

History 1102  
**The “Idea of Europe”. Concepts behind European Integration**  
Spring Term 2005

MW 3-4:15pm  
CL 239

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**Office Hours:**

Mon 5-6 pm & Wed 10-11 am  
or by appointment

The course introduces the ‘idea of Europe’ in the 20<sup>th</sup> century – the hope to overcome the self-destructive wars among European nations and to stop Europe’s economic decline by creating a commonwealth of European states. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a *United States of Europe* seemed naive, but in the aftermath of World War II and under the impact of the Cold War the European idea led to the most successful regional integration in the world.

This course deals with the history of European integration and the different, often conflicting ideas behind this complicated process. Unlike most books and courses on the topic, this course will also take the developments and experiences of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century into consideration. Besides giving an overview of the ideas and political decisions since 1914 that eventually led to the emergence of the *European Union*, special attention will be paid to the problem of identity: Does the EU forge a common “European identity” among its citizens, and what does it look like? What are the means used by the EU and European intellectuals to create such an identity? Should we talk about a European nation building process comparable to the nation-buildings of the 19<sup>th</sup> century? How are the borders of Europe defined, who is included, and who is excluded? What consequences might this identity-building have for the future relations with “non-European” states like the USA?

The course is organized around lectures, readings and discussions, with a strong emphasis on discussion. The reading list consists of two textbooks and additional articles and documents that can be downloaded from the PITTcat Course Reserve.

Students are expected to fulfill the reading assignments, and should be prepared to discuss them in class. Since this course tries to make a connection between history and current affairs of European Integration, students are also expected before class to check the website “[www.euobserver.com](http://www.euobserver.com)” for political news related to topics discussed in class. Beyond that they are responsible for:

- **one essay paper** (6-8 pages, 1.5 space) on a topic of their choice, but related to the issues discussed in class. The paper will only be accepted if it was discussed in advance during office hours (not later than **February 23**), and if it includes a title, footnotes and a bibliography citing the literature used. **The paper is due on March 23.**
- **a final examination.** The exam consists of take home questions with essay answers written in the classroom.

Grades are based on following distribution: research paper (60%), final exam (40%). Active participation in the classroom discussions may have a positive effect on a student's overall grade.

**Required books:**

de Giustino, David. 1996. *A Reader in European Integration*. London, New York: Longman

Dinan, Desmond. 2004. *Europe Recast. A History of the European Union*. Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner.

All additional readings can be downloaded on PITT Cat, Course Reserve (password: "Brussels").

**Further readings:**

*On the European integration:*

McCormick, John. *Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction*. 2 ed, 2002.

Gower, Jackie, ed. 2002. *European Union Handbook*. 2nd ed. London, Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers

Stirk, Peter M.R. 1996. *A History of European Integration since 1914*. London: Pinter.

Urwin, Derek. 1995. *The Community of Europe. A History of the European Integration since 1945*. New York: Longman.

*On the history of Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in general:*

Black, Cyril Edwin, et.al. 1999. *Rebirth. A Political History of Europe Since World War II*. 2 ed. Boulder, CA: Westview Press.

Gilbert, Felix, and David Clay Large. 2002. *The End of the European Era: 1890 to the Present*. 5th ed. New York: W W Norton & Co.

Mazower, Mark. 1998. *Dark Continent. Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Vintage

Paxton, Robert O. 2005. *Europe in the Twentieth Century*. 5th updated ed. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt College Publishers.

Urwin, Derek W. 1997. *A Political History of Western Europe since 1945*. 5 ed. London, New York: Longman.

*On how to write a research paper (this book I strongly recommend to purchase)*

Booth, Wayne C., Gregory Colomb, and Joseph M. Williams. 2003. *The Craft of Research*. 2 ed. Chicago.

**Important Internet Resources:**

[www.europa.eu.int](http://www.europa.eu.int)

Official homepage of the European Union

[www.euobserver.com](http://www.euobserver.com)

Daily updated news on European politics, based on information from different European newspapers

## *What is "Europe"?*

- Jan 5            **Introduction**
- Jan 10          **Europe - back on stage?**
- Jeremy Rifkin. 2004. The Quiet Economic Miracle, In: *The European Dream*. New York: Penguin, pp. 58-85
- Jan 12          **What is "Europe"? Facts and perceptions**
- Hugh Seton-Watson. 1985. What is Europe, where is Europe? *Encounter* 65 (2), 9-17
- Jan 19          **How to write a research paper**
- Two exemplary research papers

## *Concepts for a united Europe*

- Jan 24          **Naumann's *Mittleuropa* - A German Europe or a European Germany?**
- Doc.: Friedrich Naumann. 1917. Partnership in the War and the Results. In: *Central Europe*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1-34 (Chapter I)
- Jan 26          **Failed federalism - the European Idea in the interwar period**
- Peter M.R. Stirk. 1996. Between Pan-Europa and Mitteleuropa, In: *A History of European Integration since 1914*. London: Pinter, 18-50
  - Doc.: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi. 1926. *Pan-Europe*. New York: Alfred Knopf, xi-xix & 3-21
  - Doc.: Aristide Briand (1929), in: de Giustino, 10-15
- Jan 31          **Nazi Europe - predecessor of European integration?**
- Michael Salewski. 1985. Ideas of the National Socialist Government and Party. In: *Documents on the History of European Integration*. Berlin, ed. by Walter Lipgens. New York: Walter de Gruyter, Vol. 1, 37-54
  - Doc.: Joseph Goebbels, The Europe of the Future (September 1940), in: op.cit., 73-76
  - Doc.: Hans Frohwein. Basic Elements of a Plan for the New Europe (June 1943). In: de Giustino, 16-21
- Feb 2            **The European dreams of the resistance movement**
- Mark Mazower. 1998. Blueprints for the Golden Age. In: *The Dark Continent. Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Vintage, 182-211
  - Doc.: Draft Declaration of the Geneva conference of resistance fighters (1944) in: de Giustino, 38-41
- Feb 7            **Unity and division: from Churchill's *United States of Europe* to the *Council of Europe***
- Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 13-28
  - Doc.: Winston Churchill on Europe (1946). In: de Giustino, 44-47
  - Doc.: The Marshall Plan. In: de Giustino, 50-52

- Doc.: Statue of the Council of Europe (1948). In: de Giustino, 53-54

***The long way from ECSC to EC  
or Why Europe doesn't have a telephone number***

- Feb 9**      **Modest beginnings in the 1950s: The *European Coal and Steel Community* and the failure of the *Defense Community***
- Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 28-64
  - Doc.: Konrad Adenauer's view of Germany's place in Europe. In: de Giustino, 55-58
  - Doc.: Jean Monnet's Memorandum to Robert Schuman (4 May 1950), in: Peter Stirk and David Weigall, eds. 1999. *The Origins and Development of European Integration. A Reader and Commentary*. London, New York: Pinter, 75
  - Doc. : Robert Schuman's declaration of 9 May 1950, in: de Giustino, 58-60
  - Doc.: René Pléven on the creation of a European Army (1950), in: A.G. Harryvan and J. van der Harst, eds. 1997. *Documents on European Union*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 65-69
- Feb 14**      **EU's birthday? The foundation of the *European Economic Community***
- Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 64-82
  - Doc.: Treaty of Rome (1957), in: de Giustino, 94-119
- Feb 16**      **Enlargements: From the Europe of Six to the Europe of Twelve**
- Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 83-94, 109-114, 134-142, 169-171, 183-185, 189-192
- Feb 21**      **The *European Commission*, the *Council of Ministers*, and the *European Council***
- John McCormick. 2002. The Institutions of the EU. In: *Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Palgrave, 87-101 & 113-119
- Feb 23**      **The *European Parliament* and the *Court of Justice***
- John McCormick. 2002. The Institutions of the EU. In: *Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Palgrave, 101-113

***Europe east of the Iron Curtain***

- Feb 28**      **Comecon - another or an other integration?**
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1996. "Real Socialism". In: *The Age of Extremes. A History of the World, 1914-1991*. New York: Vintage, 372-400
  - Doc.: Charter of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (1959), in: de Guistino, 153-156
- Mar 2**      **Opposing "Yalta Europe"**
- Doc: Milan Kundera. 1991 (1984). The Tragedy of Central Europe. In: *From Stalinism to Pluralism. A Documentary History of Eastern Europe since 1945*, edited by G. Stokes. New York, Oxford: Oxford UP, 217-223
  - Doc.: Michail Gorbachev on the Wholeness of Europe (1988). In: de Giustino, 280-283

- Mar 14      **Documentary film: *Eastern Europe 1953-1991***  
                  (Jean-Paul Thomas / Krzysztof Talczewski)
- Mar 16      **Return to Europe? The aftermath of Communism's breakdown**
- Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 265-283
  - Doc.: Vaclav Havel's address to the European Parliament (1994). In: de Giustino, 285-290

### *In search of a European identity*

- Mar 21      **Euroscepticism**
- C. Flood. 2002. The Challenge of Euroscepticism. In: *European Union Handbook*, edited by Jackie Gower. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 73-84
  - Doc.: Margaret Thatcher's Bruges speech (1988). In: de Giustino, 247-250
- Mar 23      **European integration and the nation state**
- Anthony D. Smith. 1994. National Identity and the Idea of European Unity. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs)* 68 (1), 55-76.
- Mar 28      **EU's nation building?**
- Chris Shore. 2001. Inventing Homo Europaeus. The Cultural Politics of European Integration. In: *Europe. Cultural Construction and Reality*, edited by P. Niedermüller and B. Stoklund. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 53-66
  - Documents
- Mar 30      **The Euro**
- Dinan, *Europe Recast*, 233-249
  - Lionel Barber. 2001. The Euro, in: Robert J. Guttman (ed). *Europe in the New Century. Visions of an Emerging Superpower*. Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner, 141-153
- Apr 4        **Flag and anthem**
- Documents
- Apr 6        **The logic of EU enlargement or Who belongs to Europe?**
- Iver B. Neumann. 2001. European Identity, EU Expansion, and the Integration/Exclusion Nexus. In: *Constructing Europe's Identity. The External Dimension*, edited by L. E. Cederman. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 141-164
- Apr 11      **Defining the "Other": Europe and the Orient**
- Iver B. Neumann. 1999. The Turkish Other. In: *Uses of the Other. The "East" in European Identity Formation*. Minneapolis, 39-63
- Apr 13      **The debate on Turkey's EU membership**
- Documents
- Apr 18      **The US as Europe's Other? Changes in EU-US relations**
- Ivo H. Daalder. 2003. The End of Atlanticism. *Survival* 45 (2), 147-166.
- Apr 20      **Concluding debate**

