Europe Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

Course Day & Times:
- Synchronous lectures (F2F & online): Tuesday 8th period and Thursday, 9th period
- Asynchronous: equivalent of ~1 period per week (online activities and assignments)
- Office Hours: TBD, via Zoom (link TBD)

Course objectives, description and goals:
This class will be organized around three themes (democracy, institutions, and identity - all broadly defined) and we will examine these themes across three historical periods (turn of the 20th century through the WWII, WWII through the fall of communism and from the mid 1990s to the present) to examine how the changing conceptualization and implementation of these themes has varied within and across Europe over time. The goal is to understand better the history that shaped the evolution of Europe and the European Union in the aftermath of WWII and to gain insight into the ways in which current events and trends are reminiscent (or not) of past patterns. Contextualizing contemporary Europe and the European Union within the continent's history provides a deeper understanding of current challenges and appreciation for the accomplishments of the European Union, as well as its potential failings.

NB: This course is very reading intensive, with an emphasis on discussion and active engagement through weekly online assignments, papers and in class-discussion. Please consider these aspects of the course and review the syllabus before deciding to take it.

Prerequisites
A basic "Introduction to Comparative Politics" course (such as CPO 2001) is strongly recommended, and experience in other European Studies, and especially an introductory EU Studies course (such as EUS 4210), though not formally required, will be very useful. Supplemental readings will be provided for those who desire/require them. Familiarity with 20th century European history will be helpful as well.

Attendance
Note that class attendance is required for this course. Attendance will be monitored during lectures and through participation in in-class discussions. Lecture notes and other related course materials discussed or distributed during class will NOT be posted online or otherwise distributed (except in the case of an *excused* absence).

According to the Office of the University Registrar, "acceptable reasons for absence from class include illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, and professional conferences), military obligation, severe weather conditions, religious holidays and participation in official university activities such as music performances, athletic competition or debate. Absences from class for court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena) must be excused."

For further information about the University of Florida's attendance policy, please see the current Undergraduate Catalogue

(http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationattendance.html).

Academic Honesty

Academic dishonesty, including cheating on exams and plagiarism, will not be tolerated. Any student engaging in such activities will be dealt with in accordance with University policy. It is your responsibility to know what constitutes plagiarism, and what the university policies are.

If you have doubts, we please discuss with the professor immediately (after the infringement is too late). Please refer to the current Undergraduate Catalogue for more information on the Student Honor code (http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/students.html). Students who have questions about these policies, should contact the undergraduate advisement center for additional information.

Students with Disabilities

If you have a disability that may affect your performance in this class, you should contact the Dean of Students Office so that special arrangements can be made to accommodate you. It is your responsibility to do so at the beginning of the semester and to communicate directly with the professor during the first week of classes (or as soon as the disability occurs).

Grading & Assessment

Students are responsible for completing all readings for the topic in question prior to attending the class.

- Reflection papers (#1=15%, #2=20% and #3=25% → total 60%)
- Weekly discussion posts (15%)
- Weekly Persuall article responses (15%)
- Participation (10%)

Grading Scale

94% - 100% = A 90% - 93% = A- 87% - 89% = B+ 84% - 86% = B 80% - 83% = B-
77% - 79% = C+ 74% - 76% = C 70% - 73% = C- 67% - 69% = D+ 64% - 66% = D
60% - 63% = D- < 60% = F

***Please note that the instructor reserves the right to make changes to this syllabus as needed during the course of the semester. As much advance warning as possible will be provided to students. Changes can be made to the schedule, assigned reading or other aspects as deemed necessary. No changes will be made to grading scale or core UF policies as noted above. ***

REQUIRED BOOK & MATERIALS

1. Bernard Crick (2002) Democracy, a Very Short Introduction, Oxford University Press.

2. Keith Lowe (2013). Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of WWII, Picador Press.

3. James Kirchik (2018). The End of Europe, Yale University Press.

4. David Runciman (2017). The Confidence Trap, Princeton University Press.

5. Various articles and book chapters assigned below in detailed syllabus. These will be available online or within Canvas files as needed.

COURSE SCHEDULE AND REQUIRED READINGS

Week 1 (January 12 & 14): Introduction to the class & core themes (democracy)
- *Introduction to the course*
- *Defining democracy*

Readings:
1. Martel, "Europe in Agony, 1900-1945" Introduction, pp. xxi-xxx in <u>A Companion to Europe 1900-1945</u>, Gordon Martel (Ed.) Blackwell Publishers, 2006. *(+ included maps)*
2. Crick, Chapters 1-2 pp 1-31 in <u>Democracy, a Very Short Introduction</u>, Oxford Press, 2002.

Week 2 (January 19 & 21): The Core Themes (cont.): Institutions & identity
- *Notions of identity in general and in European context*
- *What are political institutions and why do they matter?*

Readings:
1. Wilson and Van der Dussen, "1789-1848: different ideas of Europe", pp. 65-82 in <u>The History of the Idea of Europe</u>, Jutland Open University, London, 1993.
2. Charles Tilly, "Europe Transformed, 1945-2000" Chapter 2, pp. 17-35 in Chris Rumford (Ed.) <u>The Sage Handbook of European Studies</u>, 2009, Sage Publications, London, UK.
3. Congleton "Fine-Grained Constitutional Bargaining" Chapter 11 pp. 266-294, in <u>Perfecting Parliament, Constitutional Reform, Liberalism and the Rise of Western Democracy</u> 2011, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
4. Fischer, "1919: After Versailles" Chapter 24 pp. 293-303 in Isakhan and Stockwell (eds.) <u>History of Democracy: from Pre-history to Future Possibilities</u>, 2012, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, UK.

PART I: EUROPE YESTERDAY: FROM EMPIRE TO WORLD WAR(S)

Week 3 (January 26 & 28): Introduction Part I
- Europe before the Great War
- Europe between the wars

Readings:
1. Hobsbawm, "The Century: A birds-eye view, pp. 1-20 in <u>The Age of Extremes: The short 20th century 1914-1991</u>, Abacus Press, UK 1995.
2. Holzer, "The Heritage of the First World War" Chapter 1, pp. 7-19 in <u>Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe, 1919-39</u>, Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (eds.), Palgrave-McMillan Press (2002).
3. Waldron, "Politics: The Past and the Future" Chapter 11, pp. 166-179, in <u>A Companion to Europe 1900-1945</u>, Gordon Martel (Ed.) Blackwell Publishers, 2006.

Week 4 (February 2 & 4): Democracy
- *Democracy in context*
- *Citizenship and rights*

Readings:
1. Crick, Chapters 3-4 pp 32-68 in <u>Democracy, a Very Short Introduction</u>, Oxford Press, 2002.
2. Morgan, The First World War and the Challenge to Democracy in Europe, Chapter 5, pp. 69-88 in Spiering and Wintle (eds.) <u>Ideas of Europe since 1914: The Legacy of the First World War</u>, Palgrave McMillan Press, Basingstoke, UK, 2002.
3. Hobsbawm, E., "The fall of Liberalism," Chapter 4, pp. 109-140 in <u>The Age of Extremes: The Short 20th Century, 1914-1991</u>, Abacus Books, UK, 1995.
4. Fischer-Galati, "Sources of Authoritarianism in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe" Chapter 4, pp. 64-73 in <u>Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe, 1919-39</u>, Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (eds.), Palgrave-McMillan Press, 2002.

Week 5 (February 9 & 11): Institutions
- *Organizing empires*
- *Constitutionalizing the monarchy*

Readings:
1. Runciman, Chapters 1-2, pp. 35-110, <u>The Confidence Trap</u>, Princeton Univ. Press, 2017.
2. Roobol, "Aristide Briand's Plan: The Seed of European Unification" Chapter 3, pp. 32-46 in Spiering and Wintle (eds.) <u>Ideas of Europe since 1914: The Legacy of the First World War</u>, Palgrave McMillan Press, Basingstoke, UK, 2002.
3. Sıcakkan, H. "State Formation, Nation Building and Citizenship in Modern West European History," Chapter 2, pp. 37-62 in Sicakkan and Lithman (Eds) <u>Changing the Basis of Citizenship in the Modern State</u>, Edwin Mellen Press, New York, 2005.

Week 6 (February 16 & 18): Identity
- *Levels of identity*
- *The rise of nationalism*
- **Reflection Paper 1 Due (February 19th)**

Readings:
1. Thompson, "Building Nations and Crafting Democracies – Competing legitimacies in interwar Eastern Europe" Chapter 2, pp. 20-38 in <u>Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe, 1919-39</u>, Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (eds.), Palgrave-McMillan Press (2002).
2. Sharp, "Peacemaking after WWI" Chapter 17, pp. 261-276 in <u>A Companion to Europe 1900-1945</u>, Gordon Martel (Ed.) Blackwell Publishers, 2006.
3. Hirschhausen, "From Minority Protection to Border Revisionism: The European Nationality Congress, 1925–38" Chapter 4, pp. 87-109 in Conway and Patel (eds.) <u>Europeanization in the 20th Century</u>, Palgrave McMillan Press, Basingstoke, UK, 2010.

PART II: EUROPE TODAY: FROM ENEMY TO FRIEND

Week 7 (February 23 & ~~25~~): Introduction Part II
- The aftermath of the wars in Western Europe
- The aftermath of the wars in Eastern Europe

Readings:
1. Lowe, Chapters 1-7, pp. 3-74 in <u>Savage Continent, Picador Press</u>, 2013.
2. Atkin, N. "The Home Fronts: Europe at War, 1939-1945" Chapter 29, pp. 456-471 in <u>A Companion to Europe 1900-1945</u>, Gordon Martel (Ed.) Blackwell Publishers, 2006
3. Rasmussen, M. "Supranational governance in the making: Towards a European political system," Chapter 3, pp. 34-55 in, Kaiser, Leucht, and Rasmussen (Eds) <u>The History of the EU: Origins of a Trans- and Supranational Polity, 1950-1972</u>, Routlege, NY, 2009.

Week 8 (March 2 & 4): Democracy
- *The rebirth of democracy*
- *Redefining democracy*

Readings:
1. Lowe, Chapters 8-15, pp. 75-186 in <u>Savage Continent, Picador Press</u>, 2013.
2. Runciman, Chapter 3, pp. 111-144, <u>The Confidence Trap</u>, Princeton University Press, 2017.
3. Corduwener, P. Democracy as a Contested Concept in Post-War Western Europe: A Comparative Study of Political Debates in France, West Germany, and Italy. *The Historical Journal, 59*(1), 197-220, 2016.

Week 9 (March 9 & 11): Institutions
- *Implementing democratic norms*
- *The arrival of constitutionalism*
- *Emergence of modern political parties & Parliaments*
- *The emergence of the EU system*

Readings:
1. Lowe, Chapters 16-21, pp. 187-267 in <u>Savage Continent, Picador Press</u>, 2013.
2. Conway, "Democracy in Postwar Western Europe: The Triumph of a Political Model" *European History Quarterly,* Vol. 32(1), 59–84, 2002.
3. Caporaso, J.A., The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34: 29-52, 1996.

Week 10 (March 16 & 18): Identity
- *Them and us*
- *From European to EUropean*
- **Reflection Paper 2 (March 19th)**

Readings:
1. Lowe, Chapters 22-28 & Conclusion, pp. 271-380 in <u>Savage Continent, Picador Press</u>, 2013.

2. Inglehart, Ronald. "Cognitive Mobilization and European Identity." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 45–70, 1970.
3. Strath, Bo. "A European Identity: Historical Limits of a Concept" pp. 23-34, in Bahar Rumelili (Ed.) <u>Who are the Europeans? What is Europe?</u> Open Society Foundation Press, NY, 2016.
4. Bruter, M. "With Aforethought? Institutions, Symbols, and the Quest for a New Identity in Europe" Chapter 4, pp. 58-98 in <u>Citizens of Europe: The emergence of a mass European Identity</u>, Palgrave-McMillan, New York, 2005.

PART III: EUROPE TOMORROW: FROM PEACE TO POPULISM

Week 11 (March 23 & 25): Introduction Part III
- The fall of the wall and its implications
- The burden of the past and the cost of the future

Readings:
1. Kirchik, Intro & Chapter 1, pp.1-39, in <u>The End of Europe</u>, Yale University. Press, 2017.
2. Marcuse, "Memories of WWII and the Holocaust in Europe" Chapter 31, pp. 487-503 in <u>A Companion to Europe 1900-1945</u>, Gordon Martel (Ed.) Blackwell Publishers, 2006.
3. Corduwener P. "'Disconnect Romanticism from Politics': Democracy's Moderate Face in Cold War Western Europe," Chapter 10, pp. 187-203 in de Haan I., Lok M. (eds) <u>The Politics of Moderation in Modern European History</u>. Palgrave Macmillan, UK, 2019.
4. Ludlow, N. Piers "Not a wholly New Europe: how the integration framework shaped the end of the Cold War in Europe," pp. 133-152 in Bozo, Rödder, and Sarotte, (eds.) <u>German Reunification: A Multinational History</u>. Routledge, Abingdon, UK,

Week 12 (March 30 & April 1): Democracy
- *Democratic deficit*
- *Models of representation*

Readings:
1. Kirchik, Chapters 2-3, 40-108 in <u>The End of Europe</u>, Yale University. Press, 2017.
2. Crick, Chapters 5-7 pp 69-120 in <u>Democracy, a Very Short Introduction</u>, Oxford Press, 2002.
3. Runciman, Chapter 6, pp. 225-262, <u>The Confidence Trap</u>, Princeton University Press, 2017.
4. Schmidt, Vivien A. "Democracy in Europe: The Impact of European Integration." *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 761–779, 2005.
5. Pech, L., & Scheppele, K. Illiberalism Within: Rule of Law Backsliding in the EU. *Cambridge Yearbook of European Legal Studies, 19*, 3-47, 2017.

Week 13 (April 6 & 8): Institutions
- *Models of governance*
- *The evolution of EU institutions*

Readings:
1. Kirchik, Chapters 4-5, pp. 109-152 in <u>The End of Europe</u>, Yale Univ. Press, 2017.

2. Emanuele and Chiaramonte, 'A growing impact of new parties: Myth or reality? Party system innovation in Western Europe after 1945', Party Politics, 24(5), pp. 475–487, 2018.
3. Peter Mair & Jacques Thomassen, Political representation and government in the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17:1, 20-35, 2010.
4. Pirro A, Taggart P, van Kessel S., The populist politics of Euroscepticism in times of crisis: Comparative conclusions. *Politics*. Vol.38(3):378-390, 2018.

Week 14 (April 13 & 15): Identity
- *Internal divides (old/new; north/south)*
- *The return of nationalism*

Readings:
1. Kirchik, Chapters 6-7, pp. 153-202 in <u>The End of Europe</u>, Yale University Press, 2017.
2. Fossum,John-Erik, Identity-politics in the European Union, *Journal of European Integration*, 23:4, 373-406, 2001.
3. Fligstein, N., Polyakova, A. And Sandholtz, W., European Integration, Nationalism and European Identity. *Journal of Common Market Stu*dies, 50: 106-122, 2012.
4. Weßels, B. Discontent and European Identity: Three Types of Euroscepticism. *Acta Polita,* **42,** 287–306, 2007.

Week 15 (April 20): Conclusions/Wrap up
- What can we learn from history?
- What next? The end of the EU or…?
- **Reflection Paper 3 (due April 23rd)**

1. Kirchik, Chapter 8-Conclusion, pp. 203-230 in <u>The End of Europe</u>, Yale Univ. Press, 2017.
2. Runciman, Chapter 7, pp. 263-292 & epilogue, pp. 293-326, <u>The Confidence Trap</u>, Princeton Univ. Press, 2017.
3. Hodson, Dermot & Uwe Puetter, The European Union in disequilibrium: new intergovernmentalism, post-functionalism and integration theory in the post-Maastricht period, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:8, 1153-1171, 2019.
4. Jones, E. Towards a Theory of Disintegration, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 25, No. 3: 440-451, 2018.