West European Party System).
- Otto Kirchheimer, "The Transformation of the Western European Party System," in LaPolombara and Weiner, eds., Political Parties and Political Development (or chapter 5 in Mair, ed., The West European Party System).
- Maurice Duverger, Political Parties, Introduction, Book 1, chapters 1 and 2 (or chapter 3 in Mair, ed., The West European Party System).
- Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, Party Systems and Voter Alignments, pp. 1-64.
- Scott Flanagan and Russell Dalton, "Parties Under Stress: Realignment and Dealignment in Advanced Industrial Societies," West European Politics, 7, 1984 (or chapter 16 in Mair ed., The West European Party System).
- Ronald Inglehart, The Silent Revolution, chapter 2 (or chapter 17 in Mair, ed., The West European Party System).
- Ronald Inglehart and Scott Flanagan, "Value Change in Industrial Societies," American Political Science Review, 81, 4, 1987 (or chapter 19 in Mair ed., The West European Party System).

### **Week 11 (November 21): The Development of the European Community**

- Peter Cocks, "Towards a Marxist Theory of European Integration," IO, 34, 1, 1980.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Preferences and Power in the European Community: a Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach," Journal of Common Market Studies, 31, 4, 1993
- Geoffrey Garrett and George Tsebelis, "An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism," IO, 50, 2, Spring 1996.
- Paul Pierson, "The Path to European Integration," Comparative Political Studies, 29, 2, April 1996.
- Geoffrey Garrett and Barry Weingast, "Ideas, Interests and Institutions: Constructing the European Community's Internal Market," in Goldstein and Keohane, eds., Ideas and Foreign Policy.
- David Cameron, "Transnational Relations and the Development of European Economic and Monetary Union, in Risse-Kappen, ed., Bringing Transnational Relations Back In.
- Craig Parsons, "Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union," IO, 56, 1, Winter 2002.

### **Week 12 (November 28): The Future of the European Union**

- William Wallace, "Rescue or Retreat?: The Nation State in Western Europe, 1945-93," in Gowan and Anderson, eds., The Question of Europe.
- Larry Siedentop, Democracy in Europe, chaps. 1-3, 11.
- Thomas Banchoff and Mitchell P. Smith, Legitimacy and the European Union, Introduction.
- Thomas Risse, Maria Cowles and James Caporaso, eds., Transforming Europe, Introduction and Conclusion.
- Philippe Schmitter, "Democracy in Europe and Europe's Democratization," Journal of Democracy, 14, 4, October 2003.
- James Caporaso, "The European Union and Forms of State," JCMS, 34, 1, March 1996.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Despotism in Brussels?" Foreign Affairs, 80, 3, May/June 2001.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "In Defense of the Democratic Deficit," JCMS, 40, 4, 2002.
- Andrew Moravcsik and others in Prospect, 112, July 2005.
- Kate McNamara, "Towards a Federal Europe? The Euro and Institutional Change in Historical Perspective," in Tanja Borzal and Rachel Cichowski, eds., The State of the European Union (Oxford 2003).
- Jan Zielonka, Europe as Empire (Oxford)

### **Week 13 (December 5): Whither Europe?**

- Essays by Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida, Gianni Vattimo, Jürgen Kaube, Harold James, and Timothy Garton Ash and Ralf Dahrendorf in Daniel Levy, Max Pensky, John Torpey, eds., Old Europe, New Europe, Core Europe.  
**[Glun Morgan, Critical Review, 15, 2, 2003]**
- Fareed Zakaria, "Europe Needs a New Identity," Newsweek, November 21, 2005.
- T.R. Reid, The United States of Europe: The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy, chapters 6 and 7.
- Mark Leonard, Why Europe Will Run the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, chapters 6-8.
- Gary Becker, "Why Europe is Drowning in Joblessness," Business Week, April 8 1996, p. 22.
- Gosta Esping-Andersen, Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies, Introduction, parts 1 and 3.

-Krishan Kumar, "The Idea of Europe: Cultural Legacies, Transnational Imaginings, and the Nation-State," in Mabel Berezin and Martin Schain, eds., Europe Without Borders. Remapping Territory, Citizenship, and Identity in a Transnational Age.