

## **Honors course**

**COURSE TITLE:** 20<sup>th</sup>-CENTURY EUROPEAN IDEOLOGIES  
Prof. Barbara Franz (Political Science) and Lucien Frary (History)

**NUMBER OF CREDITS:** 3

**HOURS PER WEEK:** 3

**PREREQUISITES:** None

### **TEXTS:**

Robert Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (Vintage, 2004)  
Karl Marx, *Communist Manifesto* (Free Press, 1991)  
Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (Cambridge, 2001)  
E.H.H.Green, *Ideologies of Conservatism: Conservative Political Ideas in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2004)  
Various Handouts – or course packet  
“Internet History Sourcebook” = <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/>

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

This course covers the origins and development of four twentieth-century European ideologies – Nationalism, Fascism, Communism, and Conservatism/Liberalism – in a comparative perspective. Europe’s experience in ideological conflict shaped the twentieth century not just in Europe but globally. We begin with a look at the meaning of the term “ideology” and the condition of European political culture at turn of both centuries (*i.e.* 1900 and 2000). First, we will assess the varieties of Nationalism, past and present, with a look at the methods of spreading nationalism and manifestations of national culture. Then we will consider the First World War and its impact, including the emergence of radically new ideological movements – Fascism and Communism – that challenged the postwar order. While considering these ideologies, we will begin to compare what we will refer to as “ideological culture(s).” Next we will consider the origins and consequences of the Cold War and compare and contrast the development and fate of the socialist and capitalist systems. The ideology of Conservatism/Liberalism also looms large in the European experience and serves as our fourth “ism.” Lastly, we will reflect upon and the meaning of the ideologies of twentieth century and the condition of European political culture in our day.

Please notice that besides the required readings, good basic articles, monographs, newspapers, journals and booklets will be discussed in class. Students are particularly encouraged to consult the textbooks when confronting problems with chronology, details, etc. The assigned readings should be viewed as minimum reading requirements. Students should pay close attention whenever references are made to other pertinent readings, especially by Europeans. Good standard textbooks of the era MAY include:

Eric Brose, *A History of Europe in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2005)  
Robert Paxton, *Europe in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2004)  
Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991* (New York, 1994)

**COURSE OBJECTIVES:** We have constructed this course in the hope that, by its end, you will be able to:

1. Understand the significance of ideologies in past and present perspectives.
2. Understand why ideologies persist to be influential forces in an increasingly changing and interconnected world.
3. Define and explain the specific examples of ideology discussed in class.
4. Acquire the intellectual discipline needed to analyze and explain complex problems.
5. Acquire the skill to compose a good analytical essay using critical thinking techniques.

## EXPANDED COURSE DESCRIPTION:

Dealing with historical events, contemporary situations and policies of governments, political, economic and ideological motivations, and psychological and cultural influences, this course is appropriate as an interdisciplinary seminar.

“Already for a longtime,” wrote Voltaire in 1751, “we have been able to consider Europe as an kind of Great Republic divided into numerous states, some monarchical, others of a mixed character, but all of which share the same religious foundation, all of which possess the same principles of public and political law, unknown in the other parts of the world. In obedience to these principles the European nations do not make their prisoners slaves, they respect their enemies’ ambassadors, and they agree, above all, on the wise policy of maintaining among themselves so far as possible an equal balance of power.”<sup>1</sup>

This civilization, of which Voltaire has provided a partial yet still illuminating definition, survived the French Revolution and other shocks of modernity during the whole 19<sup>th</sup> century. This civilization was destroyed between 1914 and 1918 and in its wake emerged the great ideological rivalries which brought Europe to the brink of ruin in 1945 and after. The struggle between the forces of Nationalism, Communism, Fascism, and Conservatism/Liberalism occupied most of the century and the consequences live on in the world of our day. This course takes ideologies seriously. Our class is guided by the reasoned conviction that ideas are not simple superstructures. Actually, they determine political actions, they serve as vehicles for belief, and they take possession of the spirit and imagination of individuals.

With the end of the Cold War it has become habitual to pretend that our epoch represents the end of ideologies, that the struggle for Europe’s future has reached a final stage. In reality, our world is ideologically saturated, despite the failure of the socialist experiments of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the growing achievements of global capitalism. Each ideology tends to present its own utopia as an End of History, as though it represents the winning side. Today, our world is rapidly changing unlike ever before, a condition which justifies an understanding of the heritage of its system of ideas – less as a political instrument, more as an appreciation that brings us closer to past realities.

In addition, this class covers questions and themes related to texts read in Great Ideas such as *The Communist Manifesto*, Machiavelli’s *The Prince*, and various constitutional theories developed throughout the world.

## METHOD OF EVALUATION:

You will be expected to complete a take-home midterm and a final examination, write a 5-7 page essay, participate in class, prepare study questions on the required days, and make a brief in-class presentation. The examinations are of the essay type. Material from readings and lectures will be tested on the examination, and you will see a choice of essay questions. Handouts on the study questions, essay, and presentation and review sheets with terms, events, and sample questions will be provided. Grading procedure:

Study questions	10%
Essay/Presentation	20%
Midterm	20%
Final	30%
Class participation	20%

## SAMPLE COURSE OUTLINE

- 1/23    **What is ideology? Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century**
- 1/25    **Meanings of Nationalism**  
Stalin, “On the Nationalities Question”  
M. Weber, “Nationalism”  
Discussion: B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* chs. 1-3

---

<sup>1</sup> “Chapitre II,” *Siècle de Louis XIV*, 1751.

Study Questions due

1/30 **Western European Nationalisms**

Discussion: B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* chs. 3-5

E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, chs. 12, 22

Johann Gottfried von Herder: *Materials for the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, 1784

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1784herder-mankind.html>

2/1 **Eastern European Nationalisms**

Discussion: B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* chs. 6-7

*Audio*, Music and Nationalism

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/NATMUSIC.html>

2/6 **Nationalism, War, and the Consequences**

S. Fay, *Origins of the First World War*, ch. 1

Treaty of Versailles, 1919

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1919versailles.html>

John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 1920

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1920keynes.html>

Paul Valéry, "On European Civilization and the European Mind," c. 1919/22

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/valery.html>

Study Questions due

2/8 **Nationalism and culture**

*Film excerpts* – Lucchino Visconti, Sergei Eisenstein

Discussion

2/13 **Nationalism in Contemporary Europe**

EU

2/15 **What is Fascism? : the Rise of Postwar Extremism**

Discussion: R. Paxton, *Anatomy of Fascism*, chs. 1-2

Gilbert Allardyce, "What Fascism is Not: Thoughts on the Deflation of a Concept," *AHR* 84/2 (1979): 367-88

S. Payne, *History of Fascism*, ch. 3

F. T. Marinetti, "The Futurist Manifesto," *Le Figaro* (Paris), 1909

<http://www.cscs.umich.edu/~crshalizi/T4PM/futurist-manifesto.html>

Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, 1922

Study Questions due

2/20 **The Fascist Revolution: the Italian Dictatorship**

Discussion: R. Paxton, *Anatomy of Fascism*, chs. 3-4

Benito Mussolini, "What is Fascism," 1932

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/mussolini-fascism.html>

2/22 **The Rise of Nazi Germany**

R. Paxton *Anatomy of Fascism*, chs. 5-6

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 19-65; pp. 284-329

E. Weitz, "Primacy of Race: Nazi Germany" 102-144.

Adolf Hitler, "The Discovery of Anti-Semitism in Vienna"

<http://www.h-net.msu.edu/%7Egerman/gtext/kaiserreich/hitler1.html>

Julius Streicher, "Selections from *Der Stuermer*"

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/stuermer00.html>

The Twenty-Five Points: An Early Nazi Program  
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/25points.html>

Study Questions due

2/27 **Experimental Twenties: Fascist Culture**

*Film excerpts* – “Leni Riefenstahl” “Hitler Youth”, “Il Duce”  
Discussion

3/1 **Variations of Fascism**

Discussion: R. Paxton, *Anatomy of Fascism*, ch. 7  
E. Weber, “Romania,” and Istvan Deak, “Hungary” in E. Weber and H. Roger, eds., *The European Right*

Study Questions due

3/6 **Neo-Fascism**

Marc Morjé Howard, “Can Populism Be Suppressed in a Democracy? Austria, Germany, and the European Union,” *East European Politics and Societies* 15.1 (Spring, 2001): 18-32.  
Discussion

3/8 **What is Communism?**

Charles Fourier: *Theory of Social Organization*, 1820  
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1820fourier.html>  
Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*

Study Questions due

3/13 **The Russians and Their Revolutions**

Discussion: M. Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, chs. 4-5  
Lenin, *State and Revolution*, chs. 2-3.  
Alexander Kanatchikov, “Memoir of a Worker in the Revolution”

3/15 **Planning the Economy: Stalinism and the Eastern Bloc**

M. Lewin, “On Soviet Industrialization,” in *Russia USSR Russia*, 114-128.  
M. Lewin, “The Impact of Collectivization,” in *The Soviet Century*, 66-72.  
Stalin, “Industrialization of the Country” (1928)  
[www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1928stalin.html](http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1928stalin.html)  
Stalin, “Dizzy with Success,” *Pravda* (Moscow), 1930  
<http://www.dur.ac.uk/~dml0www/Russhist.HTML>

Study Questions due

3/19-25 **SPRING BREAK**

3/22 **“Real Socialism”: cultural experiments**

Discussion: Mayakovsky, Gladkov, *Film excerpts* “Battleship Potemkin” “Poor Liza”

3/27 **Western European Welfare States**

Discussion: D. Sassoon, “Socialists after 1945” and “The Perplexing Sixties: ‘Something in the Air’”

Study Questions due

3/29 **The Future of Socialism**

Discussion: D. Sassoon, “Epilogue,” *One Hundred Years of Socialism*

- 4/3 **What is Conservatism? What is Liberalism?**  
 J. Locke, "Second Treatise on Government"  
 Adam Smith: *The Wealth of Nations*, 1776  
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/adamsmith-summary.html>
- 4/5 **Conservatism/Liberalism and Its Critics**  
 E.H.H.Green, *Ideologies of Conservatism*  
 Study Questions due
- 4/10 **Europe's Conservatives: Adenauer, De Gaulle, and beyond**
- 4/12 **Conservatism/Liberalism and culture**  
*Film excerpts* – "Hair", Percy Flash S. Kubrick, "Dr. Strangelove"
- 4/17 **The Rise of Modern Liberalism: 1968 and beyond**  
 "The Year of the Heroic Guerilla"  
 May, Paris: Street Graffiti and Slogans  
 Discussion: E.H.H.Green, *Ideologies of Conservatism*  
 Study Questions due
- 4/19 **Reagan, Blair, and the future of the European politics**  
 G. W. Bush, "In Defense of the Nation"  
 E.H.H.Green, *Ideologies of Conservatism*
- 4/24 **Modern Ideologies and the End of History?**
- 26/13 **FINAL EXAMINATION, 1:30 – 3:30**

**Plagiarism Policy: \*\*\*\*ANY INFORMATION THAT DOES NOT COME OUT OF YOUR OWN HEAD SHOULD BE FOOTNOTED OR INTERNALLY CITED. DO NOT PLAGIARIZE\*\*\*\*** Plagiarism (claiming credit for work or information that is not your own, directly copying sources without attributing their rightful authors, or paraphrasing information without citing your source) will automatically result in a failing grade for the work.