

## Europe Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

### Course Day & Times:

- Tuesday 8<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> periods, Anderson 101 (when F2F), via Zoom when online
  - Tuesdays 8<sup>th</sup> period: Zoom Link TBD
  - Tuesdays 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> periods: Zoom Link TBD
- Note – this is a **Hybrid class**, details will be discussed during 1<sup>st</sup> week (via Zoom only)
- Office Hours: TBD, Zoom (only)

### 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 being taught in conjunction with an under-graduate section of a very similar course. Introductory lectures on Tuesdays 8<sup>th</sup> period will merge the two classes, the second two hours of class will be graduate students only.*

### Prerequisites

A background in comparative politics such as the core comparative politics seminar should be completed to make the most of this course. Previous experience with EU studies will also be helpful, addition background material on the EU and/or comparative politics can be provided for those with no previous experience/knowledge.

### Attendance

Note that class attendance is required for this course. Attendance will be monitored during lectures 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% → 60%) **or** Research paper (60%)
- Weekly discussion posts – in response to posted questions/prompts (10%)
- Discussion leader – in charge of drafting discussion questions (15%)
- Participation (15%)

### **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. Keith Lowe (2013). Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of WWII, Picador Press.
2. James Kirchik (2018). The End of Europe, Yale University Press.
3. David Runciman (2017). The Confidence Trap, Princeton University Press.
4. Bernard Crick (2002) Democracy, a Very Short Introduction, Oxford 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 A Companion to Europe 1900-1945, Gordon Martel (Ed.) Blackwell Publishers, 2006. (+ *included maps*)
2. Crick, Chapters 1-2 pp 1-31 in Democracy, a Very Short Introduction, Oxford University Press, 2002.
3. Schmitter and Karl, "What Democracy is and what it is not," *Journal of Democracy* 2(3), pp. 75-88, 1991.

### **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 The History of the Idea of Europe, Jutland Open University, London, 1993.
2. LLobera, Chapters 1-2, pp. 8-45 in Foundations of National Identity From Catalonia to Europe, Berghan books, New York, 2005.
3. Charles Tilly, "Europe Transformed, 1945-2000" Chapter 2, pp. 17-35 in Chris Rumford (Ed.) The Sage Handbook of European Studies, 2009, Sage Publications, London, UK.
4. Congleton "Fine-Grained Constitutional Bargaining" Chapter 11 pp. 266-294, in Perfecting Parliament, Constitutional Reform, Liberalism and the Rise of Western Democracy 2011, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
5. Fischer, "1919: After Versailles" Chapter 24 pp. 293-303 in Isakhan and Stockwell (eds.) History of Democracy: from Pre-history to Future Possibilities, 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 The Age of Extremes: The short 20<sup>th</sup> century 1914-1991, Abacus Press, UK 1995.
2. Holzer, "The Heritage of the First World War" Chapter 1, pp. 7-19 in Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe, 1919-39, Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (eds.), Palgrave-McMillan Press (2002).

3. Waldron, "Politics: The Past and the Future" Chapter 11, pp. 166-179, in A Companion to Europe 1900-1945, Gordon Martel (Ed.) Blackwell Publishers, 2006.
4. Wilson and Van der Dussen, "Europe 1914-1945: the nation supreme" pp. 83-150 in The History of the Idea of Europe, Jutland Open University, London, 1993.

#### **Week 4 (February 2 & 4): Democracy**

- *Democracy in context*
- *Citizenship and rights*

##### *Readings:*

1. Crick, Chapters 3-4 pp 32-68 in Democracy, a Very Short Introduction, Oxford Press, 2002.
2. Stephens and Kummel, "Class Structure and democratization" Chapter 3, pp. 39-63 in Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe, 1919-39, Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (eds.) Palgrave-McMillan Press, 2002.
3. Fischer-Galati, "Sources of Authoritarianism in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe" Chapter 4, pp. 64-73 in Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe, 1919-39, Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (eds.), Palgrave-McMillan Press, 2002.
4. Morgan, The First World War and the Challenge to Democracy in Europe, Chapter 5, pp. 69-88 in Spiering and Wintle (eds.) Ideas of Europe since 1914: The Legacy of the First World War, Palgrave McMillan Press, Basingstoke, UK, 2002.
5. Hobsbawm, E., "The fall of Liberalism," Chapter 4, pp. 109-140 in The Age of Extremes: The Short 20<sup>th</sup> Century, 1914-1991, Abacus Books, UK, 1995.

#### **Week 5 (February 9 & 11): Institutions**

- *Organizing empires*
- *Constitutionalizing the monarchy*

##### *Readings:*

1. Roobol, "Aristide Briand's Plan: The Seed of European Unification" Chapter 3, pp. 32-46 in Spiering and Wintle (eds.) Ideas of Europe since 1914: The Legacy of the First World War, Palgrave McMillan Press, Basingstoke, UK, 2002.
2. Karvonen and Quenter, "Electoral systems, Party System Fragmentation and Government Instability" Chapter 7, pp. 131-162 in Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe, 1919-39, Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (eds.), Palgrave-McMillan Press, 2002.
3. Mitchell, J., "Political Institutions and Political Stability" Chapter 8, pp. 163-175 in Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe, 1919-39, Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (eds.), Palgrave-McMillan Press, 2002.
4. Runciman, David, Chapters 1-2, pp. 35-110, The Confidence Trap: A History of Democracy in Crisis from WWI to the Present, Princeton University Press, 2018.
5. Hakan G. Sicakkan, "State Formation, Nation Building and Citizenship in Modern West European History," Chapter 2, pp. 37-62 in Sicakkan and Lithman (Eds) Changing the Basis of Citizenship in the Modern State, Edwin Mellen Press, New York, 2005.

**Week 6 (February 16 & 18): Identity**

- *Levels of identity*
- *The rise of nationalism*
- **Reflection Paper 1 Due or topic and initial puzzle for Research paper (February 18<sup>th</sup>)**

*Readings:*

1. Thompson, "Building Nations and Crafting Democracies – Competing legitimacies in interwar Eastern Europe" Chapter 2, pp. 20-38 in Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe, 1919-39, Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (eds.), Palgrave-McMillan Press (2002).
2. Tarchi, M., "The Role of Fascist Movements," Chapter 6, pp. 101-128 in Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe, 1919-39, Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (eds.), Palgrave-McMillan Press (2002).
3. Sharp, "Peacemaking after WWI" Chapter 17, pp. 261-276 in A Companion to Europe 1900-1945, Gordon Martel (Ed.) Blackwell Publishers, 2006.
4. Hirschhausen, "From Minority Protection to Border Revisionism: The European Nationality Congress, 1925–38" Chapter 4, pp. 87-109 in Conway and Patel (eds.) Europeanization in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, 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, K., Part 1, Chapters 1-7, pp. 3-74, Savage Continent, Picador Books, NY, 2013.
2. Judt, T., Chapter I, pp. 13-40 & Chapter III, pp. 63-99 in Post War: A History of Europe since 1945, Penguin Books, New York, 2005
3. Atkin, N. "The Home Fronts: Europe at War, 1939-1945" Chapter 29, pp. 456-471 in A Companion to Europe 1900-1945, Gordon Martel (Ed.) Blackwell Publishers, 2006
4. Rasmussen, M. "Supranational governance in the making: Towards a European political system," Chapter 3, pp. 34-55 in, Kaiser, Leucht, and Rasmussen (Eds) The History of the EU: Origins of a Trans- and Supranational Polity, 1950-1972, Routledge, NY, 2009.

**Week 8 (March 2 & 4): Democracy**

- *The rebirth of democracy*
- *Redefining democracy*

*Readings:*

1. Lowe, K., Part 2, Chapters 8-15, pp. 75-186, , Savage Continent, Picador Books, NY, 2013.
2. Runciman, David, Chapter 3, pp. 111-144, The Confidence Trap: A History of Democracy in Crisis from WWI to the Present, Princeton University Press, 2018.
3. Conway and Depkat "Towards a European History of the Discourse of Democracy: Discussing Democracy in Western Europe, 1945–60" Chapter 6, pp. 132-156 in Conway and

Patel (eds.) *Europeanization in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Palgrave MacMillan Press, Basingstoke, UK, 2010.

4. Bracher, Karl Dietrich. "Problems of Parliamentary Democracy in Europe." *Daedalus*, vol. 93, no. 1, pp. 179–198, 1964.
5. 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, K., Chapters 16-21, pp. 187-267, *Savage Continent*, Picador Books, NY, 2013.
2. Conway, "Democracy in Postwar Western Europe: The Triumph of a Political Model" *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 32(1), 59–84, 2002.
3. Van Biezen, I. "Constitutionalizing Party Democracy: The Constitutive Codification of Political Parties in Post-War Europe." *British Journal of Political Science*, v. 42, no. 1, pp. 187–212, 2012.
4. Espen D.H. Olsen, The origins of European citizenship in the first two decades of European integration, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15:1, 40-5, 2008.
5. Peterson, John, Decision-making in the European Union: Towards a framework for analysis, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2:1, 69-93, 1995.
6. 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 or abstract and outline of Research paper (March 18<sup>th</sup>)**

#### *Readings:*

1. Lowe, K., Chapters 22-28 and Conclusion, pp. 271-380, , *Savage Continent*, Picador Books, NY, 2013.
2. Judt, T., Chapter IV, pp. 100-128 in *Post War: A History of Europe since 1945*, Penguin Books, New York, 2005.
3. Inglehart, Ronald. "Cognitive Mobilization and European Identity." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 45–70, 1970.
4. Strath, Bo "A European Identity: To Historical Limits of a Concept" pp. 23-34 in Bahar Rumelili (Ed.) *Who are the Europeans? What is Europe?* Open Society Foundation Press, New York, 2016.

5. Bugge, 'Shatter Zones': The Creation and Re-creation of Europe's East, Chapter 4, pp. 47-68 in Spiering and Wintle (eds.) Ideas of Europe since 1914: The Legacy of the First World War, Palgrave MacMillan Press, Basingstoke, UK, 2002.
6. Bruter, M. "With Aforethought? Institutions, Symbols, and the Quest for a New Identity in Europe" Chapter 4, pp. 58-98 in Citizens of Europe: The emergence of a mass European Identity, Palgrave-McMillan, New York, 2005.
7. Bee, Cristiano., The 'Institutionally Constructed' European Identity: Citizenship and Public Sphere Narrated by the Commission, *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 9:4, 431-450, 2008.

### 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. Kirchick, J., Introduction & Chapter 1, pp.1-39, The End of Europe, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2017.
2. Marcuse, "Memories of WWII and the Holocaust in Europe" Chapter 31, pp. 487-503 in A Companion to Europe 1900-1945, Gordon Martel (Ed.) Blackwell Publishers, 2006.
3. Judt, T., Chapters XX-XXI, pp. 637-700 in Post War: A History of Europe since 1945, Penguin Books, New York, 2005
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.) German Reunification: A Multinational History. Routledge, Abingdon, UK,
5. Corduener 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) The Politics of Moderation in Modern European History. Palgrave Macmillan, UK, 2019.

#### Week 12 (March 30 & April 1): Democracy

- *Democratic deficit*
- *Models of representation*

#### Readings:

1. Kirchick, J., Chapters 2-3, 40-108, The End of Europe, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 2017.
2. Crick, Chapters 5-7 pp 69-120 in Democracy, a Very Short Introduction, Oxford University Press, 2002.
3. Norris, "Representation and the Democratic Deficit" pp. 510-515 in Dahl, Shapiro and Cheibub (eds.) The Democracy Source Book, MIT Press, 2003.
4. Runciman, David, **Chapter 6, pp. 225-262**, The Confidence Trap: A History of Democracy in Crisis from WWI to the Present, Princeton University Press, 2018.
5. Schmidt, Vivien A. "Democracy in Europe: The Impact of European Integration." *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 761-779, 2005.

6. Nicoli, F. “Democratic Deficit and Its Counter-Movements: The Eurocentric–Euro sceptic Divide in Times of Functional Legitimacy” pp. 13-30 in, Baldassari et al (eds.) Anti-Europeanism: Critical Perspectives Towards the EU, Springer, Switzerland, 2020.
7. Bugaric, B., Kuhelj, A. Varieties of Populism in Europe: Is the Rule of Law in Danger? *Hague Journal on the Rule Law*, 10, 21–33, 2018.
8. 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. Kirchick, J., Chapters 4-5, pp. 109-152, The End of Europe, Yale University Press, New Haven, 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. Mair, Peter, Political Opposition and the European Union. *Government and Opposition*, 42(1), 1-17, 2007.
4. Peter Mair & Jacques Thomassen, Political representation and government in the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17:1, 20-35, 2010.
5. Börzel, T.A., Member State Responses to Europeanization. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40: 193-214, 2002.
6. Ladrech R. Europeanization and Political Parties: Towards a Framework for Analysis. *Party Politics*, 8(4):389-403, 2002.
7. Ray, L. Mainstream Euroscepticism: Trend or Oxymoron? *Acta Polita* 42, 153–172, 2007.
8. Pirro AL, 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. Kirchick, J., Chapters 6-7, pp. 153-202, The End of Europe, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2017.
2. Judt, T., Part 4, Chapters XXII-XIII, pp. 701-776 in Post War: A History of Europe since 1945, Penguin Books, New York, 2005.
3. Kohli, M. The Battlegrounds of European Identity, *European Societies*, 2:2, 113-137, 2000.
4. Fossum, John-Erik, Identity-politics in the European Union, *Journal of European Integration*, 23:4, 373-406, 2001.
5. Cerutti, F. “How not to (mis)understand political identity in the European Union” Chapter 1, pp. 3-15 in Lucarelli, Cerutti and Schmidt (eds.) Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union, Routledge, NY, 2011.



6. LLobera, “The Future of Nations in a United Europe,” Chapter 9, pp. 159-177 in Foundations of National Identity: From Catalonia to Europe, Berghan books, New York, 2005.
7. Fligstein, N., Polyakova, A. And Sandholtz, W., European Integration, Nationalism and European Identity. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50: 106-122, 2012.
8. 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 or Research Paper (due April 23<sup>rd</sup>)**
1. Kirchick, J., Chapter 8 and Conclusion, pp. 203-230, The End of Europe, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2017.
  2. Judt, T., Chapter XIV, pp. 777-802 in Post War: A History of Europe since 1945, Penguin Books, New York, 2005.
  3. Runciman, David, Chapter 7, pp. 263-292 & epilogue, pp. 293-326, The Confidence Trap: A History of Democracy in Crisis from WWI to the Present, Princeton Univ. Press, 2018.
  4. Hodson, Dermot & Uwe Puetter, Studying Europe after the fall: four thoughts on post-EU studies, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25:3, 465-474, 2018.
  5. 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.