

War and Peace in Europe

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Course Description

This note covers the main reading for the first three weeks plus a list of topics for the remaining weeks which we can discuss at the first session. I will expect different people to make short informal presentations on what they have read. The assignments for this course will be two essays, one due by the end of the fifth week and one due by the end of term. If you plan to do your dissertation in this course, one of your essays can be a dissertation outline. Those who do not do a dissertation should write an extended essay (5000 words) (due by the end of the Easter vacation.)

Course Reading

Session 1 The Clausewitzian Conception of War

* Clausewitz, *On War*, especially Books 1, 2 and 8

W B Gallie, *Philosophies of War and Peace*

R Aron, *Philosopher of War* (or *Penser de la Guerre Clausewitz*)

M Howard, *Clausewitz: Past Masters*

R Leonard, *A Short Guide to Clausewitz on War*

A Beyerchen, "Clausewitz, Non Linearity and the Unpredictability of War" in *International Security* 17 3/58

John Keegan, *A History of Warfare*

Session 2 The Peace Tradition

* Kanl, *Perpetual Peace* (1793)

* J J Rousseau, *Perpetual Peace*

M Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience*

D Archibugi, "Models of International Organisation in Perpetual Peace Projects", *Review of International Studies* (1992)

M Wright, "An Anatomy of International thought", *Review of International Studies*, 11 (1987)

A J P Taylor, *The Trouble Makers: Dissent over Foreign Policy 1792-1939*

F H Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace* (1963)

Session 3 Sociological Approaches to War and Peace

M Howard *Warfare in European History*

Karl Liebknecht, *Militarism and Anti-Militarism*

F Engels, "The Force Theory" in *Anti-Duhring*

W McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force and Society since AD1000*

J Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun*

E P Thompson et al *Exterminism and the Cold War*, especially the chapters by E P Thompson and M Kaldor

Martin Shaw ed *War, State and Society*, (1984)

Martin Shaw, *Past-Military Society* (1991)

C Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*

Everyone should read the texts marked by an asterisk.

For the remaining weeks I propose the following topics:

Theory of Nuclear Deterrence
Military-industrial Complex in East and West
European Security Institutions, including NATO, WEU, CSCE, CIS, etc
The Gulf War
New Nationalist Wars, eg Yugoslavia and Transcaucasu
Concepts of Security

Course Schedule

This is a preliminary reading list. You will be receiving additional reading during the term plus a list of essay topics.

Session 1 The Rise of the States System

Bull, H. and Watson, A. eds, *The Expansion of International Society* (1977)
McNeill, W. *The Pursuit of Power, Technology, Armed Force and Society since A.D. 1000* (1992)
Clark, I. *Reform and Resistance in the International Order* (1980)
Wight, M. *The System of States* (1977)
Rosencrance R.N. *Action and Reaction on World Politics*
Hinsley, F.H. *Sovereignty*

Why did a states system emerge in Europe in contrast to the Asian empires? What are the distinguishing characteristics of a states system? Are states systems more prone to change than other forms of political organisation?

Session 2 The Industrialisation of Europe

F. Braudel *Civilisation and Capitalism, 15th-18th century. Vol 3: The Perspective of the World* (1984)
A. Maddison, *Dynamic Forces in Capitalist Development: a long-run comparative view* (1991)
S. Pollard, *Peaceful Conquest: The industrialisation of Europe 1760-1970* (1981)
I. Wallerstein, *Historical Capitalism* (1983)
C. Tilly. *Coercion, Capital and European States AD 990-1990* (1990)
D. Landes, *Prometheus Unbound: Technological Change 1750 to the Present* (1969)
J. Goldstein, *Long Cycles: Prosperity and War in the Modern Age* (1988)
C. Freeman, ed. *Long Waves in the World Economy* (1984)
W.W. Rostow, *The World Economy: History and Prospect*, (1978)

Why did modern industry emerge in Europe and not elsewhere? Why did some parts of Europe industrialise and not others? What is the difference between industrialism and capitalism? How do you account for waves of industrialisation? To what extent was the industrialisation of Europe a global phenomenon?

Session 3 The Nation-State and Nationalism

Lord Acton, "Nationality" in *The History of Freedom and Other Essays* (1907)
B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1986)
J.P.T. Bury "Nationalities and Nationalism", *New Cambridge Modern History* Vol X
H. Chadwick, *Nationalities of Europe and The Growth of National Ideologies* (1945)
E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (1983)
E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Programme, Myth and Reality* (1990)
E. Kedourie, *Nationalism* (1960)
J.S. Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861)
L.B. Namier, "Nationalism and Liberty" in *Avenues of History* (1952) or *Vanished Supremacies* (1958)
E. Renan "What is a Nation?" in *A Zimmern Modern Political Doctrines* (1939)
Royal Institute of International Affairs, *Nationalism: A Report* (1939)

H. Schulze, *Nation-Building in Central Europe* (1987)
H. Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (1977)
A.D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (1971)

Can a nation be defined independently of a nation-state? What are the different varieties of nationalism? How was nationalism in Europe influenced by nationalism in European colonies? Is there a link between nationalism and industrialism?

Session 4 The division between Eastern and Western Europe

P. Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (1974)
I. Bibo, *Misere des Petits Etats de L'Est* (1962)
J. Szucs, "Three Historical Regions of Europe" in J.Keane, ed. *Civil Society and the State* (198X) I. Rev, "Local autonomy or centralism- when was the original sin committed?", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. March 1984

I.T. Berend and G. Ranki, *The European Periphery and Industrialisation* , (1982)
O. Halecki, *The Borderlands of Western Civilisation*
O.Halecki, "The Limits and Divisions of European History", *Daedalus*, Special Issue on Central Europe, Fall 1990.
F. Naumann, *Central Europe*
F.Fischer, *War of Illusion*
T.G.Masaryk, *The meaning of Czech History*
M.Kundera, "A kidnapped West or Culture Bows Out", *New York Review of Books*. November 1984
M.Simecka, "Reply to Kundera", *East European Reporter*
G.Schopflin and N. Wood,eds, *In Search of Central Europe*

To what extent does the post-war division of Europe correspond to the historical division of Europe? Are democracy, private property and individualism incompatible with Eastern Europe's history? Does Central Europe have its own identity? To what extent do historical developments in East and Central Europe have to be explained in terms of developments in Western Europe?

Session 5 Europe and the World

G.Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (1967)
A.W. Deporte, *Europe between the Superpowers: The Enduring Balance*, (1986)
M. Featherstone, ed. *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (1990)
D.K.Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century* (1982)
J.A. Hall, *Powers and Liberties: The Causes and Consequences of the Rise of the West* (1986)
J. Joll, *Europe since 1870: An International History* (1991)
P. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (1988)
W.R.Keylor *The Twentieth Century World: An International History* (1984)
W. Lafeber, *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad since 1750* (1989)
T.H. Laue *The World Revolution of Westernization: The Twentieth Century in Global Perspective* (1987)
W. McNeill *The Rise of the West* (1963)
M.Ruthven, *Islam in the World* (1984)
E.Said, *Orientalism* (1978)
W.D. Smith *European Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1982)
E.R. Wolf *Europe and the People without History* (1982)

Can the rise of modern Europe be explained in terms of the globalisation of Europe? What part did other continents play in the construction of modern Europe? How did the European model of social organisation spread to the rest of the world?

Session 6 Modernity, the Individual and the State

S. Lukes, *Individualism* in W. Outhwaite & T. Bottomore (eds) *The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Social Thought* (1973)
D. Heid and A. Giddens, eds, *States and Societies* (1983)
A. Giddens, *The Nation-state and Violence* (1985)
A. Gamble, *An Introduction to Modern Social and Political Thought* (1981)
K. Dyson, *The State Condition in Western Europe*
K. Marx, "On the Jewish Question" in *Early Writings*
R. Miliband "Marx and the State" in T. Bottomore. ed., *Karl Marx*
J. Keane ed. *Civil Society and the State* (1988)
Kumar K, "Modernity" in W. Outhwaite and T. Bottomore (eds) *The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Social Thought*
Giddens A "Modernity & Self-Identity"
Bauman Z "Modernity and Ambivalence" in M. Featherstone (ed) *Global Culture*
Elias N "The Civilising Process"

Hall S, "The Question of Cultural Identity" in S. Hall et al (eds), *Modernity and its Futures*

Kalberg S, "The German *Sonderweg* Remystified", *Theory, Culture and Society*, 9.3.1992

What is the link between the rise of individualism and the rise of the modern state? Do modern states tend to totalitarianism?

Session 7 Europe from Below

J. Keane. ed. *Civil Society and the State* (1988)
A. Gramsci "State and Civil Society" in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (1971)
W.F. Wertheim, *Evolution and Revolution: The Rising Waves of Emancipation* (1974)
J. Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis* (1973)
R.W. Cox, "Social Forces, states and World Orders-Beyond International Relations Theory", in R. Keohane, ed. *Neo-Realism and its Critics* (1986)
J.L. Cohen, ed. "Social Movements", Special Issue of *Social Research*, Vol 52, 1985
R. Falk *Explorations at the Edge of Time* (1991)
A. Touraine, *La Production de la Societe* (1973)

Is the dynamism of modern Europe to be explained in terms of its emancipatory movements? Are transnational social movements a new phenomenon?

Session 8 The Post-War Settlement in the West

Kenneth O Morgan *Labour in Power 1945-51* 1984
G D N Worswick & P H Ady (eds) *The British Economy 1945-1950*, 1952
Samuel H Beer, *Modern British Politics: Parties and Pressure Groups in the Collectivist Age*, 1982
Ian Bullock *Ernest Bevin: Foreign Secretary 1945-1951*, 1983
J-P Rioux, *La France de la Quatrieme Republique. I. L'ardeur et la necessite 1944-52* 1980
Philip Williams *Crisis and Compromise: Politics in the Fourth Republic*, 1964

H A Turner *The Two Germanies since 1945*, 1987
G Smith *Democracy in Western Germany*, 1988
Alfred Grosser *Western Germany: From Defeat to Rearmament 1955*
Germany 1947-1949: *The Story in Documents* (US Department of State, Office of Public Affairs, Washington, 1950)
Muriel Grindrod *The Rebuilding of Italy: Politics and Economics 1945-1955*, 1955

Carlo Sforza, Italy, the Marshall Plan and the "Third Force", *Foreign Affairs* XVI 3 (April 1948) pp 450-456

John Wheeler-Bennett and Anthony Nicholls *The Semblance of Peace: The Political Settlement after the Second World War*. 1972

A Boltho (ed) *The European Economy: Growth and Crisis* 1982
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development *From Marshall Plan to Global Interdependence: New Challenge for Industrialised Nations* 1978

John H Williams, "Europe after 1952: The long-term recovery problem" *Foreign Affairs* XXVII, 3, pp. 426-448

Did the post-war constitutional settlements in France, Italy and West Germany create a common liberal democratic pattern for Western Europe as a whole? To what extent did the implementation of the Marshall Plan encourage convergence between the West European economies? Was the post-war political settlement in Europe comparable to the earlier settlements of 1919 and, more remotely, of 1815. What were the strategic doctrines underpinning the NATO alliance?

Session 9 The Post-War Settlement in Eastern Europe

F.Claudin, *The Communist Movement: From Comintern to Cominform*, (1975)
M.Djilas, *Conversations with Stalin*, (1962)
F.Fejto, *A History of the People's Democracies*, (1969)
G.Kennan, *Memoirs 1925-50*, (1968)
V. Mastny, *Russia's Road to the Cold War: Diplomacy, Warfare, and the Politics of Communism 1941-1945*, (1979)
Z.Brzezinski *The Social Bloc*
A Wolfe: Soviet Power in Europe! 1945-70
J.Pelikan *The Czechoslovak Political Trials 1950-54*
T Hammond, (ed) *The Anatomy of Communist Takeovers*
I.Deutscher, *Stalin*

Why were Communist regimes imposed on Eastern Europe in the late 1940's? Was Stalinism different in East-Central Europe than in the Soviet Union?

Session 10 Communist Political Systems

R.Bahro, *The Alternative in Eastern Europe* (1975)
E.H.Carr, *A History of Soviet Russia*, seven vols, (1950,1953,1954,1958,1964)
M.Djilas, *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System*, (1966)
Z.Brzezinski *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, (1956)
F.Feher, A.Heller, and G.Markus, *Dictatorship Over Needs: An Analysis of Soviet Society*, (1983)
M.Haraszti *A Worker in a Workers' State: Piece-rates in Hungary* (1977)
M.Haraszti *The Velvet Prison: Artists under State Socialism* (1988)
V. Havel, et al, *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens against the State in Central-Eastern Europe* (1985)
G.Konrad and I.Szelenyi, *Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power* (1979)
M.Lewin, *The Making of the Soviet System: Essays in the Social History of Interwar Russia* (1985)
M.Simecka, *The Restoration of Order: The Normalisation of Czechoslovakia 1969-1976*, (1984)
I.Szelenyi, "The Prospects and Limits of the East European new class project: an auto-critical reflection on the intellectuals and the road to class power", *Politics and Society*, 15:2, (1986-7) L.Trotsky, *Revolution Betrayed: What is the Soviet Union and Where is it going?* (1977)

M. Vajda, *The State and Socialism*, (1981)
D.Lane, *Society and Politics in the USSR*
T H Rigby & F Feher, *Political Legitimation in Communist States*
T H Rigby et al eds, *Authority, Power and Policy in the USSR*
V.Havel *The Power of the Powerless*
V.Simecka *Restoration of Order*
H Gordon Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*

R Richta et al, *Civilisation at the Crossroads*

What sense can Communist political systems be described as "socialist"? Are Communist political systems class systems? To what extent can the nature of these systems be explained in terms of the heritage of Eastern Absolutism or Asiatic-type empires? How do you explain the cycles of reform and crackdown? What are the differences between different East European countries?

Session 11 Centrally Planned Economies

A. Nove, *The Soviet Economic System*, (1977)

T.Bauer, "Investment Cycles in Planned Economies", *Acta Oeconomica*, 21 :3, (1978) E.Commisso and L.D'Andrea Tyson? "Power, Purpose, and Collective Choice: economic strategy in socialist states", Special issue of *International Organization*, (Spring 1986)

M.Kaser, *Comecon: Integration Problems of Planned Economies*, (1967)

M.Kaser, ed. The Economic History of Eastern Europe. 1919-75. Vol.3, *Institutional Change within a Planned Economy*, (1986)

J.Kornai *Contradictions and Dilemmas*, (1985)

J.Kornai, *Growth Shortage and Efficiency*, (1982)

J.Kornai "The Hungarian Reform Process: visions, hopes and reality", *Journal of Economic Literature*, (December 1986)

O.Lange, *Problems of Political Economy of Socialism*, (1962)

J.Sapir, *L'Economie Mobilisee?* (1990)

What are the basic characteristics of centrally planned economies? Why do centrally planned economies tend to shortage and inefficiency? What role do international economic relationships play in planned economies? What were the experiences of reform in different East European countries?

Session 12 Transnational Institutions

Session 13 Politics in Western Europe

Session 14 The "Golden Age of Capitalism": Growth and Recession in Western Europe

A.Maddison, *Phases of Capitalist Development*, (1982)

C.Freeman, et al, *Unemployment and Technical Innovation: A Study of Long Waves and Economic Development*, (1982)

A.Liepetz, *Mirages and Miracles: The Crises of Global Fordism* (1987)

C.Perez-Perez, "Micro-electronics, long waves, and world structural change", *World Development*, 13:3, (1985)

M.J.Piore and C.F.Sabel *The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity*, (1984)

H.Van der Wee, *Prosperity and Upheaval 1945-80*, (1987)

P.Armstrong, A.Glynn, and J.Harrison, *Capitalism since World War II*, (1984)

National Institute for Economic and Social Research, R.C.O.Matthews, ed. *Slower Growth in the Western World*, (1982)

How do you explain the long boom in Western Europe after the Second World War? Why did growth slow down after 1973? How has the structure of Western economies changed during the 1970's and 1980's?

Session 15 North-South Contrasts

Session 16 East-West: From Confrontation to Detente

W.Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, (1959)

W.Brandt, *Friedenspolitik in Europa*, (1968)

I. Deutscher, *The Great Contest*, (1960)
 K. Dyson, ed. *European Detente: Case-studies of the politics of East-West relations*, (1986) J.L. Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American Security Policy*, (1972)
 J.L. Gaddis, "The Emerging post-revisionist synthesis on the origins of the cold war" *Diplomatic History*, (Summer 1983)
 J.L. Gaddis, "The Long Peace", *International Security*, (Spring 1986)
 R. Garthoff, *Detente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan*. (1985)
 H. German, *The Brezhnev Politburo and the decline of detente*, (1984)
 F. Halliday, *The Making of the Second Cold War*, (1983)
 P. Hassner, "Europe: Old Conflicts, New Rules", *Orbis*, (Autumn 1973)
 M. Kaldor, *The Imaginary War*, (1990)
 M. Kaldor, G. Holden, and R. Falk, *The New Detente: Rethinking East-West Relations*, (1989) H. Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, (1982)
 H. Kissinger, *The White House Years*, (1979)
 N. Khrushchev, *Khrushchev remembers*, (1971)
 G. Konrad, *Anti-Politics*, (1983)
 J. Mearsheimer, "The Long Peace", *International Security*, (Summer 1990)
 A. Michnik, *Letters from Prison and other essays*, (1985)
 C.E. Nathanson, "The Social Construction of the Soviet Threat: a study in the politics of representation," *Alternatives*, (October 1988)
 D. Simes, "The Death of Detente", *International Security*, 5:1, (1980)
 E.P. Thompson, *Exterminism and the Cold War*, (1982)
 P. Windsor, *Germany and the management of detente*, (1971)
 P. Volten, *Brezhnev's Peace Program: A Study of Soviet Domestic Political Process and Power*. (1982)

What are the different explanations for the East-West division of Europe? What were the origins of detente in Europe? Why did detente fail?

Session 17 The 1989 Revolutions

T. Garton Ash, *We the People: The Revolution of 1989*, (1990)
 R. Dahrendorf, *Reflections on the Revolutions in Europe*, (1990)
 M. Kaldor, ed. *Europe from Below*, (1991)
 M. Glenny, *The Rebirth of History: Eastern Europe in the Age of Democracy*, (1990) F. Fukuyama, *The End of History*, (1991)

Why did the Communist regimes collapse so quickly? Did the revolutions of 1989 contain any new ideas? Did the deployment of nuclear weapons in Western Europe hasten the revolutions?

Session 18 The Unification of Germany

M Fulbrook, "The Transformation of Political Legitimacy in West Germany since 1945" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1987
 M Fulbrook, *The Two Germanies 1945-1990*
 M Fulbrook *The Fontana History of Germany: The Divided Nation*
 R Dahrendorf *Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland/Society and Democracy in Germany*, 1967
 J Krejci *Social Structure in a Divided Germany*, 1976
 T Garton Ash *The Uses of Adversity*
 J Sandford "Alternative Approaches to the The German Question" *German Life and Letters*, 38,4,1985
 S Braun & B Michalowski 3 Oktober 1990. *Der Weg zur Einheit (Reserve)*
 W Kaltefleiter 'Die Struktur der deutschen Wählerschaft nach der Vereinigung'. *Zeitschrift für Politik* 38, 1, 1991
 G Grass 'The March of the Mighty Mark', *The Guardian* 20.10.90
 J Habermas (ed), *Stichworte zur 'Geistigen Situation der Zeit'/Observations on 'The Spirit al Situation of the Age*, 1979
 J Habermas, "Der DM-Nationalismus", *Die Zeit* 30.3.90

J Habermas, *Die Nachholende Revolution*, sec.6

J Habermas, "Die andere Zerstörung der Vernunft *Die Zeit* 10.5.91 (and reply by R.Schroter 31.5.91)

H J Maaz, *Das Gesturzte Volk*

Session 19 The Disintegration of the Soviet Union

B.Kargalitsky, *The Thinking Reed: Soviet Intellectuals from 1917 to the present*, (1988)

M.Lewin, *The Gorbachev Phenomenon: A Historical Interpretation*, (1988)