

**THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY  
PAUL H. NITZE  
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**EUROPEAN STUDIES  
2009-2010**

WASHINGTON DC AND BOLOGNA, ITALY.

**SYLLABUS FOR  
M.A. COMPREHENSIVE  
EXAMINATIONS**

*Revised July, 2009*

# EUROPEAN STUDIES AT SAIS

European Studies is organized around three comprehensive examinations – each given three times a year (September, January and April/May). There are no formal course requirements except that candidates are expected to take at least one country course from among those offered on France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom. All this is spelled out in more detail below.

## THE EUROPEAN COMPREHENSIVE EXAMINATIONS

MA candidates must pass the three European Studies Comprehensive examinations:

- COMP I:     *Modern European History and Ideas*
- COMP II:    *Pan European Political Economies*
- COMP III:    *Europe and the World Since 1945*

For European Studies majors, these comprehensives together substitute for the School's core examinations, *Evolution of the International System* and *Comparative National Systems*. Thus, European Studies majors need not take any core examinations beyond the European Comprehensives.

The Modern European History and Ideas examination has four parts. Part I is based on short identifications. Part II focuses on the classic European state system and its imperial outreach in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1620-1789). Part III starts with the French Revolution and encompasses the transformation of autocratic European states into nation states throughout the nineteenth century- a long and hesitant domestic process guided by competing liberal, conservative, socialist and fascist models. A prolonged attempt to preserve a stable balance of power through a concert system breaks down while a period of global free trade is followed by a rejuvenation of mercantilist imperialism (1789-1914). Part IV begins with the collapse of European diplomatic order in World War I and embraces the failure to rejuvenate the old order in the interwar era, followed by World War II and the imposition on Europe of the postwar bipolar system (1914-1946).

The Pan European Political Economies examination has three sections from which four questions must be answered. Part 1 deals with the basic or fundamental questions about politics and policies. Part 2 focuses on the major countries of Western Europe. Part 3 centers on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The process of European integration features throughout. There are three questions in each section – for a total of nine – and students are asked to answer four of these with at least one question from each section. Although the examination covers the period from 1945 onward, the emphasis is on the post-Cold War period and so two of the three questions in Parts 2 and 3 will be about the post-Cold War era.

Europe and the World since 1945 also has three sections. Where relevant, the process of European integration will feature in this examination as well. Part 1 deals with Europe's role

in the global economy. Part 2 focuses on broad or general European security and foreign policy. Part 3 covers the comparative foreign policies of the major countries, including their foreign economic policies. There are three questions in each section – for a total of nine – and students are asked to answer four of these with no more than two questions from any one section. Here too, although the examination covers the period from 1945 onward, the emphasis is on the post-Cold War period and so two of the three questions in each part of the examination are about the post-Cold War.

## COURSES FOR THE COMPS

Certain courses are specially tailored to help prepare for the various comps:

### **For COMP I: Modern European History and Ideas**

In Bologna, there is the History Core course taught by Professor Row in the spring. In Washington, Professors Calleo and Chivvis teach a similar core course in the fall. European Studies candidates are required to pass Comp I rather than the history core exam. Those without a strong background in European history should take the core course for credit. Those with a strong background may prefer to audit the core course and perhaps take instead the courses in historiography or the history of ideas.

### **For COMP II: Pan European Political Economies**

Two courses, *West European Political Economies* and *The Political Economy of Transition and Enlargement*, cover the broad subject matter of Comp II. The first course is offered in Bologna; the second in Washington. Passing these courses prepares for Comp II but does not substitute for taking and passing it. Normally, candidates attempt this Comprehensive in January of their second year.

### **For COMP III: Europe in the World since 1945**

All candidates are advised to take at least one country course from among those offered in Washington or Bologna for *Britain, France, Germany or Italy*. In addition, *Europe in the Cold War* is offered in Bologna. Numerous other courses are offered in Bologna and Washington on Europe's recent history, foreign policy, political culture, political economy, demography and environment. Normally, these are open to all students.

## SPECIAL COURSES

Washington offers a non-credit newspaper seminar that covers the European press and a lecture series with numerous outside speakers discussing contemporary European and transatlantic issues. In addition, there is a European Research Seminar offered in both Washington and Bologna for Ph.D. students and also MA students who wish to engage in intensive research and writing.

## GENERAL SAIS REQUIREMENTS

**Course Requirements:** Sixteen course credits are normally required for the MA degree. M.A. students thus usually take four courses per semester, plus a language course.

**Language courses:** The language requirement is met by passing a proficiency examination in a modern European language, preferably in French, German or Italian. Non-native English speakers who achieve proficiency in English are also encouraged to study French or German. For those interested in a Ph.D., French and German are normally required.

**Economics:** Economics forms a significant part of every SAIS student's course of study. Every M.A. student should have completed the basic economic sequence (Macro, Micro, Monetary and Trade) in the first three semesters, or in the first two semesters for those who already qualify for Micro and Macro. In any case, no one should neglect fulfilling the economics sequence in a timely fashion. In addition, M.A. candidates are asked to take two advanced courses in economics by the end of their second year. Reasonable knowledge of macro- and monetary economics is highly useful for several courses in European Studies. Because of the program's highly interdisciplinary character, students usually find European Studies courses helpful in economic theory courses.

**The Oral Examination:** At the end of the second year, all SAIS M.A. candidates sit for an oral examination divided between their major and international economics. Candidates submit in advance a brief paper with a topic they are prepared to discuss. Candidates in European Studies are asked to discuss contemporary European issues in the light of their historical, institutional, political and economic settings. Participation in the non-credit newspaper seminar and at the various lectures on contemporary European political and economic issues is an excellent way to prepare for the oral.

For the economics part of the oral, candidates are expected to demonstrate a broad understanding of international economic theory and its practical application. Majors in European Studies are expected to relate economic theory to contemporary European economic issues.

## **Modern European History and Ideas (Comp I)**

This examination is designed to encourage the candidate to develop a broad knowledge of the trends, events and ideas that have shaped today's Europe. The examination seeks to test the candidate for the following:

1. Familiarity with the general narrative of European diplomatic history from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of World War II.
2. Familiarity with the concepts, trends and critical events used to explain the dynamic and enduring characteristics of the modern European state system from the Thirty Years' War to the Cold War. (See below "Conceptual Framework")
3. General knowledge of how the major European states -- Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia -- developed politically, economically and socially-- from 1789 to the end of World War II.
4. Broad familiarity with Europe's relationship to the global political economy, from the eighteenth century and to post World War II.
5. Acquaintance with the history of European political economic ideas-- liberalism, conservatism, nationalism, socialism, imperialism and fascism --from the eighteenth century to World War II.

The examination places greatest emphasis on the first four items above, although candidates will have the opportunity to answer at least one question on the last.

Candidates can most easily prepare by

- a.) Reflecting carefully on the "Conceptual Framework for Modern European History" listed below.
- b) Selective reading in the bibliography to prepare answers to the questions listed under Specific Topics for Study (see below).
- c) General reading in the bibliography.

THE EXAMINATION consists of four required sections, each with a series of choices. Section 1 is a list of identification questions designed to test the candidate's knowledge of specific events and personalities from the Thirty Years' War to the Cold War. This section presupposes a careful study of the general texts listed first in the bibliography. This task should not be neglected while pursuing a general understanding of broad forces and trends, since a failure to pass Section I practically guarantees a failure in the examination as a whole.

Sections 2, 3 and 4 consist of questions based on the topics 1-37 listed below under Specific Topics for Study. Section 2 deals with the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Section 3 with the 19<sup>th</sup>

century, and Section 4 with the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These questions may concern general or national issues. Candidates should relate their answers, as appropriate, to the conceptual framework outlined below. At least one question will focus directly on that framework.

*Obviously an examination that tries to cover four centuries of history requires a clear orientation and a sharp focus. These brief paragraphs in the Conceptual Framework below are meant to suggest a general geopolitical framework to help orient the candidate. The “Selected “ topics that follow provide a checklist of major topics that fit within this framework.*

## **A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY**

Throughout its modern history Europe has been a system of sovereign but interdependent nation states. That system came into existence formally with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which marked the defeat of the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor's attempt in the Thirty Years' War to establish a more modern and hegemonic version of medieval European unity, an attempt backed by the Habsburg King of Spain and the Pope, and animated by the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Eventually the Habsburg bid was decisively defeated, with French military and diplomatic power playing a major role in the defeat. In opposing the Habsburgs, France was loosely allied with Sweden and with the Ottoman Empire. The latter had conquered the Balkans and would threaten Vienna itself – an early example of an extra-European great power recasting the European balance. The Ottoman threat and its drain on Spanish and Austrian resources was a major factor in the defeat of the Habsburg bid for European hegemony. The “Westphalian “ plural state system that followed the Habsburg defeat was guided by a self-conscious balance-of-power theory that kept states maneuvering constantly to prevent the hegemony of any one of their number. With Germany disunited and the Holy Roman Empire fatally weakened, France became the continent's predominant state.

At the same time European states were struggling with their regional state system, several were also conquering and colonizing large empires around the world. These empires sometimes brought great resources back to Europe. Continental rivalries thus acquired a global dimension and the European balance became entwined with elements of a global balance. Thus the Habsburgs' power in the seventeenth century depended heavily on resources from Spain's American possessions. Meanwhile, Holland, Britain and France competed for vast colonial possessions throughout the world.

The French Revolution vaunting its ideals of “liberty, equality and fraternity “ marked a major political, social and intellectual eruption that spread throughout Europe. As its ideals spread, they began to transform the classic modern European state of the *ancien* regime—generally royal, autocratic and cosmopolitan—into the modern democratic nation state and, at certain moments, into the modern totalitarian state. In the wake of the Revolution, came a major new effort at continental hegemony. Napoleon, manipulating the Revolution's political and technocratic ideals, tried to establish a modern version of European unity. Napoleon's final defeat in 1815 resulted in a reaffirmation of the Westphalian system at the Congress of Vienna, but supplemented by a Concert of Powers, in which Europe's major states pledged

to cooperate to keep order amongst themselves and to sustain “legitimate“ governments in place throughout the continent. Nevertheless the Revolution’s still powerful ideals, combined with the increasingly significant economic and social transformations of modern industrial capitalism, significantly altered both European domestic politics and the workings of the European state system. Traditional states more and more had to become nation states. Nationalism, however, posed a different conception of legitimacy and eventually required a re-dimensioning of some of Europe’s states. After numerous revolutions and wars, Italy was formed in 1859 and the German Empire in 1870.

Meanwhile, Napoleon's defeat and the reestablishment of the European balance in 1815 had left England the dominant global power and paved the way to an integrated global economy - the Pax Britannica of the mid-nineteenth century, animated by the liberal ideals of free trade and later of the gold standard. By the early twentieth century, however, the continent’s newly formed German Empire was challenging Britain --bidding for European hegemony on the grounds that only by breaking the old European balance would it prove possible to establish a new global balance. Germany, in other words, needed to establish its hegemony over the European continent in order to become a world power to compete in scale with the British Empire. Germans, as well as other European great powers, were also sensitive to the rising extra - European superpowers – the United States and Russia, as well as Japan and what was seen as an impending “yellow peril “.

Germany's defeat in World War I led to a reaffirmation of the Westphalian system in Europe at the Treaty of Versailles, complemented by a new and global concert, The League of Nations.

The failure of the Versailles system to establish a durable new European balance and the subsequent breakdown of the global economy culminated in World War II. The defeat of the Germans and the Japanese was followed by a “Cold War “ between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. A bipolar strategic system followed with Europe itself divided into spheres dominated by two extra – European superpowers. Western Europe found itself in a hegemonic military alliance with the United States; Eastern Europe, including part of Germany, found itself dominated militarily, politically and economically by the Soviet Union. Alongside their military alliance with the U.S, most of the West European states organized themselves into a European Economic Community. The postwar global system, meanwhile, had become a *Pax Americana*, but within which the European and Asian components grew increasingly significant economically. Postwar Western Europe thus participated in three overlapping but distinct systems – a bipolar strategic system, a confederal European system and a global political-economic system.

The overlapping cold war systems endured until the end of the 1980's. The collapse of the Soviet Union marked the end of the bipolar system and opened the possibility of a unipolar *Pax Americana*. The Soviet collapse also reopened many of the old questions about the nature of the European system, which once more included a united Germany and Eastern as well as Western Europe. Further integration into the European Union was widely seen as the best European outcome. But a more cohesive Europe, together with the rapid development of

China and other Asian countries, the possible rejuvenation of Russia and increasing ferment in the Muslim world began to build a tension between the unipolar visions of a global *Pax Americana* and the more pluralist perspectives of the new powers..

### **SPECIFIC TOPICS FOR STUDY**

The following topics are meant to help focus preparation for the Comprehensive.

The candidate should be able to deal with them in some detail.

1. The consequences for the nascent European “state system “ of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the Thirty-Years War and the Peace of Westphalia.
2. The main factors contributing to the rise of Europe's global hegemony in the 16th through the 19th centuries. The strengths and weaknesses of the colonial systems of Spain, Portugal, Britain, France and the Netherlands in the 17th century. Causes and consequences of the Seven Years War; how did the Treaty of Paris and the Peace of Hubertusburg (1763) affect “the Atlantic economy “ and the “world system, “ as well as Europe's state system, balance of power and economic development?
3. What were the main features of and rationale for European mercantilism in the 17th and 18th centuries?
4. The French Revolution and the transition of states to “nation states. “
5. Napoleon's “modern “ effort to unify Europe.
6. The Peace Settlement of 1815 and the attempts to enforce it, including the Congress of Vienna, the Holy Alliance, the Concert of Europe, the concept of “legitimacy, “ and the foreign policies of Metternich, Castlereagh and Canning.
7. The resurgence of liberalism from the 1820's, including the Greek, Belgian, and French revolutions, the English Reform Bill of 1832, the Poor Law Act of 1834, and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846.
8. The revolutions of 1848 in Austria, Hungary, France, Germany and Italy and their reactionary aftermath.
9. When, why and with what effects did Britain abandon mercantilism in favor of free trade in the 19th century?
10. The foreign policy of Russell and Palmerston; the Crimean War, its causes and results; the Congress of Paris; Cobden and British “free-trade imperialism. “
11. The domestic and foreign policy of Napoleon III.

12. Cavour's policy and the unification of Italy.
13. The German *Zollverein*; the Frankfurt Parliament and its failure; Bismarck's domestic and foreign policies; his conservative unification of Germany; the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian Wars; Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, "nightmare of coalitions" and the alliances with Russia and Austria-Hungary.
14. The consequences for Europe of the American Civil War and rise of the U.S. as a world power.
15. France under the Third Republic (1870-1914): the Paris Commune, the subsequent evolution of French socialism and radicalism, Jules Ferry and French secularism and imperialism, the Dreyfus Affair, Clemenceau and the failure of early social reformism.
16. Gladstone versus Disraeli: the domestic and foreign policy differences, Salisbury's Conservatism, Asquith's Liberalism, Lloyd George's Coalition.
17. Role of the Ottoman Empire in the global and European systems of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
18. What accounts for Japan's relative success and China's failure to adapt to the Euro-centered global system in the 19th century?
19. British, French, and German colonial rivalry in Africa, and the Near and Far East; the Fashoda incident and the Morocco crises: the Opium War of 1839-42 and the Sino-Japanese War of 1895.
20. What were the main features of the "new imperialism" at the end of the 19th century and how did this phase of European expansionism differ from previous ones?
21. "Socialism" and the "nationalist" response in Germany and France; the "Great Depression" of 1873-1896, its political and economic consequences in Germany, its international consequences; free trade versus protectionism.
22. Joseph Chamberlain and the imperialist and tariff controversy in England; the Boer War; Gladstone and the Irish Question.
23. The debate in Germany over *Weltpolitik* and plans for *Mitteleuropa*.
24. National tensions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Balkan problem in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
25. Problems of modernizing the Czarist regime, the Russo-Japanese War, the Revolution of 1905, Pan-Slavism and the "Westernizers".

26. European consequences of the rise of Japan as a great power.
27. Politics in Italy after unification: Crispi's authoritarianism, Depretis' *trasformismo*, and Giolittian liberalism.
28. The evolution of the European alliance system, 1879-1914; the Austro-German Alliance and the collapse of the Russo-German Reinsurance Treaty, the Triple Alliance, the Franco-Russian Alliance and the Triple Entente.
29. Origins of World War I: Sarajevo and the War's immediate causes; the initial war aims of the powers; the first Battle of the Marne and its lessons and consequences; the Treaty of London and Italy's entry into the War; the financial, physical, and demographic costs of the war.
30. The Russian Revolution of 1917; the Soviet system and its impact on international politics; the Communist International.
31. The differing aims of the powers at the Versailles Conference including Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points"; the Versailles Treaty and the principle of national self-determination; the League of Nations.
32. Consequences of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire for Europe and the global system generally.
33. Postwar American, British, French and German foreign policies toward the Versailles settlement and the League of Nations; American "isolationism" and its consequences for the postwar European balance of power; the Rapallo and Locarno Agreements; Franco-German entente and its failure; German reparations and the Dawes and Young Plans.
34. The Italian Fascist government, its domestic character, economic and foreign policies; the Ethiopian campaign and its diplomatic consequences.
35. Europe's inflation, stabilization and depression, 1918-1939; America's new financial role; the Gold Exchange Standard and its collapse; the London Economic Conference of 1933; social and political consequences of the Great Depression.
36. Major political and economic problems of the Weimar Republic, "Weimar Culture," the Nazi government in Germany, its domestic character and foreign policies.
37. The rise of the Popular Front in France and its domestic and foreign policies.
38. The Spanish Civil War and its effect on the Western democracies.
39. "Appeasement," the Munich Agreement, the Nazi-Soviet Pact, and the outbreak of World War II.

40. *Blitzkrieg* and Dunkerque. The Russian campaign.
41. The Vichy Regime in France and its domestic and foreign policies.
42. The Atlantic Charter, “Free France, “ Anglo-French-American tensions in the wartime Alliance.
43. The Russian campaign, the Second Front issue and its consequences, the Pacific War and its consequences, North African and Italian campaigns, Normandy, “unconditional surrender. “
44. Roosevelt’s plans for the postwar system; founding of the UN, IMF, GATT; Soviet and European relations.
45. Impact of decolonization on the European nation states and the process of European integration after 1945.
46. The main factors contributing to the decline and fall of Europe's global hegemony in the 20th century.

Every examination will contain at least one optional question requiring a detailed analysis of the essential argument of one of the texts listed below:

Rousseau, The Social Contract

Coleridge, Church & State

Hegel, Reason in History

Friedrich List, Principles of National Political Economy, Chapters 11-17, 33-36

Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto

Mill, J.S., On Liberty (Chs. 2 & 3), Principles of Political Economy (Book IV, Chs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7; Book V, Chs.1, 2, 11; Appendix, Chs. 1 & 2)

Lenin, Imperialism

Keynes, Essays in Persuasion, Parts 3-5

Hayek, The Constitution of Liberty, Chapters 9, 15-21, Postscript

Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, Parts 2-4

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

The starred texts should be perused by all. The rest of the bibliography is meant to help candidates pursue their own particular interests, as well answer the questions listed under “Specific Topics for Study “ above.

## **Part I - BASIC READING FOR EUROPEAN HISTORY AND IDEAS**

\*Strongly recommended for the Comp

## I. GENERAL:

McKay, Derek and Scott, H.M., The Rise of the Great Powers  
Breunig, Charles and Matthew Levinger, The Revolutionary Era, 1789-1850  
Gilbert, Felix and David Clay Large, The End of the European Era: 1890 to the Present  
Cameron, Rondo, A Concise Economic History of the World  
Joll, James, Europe since 1870: An International History  
Osterhammel, Jürgen and Niels P. Petersson, Globalization: a short history  
Dunn, Richard, The Age of Religious Wars  
Thomson, D., Europe Since Napoleon  
Calleo, D. P., Rethinking Europe's Future, Parts I-II  
Craig, G., Europe 1815-1914  
Taylor, A.J.P., The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918  
Merriman, John, A History of Modern Europe: From the Renaissance to the Present, Chs. 4-  
29

## II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:

\*Calleo, D.P., Rethinking Europe's Future, Parts I-II  
\*Calleo, D.P., The German Problem Reconsidered  
\*Dehio, L., The Precarious Balance  
\*Kennedy, Paul, The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers, Chs. 4-6

## III. PRE-1815:

Hobsbawm, E.J., The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848, Chs. 1-3  
Palmer and Colton, A History of the Modern World, Chs. 3-5  
Schroeder, Paul W., The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848, Chs. 1,4-9  
Skocpol, Theda, "Reconsidering the French Revolution in World Historical Perspective,"  
Social Research, vol.56, #1, Spring 1989  
Smith, Steven B., "Hegel and the French Revolution: An Epitaph for Republicanism,"  
Social Research, vol.56, #1, 1989  
Thompson, David, Europe Since Napoleon, Chs. 2-4

## IV. NATIONAL HISTORY:

\*Calleo, D.P., The German Problem Reconsidered  
\*Craig, G., Germany 1866-1945  
\*Macartney, C.A., The Habsburg Empire, 1870-1918

- \*Mack Smith, D., Italy: A Modern History
- \*Plumb, J.H., England in the Nineteenth Century
- \*Thomson, D., England in the Twentieth Century
- \*Wright, Gordon, A History of Modern France

#### V. SOCIAL-ECONOMIC HISTORY:

- Cameron, Rondo, A Concise Economic History of the World
- Cipolla, Carlo M. (ed.), The Fontana Economic History of Europe: The Industrial Revolution
- \*Hobsbawm, E.J., Industry and Empire
- Landes, D., Unbound Prometheus
- Mathias, P. and Postan, M., eds., The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, vol. VIII:  
The Industrial Economies
- Milward, A. and Saul, S.B., The Development of the Economies of Continental Europe, 1850-1914
- Lewis, W.A., Economic Survey, 1919-1939
- Wrigley, E., Population and History

#### VI. INTELLECTUAL HISTORY:

- \*Barzun, J., Classic, Romantic, Modern
- \*Calleo, D.P., Coleridge and the Idea of the Modern State, Ch.2
- \*Calleo, D.P., Rethinking Europe's Future, Part I
- \*Calleo, D.P., Follies of Power, Ch. 6
- Dyson, K., The State Tradition in Western Europe
- Heilbroner, R., The Worldly Philosophers
- Hughes, H. Stuart, Consciousness and Society
- Lichtheim, G., Marxism
- Williams, Raymond, Culture and Society, 1780-1950

### **Part II - ADDITIONAL READINGS**

#### I. INTERNATIONAL HISTORY:

- Brunschweig, Henri, French Colonialism, 1871-1914
- Joll, James, Origins of World War I
- Kennedy, Paul, The Anglo-German Antagonism
- Koch, H.W., ed., The Origins of the First World War
- Kolko, G., The Politics of War
- Lafore, Laurence, The Long Fuse
- Langer, William L., The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890-1902
- Hobsbawm, E.J., The Age of Empire

Marks, Sally, The Illusion of Peace  
Robertson, Esmonde M., ed., The Origins of the Second World War  
Wehler, H.U., "Bismarck's Imperialism," Past and Present, 48 (August 1970), pp. 119-55  
Wright, G., The Ordeal of Total War

## II. NATIONAL HISTORY:

Anderson, R.D., France 1870-1914: Politics and Society  
Bourne, K., The Foreign Policy of Victorian England, 1830-1902  
Bracher, K., The German Dictatorship  
Briggs, Asa, The Making of Modern England, 1783-1867  
Calleo, D.P., The German Problem Reconsidered  
Carsten, F.L., The Rise of Fascism  
Clark, M., Modern Italy: 1871-1982  
Clarkson, Sesse, A History of Russia  
Fischer, F., Germany's Aims in the First World War  
Hamerow, T.S., Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany 1815-1871  
Hamerow, T.S., The Social Foundations of German Unification, 1858-1871 (2 vols.)  
Hildebrand, Klaus, The Foreign Policy of the Third Reich  
Lyttelton, Adrian, The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy 1919-1929  
May, A.J., The Hapsburg Monarchy, 1871-1914  
Paxton, R., Vichy France  
Pflanze, Otto, Bismarck and the Development of Modern Germany, vol. I  
Rothschild, East Central Europe Between the Two World Wars  
Sarti, R., Fascism and the Industrial Leadership in Italy  
Schoenbaum, D., Hitler's Social Revolution  
Schuker, S., The End of French Predominance in Europe  
Seton-Watson, C., Italy from Liberalism to Fascism  
Seton-Watson, H., The Russian Empire, 1801-1917  
Taylor, A.J.P., Bismarck  
Taylor, A.J.P., English History, 1914-1945  
Thomson, D., Democracy in France  
Weber, E., Peasants into Frenchmen, 1880-1914  
Webster, R.A., Industrial Imperialism in Italy  
Weinberg, F., The Foreign Policy of Hitler's Germany  
Wolfers, A., Britain and France Between Two Wars  
Zeldin, T., France. 1848-1945, vols. I, II and III

## III. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

Aldcroft, D.H., From Versailles to Wall Street 1919-1929  
Ashton, T.S., The Industrial Revolution

Blum, J., Rural Order and the Old Regime  
 Caron, F., An Economic History of Modern France  
 Dahrendorf, Ralf, Society and Democracy in Germany  
 De Felice, R., Interpretations of Fascism  
 Feis, H., Europe: the World's Banker  
 Ginsborg, Paul, A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943-1988  
 Hartwell, R.M., The Industrial Revolution and Economic Growth  
 \*Kindleberger, C.P., Economic Growth in France and Britain, 1851-1950  
 \*Kindleberger, C.P. The World in Depression, 1929-1939  
 Langer, William L., Political and Social Upheaval, 1832-1852  
 Laqueur, W., ed., Fascism: A Reader's Guide  
 Maier, Charles S., Recasting Bourgeois Europe  
 Mathias, P., The First Industrial Nation  
 Mayer, A.J., The Resistance of the Old Regime  
 Milward, A.S., War, Economy and Society, 1939-1945  
 Pollard, S., Peaceful Conquest. The Industrialization of Europe  
 Rosenberg, H., "Political and Social Consequences of the Great Depression of 1873-1896 in  
     Central Europe," in S. Sheehan, ed., Imperial Germany  
 Schama, Simon, Citizens  
 Schuker, Stephen, The End of French Predominance in Europe  
 \*Semmel, B., The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism  
 Sewell, William H., Work and Revolution in France  
 Thompson, E.P., The Making of the English Working Class

#### IV. INTELLECTUAL HISTORY:

Avineri, S., Hegel's Theory of the Modern State  
 Avineri, S., The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx  
 Halecki, O., The Limits and Divisions of European History  
 Halevy, E., Growth of Philosophical Radicalism  
 Heller, E., The Disinherited Mind  
 Hughes, H.S., Consciousness and Society  
 Joll, J. The Anarchists  
 Kolakowski, L., Main Currents of Marxism  
 Lichtheim, G., Imperialism  
 Lichtheim, G., A Short History of Socialism  
 Wilson, E., To the Finland Station  
 Wolin, S., Politics and Vision

## **PAN EUROPEAN POLITICAL ECONOMIES (Comp II)**

This examination covers three interlocking domains in European Studies: the structure and functioning of West European countries, and particularly the four “pattern “ states—France Germany Italy and the United Kingdom; the structure and functioning of Central and East European countries, both before and after the revolutions of 1989-1991; and the institutions and processes of European integration, both East and West, during the Cold War and after. In addition, candidates should be familiar with the major analytical approaches in comparative politics and comparative political economy—behaviorism, rationalism, institutionalism, and constructivism. They should be able to analyze across different dimensions of political economy—sub-national, national (or state), international, and supranational. They should understand the functioning of competing strategies for collective action both in politics and in economies—including corporatism as well as pluralism.

Students using this syllabus are expected to have a basic background in comparative politics and comparative political institutions. Where that is not the case, students are strongly encouraged to consult one of the many textbooks that provide an overview of the institutional structures and political systems of European countries. Recommended titles include: Gallagher, Laver, and Mair (2001); Hague and Harrop (2001); and Tiersky (1999). In addition, students might also choose to consult Lijphart (1999) and Mény and Knapp (1998). Finally, students interested in an overview of the institutions of the European Union should consult Peterson and Shackleton (2002).

The syllabus is organized around four components: The role of the state in postwar Europe; West European political economies; movement toward European unity; and the political economy of Central and Eastern Europe. For each component, readings are grouped with subject references. A complete bibliography is provided at the end.

### ***The Role of the State in Postwar Europe (Comparative National Systems).***

The purpose of this portion of the syllabus is to frame an understanding of European politics by starting with fundamental analytical issues. It centers on why the state-centric framework lies at the heart of politics, and considers whether politics has evolved to a point where the national state no longer serves as a viable framework for comparing politics across nations. In other words, the core questions are what is the national state and have we moved beyond it.

In order to test the continuing usefulness of the national state as a framework for analysis, this portion of the syllabus traces four different themes. The first of these, “The State, “ examines the usefulness of the concept of the state in sorting out the relative significance of individual agents as opposed to enduring structures in political interaction. The second, “The Polity, “ looks at the mechanisms at work within the state and how they link popular aspirations and public policy. The third line of analysis, “The Market “

juxtaposes the state with what is often assumed to be the “non-state”—the market economy. This section asks whether the distinction between state and market is real or illusory, and how best to understand the development of the state-market relationship in different countries during the postwar period. The fourth section of the syllabus concludes with some of the challenges facing the nation-state at the end of the Cold War—globalization, nationalism, corruption, and disaffection.

Outline of principal themes:

*The State*

**Political science, comparative politics, and the paradigmatic state**

Almond (1996); Hall and Ikenberry (1989); Janos (1986) 1-64; Krasner (1993); Mair (1996); Vincent (1987).

**The domestic and the foreign**

Apter (1996); Gourevitch (1978); Keohane and Milner (1996) 3-78, 243-258; Wendt (1999); Review of International Studies (2000) 123-180.

*The Polity*

**Electoral systems and electoral systems**

Daalder (1966); Lijphart (1994); Lipset (1963) 183-278; Grumm (1958); Pappi (1996); Sartori (1990).

**Legislatures, Governments, and Bureaucracies**

Dunleavy (1991); Eulau et al. (1959); Lijphart (1984) 1-105, 169-222; Rothstein (1996).

**Political culture**

Almond and Verba (1989) 1-44, 337-374; Carmines and Huckfeldt (1996); Fukuyama (1995); Inglehart (1988); Jackman and Miller (1996); Putnam et al. (1994) 163-185.

**Value change and electoral transformation**

Bartolini and Mair (1990) 251-308; Dalton (1996); Dalton (2000); Inglehart (1997); Kirchheimer (1969); Lipset (1963) 439-456.

*The Market*

**Economic and political change**

Dunn (1990) 15-40; Gourevitch (1986) 17-68, 221-240; Hirschman (1970); Ruggie (1982).

**The Keynesian consensus and the welfare state**

Esping-Anderson (1990); Hall (1989) 3-26, 87-127, 347-391.

### **The conservative revolution**

Kitschelt et al. (1999) 317-423; Olson (1982) 17-74; Scharpf (1991); Thurow (1980) 3-25, 191-214.

### **The fall of communism**

Bunce (1999); Gill (2000).

### *Challenges to the post-Cold War State*

#### **From economic interdependence to globalization**

Berger and Dore (1996) 1-106; Kitschelt et al. (1999) 101-193, 427-460; Swank (2002).

#### **The return of nationalism and right-wing extremism**

Betz (1994); Gellner (1997); Kitschelt (1995); Mudde (1999); O'Leary (1997).

#### **Corruption, disaffection, and the crisis of the state**

Lasch (1996); Pharr and Putnam (2000) 3-120; Rose-Ackerman (1999) 111-174.

### ***West European Political Economies.***

The purpose of this section of the syllabus is to introduce students to national models for political and economic organization in Europe. The baseline for analysis is the “welfare state” as established at the end of the Second World War and during the boom period of the 1950s and 1960s. However, the principal objective is to illustrate how Europe’s “pattern cases” have developed through the more recent period of globalization, European integration, and the end of the Cold War. Through this part of the syllabus, students become familiar with how Europe’s political economies are organized, how they have changed over time, and how they have been influenced by processes of integration at the global and European levels. This section also considers the degree to which it remains useful to organize a discussion of Europe’s political economies around national patterns or whether it would be more fruitful to re-focus the analysis with the European Union located more firmly at the center

#### Outline of principal themes:

#### **The compromise of embedded liberalism and the *trentes glorieuses* of the welfare state.**

Gourevitch (1986) 124-180; Ikenberry (1992); Ruggie (1982).

#### **Britain: Consensus, Alternation, and Stop-Go.**

Blank (1977); Hall (1986) 23-99; Zysman (1983) 171-232.

#### **France: Technocracy, Planification, and Encadrement de Credit.**

Hall (1986) 137-191; Zysman (1977); Zysman (1983) 99-169.

**Germany: The Social Market Economy and the Nationalisation of Organized Labor.**

Gowa (1989); Halfmann (1989); Kreile (1977); Katzenstein (1989).

**Italy: Partitocrazia and the Move to Flexible Adjustment.**

Posner (1977); Ginsborg (1990) 210-405.

**Small States: Consensus Politics and Flexible Specialization.**

Katzenstein (1985).

**Changing Postwar Patterns: Monetarism, European Integration, Globalization.**

Calleo (1990); Cleveland (1990); Keohane (1984); Scharpf (1991) 161-275.

**Britain: From Thatcher to the Third Way.**

Berrington (1998); Daniels (1998); Hutton (1996); McCarthy (1995); Rhodes (2000).

**France: Relance, Rigueur, and the Development of Dirigiste Liberalism.**

Boltho (1996); Elgie (1999); Lovecy (1999); McCarthy (1990); Palier (2000).

**Germany: The Rhineland Model, EMU, and the Challenge of Unification.**

Anderson (1999); Hall (1994); Katzenstein (1997a); Manow and Seils (2000); McNamara and Jones (1996).

**Italy: Flexible Adjustment and the Advantages of Tying One's Hands.**

della Sala (1997); Ferrera and Gualmini (2000); Regini and Regalia (1997); Walsh (1999).

**Small States: From Competitive Corporatism to Distributive Coalitions.**

Katzenstein (1997b); Jones (1999); Kurzer (1993); Schwartz (2001).

**Convergence and Divergence in West European Political Economies.**

Boyer (1996); Ferrera and Rhodes (2000); Pierson (1998); Scharpf (2000).

***Movement toward European Unity.***

This part of the syllabus surveys the historical development of the European Community and the European Union. The readings, however, are more grounded in political science than in history. European integration is explained as a function of three types of variables: ideas, events, and “unintended consequences“. European integration is seen as a process started and perpetuated to shore up the weakness of individual nation-states and of the national state system. In other words, this portion of the syllabus is grounded on a set of very specific (and very controversial) arguments and interpretations. Candidates should examine these assumptions carefully, critically, and comprehensively, and decide whether or not they should be challenged.

Outline of principal themes:

*The Grand Ideal, Its Limitations, and Its Rebirth.*

**Liberal internationalism and the origins of the European movement.**

Bosanquet (1958), Brugmans (1965).

**Nationalism and economic competition in the interwar period.**

Keynes (1963) 135-47, 358-73, Kindleberger (1986) 14-230, Myrdal (1956) 9-72.

**Reconstruction and Rebirth.**

Milward (1984) 1-362, Blaisdell (1948), Lintott (1949), Loveday (1949).

*The Monnet-Schuman Method and the Realist Response.*

**Schuman and Plevin: Integration by steps or jumps.**

Dinan (1999) 9-36, Diebold (1959) 1-113, 593-669, Willis (1968) 80-185, Parker (1952), Sanderson (1958).

**From Beyen to Rome: The origins of the Common Market.**

Moravcsik (1998) 86-158, Millward (1992) 119-223, Willis (1968) 185-272, Bertrand (1956), Grosser (1957), Haas (1958), Maihofer (1986) 596-623.

**De Gaulle and the Nation State.**

Dinan (1999) 37-56, Moravcsik (1998) 159-238, Hoffmann (1968) 110-63, Calleo (1965) 81-136; Hoffmann (1964), Kitzinger (1960), Silj (1967).

*The European Rescue of the Nation-state.*

**The European Council and the EMS.**

Dinan (1999) 57-103, Moravcsik (1998) 238-314, Brewin (1987), Bulmer (1985), Cooper (1972), Putnam and Bayne (1987), Ludlow (1982) 1-134.

**The Relaunching of Europe.**

Dinan (1999) 103-126, Moravcsik (1998) 314-378, Cowles (1995), Keohane and Hoffmann (1991) 1-154, Calleo and Morgenstern (1990), Sbragia (1992).

**France, Germany, and the Treaty on European Union.**

Dinan (1999) 127-158, Moravcsik (1998) 379-471, McCarthy (1993) 1-112, Tsoukalis (1993) 175-228, Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992).

*Beyond the Nation-State or Beyond European Integration?*

**From Maastricht to Amsterdam**

Dinan (1999) 159-201, Moravcsik (1998a) 1-59, Gowan and Anderson (1997) 149-161; 178-202.

**Amsterdam's Europe**

Pierson, Forster, and Jones (1998, 1999), Monar and Wessels (2001).

### **Europe before the Court**

Alter (1999, 2000), Burley and Mattli (1993), Goldstein (2001) 14-66, Stone-Sweet and Brunell (1998).

### **From Amsterdam to Nice**

Jones (2000, 2001, 2002a, 2002b), McCarthy (2001).

### **Rethinking Europe's Future**

Calleo (2001).

### ***The Political Economy of Transition and Enlargement.***

This part of the syllabus examines the relationship between the two most dramatic changes taking place in Europe over the past half century: “integration “ in the West and “transition “ in the East. The syllabus builds upon the assumption that the relationship is self-reinforcing, but can be counter-productive. In any event, the fate of the European Union and the future of pan-Europe now seem inextricably linked. A truly continental system is emerging in Europe. Whether European elites have the courage and foresight to harness that system for the general good remains to be seen. Through this part of the syllabus, students become familiar with how the political economies of Central and Eastern Europe are organized, how the East-West relationship has changed over time, and how that relationship has been influenced by processes of integration at the global and European levels.

### Outline of principal themes:

#### **Conceptions of Pan-Europe as an Economic and Political System**

De Rougemont (1966); Calleo and Gordon (1992); Tiersky (2001).

#### *Pandora's Box*

#### **Ostpolitik, Interdependence, and Dissent (1969-1979)**

Bjorkman and Zamostny (1984); Bleek (1976); Eckstein (1970); Garnick (1973); Jamgotch (1975); Korbonski (1976); Mitchell (1978); Oleszczuk (1982); Ramet (1984); Spielman (1985); Tismeanu (1992: 1-113).

#### **Retrenchment and Reform (1979-1989)**

Bunce (1993); Easterly and Fischer (1995); Gros and Stienherr (1995: 3-81); Kotz and Weir (1997: 13-63); Tismeanu (1992: 113-175); Young (1992).

#### **The Velvet Surprise: Revolution in Central and Eastern Europe**

Di Palma (1991); Glenny (1993: 1-237); Kuran (1991); Tismeanu (1992: 175-240).

### **The Inevitable Tide of Change: Revolution in the Soviet Union**

Bova (1991); Colton and Levgold (1992: 11-112); Evangelista (2001); Kotz and Weir (1997: 161-235); Koslowski and Kratochwill (1994).

### *The Challenge of Transition*

#### **The Special Case of German Unification**

Anderson (1999); Baylis (1999); Berglund and Dellenbrant (1994: 117-141); Gros and Steinherr (1995: 235-275); Hirschman (1993); Marsh (1994).

#### **The Polish Paradigm Reconsidered**

Berglund and Dellenbrant (1994: 36-73); Korbonski (1999); Rose (1999); Slay (2000); Steves (2001); Terry (2000); Wightman (1995: 29-58); Zubek (1997).

#### **Success and Failure in Czechoslovakia and Hungary**

Barany (1999); Berglund and Dellenbrant (1994: 142-202); Gros and Steinherr (1995: 277-319); White, et al. (1998: 23-42); Wightman (1995: 59-153); Wolchik (1999).

#### **Contrasting Peripheries: Baltic States and Black Sea States**

Abdelal (2001); Åslund (2001); Barisitz (1999); Berglund and Dellenbrant (1994: 74-116, 203-207); Evans (1998); Fischer and Sahay (2000); Ganev (2001); Krzak (1997); White, et al. (1998: 43-80); Wightman (1995: 154-178).

#### **The Russian Quagmire**

Dunlop (2000); Gould-Davis and Woods (1999); Gros and Steinherr (1995: 361-448); Mendelson (2001); White et al. (2001).

### *The Gamble of Enlargement*

#### **Initial Ambivalence**

Cichowski (2000); Gabrisch (1997); Gros and Steinherr (1995: 449-532); Sperling (1999: 25-102); Wallace (2000).

#### **Conflict and Security Dilemmas**

Baranovsky (2000); Croft, et al. (2000); Gordon (1998); Light, et al. (2000); Reiter (2001); Rupnik (2000); Sperling (1999: 103-180); Tsygankov (2001).

#### **Strategy Change and Political Risk, East and West**

Cecchini, et al. (2001); Hellman, et al. (2000); Jones (2001); Nelson (1993); Pelkmans, et al. (2000); Rose (2001); Waldron-Moore (1999).

### ***List of References*** (COMP II)

#### **Books**

- Abdelal, Rawi (2001). National Purpose in the World Economy: Post-Soviet States in Comparative Perspective. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba (1989). The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. London: Sage.
- Anderson, Jeffrey (1999). German Unification and the Union of Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bartolini, Stefano, and Peter Mair (1990). Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability: The Stabilization of European Electorates 1885-1985. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berger, Suzanne, and Ronald Dore, eds. (1996). National Diversity and Global Capitalism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Berglund, Sten, and Jan Åke Dellenbrant, eds. (1994). The New Democracies in Eastern Europe: Party Systems and Political Cleavages, Second Edition. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Betz, Hans Georg (1994). Radical Right Wing Populism in Western Europe. London: Macmillan.
- Bosanquet, Bernard (1958). The Philosophical Theory of the State. London: MacMillan.
- Brugmans, Hendrick (1965). L'Idée européenne: 1918-1965. Bruges: Tempelhof.
- Bunce, Valerie (1999). Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Calleo, David P. (1965). Europe's Future: The Grand Alternatives. New York: Norton.
- Calleo, David P. (2001). Rethinking Europe's Future. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Calleo, David P. and Philip H. Gordon, eds. (1992). From the Atlantic to the Urals: National Perspectives on the New Europe. Arlington: Seven Locks Press.
- Calleo, David P. and Claudia Morgenstern, eds. (1990). Recasting Europe's Economies: National Strategies in the 1980s. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Colton, Timothy J., and Robert Levgold, eds. (1992). After the Soviet Union: From Empire to Nations. New York: W.W. Norton.
- De Rougemont, Denis (1966). The Idea of Europe. New York: Meridian Books.
- Diebold, William Jr. (1959). The Schuman Plan: A Study in Economic Cooperation, 1950-1959. New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Council on Foreign Relations.
- Dinan, Desmond (1999). Ever Closer Union? An Introduction to the European Community. London: MacMillan, Second Edition.
- Dunleavy, Patrick (1991). Democracy, Bureaucracy, and Public Choice. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Dunn, John, ed. (1990). The Economic Limits to Modern Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Esping-Anderson, Gøsta (1990). The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Frieden, Jeffry, Daniel Gros, and Erik Jones, eds. (1998). The New Political Economy of EMU. Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Fukuyama, Frank (1995). Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity. London: Hamish Hamilton.

- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair (2001). Representative Government in Modern Europe—Third Edition. London: McGraw-Hill.
- Garrett, Geoffrey (1998). Partisan Politics in the Global Economy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gellner, Ernest (1997). Nationalism. London: Phoenix.
- Gill, Graeme (2000). The Dynamics of Democratization: Elites, Civil Society, and the Transition Process. London: Palgrave.
- Ginsborg, Paul (1990). A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943-1988. London: Penguin.
- Glenny, Misha (1993). The Rebirth of History: Eastern Europe in the Age of Democracy. London: Penguin, Second Edition.
- Goldstein, Judith and Robert O. Keohane, eds. (1993). Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Goldstein, Leslie Friedman (2001). Constituting Federal Sovereignty: The European Union in Comparative Context. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Goldthorpe, John H., ed. (1984). Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Goodin, Robert E., and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, eds. (1996). A New Handbook of Political Science. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gourevitch, Peter (1986). Politics in Hard Times: Comparative Responses to International Economic Crises. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Gowan, Peter, and Perry Anderson, eds. (1997). The Question of Europe. London: Verso.
- Gros, Daniel, and Alfred Steinherr (1995). Winds of Change: Economic Transition in Central and Eastern Europe. London: Longman.
- Haas, Ernst B. (1958). The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950-1957. London: Stevens and Sons Limited.
- Hague, Rod, and Martin Harrop (2001). Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction—Fifth Edition. London: Palgrave.
- Hall, John A., and G. John Ikenberry (1989). The State. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hall, Peter A. (1986). Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, Peter A., ed. (1989). The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism Across Nations. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Heywood, Paul, et al., eds. (2002). Developments in West European Politics 2. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Hirschman, Albert O. (1970). Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hoffmann, Stanley, ed. (1968). Conditions of World Order. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Inglehart, Ronald (1990). Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald (1997). Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Janos, Andrew C. (1986). Politics and Paradigms: Changing Theories of Change in Social Science. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Katzenstein, Peter, ed. (1978). Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economic Policy of Advanced Industrial States. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Katzenstein, Peter (1985). Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Katzenstein, Peter, ed. (1989). Industry and Politics in West Germany: Toward the Third Republic. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Katzenstein, Peter, ed. (1997). Tamed Power: Germany in Europe. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Stanley Hoffmann, eds. (1991). The New European Community: Decisionmaking and Institutional Change. Boulder: Westview.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Helen V. Milner, eds. (1996). Internationalization and Domestic Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keynes, John Maynard (1963). Essays in Persuasion. New York: Norton.
- Kindleberger, Charles P. (1986). The World in Depression, 1929-1939. Revised and Enlarged Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1995). The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, et al., eds. (1999). Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kotz, David, with Fred Weir (1997). Revolution from Above: The Demise of the Soviet System. London: Routledge.
- Kurzer, Paulette (1993). Business and Banking: Political Change and Economic Integration in Western Europe. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- LaPalombara, Joseph, and Myron Weir, eds. (1966). Political Parties and Political Development. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lasch, Christopher (1996). The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- Laursen, Finn, and Sophie Vanhoonacker, eds. (1992). The Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union: Institutional Reforms, New Policies and International Identity of the European Community. Maastricht: European Institute of Public Administration.
- Lijphart, Arend (1984). Democracies: Patterns of Government in Twenty-one Countries. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend (1999). Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin (1963). Political Man: The Social Basis of Politics. New York: Doubleday.
- Ludlow, Peter (1982). The Making of the European Monetary System. London: Butterworth Scientific.
- Maihofer, Werner, ed. (1986). Noi si mura: Selected Working Papers of the European University Institute. Florence: European University Institute.
- Mair, Peter, ed. (1990). The West European Party System. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marquand, David, and Anthony Seldon, eds. (1996). The Ideas that Shaped Postwar Britain. London: Fontana Press.

- Marsh, David (1995). Germany and Europe: The Crisis of Unity. London: Mandarin.
- McCarthy, Patrick, ed. (1993). France-Germany, 1983-1993: The Struggle to Cooperate. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- McCarthy, Patrick, ed. (2001). France-Germany in the Twenty-First Century. New York: Palgrave.
- McCarthy, Patrick, and Erik Jones, eds. (1995). Disintegration or Transformation? The Crisis of the State in Advanced Industrial Society. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Mény, Yves, and Andrew Knapp (1998). Government and Politics in Western Europe: Britain, France, Italy, Germany—Third Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Milnor, Andrew J., ed. (1969). Comparative Political Parties: Suggested Readings. New York: Crowell.
- Milward, Alan S. (1984). The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-51. London: Routledge.
- Milward, Alan S. (1992). The European Rescue of the Nation-state. London: Routledge.
- Molle, Willem (1990). The Economics of European Integration: Theory, Practice, Policy. Aldership: Dartmouth.
- Monar, Jörg, and Wolfgang Wessels, eds. (2001). The European Union after the Treaty of Amsterdam. New York: Continuum.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1998). The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht. London: UCL Press.
- Moravcsik, Andrew, ed. (1998a). Centralization or Fragmentation? Europe Facing the Challenges of Deepening, Diversity, and Democracy. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Press for the Council on Foreign Relations.
- Myrdal, Gunnar (1956). An International Economy: Problems and Prospects. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Olson, Mancur (1982). The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Peterson, John, and Michael Shackleton, eds. (2002). The Institutions of the European Union. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pharr, Susan J., and Robert D. Putnam, eds. (2000). Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries? Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, Robert D., et al. (1993). Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, Robert D. and Nicholas Bayne (1987). Hanging Together: Cooperation and Conflict in the Seven-Power Summits. Revised and Enlarged Edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Review of International Studies 26:1 (January 2000).
- Rose-Ackerman, Susan (1999). Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sbragia, Alberta, ed. (1992). Europolitics: Institutions and Policymaking in the "New" European Community. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Scharpf, Fritz (1991). Crisis and Choice in European Social Democracy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Sperling, James, ed. (1999). Two Tiers or Two Speeds? The European Security Order and the Enlargement of the European Union and NATO. Manchester: Manchester

- University Press.
- Swank, Duane (2002). Global Capital, Political Institutions, and Policy Change in Developed Welfare States. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thurow, Lester C. (1980). The Zero-Sum Society: Distribution and the Possibilities for Economic Change. New York: Penguin.
- Tiersky, Ronald, ed. (1999). Europe Today: National Politics, European Integration, and European Security. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Tiersky, Ronald, ed. (2001). Euroskepticism: A Reader. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Tismanu, Vladimir (1992). Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel. New York: The Free Press.
- Towers, Brian, and Michael Terry, eds. (1998). Industrial Relations Journal: European Annual Review 1997. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tsoukalis, Loukas (1993). The New European Economy: The Politics and Economics of Integration. Second Revised Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vincent, Andrew (1987). Theories of the State. London: Blackwell.
- Wendt, Alexander (1999). Social Theory of International Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- White, Stephen, Alex Pravda, and Zvi Gitelman, eds. (2001). Developments in Russian Politics 5. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- White, Stephen, Judy Batt, and Paul B. Lewis, eds. (1998). Developments in Central and East European Politics 2. Basingstoke: Macmillan (Palgrave).
- Wightman, Gordon, ed. (1995). Party-Formation in East-Central Europe: Post-communist Politics in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Willis, F. Roy (1968). France, Germany, and the New Europe. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Zysman, John (1983). Governments, Markets, and Growth: Financial Systems and the Politics of Industrial Change. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

### **Journal Articles and Book Chapters**

- Alter, Karen (1999). 'The Making of Supranational Law: The Battle for Supremacy.' In Tiersky (1999) pp. 305-336.
- Alter, Karen (2000). 'The European Union's Legal System and Domestic Policy: Spillover or Backlash.' International Organization 54:3 (Summer) pp. 489-518.
- Almond, Gabriel A. (1996). "Political Science: The History of the Discipline." " In Goodin and Klingemann (1996) pp. 3-49.
- Apter, David E. (1996). "Comparative Politics, Old and New." " In Goodin and Klingemann (1996) pp. 372-397.
- Åslund, Anders (2001). "The Advantages of Radical Reform." " Journal of Democracy 12:4 (October) 42-48.
- Baranovsky, Vladimir (2000). "Russia: A Part of Europe or Apart from Europe?" " International Affairs 76:3, pp. 443-458.
- Barany, Zoltan (1999). "Out with a Whimper: The Final Days of Hungarian Socialism." "

- Communist and Post-Communist Studies 32, pp. 113-125.
- Barisitz, Stephan (1999). "Ukraine: Macroeconomic Development and Economic Policy in the First Eight Years of Independence." Focus on Transition 2/1999. Vienna: Oesterreichische Nationalbank, pp. 70-81.
- Baylis, Thomas A. (1999). "The GDR 'on the Eve'." Communist and Post-Communist Studies 32, pp. 127-138.
- Berrington, Hugh (1998). "Britain in the Nineties: The Politics of Paradox." West European Politics 21:2 (January) pp. 1-27.
- Bertrand, Raymond (1956). "The European Common Market Proposal." International Organization 10:4 (November) 559-574.
- Bjorkman, Thomas N., and Thomas J. Zamostny (1984). "Soviet Politics and Strategy toward the West." World Politics 36:2 (January) 189-214.
- Blaisdell, Thomas C., Jr. (1948). "The European Recovery Program—Phase Two." International Organization 2:3 (September) 443-454.
- Blank, Stephen (1977). "Britain: The Politics of Foreign Economic Policy, the Domestic Economy, and the Problem of Pluralistic Stagnation." International Organization 31:4 (Autumn) pp. 673-721.
- Bleek, Wilhelm (1976). "From Cold War to Ostpolitik: Two Germanys in Search of Separate Identities." World Politics 29:1 (October) 114-129.
- Boltho, Andrea (1996). "Has France Converged on Germany? Policies and Institutions since 1958." In Berger and Dore, eds. (1996), pp. 89-106.
- Bova, Russell (1991). "Political Dynamics of the Post-Communist Transition: A Comparative Perspective." World Politics 44:1 (October) 113-138.
- Boyer, Robert (1996). "The Convergence Hypothesis Revisited: Globalization but Still the Century of Nations?" In Berger and Dore (1996), pp. 29-59.
- Brewin, Christopher (1987). "The European Community: A Union of States without a Unity of Government." Journal of Common Market Studies 26:1, pp. 1-23.
- Bulmer, Simon (1985). "The European Council's First Decade: Between Interdependence and Domestic Politics." Journal of Common Market Studies 24:2, 89-104.
- Bunce, Valerie (1993). "Domestic Reform and International Change: The Gorbachev Reforms in Historical Perspective." International Organization 47:1 (Winter) 107-138.
- Burley, Anne-Marie, and Walter Mattli (1993). 'Europe before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration.' International Organization 47:1 (Winter) pp. 41-76.
- Buzan, Barry (1993). "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School." International Organization 47:3 (Summer) 327-352.
- Cable, Vincent (1995). "The Diminished Nation State: A Study in the Loss of Economic Power." Daedalus (Spring) 23-53.
- Calleo, David P. (1990). "Introduction: National Strategies and the 'New Europe'." In Calleo and Morgenstern (1990), pp. 1-24.
- Carmines, Edward G., and Robert Huckfeldt (1996). "Political Behavior: An Overview." In Goodin and Klingemann (1996) pp. 223-254.
- Cecchini, Paolo, Erik Jones, and Jochen Lorentzen (2001). "Europe and the Concept of

- Enlargement. “ Survival 43:1 (Spring) 155-165.
- Chichowski, Rachel A. (2000). “Western Dreams, Eastern Realities: Support for the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe.” “ Comparative Political Studies 33:10 (December) 1243-1278.
- Cleveland, Harold van Buren (1990). “Europe in the Economic Crisis of Our Time: Macroeconomic Policies and Microeconomic Constraints.” In Calleo and Morgenstern (1990), pp. 157-200.
- Cooper, Richard N. (1972). “Economic Interdependence and Foreign Policy in the Seventies.” “ World Politics 24:2 (January) 159-181.
- Cowles, Maria Green (1995). “Setting the Agenda for the New Europe: The ERT and EC 1992.” “ Journal of Common Market Studies 33:4, 501-526.
- Croft, Stuart, et al. (2000). “NATO’s Triple Challenge.” “ International Affairs 76:3, pp. 495-518.
- Daalder, Hans (1966). “Parties, Elites, and Political Developments in Western Europe.” In LaPalombara and Weir (1966) pp. 43-78.
- Daalder, Hans (1990). “The ‘Reach’ of the Party System.” In Mair (1990) pp. 78-90.
- Dalton, Russell J. (1996). “Comparative Politics: Micro-Behavioral Perspectives.” In Goodin and Klingemann (1996) pp. 336-352.
- Dalton, Russell J. (2000). “Value Change and Democracy.” In Pharr and Putnam (2000) pp. 252-269.
- Daniels, Philip (1998). “From Hostility to ‘Constructive Engagement’: The Europeanization of the Labour Party.” “ West European Politics 21:1 (January) pp. 72-96.
- della Sala, Vincent (1997). “Hollowing Out and Hardening the State: European Integration and the Italian Economy.” “ West European Politics 20:1 (January) pp. 14-33.
- Di Palma, Giuseppe (1991). “Legitimation from the Top to Civil Society: Politico-Cultural Change in Eastern Europe.” “ World Politics 44:1 (October) 49-80.
- Dunlop, John B. (2000). “Reintegrating ‘Post-Soviet Space’.” “ Journal of Democracy 11:3 (July) 39-47.
- Easterly, William, and Stanley Fischer (1995). “The Soviet Economic Decline.” “ The World Bank Economic Review 9:3 (September) 341-371.
- Eckstein, Alexander (1970). “Economic Development and Political Change in Communist Systems.” “ World Politics 22:4 (July) 475-495.
- Elgie, Robert (1999). “The Changing French Political System.” “ West European Politics 22:4 (October) pp. 1-19.
- Eulau, Heinz, John C. Wahlke, William Buchanan, and Leroy C. Ferguson (1959). “The Role of the Representative: Some Empirical Observations on the Theory of Edmund Burke.” “ American Political Science Review 53:3 (September) pp. 742-756.
- Evangelista, Matthew (2001). “Norms, Heresthetics, and the End of the Cold War.” “ Journal of Cold War Studies 3:1 (Winter) 5-35.
- Evans, Geoffrey (1998). “Ethnic Schism and the Consolidation of Post-Communist Democracies.” “ Communist and Post-Communist Studies 31:1, pp. 57-74.
- Ferrera, Maurizio, and Elisabetta Gualmini (2000). “Reforms Guided by Consensus: The Italian Welfare State in Transition.” “ West European Politics 23:2 (April) pp. 187-208.

- Ferrera, Maurizio, and Martin Rhodes (2000). "Building a Sustainable Welfare State." West European Politics 23:2 (April) pp. 257-282.
- Fischer, Stanley, and Ratna Sahay (2000). "The Transition Economies after Ten Years." IMF Working Paper WP/00/30. Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund (February).
- Gabrisch, Hubert (1997). "Eastern Enlargement of the European Union: Macroeconomic Effects in New Member States." Europe-Asia Studies 49:4 (June) 567-590.
- Ganev, Venelin I. (2001). "The Dorian Gray Effect: Winners as State Breakers in Postcommunism." Communist and Post-Communist Studies 34, pp. 1-25.
- Garnick, David (1973). "The Hungarian Economic Reform." World Politics 25:3 (April) 414-429.
- Gordon, Philip H. (1998). "The Limits of Europe's Common Foreign and Security Policy." In Moravcsik (1998a), pp. 159-186.
- Gould-Davies, Nigel, and Ngaire Woods (1999). "Russia and the IMF." International Affairs 75:1, pp. 1-22.
- Gourevitch, Peter (1978). "The Second-Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics." International Organization 32:4 (Autumn) 881-912.
- Gowa, Joanne (1989). "Bipolarity and the Postwar International Economic Order." In Katzenstein (1989), pp. 33-50.
- Grosser, Alfred (1957). "Suez, Hungary, and European Integration." International Organization 11:3 (Summer) 470-480.
- Grumm, John G. (1958). "Theories of Electoral Systems." Midwest Journal of Political Science 2:4 (November) pp. 357-376.
- Halfmann, Jost (1989). "Social Change and Political Mobilization in West Germany." In Katzenstein (1989), pp. 51-86.
- Hall, Peter A. (1994). "Central Bank Independence and Coordinated Wage Bargaining: Their Interaction in Germany and Europe." German Politics and Society 31 (Spring) 1-23.
- Hellman, Joel S., Geraint Jones, and Daniel Kaufmann (2000). "'Seize the State and Seize the Day': State Capture, Corruption, and Influence in Transition." Policy Research Working Paper no. 2444. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank (September).
- Hirschman, Albert O. (1993). "Exit, Voice, and the Fate of the German Democratic Republic: An Essay in Conceptual History." World Politics 45:2 (January) 173-202.
- Hoffmann, Stanley (1964). "De Gaulle, Europe, and the Atlantic Alliance." International Organization 18:1 (Winter) 1-28.
- Hutton, Will (1996). "The Stakeholder Society." In Marquand and Seldon (1996), pp. 290-308.
- Ikenberry, G. John (1992). "A World Economy Restored: Expert Consensus and the Anglo-American Postwar Settlement." International Organization 46:1 (Winter) pp. 289-321.
- Inglehart, Ronald (1988). "The Renaissance of Political Culture." American Political Science Review 82:4 (December) pp. 1203-1230.
- Jackman, Robert W., and Ross A. Miller (1996). "A Renaissance of Political Culture?" American Journal of Political Science 40:3 (August) pp. 632-659.
- Jamgotch, Nish Jr. (1975). "Alliance Management in Eastern Europe (The New Type of

- International Relations). “ World Politics 27:3 (April) 405-429.
- Jones, Erik (1999). “Is Competitive Corporatism an Adequate Response to Globalization? Evidence from the Low Countries. “ West European Politics 22:3 (July) pp. 159-181.
- Jones, Erik (2000). “The Politics of Europe 1999: Spring Cleaning. “ Industrial Relations Journal 31:4 (October/November) pp. 247-261.
- Jones, Erik (2001). “The Politics of Europe 2000: Unity *through* Diversity. “ Industrial Relations Journal 32:5 (December 2001) pp. 362-379.
- Jones, Erik (2002a). “Europe at the Crossroads. “ In Heywood, et al. (2002), pp. 17-35.
- Jones, Erik (2002b). “The Politics of Europe 2001: Adversity and Persistence. “ Industrial Relations Journal 33:5 (December 2002) pp. 376-390.
- Katzenstein, Peter (1989) “Stability and Change in the Emerging Third Republic. “ In Katzenstein (1989), pp. 307-355.
- Katzenstein, Peter (1997a). “United Germany in an Integrating Europe. “ In Katzenstein (1997), pp. 1-48.
- Katzenstein, Peter (1997b). “The Smaller European States, Germany, and Europe. “ In Katzenstein (1997), pp. 251-304.
- Keohane, Robert O. (1984). “The World Political Economy and the Crisis of Embedded Liberalism. “ In Goldthorpe (1984), pp. 15-38.
- Kirchheimer, Otto (1969). “The Waning of Opposition in Parliamentary Regimes, “ in Milnor (1969) 310-339.
- Kitzinger, U.W. (1960). “Europe: The Six and the Seven. “ International Organization 14:1 (Winter) 20-36.
- Korbonski, Andrzej (1976). “Detente, East-West Trade, and the Future of Economic Integration in Eastern Europe. “ World Politics 28:4 (July) 568-589.
- Korbonski, Andrzej (1999). “East Central Europe on the Eve of the Changeover: The Case of Poland. “ Communist and Post-Communist Studies 32, pp. 139-153.
- Koslowski, Rey, and Friedrich V. Kratochwil (1994). “Understanding Change in International Politics: The Soviet Empire’s Demise and the International System. “ International Organization 48:2 (Spring) 215-247.
- Krasner, Stephen D. (1993). “Westphalia and All That. “ In Goldstein and Keohane (1993), pp. 235-264.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich, and John Gerard Ruggie (1986). “International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State. “ International Organization 40:4 (Autumn) 317-349.
- Kreile, Michael (1977). “West Germany: The Dynamics of Expansion. “ International Organization 31:4 (Autumn) pp. 775-808.
- Krzak, Maciej (1997). “Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania: From Plan to Market—Selected Issues. “ Focus on Transition 2/1997. Vienna: Oesterreichische Nationalbank, pp. 22-51.
- Kuran, Timur (1991). “Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989. “ World Politics 44:1 (October) 7-48.
- Light, Margot, Stephen White, and John Löwenhardt (2000). “A Wider Europe: The View from Moscow and Kyiv. “ International Affairs 76:1, pp. 77-88.
- Lintott, H.J.B. (1949). “The Organization for European Economic Cooperation. “

- International Organization 3:2 (May) 269-277.
- Lovecy, Jill (1999). "The End of French Exceptionalism?" West European Politics 22:4 (October) pp.205-224.
- Loveday, A. (1949). "The European Movement." International Organization 3:4 (November) 620-632.
- Mair, Peter (1996). "Comparative Politics: An Overview." In Goodin and Klingemann (1996) pp. 309-335.
- Manow, Philip, and Eric Seils (2000). "The Employment Crisis of the German Welfare State." West European Politics 23:2 (April) pp. 137-160.
- McCarthy, Patrick (1990). "France Faces Reality: *Rigueur* and the Germans." In Calleo and Morgenstern (1990), pp. 25-78.
- McCarthy, Patrick (1995). "Britain: The Melancholy Pleasure of Decline." In McCarthy and Jones (1995), pp. 179-197.
- McNamara, Kathleen R., and Erik Jones (1996). "The Clash of Institutions: Germany in European Monetary Affairs." German Politics and Society 14:3 (Fall) pp. 5-30.
- Mendelson, Sarah E. (2001). "Democracy Assistance and Political Transition in Russia: Between Success and Failure." International Security 25:4 (Spring) 68-106.
- Mitchell, R. Judson (1978). "A New Brezhnev Doctrine: The Restructuring of International Relations." World Politics 30:3 (April) 366-390.
- Mudde, Cas (1999). "The Single Issue Part Thesis: Extreme Right Parts and the Immigration Issue." West European Politics 22:3 (July) pp. 182\_197.
- Nelson, Joan M. (1993). "The Politics of Economic Transformation: Is Third World Experience Relevant in Eastern Europe?" World Politics 45:3 (April) 433-463.
- O'Leary, Brendan (1997). "On the Nature of Nationalism: An Appraisal of Ernest Gellner's Writings on Nationalism." British Journal of Political Science 27, 191-222.
- Oleszczuk, Thomas (1982). "Dissident Marxism in Eastern Europe." World Politics 34:4 (July) 527-547.
- Palier, Bruno (2000). "'Defrosting' the French Welfare State." West European Politics 23:2 (April) pp. 113-136.
- Pappi, Franz Urban (1996). "Political Behavior: Reasoning Voters and Multi-Party Systems." In Goodin and Klingemann (1996) pp. 255-275.
- Parker, William N. (1952). "The Schuman Plan—A Preliminary Prediction." International Organization 6:3 (August) 381-395.
- Pelkmans, Jacques, Daniel Gros, and Jorge Núñez Ferrer (2000). "Long-run Economic Aspects of the European Union's Eastern Enlargement." Working Documents no. W 109. The Hague: Scientific Council for Government Policy (September).
- Pierson, Christopher, Anthony Forster, and Erik Jones (1998). "The Politics of Europe: (Un)Employment Ambivalence." In Towers and Terry (1998), pp. 5-22.
- Pierson, Christopher, Anthony Forster, and Erik Jones (1999). "Changing the Guard in the European Union: In with the New, out with the Old?" Industrial Relations Journal 30:4 (December) pp. 277-290.
- Pierson, Paul (1998). "Irresistible Forces, Immovable Objects: Post-Industrial Welfare States Confront Permanent Austerity." Journal of European Public Policy 5:4 (December) pp. 539-560.
- Posner, Alan R. (1977). "Italy: Dependence and Political Fragmentation." International

- Organization 31:4 (Autumn) pp. 809-838.
- Ramet, Pedro (1984). "Disaffection and Dissent in East Germany." World Politics 37:1 (October) 85-111.
- Regini, Marino, and Ida Regalia (1997). "Employers, Unions and the State: The Resurgence of Concertation in Italy?" West European Politics 20:1 (January) pp. 210-230.
- Rhodes, Martin (2000). "Desperately Seeking a Solution: Social Democracy, Thatcherism, and the 'Third Way' in British Welfare." West European Politics 23:2 (April) pp. 161-186.
- Rieter, Dan (2001). "Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy." International Security 25:4 (Spring) 41-67.
- Rose, Amanda (1999). "Extraordinary Politics in the Polish Transition." Communist and Post-Communist Studies 32, pp. 195-210.
- Rose, Richard (2001). "A Diverging Europe." Journal of Democracy 12:1 (January) 93-106.
- Rothstein, Bo (1996). "Political Institutions: An Overview." In Goodin and Klingemann (1996) pp. 133-166.
- Ruggie, John Gerard (1982). "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order." International Organization 36:2 (Spring) pp. 379-415.
- Rupnik, Jacques (2000). "Eastern Europe: The International Context." Journal of Democracy 11:2 (April) 115-129.
- Sanderson, Fred H. (1958). "The Five-Year Experience of the European Coal and Steel Community." International Organization 12:2 (Spring) 193-200.
- Sartori, Giovanni (1990). "A Typology of Party Systems," in Mair (1990) 316-349.
- Scharpf, Fritz (2000). "The Viability of Advanced Welfare States in the International Economy: Vulnerabilities and Options." Journal of European Public Policy 7:2 (June) pp. 190-228.
- Schwartz, Herman M. (2001). "The Danish 'Miracle': Luck, Pluck, or Stuck?" Comparative Political Studies 34:2 (March) 131-155.
- Silj, Alessandro (1967). "Europe's Political Puzzle: A Study of the Fouchet Negotiations and the 1963 Veto." Occasional Papers in International Affairs No. 17. Cambridge: Harvard Center for International Affairs.
- Slay, Ben (2000). "The Polish Economic Transition: Outcome and Lessons." Communist and Post-Communist Studies 33, pp. 49-70.
- Spielman, Richard (1985). "The Eighteenth Brumaire of General Wojciech Jaruzelski." World Politics 37:4 (July) 562-585.
- Steves, F. (2001). "Poland and the International System: External Influences on Democratic Consolidation." Communist and Post-Communist Studies 34, pp. 339-352.
- Stone Sweet, Alec, and Thomas L. Brunell (1998). 'Constructing a Supranational Constitution: Dispute Resolution and Governance in the European Community.' American Political Science Review 92:1 (March) pp. 63-81.
- Strange, Susan (1995). "The Defective State." Daedalus (Spring) 55-74.
- Terry, Sarah Meiklejohn (2000). "Poland's Foreign Policy Since 1989: The Challenges

- of Independence. “ Communist and Post-Communist Studies 33, pp. 7-47.
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2001). “The Final Triumph of the Pax Americana? Western Intervention in Yugoslavia and Russia’s Debate on the Post-Cold War Order.” “ Communist and Post-Communist Studies 34, pp. 133-156.
- Waldron-Moore, Pamela (1999). “Eastern Europe at the Crossroads of Democratic Transition.” “ Comparative Political Studies 32:1 (February) 32-62.
- Wallace, William (1994). “Rescue or Retreat? The Nation State in Western Europe, 1945-93.” “ Political Studies 42, 52-76.
- Wallace, William (2000). “From the Atlantic to the Bug, from the Arctic to the Tigris? The Transformation of the EU and NATO.” “ International Affairs 76:3, pp. 475-493.
- Walsh, James I. (1999). “Political Bases of Macroeconomic Adjustment: Evidence from the Italian Experience.” “ Journal of European Public Policy 6:1 (March) pp. 66-84.
- Wolchik, Sharon L. (1999). “Czechoslovakia on the Eve of 1989.” “ Communist and Post-Communist Studies 32, pp. 437-451.
- Yost, David S. (1994). “Political Philosophy and the Theory of International Relations.” “ International Affairs 70:2 (April) 263-290.
- Young, Christopher (1992). “The Strategy of Political Liberalization: A Comparative View of Gorbachev’s Reforms.” “ World Politics 45:1 (October) 47-65.
- Zubek, Voytek (1997). “The End of Liberalism? Economic Liberalization and the Transformation of Post-Communist Poland.” “ Communist and Post-Communist Studies 30:2, pp. 181-203.
- Zysman, John (1977). “The French State in the International Economy.” “ International Organization 31:4 (Autumn) pp. 839-877.

## **Europe and the World Since 1945 (Comp III)**

This part of the Syllabus follows Comps I and II and is designed to build on those Comps in order to extend and deepen the candidate's general knowledge of recent European history. It provides a selective survey of major issues and trends in Europe over the decades since the end of World War II. Candidates should use it as a means for relating what they have studied in particular courses and readings to a comprehensive survey. Also for identifying major topics that require further study. For the actual comp examination, consult the description at the beginning of the syllabus (p.2)

### **INTRODUCTION:**

#### **REVIEW OF COMP I: Europe's Postwar System**

The Syllabus for Comp III follows from the developments covered by Comp I, in particular the collapse of the Versailles Settlement and the breakdown of the global economy followed by World War II. Students are advised to review the relevant Comp I topics and to study them further along the lines suggested here.

##### 1. The European Nation State as it Emerged from the Nineteenth Century.

What were the basic ideas that defined the European nation state and distinguished it from other political formulas in Europe or other parts of the world? Why had the nation-state formula apparently triumphed so completely in Europe? What were its political, economic, social, or military advantages?

##### 2. The European System before World War I (1900-1914)

What was the traditional European balance of power system? How did the rise of national states with industrial market-based economies affect it? What were the alliances that defined the European balance of power in the decade before World War I? Why did England cease to play the role of continental balancer?

##### 3. The Global Balance before World War I (1900-1914)

What were the economic and political factors that made several European nation states also global empires? Were national and imperial political forms compatible? What was the relationship between the "global balance" and the "European balance"?

##### 4. The Global Economy before World War I (1900-1914)

What had happened to the free-trade system of the mid nineteenth century and the European and global balance of economic power and competitiveness? What was the social, political and economic significance of the Gold Standard before World War I?

## 5. World War I (1914-1918)

Why did World War I occur? How did Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" affect the War and the peace settlement? What were the main positions of Britain, France, Italy and the U.S. at Versailles? How was "Wilsonianism" reflected in the League of Nations? Did World War I cause the Bolshevik Revolution, bring down the Habsburg and Hohenzollern empires, or discredit the European nation state?

## 6. The Postwar Crisis of Liberalism (1918-1933)

How were Europe's economies and societies changed after the war? What economic and political crises did liberalism face in Europe in this time period? Why was inflation high after the War, especially in Germany? Why was unemployment high, especially in Britain? What were the consequences of German reparations? What was the "Gold Exchange Standard" and what did the War do to it? How was it different from the gold standard? Why was France relatively prosperous in the 1920's? What role did America play in the outset of Europe's Great Depression? What new patterns of rivalry and cooperation developed among the European states during the 1920's? What was "Pan Europa"?

## 7. Illiberal Solutions (1917-1939)

Why did the Communism and Fascism models have so much intellectual appeal in the West? What was Lenin's "New Economic Policy"? What was Stalin's national Soviet model? How did Mussolini come to power in 1922? What basic ideas formed the Fascist "model"? What prompted Mussolini to invade Ethiopia in 1935, and to intervene in the Spanish Civil War in 1936? Why did Italy ally with Germany and enter World War II? How did Hitler come to power in 1933? What was Nazi ideology? What were Hitler's geopolitical views about Germany's place in Europe and the world? Why did Hitler start World War II?

## 8. Liberal Survivors: Britain and France, 1930-1940

Who governed Britain in the 1930s, why did they leave the Gold Exchange Standard? How did Britain address growing German militarism? Who governed France in the 1930s? How did the French react to the collapse of the Gold Exchange Standard and the Great Depression? How did France address growing German militarism? Why did Britain and France enter the Tripartite Monetary Agreement?

## 9. Europe and America in the Global System (1920-1939)

How did American trade and monetary policy in the interwar era affect European economies? What role did American finance play in European monetary arrangements of the 1920s? Why did Hoover stay on the Gold Exchange Standard and Roosevelt go

off it To what extent were Britain and the U.S. global rivals? Britain and Japan? Did Britain have contradictory interests in Europe and Asia?

#### 10. The Global Crisis (1933-1941)

Why did Japan invade Manchuria in 1933? How did the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 affect the European balance of power? How did the League of Nations and individual states react to these actions? Was the Spanish Civil War a prelude to World War II? How did Britain's "appeasement" affect the onset and outcome of World War II? How did Hitler approach German expansion to the East and West differently? Why did Japan attack Pearl Harbor? What was the Soviet role in the Far East and did it have any affect the Soviet role in Europe?

#### 11. The Second World War and Its Consequences (1939-1946)

Why did France fall so quickly and the German military campaign fail in Russia? How did fighting in North Africa and the Pacific war relate to the war in Europe? What were the principal differences over the conduct of the war among the Allied leaders? Why did the Western Allies take so long to open a "Second Front"? How did the Germans organize occupied Europe? Why did Germany pursue the Holocaust? How did World War II affect American and British economies? How did the experience of the War nourish the postwar European movement?

#### 12. Interwar Lessons and Postwar Solutions

What was the relationship between the hegemonic theory of world order and the vision of a postwar Pax Americana? How did this vision make room for liberal "Wilsonianism" or "Keynesianism"? What were the lessons drawn from the World Wars by the "Pan European" movement? How did apologists for Imperial Germany use a balance of power theory to explain World War I? How, by contrast, did German "Social-Democratic" historians after World War II explain Imperial Germany's role in World War I? What conclusions did they draw for the postwar Federal Republic? What was the significance of the *Historikerstreit* of the 1980s?

### **Part I. EUROPE'S POSTWAR SYSTEMS, 1945-1965**

#### 1. Europe and the Global Pax Americana, 1945-1965

What was Roosevelt's "global" vision? How and to what extent was it embodied in postwar international institutions? What were Roosevelt's European plans? Did Britain, France and Russia have analogous global visions?

What happened to Europe's global empires after World War II and with what consequences for the European states? What was the early postwar U.S. attitude toward these empires? Did it change? To what extent did the U.S. support the French

in Indochina or Algeria?

## 2. Europe's Own Plans for Recovery, 1945-1960

What were Europe's various national plans for economic recovery and transformation after World War II? How well did they fit with the American global vision? What was the significance, in this respect, of America's loan to Britain in 1946? To what extent did the emerging Cold War prompt the Marshall Plan? Help to reconcile European and American postwar aims? What other concessions to European recovery were required? In general, how significant was American aid for postwar Europe's economic success, or subsequent political and economic integration? How did the global Pax Americana contribute to Europe's own postwar success?

## 3. The Cold War and the Consolidation of Bipolar Europe, 1947-1962

What events in Europe and elsewhere led to the Cold War? Who was responsible for initiating the Cold War? Why was the ensuing "bipolar" strategic system so durable and stable? To what extent was it replicated throughout the world?

What was the rationale for NATO? What explains the difference between the European roles in the Marshall Plan and in NATO? Why did George Kennan oppose NATO and the British and French governments promote it? What was the difference between the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) of 1950? How important was U.S. military aid for European prosperity?

Why did the U.S. station large conventional forces in Europe and assume direct command of NATO in 1950? Why did the Americans decide West German rearmament had become necessary? What lay behind the abortive "European Defense Community"? Why did the U.S. back it, the British decline to join it, and the French first advance and then reject it?

What was the inner logic and what were the persistent dilemmas of extended U.S. nuclear deterrence for Europe? Why did American strategic doctrine move from "massive retaliation" to "flexible response"? What was the rationale for NATO's deploying theater or battlefield nuclear weapons? For the "two-key" systems of control? Why did Britain and France develop nuclear deterrents of their own? What was the U.S. reaction to these? What was the proposed Multilateral Nuclear Force (MLF)? Why did the U.S. back it? Why was it rejected?

What was the rationale for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty? Why was it so widely accepted? Why did it prove so durable through the Cold War and afterwards?

Why did the Soviet Union establish the Warsaw Pact? What were the economic relationships between the Soviet Union and its East European "satellite" states? Why did the Soviets feel the need for such tight political control over their allies and

frequently intervene militarily in their affairs? What was responsible for the uprisings in Hungary and elsewhere in 1956? Why did the West not react more strongly?

The division of Germany was perhaps the most notable consequence of the Cold War. Why was Austria allowed to become a “neutral “ state and Germany not? What was the role of the Federal Republic in NATO, the EDC, the ECSC, and the EEC? What was the role of the German Democratic Republic in the Soviet bloc? What was Adenauer's diplomatic strategy? What was the place of reunification in it? Who opposed him in Germany? Why did he prevail? What was the Hallstein Doctrine?

Why did the NATO allies accept the building of the Berlin Wall? Were there significant differences in their reactions? What were the consequences for U.S., French and German relations?

What prompted General de Gaulle to promote a “Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, “ and what did he mean by it? What was the rationale for German *Ostpolitik* in the later 1960s and early 1970s? What was the “Harmel Report “ in NATO? What was the U.S. interest in detente? Did detente undermine or reinforce the bipolar system in Europe?

#### 4. Postwar Europe's Four Systems

By the 1960's, relations among the European countries fell into four overlapping “systems, “ or patterns of relationships among states and other international actors. These four systems may be described as bipolar, global, European, and Pan European.

The bipolar division between NATO and the Warsaw Pact dominated Europe's military relations, and provided the basic framework for diplomatic efforts to stabilize security relations, efforts embodied in such negotiations as the SALT and START talks of the 1970s and 1980s.

Economically, however, Western Europe belonged to two distinct systemic relationships—the global economy that had emerged from the *Pax Americana* and Western Europe's own regional political-economic system, evolved around the European Community. Ultimately, as detente proceeded, Europe also evolved a “Pan-European “ system, which transcended the bipolar strategic system and the EC's West-European regional political-economic system as well.

Candidates should be familiar with the character and evolution of the principal institutions of each of the four systems.

For the bipolar system the primary institutions were NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

For the regional European system, the principal institution was the European Economic Community—later the European Community and now the European Union.

Since the Franco-German relationship has proved the motor for the European Union, candidates should be familiar with the principal steps in Franco-German collaboration. In the 1950's, Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer, Jean Monnet and Walter Hallstein collaborated to launch ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community, 1950), Euratom and the EEC (1957). Adenauer and de Gaulle institutionalized the partnership with the Franco-German Treaty of 1963. In the 1970's Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and President Valery Giscard d'Estaing developed the European Monetary System (EMS). In the 1980's, President Francois Mitterrand and Chancellor Helmut Kohl produced the Maastricht Treaty.

The global system has been most significantly embodied in the UN Security Council, the IMF, the World Bank, the OECD and the G7.

The principal institutions for the nascent Pan-European system were such all-European negotiations as the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction talks (MBFR) and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), now the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

Candidates should reflect on the dynamic tendencies within each of the four post-war systems—how they overlapped, contradicted and reinforced each other and how much the principle surviving institutions-NATO and the E.U.- have shaped Europe since the end of the Cold War.

##### 5. Contrasting Visions of Europe's Future during the 1960's

Another way of visualizing the dynamics of the early postwar European system is to focus on the different visions of the future that informed various national policies and rallied public support behind them. Four seem notable: Atlanticism, European Federalism, de Gaulle's Europe of States, and Willy Brandt's German Ostpolitik.

President Kennedy's "Grand Design" was probably the most ambitious and comprehensive expression of American Atlanticism. What were its military, economic, and political dimensions? How did Europeans react to it?

More particularly, why did the U.S. want Britain in the E.E.C.? What was American strategy for the Kennedy Round of GATT negotiations? For the growing problems of the dollar? How did the Kennedy administration's international policies fit with its neo-Keynesian policies for domestic growth, exemplified in the tax cut passed in early 1964? How did the war in Vietnam affect the Kennedy and Johnson administrations' international economic aspirations and strategies?

European federalism encompassed several distinct schools that helped to inspire European state policies and their progress toward integration. Among these was the "personalist" approach embodied in the writings of Emmanuel Mounier or Henri Brugmans, the "constitutionalist" approach of Altiero Spinelli, or the "functionalist"

approach of Jean Monnet or Walter Hallstein, the first President of the European Commission. The functionalist approach proved the most directly influential in building European institutions. To what extent was Monnet's approach embodied in the ECSC and Euratom? What about the EEC itself? What did Monnet and Hallstein imagine to be the dynamic "spillover effect" by which the ECSC would progress to federal integration? Did it materialize? What were their views about how a federal Europe would ultimately relate to the United States or to the global system in general? What were the motives that united the original six signatories of the Rome Treaty? Why did Britain remain aloof? What is meant by "the European rescue of the nation-state"?

What was General de Gaulle's concept of a "Europe of States"? How was it embodied in the Fouchet Plan and the Franco-German Treaty of 1963? What was his idea of the Atlantic Alliance? What was his global vision? Why did he oppose "hegemonies"? What was his scheme for a directorate for global problems? On what grounds did he criticize the American war in Vietnam? What was his criticism of the postwar international monetary system? Why did he favor the Gold Standard? How did it reflect his geopolitical outlook? What was de Gaulle's vision of "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals"? How did it relate to his general policies toward Germany, Europe and the bipolar system? Whereas the American aim with detente was to stabilize and consolidate the bipolar system and thereby avoid nuclear confrontations, de Gaulle's concept of a "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals" hoped to unravel the bipolar system and, indeed, the Soviet Union itself.

German *Ostpolitik*, as developed by Willy Brandt and his close aide, Egon Bahr, was a fourth influential vision. Beyond reunification of West and East Germany, what sort of a European system did it envisage? What was meant by a "European Peace Order"? What was its relationship to the *Westpolitik* favored by Adenauer, to the idea of a tight West European federal or confederal union or a close transatlantic Alliance? How did Brandt's vision differ from de Gaulle's Europe of States or his Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals?

## Part II. UNRAVELLING THE POSTWAR SYSTEMS, 1965-1996

### 1. Building Europe's Union 1950-1970

How did the European Community's constituent parts develop, i.e., the Commission, Council, European Court, European Parliament, etc. Have they so far proved more federal than confederal? Analyze the principal issues affecting the its size and organization of the EEC during its early years, e.g. free trade vs. a customs union (EFTA vs. the EEC), the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the failed "Fouchet Plan," British entry, and the Luxembourg Compromise. How did the direct election of the European Parliament affect its legitimacy and influence? What were the consequences of the EC's enlargement in the 1970s? To what extent was European cooperation within the EC encouraged by global

economic challenges? What prompted the special relationship between President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Schmidt that gave birth to the European Monetary System? To what extent did Europeans perceive their interests to be in conflict with American economic policies?

## 2. Europe and the Global Economy 1958-1973

Already by the mid 1960s, the management and role of the dollar had become a major issue between the U.S. and most European governments, France in particular. What were de Gaulle's economic and political objections to the gold-exchange standard? Why was the dollar frequently weak throughout the 1960s? Was profligate American domestic policy the cause? Heavy defense budgets? France? Vietnam? The Eurodollar Market? What were Eurodollars and where did they come from? How was the dollar defended in the 1960s and how did Europeans react? Why did Nixon float the dollar in 1971? Why did the Bretton Woods system die in 1973? Who killed it – Europeans, Americans, “globalization?”

## 3. Growing Economic Difficulties 1970's and 1980's

Transatlantic friction over money was matched by friction over trade and investment. What were the opposing U.S. and European interests in the Kennedy round? How was it related to Europe's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)? Why did the U.S. lose its trade surplus in 1971?

What were the sources of European and world inflation in the late 1960s and 1970s? Were they imported or indigenous? How responsible were the Americans?

What were the reactions to the floating exchange rate system that succeeded Bretton Woods? How did European economies fare under it? What was “dirty floating” and why did governments engage in it?

How did the oil shocks affect Europe's economies generally? The competitiveness of European firms? How did the major European governments react? With what results?

What is “euroscelerosis” and what are its causes?

How did the rapid development of Japan and other Asian countries affect Europe? What role did Europe play in expanding multinational enterprise in the 1960s and 1970s? Why was Europe worried about the *defi américain*?

What was the European-American quarrel over macroeconomic policy during the Carter Administration? What was the “locomotive” theory? How was it justified by the Americans and how did it affect Europe? What were the causes and consequences of America's “twin deficits” during the 1980's? How did American policies contribute to European monetary integration?

#### 4. Problems and Evolution of the Western Alliance: 1965-1991

Europeans and Americans frequently disagreed over military doctrines in NATO. To what extent did West Europeans and Americans have conflicting strategic interests during the Cold War? What was the relationship between NATO's American-backed strategy of flexible response and the rationale for British and French national deterrents? Why was NATO so expensive for the U.S.? What was the significance of the "burden sharing" debate? What was the significance for the Alliance of the Nassau Agreement, the MLF scheme, the departure of France from NATO's integrated military command, the Alliance's formal acceptance of flexible response, the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)?

How did Europeans react to the various crises in superpower relations, e.g., the Korean War in 1950, Berlin in 1961/1962, the Cuban Missiles Crisis or the 1973 war in the Middle East? How did Vietnam affect U.S.-European relations?

What factors encouraged superpower detente in the 1960s and early 1970s? Did Americans and Europeans have competing interests in detente? Was the American interest to consolidate the bipolar system and the European to overturn it?

German *Ostpolitik* reached its apogee when Willy Brandt was Chancellor from 1969 to 1974. What were the West German treaties -- with the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states, including the German Democratic Republic -- that opened commercial and financial relations. The U.S. and France grew uneasy, and Germany's eastern ardor cooled somewhat after Brandt's fall. But despite the renewed superpower antagonism of the later 1970s, why did Europeans, the two German states in particular, resist pressures to reduce commercial and political contacts?

Arms control negotiations and treaties were significant consequences of détente, and in some cases European interests were deeply engaged. Early on came the Test Ban Treaty (1963), followed by the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty (1972), the Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT) agreements and the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks. Some, e.g. SALT I (1972) and SALT II (never ratified by the U.S.), were exclusively between the two superpowers. Others, like the conventional arms control negotiations (MBFR starting in 1972), engaged member states of both alliances over several years.

In particular, the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was a recurring negotiation in several stages and involved nearly all the European states, as well as the U.S. and Canada. Negotiations broadened to include "confidence building" measures, economic cooperation, and the protection of human rights. In 1994, CSCE was transformed into a permanent Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

#### 5. The Soviet Collapse, 1985-1993

Why did the Soviet system collapse? There are numerous theories: the internal flaws of the economic system, the demoralization of the elites, the nationalities problems, the burdens of

the empire, the burdens of geopolitical competition with the United States – allied with Europe, Japan and, in the end, even China. Each explanation is plausible. When all are taken in combination, it grows difficult to imagine the Soviet Union as having been the Eurasian superpower that defeated Germany in World War II and extended its domination well into Central Europe for nearly half a century.

Gorbachev was the trigger of Soviet disintegration. His hope was to reform the Soviet Union, rather than destroy it. Why did he feel reforms were necessary or desirable? What was his actual strategy for domestic reform? What forces backed him? What was the aim of his foreign policy? How was it linked to his domestic policy?

Why did Gorbachev decide not to intervene militarily to sustain communist regimes in Eastern Europe? Why in particular did he not intervene to stop German reunification? What were the Soviet, American, British and French positions in the “Two Plus Four” talks? What dangers and opportunities did Soviet disintegration and German unification present for U.S.-European relations? For European integration? To what extent was Europe's former “German Problem” revived?

### PART III: EUROPE SINCE THE COLD WAR, 1991-2008

#### 1. German Reunification

In what senses was German reunification a West German “takeover” of the East? Why did the eastern regime collapse? What was the significance of the currency exchange? What has been the extent of Western aid to the former East German Länder? How did reunification affect German economic performance in the East and in the country as a whole? What have been the consequences for Germany's fiscal and monetary policy for the German economy, for the German political system, and for other European economies?

#### 2. The Road to Maastricht: Franco-German Partnership

Franco-German partnership had continued in the 1980s, under President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl. In the early 1980s, why did the French Socialists first reject *rigueur* and later return to it? What prompted other European countries to adopt similar policies of macroeconomic austerity to strengthen their currencies and maintain the EMS?

Why did President Mitterrand urge the Germans to deploy American missiles in the early 1980s? What prompted the French and Germans to extend their special relationship to military cooperation? What was the West European Union (WEU) and why was it revived?

What role did Margaret Thatcher play in the European Community in the 1980s? Who supported it and what were the consequences? What was the rationale for the Single European Market?

### 3. Maastricht's Agenda

The Maastricht Agreements of December 1991 are often described as a Franco-German initiative to counter potentially divisive effects on the European Community of Germany's reunification, as well as to reach out to former Soviet states in Central and Eastern Europe. Maastricht was said to put in place a strategy of "deepening" before widening. What do these phrases mean? Describe the principal elements of the Maastricht package, i.e., completing the single market, monetary union, institutional reform, common foreign and security policies including intensified defense cooperation, greater harmonization of social, educational, immigration and police policies, etc. Were the initiatives federal or confederal? What explains the subsequent strong popular reaction against Maastricht in several countries, France included?

### 4. European Monetary Union

What are the EMU's structures? ECB, ECOFIN, etc? What were the principal economic and political arguments for and against monetary union? What were the motives of the principal countries that joined it initially and those that did not? How did German fiscal and monetary policy after unification affect European monetary integration? Why did Britain, Italy, and Spain withdraw from the EMS in 1992? What were the consequences? Why did the French continue to support the *franc fort* despite record unemployment? Was the euro a success in the 1990's? Why was the dollar stronger? Why did the American current-account deficit continue to grow? What role did Europeans play in financing it?

### 5. Security Issues in the 1990s

To what extent did NATO transform itself from a Western military alliance into a pan-European institution? An institution for "out of area" interventions? What is the Partnership for Peace? How successful has it been and what purposes has it served? What were NATO's London (1990), Rome (1991), Berlin (1996) and Washington (1999) declarations? What is meant by ESDP and what are its implications for NATO and the E.U.? What were Europe's security problems immediately after the Cold War? To what extent are they still military and to what extent are they primarily political and economic? How adequate is NATO to handle them?

What initiatives were taken to prevent nuclear proliferation after the collapse of the Soviet Union? What arms agreements were reached for conventional forces in Europe (CFE)? How have they changed Europe's security? How stable are they? How have they been affected by NATO enlargement? To what extent does strategic stability in Europe still depend on "Mutual Assured Destruction"? What was the impact on European security and transatlantic relations of American's pursuit of anti-missile defense against rogue states or of the Bush administration's abrogation of the ABM Treaty in 2001?

Why did NATO decide to expand to the Visegrad states? What were the consequences for Russian relations, for the Alliance itself? Has NATO enlargement met Russian opposition?

reconstituted the bipolar system in a new form? To what extent have major European states opposed this evolution? What are the prospects for further NATO expansion? How has NATO sought to compensate Russia? What are the likely consequences? To what extent has Russia become a “European power?”

Why did Western Europe “fail” to prevent the violent breakup of Yugoslavia? What were the German, French, British and American roles? How did NATO “succeed” where Europe failed? What lessons have the Europeans drawn from the crises in Bosnia and Kosovo?

What has prompted Europe to develop a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)? What has happened with efforts to build a European rapid reaction force?

What was the St. Malo agreement between Britain and France? How was Germany involved? Is the German role in post-Cold War European defense changing? What is the industrial dimension to European military cooperation? How will European defense cooperation affect NATO?

What progress toward common European defense was embodied in the Amsterdam and Nice treaties, the failed constitutional treaty, and the subsequent Lisbon Agreement?

## 6. E.U. Enlargement

The demise of the Soviet Union naturally challenged Western institutions to expand. Why did the E.U. enlarge to Austria, Finland and Sweden in 1995, and with what consequences? Why did the E.U. then enlarge to former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe—initially Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary? What explains E.U. enlargement to the Baltic states, Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia? Where will expansion stop? What are the barriers that might limit further expansion? The cultural and religious issues? To what extent are they internal to the candidates or inherent in the character of the E.U. itself? How successful has the transformation of former Soviet countries actually been? How have E.U. policies been changing to accommodate the new members? How significant are the various association agreements between the E.U. and its eastern and southern neighbors?

What are the prospects for eventual Turkish membership? What are the arguments pro and con? The likely consequences one way or the other for Europe? For Turkey? For Europe’s relations with the Middle East? For U.S./European relations?

What are the prospects for Ukraine or Georgia joining the E.U.? To what extent is NATO expansion tied to E.U. expansion? What are the limits – are they culturally, economically, or historically-based? At what point does an expanding E.U. cease being manageable under the present constitution?

To what extent has Russia restructured its economy and political system to integrate more

closely with the European Union? The global economy? What are the barriers and prospects?

Describe Russian efforts to consolidate the Confederation of Independent States or to prevent erosion of the Russian Federation itself. How have economic relations developed between Russia and the E.U.? What have been the consequences for Russia, Europe, and their relations of radical changes in energy prices? To what extent has the E.U. succeeded in forming a common energy policy?

### 7. Constitutional Reform and the E.U.

The E.U. has been described as a novel political formula—a confederacy with significant federal elements. In such a structure, negotiating a consensus among the partners is complex and slow-moving. How do the actual institutions and procedures reflect this description?

Enlargement of E.U. membership, which has greatly increased the diversity of the whole, has tended to accentuate the dilatory character of the E.U. decision-making. At the same time, the E.U. has been widening the scope of its activities—with monetary union, CFSP and calls for common defense—all spheres of action that may well require more rapid decision-making and permit less complete consensus among partners. Therefore it is widely said that E.U. institutions require a major “deepening” to give them a more federal character so that decisions can be reached and imposed despite the more diverse membership. Dissatisfaction with general progress has encouraged recurring schemes for a Europe of “variable geometry,” i.e., one that would permit some nations to go ahead with concerted policies or actions while other members opt out. What are the possibilities, dangers, and prospects for such a solution?

How would it change the character of the E.U.? Upon what would its success depend? In particular, what would be the likely roles of France, Germany, Britain and Italy in an E.U. reconstructed according to such a formula?

Meanwhile, the E.U.’s Constitutional Convention of 2002-2003 produced a new “constitutional treaty” that was voted down in referenda held in both France and the Netherlands. Much of the proposed constitutional treaty was repackaged in the Lisbon Agreement of 2006, which must be ratified by all member states before it takes effect.

What are the current prospects? How much of the substance of the original treaty remains?

Progress in any federal direction has been slow, and is not popular with the publics in Western Europe. Nevertheless negotiations for further enlargement continue. Some analysts fear the E.U. is thereby entering a “constitutional crisis,” losing its popular base of support in Western Europe, or in candidate countries themselves. How are the contrary ambitions of widening and deepening likely to be resolved?

### 8. Europe and American Relations since 2001

How did Europeans react initially to 9/11? Why was European help in Afghanistan offered initially but refused by the U.S.? Why did the U.S. not wish to involve Article 5 of the NATO Treaty, a move supported by European NATO states? How much support have European NATO members given to the U.S. in Afghanistan? What was the role of the French-German partnership regarding Iraq? What arguments did they make against the invasion? What was rationale behind their position? What was the British reaction? What happened in the Security Council voting? What was the significance of Russian and Chinese support for the French-German position? Why did so many E.U. members repudiate Franco-German leadership and opt instead for U.S. hegemony in NATO? What has happened subsequently in NATO? In the E.U.?

What are the probable long-term consequences of a continuing American war in Iraq on transatlantic relations? On European relations with Russia and China? With the Muslim world? What has been the reaction of European states to American threats against Iran? To what extent can Europe be said to have found an effective countervailing strategy? Is that strategy still supported by Russia and China?

To what extent do the U.S. and Europe now have common security interests? Are there cases where they do not? To what extent do the U.S. and the E.U. states share a common analysis and policy toward terrorism? What are the practical consequences?

To what extent has NATO become a global peacekeeping force under American direction? How has military cooperation developed inside the E.U.? What is the American reaction? British reaction? Is there a practical *modus vivendi* to govern situations where the E.U. decides to take independent military action? What happens when the E.U. wants NATO assets but the U.S. declines to take part? When has this become a practical issue? Where has Europe taken the initiative?

What is Europe's future role in Africa? What is the likely significance of France's "Mediterranean Union"? To what extent do the U.S. and European states have different policies toward Israel and Palestine? What are the likely "lessons" for the U.S. and the U.S. states from the Iraq war?

## 9. Europe and the Global Economy 2000-2009

The challenges of "globalization" become an increasing concern in the first decade of the twenty-first century. To what extent has "globalization" accelerated the familiar problems of "Eurosclerosis"? To what extent, if any, did the Lisbon goals of 2000, designed to make Europe "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world," represent a novel approach to curing Eurosclerosis? Has Europe, in fact, grown more protectionist in response to Asian competition? How do protectionist tendencies reflect European attitudes toward immigration?

To what extent can Europe's high unemployment be blamed on global competition from low-wage countries, especially those in Asia? Can market forces be ultimately expected to

resolve the problems? What will global competition do to Europe's living standards and welfare states? How are demographic factors likely to contribute to Europe's economic and social future?

What are the likely economic consequences of today's environmental and demographic trends? While these issues are of principal concern to Comp II, they may also deeply affect Europe's foreign relations. What, for example, are the likely consequences for E.U. regional and global trade policies?

Of particular significance for transatlantic relations are the respective international roles of the euro and the dollar. How does the strength of the dollar relate to America's foreign policy role? Might a weak dollar and a strong Euro increasingly separate U.S. and European foreign policies and enhance European protectionism?

What are the geopolitical lessons for Europe of the Western financial crisis that began in 2007?

#### PART IV: EPILOGUE

Studying the recent past requires some view of how the past and future are breeding in the present. This last section is meant to suggest some possible interpretations, inevitably of a tentative and speculative nature.

Commentators sometimes note the similarities between Europe's situation after the Cold War and in the years before World War I. In this perspective, the century has come full circle. Europe and the world are returning to the pluralist anarchy that accompanied World Wars I and II. That anarchy was suppressed in the Cold War order. A bipolar system sustained by the two superpowers provided security, sat on Europe's traditional German Problem, and permitted a limited but effective confederacy of West European states. Meanwhile, a liberal global system, sustained by the United States, helped West European states to achieve unprecedented prosperity and, with it, a high degree of social peace. Within this geopolitical and geoeconomic shelter, the West Europeans were able to create their welfare states and the cooperative structures of their own regional Community. The result has been more than four decades of prosperous peace--a twentieth century whose second half was radically different from the first.

As some theorists have long argued, hegemonic systems eventually wear out their hegemons. Many of the trends of recent decades may be interpreted in this way. The Russians have now thrown off the heavy burdens of their Soviet pretensions. Some have believed the Soviet collapse implied a "unipolar" world order. The European failure to halt the breakdown of order in Yugoslavia encouraged that triumphalist American view. The U.S. began to show a renewed taste for geopolitical burdens, a trend galvanized by the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 and the "war on terrorism." By now, the experience of the Bush administration raises questions about the capacity of the U.S. to play a hegemonic global role with success. America's continuing external deficit and return to fiscal deficits suggest that

the old problems of “overstretch “ have returned to haunt American globalism.

For many Europeans, the demise of bipolarity had suggested a different outcome—an indigenous regional system built around the European Union, and, by implication, a more plural rather than a unipolar world order.

In this vision, Europe's Union is to expand eastward, without losing its Western cohesion. The new Europe will need a new cooperative relationship with Russia and a more productive framework for relations with the Muslim world. This probably means a new transatlantic relationship, one that preserves the old intimacy but does not leave Europe so militarily dependent on the U.S., and permits Europe to defend its own geopolitical, economic, and environmental interests in the plural world that is unfolding, both in its own neighborhood and in the global system generally. Western Europe, moreover, feels severely challenged by a much more competitive international economy; its whole postwar model of welfare capitalism seems in need of reform. With so many challenges and uncertainties, it is not surprising that many analysts are skeptical that European states will rise to the occasion. A return to the nationalist anarchy of the early 1900s will leave today's prosperous Europe highly vulnerable.

History, of course, never goes back. Aside from the Atlantic Alliance and the still robust European Union, there is one other major geopolitical difference between the early twentieth century and now. Traditional Western superiority and prosperity can no longer be taken for granted. The West will, for example, have to live in the world with a powerful and competitive China, who's GDP may actually surpass the American in a couple of decades. Behind China is mammoth India. To hold their own, Europe, America and Russia will need to adapt their internal political, social, and economic arrangements to a more competitive world environment. To avoid a return to an anarchical past, all will need institutions that assist them to come to reasonable terms with each other. Peace is likely to require a more collegial global balance.. In developing institutions for such a plural world, Europe's postwar model may have something to offer the rest of the world. This presumes, of course, that countries, as well as students, can learn from history.

### Basic Reading for Europe in the Twentieth Century World System

#### I. Review of Comp I: Europe's Postwar System

For this section of the Comp III reading list, students are also advised to consult the relevant readings in the Comp I bibliography. \* Basic Reading.

Aldcroft, D.H., From Versailles to Wall Street, 1919-1929

Bracher, K., The German Dictatorship

\*Calleo, D.P., The German Problem Reconsidered

\*Calleo, D.P., Rethinking Europe's Future, Part I

Carr, E.H., The Bolshevik Revolution

Carsten, F.L., The Rise of Fascism

Cassels, A., Fascist Italy  
 Feis, H., Europe: the World's Banker  
 Fest, J., Hitler  
 Fischer, F., Germany's Aims in the First World War  
 Gillingham, J., European Integration, 1950-2002  
 Hildebrand, Klaus, The Foreign Policy of the Third Reich  
 Hobsbawm, E.J., The Age of Empire  
 Joll, James, Origins of World War I  
 Kennedy, Paul, The Anglo-German Antagonism  
 Kindleberger, C.P., The World in Depression, 1929-1939  
 Kitchen, M., Europe Between the Wars  
 Koch, H.W., ed., The Origins of the First World War:  
 Great Power Rivalry and German War Aims  
 Kolbe, E., The Weimar Republic  
 Kolko, G., The Politics of War  
 Lafore, Laurence, The Long Fuse  
 Laqueur, W., ed., Fascism: A Reader's Guide  
 \*Lewis, W.A., Economic Survey, 1919-1939  
 Lukacs, J., The Hitler of History  
 Lyttelton, Adrian, The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy, 1919-1929  
 Macartney, C.A., The Hapsburg Empire, 1870-1918  
 Mazower, Mark, Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century  
 May, A.M., The Habsburg Monarchy, 1871-1914  
 Marks, Sally, The Illusion of Peace  
 \*Merriman, J., Modern Europe, Chs. 24-30  
 Milward, A.S., War, Economy and Society, 1939-1945  
 Moravcsik, A., The Choice for Europe  
 Nicholson, H., Peacemaking 1919  
 Paxton, Robert, Vichy France  
 Pipes, Richard, Russia under the Bolshevik Regime  
 Robertson, Esmonde M., ed., The Origins of the Second World War  
 Rothschild, East Central Europe Between the Two World Wars  
 Rowland, B., Balance of Power or Hegemony  
 Stewart, M., Keynes and After  
 Semmel, B., The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism  
 Skidelsky, R., Keynes, Vol. III  
 Thomson, D., England in the Twentieth Century  
 Thomson, D., Europe Since Napoleon  
 Thomson, D., Democracy in France  
 Taylor, A.J.P., The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918  
 Taylor, A.J.P., English History, 1914-1945  
 Tucker, R.C., Stalin in Power  
 Weinberg, F., The Foreign Policy of Hitler's Germany  
 Weinberg, F., A World at Arms  
 Wolfers, A., Britain and France Between Two Wars

Wright, Gordon, A History of Modern France  
Wright, Gordon, The Ordeal of Total War  
Young, R.J., France and the origins of the Second World War  
Zubok and Pleshakov, Inside the Kremlin's Cold War

## II. Europe's Postwar Systems, 1945-1965

Bond, Martyn, ed. Eminent Europeans  
Bulmer, S. and Patterson, W., The Federal Republic of Germany and the European Community  
\*Calleo, D.P., Rethinking Europe's Future, Part II  
Camps, M., European Unification in the Sixties  
de Carmoy, Guy, The Foreign Policies of France, 1944-1968  
\*de Gaulle, Charles, Memoirs of Hope  
\*Duchêne, François, Jean Monnet  
Ellwood, D., Rebuilding Europe  
Furdson, E., The European Defense Community: A History  
Gaddis, J.L., Strategies of Containment  
Grosser, Alfred, The Western Alliance  
Hanrieder, W., Germany, America, Europe  
Harper, John, America and the Reconstruction of Italy, 1945-48  
\*Harper, John, American Visions of Europe  
Hogan, M., The Marshall Plan  
Kohl, W., French Nuclear Diplomacy  
Kyle, K. Suez  
\*Mastny, V., The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity  
Mayne, R.J., The Recovery of Europe  
\*Milward, A., The Reconstruction of Western Europe  
Milward, A., The European Rescue of the Nation State  
Monnet, J., Memoirs  
Morgan, Roger, The United States and West Germany, 1945-1973  
Northedge, F.S., Descent from Power: British Foreign Policy 1945-1973  
Vanicelli, A. Italy, NATO and the EEC  
Willis, F.R., Italy Chooses Europe  
Willis, F.R., France, Germany and the New Europe, 1945-1967

## III. Unraveling the Postwar Systems, 1965-1996

Andren, N. and Birnbaum, D.E., Beyond Detente  
\*Brzezinski, Z.K., The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century  
\*Calleo, D.P., The Bankrupting of America  
\*Calleo, D.P. and Staal, E.R., Europe's Franco-German Engine  
\*Calleo D.P. and Gordon, P., From the Atlantic to the Urals  
Calleo, D.P., Beyond American Hegemony

\*Calleo, D.P., Rethinking Europe's Future, Parts II and III  
 Calleo, D.P., The Imperious Economy  
 Calleo, D.P., The Atlantic Fantasy  
 \*Calleo, D.P. and Jelitto, M., "The New Germany in the New Europe," SAIS Review,  
 \_ Special Issue, Fall 1995  
 \*Calleo, D.P. and Morgenstern, C., Recasting Europe's Economies  
 Calleo, D.P. and Rowland, B. America and the World Political Economy  
 Carré d'Encausse, H., The End of the Soviet Empire  
 Clemens, Clay, Reluctant Realists: The Christian Democrats and West German Ostpolitik  
 Cleveland, H. van Buren, and Brittain, W.H.B., The Great Inflation  
 Dawisha, K., Eastern Europe, Gorbachev and Reform  
 Freedman, L., The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy  
 \*Gaddis, J.L., The U.S. and the End of the Cold War  
The Cold War: A New History  
 Garton Ash, Timothy, In Europe's Name  
 \*Gati, Charles, The Bloc that Failed  
 \*Hanrieder, W., Germany, America, Europe  
 \*Harrison, M., The Reluctant Ally: France and Atlantic Security  
 Jarausch, Konrad H., The Rush to German Unity  
 Kissinger, H., White House Years  
 Kissinger, H., Years of Upheaval  
 Kitzinger, Uwe, Diplomacy and Persuasion: How Britain Joined the Common Market  
 McCarthy, P. et al., France and Germany 1983-1993: The Struggle to Cooperate  
 Mitterrand, François, De l'Allemagne, de la France  
 Rueff, Jacques, The Monetary Sin of the West  
 \*Sodaro, Michael, Moscow, Germany and the West from Khrushchev to Gorbachev  
 Solomon, Robert, The International Monetary System  
 Swan, D., Competition and Industrial Policy in the European Community  
 \*Szabo, S.F., The Diplomacy of German Unification

#### IV. Europe Since the Cold War, 1991-2008

\*Brzezinski, Z.K., The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the  
 Twentieth Century  
 Brown, J.F., Surge to Freedom: the End of Communist Rule in Eastern Europe  
 \*Calleo, D.P., Rethinking Europe's Future, Parts II and III  
 \*Calleo, D.P., Follies of Power: America's Unipolar Fantasy  
 Coffey, P. and Presley J. European Monetary Integration  
 Drewnowski, J., ed., Crisis in the East European Economy  
 \*Gati, Charles, The Bloc that Failed  
 Jones, Erik, Europe Today: A Twenty-First Century Introduction  
 Skidelsky, R., The World After Communism  
 \*Strange, Susan, Casino Capitalism  
 Tsoukalis, L., The European Community: Past, Present and Future  
 \*Van Oudenaren, Uniting Europe: European Integration and the Post-Cold War World

## General

Calleo, D.P., The German Problem Reconsidered

\*Calleo, D.P., Rethinking Europe's Future

\*Calleo, D.P., Follies of Power: America's Unipolar Fantasy

Castigliola, F., France and the United States

de Gaulle, Charles, Major Addresses, vol. 2

\*Gaddis, J.L., The Long Peace

Gordon, P., A Certain Idea of France

\*Hanrieder, W., Germany, America, Europe: Forty Years of German Foreign Policy

\*Hobsbawm, Eric, The Age of Extremes

Hughes, H.S., The United States and Italy

\*Kennedy, P., The Rise and Fall of Great Powers, chs. 7 and 8

Kissinger, H., Diplomacy

Lacouture, J., De Gaulle

Louis, R., Britain and the Middle East

\*Mazower, Mark, Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century

Pryce, R., The Politics of the European Community

Shonfield, A., and S. Strange, International Economic Relations of the Western World, vol. I

Politics and Trade; vol. II, International Monetary Relations