

HISTORY 891:

States and Non-State Actors in European International History

Thursdays, 3:30pm - 5:25pm
Mosse Humanities Building, room 5257

Professor Giuliana Chamedes
Office hours: Mondays, 2-3pm
Email: chamedes@wisc.edu

Course Description

Not so long ago, the study of high politics and state-to-state relations dominated the historical profession and the study of international history. Today, the field of international history is preoccupied with the study of non-state actors and actresses. What is at stake in this shift? How might interest in non-state actors occlude certain scholarly questions and problems, as it illuminates others? In the search for answers, this course pairs foundational texts with recent anarchist, neo-Marxist, and non-aligned scholarship that pushes us to rethink long-standing theoretical commitments. The course is divided into four parts. In Part I, we investigate classic accounts of state-making, pairing older works of historical sociologists with recent historical scholarship charting the process of state-making in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. In Part II, we look at anarchist histories circa 1900. Part III investigates the period between 1918 and 1948, focusing on new conceptions of statehood, and on the lived experience of individuals in the state-making revolutions that followed the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Ottoman empires. Part IV takes us from World War II to the present, investigating how the rise of civil society and decolonization challenged the centrality of the state in international relations at the United Nations and in the so-called developing world. The course is open to graduate students specializing in all eras and geographic regions. There are no pre-requisites.

Course Aims and Requirements

This class has three aims: to introduce graduate students to the complex history of state-making and state-breaking in modern European history; to critically explore the core debates that have shaped the field of international history in the past thirty years; and to help graduate students develop their confidence as creative writers, thinkers, and speakers. The class will be run as a discussion seminar, which aims to construct knowledge in a collective manner.

Since the course is a discussion seminar, students will come to class prepared to discuss the readings and to engage critically and charitably with one another. Every week a student will lead the class with the instructor. The discussion leader will be in charge of circulating discussion questions by noon on Tuesday and will open and direct the discussion.

Students will complete three short written/oral assignments over the course of the semester. For short paper # 1 (5,000 words), students will explore a question or debate in international history that they find particularly compelling. Questions that may help frame the analysis include: What is at stake in this debate, according to the participants in the debate and according to you? Why is this issue important? Is there a way to reconcile the differences (through empirical research or otherwise)? Please submit a topic proposal by March 26th, including a bibliography. The first draft of the paper is due on April 6th and will be workshopped in class. The final version of the paper is due on April 14th.

Many of the readings for this course are author's first books. This is an intentional choice. For the second paper, students will be encouraged to look at the dissertations that formed the starting-point for these books. Students will write a short analysis (approximately 1,000 words) in which they analyze how the author made the dissertation manageable, and what sorts of sources they consulted. The short analytic paper will also reflect on how and why the dissertation was revised for publication. What was left out, what was added, and why? The paper is due on April 23rd.

For the final assignment, students are encouraged to carry out a reflection on course themes in a manner that is accessible to the general public. This can take the form of a general-interest speech, a blog entry, an op-ed piece, a comic strip, a very short film, a policy paper, a grant application, or a short piece of creative writing. The piece should be approximately 4 pages (or 12 minutes) in length. Regardless of the format that the final reflection takes, students will be encouraged to present it out loud at an end-of-the-semester party on the last day of class, May 7th.

Schedule of Readings

I. State- and Nation-Building at the Turn of the Century

1. January 22: Introduction to the Course

{No assigned readings}

2. January 29: What is the State? What is the Nation?

Max Weber, "Politics as Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, eds. H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985)

J.P. Nettl, "The State as a Conceptual Variable," *World Politics*, 20 (1968): 559-592.

Timothy Mitchell, "Society, Economy and the State Effect," in *State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn*, ed. George Steinmetz, pp.76-98.

Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1-14, 263-307.

3. February 5: State-Making as Organized Violence

Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in *Bringing the State Back In*, 169-191.

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990 – 1990* (London: Blackwell, 1990)

4. February 12th: Bandits and Bureaucracy: State-Making in the Ottoman Empire

Pierre Bourdieu, "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field," *Sociological Theory* 12,1 (1994): 1-18.

Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996)

II. Anarchist Actions, Anarchist Theories

5. February 19th: Resisting the State: Anarchists at the Turn of the Century

Peter Kropotkin, "Anarchism," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1910)

Martin Miller, *The Foundations of Modern Terrorism: State, Society, and the Dynamics of Political Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), "Introduction: Writing the History of Terrorism"; "Chapter Four: Nineteenth Century Russian Revolutionary and Tsarist Terrorisms"; "Chapter Five: European Nation-State Terrorism and Its Antagonists, at Home and Abroad, 1848-1914."

6. February 26th: Sacco and Vanzetti in International History

Moshik Temkin, *The Sacco-Vanzetti Affair: America on Trial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011)

7. March 5th: Anarchism as Scholarly Method?

Pierre Clastres, "Society Against the State," in *Society Against the State* (Zone Books, 1989)

James Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press), chapters 5,6 and 9

David Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Paradigm Press, 2004), selections

III. Reinventing the State after World War I

8. March 12th: Statehood on the Margins

Bibliography workshop for paper 1

Holly Case, *Between States: The Transylvania Question and the European Idea during World War II* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013)

9. March 19th: Ethnographies of Quasi-States

Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, "Introduction: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands," in *Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands* (Indiana University Press, 2013)

Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005)

10. April 9th: Expansive States: Modernization Missions after World War I

Peer-review workshop reading for paper 1

David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011)

IV. Civil Society, Decolonization, and the State after World War II

11. April 16th: The United Nations and the End of Empire

Glenda Sluga and Sunil Amrith, "New Histories of the U.N.," *Journal of World History*, vol. 19, no. 3 (Sep. 2008), 251-274.

Matthew Connelly, "Seeing beyond the State: The Population Control Movement and the Problem of Sovereignty," *Past & Present*, no. 193 (Nov., 2006), 197-233.

Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Place: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), chapters 1-3

12. April 23rd: The End of Empire = the End of Europe?

Andrew Sartori, "Global Intellectual History and the History of Political Economy," in *Global Intellectual History*, eds. Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013)

Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)

13. April 30th: Development and Modernization, Revisited

Charles Tilly, "Power – Top Down and Bottom Up," in *Stories, Identities, Political Change* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), chapter 11

James Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999)

14. May 7th: End-of-semester party & in-class creative presentations