Санкт-Петербургский филиал федерального государственного автономного образовательного учреждения высшего профессионального образования "Национальный исследовательский университет "Высшая школа экономики"

Факультет Санкт-Петербургская школа социальных и гуманитарных наук

Программа дисциплины «Политические изобретения Нового времени»

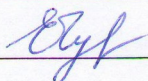для направления «Политология» подготовки бакалавра

Авторы:
Успенский В.С., старший преподаватель департамента истории, vuspenskiy@hse.ru,
Григорьев И.С., преподаватель департамента прикладной политологии, igrigoriev@hse.ru

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Чумакова Е.В.   _____

Утверждено академическим советом ОП «Политология»

Академический руководитель ОП   «_25_» ___03___ 20_15_ г.

Стародубцев А.В.   _____

Санкт-Петербург
2015

Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики»
Программа дисциплины «Политические изобретения Нового времени»
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Аннотация к курсу «Political Inventions in Modern History»

Описание курса:

Целями освоения дисциплины «Политические изобретения Нового времени» являются обзор основных терминов исторической социологии и политологии, анализ истоков и развития ключевых политических институтов современности и формирование у студентов понимания того, как соотносятся между собой история и политология. Курс прослеживает историческое становление нескольких важных современных политических институтов: то, как общества приходили к изобретению этих институтов, и как эти институты формировались в конкретных политических практиках в разных исторических обстоятельствах. Курс примерно следует хронологии изобретения новых институтов: государства, бюрократии, общественного представительства и парламентов, выборов и политических партий, и социальной политики (государства всеобщего благосостояния).

План курса:

№	Тема	Общее количество часов	Лекций	Семинаров	Самостоятельная работа
1	Введение. Что такое Новое время? Чем политология отличается от политической истории?	10	2	2	6
2	Что такое государство? Определения нововременного государства.	10	2	2	6
3	Король и его правительство. Деперсонализация власти и практики публичного администрирования в ранненововременых государствах.	10	2	2	6
4	Перераспределение власти в ранненововременных государствах: патрон-клиенсткие отношения и налоговые фермы.	11	2	2	7
5	Происхождение бюрократии. Как бюрократия изменяет государство.	11	2	2	7
6	Нововременные революции. Политические и социальные революции. Теории революции.	11	2	2	7
7	Политическая репрезентация и парламенты.	11	2	2	7
8	Политические партии. Эволюция электоральных и партийных систем.	12	2	2	8
9	Правительство и кабинет министров.	11	2	2	7
10	Государство всеобщего благосостояния.	11	2	2	7
	Всего	**108**	**20**	**20**	**68**

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Требования к уровню знаний студентов:

Знания английского языка на уровне, достаточном для чтения академической литературы и подготовки письменных работ

Знание основополагающих авторов в истории политической мысли

Преподаватели:

Успенский Владимир Сергеевич, ст. преп., Департамент истории НИУ ВШЭ – Санкт-Петербург;

Григорьев Иван Сергеевич, преп., Департамент прикладной политологии, НИУ ВШЭ – Санкт-Петербург.

Тип экзамена: письменный.

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1. Area of Application and regulatory references

The program intends to lay the basic foundation of knowledge and determine the content and forms of educational activities and assessment.

The program has been developed in accordance with:

- Educational standard of NRU HSE for Bachelor level education program "History" and "Political science";
- Educational Programs of NRU HSE for Bachelor level education, area of studies 030600.62 "History", and 41.03.04 "Political science";
- University Academic Plan of NRU HSE – Saint Petersburg for Bachelor level education, 030600.62 "History" area of studies, the 1rd year of education;
- University Academic Plan of NRU HSE – Saint Petersburg for Bachelor level education, 41.03.04 "Political science" area of studies, the 2nd , 3rd and 4th years of education.

2. Course goals

The goals of the discipline "Political inventions in Modern history" is an overview of the basic terms of historical sociology and political science, the analysis of the origins and development of key political institutions of Modernity and the development of students' understanding of the relation between history and political science. The course traces the historical development of several important contemporary political institutions, how different states and societies came to the invention of these institutions and how these institutions were formed in specific political practices in different historical circumstances. The course follows the chronology of the invention of new institutions of the state, bureaucracy, public representatives and parliaments, elections and political parties, social policy (welfare state).

3. Students' Competencies to be developed by the Course

Students will:

- Learn the history of the development of the main political institutions of our time.
- Be able to work with the historical and political science academic literature and analyze the main theoretical approaches to institutional and historical analysis of political phenomena.
- Gain the skills of implementing the results of interdisciplinary historical, political and sociological research.

As a result of the studying of the discipline, students master the following competences:

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Competencies	NC/ NRU-HSE Code	Descriptors – the learning outcomes (the indicators of achievement)	Teaching forms and methods of that contribute to the development of a competence
Able to learn and develop new competencies and skills in different fields, including those other than the professional filed	СК-Б1	Capable to conduct academic discussions in English, evaluate critically methods of historical research, gain skills necessary for presentations	Lectures, seminars, individual work, and presentations
Able to work with information: to search, assess and use the information from various sources in accomplishing research and professional tasks.	СК-Б6	Students gain skills of information literacy, as well as of analysis of historical research in English	Lectures, seminars, individual work, and presentations, essays
Able to conduct independent research, including the problem analysis, goal setting, subjects for investigation, the choice of methodology and assessment of the results	СК-Б7	Students gain skills of individual research in the field of history	Lectures, seminars, individual work, and presentations, essays
Able to communicate considering the goals and situation of the communication	СК-Б9	Students gain skills of academic writing and public discussion in English, using professional terminology	Lectures, seminars, individual work, and presentations, essays
Get acquainted with new approaches in social sciences and humanities	ИК – Б 1.1_ 2.1_ 2.2_ 2.3_ 2.4_ 2.5_ 2.6_ 5.3_ 5.6	Students gain skills necessary for analyzing major debates in historical sociology. Students learn about the actual research fields, get to know high rated academic journals in social history and historical sociology.	Lectures, seminars, individual work, and presentations, essays

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Competencies	NC/ NRU-HSE Code	Descriptors – the learning outcomes (the indicators of achievement)	Teaching forms and methods of that contribute to the development of a competence
Ability to understand driving forces and regularities of historical process; historical role of violence and nonviolence, role of personalities in historical process and in political organization of society.	OK-5	A student is able to understand driving forces and regularities of historical process; historical role of violence and nonviolence, role of personalities in historical process and in political organization of society and s/he demonstrates this ability at DGs.	Participation in DGs.
Comprehension of key works of Russian and foreign scholars in political science, ability to analyse original academic texts and their content.	ПК-5	A student comprehends main assumptions and premises of major IR theories put forward in original academic texts and primary texts for the course; in her/his essays a student shows the ability to analyse original academic texts devoted to IR issues and processes.	Participation in DGs; short revision multiple choice tests; essay.

4. How the Course Fits in with the Curriculum

The Course is to be based on the acquisition of the following Courses (at the bachelor level):
1. English.
2. Theory and History of Historical Knowledge.
3. Political History of Russia.
4. Global and Comparative History.
5. Research Seminar.
6. Introduction to political science.
7. Major concepts in political science.

The Course requires the following students' competencies and knowledge:
1. Basic knowledge of European history.
2. Basic knowledge of core political and historical terms.
3. English skills.

The main provisions of the Course should be used for further studies of the following Courses:
1. Social History of Modern Times
2. History and Sociology of Humanities
3. History of the Russian state
4. Comparative politics
5. Reforms and political innovations

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5. Course Schedule

№	Topic	Total amount of hours	Lectures	Seminars	Self Study
1	Introduction. What is modernity? How is political science different from political history?	10	2	2	6
2	What is a State? The definitions of the Modern State.	10	2	2	6
3	The King and his government. Depersonalization of power and the practice of public administration in Early Modern State.	10	2	2	6
4	Redistribution of power in early modern states: patronage and clientelism, tax farms.	11	2	2	7
5	The origins of bureaucracy. How does bureaucracy transform the state.	11	2	2	7
6	Modern revolutions. Political and social revolutions. Theories of revolution.	11	2	2	7
7	Representation. Parliaments	11	2	2	7
8	Parties. Evolution of the electoral and party systems	12	2	2	8
9	Government and the cabinet	11	2	2	7
10	Welfare state	11	2	2	7
	Total	**108**	**20**	**20**	**68**

6. Forms of control of students' knowledge

Type of control	Form of control	Modules				Requirements
		1	2	3	4	
Current (week)	Questions and answers in the class, class participation, graded and recorded in The Journal of Class Participation			x		Each student is expected to read and analyze the assigned readins so that s(he) is able to participate in the class discussions.
Current (week)	Written assignment (essay)			x		Academic essay of 15.000 characters. Students are given a set of recommended topics, but are also encouraged to suggest their own.
Final assessment	Written exam			x		Written work in the classroom on a given topic. Topics are assigned by the teacher.

Criteria for assessing the student's knowledge and skills

Final grade is formed from:
1. Grade of written essay.
2. Grade of the participation in class discussion.

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3.   Grade of final written exam.

Requirements for the essay:

Students are encouraged to write a paper with an overview of the history of the study of particular political institution of Modern Times, which was not considered within the course.

The essay is expected contain a description of the institution or the invention, the history of its origin and the history of its study by historians, political scientists, and historical sociologists. The essay should indicate the important works (articles and monographs), written on the history of this institution (at least three) and give a brief description of such works.

The student must show an understanding of professional vocabulary and terminology and familiarity with the basic research areas of political institutions studies.

The teacher assesses the importance and adequacy of indicated works.

Requirements for final exam:

During the final control of the teacher assesses the student's learning of the lectures and seminar material. The final control is carried out in the form of a written examination.

Students remotely receive all text materials for classes.

The teacher evaluates the activity of students at classes. Skipping class without a valid reason is estimated rating of "0". Marks for work in seminars are put in the class journal.

The final grade accounts for the results of a student`s performance as follows:

$$G_{final} = 0{,}4 \times G_{class\ work} + 0{,}3 \times G_{essay} + 0{,}3 \times G_{final\ exam}$$

Rounding of the grades is done as follows: if the score, which is calculated by the formula above, is greater than or equal to the arithmetic mean between the nearest integer values, then the higher of the nearest integer value is taken, otherwise – the lower of the nearest integer values is used.

7. Course contents

1. Introduction. What is modernity? How is political science different from political history?

Why is there Modernity? Some modern inventions: printing press, Age of Discovery, military revolution. Was time invented in the 16th century? How technological inventions relate to the political inventions the course deals with? Modernity and the modern man. The pitfalls of modernising history. Is modernisation of the modern man justified?

What's modern about politics of Modernity? Was politics any different in the Middle Ages? Political inventions as institutions. Impersonality of power as a sine qua non condition for institutionalisation in politics.

History and politics in various disciplines: political history, social history and historical sociology. What makes political research political? History and historical enquiry in political science.

The decline of traditional political history in New Historism of XX century. New political history and the return of the interest in politics under the influence of historical anthropology and social history in the mid 20th century.

Required reading

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The Cambridge Modern History, planned by Lord Acton, ed. by Adolphus W. Ward. Cambridge: Univ. Press. 1907. Introductory note. URL: http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/cmh/cmhint.html

Additional reading

1. Вебер М. «Объективность» социально-научного и социально-политического познания // Избранное: Протестантская этика и дух капитализма. М.: "Центр гуманитарных инициатив". С. 271-320. URL: (http://www.gumer.info/bibliotek_Buks/Sociolog/veber/obekt.php).

2. Норт Д. Институты, Институциональные Изменения И Функционирование Экономики. Москва: Фонд экономической книги "Начала", 2007. Глава 9. Организации, обучение и институциональные изменения. С. 97-107.

3. Согомонов, А., Уваров, П. Открытие Социального (парадокс XVI Века) // *Одиссей. Человек В Истории*, 2001. С 199–215.

4. Mahoney, James, and Celso M. Villegas. 2009. "Historical Enquiry and Comparative Politics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, edited by Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes. Oxford University Press.

5. Вен П. Как Пишут Историю. Опыт Эпистемологии. М.: Научный мир, 2003 (Veyne, Paul. 1971. Comment on Écrit L'histoire. Éditions du Seuil.) (параграф XII) URL : https://www.dropbox.com/s/m8r3myw5i3ok06t/0249782_41BD3_ven_p_kak_pishut_istoriyu_opyt_epistemologii-1.pdf

2. What is a State? The definitions of the Modern State.

Traditional understanding and etymology of the word "state". "State" and "Society" in intellectual debates in the epoch of Enlightenment. Marxist understanding of State.

Weberian types of legitimate domination. The theories of state in political science.

Empirical studies of the state.

Theories of the Origin of the Sate. Military-tax theory of the state by Charles Tilly.

Required reading

1. Engels, Friedrich. The origins of the Family, Private Property and the State. The Formation of the State Among the Germans. Online edition. URL: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1884/origin-family/ch08.htm

2. Weber, Max. Ecoonomy and Society. University of California Press, 1978. Vol. 1. Ch. 1, pp 31-38; Ch. 3, pp 212-222. URL: https://archive.org/details/MaxWeberEconomyAndSociety

3. Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. Blackwell Oxford. Ch. 3. How War Made States, and Vice Versa. Pp. 67-95. URL: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_TwbEW5PmHISzduVDhGMGZXakk/view?usp=sharing

4. Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1. Introduction. Pp. 1-18. URL: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_TwbEW5PmHIME5QTnppSGFoUWc/view?usp=sharing

Additional reading

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1.   Тилли, Чарльз Принуждение, капитал и европейские государства: 990-1992. М.: Территория будущего, 2009. с. 162-172. URL: https://www.dropbox.com/s/1c5s6u5cmqbo2mm/tilly.pdf. Гл. 3.

2.   Макс Вебер. Типы господства (параграфы 1-6 из главы 1 книги "Хозяйство и общество") [Электронный ресурс] URL: http://www.gumer.info/bibliotek_Buks/Sociolog/veber/tip_gosp.php

3.   Фридрих Энгельс. Происхождение семьи, частной собственности и государства. Главы V, VIII, IX. [Электронный ресурс]. URL: http://www.magister.msk.ru/library/babilon/deutsche/marx/engls01r.htm

4.   North, Douglass. 1986. "A Neoclassical Theory of the State." In *Structure and Change in Economic History*, 20–32.

5.   Вебер М. Политика Как Призвание и Профессия // Избранное: Протестантская этика и дух капитализма. М.: "Центр гуманитарных инициатив", 2000. С. 485–528.

6.   Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter B Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. Cambridge University Press. https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B7HZg-DB9Y4hRkFiRG1oVzFlUFF2ZXRHUllrRnpWNjFfNmNJ/edit?usp=sharing.

3. The King and his government. Depersonalization of power and the practice of public administration in Early Modern State.

Ideas about the origin of the impersonal and public power in the Middle Ages. Christological and theological origins of the discourse of royal power. The evolution of the political and ceremonial traditions in the late Middle Ages. The role of the bureaucracy and the royal lawyers in constituting notions of Kingdom, Homeland and the Crown.

Required reading:

1.   Kantorowicz, Ernst Hartwig. The king's two bodies: a study in mediaeval political theology. Princeton University Press, 1997. (Introduction, Ch. 1, Глава 5 (pp. 193-239), Ch. 7 (pp 300-316) URL: https://www.dropbox.com/s/pjh9jkridmviedb/kantorowicz.pdf

2.   Bourdieu, Pierre. 2004. "From the King's House to the Reason of State: A Model of the Genesis of the Bureaucratic Field." *Constellations* 11 (1): 16–36. doi:10.1111/j.1351-0487.2004.00359.x. https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_TwbEW5PmHIMm9YMFdrb0ppdmc/view?usp=sharing

Additional reading:

Бурдье П. От королевского дома к государственному интересу. Модель происхождения бюрократического поля. // Социоанализ Пьера Бурдье. Альманах Российско-французского центра социологии и философии Института социологии Российской Академии наук. – М.: Институт экспериментальной социологии; СПб.: Алетейя, 2001. с. 141-179. URL: https://www.dropbox.com/s/dvv85etqch7t3bw/Bourdieu.html

4. Redistribution of power in early modern states: patronage and clientelism, tax farms.
Patronage as a basis for new power relations. Sharon Kettering view: friendship and financial basis of patronage ties. Fundamentals of relations and exchanges between patron and client. The role of the broker and the complexity of political patronage networks in France in the Early Modern period.

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Early Modern tax collection and tax farms. The violation of the "Reliable obligations" in the monopsony market for government borrowing and the Colbert reforms. Combining of the farms and "mutual hostages." Comparison of the French anв English cases.

Required reading

1. Kettering, Sharon. 1986. *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France*. New York: Oxford University Press. (Два фрагмента: с. 3 – 22, 224 – 237): https://www.dropbox.com/s/99mtzaqfyjancc2/%5BSharon_Kettering%5D_Patrons%2C_Brokers%2C_and_Clients.pdf.

2. Johnson, Noel D. 2006. "The Cost of Credibility: The Company of General Farms and Fiscal Stagnation in Eighteenth-Century France." *Essays in Economic & Business History* 24. http://www.ebhsoc.org/journal/index.php/journal/article/view/201.

Additional reading

1. Darling, Linda T. 1996. *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*. BRILL.

2. Ashton, Robert. 1956. "Revenue Farming under the Early Stuarts." *The Economic History Review* 8 (3): 310–22. doi:10.2307/2598484.

3. Bonney, R. J. 1979. "The Failure of the French Revenue Farms, 1600-60." *The Economic History Review* 32 (1): 11–32. doi:10.2307/2595963.

4. White, Eugene Nelson. 1989. "Was There a Solution to the Ancient Régime's Financial Dilemma?" *The Journal of Economic History* 49 (03): 545–68. doi:10.1017/S0022050700008755.

5. The origins of bureaucracy. How does bureaucracy transform the state.

The 'pure type' (ideal type) of bureaucracy in Max Weber's theory. The history of the bureaucracy. Case of France in the epoch of 'Old regime'. The Tocqueville's concept on the French Revolution as a continuation of the logic of centralization and bureaucratization of France. Bureaucracy versus democracy in the Tocqueville's concept.

Case of pre-revolutionary Russia. Development of the Russian bureaucracy in terms of Weber.

Required reading

1. Tocqueville, Alexis de. The Old Regime and Revolution. New York, Harpers & brothers publishers. 1856. (Book 2, ch. 2-6, Book 3, ch. 7-8). URL: https://archive.org/details/oldregimeandrev00tocqgoog

2. Kiser, Edgar, and Joshua Kane. 2001. "Revolution and State Structure: The Bureaucratization of Tax Administration in Early Modern England and France." American Journal of Sociology 107 (1): 183–223. doi:10.1086/ajs.2001.107.issue-1.

Additional reading

1. Миронов Б.Н. Социальная история России (XVIII – начало XX вв.) в 2 тт. СПб.: Дмитрий Буланин, 2003. Т.1. Глава IX, параграф "Отличие российского чиновника от идеального чиновника". С. 162-175. URL: https://www.dropbox.com/s/fuw7m820a63384q/Mironov.pdf

2. Токвиль, Алексис де. Старый порядок и революция. М.: Московский философский фонд, 1997. (Книга вторая, главы II-VI, Книга третья, главы VII – VIII). URL: http://larevolution.ru/Books/Tocq0.html

3. Hume, Leonard John. 2004. *Bentham and Bureaucracy*. Cambridge University Press.

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4.   Evans, Peter, and James E Rauch. 1999. "Bureaucracy and Growth: a Cross-national Analysis of the Effects of' Weberian' State Structures on Economic Growth." *American Sociological Review*: 748–765.

6. Modern revolutions. Political and social revolutions. Theories of revolution.

Marxist understanding of the revolution and its main driving forces. Contemporary applications of Marxist theory oa Revolution (Hobsbawm). Revolution as a result of the will of the revolutionary forces. Active groups and parties in the course of the revolution and the changes in the revolutionary agenda.

The Structuralist criticism of «voluntaristic» theories of Revolution (Skocpol). Weakness of the state as a prerequisite for revolution. Comparative historical approach and case selection.

The trajectory of the revolution in the investigated cases and the use of counterfactuals for checking the validity of the identified patterns.

Required reading:

1.   Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions*. Cambridge Univ Press. Ch. 1. Pp. 1-18.   URL:
https://www.dropbox.com/s/yg0s5j0mb717t87/Theda_Skocpol_States_and_Social_Revolutions_A_Comparative_Analysis_of_France%2C_Russia_and_China__1979.pdf

2.   Hobsbawm, Eric. Age of Revolution 1789-1848. Hachette UK, 2010. Ch. 3. French revolution. Pp. 53-77.

Additional reading:

1.   Davies, James C. 1962. "Toward a Theory of Revolution." *American Sociological Review*, 5–19.

2.   Selbin, Eric. 1997. "Revolution in the Real World: Bringing Agency Back in." In *Theorizing Revolutions*, edited by John Foran, 123–36. Routledge.

3.   Pincus, Steven. 2009. "Rethinking Revolutions: a Neo□Tocquevillian Perspective." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, edited by Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes. Oxford University Press.

4.   Тилли, Чарльз. Принуждение, капитал и европейские государства: 990-1992. М.: Территория будущего, 2009. с. 162-172. URL: https://www.dropbox.com/s/1c5s6u5cmqbo2mm/tilly.pdf

7. Representation. Parliaments

Origins of political representation in the Middle ages. Estates of the realm: the medieval class representation.

Kings and parliaments and their struggle in the new institutional theory. Parliamentarism and devision of powers as an instrument of economic and social development.
Representation as a practical problem: modelling representations. Case of the State Duma of the Russian Empire (1905-1907).

"Identity" and "similarity" in representation theory. Debate between federalists and unitarianist in development of representation theory.

Required reading

1.   Semyonov, Alexander. The real and live ethnographic map of Russia: the Russian Empire in the mirror of the State Duma // Empire Speaks Out: Languages of Rationalization and Self-Description in

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the Russian Empire. ed. by Ilya Gerasimov, Jan Kusber and Alexander Semyonov. pp. 197 – 212. URL:
https://www.dropbox.com/s/7uc7q8yfq7qagbd/empire%20speaks%20out.pdf

2. North, Douglass C., and Barry R. Weingast. 1989. "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Journal of Economic History* 49 (04): 803–32. doi:10.1017/S0022050700009451.
https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_TwbEW5PmHINURnUGhfMjJrcFk/edit?usp=sharing

Additional reading

1. Pitkin, Hanna. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Univ of California Press.

2. Gerald Gamm and Kenneth Shepsle. 1989. "Emergence of Legislative Institutions,"Legislative Studies Quarterly 14:39-66.

3. Barzel, Yoram, and Edgar Kiser. 2002. "Taxation and Voting Rights in Medieval England and France." *Rationality and Society* 14 (4) (November 1): 473–507.
https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_TwbEW5PmHIdDdjNlhnaEtUd3M/edit?usp=sharing

8. Parties. Evolution of the electoral and party systems

Party organisation as a central feature of modern politics. Parties, electoral and party systems: typologies. Institutional and historical theories of party origins.

Political cleavages (Lipset and Rokkan). Thresholds as interface between societal structure and politics. Trajectories of the European party systems.

Development of voting from personal to party voting in Britain. Professionalization of politics: politician as a profession. How Western politics changed with parties?

Required reading

1. Lipset, Seymour, and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction." In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, edited by Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan, 1–64. Glencoe: Free Press.

2. Duverger, Maurice. 1954. "Caucus and Branch, Cadre Parties and Mass Parties." In *The West European Party System*, edited by Peter Mair, 37–49. Oxford Readings in Politics and Government. Oxford [England]: Oxford University Press.

3. Cox, Gary W. 1986. "The Development of a Party-Orientated Electorate in England, 1832-1918." British Journal of Political Science 16 (02): 187–216. **Давать ли её целиком?**
https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_TwbEW5PmHISzZ1UHFvSl8wSFE/edit?usp=sharing

Additional reading

1. Липсет, Мартин Сеймур, Стейн Роккан. 2004. "Структуры Размежеваний, Партийные Системы И Предпочтения Избирателей. Предварительные Замечания (Перевод)." *Политическая Наука* (4): 204–34. https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_TwbEW5PmHIN09Fcml3bXUwcEk/edit?usp=sharing

2. Морис Дюверже. Политические партии. М.: Академический проект, 2002. Глава "Введение. Происхождение партий". URL:
http://www.democracy.ru/library/misk/political_parties_duv/page3.html

3. Cox, Gary W. 2005. The Efficient Secret: The Cabinet and the Development of Political Parties in Victorian England. Cambridge University Press.

4. Colomer, Josep M. 2005. "It's Parties That Choose Electoral Systems (or, Duverger's Laws Upside Down)." *Political Studies* 53 (1): 1–21.

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5.   Michels, Robert. 1915. Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy. Hearst's International Library Company. (http://www.gumer.info/bibliotek_Buks/Polit/Sem/11.php)

6.   Hoadley, John F. 1980. "The Emergence of Political Parties in Congress, 1789-1803." *The American Political Science Review*, 757–79.

7.   Aldrich, John H. 2011. *Why Parties?: A Second Look*. University of Chicago Press. Ch. 2. Why parties form? Pp. 27-66.

9. Government and the cabinet

Cabinet and the government responsibility as political innovation. Origins of the English cabinet: cabinet and the Privy council. The legislative initiative and parliamentary agenda-setting.

Required reading

1.   Turner, Edward Raymond. 1913. "The Development of the Cabinet, 1688-1760." *The American Historical Review* 18 (4): 751–68.

2.   Cromwell, Valerie. 1968. "The Losing of the Initiative by the House of Commons, 1780–1914." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Fifth Series)* 18: 1–23.

Additional reading

1.   Cox, Gary W. 1987. *The Efficient Secret: The Cabinet and the Development of Political Parties in Victorian England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2.   Hosking, Geoffrey A. 1969. "P.A. Stolypin and the Octobrist Party." *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 137–60.

10. Welfare state

Origins of the welfare state. New functions of the state in late 19th century. Features of the welfare state: what are its functions?

Welfare as a political instrument: the case of Bismarck. Christian socialism as an alternative to the labor movement and its role in building the welfare state in Germany. The Poor laws and their role in constructing the English welfare state.

Interest groups and social entrepreneurs: their role in building welfare state. The United states as failed welfare state project. Women as agents of political action before suffragism. Path dependence in political and social values (attempts to reform the American welfare state in the 20th century).

Required reading

1.   Skocpol, Theda. 1992. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*. Cambridge Univ Press. Pp. 525-539.   https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_TwbEW5PmHIZlJVT2tWaUlVZlU/edit?usp=sharing, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1wNUourFA4WUlRRPuFG94i6dsQrAWR-jCR9RUO5wVWP8/edit?usp=sharing.

2.   Weir, Margaret, and Theda Skocpol. 1983. "State Structures and Social Keynesianism." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 24 (1/2): 4–8, 24–25. https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_TwbEW5PmHIVzZSbndOOFdVZ0U/edit?usp=sharing.

3.   Heclo, Hugh. 2010. *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden*. ECPR Press. Ch. 4. The struggle for Old Age Pensions, pp. 155-226.

Additional reading

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1.   Briggs, Asa. 2006. "The Welfare State in Historical Perspective." In *The Welfare State Reader*, edited by Christopher Pierson and Francis Castles, 16–29. Cambridge: Polity. https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_TwbEW5PmHIb2s0eGFNdS1Cb28/edit?usp=sharing, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1S_WjD0vn8GMGu_HAclXXHI65AKWWrJ4HYXEdmiihrpg/edit?usp=sharing.

2.   Baldwin, Peter. 1990. *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State, 1875-1975*. Cambridge University Press.

3.   Pierson, Paul. 1996. "The New Politics of the Welfare State." *World Politics* 48 (02): 143–179. doi:10.1353/wp.1996.0004.

9. Educational technologies

The course is designed to emulate an interdisciplinary dialogue between history, political science, and historical sociology. Seminars involve an open discussion of teachers and students on the negotiated texts.

Texts for seminars are chosen not only to reflect the content of the course, but also to present different disciplinary views on the same subject, thus each session students analyze texts related to history, political science and/or historical sociology.

Two teachers are assigned the role of a historian and political scientist, respectively, they direct the discussion and form questionnaire to the texts based on their roles. The course uses co-teaching, assuming the simultaneous presence of both teachers in the classroom. Thus, each topic receives two-sided coverage by both history and political science. This gives students a clear understanding of the mutual influence of structural (political or economic) factors and the importance of individual historical events

The course involves interactive format, possibly combining lectures and seminars on the subject. In the beginning of each class teachers talk about the basic theories, approaches and explore the history of one of the political institutions of Modern Times and complement the lecture with some material about the authors of given texts. The main part of the class is devoted to an analysis of the proposed texts and interdisciplinary discussions in which students try to expose the discussed work to criticism from different disciplinary positions. Teachers offer students a starting point for such criticism (eg. the validity of generalization in sociological theories from a historical perspective, modernizing of historical material in political science, theoretical lacks in historical narratives). Students are encouraged to bringing out counterexamples from history, followed by comprehension of the value that the analysis of special cases give to a theoretical knowledge of the political history of Modern Times.

10. Assessment tools

Suggested essay topics (requirements for the content of the essay are given in section 6 of this syllabus):

•   Development of a public education politics in the lands of Germany in 19th century.

•   The establishment of the link between trade unions and political parties in the European countries at the turn of XIX-XX centuries.

•   The institutionalization of military schools in Latin America.

•   State administration of piracy in the Netherlands and England in 16-18 centuries.

•   A comparison of tax farms in France and Turkey.

•   Revolutions of the 19th century: the analysis of the causes and outcomes from the perspectives of Theda Skocpol, Charles Tilly and Eric Hobsbawm.

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- Formalization of military budgets during the Seven Years' War.

The theme of the essay for each student shall be approved by the teacher individually.

Questions for the final exam

1. Theories of the State. Definition of the types of legitimate domination by Max Weber.
2. The origin of the bureaucracy in the era of absolutism.
3. Distribution of the state power in early modern states. Role of the patron-client relations.
4. The emergence of the concept of public state in the Early Modern times.
5. The origin of the political parties.
6. Tax collection in England and France in 17 – 18 centuries
7. The birth and evolution of the electoral and party systems.
8. Theories of revolutions.
9. The welfare state as the final element of the modern political landscape.

11. Information basis for the course

Required reading
Required reading is listed in the course topics.

Additional reading
Additional reading is listed in the course topics.

12. Technical support
Lectures and seminars are supported by Power Point presentations, shown by OHP projector.

13. Educational novelty (new teaching techniques, forms of class work, original methods)
The class is interactive by design, merging the lecture and seminar on one subject into a single class in order to allow for detailed discussion of the reading and other sources for each course section. This approach gives more flexibility in setting out the material, which is necessary given the diverse origins of the students in class (part majoring in history, the other part in political science). This differences inevitably lead to discrepancies in the understanding of the material. This also calls for a more sophisticated orchestration of the classes in order to flatten these differences.
Both teachers are constantly present in class, and both are engaged into teaching on every subject. Every subject is therefore consistently covered from both the historical and political perspectives. Thus, the phenomenon of State is given a political science treatment when we discover the structural prerequisites and reasons for its development, and then supplement this with a discussion of development of the modern stateness in a number of particular countries in Europe. This gives students a better idea of how structural factors interact, and what role particular historical developments play in this process.
The course also aims at drawing universal conclusions from the cases discussed in class, and provides a critical analysis of such a universalisation. To achieve that the students are encouraged to supply some counter-examples they might be aware of, in order to treat the regularities we discover in class more critically. This enhances the students understanding of how Modernity and its history may be

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theorized.

All courses co-taught by several teachers inevitably face problems of coordinating the lectures, and of a concerted direction of the discussions during seminars. To tackle these problems the two teachers meet before each class to discuss what should be most valuable for students in the next subject, and to plan the next class.

Finally, the course seeks to foster interdisciplinary thinking among its students. In particular, students write extended essays and submit them upon completion of the course. The subjects suggested for essays prompt students to delve into history and discover new cases, but also to interpret these cases from a political science perspective. All students also receive feedback from both teachers, who read and grade all essays.