

Professor Sheri Berman
 Telephone: 212 854 2158
 Email: sberman@barnard.edu

Office: 1117 Milstein
 Office hours: Mondays 2-4

POLS V3401: Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe

Mondays and Wednesdays 11:40am-12:55pm

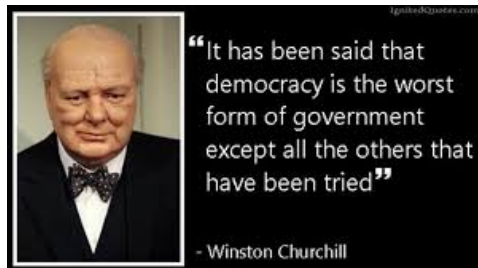
Course Description: This course will examine the development of democracies and dictatorships in Europe from the *ancien régime* to the present day. It will analyze the nature and dynamics of European political history and use the European experience as a foundation upon which to build a broader understanding of how different types of political regimes emerge, function and are consolidated over time.



How did we get from here to there?



And what does it take to make democracy work?



Requirements/Grading:

*Lecture attendance is not optional. Students are expected to attend lectures.

*Sections: 15%. This course will combine lectures and sections. Students are expected to carefully read all relevant materials **before class** and be prepared to discuss them in section. Sections may be only be missed for a medical or family emergency (verification will be required for both). If your schedule changes one week, you should arrange to attend a different section after consulting with your TA.

STUDENTS WHO MISS MORE THAN TWO SECTIONS WITHOUT A VALID EXCUSE WILL FAIL THE CLASS.

*Take home exams: 40%. There will be two take home exams. (Each exam will be worth 20% of the grade.)

*Final exam: 30%. The final exam for this class will give students an opportunity to think holistically and synthetically about the material and topics covered in the course as well as analyze the “hows” and “whys” of political development more generally.

*Snap quizzes: 15%. There will be a four snap (surprise) quizzes during the semester *in class*. Your top three grades will count. If you are absent for one quiz, that is the one that will be dropped. If you are absent for more than one quiz, you will get a zero on it. These quizzes cover basic facts from the previous lectures and readings. If you have been attending lectures and doing the reading, they will be painless.

All exams are take-home and must be taken when scheduled. **NO LATE EXAMS WILL BE ACCEPTED**. Exceptions will only be granted in cases of medical or family emergency (verification will be required for both).

All work must be done in accordance with the Barnard Honor Code, descriptions of which can be found at <http://www.barnard.edu/dos/honorcode>



Subfield and Requirements: This course fulfills Barnard College's Historical Studies and Social Analysis II requirements. The course can count as a comparative politics course for Columbia students.

Student Learning Objectives: By the end of this course students should be able to:

1. Identify key individuals, events, and turning points in modern European political history.
2. Identify and use some of the key perspectives on, and theories about, political development developed by social scientists.
3. Analyze a variety of arguments about the causes of the rise and fall of dictatorships and democracies in Europe during the modern era.
4. Develop and present their own arguments about the causes and consequences of key political episodes in modern European history.
5. Evaluate the relevance of Europe's political development experience for countries at different stages of political development today.

Readings: All readings, except for those from the Merriman and Mazower volumes, will be available via courseworks. The Merriman and Mazower volumes will also be on reserve at the Barnard library. Reading/ study questions to help guide you through the literature will be available with the readings on courseworks.

The ballot is stronger than the bullet.

Abraham Lincoln

September 5: Introduction

- David Goldblatt, "Democracy in the Long Nineteenth Century," in David Potter et al, eds., Democratization, pp. 3-18, 24-31, and 46-54.
- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," Journal of Democracy, April 1996, Volume 7, Number 2, particularly pages 14-22, i.e. until section on "Two surmountable obstacles."
- Andreas Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation?" Journal of Democracy, April 1998, Volume 9, Number 2.

- "In Elections Across the World, Democracy is a Matter of Definition," NYT, 6/5/2014.
http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/05/world/middleeast/in-elections-across-the-world-democracy-is-a-matter-of-definition.html?_r=0
- "How Autocrats can Triumph in Democratic Countries"
https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/18/world/europe/how-autocrats-can-triumph-in-democratic-countries.html?ref=collection%2Fcolumn%2Fthe-interpreter&action=click&contentCollection=world®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=search&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection

September 10: Theoretical Perspectives on Political Development

- Robert Dahl, Polyarchy (Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 1-10 and 33-48.
- Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (Anchor Books, 1963), pp. 31-53.
- Evelyn Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John Stephens, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," in The Democracy Sourcebook.
- Daniel Brinks and Michael Coppedge, "Diffusion is no Illusion: Neighbor Emulation in the Third Wave of Democracy," Comparative Political Studies, 39, 4, 2006.
- Seva Gunitsky, Aftershocks. Great Powers and Domestic Reforms in the Twentieth Century, pages 1-31.
- Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," Comparative Politics, vol. 2, April 1970, pp. 337-347, skim 347-60, 360-3.

September 12: The Ancien Regime

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 7, pages 261-283 (*NOT* in vol. 2; available online via courseworks).
- E.N. Williams, The Ancien Règime in Europe, chapter 1, pages 1-19.

September 17: English Exceptionalism I

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 6, pages 222-248 (*NOT* in vol. 2; available online via courseworks).
- E.N. Williams, The Ancien Régime in Europe, chapter 20 ("Britain: Mixed Monarchy").
- Anthony Birch, The British System of Government, pp. 31-42.
- Documents*: "The English Bill of Rights" and the coronation oath
(<http://www.jacobite.ca/documents/16890409.htm>)

<https://aeon.co/videos/war-conflict-bloodshed-upheaval-or-how-we-got-to-great-britain>

Democracy is the recurrent suspicion that more than half of the people are right more than half of the time.

E.B.White

September 19: The French Revolution

-Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 12 (“The French Revolution”) and Chapter 13 (“Napoleon and Europe”)

-E.J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution, chapter 3.

-Documents:

“The Constitution of 1791”

“Declaration of the Rights of Man (http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp)

Maximilian Robespierre, “Terror and Virtue”

(<http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/robespierre-terror.asp>)

“Establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal.” (<http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/439/>)

September 24: The French Revolution

-Alexis De Tocqueville, The Old Regime and the French Revolution, Part 1, chapters 1 2, and 5; Part 2, chapter 1; and Part 3, chapter 8.

-John Markoff, “The French Revolution: The Abolition of Feudalism,” in Jack Goldstone, ed., Revolutions. Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies.

-Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, pages 47-67 (strongly suggested: 118-128, 174-205).



*The giant sea-snake, like many that have appeared in 1848
(Illustrirte Zeitung, Leipzig, no. 287, 30 December 1848, 436)*

September 26: The 1848 Revolutions

-Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 16 (“The Revolutions of 1848”)

-Eric Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution, chapter 16.

Jonathon Sperber, The European Revolutions, 1848-1851 (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pages 53-58, 105-126 (suggested: 126-46), 187-94.

-Documents: Carl Schurz, A Look Back at 1848

(Excerpts: <http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1848schurz.asp>)

Percy B. St. John: The French Revolution in 1848

(<http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1848johnson.asp>)

Democracy is when the indigent, and not the men of property, are the rulers.

Aristotle

October 1: The 1848 Revolutions

- Melvin Kranzberg, 1848 A Turning Point? (D.C. Heath 1959), Intro and Conclusion.
- Eric Hobsbawm, The Age of Capital, chapter 1.
- Jonathon Sperber, The European Revolutions, pp. 245-59.
- Peter Stearns, 1848: The Revolutionary Tide in Europe, chapters 10 and 11.
- Documents:*
Engels, “The Failure of Revolution in Germany.”
National Song of Hungary:
<http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1848hungary-natsong.asp>

FIRST EXAM HANDED OUT IN CLASS

October 3: The French Third Republic

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 18 (“The Dominant Powers in the Age of Liberalism”), *subchapters*: “France: Second Empire and Third Republic” and “Republican France.”
- William Shirer, The Collapse of the Third Republic (Da Capo Press 1994), Book 1, chapters 2-5.
- Philip Nord, The Republican Moment (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), Introduction and Conclusion.
- Sanford Elwitt, The Making of the Third Republic (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), Introduction.

October 8: The Unification of Italy

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 17 (“The Era of National Unification,”) *subchapter*: “The Political Unification of Italy”
- Chapters by Raymond Grew (“How Success Spoiled the Risorgimento”), Denis Mack Smith (“A Prehistory of Fascism”), and Ernst Nolte (“How the European Knot was Tied in Italy”) in William Salomone, ed., Italy from Risorgimento to Fascism (Anchor Books, 1970).

FIRST EXAM DUE IN CLASS!



The strongest democracies flourish from frequent and lively debate, but they endure when people of every background and belief find a way to set aside smaller differences in service of a greater purpose.

Barack Obama

October 10: The Unification of Germany

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 17, *subchapters*: “The Unification of Germany” and “Conclusion.”
- Hans Ulrich Wehler, The German Empire (Berg, 1985), pp. 52-65, 91-99.
- Wolfgang Mommsen, Imperial Germany (Arnold 1996), chapter 1.
- Sheri Berman, “Modernization in Historical Perspective: The Case of Imperial Germany,” World Politics, 53, 3, April 2001.



October 15: The Struggle for Democracy in France

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe:
 - chapter 24, *subchapters*: “The Elusive Search for Stability,” “The End of War,” “National and Ethnic Challenges,” “Economic and Social Instability.”
 - chapter 25, *subchapters*: “The Europe of Economic Depression and Dictatorship”
 - subchapter*: “The Dynamics of Fascism: The Popular Front in France against the Far Right.”
- Richard Bessel, “The Crisis of Modern Democracy,” in Potter, et al, eds., Democratization.
- Mazower, Dark Continent, pp. 3-32.
- William Shirer, The Collapse of the Third Republic, Book 2, chapter 11 and Book 3, chapter 17, pages 285-97, 306-312, 321-25.
- Julian Jackson, The Fall of France (Oxford University Press, 2003), pages 106-116.
- Michel Dobry, “France: An Ambiguous Survival,” in Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Jeremy Mitchell, eds., Conditions of Democracy in Europe (NY: St. Martin’s Press, 2000).

Videos summarizing WWI’s consequences:

<http://study.com/academy/lesson/economic-social-political-consequences-of-the-great-war.html>
<http://study.com/academy/lesson/gains-of-global-democracy-after-1919.html>

Democracy is a charming form of government, full of variety and disorder, and dispensing a sort of equality to equals and unequals alike.

Plato

October 17: English Exceptionalism II

-Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 24, *The Established Democracies: Britain and France*.

(You should look back at the Birch reading from Sept. 21, esp. pages 34-42.)

-Trygve Tholfsen, "The Transition to Democracy in Victorian England," in Peter Stansky, ed., The Victorian Revolution (New Viewpoints, 1973).

-Jeremy Mitchell, "United Kingdom: Stability and Compromise," in Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell, eds., Conditions of Democracy in Europe.

-*Documents*: Gladstone, "The English Reform Bill of 1867," "The People's Petition" (<http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1838chartism.asp>)



October 22: The Collapse of Italian Democracy

-Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 25, *subchapter*: "The Dynamics of Fascism: Mussolini and Fascism in Italy."

-F.L. Carsten, The Rise of Fascism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), chapter 2, pages 45-66.

-Marco Tarchi, "Italy: Early Crisis and Fascist Takeover," in Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell, eds., Conditions of Democracy in Europe.



Democracy is the art of running the circus from the monkey cage.

H.L. Mencken

October 24: The Collapse of the Weimar Republic

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 24, *subchapter*: Political Instability: Germany's Fragile Weimar Republic); chapter 25, *subchapter*: The Third Reich.
- Karl Dietrich Bracher, "The Dissolution of the First German Democracy," in Bracher, Turning Points in Modern Times (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- Essays by William Shirer, Klaus Epstein, A.J.P. Taylor, Franz Neumann and Zevedei Barbu in Robert G.L. Waite ed., Hitler and Nazi Germany (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969).
- Stefan Berger, "The Attempt at Democratization under Weimar," in John Garrard, Vera Tolz and Ralph White, eds., European Democratization Since 1800 (NY: St. Martin's Press, 2000).



October 29: The Collapse of Democracy in Spain

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 25, *subchapter*: "The Spanish Civil War."
- Juan Linz, "From Great Hopes to Civil War: The Breakdown of Democracy in Spain," in Linz and Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe.
- Walther Bernecker, "Spain: The "Double Breakdown," in Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell, eds., Conditions of Democracy in Europe.

Bombing of Guernica April 27, 1937



Picasso's Guernica was commissioned by the Republican government. You can visit this at Madrid's Reina Sofia. It is approximately 3 1/2 X 8 meters in size.

Brought to Spain in 1981 - 5 years after Franco's death. Picasso vowed it would not enter Spanish soil under a Francoist regime.

Democracy alone, of all forms of government, enlists the full force of men's enlightened will.
Franklin D. Roosevelt

October 31: Rebuilding Democracy in Western Europe

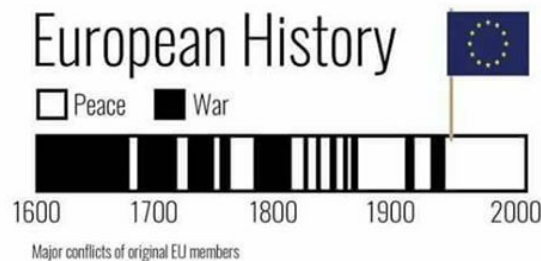
- David Goldblatt, "Democracy in Europe, 1939-89," in Potter et al, eds., Democratization, pp. 95-107.
- Mazower, The Dark Continent, chapter 7, pages 212-245, chapter 9, pp. 286-302.
- James Dobbins, ed., America's Role in Nation-Building (Rand 2003), chapter 2.
- Eugen Kogan, "Lessons for Tomorrow," in The Path to Dictatorship (Anchor Books, 1966).
- Documents: "Truman's Message to Congress, March 12, 1947" and "Marshall's Harvard Speech, June 5, 1947."

SECOND EXAM HANDED OUT IN CLASS!

[November 5: No Class!]

November 7: The Postwar Order in Western Europe

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 27, *subchapter*: "Economic Recovery and Prosperity, the Welfare State and European Economic Cooperation"
- Charles Maier, "The Two Postwar Eras," American Historical Review, 86, 2, April 1981.
- Clas Offe, "Comparative Party Democracy and the Welfare State," Policy Sciences, 15, 1983, pp. 225-233.
- Sheri Berman, The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century (Cambridge 2006), pp. 177-188.
- Alan Milward, European Rescue of the Nation State (Routledge 1999), chapter 2.



HAND IN SECOND EXAM IN CLASS!

“People, your government has been returned to you!”

Vaclev Havel

November 12: The Rise of Communism in Eastern Europe

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 27, *subchapter*: Political Realignments.
- Mazower, The Dark Continent, chapter 8.

November 14: The Democratization of Southern Europe

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 29, Politics in a Changing Western World (*The Transition to Democracy in Southern Europe*).
- David Potter, “Democracy in Europe, 1939-89,” in Potter et al, Democratization, pp. 107-114.
- P. Nikforos Diamandouros, “Southern Europe: A Third Wave Success Story,” in Larry Diamond et al, eds., Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), chapter 6.

November 19: The Decline of Communism and the Transition to Democracy in Eastern Europe

- Paul Lewis, “Democratization in Eastern Europe,” in David Potter, et al eds., Democratization, pp. 393-420.
- Mazower, The Dark Continent, chapter 11.
- Vladimir Tismaneanu, “The Revolutions of 1989: Causes, Meanings, Consequences,” Contemporary European History, 18, 3, 2009.
- Jeffrey Kopstein, “1989 as a Lens for the Communist Past and Post-Communist Future,” Contemporary European History, 18, 3, 2009.
- Jeffrey S. Kopstein and David Reilly, “Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World,” World Politics, 53, October 2000.

[November 21: No Class]

November 26: Democratic Decline in Eastern Europe

- Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, How Democracies Die, Intro and chapters 4 and 5.
- Kim Lane Scheppele, “Not Your Father’s Authoritarianism,” European Politics and Society Newsletter, Winter 2013.
- R. Daniel Keleman, “Europe’s Other Democratic Deficit,” Government and Opposition, 52, 2, 2017.
- Jacques Rupnik, “Surging Illiberalism in the East,” Journal of Democracy, 27, 4 October 2016.
- James Dawson, Sean Hanley, “The Fading Mirage of the ‘Liberal Consensus,’” Journal of Democracy, 27,1, January 2016.
- Ivan Krastev, “The Unraveling of the Post-1989 Order,” Journal of Democracy, 27, 4, 2016.

I believe that all people aspire to be free. For too long, the people of the countries in the European Union, and perhaps Americans as well, have had a sense that political leaders are not defending their interests but defending special interests instead. There is a form of revolt on the part of the people against a system that is no longer serving them but rather serving itself.

Marine Le Pen

November 28: The Origins and Development of the European Union

- T. R. Reid, The United States of Europe (Penguin 2005), chapter 2.
- Desmond Dinan, Ever Closer Union (Lynne Rienner, 2005), chapter 1.
- James Caparoso, "The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory, Post-Modern," Journal of Common Market Studies, 34, 1, 1996.
- Ivan Krastev, "A Fraying Union," and Philippe Schmitter, "A Way Forward," Journal of Democracy, 23, 4, October 2012.
- Matthias Matthijs, "Mediterranean Blues," Journal of Democracy, 25, 1, January 2014.

Documents: "The Schuman Declaration" (May 9, 1950).

Video explaining the EU: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O37yJBFRrfg>

-Optional: Simon Hix, The Political System of the European Union (Palgrave Macmillan 2005), chapter 1 (This covers the basic structure and institutions of the EU. If you are already familiar with these things, you can skim this quickly).

December 3: Threats to Democracy in Western Europe Today

- Sheri Berman, "Populism is not Fascism," Foreign Affairs, November/December 2016. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-10-17/populism-not-fascism>
- "When a Political Movement is Populist" https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/10/world/asia/populism-france-south-korea.html?rref=collection%2Fcolumn%2Fthe-interpreter&action=click&contentCollection=world®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=9&pgtype=collection
- Jan-Werner Müller, "The Attractions of Populism," The Guardian, Sept 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/sep/02/trump-erdogan-farage-the-attractions-of-populism-for-politicians-the-dangers-for-democracy>
- Ivan Krastev, "The Populist Moment," <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2007-09-18-krastev-en.html>
- "Interview with Marine Le Pen" <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/interviews/2016-10-17/france-s-next-revolution>
- Edourd Louis, "Why My Father Votes for Marine Le Pen" <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/04/opinion/sunday/why-my-father-votes-for-marine-le-pen.html>
- Sasha Polakow-Suransky, "The Ruthlessly Effective Rebranding of Europe's New Far-Right." <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/01/the-ruthlessly-effective-rebranding-of-europes-new-far-right>
- Dani Rodrik, "The Politics of Anger," Project Syndicate, March 2016. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-politics-of-anger-by-dani-rodrik-2016-03>
- Dani Rodrik, "The Abdication of the Left," Project Syndicate, June 2016. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/anti-globalization-backlash-from-right-by-dani-rodrik-2016-07>
- Dani Rodrik, "How to Combat Populist Demagogues," Project Syndicate, Nov.13, 2017. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/disavow-neoliberalism-to-combat-populism-by-dani-rodrik-2017-11>

“If there is no struggle, there is no progress”

Frederick Douglass

December 6: Theoretical Perspectives on Political Development

- Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm,” Journal of Democracy, 13, 1, January 2002.
- Mazower, The Dark Continent, epilogue.

December 11: Lessons Learned?

- Sheri Berman, “How Democracies Emerge. Lessons from Europe,” Journal of Democracy, 18, 1, January 2007.
- “What’s Gone Wrong with Democracy,” The Economist, March 1, 2014.
<http://www.economist.com/news/essays/21596796-democracy-was-most-successful-political-idea-20th-century-why-has-it-run-trouble-and-what-can-be-do>
- Francis Fukuyama, “At the End of History Still Stands Democracy,” Wall Street Journal, June 6, 2014.
- Robert Stephan Foa, “Modernization and Authoritarianism,” Journal of Democracy July 2018.
- Varieties of Democracy Report, 2018.
https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/3f/19/3f19efc9-e25f-4356-b159-b5c0ec894115/v-dem_democracy_report_2018.pdf
(Pages 16-30, and whatever else you are interested in).
- Staffan Lindberg, “The Nature of Democratic Backsliding in Europe,” Carnegie Europe
<https://carnegieeurope.eu/2018/07/24/nature-of-democratic-backsliding-in-europe-pub-76868>