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## **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.

Prior knowledge of European history and comparative politics is welcome, but not presumed.

### 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. Reading/ study questions for each set of readings will be posted online to help students with the readings and preparation for section.

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

\*Final exam: 45%. 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.

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 (doctor's notes will be required for the former).

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

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

Laptop Policy: Laptops can be used in class ONLY for note taking. Any student found using his/her laptop (or any other piece of electronic equipment) for browsing, email, etc. will be asked to leave.

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 following books will be available for purchase at Book Culture (536 West 112<sup>th</sup> street):

- Mark Mazower, Dark Continent. Europe's Twentieth Century (Knopf 2000).
- John Merriman, A History of Europe: From the French Revolution to the Present, vol. 2 (W.W. Norton, 2014).

### September 9: 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.
- Andreas Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation?" Journal of Democracy, April 1998, Volume 9, Number 2.

### September 11: 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.
- Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," Comparative Politics, vol. 2, April 1970, pp. 337-347, skim 347-60, 360-3.

### September 16: 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 18: 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>

### September 23: 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*:

"Declaration of the Rights of Man

([http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/rightsof.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp))

"The Constitution of 1791"

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 25: 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).

**September 30: 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>)

**October 2: The 1848 Revolutions**

- Melvin Kranzberg, 1848 A Turning Point? (D.C. Heath 1959), Introduction 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 7: 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.

**FIRST EXAM DUE IN CLASS!**

### **October 9: 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).

### **October 14: 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 16: The First World War and its Aftermath**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 24 (“The Elusive Search for Stability”)
  - subchapters*: “The End of War,” “National and Ethnic Challenges,” “Economic and Social Instability.”
- Richard Bessel, “The Crisis of Modern Democracy,” in Potter, et al, eds., Democratization.
- Mazower, Dark Continent, pp. 3-32.

### **October 21: The Struggle for Democracy in France**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe,
  - chapter 24, *subchapter*: “Political Instability: The Established Democracies: Britain and France.”
  - chapter 25 (“The Europe of Economic Depression and Dictatorship”
    - subchapter*: “The Dynamics of Fascism: The Popular Front in France against the Far Right.”
- 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).

**October 23: English Exceptionalism II**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 24, Political Instability (*The Established Democracies: Britain and France –same as for October 19*).
- (You should look back at the Birch reading from Jan. 28, 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 28: 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.

**October 30: 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).

**[November 4: mid semester break, no class]****November 6: 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.

**SECOND EXAM HANDED OUT IN CLASS!**

### **November 11: Understanding Fascism and National Socialism**

- N. Kogan, "Fascism as a Political System," in S.J. Woolf, ed., The Nature of Fascism (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Ltd., 1968).
- Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, chapter 5, esp. pages 127-37.
- George Mosse, "The Genesis of Fascism," Journal of Contemporary History, 1, 1, 1966.
- Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, chapter 10.
- Stanley Payne, A History of Fascism (University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), pp. 6-14, 487-95.
- Documents:*
- Alfredo Rocco, "The Political Doctrine of Fascism"
- Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism."
- Alfred Rosenberg, "The Myth of the Twentieth Century."
- Adolf Hitler, selections from his speeches and writings.

### **HAND IN SECOND EXAM IN CLASS!**

### **November 13: 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."

### **November 18: 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.

### **November 20: The Rise of Communism in Eastern Europe**

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

### **November 23: 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 25: The Decline of Communism 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.

### **November 27: The Transition to Democracy in Eastern Europe**

- 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.
- Adam Przeworski, Democracy and the Market (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pages 136-9, 162-86.
- Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse, "The Great Divide. Literacy, Nationalism and the Communist Collapse," World Politics, 59, 1, 2006.

### **December 2: 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" in Journal of Democracy, 23, 4, October 2012.

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

- 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 4: Theoretical Perspectives on Political Development**

- Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," Journal of Democracy, 13, 1, January 2002.



**December 9: Lessons Learned?**

-Mazower, The Dark Continent, epilogue.

-Sheri Berman, "How Democracies Emerge. Lessons from Europe,"  
Journal of Democracy, 18, 1, January 2007.