

HIST 8240: MODERN EUROPE
I.C. FLETCHER
SUMMER 2006

THE POLITICAL IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

From the perspective of 2006, with smoke still lingering in the air of Belgrade, Genoa, London, Madrid, Moscow, Paris, and Srebrenica, it is no longer clear that twentieth-century European history can be divided into a first half-century of wars and revolutions and a second half-century of peace and stability. As the philosopher Giorgio Agamben suggests, the state of exception is fast becoming the norm. Thus fundamental questions re-assert themselves, about law, violence, the boundaries of political community, and the status of the Other. Political history, once displaced by social and cultural history, is now returning with a new sense of urgency to address these questions.

This reading seminar explores the political in twentieth-century Europe. Of course, “the political” is a broad and contested category that binds as well as divides such apparent binaries as sovereign and subject, citizen and alien, public and private, secular and religious, state and society, democracy and dictatorship, politics and markets. What does it mean to “bring the political back in”? We will seek to historicize the political through a series of conjunctures symbolized by 1914, 1917, 1933, 1945, 1968, 1989, and 2003. We will give special attention to liberal, socialist, and fascist states; social movements and political contention; revolution, civil war, total war, and genocide; citizenship, political and social rights, gender, race, religion, and immigration; and the national, the (post)colonial, and the global. The seminar should appeal to students interested in modern European and world history, political and social theory, and the project of a new political history that draws upon social, cultural, and gender history but rejects the notion that any history can be written “with the politics left out.”

This syllabus provides a general plan for the seminar; deviations may be necessary. We will read a total of twelve books, eleven in common and one in small tutorial groups. Several of the books are very short, between 100 and 150 pages. The format of the seminar is discussion, supplemented by film screenings and group work. I expect you to be a critical reader, open-minded discussant, and clear and thoughtful writer. The final course grade is derived from reading questionnaires (30%), tutorial (discussion 10% + presentation 10%), a ten-page paper (20%), and participation (30%). It is understood that you will be honest in submitting written work for credit and I will be fair in grading it.

The seminar meets 5:30-9:10 PM Tuesday and Thursday in 711 GCB. Comments and questions are welcome inside and outside the seminar room. Please send messages to icfletcher@gsu.edu; type “Hist 8240” in the subject line. My office hours are 4:30-5:30 PM Tuesday and Thursday and by appointment (404/463-9196) in 834 GCB.

BOOKS

- *Norberto Bobbio, *Liberalism and Democracy* (2005)
Chantal Mouffe, *On the Political* (2005)
Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (2000)
**Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1975)
Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 2d ed. (2001)
V.I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder (1920)
**Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (1996)
Michael Mann, *Fascists* (2004)
Janet Hart, *New Voices in the Nation: Women and the Greek Resistance, 1941-1964* (1996)
**Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (2000)
Daniel Singer, *Prelude to Revolution: France in May 1968*, 2d ed. (2002)
**Václav Havel, *Open Letters: Selected Writings, 1965-1990* (1992)
**Sylviane Agacinski, *Parity of the Sexes* (2001)
***Jan Kubik, *The Power of Symbols Against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland* (1994) **OR**
***Yael Navaro-Yashin, *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey* (2002)
**Tariq Ramadan, *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam* (2005)
Ruud Koopmans, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni, and Florence Passy, *Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe* (2005)
Étienne Balibar, *We, the People of Europe?: Reflections on Transnational Citizenship* (2004)

* To be read for the seminar of 13 June.

** To be read in tutorial; do not purchase until assigned to a small tutorial group.

*** To be read by one half of the members for the seminar of 20 July; do not purchase until assigned to one or another half.

MEETINGS, READING, ETC.

JUNE 13 LIBERALISM

Bobbio, *Liberalism and Democracy*

JUNE 15 RETHINKING THE POLITICAL

Mouffe, *On the Political*

JUNE 20 TUTORIAL 1: TOWARDS A MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICS

Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*

JUNE 22 *REVOLUTION FROM BELOW AND ABOVE*

Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*
Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, *an Infantile Disorder*

Mazower, *Dark Continent*, chs. 1-3

JUNE 27 *TUTORIAL 2: POLITICAL ANTAGONISM*

Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*

JUNE 29 *FASCISMS*

Mann, *Fascists*

Mazower, *Dark Continent*, chs. 4-5

JULY 4 *INDEPENDENCE DAY*

JULY 6 *GENDERING ANTIFASCISM AND DEMOCRACY*

Hart, *New Voices in the Nation*

Mazower, *Dark Continent*, chs. 6-7

JULY 11 *TUTORIAL 3: THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK*

Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*

JULY 13 *THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE*

Singer, *Prelude to Revolution*

Mazower, *Dark Continent*, chs. 8-9

JULY 18 *TUTORIAL 4: THE ANTIPOLITICAL?*

Havel, *Open Letters*
Agacinski, *Parity of the Sexes*

N.B.: One half of the tutorial will read Havel and the other half will read Agacinski. Tutorial 4.1 will meet at 5:30 PM to discuss Havel. Tutorial 4.2 will meet at 7:00 PM to discuss Agacinski.

JULY 20 *RETHINKING STATE/SECULARISM AND SOCIETY/RELIGION*

Kubik, *The Power of Symbols Against the Symbols of Power*
Navaro-Yashin, *Faces of the State*

Mazower, *Dark Continent*, chs. 10-11

N.B.: One half of the seminar will read Kubik and the other half will read Navaro-Yashin.

JULY 25 *TUTORIAL 5: THE CONSTITUTIVE OUTSIDER?*

Ramadan, *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam*

JULY 27 *NEW OTHERS?*

Koopmans, Statham, Guigni, and Passy, *Contested Citizenship*

Mazower, *Dark Continent*, Epilogue

JULY 31 *THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY*

Balibar, *We, the People of Europe?*

AUG. 5 *PAPER DUE IN OFFICE (4:00 PM)*

AUG. 8 *GRADES DUE TO REGISTRAR*

READING QUESTIONNAIRE

The twofold purpose of the reading questionnaire is to help you prepare for seminar and tutorial discussions and study for graduate examinations.

Your response to the questions may be written in your own hand (please write legibly) or typed/computer-generated. Be sure to reproduce the exact format, including the questions, if you computer-generate the questionnaire. Please sign, date, and provide a correct and complete bibliographic citation to the book. In the event that two books are read for a single meeting, you should complete a separate questionnaire for each one. The only book for which no questionnaire is required is Mark Mazower's *Dark Continent*, which we will read in installments, chapter by chapter, over the course of the semester.

Completed questionnaires are due at the end of the appropriate seminar or tutorial meeting. If you are absent, bring your completed questionnaire(s) to the next seminar

meeting. Do not submit forms electronically. I will normally return the questionnaires at the next seminar meeting.

TUTORIAL

The purpose of the tutorial is to provide a smaller, face-to-face setting in which you and one or two other students can discuss with me a significant but difficult book.

At the beginning of the semester you will be assigned to one of five small tutorial groups. Each group will read a book that complements the seminar reading. I will meet once with your group according to the syllabus schedule. After we complete our discussion of the book, your group will continue meeting to plan a presentation to the next meeting of the seminar. Your group presentation should address the book in terms of its content and context, argument and significance, and connections to seminar readings and discussions. Each member of your group should take part in the presentation. Your group should distribute a one- or two-page summary of the book, with your names, the date, and a full bibliographical citation at the top of the (first) page. I recommend that you organize this summary in the form of an annotated table of contents. Your group will have twenty minutes to make its presentation, followed by ten minutes for questions and answers.

To sum up, the seminar will meet twice during the first week of the semester; thereafter, the seminar as a whole will meet only once a week. I will assign each student to one of five small tutorial groups, and I will meet each of these groups once, in rotation, during the second, third, fifth, sixth, and seventh weeks of the semester. Each tutorial group will make a presentation, based on the reading its members discussed with me, to the next seminar meeting.

PAPER

The paper provides an opportunity for you to “connect the dots” between some of the key empirical, theoretical, and methodological issues we have explored in the seminar and a possible project of your own (research paper, thesis, dissertation; documentary film; museum exhibition; oral history collection; historical novel or play). The purpose of the paper is to clarify your thoughts; it is not intended to be a conventional “review essay” or “historiographical essay.”

I strongly recommend that you organize your paper in three parts. First, reflect on your conception of “the political” before the seminar and discuss how and why it has changed during the seminar. Second, highlight two or three key issues surrounding the political in twentieth-century Europe and discuss why they particularly intrigue you. Third, describe a possible project and discuss how pursuing it could illuminate these key issues and the political more generally. Think of your paper as a “thought piece” that will serve as a basis for discussion with likeminded graduate students and faculty members.

You should tell me sooner rather than later about possible projects in which you are interested, and we should define the issues as well as discuss appropriate books. Build your paper around the three recommended parts, not the books. However, you should explicitly cite and discuss in the body of your paper at least five of the books we have read. You are very welcome, of course, to refer to additional books we have read in either the text or the notes.

The length of the paper should be around ten pages, double spaced with standard margins. Please paginate your paper. At the top of the first page, please center the title of your paper and, on the next double spaced line, center your name. Begin your essay on the next double spaced line. You should set up your paper with an introduction of two or three paragraphs and wrap it up with a conclusion of two or three paragraphs. Do not be afraid of the “I” word. I’m listening for your voice.

Remember that plagiarism is the unacknowledged use of someone else's words and/or ideas. Needless to say, quote all words and credit all ideas not your own. Of course, keywords that have entered general circulation, such as hegemony, do not have to appear in quotation marks. But a passage from Gramsci, like “In the East the state was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relation between state and civil society, and when the state trembled a sturdy structure of civil society was at once revealed,” must be enclosed in quotation marks and referenced.

Keep quotations brief and few in number. Your first reference citing the source of a quotation should take the form of a note. Subsequent quotations from the same source may be referenced in the text. For example: “She argues that '[n]ext to antagonism, the concept of hegemony is the key notion for addressing the question of ‘the political’ (Mouffe, 17).” You may use either endnotes or footnotes. Be sure bibliographic citations in your notes are correct, complete, and consistent in style. There is no need for a separate bibliography because your notes should include citations to all the books you discuss. William Kelleher Storey’s *Writing History: A Guide for Students*, 2d ed. (2004) is a good source of practical information and sound advice. And of course William Strunk, Jr. and E.B. White’s timeless little book, *The Elements of Style*, 4th ed. (2000), should always be within reach of your writing table.

Your paper is due in the Department of History office by 4:00 PM, Saturday, 5 August, but you may leave the paper in my mailbox anytime during the week before the deadline. Submit a paper copy; do not transmit electronically. Staple or clip your paper together; do not place your paper in a binder or folder. Keep a paper or electronic copy for your records. I will return your paper with comments by regular mail if you provide me with a self-addressed envelope.