

Professor Sheri Berman

Office: 411 Lehman  
Office Hours: Thursdays 12-2  
Telephone: 212 854 2158  
Email: [sberman@barnard.edu](mailto:sberman@barnard.edu)

## **POLS V3401: 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 consolidated over time.

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

### Requirements:

\*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.

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

\*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.

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 and Mazower volumes, will be available via courseworks. The Merriman and Mazower volumes will also be on reserve at both the Barnard and Lehman social sciences library (at SIPA). Reading/ Study questions to help you 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, 2005).

## **Class Outline and Reading Assignments**

### **January 20: Introduction**

- David Goldblatt, "Democracy in the Long Nineteenth Century," in David Potter et al, eds., Democratization, pp. 3-18, 24-31, and 46-54.
- 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.
- Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," Comparative Politics, vol. 2, April 1970, pp. 337-347, skim 347-60, 360-3.

### **January 22: 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 Régime in Europe, chapter 1, pages 1-19.

### **January 27: 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
- Document*: "The English Bill of Rights"

### **January 29: 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.
- Documents*: "The Constitution of 1791" and "Establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal."

### **February 3: 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).

**February 5: 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 (suggested: 126-46), 187-94.

**February 10: 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.
- Document*: Engels, "The Failure of Revolution in Germany."

**February 12: 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 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.

**February 17: 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 19: 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.

**February 24: First Exam**

**February 26: 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 Potter, et al, eds., Democratization.
- Mazower, Dark Continent, pp. 3-32.

**March 3: 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 (NY: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

**March 5: English Exceptionalism II**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 24, pp. 1087-89.  
(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 Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell, eds., Conditions of Democracy in Europe.
- Document: Gladstone, "The English Reform Bill of 1867."

**March 10: The Collapse of Italian Democracy**

- Merriman, A History of Modern Europe, chapter 24, pp. 1093-1099 and 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 Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell, eds., Conditions of Democracy in Europe.

**March 12: 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).
- 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).

**Spring Break!**

**March 24: 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 Bernerker, "Spain: The "Double Breakdown," in Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell, eds., Conditions of Democracy in Europe.

**March 26: Second Exam****March 31: 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 2: 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."

**April 7: 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 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.

**April 9: No class**

**April 14: Quiz****April 16: 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 21: 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 (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), chapter 6.

**April 23: 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 28: 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.

**April 30: Lessons Learned?**

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