HST3162/3163
SOLIDARITY, SABOTAGE, STUDENTS:
Protest in Europe, 1968–1989
(HST3163)
Spring 2019

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Overview

This course will examine the history of Europe in the second half of the twentieth century through the prism of those social movements that contested local, national, and international political decision-making throughout the period. It will thus engage with a variety of questions pertaining to protest and its relationship to democracy. These range from issues *behind* protest (how did people come to understand environmentalism as an urgent issue?) to issues *of* protest (when and why does protest take violent form?) and issues *in the study of* protest (which sources answer which questions?).

Further questions include:

- What causes protest? Which issues provoke protest? Why do some grievances go unexpressed for long periods?
- How have historians analysed protest movements? How does their work differ from that of sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, and others?
- What different forms can protest take? How important are demonstrations in tracking the history of protest?
- Who protests and why? Depending on the actors we choose to study, which sources are capable of answering which questions about them?
- How are protest movements in different countries related? Why does activism seem to accelerate and take on global dimensions at certain moments?

This course covers a long time range and multiple countries within Europe. As a result, we will be able to go into much greater detail on some topics than on others, and we will have some weeks where there are relatively few primary sources available.

Exam

Within the framework of this course, two symbolic dates stand out: '1968' and '1989'. As a result, questions related to these two historical moments are likely to form an important part of your final exam. However, you will also be asked to make arguments about how protest has changed over time, how it has functioned in different contexts, what approaches exist to studying it, and how it has been conceived in history and other disciplines.

Class

Always come to class with a copy of the reading in some form – printed or on computer/tablet. **Do not rely on your mobile phone** to look back at course texts or your own notes!

Plagiarism

When you write something for class, you should develop and show your own original thinking. In order to do so, you will probably want to borrow ideas, arguments, or even phrases from other authors. Building on the work of others is a normal and necessary part of how our knowledge of history advances. However, you should not simply repeat or summarize the work of others: the point of any written work is to show what *you* think.

In any written work that you submit (whether it is assessed or not), you should be careful to indicate quotes and their sources properly (with footnotes in most cases). The Department of History maintains a style guide, accessible through MOLE ('History online' link → 'Style guide'), to which you may refer for details. Citations should always be specific, including the author and title as well as a page number or page range wherever possible. The most important thing is that you always make it clear where you are getting quotes, ideas, and arguments from.

The Department of History provides information about what constitutes plagiarism on the following web page:
https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/history/current_students/undergraduate/submission/plagiarism

Many students run into problems with plagiarism not because they intend to cheat, but because they are careless when writing or taking notes (i.e. they fail to distinguish between direct quotes and their own summaries). Unfortunately, this is not an excuse. Your work will be judged by what it is, not by what you intended it to be. **There is no excuse for plagiarism**.

Leading Discussion

During this second semester of the course, you will be asked to work together in a group to lead discussion for one hour of the class.
There is a sheet on Google Drive that provides some tips for how to go about doing this.

Discussion Groups

This term, you will be asked to work together in groups to lead discussion of primary sources yourselves. You will be divided into the groups below. The dates on which you are responsible for leading discussion are indicated in italics on the seminar outline below.

A	B	C	D
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

Seminar outline

Week	Tuesday	Topic	Thursday	Topic
1	5 Feb.	Le Larzac – A 'New Social Movement'?	7 Feb.	Legacies of the Larzac in the Global Justice Movement *Group A*
2	12 Feb.	Environmentalism – Emergence and Professionalization *Group B*	14 Feb.	Women and Anti-Nuclear Energy Protest *Group C*
3	19 Feb.	Violence and Non-Violence in the Anti-Nuclear Movement *Group D*	21 Feb.	Autonomy, Squatting, and the 'Black Bloc'
4	26 Feb.	Human Rights and International Solidarity *Group A*	28 Feb.	'Dissent' and 'Human Rights' in Eastern Europe *Group B*
5	5 Mar.	Poland and Solidarity *Group C*	7 Mar.	Music and Protest
6	12 Mar.	The British Miner's Strike of 1984–85 *All groups*	14 Mar.	E.P. Thompson, from CND to END *Group D*
7	19 Mar.	The 'New' German Peace Movement of the 1980s *Group A*	21 Mar.	Growth of Activism in the GDR *Group B*
8	26 Mar.	The GDR's 'Peaceful Revolution' *Group C*	28 Mar.	Central Europe, 1989
9	2 Apr.	Book discussion: P. Kenney, Chs. 1-3	4 Apr.	Book discussion: P. Kenney, Remaining Chs *Group D (Photo Essay)*
EASTER BREAK				
10	30 Apr.	Review: Western Europe	2 May	Review: Eastern Europe
11	7 May	Review: 1968 and 1989	9 May	Final Review

WEEK 1: NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Tuesday (5 Feb.): Le Larzac – A 'New' Social Movement?

By the end of the 1970s, contemporary sociologists posited that 'value change' had occurred among a younger generation that no longer had to worry about its economic well-being and that had developed 'post-materialist' concerns which animated 'new social movements' (NSMs). Like the distinction between the 'New Left' and its predecessors, the 'new' label implied an opposition to something 'old', in this case the struggles (on behalf) of the working class and for socialism. The women's movement was the first to displace the 'working class' as the primary category of political organization and struggle, with sexual minorities (lesbians and gays), ethnic or national minorities (African-Americans, but also Bretons and Occitans in France), and other 'identity-based' movements following close behind. 'New' social movements also encompassed environmentalism, the reinvigorated peace movement of the 1980s, and perhaps certain forms of international solidarity (in its humanitarian form, if not necessarily in its Marxist one). Yet many movements defied easy categorization as either 'old' or 'new'. The struggle of the Larzac farmers was in this sense typical: here, a traditional social actor (the peasantry) defending its interests (defined in part in classic economic terms) drew on 'post-materialist' concerns linked to pacifism, environmentalism, regionalism, and countercultural contestation to mobilise nationally and internationally.

Questions

- How 'new' were so-called 'New Social Movements'?
- Why did social scientists in the 1970s and 1980s find it helpful to conceive of contemporary movements in terms of novelty?
- What were the themes of the Larzac struggle? How did 'new' and 'old' elements co-exist within it?

Required Reading

- N. A. Pichardo, 'New Social Movements. A Critical Review', *Annual Review of Sociology* (1997), 411–430 [**journal/online**]
- Herman Lebovics, *Bringing the Empire Back Home: France in the Global Age* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 13–57 (Ch. 1: 'Gardarem lo Larzac!') [**eBook**]
    - It is worth reading all of this chapter, but we will be using in class less for its arguments than for the background it provides to the Larzac struggle. This is mostly on pp. 29-49, which you may want to read more carefully than other sections.
    - Look at the images throughout the book and think about how you might analyse them as primary sources
    - While reading it, try to think about what themes and protest forms might be 'new' at this time and which aspects might resemble 'old'

Primary Sources

- Larzac posters and flyers [**Google Drive**]
- *Tous au Larzac – Leadersheep* English-language trailer [**YouTube**: https://goo.gl/sfEJMR or **DailyMotion**: https://goo.gl/u14w4x]

Further Reading

Alexander Alland and Sonia Alland, *Crisis and Commitment: Life History of a French Social Movement* (Chemin de la Sallaz, Switzerland: Gordon and Breach, 1994)

Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977) – a key text on the 'value change' social scientists observed in the 1970s

Claus Offe, 'New Social Movements. Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics', *Social Research*, 52, 4 (1985), 817–868 – the key foundational text on NSMs

Craig Calhoun, '"New Social Movements" of the Early Nineteenth Century', *Social Science History*, 17, 3 (1993), 385–427 – an article criticising the supposed novelty of NSMs

Lorna Weir, 'Limitations of New Social Movement Analysis', *Studies in Political Economy*, 40, 1993 (1993), 73–102 [**journal/online**] – trenchant criticism of the NSM concept

Hanspeter Kriesi, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak and Marco Giugni, eds., *New Social Movements in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995)

Jan Willem Duyvendak, *The Power of Politics: New Social Movements in France* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995)

Ruud Koopmans, *Democracy from Below: New Social Movements and the Political System in West Germany* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995)

Thursday (7 Feb.): Legacies of the Larzac in the Global Justice Movement

The Larzac farmers achieved victory in 1981, when François Mitterrand canceled the planned extension of the military camp there. Yet during the 1970s, the Larzac had become a major centre for activism on a range of interrelated 'New Social Movements'. The Larzac's extensive protest networks did not disappear overnight, even if activism on the plateau itself slowly declined. The Larzac also continued to live on as a protest 'legend' that could inspire activists elsewhere. When protests arose against neoliberal globalisation in the late 1990s and early 2000s, activists there were thus well-placed to re-activate old networks and take on a central role in the Global Justice Movement (GJM). Like the earlier Larzac struggle, the GJM fused together concerns about the Global South, human rights, the environment, workers' rights, migration within this 'movement of movements'. Larzac farmer José Bové became famous around the world through a particularly attention-getting protest against a McDonald's restaurant in 1999…

Questions

- Why was contestation of corporate globalisation so intense in France?
- Is the Larzac part of a specifically 'French' national tradition of protest?

Primary Sources

- José Bové, 'A Farmers' International?', *New Left Review,* 12 (2001), 89–101 [**online**: https://goo.gl/Mw9XNn]
- Video of José Bové and others 'dismantling' a McDonald's restaurant in Millau [**online**: https://goo.gl/DMKEAy]
    - The audio is unfortunately only available in French, but focus on the images and the way in which the protest seems to take place.

Required Reading

- Please read at least **TWO** of the following:
    - Edouard Morena, 'Constructing a New Collective Identity for the Alterglobalization Movement. The French Confédération Paysanne (CP) as Anti-Capitalist "Peasant" Movement', in Cristina Flesher Fominaya and Laurence Cox, eds., *Understanding European Movements: New Social Movements, Global Justice Struggles, Anti-Austerity Protest* (London: Routledge, 2013), 94–108 [**eBook**]
    - Isabelle Sommier and Olivier Fillieule, 'The Emergence and Development of the "No Global" Movement in France. A Genealogical Approach', in Cristina Flesher Fominaya and Laurence Cox, eds., *Understanding European Movements: New Social Movements, Global Justice Struggles, Anti-Austerity Protest* (London: Routledge, 2013), 47–60 [**eBook**]
    - Danielle Tartakowsky, 'Is the French Manif still Specific? Changes in French Street Demonstrations', in Matthias Reiss, ed., *The Street as Stage: Protest Marches and Public Rallies since the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 311–324 [**e-offprint**]

WEEK 2: ENVIRONMENTALISM AND NUCLEAR ENERGY

Tuesday (12 Feb.): Environmentalism – Emergence and Professionalization

Like other 'new social movements', environmentalism was not entirely 'new' in the 1970s: nature protection organizations had existed since the late 19th century, and ecological thinking could be traced back to the Romantic period or earlier. But by the 1970s, scientists and activists were arguing that environmental grievances across the industrialized world had simply become unbearable, while states and international institutions lent important support to the burgeoning movement. Over time, it came to more and more associated with political parties such as *Die Grünen* and professionalized non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like Greenpeace or Friends of the Earth. However, environmentalism was also a grassroots movement in the 1970s, and historians have argued that its appeal was based on socially constructed grievances as well as a growing perception that environmental issues were globally interconnected.

Questions

- Why did environmentalism emerge in the 1970s and why did it not meet with success much earlier?
- Did environmental issues *require* different forms of protest? Were they necessarily more tied to organizations or less susceptible to violence?
- What leads to 'professionalisation' and it is always good/bad?

Required Reading

- Joachim Radkau, *The Age of Ecology: A Global History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), 79–113 (Ch. 2: 'The Great Chain Reaction') [**e-offprint**]
- Frank Zelko, 'The *Umweltmulti* Arrives. Greenpeace and Grass Roots Environmentalism in West Germany', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 61, 3 (2015), 397–413 [**journal/online**]

Primary Sources

- Donella H. Meadows, *The Limits to Growth* (London: Earth Island Ltd, 1972) [**online**: https://goo.gl/U8Sk8S] –
    - skim the **Introduction** (pp. 17-24) and concluding **Commentary** (pp. 185-197) for the main ideas.
    - What is your impression of this text? What is its tone? What solutions does it imply? Who should act to change things? How does this text connect with protest?

Further Reading

Frank Zelko, *Make it a Green Peace!: The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013)

Joachim Radkau, *Nature and Power: A Global History of the Environment,* 1. Engl. ed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Frank Uekötter, *The Greenest Nation?: A New History of German Environmentalism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014)

Michael Bess, *The Light-Green Society: Ecology and Technological Modernity in France, 1960-2000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003)

Christopher Rootes, *Environmental Protest in Western Europe* (Cary: Oxford University Press USA, 2003)

Elisabeth S. Clemens and Debra C. Minkoff, 'Beyond the Iron Law. Rethinking the Place of Organizations in Social Movement Research', in David A. Snow, Sarah Anne Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 155–170

Thursday (14 Feb.): Women and Anti-Nuclear Energy Protest

In the 1970s, the 'bleeding edge' of the environmental movement was the opposition to nuclear energy. People opposed the civil use of nuclear technology for a wide range of reasons. Local activists often fought against proposed nuclear power stations more because of how they thought it would restructure their local economy than because of the concerns about safety and radioactivity that we think of first today. Local activists were joined by outside supporters who

sometimes had more politicised motives: anti-militarism, anti-authoritarianism, anti-capitalism, and so on.

Women played an especially important role in the organization of anti-nuclear protest, particularly in rural areas. Gendered social structures have tended to place women's action in a 'private' sphere and men's in the 'public' sphere. This often leads to a division of labour among activists, by which women take on organizational roles that are essential to protest but often less visible than the actions of men. However, when women serve as visible actors in protest, their participation can change the perceptions and resonance of a movement in important ways. At the same time, protest itself can be a liberating and empowering experience for certain women which changes their position within a given social structure.

Questions

- Why were women central to interactions between local activists and outside supporters?
- Is protest by women always 'feminist' in its intentions or implications?

Primary source

- Translation of interview with Marie-Jo Putinier [**Google Drive**]

Required reading

- Jens Ivo Engels, 'Gender roles and German anti-nuclear protest. The Women of Wyhl', in Christoph Bernhardt and Geneviève Massard-Guilbaud, eds., *The Modern Demon: Pollution in Urban and Industrial European Societies* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2002), 407–424 [**online**: https://goo.gl/KCa2hr]
- Please read **ONE** of the following for background:
    - Daniel P. Aldrich, *Site Fights: Divisive Facilities and Civil Society in Japan and the West* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 152-184 (Ch. 6: 'David versus Goliath') [**e-offprint**]
    - Stephen Milder, *Greening Democracy: The Anti-Nuclear Movement and Political Environmentalism in West Germany and Beyond, 1968-1983* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 19–50 (Ch. 1: "'Today the Fish, Tomorrow Us'") [**eBook**]
    - Andrew S. Tompkins, *Better Active than Radioactive!: Anti-Nuclear Protest in 1970s France and West Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 112–46 (Ch. 4: 'Local Protest in the Rural World') [**eBook**]

Further Reading

Roger Karapin, *Protest Politics in Germany: Movements on the Left and Right since the 1960s* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 117–60 (Ch. 'Nuclear Energy Conflicts at Wyhl and Brokdorf')

Dorothy Nelkin and Michael Pollak, *The Atom Besieged: Antinuclear Movements in France and Germany* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981)

WEEK 3: VIOLENCE AND MILITANCY

Tuesday (19 Feb.): Violence and Non-Violence in the Anti-Nuclear Movement

Compared to protest on other environmental issues, anti-nuclear activism in the 1970s was particularly violent. Violence in relation to protest is often conceived in relation to 'terrorism', usually seen as a conscious strategy of 'armed struggle'. However, other forms of violence that fall far short of kidnapping, hostage-taking, and murder are much more common. Violence at protest demonstrations can be a deliberate choice, but escalation can also occur inadvertently as a result of accidents, the miscalculated use of force, or mismatched expectations between protesters and police.

Questions

- Why was the opposition to nuclear energy so much more conflict-laden than other environmental issues?
- When was violence 'useful' to demonstrators and when was it counterproductive?

Required reading

- Andrew S. Tompkins, *Better Active than Radioactive!: Anti-Nuclear Protest in 1970s France and West Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 147-195 (Ch. 5: "'Peaceful but Offensive" Protest: Violence and Non-Violence in the Anti-Nuclear Movement') [**Google Drive**]

Primary Sources

- Françoise d'Eaubonne, 'What Could an Ecofeminist Society Be?', *Ethics & the Environment*, 4, 2 (1999), 179–184 [**journal/online**]
- Solange Fernex, 'Non-Violence Triumphant', *The Ecologist*, 5, 10 (1975), 372–385 [**Google Drive**]
- News coverage of anti-nuclear demonstration in Creys-Malville on 31 July 1977 [**online**: https://goo.gl/E82U1W] – this is regrettably only available in French, but see what you can interpret based on the images
- Photos from Günter Zint, *Atomkraft* [**Google Drive**]

Further reading

Sean Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West: The Mahatma and the Rise of Radical Protest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 206-238 [**eBook**]

William Marotti, 'Japan 1968. The Performance of Violence and the Theater of Protest', *American Historical Review*, 114, 1 (2009), 97–135 [**journal/online**]

Andrew S. Tompkins, 'Transnationality as a Liability? The Anti-Nuclear Movement at Malville', *Revue Belge de Philosophie et d'Histoire*, 89 (2011), 1365–1380 [**journal/online**]

Thursday (21 February): Autonomy, Squatting, and the 'Black Bloc'

Many of the most militant activists in the anti-nuclear movement upheld 'autonomy' as a central ideal. So-called 'autonomous groups' (sometimes 'autonomists') were, however, engaged in numerous different movements and brought together ideas from several of them: anti-nuclear protest and feminism (which we have already discussed a bit) were key areas of activism for them. So too was the squatters' movement that flourished in cities across Europe in the 1980s and 1990s.

In this class, we will think about the long-term trajectory of autonomy and the notions of militant activism connected with it. We also have the privilege of discussing this with a **guest lecturer, Dr Ali Jones (University of Cambridge)**, a leading expert on the topic**.**

Required Readings

- Ali Jones, '„Militanz" and Moralised Violence. Hamburg's Rote Flora and the 2017 G20 Riot', *German Life and Letters*, 71, 4 (2018), 529–558 [English version on **Google Drive**]
- **One chapter** from Leendert van Hoogenhuijze, Ask Katzeff and Bart van der Steen, eds., *The city is ours: Squatting and autonomous movements in europe from the 1970s to the present* (Oakland: PM Press, 2014) [**eBook**] –
    - You will be assigned to read on Amsterdam (**Group A**), Barcelona (**Group B**), Berlin (**Group C**) or London (**Group D**).
    - After reading the text, look at https://maps.squat.net/en/cities and try to find out more about the squats discussed in the reading.

WEEK 4: HUMAN RIGHTS AND DISSENT

Tuesday (26 Feb.): Human Rights and International Solidarity

'Human Rights' as a concept has existed since at least the French Revolution (when it was referred to as the 'Rights of Man') and was anchored in international law after the Second World War by the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Yet it took some time after that for the concept to catch on in the public consciousness and inspire protesters to act. Recent scholarship has argued that the 1970s were the moment of

'breakthrough' for Human Rights. However, this was also the moment when the so-called 'Third World' came to be seen in (Western) Europe less as a subject capable of acting on its own behalf (as had been the case during decolonization) and more as an object of international politics in need of outside assistance and humanitarian intervention. This reframing arguably depoliticized struggles that had once been understood in intensely political terms, changing the nature of 'solidarity' in the process, whether it was solidarity with Biafra, Chile, South Africa, Nicaragua, Angola, or somewhere else.

Questions

- Why did human rights experience a 'breakthrough' in the 1970s?
- What did human rights struggles in different countries represent to Western Europeans?

Required Reading

- Jan Eckel, 'The Rebirth of Politics from the Spirit of Morality. Explaining the Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s', in Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn, eds., *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 226–259 – good general background
- Eleanor Davey, 'French Adventures in Solidarity. Revolutionary Tourists and Radical Humanitarians', *European Review of History*, 21, 4 (2014), 577–595 [**journal/online**]

Primary Sources

- Médecins sans frontières UK web page,
  - About us → History → 'Founding of MSF' [**online**: https://goo.gl/5gVWCN]
  - About us → History → 'MSF timeline' [**online**: https://goo.gl/w4wfpP]
- Amnesty International Report from 1973-74 [**online**: https://goo.gl/xpwSp1]
  - pp. 5-12 (Preface, Introduction, Membership) are **required** reading for everyone
  - read **TWO or THREE country profiles of your choosing**
    - recommended ones include Chile, Iran, South Africa, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic

Further Reading

* Kim Christiaens and Idesbald Goddeeris, 'Beyond Western European Idealism. A Comparative Perspective on the Transnational Scope of Belgian Solidarity Movements with Nicaragua, Poland and South Africa in the 1980s', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 50, 3 (2015), 632–655 [**journal/online**] – strongly recommended as a link to what we will be doing later this week

Eleanor Davey, *Idealism beyond Borders: The French Revolutionary Left and the Rise of Humanitarianism, 1954-1988* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2010) – intellectual history of human rights

Simon Stevens, 'Why South Africa? The Politics of Anti-Apartheid Activism in Britain in the Long 1970s', in Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn, eds., *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 204–225 [**eBook**]

Lasse Heerten, 'The Dystopia of Postcolonial Catastrophe. Self-Determination, the Biafran War of Secession, and the 1970s Human Rights Moment', in Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn, eds., *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 15–32 [**eBook**]

Christian Helm, 'Booming Solidarity. Sandinista Nicaragua and the West German Solidarity movement in the 1980s', *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, 21, 4 (2014), 597–615 [**journal/online**]

Thursday (28 Feb.): 'Dissent' and 'Human Rights' in Eastern Europe

If Western Europe witnessed an unprecedented expansion of the issues and forms of protest during the 1970s, visible forms of protest in Eastern Europe remained much as they had been in earlier decades: revolts over price hikes, grumbling in queues, and individual protest. Increasingly though, and especially following the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Helsinki in 1975, Western media played up the actions of intellectual 'dissidents' in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Attention to such individuals in the West was often out of proportion with the influence they exerted in their own countries, and Communist governments were quick to dismiss 'dissent' as the pastime of an isolated

intelligentsia that was out of touch with the needs and interests of the masses of working class people.

Questions

- What constituted 'dissent' and whom did it address?
- To what extent did changes in international politics like the Helsinki accords facilitate such activities?
- How did international attention help and/or harm their cause?

Primary Source

- Václav Havel, 'The Power of the Powerless', *International Journal of Politics*, 15, 3/4 (1985), 23–96 [**journal/online**]
    - focus especially on these numbered sections: I-III, VII-VIII, XII-XIII, XX-XXII

Required Reading

- Jonathan Bolton, *Worlds of Dissent: Charter 77, The Plastic People of the Universe, and Czech Culture under Communism* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 201-238 [**eBook**]

Further Reading

Sarah B. Snyder, *Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 53–80 (Ch. 3: 'Even in a Yakutian Village') [**eBook**] – Also highly recommended as background on narratives about international connections and dissent.

Liudmila Alekseeva, *Soviet Dissent: Contemporary Movements for National, Religious, and Human Rights* (Middletown Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), 318–97 ('Human Rights During détente') [**e-offprint**]

Ned Richardson-Little, 'Dictatorship and Dissent: Human Rights in East Germany', in Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn, eds., *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 49–67 [**eBook** and also **online**: https://goo.gl/qZ8uo3]

Barbara J. Falk, *The Dilemmas of Dissidence in East-Central Europe: Citizen Intellectuals and Philosopher Kings* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003)

WEEK 5: SOLIDARITY AND THE 'SELF-LIMITING REVOLUTION'

Tuesday (5 March): Poland and Solidarity

According to popular wisdom, Poland was 'the jolliest barracks in the Soviet bloc', a country where Communist power was not only more frequently challenged than in neighbouring states, but also more openly ridiculed. During the 1970s and 1980s, the state responded to repeated rebellions by vacillating between concessions and repression. The formal recognition of Solidarność as an independent trade union (i.e. not associated with the Communist Party) represented a first within the Soviet bloc, and provided an important vehicle for the country's diverse opposition currents to press new demands on the state – at least until the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981. When the government again loosened restrictions later that decade and attempted to stabilize the country's economy, it turned to Solidarność as a possible partner. The resulting roundtable talks and semi-free elections in 1989 paved the way for Poland's transition away from one-party rule and towards a new Republic.

Questions

- Why were there so many rebellions and protests in Poland?
- How was Solidarność able to effectively consolidate opposition forces in the late 1970s?

Primary Sources

- documents from *World Affairs*, vol. 145 (1982) [**journal/online**: http://www.jstor.org/stable/i20671923]
    - Chronology (pp. 6-10)
    - Gdańsk Agreement (pp. 11-19)
    - 'Martial Law Declared' (pp. 76-86)
    - 'Combating Martial Law' (pp. 87-99)

Required reading

- Aleksander Smolar, 'Towards 'Self-limiting Revolution'. Poland, 1970-89', in Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, eds., *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-Violent Action from Gandhi to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 127–143 [**eBook**]
- Gunter Dehnert, 'The Polish Opposition, the Crisis of the Gierek Era, and the Helsinki Process', in Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn, eds., *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 166–185 [**eBook**]

Further Reading

Film: Andrzej Wajda, *Man of Iron: Człowiek z żelaza* (1981) – one of the most famous films by one of Poland's most famous directors; worth watching for many reasons, including seeing how much less political censorship was applied in Poland than in other Eastern European countries

Film: Volker Schlöndorff, *Strike: Strajk* (2007) – fictionalised dramatisation about the life of Anna Walentynowicz, the Gdańsk shipyard worker whose firing led to the strikes

Grzegorz Ekiert and Jan Kubik, *Rebellious Civil Society: Popular Protest and Democratic Consolidation in Poland, 1989-1993* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 21–46 (Ch. 2: 'Political Crises and Popular Protest under State Socialism') [**eBook**] – Good, quick, easy background

Jack M. Bloom, 'The Solidarity Revolution in Poland, 1980-1981', *The Oral History Review*, 33, 1 (2006), 33–64 [**journal/online**]

Jerome Karabel, 'Polish Intellectuals and the Origins of Solidarity: The Making of an Oppositional Alliance', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 26, 1 (1993), 25–46 [**journal/online**]

David S. Mason, 'Solidarity as a New Social Movement', *Political Science Quarterly*, 104, 1 (1989), 41–58 [**journal/online**]

Andrzej Paczkowski and Malcolm Byrne, *From Solidarity to Martial Law: The Polish Crisis of 1980-1981: A Documentary History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007) – primary source documents

Thursday (7 March): Music and Protest

Social movements interface with culture on multiple levels. Protest songs are one means of spreading a political message beyond a specifically activist constituency, or of intensifying a sense of identity within a movement. 'Political' content within popular music can likewise create feelings of belonging even for people who have little direct contact with organised activists. Some of the most interesting relationships between music and protest though have been examined by musicologists looking at the sounds and rhythms of protest-related activities.

Questions

- What are the sound elements of a typical protest? Aside from audio/video recordings, how can we find traces of what a demonstration sounded like?
- To what extent are the intentions of an artist relevant to 'political' interpretations of music?

Required Reading

- Andrea F. Bohlman, 'Solidarity, Song, and the Sound Document', *Journal of Musicology*, 33, 2 (2016), 232–269
    - including the lyrics to Jacek Kaczmarski, *Mury* [**Google Drive**]

Further Reading

Jonathan C. Friedman, ed., *The Routledge History of Social Protest in Popular Music* (New York: Routledge, 2013)

WEEK 6: TRADE UNIONS AND OTHER SOLIDARITIES IN BRITAIN

Tuesday (12 March): The British Miner's Strike of 1984–85

Trade union activism in some sense represents the quintessential 'old' social movement implied by the 'New Social Movements' paradigm. Yet trade union activism persisted and even intensified in many places, most notably in Great Britain. The Miner's Strike of 1984-85 was arguably the most dramatic such event, with lasting consequences for industrial relations in the UK. This lesson offers us a chance to review, based on a case that will be more familiar to

many of you, some of the questions about policing, women's protest, and oral history sources that have come up at different points in the course.

Questions

- To what extent do policing strategies affect the propensity for violence at demonstrations? How have police learned over time to mitigate disruptions?
- What is the value of oral history for studying emotionally charged memories of protest?
- How did women engage in the male-dominated miners' strike?

Required Reading

- Choose <u>at least **ONE**</u> of the following to read through:
    - Daryl Leeworthy, 'The Secret Life of Us. 1984, the Miners' Strike and the Place of Biography in Writing History 'from Below'', *European Review of History*, 19, 5 (2012), 825-846 [**journal/online**]
    - Jean Spence and Carol Stephenson, '"Side by Side with our Men?" Women's Activism, Community, and Gender in the 1984-1985 British Miners' Strike', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 75, 1 (2009), 68–84 [**journal/online**]
    - David Waddington and Chas Critcher, 'Policing Pit Closures, 1984–1992', in Richard Bessel and Clive Emsley, eds., *Patterns of Provocation: Police and Public Disorder* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2000), 99–120 [**Google Drive**]

Primary source activity

- **Each group must find and upload to Google Drive** a photo or the text of a primary source connected to the Miner's Strike. The only requirement is that **the source should <u>NOT</u> be taken <u>from the internet</u>**. You could try to look in the following places:
    - Friends or family members from South Yorkshire or other areas affected by the strike
    - Sheffield City Archives

<u>Thursday (14 March): E.P. Thompson: From CND to END</u>

The historian Edward Palmer Thompson, best known for *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963), was also a leading activist associated with the formation and development of the New Left in Britain. By the 1980s, he was also a key figure of an increasingly 'European' protest movement against the stationing of American nuclear weapons at NATO bases across Western Europe. His trajectory thus connects the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) founded in the 1950s with European Nuclear Disarmament (END). END not only opposed the arms race, it used activism against it in order to promote links across the so-called 'Iron Curtain'. (We will read more about those links in a later lesson.)

Questions

- What do E.P. Thompson's biography and writings tell us about long-term change on the left and in the peace movement in post-1945 Britain?
- Was Thompson especially British in his outlook or his mode of activism?

Required Reading

- Michael D. Bess, 'E. P. Thompson: The Historian as Activist', *The American Historical Review*, 98, 1 (1993), 18–38 [**online/journal**]

Primary Sources

- Edward Palmer Thompson, 'At the Point of Decay', in Edward Palmer Thompson, ed., *Out of Apathy* (London: Stevens, 1960), 3–18 [**<u>online</u>**: https://goo.gl/WKKwPx]
- Edward Palmer Thompson, 'Notes on Exterminism, the Last Stage of Civilization', *New Left Review*, 121, 1 (1980), 4–31 [**<u>online</u>**: https://goo.gl/ZQBYZ4]

Further Reading

Holger Nehring, '"Out of Apathy". Genealogies of the British "New Left" in a Transnational Context, 1956-1962', in Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and revolt in Europe, 1960-1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 15–31 [**eBook**]

Edward Palmer Thompson, 'Protest and Survive', in Edward Palmer Thompson, ed., *Protest and Survive* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), 9–61 [**Google Drive**]

Edward Palmer Thompson, 'Ends and Histories', in Mary Kaldor, ed., *Europe from Below: An East-West Dialogue* (London: Verso, 1991), 7–25 [**Google Drive**] – E.P. Thompson's reflections on END *after* the end of the Cold War

WEEK 7: A PAN-EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENT?

Tuesday (19 March): The 'New' German Peace Movement of the 1980s

The early 1980s witnessed the rise of a 'new' peace movement across Europe, largely in response to the NATO 'double-track decision' of 1979, which led to the stationing of new US nuclear weapons in Western Europe. States and conservative politicians frequently dismissed peace activism as driven by Communists, who did participate in protest but who were not in control of it. In this era, independent grassroots peace groups proliferated, and were especially visible in West Germany. There, activists kept a certain distance not only from the Communist Party, but also from the Social Democratic Party that had dominated (and abruptly ended) the '*Kampf dem Atomtod*' campaign in the 1950s. Indeed, anti-nuclear weapons protests provided an important platform for a new political party to emerge in West Germany. The Greens (*Die Grünen*) and especially their media-savvy member Petra Kelly rose to prominence on a wave of pacifist sentiment.

Questions

- What was 'new' about peace activism in the 1980s? How did activists organise protest differently from before?
- To what extent did peace serve as a vehicle for other concerns (human rights in Eastern Europe, environmentalism)?

Primary Sources

- Petra Kelly, *Fighting for Hope* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1984) [**Google Drive**]
  - pp. 27-32 on non-violence
  - pp. 35-46 on Greenham Common and the Peace movement
- Edward Palmer Thompson, ed., *Protest and Survive* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981)
  - pp. 223-226, 'Appeal for European Nuclear Disarmament' [**Google Drive**]
- Primary souces online
  - The Krefeld Appeal (November 1980) [GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/n99L69]

Required Reading

- Susanne Schregel, 'The Spaces and Places of the Peace Movement', in Christoph Becker-Schaum, Philipp Gassert, Wilfried Mausbach, Martin Klimke and Marianne Zepp, eds., *Nuclear Crisis: The Arms Race, Cold War Anxiety, and the German Peace Movement of the 1980s* (Berghahn, 2016), 173–188 [**e-offprint**]
- Saskia Richter, 'The Protagonists of the Peace Movement', in Christoph Becker-Schaum, Philipp Gassert and Martin Klimke, eds., *The Nuclear Crisis: The Arms Race, Cold War Anxiety, and the German Peace Movement of the 1980s*, volume 19: Protest, culture and society (New York: Berghahn, 2016), 189–206 [**Google Drive**]
  - Introduction and entries on Bastian, Quistorp, Kade, Kelly, Bohley, Bahro, Beuys, Böll

Further Reading

Silke Mende and Birgit Metzger, 'Eco-pacifism: The Environmental Movement as a Source for the Peace Movement', in Christoph Becker-Schaum, Philipp Gassert and Martin Klimke, eds., *The Nuclear Crisis: The Arms Race, Cold War Anxiety, and the German Peace Movement of the 1980s*, volume 19: Protest, culture and society (New York: Berghahn, 2016)

Saskia Richter, 'Petra Kelly, International Green Leader. On Biography and the Peace Movement as Resources of Power in West German Politics, 1979-1983', *German Politics and Society*, 33, 4 (2015), 80–96 [**journal/online**]

Stephen Milder, 'Thinking Globally, Acting (Trans-) Locally. Petra Kelly and the Transnational Roots of West German Green Politics', *Central European History*, 43 (2010), 301–326 [**journal/online**]

Saskia Richter, *Die Aktivistin: Das Leben der Petra Kelly* (München: DVA, 2010)

Thursday (21 March): Growth of Activism in the GDR

Solidarity in Poland and the forging of East-West links within the peace movement foreshadowed and ultimately contributed to sweeping political change in 1989. The situation in the German Democratic Republic was in many respects more complicated though than elsewhere in Eastern Europe: on the 'front line' of systemic competition, East Germany was a much more repressive and closed society than, say, Poland. When change came in the Summer and Autumn of 1989, it was even more dramatic. Yet here too, the seeds of a 'peaceful revolution' were planted by earlier activism that slowly developed over the course of a decade or more.

When reading this week's text, also think back to the article we read by Mary Fulbrook at the beginning of the course, which was about *other* forms of 'resistance', e.g. grumbling, complaining, and petitioning. How did the developments Fulbrook tracks in this chapter break with that?

Questions

- What led to the growth of activism in East Germany? Why did it not develop much earlier?
- What potential did the forms of protest discussed here have in such a repressive society?

Primary Sources

- Petra Kelly, *Fighting for Hope* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1984) [**e-offprint or Google Drive**]
    - pp. 53-56 on Poland
    - pp. 56-59 on Swords into Ploughshares (GDR)
- Primary sources online
    - Peace and Human Rights (1986) [GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/zkCeU1]
    - An Expelled East German Dissident Explains the Peace Movement (July 21, 1983) [GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/ryvSWc]
    - East-West German Initiative (1983) [GHI-docs: https://goo.gl/ctBgdy]

Required Reading

- Mary Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR 1949-1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 201-242 (Ch. 8: 'The Growth of Political Activism') [**e-offprint**]

WEEK 8: 1989 IN AND AROUND EAST GERMANY

Tuesday (26 March): The GDR's 'Peaceful Revolution'

On 9 November 1989, the Berlin Wall fell. This was not the sole nor necessarily even the most important change within the Soviet bloc in the period 1988-1991, but it was perhaps the most dramatic. It would be the final blow in the German Democratic Republic's very short 'revolution', which had begun only earlier that summer and which had reached a crisis point by the time of Gorbachev's visit in October 1989.

This week, we will be reading the work of a historian alongside that of social scientists. In looking at these, try to (a) get a clear understanding of the concepts developed by the latter and (b) pay attention to how people in each discipline deploy evidence differently.

What was responsible for the (unusually rapid) demise of the GDR? Did everything depend on Gorbachev? How did changes elsewhere in Eastern Europe affect developments in the GDR,

supposedly the bloc's bulwark of Stalinism? What role did protest play in the downfall of Honecker and the Socialist Unity Party (SED)? How did the actors and organizations of protest shape the transition from Soviet-style Communism to life in an enlarged Federal Republic of Germany?

Questions

- What kinds of people chose to stay and protest in the GDR as opposed to leaving when they finally had the chance?
- How did the mass protests of late 1989 connect with prior 'dissident' organizing?
- What did protesters in late 1989 want?
- What is a 'wave of contention'? What other ones have we seen before?

Primary Source

- Excerpts from Richard T. Gray and Sabine Wilke, eds., *German Unification and its Discontents: Documents from the Peaceful Revolution* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996)
    - Documents 1-7 (pp. 3-16)
    - Documents 16-17 (pp. 44-53)
    - Document 22 (pp. 69-70)
    - Document 25 (pp. 80-81)
    - Document 32 (pp. 96-98)

Required Reading

- Charles S. Maier, *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 108–67 [**eBook**] – pay particular attention to pp. 135–146, 158–161, 164–167. **You may also find it useful to read the first part of the next chapter (168-185)**.
- Ruud Koopmans, 'Protest in Time and Space. The Evolution of Waves of Contention', in David A. Snow, Sarah Anne Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 19–46 [**Google Drive**]

Further Reading

Mary Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR 1949-1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 243–65 (Ch. 9, 'The End of a Dictatorship')

Stephen Kotkin, *Uncivil Society: 1989 and the Implosion of the Communist Establishment* (New York: Modern Library, 2009)

James Krapfl, *Revolution with a Human Face: Politics, culture, and community in Czechoslovakia, 1989-1992* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013)

Padraic Kenney, *1989: Democratic Revolutions at the Cold War's End: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2010) – a collection of primary source documents on revolutions around the globe; the introduction provides a broad conceptual overview of contributing factors

Thursday (28 March): Central Europe, 1989

The GDR's collapse was made possible in part by the turmoil brewing in neighbouring countries: Poland's free elections in June 1989, Hungary's decision to open the border to Austria, and the crescendo of mass protests building in Czechoslovakia. Padraic Kenney's book (next week) will go into more detail about how it all fits together.

Required readings

- Timothy Garton Ash, *We the People: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin and Prague* (London: Penguin, 1999), 47–60, (Ch. 'Budapest') [**Google Drive**]
- Stephen Kotkin, *Uncivil Society: 1989 and the Implosion of the Communist Establishment* (New York: Modern Library, 2009), 4–34 (Ch. 'Bank Run') [**Google Drive**]

Primary source (in class)

- **Film**: Maria Zmarz-Koczanowicz, *Generation 89: Pokolenie 89* (2002).

WEEK 9: A CARNIVAL OF REVOLUTION

As we did last semester with Gerd-Rainer Horn's *Spirit of '68*, we will spend the last week before the break looking at a full-length monograph. Padraic Kenney's *Carnival of Revolution* is one of the most ambitious studies of 1989 from a 'bottom-up' perspective. In reading it, try to think about how his work compares to Garton Ash, Fulbrook, and other historians you have encountered.

Tuesday (2 April): Kenney, *Carnival of Revolution*, Chs. 1-4

Thursday (4 April): Kenney, *Carnival of Revolution*, Ch 5, Photo Essay, Part Two, Epilogue

- Photo essay is on **Google Drive** (eBook contains no images)

WEEK 10: REVIEW I

Tuesday (30 April): Narratives in Western Europe

Thursday (2 May): Narratives in Eastern Europe

WEEK 11: REVIEW II

Tuesday (7 May): 1968 and 1989

Thursday (9 May): Final review