

Europe since 1945
TTh 12.00 – 1.15 pm
Ames 218

Instructor: Dr. Victoria Harms (she/ her/ hers)

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Office hours: Tuesdays, 10 am – 11.30 pm, Thursday 2 – 3.30 pm, and by appointment
Gilman 342

Please **sign up for** [here](#) for office hours.

Teaching Assistant:

Description

This class focuses on Europe from the end of World War II until today. We will discuss such topics as the Cold War, the welfare state, Western and Eastern Europe's relationship to the US and the Soviet Union/ Russia, decolonization, détente, political ideologies, capitalism, migration, the peaceful revolutions of 1989, European integration, neoliberalism, and the rise (and fall?) of the EU. We will discuss and analyze academic literature, movies, documentaries, empirical data, textual, and visual primary sources.

Students are expected to engage with recent academic and non-academic, written and non-written sources during class. Be prepared to read short texts and watch short videos and discuss them with your peers in person and on zoom. We will split up into smaller groups. Please be ready to engage with your peers for 15-20 minutes during every class.

This semester, we partner with students in Professor Gerlinde Groitl's seminar "European Security: Challenges and Strategic Options" at the University of Regensburg. We will meet twice to discuss the most pressing challenges, past and present, to Europe and the transatlantic alliances. We will meet on zoom, split up into break out rooms to continue the conversation and identify one particular challenge that you wish to research. You are expected to meet and/or correspondent with your group outside of the classroom and prepare a presentation.

Learning objectives:

- ✓ Assessing secondary literature
- ✓ Analyzing primary sources
- ✓ Critical and effective research
- ✓ Critical use of feature and documentary films
- ✓ Critical inquiries into the presentation of historical narratives (in films, documentaries, museums, memorials, statues, national holidays, etc.)
- ✓ Understanding comparative, transnational, and entangled history
- ✓ Leading and contributing to group discussions effectively
- ✓ Understanding the historical context of current affairs
- ✓ Understanding political and legal structures governing Europe
- ✓ Planning, coordinating, and executing research projects
- ✓ Presenting research results and/ or policy recommendations

Grading:

- 25% Class Participation
- 25% Quizzes
- 20% Primary source analysis
- 10% Group presentation
- 20% Individual research paper

Do not attempt to negotiate your final grade, please.

The official cut off between an A and an A- is 94.0. You have all semester to prove you are an "A student." Belated complaints and negotiations are unfair to your peers and disrespectful to the instructors.

Please note the changes to the incomplete grade policy. For more information, please consult the Office of the University Registrar's [website](#).

General Reading:

(Required) Judt, Tony. *Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin, 2005.

Additional recommendations:

- Bideleux, Robert, and Ian Jeffries. *A History of Eastern Europe. Crisis and Change*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Bradford, Anu. *The Brussels Effect. How the European Union Rules the World*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Fulbrook, Mary, ed. *Europe since 1945, The Short Oxford History of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Swain, Geoff, and N. Swain. *Eastern Europe since 1945. The Making of the Modern World*. Fifth ed. London: Red Globe Press, 2018.

Recommended resources for news and analyses of European affairs:

- [Politico Europe](#) (news, investigative journalism)
- [Eurozine](#) (intellectual)
- [European Council of Foreign Affairs](#) (analysis and background)
- [Euractiv](#) (daily news)

This syllabus serves as a contract between you and me that explains what I expect of you, and what you may expect of me. By enrolling in this class, you accept the terms laid out below. Please read them carefully. In case I need to make changes to the syllabus, I will provide as much advanced notice as possible.

Your time at Hopkins can be stressful, and the various expectations that you are confronted with can feel overwhelming. Please make sure to stay healthy and protect your physical, emotional, and mental well-being. Take the necessary precautions, and seek professional support if necessary. Do not hesitate to reach out to the [Counseling Center](#) during regular working hours 410-516-8278. After hours: press 1. A trained, professional, and diverse staff is ready to assist you.

If you find yourself in a hostile or adverse environment, please take good care of yourself. Your personal safety and emotional and mental well-being are more important than any class. If you sense that something is not right, do not wait, trust your instinct, talk to friends, get assistance. Do not hesitate to reach out to the [Counseling Center](#) during regular working hours 410-516-8278. After hours: press 1.

Our classroom constitutes a **safe** and a **brave space**.

- ✓ Our class is a community of learners. We come from different walks of life, our individual and historical experiences differ, and we celebrate these differences as a source of power, inspiration, and resilience
- ✓ We respect one another's chosen identities.
- ✓ Be respectful/ show respect – controversy with civility.
- ✓ Stay engaged. Understand that learning involves risks (letting go of old ideas, wrestling with new truths).
- ✓ Speak your Truth. Own your intentions *and* your impact.
- ✓ Experience discomfort. Courage and respect in the face of conflict.
- ✓ Expect and accept non-closure.

Assignments

Class Participation: 25%

Make sure you come to class prepared and on time. Attendance does not equal participation.

Attendance is the most basic requirement for a college education. If you miss more than four classes unexcused/ without legitimate reasons (such as illness, conflicting athletic or academic obligations) **you will not receive a passing grade.**

Lecture course or not, this is an interactive class. Expect to spend 20% of our time working in small groups. You are expected to engage with the assigned material and your peers.

Common rules of courtesy apply. Please treat everyone with kindness and respect.

Quizzes: 25%

We will write **six pop quizzes** during the term. The lowest grade will be dropped. Each quiz is worth five points. **There will be no make-up quizzes.**

For each week, you will find reading questions on canvas. The questions on the pop quizzes are identical to those. You are encouraged to prepare your response and **copy paste** it as your quiz response. You will have five minutes in class to submit/ tweak it.

If you have to miss class for legitimate reasons (e.g. conflicting academic and athletic obligations) and inform the instructor in advance, you are free to submit your reading notes by email. In case of a pop quiz, those notes will count in lieu of the in-class quiz.

Project: Foreign Policy and Security Challenges to Europe and the Transatlantic Alliance (total 25%)

Group work: 10% (presentation)

Individual research paper: 20% (6 pages max)

On January 30th and February 6th, we will meet with the students in professor Gerlinde Groitl's seminar "European Security: Challenges and Strategic Options" at the University of Regensburg, Germany.

During our first meeting, we will identify key challenges to Europe, European security and foreign policy. In mixed groups, you will develop a research agenda and a presentation on the history of one particular challenge, the legal and political framework in which it can or is being addressed, the different perspectives on it as well as the possible solutions and their consequences. You are expected to coordinate your research as a team and follow up with your group before our second meeting.

Each group will present on their challenge in our second meeting. Be prepared to comment to other projects and respond to questions. You are expected to submit your group presentation (format of your choice) to canvas **by February 11 EOD.**

By the end of the semester, you are expected to submit an individual research paper on a challenge of your choice. You are free to discuss a past challenge and how it was tackled (or not), its origins and legacies.

You are not bound to the topic of your group work. If you, however, decide to continue with the same topic, the individual paper has to significantly improve upon and enhance the group presentation.

Deadline: April 24 EOD Canvas Turnitin

Primary Source Analysis: 20% (6 pages max.)

Pick a primary source from the list provided on canvas in early October and write a proper primary source analysis. We will discuss the details and expectations in class and provide a checklist on canvas.

Make sure to properly introduce the source and author. Identify the audience, the author's intention, possible biases, and the author's message. Be very clear about the historical context in which the source has been produced.

You are expected to observe the formal requirements (see here and below). Content, organization, and expectations will be discussed in class.

You are expected to address issues such as

- the author's position and background
- the target audience
- the author's intentions
- content of the source (explicit and implicit)
- possible biases
- meaning and historical relevance of the source

You will find a non-graded assignment on canvas. Please enter your choice and any questions there. If you wish, you can add the literature and sources you plan to consult. The content of your entry is only accessible to you, the instructor, and the TA. This is an opportunity for you to receive assistance and feedback early on.

Deadline for choice: March 10, 2024 EOD

canvas assignments

Deadline for PSA: March 25, 2024 EOD

canvas assignments turnitin

General Expectations for Written Assignments

Please take note of the Johns Hopkins University KAS rules for [academic integrity](#). You are expected to comply with the rules that govern JHU. Please be aware of the consequences if you fail to do so.

Johns Hopkins has determined that the unauthorized use of AI to complete assignments constitutes an unethical use of technology and devices and thus carries the same penalties as any other violation of the rules of academic integrity.

In addition to the formal requirements and assignment-specific expectations, essays are graded based on

- ✓ demonstrated independent research effort
- ✓ use of primary and secondary sources
- ✓ clarity of argument
- ✓ language
- ✓ style of writing
- ✓ organization and structure of paper
- ✓ consistent and correct use of bibliographic references and citations

Formal requirements for Written Assignments

- Normal margins 1" top & bottom, 1"25 left & right
- 12 pt. font size, standard fonts: Times New Roman, Arial, Calibri.
- Double space
- Page numbers
- Add a title
- Add your (last) name to the document *and* the file name.
- List of references/ bibliography appears on a separate page

Schedule

January 23: Introduction

January 25: End of World War II (heavy reading load)

Tony Judt, "The Legacy of War," in *Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945*, pp. 13-40.

January 30: Challenges to Europe, European Security and Foreign Policy, part I Meeting with University of Regensburg

Think through the main challenges policy- and decision-makers in Europe are currently confronted with. Here's some food for thought (read at least two):

Borrell, Josep. "What the Eu Stands for on Gaza and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *The Diplomatic Service of the European Union* (2023). Published electronically 15 November 2023. https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/what-eu-stands-gaza-and-israeli-palestinian-conflict_en.

Bradford, Anu. "How the EU Became a Global Regulatory Power," Chapter 1 in *The Brussels Effect. How the European Union Rules the World*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190088583.003.0002>. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Cohn-Bendit, Daniel, and Claus Leggewie. "Europe's Second Chance." *Eurozine*, Issue: Lessons of War: The Rebirth of Europe Revisited (2023). <https://www.eurozine.com/europes-second-chance/>.

Garton Ash, Timothy, Ivan Krastev, and Mark Leonard, "[United West, Divided from the Rest](#): Global public opinion one year into Russia's war on Ukraine," Policy Brief, European Council of Foreign Relations (February 22, 2023).

Kirby, Jen. "The Israel-Hamas War Is Exposing Europe's Divisions." *Vox* (2023). Published electronically 11 November 2023. <https://www.vox.com/world-politics/2023/11/11/23955999/israel-gaza-european-union-germany-spain>.

Megerisi, Tarek, and Lorena Stella Martini. "Road to Nowhere: Why Europe's Border Externalisation Is a Dead End." (2023). Published electronically 14 December 2023. <https://ecfr.eu/publication/road-to-nowhere-why-europes-border-externalisation-is-a-dead-end/>.

Scholz, Olaf, "The Global *Zeitenwende*: How to Avoid a New Cold War in a Multipolar Era," *Foreign Affairs* 102.1 (2023): 22-38.

Thomas, Christopher. *Technology Competition between Nations: Views from Industry Leaders*. Brookings Institution. 9. August 2023.

<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/technology-competition-between-nations-views-from-industry-leaders/>

Tocci, Nathalie. "Ukraine: Europe's Greatest Test." *Eurozine*, Issue: Lessons of War: The Rebirth of Europe Revisited (2023). Published electronically 19 July 2023.

<https://www.eurozine.com/ukraine-europes-greatest-test/>.

Von der Leyen, Ursula. *2023 State of the Union Address*. 13. September 2023. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/speech_23_4426.

February 1: A New Order Emerges

Tony Judt, "The Rehabilitation of Europe," in *Postwar*, pp. 63-89 (not entire chapter).

Primary sources:

- George F. Kennan, "The Long Telegram," (22 February 1946), in *The Origins of the Cold War*, rev. ed., ed. Kenneth M. Jensen (Washington D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press), pp. 17-31.
- Andrei Zhdanov, "Two-Camp Policy" (September 1947)" in *From Stalinism to Pluralism: A Documentary History of Eastern Europe since 1945*, ed. by Gale Stokes, (Oxford University Press, 1991), 35–42.
- [UN Declaration of Human Rights](#), 10 December 1948.

February 6: Challenges to Europe and European Security, part II Meeting with University of Regensburg

Prepare group presentations

February 8: The Beginnings of Western Europe

Tony Judt, "The Politics of Stability, in *Postwar*, pp. 241-265 (not entire chapter) and "Lost Illusions," pp. 302-309.

Film: "Night and Fog," directed by Alain Resnais, 1956. (Runtime: 32 mins.)

**** February 11 EOD: submit group work ****

February 13: Stalinism in Eastern Europe

Tony Judt, "Into the Whirlwind," in *Postwar*, pp. 165-187 (not entire chapter).

February 15: Eastern Bloc Resistance & Consolidation

Tony Judt, "Lost Illusions," in *Postwar*, pp. 309-323 (**second half** of chapter!).

Read **two** of the sources below for in-class discussion:

- Doc 24: The 'Sixteen Points' Prepared by Hungarian Students, October 22-23, 1956.

- Doc 57: Working Notes and Attached Extract from the Minutes of the CPSU CC Presidium Meeting, October 31, 1956.
- Doc 67 & 68: Telegrams by Imre Nagy
- Doc 104: Resolution of the Provisional Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist workers' Party, December 5, 1956

in *The 1956 Hungarian Revolution. A History in Documents*, ed. Cs. Békés, M. Byrne, J. Rainer (Budapest: CEU Press, 2002), pp. 188-190, 307-310, 332-333, 460-463.

February 20: Decolonization (heavy reading load)

Tony Judt, "Lost Illusions," in *Postwar*, pp. 278-302 (not entire chapter).

Primary Sources:

1. National Liberation Front FLN, Proclamation (November 1954)
2. François Mitterand, Speech (November 1954)
3. Harold Macmillan, "Wind of Change Speech" (3 February 1960).
4. United Nations General Assembly, "Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People" (14 December 1960)
5. Charles de Gaulle, Presidential Press Conference, April 11, 1961

in *Voices of Decolonization. A Brief History with Documents*, ed. by Todd Shepard. Boston/New York: Bedford/ St. Martin's, 2015, pp. 96-103, 109-112, 138-141, 143-146.

February 22: The Sixties in Western Europe

Tom Buchanan, "Western Europe in the 1960s," in *Europe's Troubled Peace. 1945 to the Present*, (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 98-116. (e-book)

- Jean-Paul Sartre and Daniel Cohn-Bendit (20 May 1968), in *The Global Revolutions of 1968*, ed. by Jeremi Suri (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007), pp. 132-140.

February 27: The Sixties in the East

Tony Judt, "The End of the Affair," in *Postwar*, pp. 422-449.

- Ludvík Vaculík, "Two Thousand Words for Workers, Farmers, Scientists, Artists, and Everyone," (27 June 1968), in *The Global Revolutions of 1968*, ed. by Jeremi Suri (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007), pp. 158-165.

February 29: The Crises of the Seventies

Tony Judt, "Diminished Expectations," in *Postwar*, pp. 453-477.

March 5: Southern Europe's 'Transition to Democracy'

Tony Judt, "A Time of Transition," in *Postwar*, pp. 504-523.

March 7: Détente

Tony Judt, "Politics in a New Key," in *Postwar*, pp. 484-503.

"[Pact with Soviet signed by Brandt in Kremlin Palace](#): Kosygin acts for Moscow – U.S. Hails Step, But looks to 'Tangible' Results," by Bernard Gwertzman, Special to the New York Times, *New York Times* (August 13, 1970).

**** March 10 EOD: Choice of Primary Source Due – Canvas**

March 12: Opposition to State Socialism

Tony Judt, "The Power of the Powerless," in *Postwar*, pp. 559-584.

- Charta 77 Declaration (1 January 1977), in in *The Global Revolutions of 1968*, ed. by Jeremi Suri (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007), pp. 284- 289.

March 14: Neoconservative Revolutions

Tony Judt, "The New Realism," in *Postwar*, pp. 535-558.

Spring Break March 18-22

***** March 25 EOD: Primary Source Analysis Due – Canvas Turnitin**

March 26: 1989 and the End of the Cold War

Tony Judt, "The End of the Old Order," in *Postwar*, pp. 592-633. **(heavy reading load)**

March 28: Collapse of the Soviet Union

CNN, "[Cold War Conclusions](#)," episode 24, 1998, 47 mins.

Mikhail Gorbachev, "Address given to the Council of Europe," Strasbourg, France, July 6, 1989.

April 2: The Breakup of Yugoslavia

Tony Judt, "The Reckoning," in *Postwar*, pp. 665-685. **(not the entire chapter!)**

- BBC Newsnight, "[Srebrenica. The Search for the Truth](#)," (7 July 2015). 14 mins.

April 4: Shock Therapy, Oligarchs & Putin's Russia

Fiona Hill, "Shock Therapy," in *There Is Nothing For You Here*. Boston: Mariner Books, 2021), pp.117-134.

Vox, "[From Spy to President: The Rise of Vladimir Putin](#)," March 23, 2017). 9 minutes

April 9: Immigration, Diversity, Racism (time commitment)

Movie: *La Haine*, dir. Mathieu Kassovitz, 1995 (98 mins). Kanopy

Havel, Václav. "The Hope for Europe." *New York Review of Books* 43, no. 11 (20 June 1996).

April 11: European Union

Movie: "L'Auberge Espagnole," dir. Cédric Klapisch, France/Spain 2003 (122 mins).

Habermas, Jürgen, and Jacques Derrida. "February 15, or What Binds Europeans Together: A plea for a Common Foreign Policy, Beginning in the Core of Europe." *Constellations* 10, no. 3 (2003): 291-97.

**** April 14 EOD: Topic Research Paper Due – Canvas**

April 16: The 2015 "Refugee Crisis"

Last Week Tonight Show with John Oliver, "[Migrants and Refugees](#)," HBO, 28 September 2015, 18 mins.

Buruma, Ian. "In the Capital of Europe." *New York Review of Books* (7 April 2016).

April 18: Brexit

Background information in "[Brexit timeline: events leading to the UK's exit from the European Union](#)," *Briefing Paper No. 7960*, House of Commons Library, 6 January 2021, pp. 1-15.

The Guardian journalist John Harris travelled the UK in 2019 as the negotiations over a deal with the EU were discussed in the British parliament.

Please watch **ONE** of the episodes below (ca. 20 mins):

1. "Brexit breakdown: southern discomfort | Anywhere but Westminster," 24 January 2019, URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZwbYjgLOqdA>.
2. "Brexit breakdown: fear and anger on the Irish border | Anywhere but Westminster," 13 February 2019, URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SRMwCz_Q9b4&t=985s.
3. "Brexit breakdown: a big day in the north | Anywhere but Westminster," 21 March 2019, URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y4uIC0AwD68>.
4. "Brexit breakdown: affluence, decay and fury in the Tory heartlands | Anywhere but Westminster," 9 April 2019, URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k7E4Kxl7Ei4>.

April 23: BLM & Europe's Reckoning with Colonialism/ Racism

Kelly, Natasha A., and Olive Vassell. "Black Europe. Co Testing, Conceptualizing, and Organizing." In *Mapping Black Europe*, edited by Natasha Kelly and Olive Vassell, 7-24. Bielefeld: transcript, 2023.

Choose one:

1. Dingong, Epée Hervé, and Olive Vassell. "**Black Paris.**" In *Mapping Black Europe*, 137-57.
2. Vassell, Olive. "**Black London.**" In *Mapping Black Europe*, 69-91.

**** April 24 EOD: Individual Research Papers Due – Canvas Turnitin**

April 25: The Rise of the Far-Right

Lilla, Mark. "Two Roads for the New French Right." *New York Review of Books* (20 December 2018).

DW News, "How big a 'crisis' is the flow of migrants to Europe really?," *DW*, September 24, 2023. <https://youtu.be/NXWZUmPUJH4?si=sGffW-pUvtrB02xT>

TBA

General policies

Absences

Absences are excused for illness, religious observance, participation in certain university activities, and other circumstances described in the [university's policies](#) and must be explained **at least 6 hours** before class.

Mental Health

Please note that a new university-wide website has been created to provide information on a wide variety of services available to support student wellness. You can find this website at <http://wellness.jhu.edu>.

If you are struggling with anxiety, stress, depression or other mental health related concerns, please consider visiting the JHU Counseling Center. If you are concerned about a friend, please encourage that person to seek out their services. The Counseling Center is located at 3003 North Charles Street in Suite S-200 and can be reached at 410-516-8278 and online at <http://studentaffairs.jhu.edu/counselingcenter/>.

Academic Integrity

The strength of the university depends on academic and personal integrity. In this course, you must be honest and truthful. Ethical violations include cheating on exams, plagiarism, reuse of assignments, improper use of the Internet and electronic devices, unauthorized collaboration, alteration of graded assignments, forgery and falsification, lying, facilitating academic dishonesty, and unfair competition.

For more, see: <https://studentaffairs.jhu.edu/policies-guidelines/undergrad-ethics/>

Accommodations

Accommodations will be made for those who need them. Please come talk with me in the first two weeks of the semester to discuss your needs. Any student with a disability who may need accommodations in this class must obtain an accommodation letter from Student Disability Services, 385 Garland, (410) 516-4720, studentdisabilityservices@jhu.edu.

Religious holidays

Religious holidays are valid reasons to be excused from class. Students who must miss a class or an examination because of a religious holiday must inform the instructor as early in the semester as possible in order to be excused from class or to make up any work that is missed. More information may be found at the Religious and Spiritual Life (<https://studentaffairs.jhu.edu/campus-ministries/>) website.

Classroom Climate

I am committed to creating a classroom environment that values the diversity of experiences and perspectives that all students bring. Everyone here has the right to be treated with dignity and respect. I believe fostering an inclusive climate is important because research and my experience show that students who interact with peers who

are different from themselves learn new things and experience tangible educational outcomes. Note that you should expect to be challenged intellectually by me, the TAs, and your peers, and at times this may feel uncomfortable. Indeed, it can be helpful to be pushed sometimes in order to learn and grow. But at no time in this learning process should someone be singled out or treated unequally on the basis of any seen or unseen part of their identity.

If you ever have concerns in this course about harassment, discrimination, or any unequal treatment, or if you seek accommodations or resources, I invite you to share directly with me or the TAs. We will take your communication seriously and seek mutually acceptable resolutions and accommodations. Reporting will never impact your course grade. You may also share concerns with the department chair Professor Toby Meyer-Fong, the Director of Undergraduate Studies Professor Erin Rowe, the Assistant Dean for Diversity and Inclusion Dr. Araceli Frias, or the Office of Institutional Equity (oie@jhu.edu). In handling reports, people will protect your privacy as much as possible, but faculty and staff are required to officially report information for some cases (e.g. sexual harassment).

Sexual Assault Helpline

The Sexual Assault Helpline (410-516-7333) is a confidential service of the Johns Hopkins University Counseling Center. Trained professional counselors are available to students, and offer support, provide resources or answer questions 24/7.

Screen Policy

Laptops, smartphones, and other devices are both a boon and a distraction to higher education. You are discouraged from using social media, texting, chatting, email, and all class unrelated activities during class time. **Make sure all your devices are silenced.**