

**PS 37900**  
**EUROPEAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**  
Winter 2003, Thursday 10-12:50

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### **Course Design and Objectives**

This course surveys some of the existing major empirical debates and theoretical contributions on the formation and evolution of European political institutions. It addresses the following issues: the rise of the modern state; the formation of nations and contemporary nationalism; the emergence of democracies; the crisis of the interwar period; the creation of mass parties and union movements at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and their evolution in the postwar decades; and the origins and constitutional development of the European Union. The course has the goal of reading central historical research to formulate broad comparative theoretical insights about the topics at hand. Enrolment is limited to 15 students. Doctoral students will be given priority.

### **Course Procedures and Evaluation**

Each student is expected both to read (before class) the items listed as 'required readings' and to actively participate in each session.

In addition, students are expected to complete the following assignments:

(1) Three short papers (around 10 pages each). Each essay should consist in a critical review one of the books/papers and should be written as if it were to be published to a major journal. The first paper should correspond to any reading assigned for sessions 2 to 4, the second one for sessions 5 to 7, and the third one for sessions 8 to 10. The paper has to be handed in before or at the beginning of the session that contains the reading under review. I reserve the right to return the paper back to the student if it is unsatisfactory – the student can then either write a new version or try another topic.

(2) A take-home examination to be set by the instructor and completed within a week at the end of the term.

Participation in class will count for 35 per cent of the grade. The other assignments (short papers, exam) will count for the other 65 per cent of the course grade.

All texts and books have been place under Reserve in Regenstein. Books marked with an asterisk have been ordered through the Seminary Co-op.

**1. Introductory Meeting.** (January 9)

King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry : Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press.

Skocpol, Theda and Margaret Somers. 1994. "The uses of comparative history in macrosocial inquiry," in Theda Skocpol, *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3.

## 2. The Emergence of the Modern State (I). (January 16)

### Required reading

Mancur Olson. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," *American Political Science Review*, 87, pp. 567-570.

Douglas North. 1981. "A Neoclassical Theory of the State," in *Structure and Change in Economic History*. New York: Norton. Chapter 2.

William H. McNeil. 1982. *The Pursuit of Power*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapters 2, 3. (\*)

Charles Tilly. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1990. Pages 1-95, 127-160. (\*)

Alesina, Alberto. 2002. "The Size of Countries: Does It Matter?" Harvard University. Unpublished manuscript.

### Further reading

Charles Tilly, "Reflections on the History of European State-Making," in Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 3-83.

Otto Hintze. 1975. *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*. Edited by Felix Gilbert, with the assistance of Robert M. Berdahl. New York : Oxford University Press.

Perry Anderson. 1979. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. London: Verso Editions.

Max Weber. *Politics as Vocation*. In Max Weber. 1946. *Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 4, pp. 77-128. Also in Max Weber. 1994. *Political Writings*. Edited by Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pages 309-369.

Joseph Strayer. 1970. *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Margaret Levi. 1997. *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism*. New York : Cambridge University Press.

### **3. Emergence of the Modern State (II)** (January 23)

#### Required reading

Hendrik Spruyt. 1994. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (\*)

Thomas Ertman. 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan*. Cambridge University Press. (\*) Read pages 1-37, 59-125, 154-187, 221-223 and 317-324. Skim the rest.

#### **4 - Nations and Nationalism (I).** (January 30)

##### Required reading

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (\*)

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso. (\*)

##### Further reading

Kedourie, Elie. 1960. *Nationalism*. London: Hutchinson.

H. Schulze. 1996. *States, Nations, and Nationalism: from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Oxford: Blackwell.

## 5. Nations and Nationalism (II). (February 6)

### Required reading

Hobsbawn, E.. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (\*)

Hroch, Miroslav. 2000. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press. (First edition in English was published by Cambridge University Press in 1985.) (\*)

Weber, Eugen. 1977. *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press. Chapters 1, 4, 6, 7, 15, 17, 18, 28, 29. (\*)

## 6. Democratization. (February 13)

### Required reading

Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Cambridge University Press. Forthcoming. Chapters 1-3.

Luebbert, Gregory M. 1991. *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy : Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe*. New York : Oxford University Press. (\*)

Putnam, Robert. 1993. *Making Democracy Work*. Pages 81-99, 121-151. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

### Further reading

Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy : Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2.

Herbert Kitschelt. 1992. "Political Regime Change: Structure and Process-Driven Explanations?" *American Political Science Review* 86, pp. 1028-1034.

Stanley Rothman, "Barrington Moore and the Dialectics of Revolution," *American Political Science Review* 64 (March 1970) 61-85; 182-83. (Include Moore's reply and Rothman's rejoinder.)

Adam Przeworski, "Institutionalization of Voting Patterns, or is Mobilization the Source of Decay," *American Political Science Review* 69 (March 1975) 49-67.

Lee Sigelman, "Understanding Political Instability: An Evaluation of the Mobilization-Institutionalization Approach," *Comparative Political Studies* 12 (July 1979) 205-228.

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

M. Rainer Lepsius. 1978. "From Fragmented Party Democracy to Government by Emergency Decrees and National Socialist Takeover: Germany," in Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, ed. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown and Reequilibrium*. Washington: Johns Hopkins. Chapter 2.

## 7. Political Parties. (February 20)

### Required reading

Lipset, Seymour M. and Stein Rokkan. 1967. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. New York: Free Press. Pages 1-56.

Rogowski, Ronald. 1989. *Commerce and Coalitions. How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1,2.

Kalyvas, Stathis. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press. Introduction and chapters 1 to 3. (\*)

Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague. 1985. "Party Strategy, Class Organization, and Individual Voting," in *Capitalism and Social Democracy*, Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3.

### Further readings

Klaus von Beyme, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. Gower, 1985, pp. 159-240, 311-353.

Martin Shefter, "Parties and Patronage: England, Germany, and Italy," *Politics and Society* (1981).

Joseph Lapalombara and Myron Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton University Press, 1965, Otto Kirchheimer, "The Transformation of the European Party System," (ch 6) and Giovanni Sartori, "European Political Parties: The Case of Polarized Pluralism."

Russell J. Dalton, Scott Flanagan, and Paul Beck (eds.), *Electoral Change: Realignment and Development in Advanced Industrial Societies*.

Claus Offe, "Competitive Party Democracies and the Keynesian Welfare State," *Policy Sciences* 15 (1983); reprinted in Offe, *Contradictions of the Welfare State* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984).

Robert A Dahl, ed., *Political Opposition in Western Democracies* (1966), especially chapters by Kirchheimer and Rokkan.

Ivor Crews, ed., *Electoral Change in Western Democracies* (1985).

Alan Zuckerman and Mark Irving Lichbach, "Stability and Change in European Electorates," *World Politics* 29 (July 1977): 523-551.

Leon Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies* (1967).

Giovanni Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems* (1976).

David Butler and Donald Stokes, *Political Change in Britain* (second edition, 1974).

Kitschelt et al. 1999. *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation and Inter-Party Cooperation*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2, pages 43-92.



## 8. Political Parties (II) (February 27)

### Required reading

Bartolini, Stefano. 2000. *The Political Mobilization of the European Left*. Cambridge University Press. (\*)

Boix, C. 2002. Notes on party formation. Unpublished manuscript.

Esping-Andersen, Gosta. 1999. "Politics without Class? Postindustrial Cleavages in Europe and America," in Herbert Kitschelt, Peter Lange, Gary Marks and John Stephens, eds. *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, Cambridge University Press, chapter 10, pages 293-316.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1999. "European Social Democracy between Political Economy and Electoral Competition," in Herbert Kitschelt, Peter Lange, Gary Marks and John Stephens, eds. *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, Cambridge University Press, chapter 11, pages 317-345.

## 9. Theories of European Integration (March 6)

### Required reading

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998. *The Choice for Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (\*)

Mattli, Walter. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (\*)

Gruber, Lloyd. 1999a. "Rationalist Approaches to International Cooperation: A Call for Theoretical Reorientation," *The Irving B. Harris Graduate School of Public Policy Studies. Working Paper Series* 99.14.

### Further reading

Gruber, Lloyd. 1999b. "Interstate Cooperation and the Hidden Face of Power: The Case of European Money," *The Irving B. Harris Graduate School of Public Policy Studies. Working Paper Series* 99.16.

Rosamond, Ben. 2000. *Theories of European Integration*. London: Palgrave.

Hix, Simon. 1999. *The Political System of the European Union*. London: Palgrave.

## **10. A Constitution for Europe (March 13)**

### Required reading

Barry Eichengreen. 1996. *Globalizing Capital*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 4 to 6. (\*)

Paul De Grauwe. 1997. *The Economics of Monetary Integration*. Chapters 1 to 3. (\*)

*The Federalist Papers*. Selection TBA.

Two constitutional drafts for Europe:

- Constitutional Draft. The Economist. October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2000.

- “Preliminary Draft Constitution,” drawn up by the Presidium of the European Convention (October 28<sup>th</sup>, 2002)