

History 9417A/B

Europe since the Second World War

Course Description:

The assigned texts were selected to introduce students to a range of subjects and historical methods in the larger field of post-1945 European history. No claim is made to comprehensiveness of coverage. The readings draw from a range of sub-specialties within history as well as on works by political scientists, sociologists, lawyers, journalists, and the makers of documentary films. History does not belong only to the historical profession, or to the academy, especially when the subject is such a recent period. The course is designed to stimulate reflection regarding students' own historical agendas and the approaches they propose to take in their own work.

The class begins with an examination of policies of inclusion and exclusion of immigrants and members of indigenous minorities. The era was characterized by large-scale movements of population, initially as a result of policies of ethnic cleansing and forced labor during and after the Second World War, and later based on laws and treaties that promoted freedom of movement within and also to the developing European Union. The section begins with several works that focus on the development of European citizenship policies, how states decided which individuals to include or exclude from the rights and obligations of full membership. Because such decisions reveal a great deal about national self-conceptions and interests, where political power is located, and often also about relationships between states, they have been the subject of numerous historical studies over the past several decades. In the first week of the class we examine one influential comparative account of the development of citizenship policies in France and Germany, written by a sociologist, as well as an excerpt from a historical study that was in part a response to this comparative study; historians frequently find questions raised by sociologists fruitful starting points for historical research. The assignments for the second week examine what citizenship policies reveal about the relationship between Britain and France and their former colonial possessions in the decades that followed the end of the Second World War. Both nations sought to maintain links with former colonies, and inclusive citizenship policies were one tool used to further this goal, although exactly how willing Britain and France were to permit former subjects actually to exercise the rights of citizenship, including especially settlement in the metropole, varied over time and was the subject of intensive debate. The last week in this section of the course focuses on relations between Polish Jews and other Poles after the Second World War. That many Jewish Poles who returned to Poland from the Soviet Union after 1944 were not welcomed is clear; the exact facts of the case is the subject of an intense historical debate, carried on in both English and Polish.

The second section of the class examines two accounts of the nature of class differences in Europe, with an emphasis on the postwar period. French sociologist Pierre

Bourdieu argued in an influential study published in 1979 that class position is defined above all by distinctive personalities, dispositions. Bourdieu undertook to delineate the economic logic of class-linked personality traits, and how there were expressed in tastes for food, sports, and clothing, distinctive gender relations, and attitudes towards study and work. The second text we will examine, Thomas Piketty's *Capitalism in the Twenty-First Century*, published in 2014, returns the focus to wealth and income. Its innovative character lies in its historical sweep, based on new databanks of information regarding tax returns, and in its comparative approach. Piketty analyzes and seeks to explain how and why inequality of incomes and wealth have varied over the past century, and especially since 1945, in France, Germany, Britain, and the United States.

The third section will consider studies that focus on the influence of American culture on European states, with a focus on West Germany, France, and the Soviet Union (with respect to the Soviet Union the focus is broadened to include the influence of Western culture generally). With respect to West Germany the assigned materials examine how the presence of American soldiers in Western Europe, and the influence of American goods and cultural products, challenged existing cultural patterns. With respect to all the countries studied this section examines the forms taken by external influences and how European states and societies responded.

The fourth section of the class focuses on the last years of the Soviet Union and the methods employed by Vladimir Putin to rise to power and then rule Russia. The first class in this section is based on selections from the oral histories collected by Svetlana Alexievich regarding the impact on Soviet society of the meltdown at the nuclear reactor at Chernobyl in April 1986 and, in a separate book, how Russians experienced the 1990s and the first decade of the twentieth century. Alexievich, who won a Nobel Prize for her work, interviewed hundreds of those affected by these events to create a portrait of Soviet society at the moment of its dissolution. Historians increasingly rely on evidence of this kind to go beyond the limits of officially created documents and other more traditional sources. In the next week of this section the class will examine several critical accounts of Putin's regime.

There will be a fifth section of the class, with the emphasis to be determined in part based on student interests.

The half course cannot provide an overview of post-1945 European history in addition to examining at some depth historical writings that focus on particular themes. Students who have not studied this period in history are urged to read Tony Judt's *Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005) over the Christmas break. Please also note that the first class will start with a discussion of assigned texts on citizenship. Please read these texts before the class.

Assignments and Evaluation:

Two to three page responses to questions regarding the assigned readings, due in

the instructors mailbox or sent to the instructor as an attachment (in Word) to an email by 1:00 pm on the day before each class. Since the course will meet on the first day that Western resumes classes, no response paper is required with respect to the first class. The instructor will propose questions to consider in the response papers.

10%

Participation in class discussions

20%

Presentation to the class:

20%

Explanation of the presentation: Students will be asked to make one class presentation based on assigned readings, on the day the readings are to be discussed. Students will read drafts of their presentations to me on the Monday before the class during which they are to be made. I will offer suggestions for improvement. Students will be graded entirely on the content of the final presentations, which should last for twenty to twenty-five minutes.

Two eight to ten page essays on the assigned materials (each 25% of the course grade). **The essays are due in class on the day the material is to be discussed. Please write at least one of these essays by the end of week seven of the course.**

50%

In calculating the grades for the responses to the assigned readings and for participation in class discussion, the instructor will exclude the lowest of the grades submitted. This means that if a student needs to miss one class, this will not be penalized; the grade for this class will be dropped. Further absences will require justification as provided by Western regulations.

Please note that I have listed the readings for each week in the order in which I suggest you read them.

Starred materials can be purchased in the bookstore.

Subjects

January 5 Inclusion and Exclusion (1): Immigration and
Citizenship in West Germany and France

Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), Preface, 1-17; 138-89.

Eli Nathans, *Politics of Citizenship in Germany. Ethnicity, Utility, and Nationalism*
(Oxford: Berg, 2004), 235-64.

Brubaker seeks to explain why in the 1970s and 1980s France and West Germany adopted very different approaches towards granting citizenship to the large immigrant populations in each country. How did the distinct national self-conceptions of each country operate to influence policy decisions on citizenship, according to Brubaker? What other factors influenced the development of citizenship policies? What role was played by considerations of relations with foreign powers? Does Brubaker distinguish the influence of elite and popular opinion? In what respects does the examination of the policies of West Germany, and after 1990, Germany, found in Nathans' study support or undermine the claims made by Brubaker?

January 12. Inclusion and Exclusion (2): Citizenship and Empire

Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain. Race and Citizenship Policies in the Postwar Era* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1997), preface, 1-24, 111-69.

Frederick Cooper, *Citizenship between Empire and Nation. Remaking France and French Africa 1945-1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 1-91, 120-31, 152-64, 177-91, 414-47.

Why did the British government choose to maintain the right of all British subjects to emigrate to and work in Britain in 1947 and 1948? Why did the British government seek in the course of the 1950s to restrict this right? What roles did elite and popular opinion play in the development of British policy on this subject. according to Paul? In what respects might Paul's source base have influenced her conclusions?

Cooper writes that he wishes to explore the competing visions of the French empire in the period between 1945 and 1960. What were these competing visions? Consider the different kinds of parliamentary bodies in which power might be placed (imperial parliament versus a single parliament in Metropolitan France; whether all colonial voters should be treated equally or divided according to status as European or native; and the forms government authorities might take at the level of the colony). What principles and interests guided the advocates of different positions? How did the nature of citizenship rights relate to these different visions of empire?

What were the most important similarities and differences between the British and French approaches to colonial citizenship between 1945 and 1960, based on the analyses of Paul and Cooper?

January 19 Inclusion and Exclusion in Postwar Poland (3): Polish Jews and other Poles

*Jan Gross, *Fear. Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz. An Essay in Historical*

Interpretation (New York: Random House, 2006).

Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *After the Holocaust. Polish-Jewish Conflict in the Wake of World War II* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2003), 1-5, 53-62, 103-15, 131-39, 187-99.

Michael Steinlauf, *Bondage to the Dead. Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), preface, 1-61.

Anna Cichopek-Gajraj, *Beyond Violence. Jewish Survivors in Poland and Slovakia, 1944-48* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1-10, 130-45, 179-87, 231-37.

All four authors examine the violence against Polish Jews in Poland in 1945 and 1946, violence that led most of the Jews who had returned to Poland after the defeat of Germany to leave. Are there any facts or interpretations on which the authors agree? What are the most significant differences in the interpretations of these events? Consider the following factors: the role of long-held anti-Semitic sentiments in Polish society; the influence of the German example in making these sentiments even more extreme and depraved, and more generally the brutal experience of German rule; the active part played by some Jews and former Jews in the Communist administration in those parts of Poland occupied by the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1941, and after 1944 in all of Poland; the civil war that took place between supporters and opponents of the new Communist regime in 1945 and 1946, and the general lawlessness of the period; the murder of much of the Polish elite by Nazi Germany, which deprived the country of a significant part of its spiritual leadership; conflicts over property rights created by the return of Polish Jews whose property had been appropriated by non-Jewish Poles; the positions taken regarding the violence by leaders of the Catholic Church in Poland.

January 26 Inequality (1): The influence of class, especially in postwar France

Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Harvard University Press, 1991), 12-31 (introduction by John B. Thompson)

*Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Harvard University Press, 1996), 99-115, 126-131.

What are the distinctive characteristics of the disposition, or habitus, as Bourdieu uses the term? What qualities of the habitus interest Bourdieu; what are some of the most significant class-linked characteristics? To what extent does the habitus express an economic logic? Why is the habitus relevant to economic success, that is, perpetuate class distinctions? What are the problems with traditional measures of class, according to Bourdieu? What are the different forms taken by capital, in Bourdieu's account? How does one form of capital become transformed into another?

February 2 Inequality (2): The influence of class, especially in postwar France

Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 142-43, 169-219.

How does Bourdieu explain what he sees as class-based differences in tastes for food, clothing, and sports? How does he relate these different tastes, in turn, to different ideals of the body and to class-based conceptions of gender-roles? What roles do distinctions in taste play in the social world Bourdieu describes?

Film: Selections from the *Seven Up* series.

February 9: Inequality (3): Changing economic bases of class in postwar Europe

Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 1-30, 113-50, 164-94, 199-223, 237-376, 493-514.

Piketty argues that as long as return on capital (r) exceeds the growth rate of the entire economy (g) inequality of wealth will grow, as long as: 1) more of the return from capital is reinvested than the annual growth rate of the economy, 2) governments do not intervene in economies (for example, through income and estate taxes) to reduce inequality. What is the rationale behind this claim? Why was there a deviation from this pattern in the period between the First World War and the 1950s, according to Piketty? What role was played in the growing inequality in the societies on which Piketty focuses by income inequalities? How does Piketty seek to explain this rise in income inequality? (see pages 506-7) How does Piketty respond to claims that rising income inequality is a product of the increasingly specialized skills that managers must possess? What role was played by minimum wage laws in explaining the phenomena that Piketty describes?

February 16 Europe and the United States (1): The role of American popular culture in West Germany and the Soviet Union

Kaspar Maase, "Establishing Cultural Democracy: Youth, 'Americanization,' and the Irresistible Rise of Popular Culture," in *The Miracle Years. A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968*, ed. Hanna Schissler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 428-50.

Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins. The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 1-33, 38-43, 74-95, 163-73, 222-35.

Sergei Zhuk, *Rock and Roll in Rocket City. The West, Identity, and Ideology in Soviet Dnipropetrovsk, 1960-1985* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 1-

7, 79-94.

According to Kaspar Maase, what role did disputes over American popular culture play in internal conflicts in the Federal Republic? Why was the fundamental issue, according to Maase, whether those who had been excluded from power were "[legitimately entitled] to democratic participation"? (p. 430) On what kind of evidence does Maase rely to support his argument? To what extent is his article based on Bourdieu's categories? (see especially pages 442-43) Does Maase's larger argument tend to support or undermine Bourdieu's claims regarding the role of cultural capital in sustaining social hierarchies?

Maria Höhn's book also examines the efforts of German conservatives, generally members of traditional elites, to repress the influence of American models during the 1950s. While Maase focuses on the Halbstarken ("toughs") and their tastes in music and dress, Höhn examines the influences of interactions between ordinary Germans and the American military. How does this difference in focus influence the conclusions that Höhn draws regarding the effects of American culture on West Germany? Was the adoption of American styles a matter of creating a "legitimate entitlement to democratic participation," as Maase argues?

Sergei Zhuk's discussion of the influence of popular Western music in Dnipropetrovsk in the 1960s and early 1970s focuses on a very different context. How does Zhuk explain the attraction of Western music for Soviet youth in the 1960s and early 1970s? Why did this attraction pose a challenge to the existing order? How did the indigenous production of music adapt to the challenge from the West?

All three of these selections have autobiographical elements. How might these have influenced the interpretations of the authors?

Film excerpt: selection from Edgar Reitz's *Heimat*.

March 2 Europe and the United States (2): Perceptions of American institutions

Tony Judt, *Past Imperfect. French Intellectuals, 1944-1956* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 187-204.

Eli Nathans, *Peter von Zahn's Cold War Broadcasts to West Germany. Assessing America* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming), selections.

March 9 The end of the Soviet Union and the Rise of Vladimir Putin (1): The oral histories of Svetlana Alexievich

Svetlana Alexievich, *Voices from Chernobyl. The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster*, trans. Keith Gessen (New York: Picador, 2006), preface, 1-67, 105-236.

Svetlana Alexievich, *Secondhand Time. The Last of the Soviets*, trans. Bela Shayevich (New York: Random House, 2016), 3-33, 58-63, 74-77, 74-77, 99-101, 292-96, 337-49, 454-68.

Alexievich records that a Soviet citizen who was affected by the Chernobyl disaster commented that "everybody became who he really was." (p. 109) What did the experience of Chernobyl reveal about Soviet society? What were this society's principal qualities, as reflected in its response to this disaster? Consider the role of memories of the war, attitudes regarding scientific innovation, the forms taken by solidarity and hierarchy, how the government related to the public, and the roles of widespread inebriation, theft, and lying. And how did the experience of Chernobyl change those touched by it?

What are the principal characteristics of post-Soviet society, as the individuals Alexievich interviewed describe it in "Secondhand Time"?

March 16. The End of the Soviet Union and the Rise of Vladimir Putin (2)

Masha Gessen, *The Man without a Face. The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin* (New York: Penguin, 2012), 1-22, 79-93, 101-5, 118-29, 142-44.

David Satter, *The Less You Know, The Better You Sleep. Russia's Road to Terror and Dictatorship under Yeltsin and Putin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), ix-xiv, 1-29.

Karen Dawisha, *Putin's Kleptocracy. Who Owns Russia?* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014), 273-80, 285-93, 313-25, 340-51.

"The Litvinenko Inquiry. Report into the Death of Alexander Litvinenko," January 2016, Chairman Robert Owen. (<https://www.litvinenkoinquiry.org/.../Litvinenko-Inquiry-Report-web-version.>), 9-10, 13-25, 51-58, 227-44.

What have been Vladimir Putin's principal objectives at the different stages in his career? By what methods has he sought to achieve these objectives? What sources have been available to journalists, historians, and other analysts to determine the answers to these questions? What are the principal obstacles to gaining an accurate understanding of Putin and the regime he dominates?

Film: Putin's Way

March 23 Possible continuation of discussion of Soviet Union

and Russia

March 30 Open

April 6 Open