

THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN EUROPE

Why do some nations manage to secure and consolidate democracy while others slide into dictatorship or fascism? What factors and ideas conditioned the development of the modern state? How do nations manage the political challenges generated by rapid economic development? These are major issues facing many nations today but also ones that the countries of Western Europe confronted in past centuries. The object of this course is to consider what can be learned about democratization and processes of political change from the historical experience of four European nations, Britain, France, Germany and Italy. It concentrates on the character of each nation's response to the common problems associated with the transition from feudalism, the democratic revolutions, industrialization, and the arrival of mass politics. The course provides an overview of modern European history, useful as background for further work on Europe or in social and political theory, covers analytical issues in political development, and explores the construction of modern politics.

Course Requirements

Two 8 page papers on a topic handed out one week before the paper is due and based entirely on required readings already assigned for class (25% and 35% of the grade). The first topic will probably be handed on Oct 25th for return on Nov 1st and the second handed out on Nov 29th for return on Dec 6th.

A final examination. (30% of the grade).

Participation in weekly discussion sections (10% of the grade).

The course surveys a great deal of European history rapidly. It assumes no prior historical knowledge. Each week combines readings from *A History of Modern Europe* by John Merriman with essays that explore the analytical issues of the course. Further sources are listed for each week's topics but they are for those who wish to follow up specific topics and not required reading for the course.

The following books are available for purchase at the Coop: Gianfranco Poggi, *The Development of the Modern State*, John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 2nd edition, Barrington Moore Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*; Lawrence Stone, *Causes of the English Revolution 1529-1642*. Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, Christopher Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy*, John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union*. The book by William Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power* should be ordered from Amazon or found in used bookstores. A sourcebook containing most of the remaining readings for the class is also available.

The head teaching fellow for the course is Sean McGraw (mcgraw@fas.harvard.edu)

Course Outline and Required Readings

I. (20-22 Sept) **INTRODUCTION**

- i. The Problematic of the Course
- ii. Feudalism and the Medieval Age

II. (27-29 Sept) **THE FORMATION OF MODERN STATES**

- i. The Military Revolution and the Making of Modern States
- ii. Explaining Variations in Modern States

Gianfranco Poggi, *The Development of the Modern State* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), chs. 2, 3 and 4.

Further Sources

Thomas Ertman, *Birth of the Leviathan* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. (London, Verso 1974).

Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1975).

III. (4-6 Oct) **FROM ABSOLUTISM TO DEMOCRACY: ONE APPROACH**

- i. The Commercialization of Agriculture
- ii. Alternative Approaches to Democratization

Barrington Moore, Jr., *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), Introduction, Chapters I, II, VII, VIII.

Further Sources

Brian Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Philip S. Gorski, "Calvinism and State-Formation in Early Modern Europe," in George Steinmetz, ed., *State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999): 147-181.

Theda Skocpol, "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins*," *Politics and Society* 4 (Fall 1973): 1-34.

IV. (11-13 Oct) **SOCIAL FORCES IN THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION OF THE 1640s**

- i. The Background to Revolution
- ii. Revolution, Civil War or Reform Process? Alternative Approaches

John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*. 2nd ed. (NY: Norton, 2004), pp. 222-248.

Lawrence Stone, *Causes of the English Revolution* (NY: Harper 1972), ch. 3.

Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965). Pp. 1-38, 148-83, 290-310.

Further Sources

Conrad Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution 1603-1714*. (NY: Norton 1984).

Jack Goldstone, "The English Revolution: A Structural-Demographic Approach" in Jack Goldstone, ed., *Revolutions*. (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1996): 88-103..

V. (18-20 Oct) **STRUCTURES AND IDEAS IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789**

- i. Four Revolutions in One
- ii. Causes and Consequences: Competing Theories

Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, chs. 12 and 13..

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 3-67, 112-128, and 174-205.

Further Sources

William Doyle, *The Origins of the French Revolution*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

R.R. Palmer, *The World of the French Revolution*. (NY: Harper, 1971)..

William Sewell, "Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case," *Journal of Modern History* (1985), pp. 57-85.

VI. (25-27 Oct) **MAKING MARKETS: THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION**

- i. The Political Preconditions for Industrialization
- ii. Alternative Paths toward Industrial Society

Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*. ch. 14 and pp. 814-24.

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), chs. 3 to 8 and 10 to 14.

Further Sources:

Alexander Gerschenkron, , *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective and other Essays*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).

Tom Kemp, *Industrialization in Nineteenth Century Europe*. (London: Longman, 1969).

Joel Mokyr, ed., *The Economics of the Industrial Revolution*. (NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 1985).

James Kurth, "The Political Consequences of the Product Cycle," *International Organization* 33,1 (Winter 1979): 1-34.

VII. (1-3 Nov) **GRADUAL DEMOCRATIZATION: 19TH CENTURY BRITAIN**

- i. The Reform Acts
- ii. Consolidating Democracy

Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 661-669 and 747-770.

T. H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class" in Marshall, *Class, Citizenship and Social Development* (New York: Anchor, 1965), ch. 4.

Trygve Tholfsen, "The Transition to Democracy in Victorian England" in Peter Stansky, ed., *The Victorian Revolution*. (NY: Franklin Watts, 1973), pp. 169-198.

Further Sources

Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Edward P. Thompson, "Work, Time and Industrial Capitalism" *Past and Present* 38 (1967): 56-97.

Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969).

VIII. (8-10 Nov) **TURBULENT DEMOCRATIZATION: 19TH CENTURY FRANCE**

- i. The Political Regimes of 19th Century France
- ii. Democracy and the IIIrd Republic

Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 644-651, 671-676, 684-5, 696-701, 784-813.

Stanley Hoffmann et al., *In Search of France* (NY: Harper, 1963), pp. 1-21.

Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times*. 5th ed. (NY: Norton, 1995). Pp. 205-254.

Further Sources

Robert Tombs, *France 1814-1914*. (London: Longman, 1996).

Philip Nord, "The Origins of the Third Republic in France, 1860-1885" in George Andrews and Herrick Chapman, eds., *The Social Construction of Democracy, 1870-1990*. (NY: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 31-55.

Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976).

IX. (15-17 Nov) **IS THERE A 'SONDERWEG' ? 19TH CENTURY GERMANY**

- i. The Achievement of German Unification
- ii. The Political Synthesis of the Second Reich

Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 676-8, 686-90, 720-36.

Arthur Rosenberg, *Imperial Germany*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), ch. 1.

Sheri E. Berman, "Modernization in Historical Perspective: The Case of Imperial Germany," *World Politics* 53, 3 (April 2001): 431-62.

Further Sources

Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *The German Empire 1871-1918*. (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1985).

David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of Germany History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

Peter Gourevitch, "International Politics, Domestic Coalitions and Liberty," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (1977), pp. 281-313.

(22 Nov) **THE LIMITS OF LIBERALISM: 19TH CENTURY ITALY**

- i. The Process of Italian Unification
- ii. The Politics of *Trasformismo*

Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 681-84, 694-96, 707-720.

Christopher Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chs. 5, 6 and 7.

Lucy Riall, "Elite Resistance to State Formation: The Case of Italy" in Mary Fulbrook, ed. *National Histories and European History* (London: UCL Press, 1993), pp. 46-68.

Further Sources

A. William Salomone, ed., *Italy from Risorgimento to Fascism* (NY: Praeger 1970),

Edward Tannenbaum and Emiliana Noether, eds., *Modern Italy*. (NY: New York University Press, 1974).
John A. Davis, "Remapping Italy's Path to the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Modern History* 66,2 (June 1994): 291-320.

XI. (29 Nov-1 Dec) **DEMOCRACY'S COLLAPSE: GERMANY AND ITALY**

- i. The Challenges of Mass Politics
- ii. The Rise of Fascism

Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 1083-1141.

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), chapters 1 and 2 by Lepsius and Passeti.

William Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power*. (NY: Franklin Watts, 1984), chapters 2 to 5, 7 to 12, and 20.

Further Sources

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), chs. 19 and 20.

Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship*. 4th ed. (London: Edward Arnold 2000)

Martin Blinkhorn, *Mussolini and Fascist Italy*. (NY: Methuen 1984).

XII. (6-8 Dec) **HISTORICAL LEGACIES AND POST-WAR PARTY POLITICS**

- i. The Origins of Party Systems
- ii. The Challenges to Party Systems

Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 1232-36, 1290-98.

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds., *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. (NY: Free Press, 1967, pp. 1-64.

Herbert Kitschelt, "European Party Systems: Continuity and Change" in Martin Rhodes, Paul Heywood and Vincent Wright, eds., *Developments in West European Politics*. (London: Macmillan 1997), pp. 131-150.

Further Sources

Otto Kirchheimer, "The Transformation of European Party Systems," in Joseph LaPalombara and Martin Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).

Claus Offe, "New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics," *Social Research* (Winter 1985), pp. 817-68.

XIII. (13-15 Dec) **POST-WAR POLITICS: A POST-MODERN ERA?**

- iii. The Origins of Party Systems
- iv. The Legacy for Policy Systems

Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 1232-36, 1290-98, 1343-58.

Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Changing Class Structure and Contemporary European Politics," in Stephen Graubard, ed., *A New Europe?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 337-369.

Michel Crozier, "Western Europe" in Michel Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington and Joji Watanuke, *The Crisis of Democracy*. (New York: New York University Press 1975), chapter 2.

Further Sources

Suzanne Berger, ed., *Organizing Interests in Western Europe* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Colin Crouch, "Sharing Public Space: States and Organized Interests in Western Europe" in John A. Hall, ed., *States in History*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp. 177-210.

Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

XIV. (20 Dec) **THE EUROPEAN UNION AND TODAY'S CHALLENGES**

- i. Understanding the European Union
- ii. Globalization and Democracy

John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union*. 2nd ed. (Houndmills: Palgrave 2002), chs. 3 and 4.

Marcus Horeth, "No Way Out for the Beast? The Unsolved Legitimacy Problem of European Governance," *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, 2 (June 1999): 249-68.

Andrew Moravcsik, "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, 4 (November 2002): 603-24.

Further Sources

Peter Gowan and Perry Anderson, eds., *The Question of Europe* (London: Verso 1997).

Suzanne Berger and Ronald Dore, eds., *National Diversity and Global Capitalism*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).