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## **POLS V3401y: Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe**

Course Description: This course will examine the development of democracies and dictatorships in Europe from the French Revolution 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 sustained over time.

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

### Requirements:

\*Participation: 10%. This course will combine lectures and discussion. Students are expected to carefully read all relevant materials before class and be prepared to comment on them.

\*Exams/ Quiz: 55%. There will be two exams and a quiz that will test students' ability to analyze the problems, debates and subject matter covered in the class and readings (exams 20% each, quiz 15%).

\*Final exam: 35%. 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 must be taken when scheduled. Exceptions will only be granted in cases of medical or family emergency (doctor's notes will be required for the former). The Honor Code (descriptions of which can be found at <http://www.barnard.edu/dos/honor.html> and <http://eclipse.barnard.edu/~honor/>) will be strictly enforced.

Readings: All readings, except for those from the Merriman, Potter et al, Palmer and Colton, and Mazower volumes, will be available via courseworks. The Merriman, Potter et al, Palmer and Colton, and Mazower volumes will be on reserve at Lehman library.

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

-David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh, Paul Lewis, Democratization (Polity Press 1997).

-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, 2005).

## Class Outline and Reading Assignments

### January 22: Introduction

-David Goldblatt, "Democracy in the Long Nineteenth Century," in David Potter et al, eds., Democratization, pp. 46-54.

### January 24: Theoretical Readings (No Class)

-Potter, "Explaining Democratization," in David Potter et al, eds., Democratization, pp. 1-36.  
 -Robert Dahl, Polyarchy (Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 1-16, 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. (or Huber, et al, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," Journal of Economic Perspectives, 7, 3, 1993).  
 -Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," Comparative Politics, vol. 2, April 1970, pp. 337-364.

### January 29: 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 R gime in Europe, chapter 1, pages 1-19.

### January 31: 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 R gime in Europe, chapter 20 ("Britain: Mixed Monarchy").  
 -Anthony Birch, The British System of Government, pp. 31-42  
 -*Document*: "The English Bill of Rights"

#### Supplemental Reading:

-R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton, A History of the Modern World, chapter 4, sections 19 and 20.

### February 5: The French Revolution

-Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 12, pages 469-513; chapter 13, pp. 517-524, 535-537, 548-52.  
 -E.J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution, chapter 3.  
 -Janet Polasky, "The Legacy of the French Revolution," in William B. Cohen, ed., The Transformation of Modern France (Houghton Mifflin, 1997).  
 -*Documents*: "The Constitution of 1791" and "Establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal."

#### Supplemental Reading:

-Palmer and Joel Colton, A History of the Modern World, chapter 9.

**February 7: 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 (Optional: 118-128, 174-205).

## Supplemental Reading:

- Palmer and Colton, A History of the Modern World, chapter 11, sections 54-6.

**February 12: The 1848 Revolutions**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 16, pp. 670-701.
- Eric Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution, chapter 16.
- Jonathon Sperber, The European Revolutions, 1848-1851 (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pages 53-58, 105-126 (126-46 optional), 187-94.
- Hagen Schulze, The Course of German Nationalism (N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), chapter 7.

## Supplemental Reading:

- Palmer and Colton, A History of the Modern World, chapter 12, sections 58-60.

**February 14: 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.
- Document*: Engels, "The Failure of Revolution in Germany."

## Supplemental Reading:

- Palmer and Colton, A History of the Modern World, chapter 12.

**February 19: The French Third Republic**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 18, pp 794-813.
- William Shirer, The Collapse of the Third Republic (Da Capo Press 1994), Book 1, chapters 6-7.
- 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.

## Supplemental Reading:

- Palmer and Colton, A History of the Modern World, chapter 13, section 74.

**February 21: The Unification of Italy**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 17, pp 707- 720, 744-5.
- 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).

**February 26: The Unification of Germany**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 17, pages 720-36.
- 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.

## Supplemental Reading:

- Palmer and Colton, A History of the Modern World, chapter 13, sections 63-5.

**February 28: First Exam****March 4: The First World War and its Aftermath**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 24, pp. 1056-1073, 1077-81.
- Richard Bessel, "The Crisis of Modern Democracy," in David Potter, et al, eds., Democratization.
- Mazower, Dark Continent, pp. 3-32.

**March 6: The Struggle for Democracy in France**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 24, pp. 1089-1090 and chapter 25, pp. 1122-1125.
- 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.

**March 11: English Exceptionalism II**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 24, pp. 1087-89 and chapter 25, 1141-1147.
- (You should look back at the Birch reading from Jan. 31, 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 Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Jeremy Mitchell, eds., Conditions of Democracy in Europe.
- Document*: Gladstone, "The English Reform Bill of 1867."

**March 13: The Collapse of the Italian Republic**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 24, pp. 1093-1099 chapter 25, pp. 1117-19.
- 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 Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Jeremy Mitchell, eds., Conditions of Democracy in Europe (NY: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

## Spring Break

### March 25: The Collapse of the Weimar Republic

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 24, pp. 1083-7, 1099-1103 and chapter 25, pp. 1125-1136.
- 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).
- Essays by Eberhard Jäckel and Hans Mommsen in Michael Laffan, ed., The Burden of German History (Methuen 1988).

### March 27: The Collapse of Democracy in Spain

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 25, pp. 1141-1147.
- 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 Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Jeremy Mitchell, eds., Conditions of Democracy in Europe.
- Document*: Orwell's Homage to Catalonia

## April 1: Quiz

### April 3: 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.

### April 8: Rebuilding Democracy in Western Europe

- David Goldblatt, "Democracy in Europe, 1939-89," in David 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."

#### Supplemental Readings:

- Palmer and Colton, A History of the Modern World, chapter 21, sections 110-1.

**April 10: The Postwar Order in Western Europe**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 27, pp. 1232-36.
- Charles Maier, "The Two Postwar Eras," American Historical Review, 86, 2, April 1981.
- Clas Ofte, "Comparative Party Democracy and the Welfare State," Policy Sciences, 15, 1983.

**April 15: The Rise of State Socialism in Eastern Europe**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 27, pp. 1228-30, 1241-3.
- Mazower, The Dark Continent, chapter 8.

**April 17: Second Exam**

**April 22: The Democratization of Southern Europe**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 29, pp. 1298-1300.
- 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 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), chapter 6.

**April 24: The Democratization of Eastern Europe**

- Paul Lewis, "Democratization in Eastern Europe," in David Potter, et al eds., Democratization, pp. 393-420.
- Mazower, The Dark Continent, chapter 11.

**April 29: Debates About Democracy in Europe Today**

- Articles by Marc Plattner, Yves Mény, Philippe Schmitter, Jürgen Habermas, and Ralf Dahrendorf ("Making Sense of the European Union") in the Journal of Democracy, 14, 4, October 2003.

**May 1: Lessons Learned?**

- Mazower, The Dark Continent, epilogue.
- Sheri Berman, "How Democracies Emerge. Lessons from Europe," Journal of Democracy, 18, 1, January 2007.