Democracy and Dictatorship in Interwar Europe

Wednesdays 1-3 pm Spring 2012

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Can democracy be "downloaded" everywhere, or should we be worried about backlash, repression, and long setbacks to democratic development? This course analyzes the lessons to be learned from crisis-ridden Europe between 1918 and 1940 to examine this contemporary question. We explore regime breakthroughs, breakdowns and democratic survival in Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere in Europe during this dark period in European history. The purpose of the course is to gain a mastery of the European historical experience in this important period and to use this period to develop a grasp that can help us think about the conditions under which economic crisis causes democracy to collapse or to survive.

Requirements

The main requirements for the course are: 1) intensive reading, 2) class participation (the course will be a discussion seminar), and 3) a research paper (20-30 pages) on the fate of democracy in this period in a European country of your choosing.

Grading

Class Participation (including two short 1 page take-home assignments during the term): 40%

Research Proposal: 20% Final Paper: 40%

Readings:

-Most readings will be available on the course website, always noted [online] -Four Required readings available at COOP for purchase:

-Sheri Berman, The Social Democratic Moment: Ideas and Politics in the Making of Interwar Europe (Harvard University Press, 1998)
-Giovanni Capoccia, Defending Democracy: Reactions to Extremism in Interwar Europe (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005)
-Richard Evans, The Coming of the Third Reich (Penguin Press, 2004)
-Stanley Payne, Spain's First Democracy: The Second Republic, 1931-1936 (University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).

(Other books at Coop are "recommended" or are on suggested reading list)

PART I: INTRODUCTION AND THEORIES

September 7: Introduction

*No reading

September 14: Classical Perspectives

-Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy" American Political Science Review (1959), pp. 69-105 [online]
-Harry Eckstein, "A Theory of Stable Democracy," in Regarding Politics (1992), pp. 181-226 [online]
-Robert Dahl, Polyarchy (1971), pp. 1-17; 33-46 [online]

September 21: Economic Theories of Democratic Stability

-Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49:155-183. [online]
-John Stephens, Democratic Transition and Breakdown in in Western Europe, 1870-1939" American Journal of Sociology, pp. 1019-1077 [online]
-Carles Boix, "The Roots of Democracy" Policy Review 2006
(<u>http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/6588</u>) [online]
- Hans Joachim Voth, "Austerity and Anarchy: Budget Cuts and Social Unrest in Europe, 1919-2010" (<u>http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/6851</u>) [online]

September 28: Institutional and Actor-Centered Theories of Democratic Stability, Part I

-Michael Bernhard, Institutions and the Fate of Democracy, pp. 26-77 [online] -Gregory Luebbert, "The Social Foundations of Democracy in Interwar Europe" World Politics (1987), pp. 449-478 [online] -Sheri Berman, "Understanding Social Democracy" (Manuscript), 2011 pp. 1-37 [online]

Suggested reading: Gregory Luebbert, *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy: Social Classes and the Political Order of Regimes in Interwar Europe*, Oxford University Press, 1991

October 5: Institutional and Actor Centered Theories of Democratic Stability, Part II

-Giovanni Capoccia, *Defending Democracy: Reactions to Extremism in Interwar Europe* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), pp. 3-67; 179-245 -Daniel Ziblatt, "Conservatives and Democracy: A Theory" (Unpublished Book Chapter from Book, *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Modern Democracy [online]*

Short Assignment #1 Due (1-page précis that lists and summarizes Each Theory we Have Encountered So far")

PART II: APPLICATIONS OF THEORY

October 12: The Dark Continent: Europe, 1918-1933

-Mark Mazower, "The Deserted Temple: Democracy's Rise and Fall," Chapter 1, from Mazower's *Dark Continent* [online] -Norman Davies, "Tenebrae: Europe in Eclipse, 1914-1945," pp. 897-976 [online]

Short assignment #2 Due (1-page précis that identifies all European countries', date of democratic collapse, conditions etc.)

October 19: Promise and Pitfalls of Individual-level Analysis: The Puzzle of the "Choice" for the Breakdown of Democracy

-William Brustein, "The "Red Menace" and the Rise of Italian Fascism" American Sociological Review Vol. 56, No. 5 (Oct., 1991), pp. 652-664 [online] -King, Gary, Ori Rosen, Martin Tanner, and Alexander Wagner. "Ordinary Economic Voting Behavior in the Extraordinary Election of Adolf Hitler." Journal of Economic History 68 (2008) [online]

-Ivan Ermakoff, "Actors and Events" from *Ruling Oneself Out: A Theory of Collective Abdications* (2008), pp. 3-36 [online]

-Ivan Ermakoff, Enacting State Persecution: Enacting state persecution: The *police* and *anti-Semitic* policy in France, 1940-1944" (Unbpublished Paper), pp. 1-37 [online]

Suggested reading: F. Varese and M. Yaish "The Importance of Being Asked: The Rescue of Jews in Nazi Europe" *Rationality and Society* (2000): 307-334.

October 26: The Collapse of Democracy in Italy

-Lyttelton, Adrian (2004) *The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy 1919-1929.* London: Routledge, Selections [online]

Suggested readings: Dylan Riley, *The Civic Foundations of Fascism* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010, pp. 23-71

October 26 The Collapse of Democracy in Germany

-Richard Evans, The Coming of the Third Reich, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4

Suggested readings: Ivan Ermakoff, *Ruling Oneself Out: a Theory of Collective Abdications* (Duke University Press, 2008) Goetz Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries: Plunder, Racial War, and the Nazi Welfare State* (2005)

November 2: Democracy's Collapse in Germany vs. Democracy's Survival in Sweden

-Sheri Berman, *The Social Democratic Moment*, (Harvard University Press, 1998). Chapters 3, 5, 7, 8, 9

November 16: The Fall of Republican France: Old Guard or New Elite?

-Robert Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order*, 1940-1944 (2001), selections [online] -Ivan Ermakoff, Ruling Oneself Out (2008), pp. 23-36; 75-91 [online]

***Research Proposal Due (4 pages)

November 23: Spain's Democratic Experience

-Stanley Payne, *Spain's First Democracy* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), Selections.

Suggested Reading: Dylan Riley, *The Civic Foundations of Fascism in Europe*;, pp. 72-112; Gerard Alexander, *The Sources of Democratic Consolidation* (1993)

November 30: Why Did Democracy Not Fail in Britain?

-Martin Pugh, *Hurrah for the Blackshirts! Fascists and Fascism in Britain between the Wars* (2005), [online]