

GOVERNMENT 1170:

NATION-BUILDING, DEMOCRACY, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE

Course Time: Tuesdays, Thursdays 11-12,

Location: Sever Hall 213

Office Hours: Tuesdays 1:30-4 pm.

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Contemporary Europe's past is filled with murderous conflicts over religion, violent political revolutions, traumatic economic changes, and hard-fought battles over democracy. This is a course in European political development that explores how western and eastern Europe dealt with the challenges of political and economic modernization that still wrack many countries today. We examine the themes of feudalism, absolutism, revolution, industrialization, democratization, post-communist transition, and the European Union in order to address core questions of comparative politics: What explains the emergence of effective state institutions in Europe, and what explains the diversity of state structures across Early Modern Europe? Why, and with what consequences did industrialization begin in Northwestern Europe? What were the consequences of late industrialization for the development of political institutions on Europe's eastern edges? What explains the uneven history of mass democracy across the European continent in the 19th and 20th centuries? In the post World War II period, has the European Union becoming a "superstate" where inter-state conflict is becoming obsolete? And, finally, in the wake of the Cold War, is it possible for late-developers to overcome the legacies of the past to rejoin Europe's core?

After taking this course, students will possess an appreciation and knowledge of the political currents running through contemporary European politics. Students will be able to extract from the past lessons for the challenges of democratization and nation-building today. An aim of the course is to provide students with historical and analytical context for understanding contemporary European politics and is thus recommended for students who plan to do further work on contemporary European politics.

Requirements (and weighting in final grade)

1. Exam #1, (In-Class) Thursday, October 19: 20%
2. Exam #2, (Take-Home), Due Tuesday November 21: 30%
3. Final Exam, covering the material from the entire course: 40%
4. Participation in weekly sections: 10%

Course Readings: The course reading will consist of a two-volume course reading packet available at the Gnomon Copy Shop (Mass Ave.), readings available online, as well as four books, all of which are available either for purchase at the COOP or to check out from reserve at Lamont Library.

Books Available for Purchase at the Coop and also available on Reserve at Lamont Library)

- Gianfranco Poggi, The Development of the Modern State (Stanford, 1978)
- Andrew C. Janos, East Central Europe in the Modern World (Stanford, 2002)
- Daniel Ziblatt, Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism (Princeton University Press, 2006)

Not required: John Merriman, History of Modern Europe (Norton, 1996).
Though not required, I recommend this book; it is the main historical text that provides an overview of the historical events of the period we are covering. It is an important source book for the course.

All Other Readings are Available online or in course reader (as noted on reading schedule below)

READING SCHEDULE

PART I: STATE-BUILDING: FROM FEUDALISM TO ABSOLUTISM AND REVOLUTION

Week 1: (September 19/21): Introduction

- i. *Introduction*
- ii. *The State and the Problem of Order*

Max Weber, "Politics as Vocation" from Gerth and Mills Essays in Sociology (1958), 77-83 [Course Reader]

Andrew Janos, "The Politics of Backwardness in Continental Europe, 1780-1945" World Politics (April 1989), pp. 325-358. [Online]

William Sewell, "Marc Bloch and the Logic of Comparative History" History and Theory volume 6, number 2 (1967), pp. 208-218. [Online]

Week 2 (September 26/28): Feudalism

- i. *Defining Feudalism*
- ii. *Feudalism: East-West Variations and Legacies*

Gianfranco Poggi, "The Feudal System of Rule" and "The *Staendestaar*" from The Development of the Modern State (1978), pp. 16-59. [Reserve/Coop]

Marc Bloch, "Disorder and the Efforts to Combat It" and "Towards the Reconstruction of States" from Feudal Society, Volume 2, pp. 408-437. [Course Reader]

Andrew Janos, "East Central Europe: A Historical Overview" in East Central Europe in the Modern World (2002), pp. 29-53. [Reserve/Coop]

Week 3: (October 3/5) The Exit from Feudalism: State-Building and Absolutism, Part I

i. Defining States, Defining Absolutism

ii. Religion, Shifts in the International System, and the Rise of Absolutism

Gianfranco Poggi, "The Absolutist System of Rule," from The Development of the Modern State (1978), pp. 60-85. [Reserve/Coop]

Richard Dunn, "Calvinism and Catholicism in Western Europe" and "Political Disintegration in Central and Eastern Europe" in The Age of Religious Wars (1978), pp. 11-102 [Course Reader]

Week 4: (October 10/12): The Exit from Feudalism: State-Building and Absolutism, Part II

i. Economic and Military Transformations and the Rise of Absolutism

ii. Towards a Fiscal-Military Theory of State-Building

Hendrick Spruyt, "The Economic Renaissance of the Late Middle Ages" The Sovereign State and its Competitors, (1994), p. 61-76 [Course Reader]

Brian Downing, "The Military Revolution," "Brandenburg-Prussia," "Poland" in The Military Revolution (1992) pp. 56-83; pp. 84-112; pp. 140-156 [Course Reader]

Charles Tilly, "War Making and State-Making as Organized Crime" in Theda Skocpol et al (eds) Bringing the State Back In (1985), pp. 169-191. [Course Reader]

Week 5: (October 17): The Limits of Absolutism: The English Revolution and the French Revolution

i. The English Revolution and the Limits of Absolutism

ii. The French Revolution, the Destruction of Absolutism, and Legacies

Brian Downing, "France" and "England" The Military Revolution (1992) pp. 113-139, pp. 157-186. [Course Reader]

Alexis de Tocqueville, The Old Regime and the French Revolution, Chapters 9 and 10, pp. 81-108 (1856) [1955] [Course Reader]

Barrington Moore, "The Democratic Route to Modern Society" Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (1966), p. 413-432. [Online]

Optional Historical Background: John Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, (1996) pp. 232-260; 493-547

MIDTERM EXAM #1 (IN CLASS): Thursday, October 19

PART II: PATHWAYS TO DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE

Week 6 (October 24/26): Europe's Early Developer: Industrialization and Democratization in Britain

- i. The Industrial Revolution: The Engine of Democratization?*
- ii. The Rise of Democracy and the Birth of Electoral Politics in Britain*

E.J. Hobsbawm, "The Industrial Revolution" (Chapter 2) in The Age of Revolution, pp. 44-73. [Course Reader]

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

Robert Dahl, Polyarchy (Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 1-16. [Course Reader]

Gabriel Almond, "Capitalism and Democracy" PS: Political Science and Politics v24, n. 3 (1991): 467-474 [online]

Optional Background: John Merriman (1996), pp. 629-637; 787-806.

Week 7 (October 31/November 2): On the Periphery: Development and Democratization on the Eastern Edges of Europe

- i. The Challenges of Late Industrialization*
- ii. The Consequences of Late Industrialization for Democratization and State-Building*

Andrew Janos, "Liberalism and the Nation-State" in East Central Europe in the Modern World, pp. 54-124 [Reserve/Coop]

Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limogni, "Modernization: Theories and Facts" World Politics 49 (2) January 1997: 155-183 [Online]

Week 8 (November 7/9): The Semi-Periphery: Germany as a Challenge to Modernization Theory?

- i. The Political Economy of Late National Unification*
- ii. The Political Synthesis of the Second Reich*

Daniel Ziblatt, Structuring the State, pp. 32-56; 109-140. [Reserve/Coop]

Hans-Ulrich Wehler, The German Empire, pp. 52-71. [Course Reader]

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

Week 9 (November 14/16): The Semi-Periphery, Part II: Italian Unification

i. Italian Unification

ii. The Challenges of Democratization in Italy

Daniel Ziblatt, Structuring the State, pp. 57-78; 79-108 [Reserve/Coop]

A. William Salomone, Italian Democracy in the Making: The Political Science in the Giolittian Era, 1900-1914 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), pp. 13-33; [Course Reader]

Luigi Graziano, "Patron-Client Relationships in Southern Italy" European Journal of Political Research 1 (1973), 3-34. [Online]

Optional Background: John Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, pp. 753-765

MIDTERM EXAM #2 (Take Home Exam), Due at the beginning of Lecture Tuesday, November 21

Part III: MAKING DEMOCRATIC NATION-STATES? EUROPE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Week 10 (November 28/30): The Politics of Interwar Europe: The Crisis of Democracy

i. The International Conditions of Democracy's Demise

ii. The Social Conditions of Democracy's Failure and Demise

Gregory Luebbert, "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe," World Politics 34, no. 4 (July 1987), pp. 449-78 [Online]

Andrew Janos, "The Crisis of Liberalism" East Central Europe, pp. 125-217 [Reserve/Coop]

Optional Background: John Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, pp. 1175-1186; 1206-1222

Week 11 (December 5/7) The European Union: The Rescue of the Democratic Nation-State or Nascent Super State?

i. The Origins and Institutions of the European Union

ii. What Future for Europe?

George Ross, "Politics and Economics" and "European Institutions" European Politics in Transition, pp. 46-75; 79-102 [Course Reader]

Glyn Morgan, "Hayek, Habermas, and Europe" Critical Review 15, n. 2 (2003): 1-22.
[Online]

Niall Ferguson, "Empire: Europe Between Brussels and Byzantium" Colossus: the Price of America's Empire pp. 227-257 [Course Reader]

Week 12: (December 12/14): Postcommunist Political and Economic Domestic Transitions in Eastern Europe

i. Dilemmas of Democratization and Economic Reform

ii. Dilemmas of Postcommunist State-Building

Adam Przeworski, "The Politics Dynamics of Economic Reform" in Democracy and the Market (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 136-161. [Course Reader]

Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions" World Politics Volume 50, Number 2 (1998), pp. 203-234. [Online]

Conor O'Dwyer, "Runaway State Building: How Political Parties Shape States in Postcommunist Eastern Europe" World Politics Volume 56, Number 4, July 2004, pp. 520-553 [Online]

Week 13 (December 19/21): "May the Boundaries Fall": EU Expansion, Democratization, and the Reuniting of Europe?

i. Why Did the EU Enlarge?

ii. The Impact of Enlargement on the Eastern Europe

Frank Schimmelfennig, "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union" International Organization 55, 1 (2001), 47-80, [Online]

Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudov, "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement" Working Paper, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, (2002) [Online]

Andrew C. Janos, "From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony" East Central Europe Under Two International Regimes East European Politics and Societies Vol. 15 (2) (2001): 221-249. [Online]