<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Code</th>
<th>Course Title</th>
<th>Instructor</th>
<th>Time</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B226</td>
<td>Mafia and other Italian mysteries</td>
<td>Carl Ipsen</td>
<td>T, Th 1:00-2:15</td>
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<tr>
<td>B323</td>
<td>The Holocaust</td>
<td>Mark Roseman</td>
<td>M, W 1:25-2:15; plus discussion</td>
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<tr>
<td>B303 (section 27835)</td>
<td>Britain and its Empire</td>
<td>Michael Dodson</td>
<td>T, Th 11:15-12:30</td>
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<tr>
<td>B260</td>
<td>Women, Men, and Society in Modern Europe</td>
<td>Julia Roos</td>
<td>T, Th 2:30-3:45</td>
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<tr>
<td>D200</td>
<td>The Cold War</td>
<td>Maria Bucur-Deckard</td>
<td>MWF 10:10-11</td>
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<td>D102</td>
<td>Russia to 1861</td>
<td>David Ransel</td>
<td>MWF 11:15-12:05</td>
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<tr>
<td>D201</td>
<td>The Fall of Communism</td>
<td>Padraic Kenney</td>
<td>T, Th 9:30-10:45</td>
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<tr>
<td>B366</td>
<td>Paris and Berlin in the 1920s</td>
<td>David Pace</td>
<td>T, Th 2:30-3:45</td>
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<tr>
<td>J300</td>
<td>Enlightenment? Culture and Knowledge in the 18\textsuperscript{th} Century \ (writing intensive)</td>
<td>Rebecca Spang</td>
<td>T, Th 1-2:15</td>
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<tr>
<td>B353</td>
<td>The Renaissance</td>
<td>Arthur Field</td>
<td>T, Th 4-5:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B300 (section 8727)</td>
<td>Witchcraft, Religion, and Magic</td>
<td>Rob Schneider</td>
<td>MWF 11:15-12:05</td>
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</table>
Final Exam: Wednesday, 6 May, 10:15-12:15 in this room

Part One: answer TWO out of SIX essay questions (30% each)
--these questions will cover the entire course; you should support your answer with reference to specific examples (people, events, texts, images); count on spending 35-40 minutes on each answer and writing at least five substantial paragraphs for each

these six questions will be selected from twelve which I will post on the course website on Friday morning (1 May 2009); after the questions are posted, you are “on your own”—Jennifer and I will not answer any questions after that point

Part Two: comment on FOUR out of EIGHT passages or images (10% each)
--these will be materials we have covered since the last midterm; format is identical to that on the first two exams for this course
New Left, New Right, New Europe
European Political Spectrum, 1815-1968?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>LEFT</th>
<th>RIGHT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>republicanism</td>
<td>constitutional monarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>socialism</td>
<td>republicanism liberalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>communism</td>
<td>socialism republicanism liberalism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1936 | **Does fascism or the “National Socialists” (Nazis) fit on this grid?**  
           **What about Soviet “Communism”?** |
| 1968 | socialism             | social democrats “Christian democrats” dictator |
Lecture Structure

For most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, European political and intellectual life constituted a left-right spectrum [an inheritance of the French Revolution, partly transformed by the Russian Revolution]. To what extent was that still true in the 1970s and 1980s?

Economic Crisis of the 1970s

- Neo-liberalism
- Supranational institutions
- Extreme-right nationalisms
- New social movements

ETA [Basque separatist] graffiti in San Sebastian (Donastia), Spain.
Characteristics of West European Growth, 1945-1973

Full employment (1950-1973)
unemployment rate in W. Germany, under 1%; France, 1.8%; European average, 1.5%

Migrants and “foreigners” welcomed/encouraged to take low-paying jobs
Immigrant workers as % of population, 1972
Paris, 12%; Brussels, 16%; Stuttgart, 11%; Geneva, 34%

Growth of welfare state which provides schools, child care, retirement pensions, public transport, paid vacations, and health care for the entire population
service becomes major economic sector
state spending > 40% Gross Domestic Product (UK 1970s)

Inflation (at “moderate” levels) accepted as normal
1961-1969, average annual rate: 3.7%
1969-1973, average annual rate: 6.4%

“Disappearance of the peasantry”
Italian population working in agriculture, 1946—40%
1966—24%
1980 <10%
Oil Prices (per barrel crude), 1916-2006
black line = nominal price in dollars
orange line = price translated into 2006 dollars

1973-1979, average annual rate of inflation in Western Europe: 10.9%
The 1970s Paradox: Inflation and a Shrinking Economy

Annual Inflation Rate (UK)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>24.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unemployment in Western Europe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

public-service workers on strike for higher wages
Great Britain, 1978-1979
Neo-Liberal Economics and International Neoconservatism

"They are casting their problems at society. And, you know, there's no such thing as society. There are individual men and women and there are families. And no government can do anything except through people, and people must look after themselves first. It is our duty to look after ourselves and then, also, to look after our neighbours."

Margaret Thatcher 1987

1970s-1980s in the United Kingdom
1972 30 Jan.—Bloody Sunday
1975 inflation peaks at over 20%
1978-1979 “Winter of Discontent”
1979 Thatcher becomes Prime Minister
1984-1985 coalminers’ strike

God save the queen, 'Cos tourists are money
Our figure's head
Is not what she seems.
“God Save the Queen,” Sex Pistols 1977

Responses to the 1970s: neo-liberal monetarism (the New Right)
Thatcherism as an anti-ideology Ideology

My policies are based not on some economics theory, but on things I and millions like me were brought up with: an honest day's work for an honest day's pay; live within your means; put by a nest egg for a rainy day; pay your bills on time; support the police.


From France to the Philippines, from Jamaica to Japan, from Malaysia to Mexico, from Sri Lanka to Singapore, privatization is on the move...The policies we have pioneered are catching on in country after country. We Conservatives believe in popular capitalism—believe in a property-owning democracy. And it works! ... he great political reform of the last century was to enable more and more people to have a vote. Now the great Tory reform of this century is to enable more and more people to own property.


I ain’t gonna work on Maggie’s farm no more…
She talks to all the servants about man and God and law
Everybody says that she’s the brains behind it all…
“Maggie’s Farm”—lyrics by Bob Dylan,
covered in the 1980s by British groups, the Blues Band and The Specials.

Responses to the 1970s: neo-liberalism (new Right)
CONSIDERING that world peace may be safeguarded only by creative efforts equal to the dangers which menace it;
CONVINCED that the contribution which an organized and vital Europe can bring to civilization is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations;
CONSCIOUS that Europe can be built only by concrete actions which create a real solidarity and by the establishment of common bases for economic development;
DESIROUS of assisting through the expansion of their basic production in raising the standard of living and in furthering the works of peace;
RESOLVED to substitute for historic rivalries a fusion of their essential interests…

[The governments of the German Federal Republic (West Germany), Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands] HAVE DECIDED to create a European Coal and Steel Community…

ECSC, 1952-2002
Institutions of European Union

European Commission (originally the ECSC “High Authority”): one commissioner for each member state; commission president is named by the Council and approved by the Parliament [executive functions—proposes legislation]

Council of the European Union (began as ECSC “Special Council of Ministers): one government minister from each member state—leadership rotates every six months [legislative functions]

European Parliament (began as “Common Assembly” of ECSC): since 1979, 785 directly elected members [legislative functions]; 23 official languages
1957  Treaty of Rome creates European Economic Community
     (France, W. Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg)

1973  Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom join EEC

1980s Greece, Spain, Portugal join

1992  Maastricht Treaty on European Union
     created “European” citizenship
     groundwork for monetary union

2002  *euro* (common European currency) enters circulation
     (Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece,
      Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain)

     Slovenia, Cyprus, Malta, and Slovakia have since
     then adopted the *euro*

Response to 1970s International Economic Crisis: Supranational Institutions (economic)
Europe and *euros*
Jean Marie Le Pen
1957-1959 military service in Algeria
1960 co-founder National Front for French Algeria
1963 found guilty of being an “apologist for war crimes”
1983 Front National allies with “traditional right” to win town government of Dreux
1988 Le Pen wins 11% in presidential election
2002 Le Pen finishes second in “first round” of presidential elections, winning more votes than the socialist candidate, Lionel Jospin

“The gas chambers in World War Two are only a historical detail”
Le Pen on national French radio, 1987
Identity Politics and the “New Left”

decline of “class” as organizing principle

questioning of the assumption that growth=progress

“the personal is political”

“There is someone even more unknown than the unknown soldier: his wife.”

One man out of every two is a woman.

Greenham Common encampment, 1981-2000

New Social Movements and the New Left